

# the police and the community

scranton, pennsylvania

1866-1884

a test case

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The police occupy a central place in American society. As the official agents of law enforcement, they determine the allocation of criminal justice in the local community. Through the exercise of discretion, they routinely decide which laws will be enforced, to what degree they will be enforced and against which members of the community. The police also play an important symbolic role, both embodying the norms of the community and reflecting the distribution of power.

For good reason, then, the police have been the subject of considerable political conflict throughout American history. During the nineteenth century, controversy over the non-enforcement of the liquor laws caused social disruptions. In 1851, moreover, a major political crisis erupted in Boston following the appointment of the first Irish-American to the police force. In more recent years black Americans protested against discriminatory law enforcement and the absence of representative numbers of black police officers.

A study of the police tells us much about the patterns of social and political life in nineteenth century urban communities. Historian George L. Mosse recently observed that the police “are subjected to social and political forces which are more often than not, beyond their control. Hence the history of the police throws an important light upon the general state of society.” Historians, however, have largely ignored the police until very recently. Police history, according to Mosse, “is as yet in its infancy.”<sup>1</sup>

As an investigation of the origins of the police department in Scranton,

Pennsylvania, in the mid-nineteenth century, this paper seeks to explain police operations in the midst of extreme industrial conflict and ethnic tensions. In this respect it sheds some light on the contemporary problem of police-community relations, involving as it does a conflict between the police and low-income groups of different ethnic or racial background.

Repeated episodes of violence during strikes and industrial disputes punctuate the history of American police departments. The more famous of these episodes include the 1874 Tompkins Square "riot" in New York City, the 1937 Memorial Day "massacre" in Chicago and attacks by the police on farm worker organizers in recent years. Marxist historians argue that the police were largely the tools of businessmen and served to suppress the labor movement. Other historians argue that political machines, themselves dominated by and responsive to immigrant and working class constituencies, controlled the police. Samuel Hays, for example, suggests that businessmen promoted police reform in the Progressive Era as a way of reducing the influence of working people over the police.<sup>2</sup>

Scranton, Pennsylvania, in the two decades following the Civil War, was a microcosm of American society. Rapid urban growth, industrialization and immigration created an explosive mixture of social problems. Mining of coal formed the basis for the growth of both the community and its problems. Between 1840 and 1880, the opening of vast anthracite coal deposits transformed Scranton from a sleepy village of 1,169 people to a booming industrial city of 45,850. Local boosters spoke proudly of their community as the "rising young giant of Luzerne" [County].

Immigration from Wales, Germany and Ireland fostered the growth of Scranton. The Welsh, who brought with them experience in the anthracite coal mines of Wales, dominated the skilled mining jobs. Irish and Germans accepted the less skilled jobs in both the mines and in the iron and steel mills. The political life of the community soon revolved around the mutual hostility of the Protestant Welsh, who voted solidly Republican, and the Catholic Irish, who were equally loyal Democrats. The German-American community, divided between Protestant and Catholics, and more diverse economically, was a much less cohesive force in local politics. Native-born Protestant Americans, meanwhile, constituted the fourth significant ethnic group and, along with the Welsh, dominated the local Republican party.

Social discord accompanied the industrial development of Scranton. Following the Civil War, the anthracite industry suffered from over-production, falling prices and deteriorating working conditions. Between the mid-1860s and the late 1870s, workingmen undertook numerous strikes, with major industrial disputes paralyzing the entire community on two occasions. An 1871 coal miners' strike lasted nearly six months and produced several violent incidents, and in 1877, Scranton experienced mob violence as did many other industrial communities that year.

Insurgent working-class political activity followed the defeat of the

1871 and 1877 strikes. Miners formed the backbone of the Labor Reform Party which narrowly missed electing its candidate as mayor of the city in 1872. In the wake of the 1877 turmoil, they organized an insurgent Greenback-Labor Party, and this time elected their candidate, Terence V. Powderly, mayor of Scranton. Powderly served three terms as mayor (1878-1884) and, at the same time, emerged as the most prominent labor leader in the country.

Scranton officials created a police department in the midst of this continuing industrial conflict. An examination of the first twenty years of its history, however, suggests that it played only a minor role in the community. The police department remained extremely small, heavily influenced by partisan politics, definitely not the handmaiden of local industrialists.

The first law enforcement official in Scranton was an elected constable, the city fathers having created this office in 1856 following the incorporation of Scranton as a borough. The first man to serve as constable, Francis A. Page, had sixteen assistants at his command. All were paid through a system of fees; each arrest, for example, earned an officer \$1.00. In 1858, officials of the Borough of Scranton created the office of Police Chief, paying him \$75 a year plus fees. In 1866, when Scranton was incorporated as a city, this system continued. The "Ordinance Establishing a Police in the City of Scranton" called for one chief and anywhere from one to five patrolmen for each of the twelve wards. The Mayor nominated officers and members of the city council confirmed them. They were not, however, professional in the modern sense. Officers confined their activities to particular wards, were not full-time salaried employees and did not look upon the job as a career.<sup>3</sup>

By 1867, a year after the incorporation of Scranton, civic leaders recommended that the city create a larger police department. Mayor E. S. M. Hill urged councilmen to create a force of full-time, salaried officers. Hill's motives are not clear. In 1865 and 1866, the city had experienced major coal miners' strikes, but Hill had defended the cause of the strikers. In any event, the city council refused to act on his suggestion, and only a small, informal and ill-equipped police department protected the city.

In 1870, further industrial conflict brought about a significant change in law enforcement practices. In 1869, anthracite coal miners had formed an industry-wide union, the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, and mounted a strike that summer. The underlying issues were not resolved, however, and in 1870 another strike appeared likely. As residents braced for a strike in the spring of 1870, the demand for more police protection emanated from several sources. Mayor William H. Monies recommended the creation of a full-time, paid police force, one structured along the same lines proposed by Mayor Hill three years before. Once again, however, city council members refused to act. In June, an ad hoc group of

businessmen along with the Chief of Police requested the hiring of additional police officers. On this occasion, city council acted. A supplementary ordinance provided that individual wards in the city could, upon petition to the council, receive permission to hire additional policemen. Special taxes levied on the residents of those wards would be dedicated to police salaries, and the men would serve only in those areas.

In December 1870, as Scranton residents prepared for yet another strike, the new provisions proved useful. Members of the Board of Trade (the local Chamber of Commerce) and an officer of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, one of the major coal operators in the area, petitioned city council for additional policemen. On December 10, the council provided that "there may be as many policemen in each ward of the city as the council may from time to time think proper and necessary." At least four additional officers were approved for the Eighth Ward which included the central business district and many of the principal mines and mills.

In late December, coal miners began leaving the mines, and, by early January 1871, virtually the entire anthracite industry was shut down. In Scranton, several violent incidents punctuated the strike, which itself lasted for more than five months. In early April, during a clash between strikers and strike-breakers, two men were shot and killed. Ethnic hostilities played a major role in the conflict. Welsh-American miners dominated the union and lead the strike. Irish and German laborers, who hoped to displace the Welsh in the better paying jobs, served as strike-breakers soon after the strike began. Violence erupted, then, as a result of pitched battles between rival groups of workingmen, rather than between workingmen and industrialists.

The Scranton police force was relatively useless in the face of mob violence. After the April violence, the governor mobilized the state militia, and the city was placed under martial law for a brief period. City councilmen, meanwhile, authorized the mayor to appoint still more special police, but cautioned that they were to be used only "in cases of absolute necessity." Ethnic and political factors strongly influenced the enforcement of the law. Irish and German laborers accused the mayor, a Republican, of not providing police protection. Mayor Monies was clearly responsive to the interests of his principal constituents, the Welsh miners. Nor was the militia regarded as being completely impartial. A correspondent for the *New York Times* reported that "we have only 150 troops and half of them are themselves miners, and in full sympathy with the miners' union."<sup>4</sup>

In mid-May, the miners' strike collapsed, and the men returned to work with little to show for their sacrifices. Emergence of an independent labor party the next year was the most significant result of the strike. The Labor Reform Party, drawing almost all of its support from members of the Welsh mining community, finished a strong second in the February,

1872 municipal elections. Several aspects of the party platform are significant. Authors emphasized municipal reform, primarily honesty and economy in government, rather than specific, workingmen-oriented proposals. In fact, they proposed nothing that pertained directly to the interests of workingmen. Even more significant, they called for an enlarged and improved municipal police department. During the 1870s and 1880s, the Labor Reform Party platform was nearly identical to those of other parties in municipal elections. After failing in its bid for the mayoralty, the Labor Reform Party vanished.

The demand for an improved police department became a standard political campaign platform plank. Republicans and Democrats as well as mainstream and insurgent political leaders all shared the same view. Republican mayor William Monies (1869-1872) and Irish-born mayor and Democrat Mathew Loftus (1872-1875) both echoed Mayor Hill's suggestion that the city council enlarge the police department. In 1873, a paid, full-time police force with city-wide jurisdiction finally became a reality when the city council authorized the creation of a twelve-man force. Significantly, the major opposition came from the conservative *Scranton Republican*, owned and edited by Joseph Scranton. He was clearly less concerned about the threat of lawlessness than about the possibility that his political opponents would use the new police force for their own ends.

The twelve-man police force created in 1873 was all that Mayor Robert McKune had at his disposal in the summer of 1877 when Scranton residents faced the prospect of rioting. The disorders that swept across the country that summer reached Scranton two weeks after the initial outburst in Martinsburg, West Virginia, on July 17. Workers in Scranton went out on strike on July 24, and for the next week Mayor McKune attempted to preserve order. He ordered all saloons closed and attempted to mediate an end to the strikes involving the locomotive engineers, the iron and steel workers and eventually the coal miners. McKune also requested the appointment of a large number of special policemen. The city council, however, refused, partly on the grounds that it would impose an intolerable tax burden on the city. Workingmen had a strong voice in the city council and refused to serve the interests of businessmen.

Faced with the inaction of the city council, businessmen organized a vigilante group to protect the city. About fifty young men enrolled in the group, and William Scranton, General Superintendent of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, provided them with rifles. Mayor McKune reluctantly gave tacit consent to the vigilante organization, although he remained deeply concerned about polarizing the community. Finally, after two weeks of continued strikes and rising tensions, violence erupted in Scranton. A mob of angry workingmen stormed into downtown Scranton on the morning of August 1. The vigilante group, lead by William Scranton, fired into the mob, killing four workingmen. The mob

quickly dispersed and there were no further disorders. The next day, however, the governor invoked martial law, and it remained in effect until the end of the coal miners' strike three months later.

The events of the summer of 1877 convinced conservative leaders in the community that existing institutions were inadequate to preserve law and order. The Reverend Samuel C. Logan commented that "the most alarming feature of the times . . . was the manifest unfitness and unfaithfulness of the civil functionaries." City government, in other words, was too heavily influenced by workingmen. The Reverend Logan, a prominent Presbyterian minister, had been instrumental in helping to organize the vigilante group. Following the August 1 violence he and others moved to transform the group into an official unit of the state militia. Wealthy members of the community contributed money for the construction of an armory and in the fall of 1877, the new Scranton City Guard made its official debut.

Scranton workingmen, meanwhile, took steps of their own. After the coal miners' strike collapsed in October, workingmen turned to political action. In November, an insurgent Greenback-Labor Party swept the Luzerne County elections, and then cast its eye on the Scranton municipal elections scheduled for early 1878. In December 1877, the Greenbackers nominated Terence Powderly for Mayor. Powderly was a former machinist who had been active in the Machinists and Blacksmiths International Union and in a host of local community organizations.

Despite the extraordinary circumstances of the times, the Scranton Greenback-Labor Party advanced a thoroughly conventional platform. It called for honesty and economy in government in terms that were indistinguishable from those of other local parties. Candidate Powderly, meanwhile, expressed concern for the problems of property owners and taxpayers. "The debt is fast increasing," he argued, "and if elected I intend that the advice 'live within your income' will be applied." Powderly and the Greenbackers also called for an improved police department. The platform stated that "we deem the organization and prompt payment in money of an efficient police force to protect the lives and property of our citizens [to be] an absolute necessity."<sup>5</sup>

In February 1878, Powderly was elected Mayor; he was re-elected in both 1880 and 1882. During these six years, however, Powderly did little to benefit the interests of workingmen. Nor did the city council, dominated by a large contingent of workingmen, take any action that would be to the advantage of either workingmen in general or the labor movement in particular. The return of prosperity in 1878 eased both the bitterness of the workingmen and the financial problems of city government. Powderly enjoyed an extremely placid tenure as Mayor and used the opportunity to pursue his other interests. During that period he emerged as a major national figure in his role as the leader of the Knights of Labor.

With respect to the police department, Powderly resembled his predecessors. He repeatedly urged members of the city council to enlarge the department, but they took only a few minor steps in that direction. In 1878, according to the *Scranton Republican*, the city was woefully underpoliced. Scranton had only one policeman for every 3500 residents; nearby Wilkes Barre had one for every 1500; and New York and Philadelphia had one for every 410 and 600 residents respectively. In March 1878, city officials added three men to the police force, providing for one chief and fourteen patrolmen. Four years later they added three more men. These increases, however, did not even keep pace with the rapidly growing population. Spurred by prosperous conditions in the anthracite industry, by 1884 the population of Scranton had increased to over 66,000. Thus, the ratio of police to residents was worse than it had been in 1878.

During his six years as mayor, Powderly made the police an important part of his political machine. Among other things, he ordered patrolmen to harass newsboys selling papers that had criticized his performance in office. When preparing for reelection, Powderly's diary indicates, one of the first things he did was to secure the loyalty of the members of the police department. Police Chief Patrick DeLacey and City Solicitor Ira Burns were his major political advisors.<sup>6</sup>

In 1884, when Powderly left the mayor's office, Frank Beamish, the conservative boss of the local Democratic Party machine, succeeded him. Beamish maintained similar views on the question of the police. He too urged members of the city council to enlarge the department and watched as they did little to follow his suggestion. From the mid-1860s through the mid-1880s, then, strong continuity characterized the police question. Members of all political factions argued that the city needed a larger police force. Neither the 1872 Labor Reform Party nor the 1877-78 Greenback-Labor Party differed from the two conventional political parties on this issue. Nonetheless, despite repeated urgings, councilmen consistently refused to create a sizeable police department.

During a period of considerable social turmoil—rapid urban growth, industrial strife and ethnic group conflict—the city of Scranton apparently survived with a token police force. Two primary factors account for the relatively unimportant role played by the police during this twenty-year period. First, the cost of government services was a paramount consideration in the minds of virtually all political leaders. Second, a relatively tolerable level of social order prevailed in the city on a day-to-day basis. Outbursts of violence were exceptional events which did not distract from the basic pattern of social relations. Neither ethnic nor class conflict were threats to the social order. Consequently, political leaders in the community did not perceive the necessity of a large police force to maintain order.

During the twenty years following the Civil War, the cost of govern-

ment was the most important political issue in Scranton. Candidates for mayor from all political factions expressed concern about this issue. The spectacular growth of the city imposed a serious burden in terms of providing basic social services. City councilmen, for example, devoted most of their time to the improvement of streets and sidewalks. The depression of the mid-1870s placed an additional burden on already strained municipal finances. Political leaders defined "reform" in terms of reducing the cost of government. In the late 1870s, Pennsylvania officials established a special commission to examine the problem of spiraling municipal finances. The report of this commission in 1878 recommended drastic limitations on the ability of municipal governments to borrow and spend money.

Several other considerations entered into the concern about municipal finances in Scranton. Civic leaders, especially those in the Board of Trade, sought to promote the growth of small industry in the area. They were especially concerned about their over-dependence upon a few giant corporations which were controlled by New York financiers. Two giant corporations—the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company and the interlocked Lackawana Iron and Coal Company and the Delaware, Lackawana, and Western Railroad—effectively controlled the anthracite industry in the Scranton area. To attract smaller industry, however, members of the Board of Trade felt it extremely important to maintain low taxes and an image of municipal fiscal responsibility.<sup>7</sup>

The cost of a large police department was a consideration for both business leaders and workingmen. Businessmen found it more convenient to hire special policemen. In the long run they were cheaper and more reliable than municipal policemen who would be subject to political control. They imposed no permanent tax burden and could be hired during times of crisis to protect business properties.

Workingmen, too, were interested in economy in government. Among the coal miners there was a high degree of home-owning. Building societies, in the form of cooperative savings and loan associations, proliferated in the mining community. Executives of the anthracite corporations, meanwhile, promoted home-owning both as an additional source of profit and as a means of stabilizing their work force. Homeowners, they reasoned, would be less prone to strike. In the mid-1870s as many as one-third of the Scranton coal miners owned their own homes. The rate was somewhat less for the Irish-Catholic laborers, however.

Workingmen exerted a strong influence in local party politics and on the city council, sharing an interest in low-cost government with members of the business community. The Welsh miners comprised more than a majority of the local Republican Party, while the Irish dominated the Democratic Party. Party leaders could not afford to alienate their working class constituents. Throughout the period, moreover, workingmen maintained a strong presence on the Scranton City Council. At no



time during this twenty-year period were bona-fide workingmen (miners, skilled tradesmen, laborers) less than one-third of the membership of the Council; for a few years after the 1878 elections, they comprised a majority. As a result, they were able to limit the hiring of special policemen during times of crisis and maintain a small police force on a long-term basis. The low-tax, property-owner ideology of the 1878 Greenback-Labor Party accurately reflected the perceived interests of Scranton workingmen.<sup>8</sup>

The second important factor to consider in examining the low-keyed role of the police during this period was the fact that Scranton was a relatively orderly city. The records of the police department, together with the accounts in the daily press, indicate that crime was not a serious problem. As was the case in most other cities during this time, drunkenness and disorderly conduct constituted up to 80% of the total arrests. There is no evidence to suggest that murder, assault, rape, burglary and robbery were widespread (although admittedly the absence of records does not conclusively prove the case).

Community life in Scranton involved a complex web of institutions and processes that helped to maintain order. Residential segregation kept the various ethnic groups apart. As Reverend Samuel C. Logan observed, "these communities dwelt generally in peace by simply allowing each to follow its own modes of life . . . this very segregation of the races had long provided a real force in securing the good order of the city." The Welsh clustered in Hyde Park, to the west, and in Providence, to the north. The Irish gathered in two locations, on the "other side of the tracks" between the railroad lines and the river, and in the shantytowns on the outskirts of the city. The 11th Ward, to the south of the central business district, served as the focal point of the German-American community. The native-born elite, meanwhile, lived on "Quality Hill" to the northeast of the downtown area. As historian Rowland Berthoff suggests in a perceptive study of the anthracite regions, most of the drunken and disorderly conduct occurred among members of the same ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

The political process also served to channel ethnic group hostility into peaceful avenues. Scranton was spared the ethnic mob-violence that pervaded American cities between the 1830s and the Civil War. The only significant ethnic-related violence during this period occurred in the context of the 1871 coal miners' strike. During normal times, however, Welsh miners and Irish and German laborers worked side by side in the mines. Their mutual suspicions were expressed in terms of political loyalty, as the Welsh voted solidly Republican while the Irish voted Democratic (the Germans were mixed in their affiliation). Political leaders used ethnic issues to mobilize the party faithful. G.O.P. leaders frequently raised the specter of an all-Irish police force, and Democratic Party leaders reminded their followers that Republicans were overly sympathetic to temperance and prohibition. The exchange of ethnic-

based charges became part of the ritual of local elections. As historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr., suggests in his study of Philadelphia, *The Private City*, a network of informal processes, including residential segregation and ethnic group politics served to preserve order in the nineteenth century urban community.<sup>10</sup>

Relations between economic classes in Scranton present a more difficult problem in analysis. Superficially, there was a great deal of conflict. The major episodes of industrial strife in 1871 and 1877 occurred in the context of a continuing labor relations problem which included many smaller strikes. Nonetheless, there was a notable absence of expressed class consciousness on the part of the workingmen. The platforms of the two independent labor parties, for example, were little different from those of conventional parties. Likewise workingmen elected to city council did not use their considerable power for specific pro-labor measures. Nor did Terence Powderly, in six years as mayor, serve the interests of workingmen.

Several factors explain the outlook of Scranton workingmen. On the one hand, the working class was deeply divided along ethnic group lines. Unity was never achieved; the 1872 Labor Reform Party was almost exclusively Welsh, while the 1877-78 Greenback-Labor Party was comprised largely of Irish-Catholics. Moreover, the relative "openness" of the political system, in which workingmen participated to a high degree, encouraged a sense of identity with the prevailing social system. Despite their genuine and severe economic problems, Scranton workingmen were not alienated and did not identify themselves a class apart. The legacy of paternalism that pervaded the community was an important contributor to this sense of identification. The major corporations were not yet impersonal and "souless" entities. Rather, workingmen perceived them in terms of their owners and managers. Two generations of Scrantons—George W. Scranton who founded the firms, Joseph H. Scranton who helped develop them and William W. Scranton who managed them during the 1870s—were familiar figures in the streets of the city. They often assumed a personal role in labor disputes, and workingmen responded by expecting them to deal with problems on a face-to-face basis. The personalized approach had developed in the 1850s and 1860s, and in the 1870s and 1880s was seriously irrelevant to the new structure of corporation management. Nonetheless, paternalism exerted a powerful legacy and continued to affect both the perceptions and the actions of workingmen. Thus, a number of important influences tempered class consciousness.<sup>11</sup>

The ambiguous nature of class relations had a direct bearing on the police question. On the one hand, business leaders were simply not able to gain complete control over city government and the police department. But at the same time, relations between economic groups were not antagonistic on a day-to-day basis. In the 1870s and early 1880s,

Scranton was still a "walking city," and business leaders such as William Scranton mingled freely with workingmen. Neither side felt the need for a strong and continuous police presence. Industrial violence erupted in the context of specific incidents. What is remarkable is how quickly the bitterness of both the 1871 and the 1877 strikes dissipated.

The case of the Scranton police between the mid-1860s and the mid-1880s suggests that the role of the police in an urban-industrial community cannot be reduced to simple terms. A complex mixture of social and political factors affected the way in which different groups perceived both the problem of order and the need for police. The police themselves were certainly not the tools of wealthy capitalists, nor was the city pervaded by crime and disorder. The Scranton police department was at best a token force, more a source of political patronage than an agency of social control.<sup>12</sup>

These conclusions, however, should not be extended beyond the present evidence. There is good reason to believe that the role of the police may well have changed in subsequent decades. Growth of the city and the advent of immigration from Eastern Europe in the mid-1880s along with the development of a permanent and powerful labor movement by the end of the century may well have heightened social tensions and generated a perceived need for a large police establishment. As Herbert Gutman has argued in a number of articles, the social system of small and medium-sized cities in the 1870s was quite different from that in larger metropolises. It can be said, however, that the role of the police is subject to a number of complex factors. As historians begin to recover the history of the police, our understanding of the dynamics of "community" in America will be greatly enhanced.

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### footnotes

Research for this article was drawn primarily from: the minutes of the Scranton City Council, the *Scranton Republican* and the *Scranton Daily Times* and from the personal papers of Terence V. Powderly in the Archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. For complete documentation, see Samuel Walker, "Terence V. Powderly, 'Labor Mayor': Workingmen's Politics in Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1870-1884" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973).

1. George L. Mosse, ed., *Police Forces in History* (Beverly Hills, 1975), 3-5; Samuel Walker, "The Urban Police in American History: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, IV (September, 1976), 252-260.

2. Herbert G. Gutman, "The Tompkins Square 'Riot' in New York City on January 13, 1874: A Reexamination of its Causes and its Aftermath," *Labor History*, VI (Winter, 1965), 44-70; Sidney L. Harring and Lorraine M. McMullin, "The Buffalo Police 1872-1900: Labor Unrest, Political Power and the Creation of the Police Institution," *Crime and Social Justice*, 4 (Fall-Winter, 1975), 5-14; Samuel Hays, "The Politics of Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LV (October, 1964), 157-169; Mark H. Haller, *Historical Roots of Police Behavior: Chicago, 1890-1925*, *Law and Society Review*, 10 (Winter, 1976), 303-324; Samuel Walker, *A Critical History of Police Reform* (Lexington, Mass., 1977), Chapter One.

3. "An Ordinance Establishing a Police in the City of Scranton," Ordinance #1, Office of the Scranton City Clerk; *National Police Journal* (December, 1918), 3-6.
4. *New York Times*, May 15, 1871; see also the extensive coverage of the strike in the *Scranton Republican* and the *Daily Times*.
5. *Daily Times*, December 21, 1877, contains the Greenback-Labor party platform; for an analysis of the party, its program and Terence Powderly, see Walker, "Terence V. Powderly, 'Labor Mayor'."
6. Ordinances of the Scranton Common Council, March 30, 1878, and August 14, 1882; Terence V. Powderly, *Diary*, October 3, 1883.
7. *Daily Times*, February 14, 1873; expressions of this point of view pervaded the local press, especially during local elections.
8. For a more detailed analysis, see Samuel Walker, "Workingmen and Politics: An Analysis of the Scranton City Council, 1870-1884," unpublished manuscript.
9. Rowland Berrthoff, "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region, 1825-1902," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIX (July, 1965), 261-291.
10. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City* (Philadelphia, 1968).
11. See the various essays in Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976).
12. Even the role of the militia or National Guard was ambiguous in the industrial disputes of the period. As the 1871 miners' strike indicated, the militiamen were often sympathetic to the interests of strikers. Businessmen were only partly successful in securing firm control of militia units. The story of the Scranton City Guard is told in Samuel C. Logan, *A City's Danger and Defense* (Scranton, 1887). During the 1877 riots the militia in many communities simply refused to stand in the way of rioting workers; see Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Chicago, 1970).