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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
AND THE AMERICAN
FOUNDING: THE
PHILADELPHIA FACTOR

By Walter A. McDougall

January 2014



"A nation must think before it acts."
— Robert Strausz-Hupé

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An unabashed generalist, his books range from *France's Rhineland Diplomacy 1914-1924: The Last Bid for a Balance of Power in Europe* (1978), and *the Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age* (1985), to *Let the Sea Make a Noise: A History of the North Pacific From Magellan to MacArthur* (1992), *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (1997), and *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History 1585-1828* (2004). His latest book, *Throes of Democracy: The American Civil War Era 1829-1877* (2008) was chosen by the Athenæum of Philadelphia as best book of the year by a local author.

A devotee of books, sports, politics, and all kinds of music from Bach to Bob Dylan, McDougall lives with his wife and two teenagers in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

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WILLIAM PENN, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, AND THE AMERICAN FOUNDING: THE PHILADELPHIA FACTOR

By Walter A. McDougall

Based on a presentation to an FPRI History Institute on
The Creation of Liberal Democracy: Did it Happen in Philadelphia by Accident?¹

On July 5, 2013, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* described the city's Independence Day celebrations under a headline quoting Mayor Michael Nutter's boast that "Philadelphia owns the Fourth of July." This conference is an inquiry into that claim.

THE TEMPTATION TO PROLEPSIS

In his 1997 *A History of the American People*, Paul Johnson wrote: "Amid this prosperous rural setting, it was natural for Philadelphia to become, in a very short time, the cultural capital of America. It can be argued, indeed, that Quaker Pennsylvania was the key state in American history. It was the last great flowering of Puritan political innovation, around its great city of brotherly love.... Its harbor at Philadelphia served as a national crossroads leading north, west, and south.... It became in time many things, which coexisted in harmony: the world centre of Quaker influence but a Presbyterian stronghold too, the national headquarters of American Baptists but a place where Catholics also ... flourished, a center of Anglicanism but also a key location both for German Lutherans and for the German Reformed Church, plus many other German groups, such as Moravians and Mennonites. In due course it also housed the African Methodist Episcopal Church.... With all this, it was not surprising that Philadelphia was an early home of the printing press, adumbrating its role as the seat of the American Philosophical Society and birthplace of the Declaration of Independence."

Pennsylvania is known as the Keystone State even though it isn't really a state, but one of the four Commonwealths along with Massachusetts, Virginia, and Kentucky. Nor does the nickname date from the revolutionary era, since the appellation was first printed in 1803 by Benjamin Franklin Bache's Jeffersonian journal *Aurora*, which called Pennsylvania "the keystone in the democratic arch." Nevertheless, historians consider the image apt because

¹ See complete conference agenda in Appendix A.

Pennsylvania did occupy the key position among the colonies by virtue of its demography, geography, and economic, social, and political importance. It would seem obvious, therefore, to answer this conference's question with a resounding NO. Philadelphia was no accident; indeed, it was a *sine qua non* of the American Revolution.

But historians must always beware of *prolepsis*, which is the fallacy of interpreting the past in terms of an implicitly inevitable future; in short, to read history backwards. William Penn and Benjamin Franklin are cases in point because eminent historians herald their tolerance, egalitarianism, industry, enlightenment, and capacity for self-reinvention as “proto-American” qualities: the five sides of our nation's keystone. “For better or worse, rightly or wrongly,” wrote historian Charles Sanford, “Benjamin Franklin has been identified with the American national character. Though greater hero worship has been accorded to Washington and Lincoln, historians have almost unanimously judged Franklin to be more representative. He is the inventor of the American character and American way of life.”

For Thomas Carlyle, Franklin was the “father of all Yankees”; for Paul Elmer More, he was “America's Renaissance Man.” Frederick Jackson Turner dubbed him “the first great American” and H. W. Brands “the first American” – period. To Walter Isaacson he was “the multiple American”; to Jonathan Lyons “the Enlightened American”; to Gerardo Del Guercio “the inventor of the American Dream.”

All that amounts to prolepsis because it assumes the United States was already “out there” on the horizon in 1723 when Franklin left Boston for Philadelphia or even in 1682 when William Penn got his colonial charter. But in reality Penn was an English imperial patriot who had no notion of beginning the world over again. Franklin was *another* avid imperial patriot until, at age 68, he suffered public humiliation at the hands of the British Privy Council. Even at that late date the men who became our Founding Fathers had no idea that they would soon establish a new nation in North America. Indeed on October 9, 1774, just six months before Lexington and Concord, George Washington wrote (in a letter to Captain Robert Mackenzie): “I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of <the Massachusetts> government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independency ... on the contrary, it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquility, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and horrors of civil discord prevented.” American independence was not an inevitability, but an *improvisation*.

SOME DISTURBING COUNTERFACTUALS

To be sure, the colonists made immense strides in political theory in the decade after 1765, when the Stamp Act initiated the imperial crisis. But independence seemed the *least* likely outcome, so much so that contemporary observers regarded the unfolding events with shock, dismay, and disbelief. When the Seven Years War, or last French and Indian War, ended in 1763 with a great Anglo-American victory, the colonists toasted the health of King George III with gusto. Just a dozen years later the same colonists damned his eyes and reached for their muskets. And for what? The *ostensible* causes seemed wholly inadequate to explain the scale of the unfolding tragedy.

Joseph Galloway, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly from 1766 to 1775, asked “How then can it happen that a people so lately loyal, should so suddenly become universally disloyal, and firmly attached to republican Government, without any grievances or oppressions but those in anticipation?” Galloway hoped the discord had been exaggerated out of proportion, and that reconciliation might still be effected. So far from taking the future for granted, historians are obliged to ask what might have happened had the British been more forthcoming or the colonists less hot-headed? Surely *secession and civil war* – which is what the American Revolution amounted to – needed more of a cause than a three-penny tax on tea.

Of course, colonists argued it was the principle of the thing: taxation without representation and the dangerous precedent of Parliamentary supremacy. Those external excuses then became ostensible justifications because of the Americans’ decision to declare independence. Jefferson had to argue, out of a “decent respect to the opinions of mankind,” that the cause of the rupture was British oppression, hence his long bill of particulars. But implicit in that pretension was the counter-factual that the revolution would *not* have occurred if wiser policies had prevailed in London. Instead, Grenville was too narrow minded, Townshend too clever by half, Hillsborough too arrogant, Pitt too infirm, Dartmouth too weak, North too stubborn, and the King too solicitous of all the above. That explanation, which began as expediency, soon hardened into orthodoxy because American civil religion required that our nation’s birth be providential, a manifest destiny, an immaculate conception. So American historians interpreted their nation’s founding in a way that affirmed the Revolution, taught its values to the next generation, and implicitly recommended them to the whole human race. By such a process of historical alchemy the exceptional became universal and the accidental became inevitable.

However, our second set of counterfactuals asking what might have happened had the colonists been less hot-headed, suggests they were not just players in a heavenly drama, but protagonists who wrote their own script. To be sure, the conquest of Canada set the stage, because it imposed new imperial responsibilities and costs on the British, which they expected colonists to share even as the defeat of the French freed Americans from dependence on British protection. (That volatile combination led some British statesmen to advocate giving Canada back to France! Benjamin Franklin rebutted that if the colonists could not even coordinate their efforts against Frenchmen and Indians, they certainly wouldn't do so against their own mother country.) Given the Québécois and Native Americans were now also subjects of George III and given that crown and Parliament did run up huge wartime debts, they naturally looked to the prosperous 13 colonies to share the burden. Hence the Proclamation Line of 1763, Sugar Act, Quartering Act, Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, Currency Act, Québec Act, Tea Act, and Coercive Acts that colonists deemed Intolerable. The conquest of Canada was surely a necessary, though not a *sufficient* cause.

The sufficient cause could only be a new self-awareness, what John Adams called the revolution in men's minds that had to precede the political acts of separation. And that occurred incrementally if swiftly, when events caused Americans to inquire after the nature of the British Empire. The colonies had been created by private companies and royal charters wholly independent of Parliament. Even Quakers, Loyalists, and Accommodationists such as Joseph Galloway and John Dickinson came to the first Continental Congress convinced that Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies *at all* whether or not it was a case of "taxation without representation."

Consider the Galloway Plan of September 1774. The Pennsylvania delegate proposed an *American* legislature chosen by the colonial assemblies and an American president-general appointed by the crown. Even the moderate First Continental Congress voted that down by 6 colonies to 5. In January 1775 Lord North proposed that Parliament not legislate for the colonies but simply request the colonial assemblies to decide for themselves how to contribute to administration and defense. Congress rejected that, too. Finally, Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, suggested Parliament call the colonists' bluff and *force* independence upon them whereupon, he predicted, the Americans would come groveling back with an appeal to the crown. Of course that proposal was never made, but it's true that Americans' anger was never targeted on the king until Tom Paine's *Common Sense* in 1776. So the historian might well imagine a self-governing American Dominion under British sovereignty surviving to this day ... if not for some *internal* reasons why Americans wanted independence.

Finally, the military history of the War of Independence is replete with “what ifs” because the Glorious Cause might have – perhaps should have – aborted on many occasions. What if the British had routed the Minutemen on Bunker Hill? What if Washington’s army had been trapped on Long Island instead of slipping to the mainland under cover of fog? What if the British captain who got Washington in his sights on the Brandywine had pulled the trigger? What if Washington had decided *against* marching his army 500 miles from New York in the slim hope of trapping Cornwallis at Yorktown? And so on.

Given all these contingencies it would appear that the birth of a United States of America was a fluke. And yet the historical narrative also suggests that what made that glorious fluke possible was the location, culture, and people of Philadelphia. If Washington was the indispensable man, then Philadelphia was the indispensable city that made possible the Declaration of Independence, victory in the Revolutionary War, and the triumph of the Constitution. At least, that is what I hope to argue, beginning with some background on the unique colony founded on the Delaware River by Quakers.

THE QUAKER COLONY ... NOT!

An historian recently prefaced his new biography with a lament. “When I ask my students in the US history survey who was William Penn, responses range from blank faces to the inevitable, ‘he’s the guy on the Quaker Oats box.’ Sadly, in 24 years of college teaching I have watched Penn and the Quakers slip ever deeper into the recesses of historical memory.”

That is a shame, because Penn still casts a long shadow from his perch atop Philadelphia’s City Hall whence he gazes down on Penn’s Landing to welcome all newcomers. We shall be treated to a whole lecture on the Quakers and pluralism, so I will confine my remarks to the observation that Penn made a huge impression on American history because of his failures as much as his successes.

He was the son of the famous Admiral William Penn who captured Jamaica for Cromwell’s Commonwealth, but whose clandestine ties to the exiled Stuarts paid off when Charles II was restored in 1660. The king and his brother James, Duke of York, even promised the admiral upon his death in 1670 that they would look out for his son. But the son had improbably turned Quaker and thus pacifist, hostile to all authority, and egalitarian to the point of treason. Why then would King Charles grant Penn an exclusive charter to lands as extensive as England itself? Was it just to pay off the large gambling debt Charles owed to the admiral’s estate? Was it a ploy to lure Quakers out of the country? Or did Penn, who was already

experienced in the colonization of New Jersey, know how to slip his petition past the Lords of Trade without notice? The likely answers are no, no, and no, because whatever personal motives might have been involved, the creation of Pennsylvania was premeditated statecraft on the part of the Stuarts. First, a strong colony on the Delaware would swallow the Swedish and Dutch settlements already there and strengthen the English grip on the commerce of the entire American seaboard. Second, putting a proprietor in charge kept the colony off the government's books. Third, awarding the province to Penn ensured a friendly, peaceable neighbor for New York, whose proprietor was his patron, the Duke of York (and future King James II).

Penn solicited investments from wealthy Quaker merchants in exchange for choice parcels of land. One of them was Thomas Holme, who surveyed the rectangular grid of streets that became the City of Brotherly Love. Imagined by Penn a "green country town," it was the first planned urban space in the New World. Philadelphia would not grow westward to Broad Street until the year 1830, but Holmes's prospectus, stretching all the way to the Schuylkill River, bespoke great ambition. A half million acres were sold the first year. Penn arrived in 1682 with no less than eighteen large ships carrying abundant supplies and skilled colonists, the vanguard of 11,000 settlers in the first decade alone. Penn's agents in Wales, Ireland, France, and the Rhineland aggressively marketed the fertile soil, water, a "sylvania" of timber, a "holy experiment" in religious tolerance, and not least political liberty.

Penn was a disciple of political theorist Algernon Sidney, who believed that government should be free of coercion, ensure equal opportunity, and be blind to differences of birth, background, and faith. But the reality of the Frame of Government contained in Penn's charter required that settlers give total obedience to the proprietor who in turn owed total obedience to the crown. Sidney was appalled: "The Turk is not more absolute," he cried. What happened was that Penn bowed to the command of his friend James, Duke of York, who simply insisted on the same authoritarian arrangement John Locke had recently drafted for Carolina.

Not surprisingly, Quakers invoked Penn's own principles to rebel against the proprietor! They scoffed at quit-rents and taxes, smuggled at will, and accused Penn of abandoning his colony because he was fighting lawsuits in England from 1684 to 1699. In the meantime, the Duke of York had become King James II only to be dethroned in Parliament's Glorious Revolution of 1688. To make a long story short, Penn was obliged to grant his colonists a new Charter of Privileges in 1701 that empowered the elected Assembly in Philadelphia to make its own laws and in fact exercise more freedom than any other in America, much to the frustration of James Logan whom Penn left behind to manage the colony. The great seal of Philadelphia dates from

this event, a shield with four quadrants depicting a handshake, a sheaf of grain, the scales of justice, and a merchant ship. By then Philadelphia was already America's second city: a hustling commercial port of 5,000 people who shipped flour, meat, and lumber to the West Indies, while speculating on real estate. People even sub-migrated from New York or Maryland, because Pennsylvania was always a place where "the grass seemed greener."

But by then Penn had been mugged by his own colonists, so to speak, and in his old age he reverted to a deference for rank, wealth, and authority. He died in 1718 having left a legacy elegantly described by Mary Maples Dunn:

"It is easy to conclude that he had come full circle, and that in the end, despite all the resistance, he became the man his father wanted him to be. In a way he was successful far beyond his father's dreams – he held title to a province as large as England and was a landlord on a colossal scale. In short, we could conclude that class allegiance outweighed the hostility to authority which was generated in his youth. But in terms of historical significance, this was not the measure of his success.... He conceived of and established a society without military defenses, with freedom of religion, with a criminal code humane beyond anything known to Englishmen, with a written constitution containing guarantees of rights and checks on the power of the proprietor.... He was a man whose greatness was greater than the sum of his parts."

In Pennsylvania true freedom and equality were more on display than anywhere else in America except, perhaps, quirky Rhode Island, which was too small to serve as an example. But Pennsylvanians often refused to use their freedom and equality to advance Quaker principles, most notably pacifism, once demography altered the landscape and French and Indian wars became endemic. To be sure, the Quaker party still clung to a slim majority in the Assembly during King George's War (War of Austrian Succession), and refused to contribute to military defense from 1739-48. But the valleys west of Philadelphia were filling with Lutheran Germans who were not pacifist (and in fact invented the famed Pennsylvania rifle) and Scots-Irish, who were downright belligerent. The city itself had a large admixture of Anglicans and Presbyterians eager to battle French Catholics. When a French sloop was sighted in Delaware Bay in 1747, the transplanted Bostonian Benjamin Franklin published *Plain Truth*, which argued against pacifism on Biblical and practical grounds. Philadelphians responded with a subscription and lottery to finance a militia association, symbolically ending the era of Quaker control. Soon Presbyterians such as Bucks County's William Tennant were preaching sermons entitled "The Lord is a man of war."

FRANKLIN'S PHILADELPHIA

Franklin migrated to Philadelphia in 1723, settled there permanently in 1726, and started his printing business in 1728. We shall also be hearing excellent lectures on Philadelphia as an intellectual center and business hub, so I needn't describe Franklin's achievements as a founder of the Library Company, College of Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, service as colonial Postmaster General, and career as a publisher. Just consider the frenetic growth his adopted city displayed, reaching 13,000 people by 1740, surpassing Boston to reach 20,000 by 1760, and nearly 40,000 by 1776. To be sure, that is only half the size of present-day Camden, but at the time it made Philadelphia the largest English-speaking city on earth save London. The city was tightly packed – reaching inland only to Eighth Street – because it was cheaper to subdivide urban lots or build up rather than out, and few Americans were willing or able to risk the capital needed to develop new neighborhoods. Nevertheless, some 22 foreign visitors wrote mostly glowing travelogues about colonial Philadelphia. Lord Adam Gordon thought it “perhaps one of the wonders of the world, if you consider its size, the number of inhabitants, the regularity of its streets ... their spacious publick and private buildings, Quays, and Docks ... one will not hesitate to Call it the first Town in America, but one that bids fair to rival almost any in Europe.”

Not surprisingly, the diversity, freedom, and close quarters made for contentious politics among pro- and anti-proprietary parties, the Quakers, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Germans. The Pennsylvania Assembly dispatched Franklin to London as colonial agent with instructions to lobby against the proprietorship, but in truth he was a party of one. Franklin damned “stiff rump” Quakers, feared the swarming Germans, and had little use for the others. But he made close friends in almost every camp and devoted himself to the cause of *unity* between bickering factions in Pennsylvania, between Pennsylvania and the other colonies, and between the colonies and the mother country of Britain. Though a great exponent of Enlightenment reason Franklin even befriended the charismatic preacher George Whitefield who made eight visits to Philadelphia during the religious revival historians call the Great Awakening. Its enthusiastic, evangelical, individualistic faith split every Protestant denomination and severed ties between Americans and European church authorities, thus helping to lay the basis for a revolutionary alliance between the Awakened and the Enlightened.

Indeed, Philadelphians combined their materialism with an idealism that never characterized New York, a toleration that never characterized New England, and an egalitarianism that never characterized Virginia. Moreover, their ability to broadcast a diversity of opinion was as fecund as their freedom to do so because William Bradford's first printing press dated from

1686, just three years after Philadelphia was founded (Boston, by comparison, waited eighteen years). Between 1740 and 1776 no less than 42 printers plied their trade in the city.

Most important – and contrary to Philadelphia’s image today – most of the city’s elite came from *somewhere else*: 30 percent from other colonies, and 25 percent from Europe. And since the Quakers discouraged higher education, the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) founded by Whitefield and Franklin drew only 5 percent of its students between 1757 and 1800 from wealthy locals. Indeed, the WASP elite we associate with the city really dates from the post-Civil War industrial era, notwithstanding the reputation of Whartons, Mifflins, Rittenhouses, Biddles, Stephen Girard, and Robert Morris. The colonial city simply lacked what sociologists called hegemonic or homogeneous elite such as prevailed in the plantation colonies, Hudson Valley, or Boston where just 4 percent of the wealthy were born abroad.

Finally, Philadelphia was well supplied, or at least better supplied than anywhere else, with boarding houses, taverns, and public buildings, especially the lavish State House designed by Andrew Hamilton and Edmund Wooley, where a sizeable convention could meet in relative comfort. If there was any place where the colonies’ disparate delegates might contrive to make “thirteen clocks strike as one” (in John Adams’s words) it was Philadelphia ... except that Adams and other zealots from New England and Virginia still associated the city with Quaker passivity, so they came to the First Continental Congress in 1774 determined not to let the venue decide the outcome!

THE PHILADELPHIA FACTOR: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

It seemed Adams had a point. Even after nine years of ferment culminating in the occupation of Boston – years during which John Dickinson became an American champion with his eloquent *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* – Penn’s colony remained notorious for its conservatism. But Patriots were mistaken to think that Philadelphia’s culture was a barrier to bold action. First, it was essential that Pennsylvania serve as anchor on the American ship of state so that when at last it did set sail all except diehard Tories were satisfied that the colonies had patiently and prudently gone the extra mile. That is, if *even* Philadelphia acquiesced in a declaration of independence, then a critical mass of Americans everywhere could be counted upon. Second, it turned out Adams was wrong about the temper of Philadelphia as a whole. It turned out the very hostility to authority and tradition, and openness to new people and ideas characteristic of Penn’s colony, created space for the popular faction to take revolutionary action *despite* the opposition of “stiff-rumped” Quakers in the Assembly.

The first inkling of that came in 1774 when the Boston Committee of Correspondence, desperate for support against the Intolerable Acts, sent Paul Revere on his *first* famous ride to beg Philadelphia merchants to join an embargo of British trade. He was welcomed by a mass rally at the City Tavern that attracted merchants, but scores of artisans and mechanics as well. They persuaded John Dickinson to draft an invitation to “a general Congress of Deputies from the different Colonies, clearly to state what we conceive our rights and to make claim or petition of them to his Majesty, in firm, but decent and dutiful terms.” Proprietor John Penn forbade the Assembly to participate, whereupon the popular party staged an extra-legal convention to choose delegates.² When the Congress convened in September, John Adams also persuaded it to spurn the Pennsylvania State House with its Quaker associations in favor of Carpenter’s Hall.

In 1765 a Stamp Act Congress had been held in New York. That befit the word’s eighteenth-century connotation of a body of representatives from separate polities coming together to concert their action for a specific purpose. The Philadelphia body was not really a “Congress” at all inasmuch as it gradually assumed the powers of an ad hoc legislature. Indeed, this First Continental Congress, by denying Parliament’s right to legislate, rejecting the Galloway Plan, and urging the colonies to prepare for armed resistance, implied that its ultimate *raison d’être* was self-government.

The authors of a classic 1884 history of the city (which has pride of place in my library thanks to FPRI Chairman Robert Freedman) were not exaggerating when they claimed: “To write a complete history of Philadelphia during the war of American independence would be, in effect, to write the history of that revolution from its beginning until the adoption of the Constitution.... Philadelphia was the fulcrum which turned a long lever.” My contemporary colleague Michael Zuckerman adds that “Geography is only opportunity, not destiny” and that “the most intriguing issues ... are issues of the conditions of creativity – political creativity, economic creativity, and especially cultural creativity – in the eighteenth-century city.” Philadelphia offered not only the locus and atmosphere, but a critical mass of leaders, including Franklin, Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, John Morton, James Wilson, and John Dickinson, many of whom were not native Philadelphians.

² The Pennsylvania Delegation included: Joseph Galloway: native of Maryland, moved at 18; Charles Humphreys: Haverford native; Samuel Rhoads: Philadelphia native; John Dickinson: Wilmington native; Edward Biddle: Philadelphia native; Thomas Mifflin: Philadelphia native; John Morton: Ridley native; George Ross: New Castle native.

For instance, how many have heard of Charles Thomson, the *eminence grise* of the American Revolution? Born in Northern Ireland he arrived in America an 11-year-old orphan in 1740. Condemned to life as a blacksmith's apprentice Charles ran away and this time got lucky. Charitable benefactors placed him in school in Maryland, then Philadelphia, where he went into business, got modestly rich, and married into the family that owned the Harriton Plantation in Lower Merion township. His first public service was in 1757 as shorthand recorder for the Quakers' council with the famous Indian sachem Teedyuscung, who even gave Thomson a lifelong nickname, the Lenape word for "truth-teller." During the crisis with Britain, John Adams gave him another: "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia." In 1765 he served as Secretary to the Stamp Act Congress and then, beginning in 1774, Confidential Secretary of the Continental Congress, in which post Thomson quietly stage-managed American politics for the next fourteen years! He corresponded with Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, and every member of Congress. He knew all their jealousies and ambitions, and where all the bodies were buried. He had personal charge of intelligence operations and ran networks of spies at home and abroad. Yet Thomson somehow made no personal enemies at all because he was humble, devout, patriotic, and utterly scrupulous.

The Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in May 1775, by which time fighting had already broken out on Lexington Green. But there was no assurance the thirteen colonies would let those hotheaded Minutemen commit them to treason and war. The real sea-change occurred in Philadelphia, where the formation of extralegal committees to bypass the proprietor's assembly quickly became a habit. As one historian put it, Pennsylvania in Spring 1774 was still governed by an oligarchy based on a restricted electorate, but in just two years turned into the most vibrant participatory democracy *in the world*. This radical, militant populism was the basis for historian Carl Becker's claim that the American revolution was not about "home rule, but about who would rule at home," a claim recently revived by Marxist historian Gary Nash. But the important point for our story is that the Patriot faction in Congress was greatly encouraged by what was happening in Philadelphia's streets.

The populist movement climaxed in the formation of militia committees that made the willingness to bear arms the measure of patriotism, in defiance of the wealthy Quakers (still 15 percent of the city's population). Thousands of militiamen marched, drilled, and in effect governed in defiance of the Assembly, until the populace – and the Congress that met in its midst – was psychologically prepared for revolution. Pennsylvanians ceased taking counsel of their fears and instead, like other colonists, took up arms in the belief they had been deeply wronged by Britain and a just God would surely favor their cause.

Accordingly, the Second Continental Congress began to function as an American government even before it declared independence.³ On June 14, 1775, it founded the Continental Army and overcome sectional rivalries by naming Washington its commander. Adams, of course, was the wise head who nominated the “gentleman from Virginia” in order to cement the alliance between New England and the South. But it is hard to imagine his unanimous selection had Congress met anywhere else but on Philadelphia’s neutral ground. October 13, 1775, was the birthday of the United States Navy and November 10 that of the U.S. Marine Corps. Still, opinions were sharply divided over the prospect of independence, which Pennsylvania delegates Dickinson, his legal protégé James Wilson, and businessman Robert Morris considered risky and at best premature. It was to appease them that Congress sent a final “Olive Branch Petition” to the king even as it also approved a plan to invade Canada.

Then, in November 1775, yet another sojourner arrived in Philadelphia, having sailed over from England on the advice of Benjamin Franklin. In just a few weeks Tom Paine captured the mood of the city in *Common Sense*. In just a few months – thanks to Philadelphia’s printers and Franklin’s postal service – Paine’s pamphlet evangelized all the colonies with the republican gospel. That emboldened Virginia Congressman Richard Henry Lee to call the question on June 3, 1776. The king’s Hessian treaties, he cried, “leave no doubt but that our enemies are determined upon the absolute conquest and sub-duction of North America. It is not choice then but necessity that calls for Independence, as the only means by which *foreign Alliances* can be obtained; and a proper Confederation by which internal peace and union can be secured.” Eleven days later those extra-legal militias surrounded the State House and goaded the Assembly into resolving in favor of “forming further compacts between the united colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms and States, and in adopting such other measures as ... shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety, and interests of America.”

Lee’s motion was hotly debated until July 1, when it was brought to a vote. Nine colonies voted aye, but New York’s delegation, pleading no instructions, abstained, Delaware divided 1-1 because Patriot Caesar Rodney was absent, and South Carolina and Pennsylvania split

³ The Pennsylvania Delegation included: Andrew Allen: Philadelphia native; George Clymer: Philadelphia native; John Dickinson: Wilmington native; Benjamin Franklin: Boston; Robert Morris: England, then Maryland; Benjamin Rush: Philadelphia native; James Smith: Ireland, but Philadelphia by age 2; George Tayleur: Ireland, moved age 20; Thomas Willing: Philadelphia native; James Wilson: Scotland.

narrowly against.⁴ The tension was electric because the British were on the verge of invading New York. Hundreds of sails had already been sighted off Long Island. Was this the best time to vote independence, or the worst? If the Pennsylvania delegation continued to hang back, chances were Delaware, New Jersey, and New York would as well, and the national edifice would collapse for want of its keystone.

Then something happened historians to this day cannot fully explain. When a second vote was called on July 2, Morris and Dickinson retreated “behind the bar” and sat with the gallery, recusing themselves. That left Pennsylvania’s decision up to Franklin and Morton, who were in favor; Willing and Humphreys, who were opposed; and James Wilson, who reluctantly broke with his mentor Dickinson and cast the decisive vote for independence. He did so, he said, because the people of Philadelphia had made their will clear in the “recent dramatic events.” As for Morris, he explained that while he still hoped for negotiations he refused to break the unity on which the colonies’ leverage depended. Morris later signed the Declaration. Dickinson never did, even though he knew it would turn his popularity into calumny. “I have so much of the spirit of Martyrdom in me, that I have been conscientiously compelled to endure in my political Capacity the Fires & Faggots of persecution.”

New York still abstained, but when the Delaware and South Carolina delegations fell into line, Congress pronounced the Declaration unanimous.

On July 3 Philadelphia’s militia committee chose its own slate of revolutionaries for Pennsylvania’s constitutional convention.⁵ On July 4 Congress approved Jefferson’s redacted draft. And on July 8 Philadelphia crowds tore the royal coat of arms from the State House facade.

Historians Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh summed up the unique metamorphosis of the city. “Between 1760 and 1775 Philadelphia came of age and was now spiritually prepared to go its way alone. Silently and for the most part unconsciously, it had undergone an intellectual revolution; it had shaken off its early allegiance to Old World standards and conventions and had chosen for itself the democratic direction.... This process, effected in the short span of thirty-five years by hundreds of eager, able, intelligent Philadelphians, produced upon the banks of the Delaware a city owning the first broadly democratic society of modern times.”

⁴ The Pennsylvania delegates John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and Charles Humphreys were opposed; Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, and James Wilson in favor.

⁵ The Pennsylvania slate included Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, George Clymer, Owen Biddle, Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, and the zealous Germans Frederick Kuhl and Georg Schlosser.

THE PHILADELPHIA FACTOR: WARTIME DIPLOMACY AND FINANCE

To suggest the Philadelphia factor was equally indispensable to the outcome of the War of Independence would be a stretch. Even the British *occupation* of the city in 1777-78 during which Congress fled to York, Pennsylvania, and Washington's army shivered at Valley Forge, had no strategic impact at all. But two Philadelphians, Franklin and Morris, played indispensable roles as chief diplomat and chief financier of the American cause.

In his brilliant encyclopedic history *Albion's Seed*, David Hackett Fischer described the four cradle cultures that British colonists planted in North America: the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of the Delaware Valley; the Cavaliers of the Chesapeake; and the Scots-Irish Bordermen of the Allegheny frontier. Fischer also imagined the War of Independence as a sequence of conflicts fought in serial fashion by the four cultures. Phase one was the Puritans' War, a popular uprising egged on by the Congregational clergy. Phase two was the Cavaliers' War in which regular armies led by gentlemen fought conventional battles. Phase three was the Bordermen's War waged mostly by partisans in the southern back-country. Phase four was, if not the Quakers' war, then a political war led by civilians from the Middle Colonies.

In fact, all four phases occurred simultaneously and success depended on all of them, not least the civilians' war. Indeed, the *most* decisive event in the eight year conflict was arguably the astounding news a courier brought to Washington at Valley Forge in late March 1778: King Louis XVI had received Dr. Franklin at Versailles and concluded a full-fledged military alliance between France and the United States!

The main purpose of the Declaration of Independence was to enable Congress to solicit foreign aid in its struggle against British authority. As early as November 1775 it appointed a Secret Committee of Correspondence which in turn sent Silas Deane to spy out prospects in Europe. After the Fourth of July, the committee begged the 70-year old Franklin to head the American delegation. Franklin had lived in Europe over twenty-odd years and was well known in Paris as a scientist, statesman, philosopher, and witty colonial rustic, roles he now reprised to perfection. His experience with Europe's Machiavellian politics had taught him that to be forthright, direct, and impatient was the sure way to fail, whereas deviousness, indirection, and patience at least gave a chance of success. Congress knew nothing of that when it asked John Adams to draft the so-called Model Treaty of 1776, a simple pact of friendship and commerce, expecting that was enough to win foreign recognition. Franklin did not waste the time of French Foreign Minister Vergennes with such displays of American idealism or, for that matter, Puritan moralism (much to the disgust of John and Abigail Adams). Instead,

Franklin engaged in duplicitous correspondence to confound the ubiquitous British spies, assisted Silas Deane's clandestine shipments of French arms and money, and otherwise bided his time. He knew his diplomacy could not make a breakthrough until some big victory gave Vergennes the argument he needed to persuade the king that the American cause was for real. The Battle of Saratoga did the trick. On February 6, 1778, Franklin concluded a military alliance with Bourbon France, later joined by Bourbon Spain, and all parties made solemn pledges to make war and peace together.

How critical was the alliance to American independence? Suffice to say that Washington won the climactic 1781 battle of Yorktown thanks to a French army under the Count de Rochambeau, a Franco-American army under the Marquis de Lafayette, a French fleet under Admiral François de Grasse, and a campaign plan drafted by the Spanish commander in Cuba, Francisco Saavedra de Sangronis.

Of course, the French crown did not wage war for a revolutionary republic out of ideological affinity (indeed, its gambit later proved suicidal by contributing to the royal bankruptcy that sparked the French Revolution). Rather, the French waged war to avenge their prior defeat, disrupt the British Empire, and perhaps regain some colonies. Moreover, the French showed signs of wanting to make the United States a client and restrict its territorial growth. That is why, when the British offered negotiations after Yorktown, Franklin double-crossed Vergennes. His fellow commissioners, John Jay and John Adams, were alternately shocked or confused by Franklin's maneuvers as he played Britain and France off against each other. But they were happy to share the credit for the generous terms of independence Franklin obtained in the Peace of Paris of 1783 (the real, international birthday of the United States). Adams even boasted in retrospect, "We were better diplomats than we imagined." Congress paid Franklin the highest compliment by ratifying the 1778 and 1783 treaties unanimously. No one inquired too closely into the tactics whereby they were achieved.

What most textbooks do not tell you is that arms alone do not win wars and that wars rarely pay for themselves. In 1781, the year of the apparently climactic victory at Yorktown, the American war chest was empty and Congress was \$25 million in debt. That was when Philadelphian Robert Morris once again placed his personal fortune at the disposal of the new nation. Congress in turn broke with its own precedent by creating, not a committee, but an executive office for Morris, Superintendent of Finance, a post he held until 1784. No one personified better that American gift for creative corruption, that is, for public-spirited hustling. Morris was accused of seeking dictatorial powers, lining his own pockets while posing as patriot, misleading investors, or at least indulging the reckless greed that later consigned him to debtor's prison (in 1798 when he was 64). But more than anyone else Morris deserved the sobriquet "financier of the Revolution."

Born in Liverpool where he lived to age 13, Morris was yet another transplant. His father became a tobacco factor in Maryland and apprenticed his promising lad to Thomas Willing's merchant house in Philadelphia. By 1754, when Morris was 20, he became a partner and made fortunes in every enterprise available to American shippers, including privateers, slavery, opium, and legitimate commerce with the West Indies, Mediterranean, and India. In 1776, as we know, Morris doubted the wisdom of declaring independence, but once it was done he threw himself into the cause. "I am not one of those politicians that run testy when my own plans are not adopted," he said. "I think it is the duty of a good citizen to follow when he cannot lead."

In 1776 and '77 Morris exhorted Philadelphia businessmen to purchase supplies for Washington's troops, and issued "Morris notes" backed by his own money. In the new state assembly he worked to establish checks and balances and overturn religious tests for office that the zealous Presbyterians had imposed in order to exclude Quakers, Mennonites, and Jews. He also assisted James Wilson's defense of patriotic financier Haym Solomon against charges of profiteering.

In 1781 Congress granted the Superintendent of Finance specific permission to continue his private investments while in office, which made later accusations of conflict of interest ring hollow. Indeed, one of Morris's first official acts was to help underwrite the Yorktown campaign. But that victory turned a war of *bullets* into a war of *bottom lines* because the British still hoped the United States might perish from bankruptcy. Thanks to the Bank of North America, founded by Morris in December 1781, Congress and the Continental Army staggered to the finish line.

To be sure, the upshot was the 1783 Newburgh Conspiracy in which some Continental Army officers led by General Alexander McDougall (no relation) threatened to march the army on Congress if not granted pay and pensions. But if not for Morris that mutiny might have happened earlier while the issue was still in doubt. General Washington, whose eloquence and authority ended the Newburgh Conspiracy, did not forget. He remained a close friend of Morris and indeed was his house guest from May to September 1787.

THE PHILADELPHIA FACTOR: CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Those were the months when the Constitutional Convention designed a United States government, working what Catherine Drinker Brown famously called a "Miracle at Philadelphia." But this time the venue was not a sure thing. In June 1783, two months after Newburgh, a contingent of Pennsylvania soldiers did march on Congress and the city council dared not call up the militia lest its soldiers join the insurgents. So it was that Congress damned the "unhealthful & dangerous atmosphere" created by the city's mob rule and corrupt business, and repaired to Princeton, then New York. Philadelphians, having hosted it for nine

years, bade good riddance to Congress which, Benjamin Rush recorded, was “abused, laughed at, pitied & cursed in every Company.”

After the war Congress under the Articles of Confederation just withered away and often failed to attract a quorum. New York socialite Eliza House Trist even quipped in 1786 that “Every now and then we hear of an Honorable Gentleman getting a wife, or else we should not know there existed such a Body as Congress.” The new nation desperately needed an executive branch to oversee commerce, defense, and foreign affairs. That is why the ad hoc Annapolis Convention of 1786, which met to coordinate trade and navigation on the Potomac, recommended that all thirteen states send delegates to a convention “on the second of May next” to revise the Articles of Confederation. Did it matter their choice was Philadelphia? I put that question to my colleague Richard Beeman, author of a book on the Constitutional Convention, and he replied: “I believe that with the rule of secrecy being so faithfully observed by the delegates, they could have been meeting in a barn in western Georgia and the outcome might well have been the same. On the other hand, if the convention were held in western Georgia it probably would have attracted only a handful of delegates.”

Exactly so. But one can’t help thinking it mattered a great deal that the convention was held in Philadelphia, where independence had been declared and the new nation forged. The only obvious alternative was New York, and the organizers saw the wisdom in *not* meeting under the jealous eyes of Congress! What is more, all those features that favored the city in 1776 applied even more in 1787. Philadelphia’s population was 60 percent larger than New York’s and just as cosmopolitan. Its docks were loaded with goods from all over the world since Morris had begun America’s China trade in 1784. And its reputation for enlightenment was enhanced by a new institution, the Repository for Natural Curiosities or Peale’s Museum. Charles Wilson Peale was another native of Maryland who at age 25 was attracted to Philadelphia by its revolutionary politics. Instead, he won national fame as an artist (including no less than five portraits of Washington), scientist, inventor, and entrepreneur. All the delegates visited his museum of natural history, which a gushing Frenchman described as “the Temple of God! Here is nothing but Truth and Reason!”

Historians debate how much credit atmospherics deserve for inspiring the “plain, honest men” of the Constitutional Convention. They roomed, drank, and dined together at the City Tavern, Indian Queen, and London Coffee House. They exchanged ideas and opinions, fears and doubts at the Wednesday and Saturday markets on Front Street. They suffered together the stench of the butchers and tanners, open sewage, pestiferous flies, and oppressive heat. They also marveled together in gardens graced with hummingbirds by day and fireflies by night. Perhaps all that helps to explain how 39 (at least) of the 55 delegates crafted a document that secured their nation a future. What isn’t a matter of historical debate is the extraordinary

quality of the Pennsylvania delegation itself.⁶

James Wilson, my own favorite Founder, remains inexplicably obscure to this day. The brilliant Scotsman emigrated to Philadelphia at age 24 and quickly built a successful law practice. He represented Pennsylvania in both Continental Congresses and cast the decisive vote for independence. But Wilson also ran afoul of a drunken mob in 1778 when he bravely defended 23 wealthy residents suspected of collaborating with the British occupation. The firebrands laid siege to Wilson's house until the First City Troop rode to the rescue. In the 1790s he would become the University of Pennsylvania's first professor of law and one of the first Supreme Court justices appointed by President Washington. But Wilson's most lasting contributions were at the Constitutional Convention. He consistently argued for "a republic or democracy, where the people at large retain the supreme power, and act either collectively or by representation." He proposed the three-fifths compromise on Congressional representation between the northern and southern states. He advocated popular election of members of the House *and* the Senate. He argued strenuously on behalf of a single executive, then did more than anyone else to craft the clauses defining the office of president.

Pennsylvania delegate Robert Morris nominated Washington to chair the Convention, then worked behind the scenes to ensure that the clauses on taxation and commerce were flexible and confined to "essential principles only." He also recommended that Pennsylvanians choose Gouverneur Morris, the elegant wordsmith responsible for the style and brevity of the Constitution. Delegate Benjamin Franklin, now 81, performed his final service as a member of the ad hoc committee appointed to break the deadlock between large and small states. Franklin's endorsement of the so-called Connecticut Plan for equal representation in the Senate and proportional representation in the House of Representatives proved decisive. That was because a crucial swing vote in favor was cast by North Carolina, which had previously voted with the large states. Why did the Tarheels change their mind? Because their most eloquent delegate was a *Franklin protégé*, Dr. Hugh Williamson, a native of Chester, Pennsylvania, and College of Philadelphia graduate who had served North Carolina as a military doctor during the war, and was revered as a Patriot and a Federalist.

Finally, no one understood better than James Wilson how vital it was to get the Constitution ratified in a timely manner and without amendment. Prior to adjournment he proposed the rules whereby states would vote in special conventions and only nine ratifications were required. Wilson left nothing to chance. On September 18, 1787, just one day after the signing of the Constitution, Federalists in the Pennsylvania assembly moved to stage a convention in just two months. But they were short of a quorum, so sergeants-at-arms were ordered to visit the rooms of two absent assemblymen (who happened to be anti-Federalists) and drag them to

⁶ The Pennsylvania delegates were George Clymer, a Philadelphia native; Thomas Fitzsimmons, born in Ireland; Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston; Jared Ingersoll, born in New Haven; Thomas Mifflin, a Philadelphia native; Gouverneur Morris, born in New York; Robert Morris, born in England; and James Wilson, born in Scotland.

the State House, whereupon the guffawing majority passed the bill. Wilson directed an exhaustive campaign of public relations and newspapers, and was rewarded when ratification was approved 46 to 23. Delaware did so six days earlier, hence its claim to be “the first state,” but Pennsylvania created the big-state momentum that carried Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia. The United States of America, yet again, were a product of Philadelphia.

PROVIDENTIAL AFTER ALL?

Remember Charles Thomson, Secretary to the Continental Congress, spy master, and *eminence grise* of the American Revolution? Legend has it that he corresponded with President Washington in the 1790s about writing their memoirs since no one knew better than they what *really* had happened. Washington dismissed the idea. He did not wish to lie to the American people or disillusion them with the truth, and suggested they humbly give the credit to Providence. Evidently Thomson agreed. He burned all his private papers and retired to Harriton House where he devoted the rest of his life to Biblical studies.

Does Philadelphia own the Fourth of July? It certainly did on July 4, 1788, when the city staged its first bash to celebrate ratification of the Constitution by the ninth state, New Hampshire. The festivities began at sunrise when church bells rang out and the Liberty Bell pealed in reply. Gunships on the river fired salutes as five thousand people representing the arts, sciences, trades, and resplendent First City Troop marched in a parade that stretched one and half miles by the time it reached the country estate of Bush Hill (now located about 17th Street and Spring Garden). The *pièce de résistance* was the Grand Federal Edifice, a Corinthian-columned allegory of the U.S. Constitution designed by Charles Willson Peale. James Wilson gave a grand victory speech after which the crowd repaired to a gigantic circle of tables loaded with refreshments. Francis Hopkinson, the man who designed the American flag, was Master of Ceremonies. He proudly decreed that no *imported* wines or spirits be served at the celebration, only good American porter, beer and hard cider.

Hopkinson was another Philadelphia polymath renowned as a statesman, lawyer, businessman, artist, composer, inventor ... and poet of this ode written for the occasion:

“Oh! For a muse of fire to mount the skies,
And to a listening world proclaim:
Behold! Behold an empire rise!
An era new, Time, as he flies,
Hath entered in the book of Fame.
On Alleghany’s towering head
Echo shall stand – the tidings spread –
And oe’r the lakes and misty floods around

An era new resound, resound.

.....

My sons for freedom fought, nor fought in vain,
But found a naked goddess was their gain;
Good government alone can show the maid
In robes of social happiness arrayed.
Hail to the Festival! All hail the day!
Columbia's standard on her roof display!
And let the people's motto ever be,
United thus, and, thus united, free!"

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Appendix A

The Creation of Liberal Democracy: Did It Happen in Philadelphia by Accident?

**September 28-29, 2013
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

**Sponsored by
FPRI's Marvin Wachman Center for Civic and International Literacy
and FPRI's Center for the Study of America and the West**

Cosponsored by Carthage College

This weekend is also part of GlobalPhilly™ 2013, a month-long project featuring a wide variety of events sponsored by members of the Global Philadelphia Association.

Loew's Hotel

1200 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA

Once upon a time, Philadelphia made a historic contribution to the world and to the development of freedom. The question “Did it happen in Philadelphia by accident?” gives us an opportunity to explore what precisely happened here in the pre-revolutionary and revolution periods; to ascertain the cultural, political and economic prerequisites to the development of liberal societies; and to weigh the lessons for the historic transitions of our time and for the US “export” of democracy. To assist participating high school teachers in grappling with these issues, we have assembled scholars who have made unique contributions in this field.

Saturday, September 28

8:15 Registration and Continental Breakfast

8:50 am Welcoming Remarks

Ronald J. Granieri, Executive Director, FPRI's Center for the Study of America and the West

9:00 am William Penn and Benjamin Franklin: Visions of a Free Society and Foreign Policy

Walter McDougall, Chair, FPRI Center for the Study of America and the West, and Alloy Ansin Professor of International Relations, University of Pennsylvania

10:15 am break

10:30 am Quaker Philadelphia and The Development of Pluralism

Alan Tully, Chair of the History Department and Eugene C. Barker Centennial Professorship in American History at University of Texas

12:00 pm lunch

12:45 pm Philadelphia as an Intellectual Center

Bruce Kuklick, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania

2:00 pm break

2:15 pm Philadelphia as the Financial/Business Center of the 13 Colonies

Thomas Doerflinger, 1987 Bancroft prize winner in History for *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*

3:30 pm Visit to the National Constitution Center

5:30 Wine and Cheese Reception

6:00 Dinner

7:00 p.m. Why the Pursuit of Happiness?

Alan Charles Kors, Henry Charles Lea Professor of European History at the University of Pennsylvania/FPRI

Sunday, September 29

8:00 a.m. Continental Breakfast

8:30 How Philadelphia became a Manufacturing Center

[Walter Licht](#), Walter H. Annenberg Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania

9:30 break

9:45 The Declaration of Independence: A Global History

[David Armitage](#), Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History and Chair of the Department of History at Harvard University

11:00 break

11:15 Transitions to Democracy: A Guide for the 21st Century

[Ambassador Adrian Basora](#), Director, FPRI Project on Democratic Transitions

12:30 Adjournment



THE NATION'S TOP THINK TANK

(under 5 million dollars)

(according to the Global Go-To Think Tank Index, University of Pennsylvania)

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Founded in 1955 by Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé, FPRI is a 501(c)(3) non-partisan, non-profit organization devoted to bringing the insights of scholarship to bear on the development of policies that advance U.S. national interests. In the tradition of Strausz-Hupé, FPRI embraces history and geography to illuminate foreign policy challenges facing the United States.

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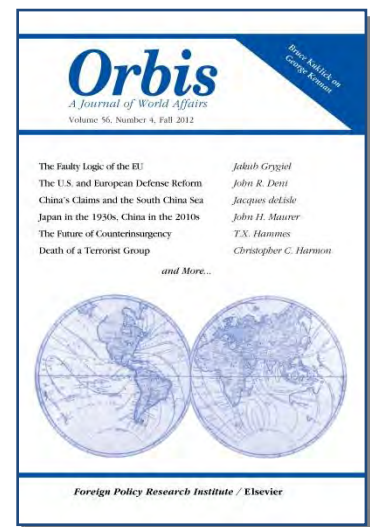
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We **train interns** from colleges and high schools in the skills of policy analysis and historical scholarship.



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Asia Program, directed by Jacques deLisle

Program on the Middle East, directed by Tally Helfont

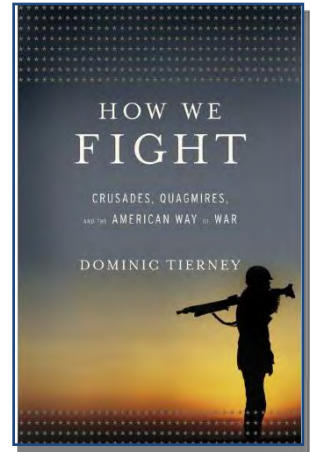
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Since 1996, the centerpiece of FPRI's educational programming has been our series of weekend-long conferences for teachers, chaired by David Eisenhower and Walter A. McDougall. These weekends, usually three per year, focus on a wide range of topics in U.S. and world history. Teachers from 724 schools across 46 states have participated to date, and FPRI's website offers an extensive archive of texts and video files drawn from the History Institutes. Renamed in 2012, the Madeleine and W. W. Keen Butcher History Institute, the main features are:

- Selecting 40-45 teachers from around the country to participate in each weekend, drawing on private, public, and parochial schools, and including new, as well as more experienced, teachers. In particular, we seek teachers who can be "force multipliers," demonstrated by a record of mentoring or leading other teachers (making presentations at professional conferences, leading the local or regional history or social studies council, or developing curriculum). That said, we also seek to provide enrichment to new and less experienced teachers.
- Featuring as speakers eight top scholars, practitioners, or journalists who are known not only for their scholarship and depth but for their ability to communicate to non-specialists.
- Offering the teachers free room and board, partial travel reimbursement, and, in exchange for a reproducible lesson plan, a stipend.
- Circulating, for the widest possible dissemination of the lectures, to educators across the country (as well as to FPRI's other key lists of policymakers, scholars, military personnel, and media), a 1,500- to 3,000-word write-up of each lecture by e-mail. We also videotape the lectures for posting on our website, with free access for all. The website draws 2 million hits monthly; the e-mail bulletins are circulated to 45,000 key people in 85 countries weekly, and are invariably reposted on other websites and listservs, and forwarded by third parties.
- Notably, bulletins drawn from our History Institute have been reprinted in *American Educator*, the magazine of the American Federation of Teachers (circulation: 800,000), on the Educational Resource Information Clearinghouse (a project of the U.S. Department of Education), the listserve of H-High, which reaches high school social studies teachers around the country, and the History News Network.
- All participating teachers receive a certificate of instruction that may be used for their professional development record; plus, for a nominal fee, Carthage College grants one graduate credit for participation in each weekend.
- We maintain ongoing contact with the participating teachers through our e-mail list and, where possible, develop individual relationships with them over time.

Supplementary activities include:

- Webcasts designed for use directly in the classroom; a webcast typically features a 45-minute interview with one of our scholars, with an opportunity for students to pose questions via the Internet in real time; the webcasts are also archived on our website.
- A series of mini-history institutes, where we supply two speakers to professional meetings around the country.

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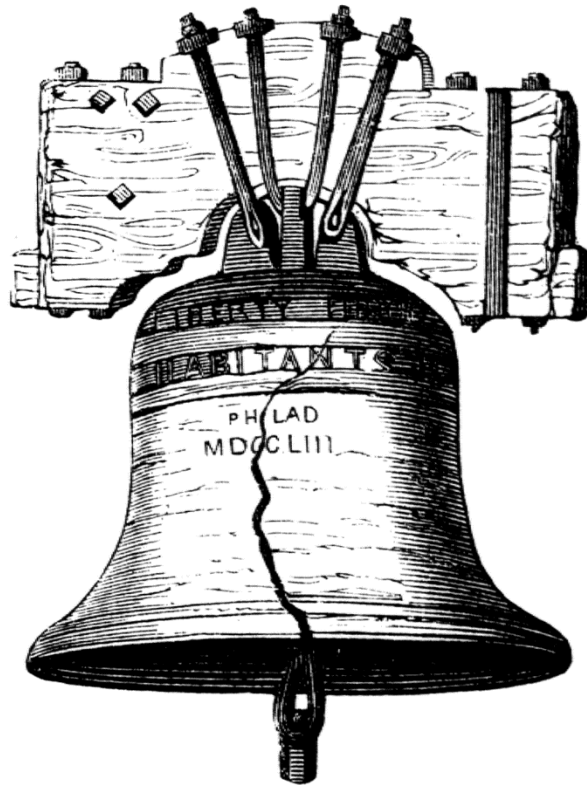
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