

# A Catholic Whig in the Age of Reason: Science, Sociability, and the Everyday Life of William H. Keating<sup>1</sup>

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Scientist William H. Keating probably reflected on his good fortune in the twilight of 1833. He wrapped up his first year as a Pennsylvania Assembly Representative for Philadelphia City, his courtship of Elizabeth Bollman intensified, and his involvement in the Little Schuylkill Navigation, Railroad and Coal Company wrought increasing dividends. The pipe of Madeira he had imported two years ago had aged well; A. F. Le Chevalier had just bottled it for him in September, producing 488 bottles at only 64¢ each. Warmed by fire and wine, Keating puzzled out Christmas gifts for loved ones, including a \$30 writing desk for Miss Bollman; the total of \$118.50—more than he spent any other year of the 1830s—testified to his good humor. A voracious reader, Keating started the New Year reading the recently released religious poetry and prose by the former Chaplain of the Senate, Father Charles Constantine Pise. Although health struggles led to consultations with four doctors in late March 1834, Keating nursed himself with one of his favorite foods: a prodigious number of oysters.<sup>2</sup>

By mid-April, he was back to his usual haunts: attending an expensive “Italian opera \$6.00” on the 18th, a “Club dinner at Head with city delegation \$12.00” followed by an opera performance at the “Bordagnis \$1.00” on the 26th, an oration on foreign literature by American Philosophical Society leading light Peter S. Du Ponceau

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1 Jeffery R. Appelhans is revising his dissertation into a book manuscript, tentatively titled “The Creation of American Catholicism: From the Revolution to the Early Republic.” The project illuminates the role of Catholics in the public sphere and civil society from 1773 to 1844. The American Philosophical Society graciously supported the bulk of this research with an Isaac Comly Martindale Fund Fellowship; an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellowship at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania supported research which helped flesh out Keating’s story.

2 “The Wilkes University Election Statistics Project, Dr. Harold E. Cox, Director,” <http://staffweb.wilkes.edu/harold.cox/index.html>. The first reference to Elizabeth Bollman (often, EB) is in William H. Keating’s accounting for the gift of her desk, Jan. 1, 1834; railroad, penultimate pages of the 1833 cashbook; wine, Sept. 5, 1833; “Dr. Pine’s [*sic*, Pise] poem on Religion &c,” Jan. 3, 1834, in the cashbooks held in the “William H. Keating Notebooks, (1801–1839),” American Philosophical Society, Mss.B.K22 (hereafter cited KCB).

(\$1.00) two days later, and an “Oratorio (requiem) \$1.00” the next. On September 25, 1834, the blessings of the last year drew to a crescendo: William’s marriage to Elizabeth in Christ Church by Episcopal Bishop William White. The newlyweds set to homemaking, buying nearly \$500 worth of china, carpets, furniture, and another \$185.50 in silver from accomplished smith Thomas Fletcher. Having resigned his position on the Assembly to avoid a conflict of interest—Keating was now a founder of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad—he successfully campaigned for a seat on Philadelphia’s Select Council. As he closed the book on a year even more stupendous than the last, Keating gave his bride two expensive Christmas gifts: an exotic Bird of Paradise (\$26.00) and “The Assumption of the Virgin Mary in porcelain . . . \$7.00.”<sup>3</sup>

The forgotten life of William Hypolitus Keating intimates in microcosm some of the ambiguity of Catholicity in early America. Keating’s 1830s cashbooks—the only extant record he left of his personal life—illuminate the interplay of class, status, and religious allegiance in navigating the early republic. Although raised in a devout Roman Catholic household, William H. Keating in the 1830s was—like a small percentage of early American Catholics—native born and well educated, a Whig in political and cultural persuasion. Most important, he moved about Philadelphia’s political, social, cultural, commercial, and religious worlds fluidly. As little more than the records of income and expenditures, the nature of the cashbooks demands contextual reconstruction and historical imagination to bring to life the man who bent over them. Tracing his interactions with the everyday structures of Philadelphia and evoking the pulse of the city illuminates an alternative history to that of Catholic marginalization: Keating’s life blossomed during the 1830s, revealing how he rode the currents of reason and romanticism to intellectual, social, and cultural prominence. His life was a product of the environment of the 1820s and 1830s—the era before the arrival of the Famine Irish in the 1840s—and opens a window into the ways in which participating in the public sphere and

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3 Illness and oysters, Mar. 22–Apr. 14, 1834; entertainments, Apr. 18–29, 1834; marriage, Sept. 25, 1834; and housewares, Oct. 11, 1834, also additional furniture of \$167.88 on Dec. 19, 1834, KCB. Keating and Fletcher were familiar, having worked together in establishing the Franklin Institute; on founding, see p. 55 below and Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens*, 112, 121–23. The “Club dinner” demonstrates a noteworthy problem with Keating’s book-keeping: according to the newspaper report in the April 26, 1834 issue of the *National Gazette* (Philadelphia), the dinner was the 25th, but Keating recorded it on the 26th. Keating often reconciled Sunday charity Monday, but not always; I maintain Keating’s entries as they appear in the cashbooks. “Election Returns,” *National Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1834.

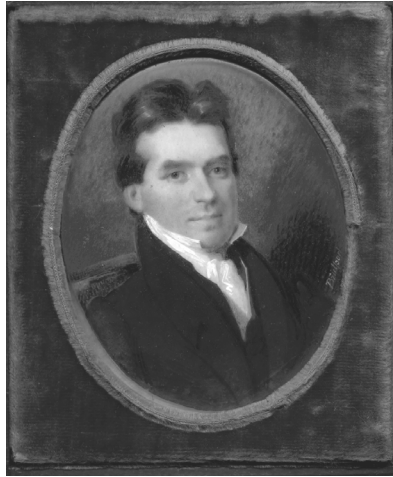


FIGURE 1. "Keating Miniature," Hugh Bridport (c. 1820–1835), Historical and Interpretive Collections of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, PA.

civil society opened paths to distinction, paths not foreclosed to Catholics by dint of their religious allegiance (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup>

Like many Irish Catholic families that landed in America, the Keatings experienced feelings of exile and opportunity as they endured an international odyssey spanning Anglo-Irish, French, and Caribbean worlds. As old-stock Irish Catholics whose wealth and connections were their taproots of power, the Keatings lived under the constant specter of the penal laws after the failed Irish rebellion of 1641. British policy and plotting enemies embittered them; since most Irish Catholics had to acquire their educations in Catholic academies on the continent, the Keatings followed many of their friends and neighbors to France. By the 1760s, Louis XV granted the family patent letters of nobility. They established a new estate and, within a generation, Keatings served Louis XV during the American Revolution. John Keating, William's father, saw action against the English in the Caribbean, served the peacetime empire in far-flung Mauritius, and ultimately landed in Saint Domingue in November 1791 to quell the nascent uprising. By September 1792, John took temporary command of the 92nd

4 Although Keating enjoyed some celebrity among Pennsylvanians, particularly Philadelphians, scanty academic research on his life explores his role in the history of science, mining, or territorial exploration. A five-page biography is the longest: Miles, "Versatile Explorer." My approach to Keating's interactions with and deployments of class, status, and religion flows from deep, old wells: Weber, *Economy and Society*; Bourdieu, *Distinction*; and Bourdieu, *Theory of Practice*. On everyday life, de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*; Orsi, "Everyday Miracles"; Wickberg, "History of Sensibilities"; Steege et al., "History of Everyday Life"; and Kaplan, *Men of Letters*.

Regiment. “The plantations had all been burned, the whites and the troops were confined to the town; there was no union, no confidence,” he wrote. “The whole population divided into parties and factions, all complaining and condemning one another.” As insubordination undermined the remaining officers, the Civil Commissioner permitted their departure.

John arrived in Philadelphia on Christmas Eve 1792, with a letter of introduction from Rochambeau to Washington, another from the Civil Commissioner to the French Consul, and what he estimated was \$280. By capitalizing on his just-right blend of old-world stature and new-world republicanism, John Keating joined a consortium of American and French American investors in a Pennsylvania land business—many of the latter preserving their necks and wealth from the excesses of the French Revolution. Thanks to his trusted management, savvy buying, and a dollop of luck, John developed a substantive stream of income to support his growing family.<sup>5</sup>

William H. Keating’s upbringing and early adulthood framed the decade depicted in the cashbooks. Born in Wilmington, Delaware in August 1799, Keating grew up with his brother John Julius (one year older), sister Eulalia (two years younger), and cousin Jerome (seven years older), who later married Eulalia. While John Julius died in 1824, it is clear Keating’s relationship with Eulalia was close; more so after the death of Jerome, in 1831. Eulalia joined the Visitation Order in 1844, becoming a longtime Superior at Frederick and Georgetown.<sup>6</sup>

William studied geology and mineralogy at the University of Pennsylvania and, after his graduation in 1816, continued postgraduate study of the same subjects in Europe. In 1821, articles for the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* established his scientific bona fides. That year Mathew Carey, a printer, aspiring political economist, and fellow Catholic, issued Keating’s 87-page *Considerations Upon the Art of Mining*, a plea of political economy to elevate scientific mining as a mode of national improvement and international competitiveness. Having read his *Considerations* before the American Philosophical Society in July 1821, the Society elected Keating to membership in 1822. He served as a Secretary from 1823 to 1827 and in 1832, missing nary a meeting while in Philadelphia. In 1823, Keating accompanied Stephen H. Long’s expedition into what became the

5 Keating, “Keating and His Forbears,” 308. Typical of Catholic-faith “life and times” historiography, John Keating’s great-grandnephew authored the only history of the family. Keating, *Keating and His Forbears*. The reproduction includes a helpful set of genealogical tables. The diary from which J. Percy Keating draws appears lost.

6 Keating, “Keating and His Forbears,” 316–17, 324–25. After her children grew to maturity, Eulalia joined the Visitine Order in 1844 (333–34); her “Taking the Habit” appears in *Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia), Apr. 18, 1844; obituary, *Sadliers’ Catholic Directory*, 33.

Minnesota territory as the mineralogist and geologist. Keating shared the role of “joint literary journalist” with Thomas Say, a self-taught naturalist and the expedition’s zoologist. With notes principally prepared by Peter S. Du Ponceau—lawyer, linguist, and longtime APS officer and President—Keating and Say produced strikingly sensitive early ethnological observations of Native American tribes in the region, and reviewers took notice. Keating chaired the Department of Mineralogy and Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and co-founded the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts where he also held a professorship in chemistry. More than once during the 1820s, Keating traveled to Mexico to consult on mining projects there. These diverse experiences rippled into Keating’s life in the 1830s.<sup>7</sup>

In many ways, then, Keating was representative of the educated class who inherited the gains of the Revolution from their successfully reestablished Catholic émigré parents. Native born, he remained part of an Atlantic-wide family with deep ties to Ireland and France. He was in the vanguard of early Americans whose educations bridged the transition between Enlightenment holism and applied philosophy. Like many early moderns, Keating believed that the application of scientific knowledge and directed capital were engines of progress. Acculturation and academic training taught Keating that the future lay in developing natural resources through applied reason, transmuting them into civilization. Finally, his Catholic upbringing resonated throughout William’s participation in Catholic, and more broadly Christian and benevolent, life in Philadelphia. Within this broad outline, the cashbooks pierce the veil of Keating’s social and cultural world, rendering it and him in vibrant detail.<sup>8</sup>

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7 Keating, *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2:194–204, 249–51, 277–88, 289–96 (1821–1822), 3:68–73 (1823), 4:220–31 (1824–1825). My thanks to Miles (“Versatile Explorer,” 298n13) for pointing out later articles. Keating resigned his secretaryship while undertaking mining consultations in Mexico in 1827, remained active on return, and was again elected in 1832. Keating, *Art of Mining*; “Early Proceedings,” 572, 622. On the expedition, see Keating et al., *Narrative of Expedition*; and Sparks, “Review of ‘Narrative of Expedition.’” My thanks to Miles (“Versatile Explorer,” 297) for pointing to Sparks, and offering additional review notes. Miles, “William H. Keating,” esp. 1–7. Keating’s teaching laboratory was the second such in the United States, the first being founded by the Irish Catholic physician William James MacNeven at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York in 1810. Historians of science may appreciate Miles’s reproduction of Keating’s lab inventories (7–33). Wittkopf, “James Curtis Booth,” 162–64. There is evidence Keating left academic science in pursuit of more profitable commercial ventures. On the Franklin Institute, see Frazer, “Franklin Institute,” 249–51; Miles, “Versatile Explorer,” 299; Sinclair, *Philadelphia’s Philosopher Mechanics*, 5, 29–49; Franklin Institute, *Commemorative Exercises*; and Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens*, 112–48.

8 Appelhans, “Catholic Persuasion.” Middling and elite Catholics accrued surprising power by mastering the arts of political and cultural persuasion. On the concept of inheriting

Imagining future generations judging our spending habits might roil our stomachs, but the social context of 1830s Philadelphia is helpful for understanding who Keating was and the choices he made. Although the cashbooks only record the cash portion of Keating's accounts—his bank and investment holdings register as they pass through cash—they clarify Keating's membership in the tier of the wealthy professionals just below Philadelphia's true elites. The clearest markers of this class appear in Keating's estimate of costs for the year following his marriage. He and his wife moved into a house with an annual rent of \$500 and estimated upcoming "Cash paid for house expenses, including marketing, wages of cook, Chambermaid, washerwoman, Groceries, Confectioner's Bakers milkwoman's [at] \$915.00." Cook Sophia Mills received \$1.50 per week, and the chambermaid, "Catharine," received \$1.25. Exclusive of those expenses, waiter Isaac Smith received \$10 per month, and Keating estimated the family's fuel costs at nearly \$165. Appropriate to her station, Elizabeth Bollman Keating employed servants to free her for pursuits other than washing and cooking. The Keatings paid their servants above the going rate for the early 1830s; room and board were likely included, as was common, about a \$5.50 benefit of the domestics' bargain. To whatever degree egalitarianism perfumed the air, so too did the class stratification that put upward of 40 percent of the city's wealth in the hands of the top 1 percent.<sup>9</sup>

It is more difficult to place Keating into wider demographic contexts. Population statistics for ethnically Irish Philadelphians and Catholics—Irish or otherwise—are notoriously imprecise. Irish immigrants comprised about 40 percent of newcomers in the 1820s, 32 percent in the 1830s, and 46 percent in the 1840s. Immigration records counted Catholic and Protestant Irish together, and even if their port of entry was Philadelphia, about 15 percent passed into the backcountry. One Catholic almanac put the population of the diocese of Philadelphia—encompassing all of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and western New Jersey—at 100,000 in 1833, but only 80,000 in 1841, despite the

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the revolution, see Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution*. Reinhart Koselleck's theorization of the era's revolutionary ruptures and how early moderns looked backward to recognize their present and future—how "experience and expectation are . . . the conditions of possible histories" (271) which give way to a dynamic "horizon of expectation" (275) in the future—shape my reading of Keating's past- and future-oriented mindset. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 232–87.

9 In considering Keating's class—access to financial capital, transformation of the cultural capital of education into cash capital-generating ventures, and place among elites—I benefit from Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Rockman, "Class and History"; and Schocket, "Thinking About Elites." For expenditures, see notes preceding Jan. 1, 1834, KCB. For domestics and egalitarianism, see Adams, "Wage Rates," 423; Adams, "Standard of Living," 911–12; Pessen, "Egalitarian Myth"; and Blumin, "Mobility and Change."

publisher's estimate that 100,000 new arrivals per year had pushed the total Catholic population in the United States to 1.3 million. Yet despite the transience of the immigrants, the population of Catholics in Philadelphia proper grew significantly over the 1830s. Four Catholic churches served the city for the 30 years after the construction of St. Augustine's in Northern Liberties in 1801 to serve the Irish and German population there; St. John the Evangelist became the fifth in 1832, and the 10th opened in 1840. The 1830s were an era of rapid expansion.<sup>10</sup>

Even if most of these immigrants did not share Keating's class and status, he was not alone. The cosmopolitanism of early Philadelphia drew much of its substance and flavor from continental and Irish influences. An earlier generation of Irish American intellectuals, such as Mathew Carey, William James MacNeven, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William Sampson, revealed how expressions of republicanism, intellectualism, and public concern laid a path to American belonging. Americans of Keating's generation built upon these successes, using familial wealth and educational achievement to heighten their influence. They were cosmopolites of a new sort, folks who pursued scientific and economic development with an eye toward the uplift of all Americans, but who had the wherewithal and tastes for the finer things in life. Where fellow Philadelphia Catholic Robert Walsh, Jr., sought to elevate American literary tastes, and Mathew Carey ventured into the field of political economics in defense of underpaid domestics and American manufactures, Keating aspired to maximize American potential through science. It was a holistic concern with progress, one that betrayed a sense of a practical kind of middling noblesse oblige: a Whiggish concern with uplift, refinement, and order. While related to earlier colonial-era or early-national displays of gentility, it reflected broader trends toward middle-class improvement—through science and manufacturing. And while many Catholic immigrants found Jacksonian politics attractive, men like Walsh, Carey, and Keating reflected Catholic concerns with order, both social and political.<sup>11</sup>

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10 Doyle, "Irish in North America," 171. The earliest reliable statistics appear in 1842. On percentages and backcountry movement, see Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, 53, 64–65. Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children*, 324–25. In raw numbers, the increase appears more pronounced: 51,617 (1820s), 170,672 (1830s), and 656,145 (1840s). Klepp, "Demographic Characteristics," 219n3. As Klepp notes, one complication was that the Philadelphia Board of Health and successor organizations did not preserve records before 1860. Klepp, *Swift Progress*. Extant statements of death do not speak to religion. Grubb, "U.S. Immigration Statistics." Moreover, as Grubb notes, between passing through Canada, uneven standardization of recording, and a potential difference of perhaps 25 percent between sources, immigration demography is fraught. Contemporary estimates appear in *United States Catholic Almanac* (1833 ed.): 75; and *Metropolitan Catholic Calendar* (1841 ed.): 75, 70.

11 MacNeven and Emmet, *Pieces of Irish History*. The most substantive analysis of this early group is Bric's *Ireland*. See also Dickson and Keogh, *United Irishmen*, esp. Martin

Adducing some meaning to William Keating's spending choices—comparing ice cream (\$0.38–\$1.00) and oysters (one to three cents each), for example—is difficult. The combination of antebellum Americans' labor theory of value, the blurred lines between handcrafted and manufactured in an increasingly global product catalog, and the cheapening of labor during the 1830s, complicate this calculus. The gold pencil case (\$10.50) Keating gave his sister for Christmas 1830 was 10 weeks' salary for his cook. Yet, a toothbrush cost 25¢, and a haircut cost 50¢, which was a sixth to a third of a week's salary for Ms. Mills. Such comparisons have limits: some things were more expensive for obscure reasons, some due to supply or novelty, others due to superior craftsmanship or materials. But viewed together as a daily chronicle of Keating's spending, the cashbooks provide a view of his outward interactions within lively Philadelphia, while hinting at his interior self.<sup>12</sup>

The effervescent print culture of 1830s Philadelphia enriched and shaped Keating's life: discerning how he navigated the cornucopia of discourse in the city reveals some of the mentalities at play in his intellectual world. His patronage of multiple booksellers near his home, including Edward Carey and Abraham Hart, Barnabas Redman, and Judah Dobson, suggests that diversity of catalog trumped customer loyalty, which also helps to explain how the three shops operated within blocks of each other. Moreover, Keating's records reveal a bustling secondary market that impinged on the local reprint trade by selling books at all price points through well-advertised weekly auctions. The variety of offerings and the regularity of these auctions evidence the economic vicissitudes that beset middling and upper-class Philadelphians: prized, rare editions peppered auction advertisements in newspapers. While it is difficult to quantify exactly the ratio of Keating's new-to-used purchasing, some broad conclusions are possible. Hunting down particular titles, such as the opulent three-volume

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Burke, "Piecing Together a Shattered Past: The Historical Writings of the United Irish Exiles in America," 297–306. On Walsh, see p. 66 below and Lochemes, "Robert Walsh." Walsh, *American Quarterly Review*. Walsh was the founding editor of the *National Gazette*, running the paper from 1820 through 1836. Carey, *Mathew Carey Autobiography*, 92–134. The most succinct account of Carey's exertions in pamphlets and societies comes by his hand. On the Whigs' pursuit of national development, including entrepreneurial and modernizing impulses, see Howe, *Political Culture*, 15–16, 20–21, 96–122, 181–209. John L. Brooke details the shift from a politics of elite virtue to broader "ideals of order, improvement, refinement, [and] respectability," generated in civil society (7); see Brooke, *Columbia Rising*. On the shift in refinement more broadly, see Bushman, *Refinement of America*, xv–xix, 207–447; and Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities*, 65–86, 129–59. Cohen, *Luxurious Citizens*, 112–148. Joanna Cohen offers more specific discussion of this type of shift, including Keating and the other men who founded the Franklin Institute in promoting domestic manufactures.

12 Ice cream, July 2, 1832 and June 22, 1835, KCB; oysters, Oct. 1, 1832 and Mar. 26, 1837, KCB; Laurie, "Nothing on Compulsion," esp. 357–60; and Nov. 30, 1832, Feb. 4, 1832, and Dec. 25, 1830, KCB.



Boydell edition of *The Poetical Works of John Milton* Keating gave his sister for Christmas in 1830, exemplified the buying that kept such editions in production and padded booksellers' margins. Printed in the early 1790s and offered by bookseller Judah Dobson at \$55, it cost over 10 times more than any other title Keating purchased that year. But to fill out the odds and ends of his library, Keating hit auctions every six weeks, and sometimes multiple auctions per month.<sup>13</sup>

It is hard to imagine that such an insatiable book buyer may not have read his acquisitions, but Keating left no commonplace book, and no direct reflections on his readings appear in the cashbooks, so the possibility remains. But the case for his deep and wide reading, if circumstantial, is compelling. As a 16-year-old student at Penn in 1815, Keating served as a trustee of the University's oldest student club, the literary Philomathean Society, founded two years earlier. He stayed connected, delivering in 1825 the first of the "Notable Orations" recorded in the Society's centenary history. The earliest extant literary work owned by Keating, an 1822 copy of Byron's *Sardanapalus: A Tragedy*, a blank verse history set in ancient Assyria, illustrates the tastes he cultivated in his youth, while his signatures on the cover and title page illustrates a kind of pride of personal ownership. While the history left in the cashbooks does not reveal the destiny of every book bought, Keating's membership in multiple subscription libraries hints that these were books he hoped to read time and again. While in some cases, Keating's purchases were incidental, blocks of related buying insinuate an ebb and flow in and out of different fields of interest. Despite the limitations of the impressionistic nature of the purchases, they are nevertheless evocative.<sup>14</sup>

The everyday currents of Keating's life in Philadelphia and his reading habits were mutually constructive. The library reflected in the cashbooks was transatlantic verging on global, reflective of his twin

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13 It seems more probable than not that a man of Keating's education and stewardly spending bought books to read (not ornament his home); further, his tastes do not reflect those of a man mired in incomprehension. The gilt Milton appears Dec. 29, 1830; a plainer copy went to niece Amelia, Nov. 13, 1837, KCB.

14 Letter requesting use of rooms by the Philomathean Society, George Read, John N. Conyngham, and William H. Keating, Trustees, May 31, 1815, General Administration Collection Pre-1820, UPA 3 Pre-1820, box 9, item 785, University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center; and Philomathean Society, *History of Philomathean Society*, 77. Brother John Julius Keating was also a Philomathean member in the Class of 1816 (145). The earliest Keating-owned literature the author has located is Byron's *Sardanapalus*. On library memberships, see pp. 67–68 below. Hall, "Readers and Reading." This necessarily limited history of Keating's reading fuses together two types Hall identified as "intellectual history" and "as an aspect of popular culture." I have benefitted broadly from: Casper, *Constructing American Lives*; Nord, *Faith in Reading*; Shields, "Learned World," 2:247–65; Gross, "Reading for Extensive Republic," 2:516–44; and Machor, *Reading Fiction*, esp. 3–84.

goals of edification and entertainment. The entry for May 11, 1830 is representative: Keating purchased a work by Shakespeare, Samuel Ayscough's *Index to the Remarkable Passages and Words Made Use of by Shakespeare*, a volume of "Byron Complete," Lindley Murray's English grammar, and a copy of William Davis Robinson's *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution*. He bought bits of the British canon during the 1830s, including an eight-volume collection of Addison and Steele's *Spectator*, the poetry of Pope and Milton, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, indicative of his desire to keep a foot ashore the British intellectual tradition. Even the more utilitarian elements of this tradition made their way into Keating's life. Perhaps in preparation for his pursuit of political office, Keating purchased a copy of "Blair's Sermons," the work of Scottish divine and rhetorician Hugh Blair. Widely regarded as a model of commonsense religion, persuasive style, and moderation in argument, the book became something of a how-to manual in early American rhetoric.<sup>15</sup>

Keating's exploration of his Atlantic and American worlds combined the conventional and distinctive. The many books Keating purchased exemplify the era's ranging interests. Like many, Keating was drawn to works about foreign places, buying five books in as many days on Spain, Poland, Brazil, a *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England*, and "Stewart's Voy."—perhaps Charles Samuel Stewart's *A Visit to the South Seas*. Some books were explicitly political, like a biography of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and a copy of "Amer. Constitutions." As they were for many early Americans, magazines and newspapers were principal sources of political and literary thought. The fifth volume of fellow APS Member Robert Walsh Jr.'s *American Quarterly Review*, which Keating bought from Carey and Hart's bookstore in 1832, included essays as varied as "Egyptian Architecture," "Milton's Letters," "History of Pennsylvania," and even a review essay on two recent works of "Female Biography." Keating subscribed to Philadelphia's *National Gazette*, a major triweekly edited by Walsh, while his father took the *United States Gazette*. Keating paid for a few others' subscriptions, generally to the latter or to magazines printed in Philadelphia. That some of these were for distant friends, who reimbursed newspaper and magazine subscriptions through instruments of bank exchange, hints at Keating's role in a fragile but operational national print network.<sup>16</sup>

15 May 11, 1830, KCB; Addison and Steele, Nov. 28, 1831, KCB; Pope, Nov. 23, 1831 and Apr. 7, 1832, KCB; Gibbon, Sept. 27, 1831, KCB; and Blair, Dec. 23, 1831, KCB. On the widespread use of Blair, see also Grodzins and Jackson, "Colleges and Print Culture," 2:325, 328; and Kelley, "Female Academies," 2:332, 338, 344.

16 Keating often recorded abbreviated titles; I guess at the book if it appears in the

In this vein, for at least a few months in 1831, Keating also subscribed to the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate*, a mixed-language paper devoted to combating the removal movement, printed at the Cherokee Nation's capital of New Echota. Keating's introduction to the paper likely occurred during a six-month trip to "the southern states," the details of which are lost. The ability of print and post networks to carry a Cherokee paper from Georgia to Philadelphia facilitated Keating's continued interest in the plight of the Cherokee, whom the Supreme Court declared a dependent nation without standing under the Constitution in the spring of 1831. Perhaps reflective of his earlier interactions with Midwestern tribes, this familiarity with the Cherokee despite the leagues that separated them explains why Keating recorded his admission to the Pennsylvania Hospital with a "Cherokee delegation" a few months after his return from the South. Keating's milieu, men of leisure who could pore over Shakespearian phraseology or take in lectures on Indian languages at the American Philosophical Society, represented only a small sliver of society. But in other ways, the kind of cultural explorations that molded Keating represented the undertakings of a wider swath of Americans, made possible by the dramatic expansion of print culture in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>17</sup>

As it did for many of the early republic's literati, print culture offered Keating a way to understand and shape his self-identity by exploring British, Irish, and Catholic history from multiple perspectives. Enamored of John Lingard's *History of England*, Keating bought the first 12 of 14 volumes, as well as another set for Thomas—an unrelated young man for whom Keating purchased schoolbooks that November—in September 1831, and then purchased at least five more volumes in 1833, probably to complete editions for himself and his sister. Lingard, an English Catholic historian and ordained priest,

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holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Appelhaus, "Catholic Persuasion," chap. 7; extended treatment is Lochemes, "Robert Walsh." Walsh was elected in 1812 and as a literatus similarly exemplified the intellectual, cultural, and political power of Catholics in early America. "Early Proceedings," passim, on election, 432. With Librarian John Vaughan, Walsh played a crucial role in determining acquisitions. Between Sept. 21–26, 1831, Keating purchased: Walsh, *Narrative of Journey*; Mackenzie, *Year in Spain*; Stewart, *Visit to South Seas*; Walsh, *Notices of Brazil*, KCB; and Brown, "Travel Books," 2:449–58. Polish history was hot in 1831, spawning three histories of Poland by Anglophone authors. Keating's book buying intensified that autumn and winter: Sanderson, *Biography of Signers*, appears Nov. 28, 1831, KCB; "Amer. Constitutions" was probably Findley, *Observations on Two Sons*, and appears Sept. 26, 1831, KCB; *American Quarterly*, vol. 5 (1829), appears Jan. 27, 1832, KCB. For contrasting viewpoints on a national print network, see Warner, *Letters of Republic*; Loughran, *Republic in Print*; and also Pasley, "Tyranny of Printers."

<sup>17</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, Aug. 22, 1831, KCB; and visit with delegation, Jan. 14, 1832, KCB. See also O'Connell, "Literacy and Colonization," 2:495–515.

loathed the English perception of Catholic benightedness and exerted himself in print in support and vindication of English Catholic intellectualism. Lingard predated Ranke in emphasizing primary sources to produce his history, traveling extensively in search of documents he believed would reveal objective truths about the deleterious effects of the Reformation on England. The *History* earned Lingard a degree of renown and became one of the publisher and politician William Cobbett's principal sources in his support of Catholic emancipation. The idea that the lessons of history were "useful" knowledge, applicable to current conundrums, solidified its popularity in the era. If Keating's buying habits indicated some assent to Lingard's argument—it was the only history he bought for young Thomas or sister Eulalia—the timeliness of Keating's buying is telling. William Keating was puzzling out his own interpretation of Irish Catholic emancipation by looking to the lessons of the past.<sup>18</sup>

The protracted debate over the status of Irish Catholics in Britain was a point of historical and contemporary interest to Americans, as Keating's book buying lays bare. Whitehall's decision in 1778 to eliminate many of the penalties on Roman Catholics through the passage of the Papist Acts precipitated a repeal movement that boiled over into the severely destructive Gordon Riots of 1780. Although some 50 years of agitation resulted in Parliament passing the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, which among its reforms allowed Catholics to sit as MPs, many Irish viewed it a Faustian bargain, for it set a higher wealth qualification for freehold voters and thus undercut the political power of the majority population of Irish peasants.

Just a month after buying his own set of Lingard's *History*, Keating purchased a copy of "Clarendon's Histry. of the Rebn," likely the recent omnibus reprint of the English earl's century-old histories of the civil wars of England and Ireland. For many Irish American Catholics, Clarendon's history was an odious libel. Fellow Philadelphia Catholic Mathew Carey scorned Clarendon in his *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, an extended refutation of 60-odd works of English history that by Carey's reading savaged Ireland or Catholicism. There is some indication that Keating's extensive self-study stirred a sympathetic longing to better connect to his family's Irish roots; in 1832 Keating took out a six-month

18 Purchases of Lingard began Sept. 23, 1831, and next to Thomas's, Keating wrote "accetion"—perhaps a misspelling of accretion, the geological process by which material builds up to add to landmasses, à la volcanic flows, Nov. 21, 1831, KCB, while likely completion of the collections appears Sept. 12, 1833, KCB. Analysis of Lingard is Chinnici, *English Catholic Enlightenment*, on political liberty, 24–29; on ecclesiology, 85–98; and on reception, 126–33. See also Cobbett, *History of Protestant "Reformation."* As Daniel Walker Howe notes, Whigs inclined to historicism, oft citing Thucydides's notion (via Bolingbroke) that history was "philosophy teaching by example." Howe, *Political Culture*, 75.

subscription to “Irish Shield & Patrk.,” John Young and George Pepper’s Irish Catholic paper, formerly *The Irish Shield* but refashioned in 1832 as *The Patriot and Shield*—ever “devoted to the interests of the Emerald Isle,” despite the rebranding. The following month, Keating picked up Hume and Smollett’s widely read and hotly debated *History of England from Early Times* in 1832. “I remember well the enthusiasm with which I devoured it when young,” reflected Thomas Jefferson, “and the length of time, the research and reflection which were necessary to eradicate the poison it had instilled into my mind,” he continued, echoing the sentiments of many early Americans who disdained Hume’s approbation of British prerogative. The timing of Keating’s purchase hints at an interest in Hume’s acidic treatment of Irish history.<sup>19</sup>

In this penumbra of Keating’s mental world, it becomes possible to identify three potent streams of identity that shaped his ability to move about his milieu. One was the British American literary and political tradition exultant of refinement, beauty, and common sense. Another flowed from the bitter lessons of history, of Anglo-Irish Catholicism and the results of French Jacobinism. The third was a forward-looking belief in the promise of applied knowledge—historic, geographic, anthropologic, and scientific—to produce progress. Taken collectively, this was the kernel of Whig political culture with a Catholic twist. Although most Whigs derived their moral culture from mainline and Evangelical Protestantism, they, like many elite Catholics, placed at the core of their political culture the concept of moral order itself. Men like Keating believed they and their government had a moral obligation to bring about the uplift of others, whether through the enlightening power of the Franklin Institute, the commercial power of the railroad, or the salvific power of Christian works. It is thus possible to discern how Keating’s temperament and training, but also his everyday life throughout the 1830s, constructed and reinforced that self-identity (Figure 2).<sup>20</sup>

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19 On the Gordon Riots, see *House of Commons Papers*, 14:75–77, 80–82; Rudé, “Gordon Riots”; Porter, *English Society*, 101; Clarendon and Warburton, *History of Rebellion*, appears Dec. 31, 1831, KCB; and Carey, *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*. Keating subscribed to the *Irish Shield*, Aug. 17, 1832, KCB. See also *Providence Patriot and Columbian Phoenix* (Rhode Island), Jan. 18, 1832, KCB. On Hume, see Wilson, “Jefferson vs. Hume.” See also “Thomas Jefferson to William Duane, 12 August 1810,” Founders Online, National Archives, last modified Jan. 18, 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-03-02-0001-0002> [original source: Looney, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 3:4–7]; and Berman, “David Hume.”

20 As Koselleck observed, the acceleration of change wrought a new sense of time itself: “‘Progress’ is the first genuinely historical concept which reduced the temporal difference between experience and expectation to a single concept.” Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 282.

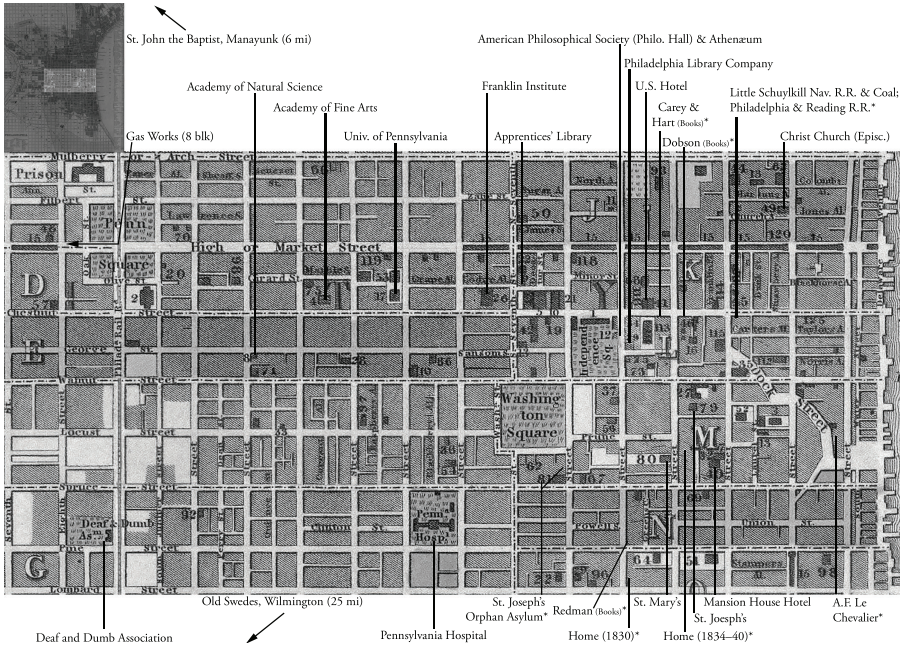


FIGURE 2. Before 1856, Philadelphia street numbers ran sequentially without street or block breaks; labels marked with an asterisk were placed by correlating known addresses and cross streets, but remain educated estimates. Adapted from “Philadelphia” in Tanner, *Tanner's Universal Atlas*. Courtesy of David Rumsey Map collection: [www.davidrumsey.com](http://www.davidrumsey.com). See also Desilver, *Desilver's Philadelphia Directory*; M'Elroy, *A. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory*; and KCB.

Philadelphia in the 1830s was a world of sociability for men of leisure, encountering each other in bold business ventures, political service, learned societies, and cosmopolitan entertainments. During this crucial period in Keating's life, his thirties, these overlapping worlds shaped him as much as he influenced them.

Although Keating recorded but a smattering of his intertwined business and political life in the cashbooks, his wild successes in both deserves a brief outline. Already by the 1830s, William wore multiple hats: not only was he professing at the University of Pennsylvania and the Franklin Institute, but he also was largely managing the operation of the family land business, the Ceres Company. His 1832 election to the Assembly on the “Anti-Jackson City Ticket” reflected the local effects of the Bank War: Democrats held all of the Assembly seats in Philadelphia City during the 1831–1832 session; after Jackson's administration removed Federal deposits from the Bank of the United States, the National Republicans swept them out in November. As much as Keating and his comrades desired Jackson's defeat, they could not

brook the disorder of South Carolina's nullification movement. Keating spoke against the movement and offered a resolution condemning it, but he also proffered resolutions pushing for the restoration of the Federal deposits. It is probable that this advocacy of the bank had at least something to do with the financial benefits that men like him—the moneyed interest—derived from it. But Keating's brief time at the state house also shows that he viewed the state as an engine of fiscal and social progress. Reflective of his longstanding support for prison reform, he advocated for the abolition of capital punishment; that same day, Keating reported out bills to tax exempt the Franklin Institute, the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. Keating ascended to the chairmanship of Ways and Means, which among their tasks analyzed the state's currency and finances and requested the Franklin Institute recommend a uniform system of commercial weights and measures.<sup>21</sup>

Already president of the Little Schuylkill and increasingly involved with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, on March 13, 1834, Keating resigned his chairmanship of Ways and Means. The next day, Keating reported out a substantial plan for the expansion of railroads in the state, recommending "locomotive power, and that the roads should be let out to contractors, who shall make the transportations." In order to serve as the legal counsel for the Philadelphia and Reading, Keating set to becoming a lawyer: he was admitted to the bar in late 1834, and in the spring of 1835 rapidly acquired the makings of a law library. Elected to the Select Council with the second-most votes in October 1834, Keating continued to exert political influence in Philadelphia. By the end of 1836, Keating had purchased at least 200 shares

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21 Keating, "Keating and His Forbears," 317–19. On election, see *National Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1831 and Sept. 27, 1832; this and other popular reportage in part traced and in part catalyzed the evolution of party names (Republicans/Jacksonians/Democrats and Republicans/National Republicans/Anti-Jacksonians/Whigs) in these crucial years. On the shift, see "The Wilkes University Election Statistics Project, Dr. Harold E. Cox, Director," <http://staffweb.wilkes.edu/harold.cox/index.html>. On the politics of the Bank War broadly, see Wilentz, *Rise of American Democracy*, 359–74, 391–403. The surrounding liberties and towns remained largely in the hands of the Democracy; the city reflected wealthy voters interested in maintaining Federal deposits in the bank system. Keating's Catholicity passed without comment in the press. See comments and map in Blumin, "Mobility and Change," 186–87. For Bank War, see "Nullification," *National Gazette*, Dec. 11 and 12, 1832. For bank restoration, see Jan. 9 and Jan. 11, 1833, KCB. Keating led the opposition during the 1834 revival of the war. See *Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia), Jan. 14, 1834; my thanks to George Terry Madonna's "Pennsylvania Jacksonians" (172–73) for this citation and context. Keating donated to the Pennsylvania Prison Society and the "Phila Society for Alleviating Misery of Public Prisons," May 11, 1830 and Sept. 7, 1832, KCB. For state as engine of progress and resolution, see Dec. 10 and 14, 1833, *National Gazette*; for tax exemptions, Dec. 20, but in *National Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1833; and weights and measures in the Institute's journal for April 1834, reported to the Assembly *National Gazette*, Apr. 29, 1834.

in the Philadelphia and Reading at a total cost of \$10,000, \$8,500 of which his father loaned him at 5 percent interest.<sup>22</sup>

Keating's associative life reflected this broad commitment to the development of useful knowledge for public benefit. This commitment flowed along familiar lines. As one of the city's leading scientists, Keating gave much time and treasure toward its support. Some of these projects, such as the Philadelphia Athenaeum and the American Philosophical Society, remained tinged by the previous generation's concept of "natural philosophy" and thus included everything from anthropology and history to chemistry and zoology. Others, like the Franklin Institute and the Academy of Natural Sciences, focused on the experimental and exploratory discovery associated with Baconian science. Memberships were not inexpensive: Keating's share in the Athenaeum cost \$22.50; his life membership in the APS, \$50. At events like the "Am. Phil. Socy. Anniv. Supper \$3.25," Keating entered a world where genteel sociability intersected with the excitement of intellectual discovery. In October 1830, Keating paid for "Entry to the Rhinoceros \$.25"—the exhibition of a live Indian rhino—and within a year contributed \$10 toward the acquisition of a rhino skeleton for the Academy of Natural Sciences. Through the APS, Keating donated five dollars to support John James Audubon's ornithological research, paying five dollars to buy the groundbreaking study two years later. The acquisition of knowledge was a good unto itself for men like Keating, a positive good bolstered by the belief that knowledge empowered progress on a national scale.<sup>23</sup>

But the shrinking of the world through immigration, coupled to the promise and problem of industrialization, illuminates what men like Keating meant when they extolled useful knowledge. Like many Whigs, Keating viewed the development of applied science as crucial to economic development, evidenced by his support of the "Penn Society

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22 Mar. 18, 1834, KCB; admission to the bar, Nov. 5, 1834, KCB; purchases, Mar. 16, May 7 and 9, 1835, KCB; joined Philadelphia Law Library May 28, 1835, KCB; Law Association Dec. 16, 1836, KCB; opened a law-book credit account for about \$100 yearly in 1836 and 1837, KCB; more law books Jan. 19, Apr. 28, June 5, July 9, Sept. 29, and Nov. 22, 1838 (including *The Federalist!*), KCB; "Election Returns," *National Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1834; and loan, see undated last pages, 1836, KCB.

23 Koschnik, "Let Common Interest"; and Neem, *Nation of Joiners*. Keating's reform-mindedness was common. Boylan, *Origins of Women's Activism*. I benefitted from Anne M. Boylan's insight that voluntary associations became increasingly powerful engines for reinforcing class and status. For memberships, Apr. 5, 1830 and Sept. 16, 1831, KCB; dinner, Feb. 1, 1831, KCB; and birds, Sept. 22, 1830, KCB. *National Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1833. Keating served as an Athenæum Director. Rookmaaker et al., *Rhinoceros in Captivity*, 107; skeleton, Nov. 21, 1831, KCB; Audubon, Sept. 2, 1833, KCB; and on Audubon, see Shields, "Learned World," 2:256–57. The rhino was shipped from Calcutta and exhibited in Philadelphia beginning in October 1831.



for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanical Arts” and service on the board of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society. After Franklin Institute co-founder Samuel V. Merrick engineered the Philadelphia Gas Works, the Select Council named Keating one of the Trustees. Such tangible applications mattered, but the scientific impulse bore social and moral baggage, too. In a newspaper-reprinted lecture by Dr. J. K. Mitchell at the Franklin Institute on “the means of Elevating the Character of the Working Classes,” Mitchell presaged a fantastical future: one where the work of the Institute inspired “a very honorable and profitable competition” in learning at all levels of society; this was “the only warfare which should be conducted by various classes of society, among us, and its end should be the triumphant success of all.” Applying science to technological and social problems alike would transfigure America.<sup>24</sup>

Even as he gazed into the future, Keating, like so many early Americans, cultivated romantic sensibilities, opening himself to deeply felt emotive experiences rooted in aesthetics. His considerable cultural capital gave Keating nearly boundless access to the metropolitan and modern world of Philadelphia. Take, for example, when Keating attended a concert put on by the Italian librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte (for one dollar), likely featuring Venice-trained niece Julia Da Ponte. Keating bought an Italian dictionary three days later, and within a month, he was taking lessons in the language from Lorenzo himself.<sup>25</sup> Beginning on September 18, 1830, Keating bought box tickets to the French operas “Joseph,” “Avonde,” and “Chasecon” within a five-day span, then attended “Fr. Opera Fiorelli” on October 2. Although attending fewer French operas after this sudden burst of interest, Keating paid “Carlson” for “French Inst[ruction]” a year later. The desire to improve his faculties may have stemmed from his interest in foreign literature; for the following month, Keating paid the first installment of a share in the “Foreign Library of literature and science.” Soon thereafter, Keating was helping collect subscriptions, including one from the popular elite Catholic and former King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, Count de Survillers. It is unlikely Keating was wanting for reading, either, for he was a member of a number of libraries, including the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Law Library, and the Apprentices’ Library of Philadelphia, the latter of which aimed

24 Manufactures, Jan. 13, 1832 and June 3, 1833, KCB; Horticultural Society (\$3) on Sept. 6, 1831 and Sept. 7, 1832, life member (\$25) Sept. 12, 1833, KCB; “Proceedings of City Councils,” *National Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1837; and “The Franklin Institute,” *National Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1834.

25 Notably, Da Ponte was a Jewish convert to Roman Catholicism, an ordained priest, a notorious sexual libertine in his youth, a librettist for Salieri and Mozart among others, and Columbia College’s first professor of Italian and its first non-Protestant faculty member.

at the edification of mechanics and manufacturers. The personal pleasures of art and literature surely played a role in his patronage, but so too did Keating's sense of obligation to preserve and cultivate it. It was an important dimension of his uplift imperative.<sup>26</sup>

More ordinary experiences are also prominent in Keating's cash-books. Before and after the death of Jerome, Keating took a vested interest in the lives of his niece and nephew, facilitating their exploration of a developing world of wonder for children. For \$2.75 he visited the touring exhibition of Johann Nepomuk Mälzel, which included his famous chess automaton "The Turk" (it was actually a man in a box) but also legitimately astounding mechanical musical automatons and a carousel "of Automatons which ride around the stage and perform all the evolutions of experienced circus riders; the whole concluding with a display of vaulting on the slack rope by these little *wooden* images, not surpassed, we think by any of the rope dancers of the day." Keating attended the exhibit when it came around the next year, too. Family-friendly culture abounded throughout the city. In 1834, Keating bought nephew William volume one of "Peter Parley's magazine" and a subscription to volume two, for two dollars, continuing in 1835 and 1836. Parley, penname of Samuel Griswold Goodrich, narrated in the project's first issue an explication of the 12 medallion scenes on the front cover. It beckoned with "the love, truth and kindness, which religion teaches" (but not "long moral lessons, for that would make you dislike me"), astronomy, geography, "tales of mariners," antiquity, awesome animals like "serpents or reptiles, some of which are large enough to coil about a horse and crush it to death," agriculture and manufacturing, and histories which "furnish endless themes of interest and instruction . . . to amuse my young readers for many hours." The enjoyment of familial life, like the occasional ice cream from 1832 on, or buying toys for the daughter Ellen Elizabeth's first birthday and "visiting the Giraffe" shortly thereafter, evince Keating's simple humanity. For all his talents and all his exertions—one wonders how often his family saw him—Keating also lived an ordinary life.<sup>27</sup>

26 Julia Da Ponte sang in New York since March. On Da Ponte, see May 11, 1830, KCB; "Signorina Da Ponte," *New-York Morning Herald*, Mar. 31, 1830; and "Signorina Da Ponte," *National Gazette*, May 22, 1830. Succinct biographies are Charles McGrath, "Lorenzo Da Ponte, a Maestro of Second Acts, in Opera and in Life," *New York Times*, July 21, 2006; see also Biba, "Da Ponte in New York." Meehan, "Catholic Literary," 406. Da Ponte was part of a wider Catholic arts and literature world. For French interest, Sept. 18, 1830, KCB; Nov. 4, 1831, KCB; *Foreign Library*, Dec. 17, 1831 and May 24, 1832 (quotation), KCB; the Count's subscription, amongst others, Oct. 9, 1833, KCB; LCP, May 10, 1830, KCB; Law, May 28, 1835, KCB; and *Apprentices'*, May 10, 1830, followed by a life subscription (\$25) Sept. 7, 1832, KCB. See also Lewis, *History of Apprentices' Library*.

27 Nov. 6, 1830, KCB. The quoted review is "Amusement,—THE CAROUSEL," *New-York Morning Herald*, Feb. 2, 1830. Nov. 4, 1831, KCB. He attended the second time with "C.E.,"

The nature of Keating's religiosity was also, perhaps, rather ordinary in its plasticity. Alongside evidence that William was a practicing Catholic, it appears he and his wife Elizabeth followed the common practice of amicably maintaining dimensions of their premarital religious professions. Keating's piety was a family affair: his father John was the longtime president of the St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, held pews at St. Joseph's, St. Mary's, and St. John's, and made entries in his diary that evince an effusive spirituality. By 1840, William was one of the managers of the Orphan Asylum. It is probable that when William attended Mass, he sat in one of those pews; only once did Keating record paying a pew rent (six dollars), evidently subletting from a member of the Mallon family at St. Mary's. Cousin Jerome spearheaded the construction of St. John the Baptist in Manayunk in 1830, an effort William supported with a \$10 subscription; he supported the school and the purchase of a burial ground in 1832 and attended a brunch at a "Church Fair" there in 1833. These familial commitments to Catholicism did not prevent William's being married to a Protestant in an Episcopal church or, perhaps, attending services there. When the Keatings' first child, Elizabeth, died in her first hours, the couple interred her among her mother's relations at St. Peter's Episcopal. William and his wife Elizabeth, however, found their final rest next to William's mother and brother in Catholic-consecrated ground at Old Swedes Church in Wilmington.<sup>28</sup>

While the nature of the cashbooks prevents calendaring William and Elizabeth's religious lives precisely, William's charitable giving testifies to both his everyday Christian encounter with the needy and his participation with formal Catholicism. While Keating's only direct donation to another denomination was 55¢ to the St. Stephen's

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initials I have failed to reconcile to a name. On *Parley's*, see Aug. 9, 1834, June 22, 1835, and May 3, 1836, KCB; and "The Magazine's Address," *Parley's Magazine*, Mar. 16, 1833. July 2, 1832, Apr. 18 and Sept. 11, 1833, June 19 and 22, 1835, June 23, 1836, June 16 and July 4, 1838, KCB. An ice cream ran about 38¢, and a quart ran \$1. For birthday toys, see July 14, 1838; and giraffe, Oct. 22, 1838, KCB.

28 Farrelly, *Papist Patriots*, 141–49. The early Catholic hierarchy seemed to have a surprisingly tolerant attitude toward exogamy. Spalding, *Premier See*, 24; and Stern, *Southern Crucifix*, 22. The hierarchy appeared to tolerate the mixed-marriage practice of raising sons in the faith of the father, daughters in the mother's. Keating, "Keating and His Forebears," 332, 326. William appears among the managers listed in *Catholic Herald* (Phila.), Mar. 26, 1840; Dec. 19, 1831, May 4, 1830, Apr. 2 and Apr. 11, 1833, and Sept. 9, 1832, KCB. Born Nov. 30 but dead Dec. 1, 1835, baby Elizabeth was buried near relations on her mother's side at St. Peter's Episcopal Churchyard. June 18, 1837, KCB. Keating paid eight dollars for the permit and headstone. On Old Swedes, see Keating, "Keating and His Forebears," 322. Before and after completion of Wilmington's Cathedral, Catholic burials were common there: burials in the Keating family plot appear in *Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny*, 1811–1835, vol 2011.005, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center. Old Swedes did not record the officiant of William's burial there in 1840.

Episcopal Sunday School, Keating did not direct his charity exclusively at Catholic organizations; the priorities of Philadelphia's myriad secular and ecumenically Christian reform societies often aligned with his. In the unusually harsh winter of 1831, for example, affluent Philadelphians like Keating formed the Union Benevolent Society in order to support the poor; by 1834, Keating was a member of its executive board. But this sense of obligation to the poor manifested most often at Mass: "Charity Sermon for St. Joseph \$2.00," "charity sermon Dr. Power orphans 9th inst \$3.00," "Charity sermon Bishop Hughes . . . \$5.00," or "St. John's Orphan Asylum Charity (Dr. Purcell's sermon) \$5.00," and similar entries provide some evidence of his calling toward this need. While the irregular details of the entries makes pinning down Keating's tithing—some Sundays, possibly ones he attended an Episcopal service, simply note "Charity \$1"—he took seriously the call to help the poor and orphaned. Other handouts exemplify Keating's chance encounters with the needy: "Charity to an Italian woman, \$2.00"; "Charity to a Pole .50"; "charity: funeral expenses of washerwoman \$2.00"; and "charity (loan to boot black) \$5.00."<sup>29</sup>

Structuring the world around him to effect the salvation of others, in this world and the next, defined Keating. Sacralizing the landscape with Catholic institutions was crucial to this mission. Keating's melioration of this world had two modes. One focused on the acquisition and application of knowledge, its broad dissemination to the public, and its use in progressive government. The other recognized the beauty of life in the sublimity of music, art, and literature—and its absence in the melancholy of orphans, the chill of winter, the anxiety of penury. Yet if catholicity of Christian spirit explained Keating's donation to "George Anderson for an African Church \$1," such donations also marked its limits. Besides St. John the Baptist, Keating donated \$15 toward St. Jerome—namesake of his recently deceased cousin—in Tamaqua, a suburb in the lands he managed; subscribed \$30 to the expansion of St. Joseph's; and oversaw the legalities and the over \$5,000 fund to build a more substantial home for the Philadelphia Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, to which he gave \$25. By his accounting, the sinner's best hope remained Roman Catholicism.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> First subscription to the Union Benevolent Association (UBA) (\$1), Dec. 26, 1831, KCB; see the Executive Board's third annual report, *National Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1834. Other donations to the UBA appear in 1835, 1837, and 1839, KCB; a few of the many examples of Mass-connected charity, Nov. 28, 1831, Mar. 13, 1835, Jan. 29, 1838, June 10, 1838, and Mar. 11, 1838, KCB; random charity, Feb. 21 and May 7, 1835, Oct. 10, 1836, and Aug. 8, 1834, KCB.

<sup>30</sup> Keating drew yearly interest on a \$100 loan to the "Penn. Inst Deaf and Dumb," paid for a life membership in the "Penn Institute for the Instruction of the **Blind**," (emphasis his,

Tracing the contours of Keating's everyday life points to some important conclusions. Despite the shortcomings of Keating's cashbooks, they provide the only material to trace the personal life of a man who played a substantive role in the political, social, cultural, and religious worlds of 1830s Philadelphia. As an educated man of sensibilities and refinement, one armed with substantial social and cultural capital, he enjoyed apparently unconstrained navigation of early Philadelphia's political, cultural, and commercial spheres. The cashbooks can offer no insight into what shopkeepers or politicians said behind his back. But in the same summer nativists torched the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, Keating transitioned to Councilman and railroad executive.

It was during a trip to London to wheedle investors on behalf of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad that a sudden illness killed him on May 17, 1840. Keating left no reaction to the convent burning and he died before nativist rioters in Philadelphia burned two Irish-associated Catholic churches and blasted a third with a cannon in 1844. The rapid arrival of Famine Irish in the mid-1840s forever altered the world in which Keating made his mark. Yet his life—lived as it was in the epoch between the Revolution and the Famine—is a counterpoint to the notion of Catholic absence in the public sphere and civil society. Keating adds some everyday humanity to the growing historiography changing our understanding of Catholics and anti-Catholicism in the era. The life he recorded in his cashbooks offers a partial reckoning.<sup>31</sup>

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perhaps with a chuckle), and bought the book "Tales of the deaf & D." May 8, 1832, July 6, 1833, and July 6, 1834, KCB. For African Church, see Nov. 24, 1837, KCB; for Tamaqua, July 31, 1833, KCB; for St. Joseph's, Aug 29, 1838, KCB; and for Seminary, Aug. 9 and Sept. 24, 1838, KCB.

31 On Keating's death, see Miles, "Versatile Explorer," 299; "Obituary Notice." Arguably the most influential works on the intensity of anti-Catholicism were Billington's *Protestant Crusade*; and David Brion's "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion." Crucial modifications on ethnicity, intensity, Protestant attraction/repulsion, and theology: Feldberg, *Philadelphia Riots*, who notes the 1844 rioters left German Catholic churches be; Cogliano, *No King, No Popery*; Franchot, *Roads to Rome*; and Holifield, *Theology in America*, esp. chap. 20, "Catholics: Reason and the Church." They influenced recent explorations, such as Hanson, *Necessary Virtue*; Duncan, *Citizens or Papists?*; Carter, "Mathew Carey"; Oxx, "Considerate Portions"; Carroll, *American Catholics*; Farrelly, *Papist Patriots*; Green, *Bible, School, and Constitution*; Gjerde and Kang, *Catholicism and Shaping*; Stern, *Southern Crucifix*; Neem, *Democracy's Schools*; Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America*; O'Donnell, *Elizabeth Seton*; and Appelhans, "Catholic Persuasion."

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