

Pennsylvania History

A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES

VOL. 82, NO. 2 • SPRING 2015

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Pennsylvania History presents previously unpublished works that are of interest to scholars of the Middle Atlantic region. The Journal also reviews books, exhibits, and other media dealing primarily with Pennsylvania history or that shed significant light on the state's past.

The editors invite the submission of articles dealing with the history of Pennsylvania and the Middle Atlantic region, regardless of their specialty. Prospective authors should review past issues of *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, where they will note articles in social, intellectual, economic, environmental, political, and cultural history, from the distant and recent past. Articles may investigate new areas of research or may reflect on past scholarship. Material that is primarily of an antiquarian or genealogical nature will not be considered. Please conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style* in preparing your manuscript.

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Pennsylvania History (ISSN 0031-4528; E-ISSN 2153-2109) is the official journal of the Pennsylvania Historical Association and is published quarterly by the Pennsylvania Historical Association and the Pennsylvania State University Press.

Annual member subscription rates and information about joining PHA can be found on the Association's website at www.pa-history.org/membership. Payments can be made online or mailed to Business Secretary Karen Guenther, 216 Pinecrest Hall, Mansfield University, Mansfield, PA 16933. Address changes should also be directed to Karen Guenther at kguenthe@mansfield.edu. Periodicals postage paid at Mansfield and additional mailing offices. Claims for missing or damaged issues should be directed to Karen Guenther.

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On the cover, clockwise, right to left: Philadelphia Inquirer political cartoon January 13, 1924, used with permission of the Philadelphia Inquirer copyright 2015, all rights reserved; Smedley Butler, 1924, and W. Freeland Kendrick, 1923, from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, both courtesy of the Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Library.

TO THE READER

You will notice several changes in upcoming issues of *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*.

There is a difference in the background color of the cover and an increase to the size of the cover images. After twelve years of gray and black, it was time for a change. The background color will vary from year to year, as had been done in the 1990s. The larger images will be more eye-catching. We still maintain the wonderful relationship we have with Penn State Press, and are working with them for other potential design changes as well.

This issue, Spring 2015 (82:2) will be the last issue containing an annual index, specifically, the index for volume 81. There was unanimous agreement among the journal's Editorial Board to stop creating them. The present ability to word search *Pennsylvania History* electronically through our partners at JSTOR and Project Muse negates the need and expense of creating them in this day and age.

We have eliminated the associate editor position. For the moment, there is no need for one, and is a cost-saving measure. We have also fully embraced Editorial Manager as the means for processing manuscripts and book reviews. Items for consideration can be submitted directly to www.editorialmanager.com/pah.

Finally, we hope to bring back the "Announcements" section in upcoming issues. We look forward to learning about special projects, resources, and events relating to Pennsylvania history. These can be sent directly to the editor at jaggers1952@verizon.net.

The editor would like to especially thank Beverly Tomek, book review and associate editor, and the staff at Penn State Press, who helped her through the editorial transition following the death of Bill Pencak.

Sincerely,
Linda A. Ries, Editor

GREETINGS FROM THE EDITOR

The background I bring to *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* is somewhat different from previous editors. Instead of an academic history background, I come from what used to be called “Applied History,” being an archaeologist for six years and an archivist for thirty-five. Referred to as “the eclectic one” at the Pennsylvania State Archives, I took care of preservation of manuscripts, the photograph collections, and William Penn’s 1681 Royal Charter for Pennsylvania. Always during that time, however, I considered myself a historian.

The evolution of a single spot in time and space has always fascinated me. These experiences also reinforced my belief in what historic preservationists call the importance of “place” in history. I grew up in the South Hills of postwar Pittsburgh. My parents, the earliest influences on my interest in history, enjoyed traveling and going on Sunday drives. They would pile their three daughters in the ‘58 Chevy Bel Air, give us comic books to mollify us, and off we would go. The growing Pennsylvania Turnpike and the new interstate highway system enabled us to efficiently go farther and faster on these jaunts. In spite of the fighting in the back seat, we saw Busy Run Battlefield, Fort Necessity and Braddock’s Grave, the Grand View Ship Hotel,

Fort Bedford, the Horseshoe Curve, and many, many other sites. Later, we left the Commonwealth's borders and went to Florida, the Grand Canyon, and elsewhere, giving me an idea of Pennsylvania's place in the world. I was far too young to understand the full significance of these places, let alone the nascent concept of "heritage tourism." But yes, Mum and Dad, I remembered, and it did make an impression! I was fascinated that such amazing and exciting things could, and did, happen in a place where we children initially thought nothing did. At the time, western Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh were dreary, drab, tarnished environments. The idea, for example, that George Washington and General Braddock were once tromping around a battlefield that was now the Edgar Thomson Steel Works was hard to wrap my head around. Or that the even drearier town of Homestead was the site of one of the biggest labor standoffs in American history. How did these things happen? Why did they happen?

In my teens my curiosity piqued, and I began reading works on Commonwealth history in the late 1960s and early 1970s, found by wandering around the main branch of the Carnegie Library in Oakland or



FIGURE 1: The Ries family visiting Fort Bedford, 1960. The editor is second from right. I do not know why we are wearing sailor hats at an inland fort. Courtesy of Christine Ries Palmer.

Hillman Library at Pitt. There on the shelf for anyone to read were books and periodicals on Pennsylvania history, especially western Pennsylvania. William Hunter's *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, Paul Wallace's *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*, just to name two, and published by my future employers, the Historical and Museum Commission, were my personal portals to another time. The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* and *Pennsylvania History* likewise contained shorter works, but were just as exciting.¹ I specifically remember Stephen H. Cutcliffe's 1976 article in WHPM on the Sideling Hill Affair that sparked a lifelong interest in James Smith and the Black Boys. Likewise, James Kirby Martin's 1971 "The Return of the Paxton Boys and the Historical State of the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1764–1774" printed in the pages of this journal, had similar effect.

Almost by accident, I took a Pennsylvania history undergraduate course from John Frantz at Penn State's University Park in the fall of 1973. Though an archaeology major and soon graduating in 1974, I had an elective to use and was curious to know more about my own state. I was afraid it would be all boring political history pedagogy, one reason I tended to avoid those kinds of classes. It was not. I learned about William Penn's vision and legacy, the emigration of many ethnic and religious groups, industrial and commercial growth, and, okay, politics, too. I enjoyed it so much I took another course from him on Colonial and Revolutionary America the following term. John was an excellent teacher, well organized, imparting clear and easily understood concepts and facts. He also fused his serious history lessons with atrocious puns and bad jokes to engage the class (What were Joan of Arc's last words? "I'm smoking more now, but enjoying it less"). I was hooked. Soon I was back at Penn State for graduate studies in history, taking John's seminar on the Revolution. Here, he patiently made the time to intensively edit our papers, going carefully go over the manuscript with a red pencil correcting not only content but punctuation, syntax, et cetera. Once, having received a paper back, each page etched full of red marks, I was initially crestfallen. But I soon realized it was the best thing he could have done for me, or any other student for that matter. Whereas other professors would quickly read, make a few comments, and assign a grade, he cared. He cared about what I had to say, and how I said it. I continued to appreciate his support and encouragement, long after graduate school, well into my career as an archivist, and today. Thank you, John.

Due to the above influences, I view *Pennsylvania History* through an interdisciplinary lens. History is not just documenting and analyzing stuff

that happened. It exists together with archaeology, the social sciences, historic preservation, geography, and many other disciplines to provide a fuller picture of our Commonwealth's marvelous past. Nor is Pennsylvania isolated from the rest of the nation. I hope to continue the special theme issues and occasional articles reflecting this wide perspective.

It is an honor and privilege to take the reins of this prestigious and internationally recognized journal. I am either the seventeenth or eighteenth editor of *Pennsylvania History*, depending on whether or not you count William A. Pencak's nonconsecutive service as two terms or as one editor. I am also only the second woman, after Jean Soderlund. This journal is now at a new juncture, unfortunately evolving out of Bill's untimely death. Please note the upcoming structural changes in the "To the Reader" elsewhere in these pages.

Though these changes may be cosmetic, the outstanding content, however, will continue to remain the same.

Linda A. Ries, Editor
January 2015

NOTE

1. For the best definitive history of *Pennsylvania History*, one need look no further than Paul Douglas Newman's excellent and exhaustive "'A Matter of Consequence to All': Seventy-Five Years of *Pennsylvania History*," Summer 2008 (vol. 75, no. 3).

THE MACHINE, THE MAYOR, AND THE
MARINE: THE BATTLE OVER PROHIBITION
IN PHILADELPHIA, 1924–1925

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Abstract: The Republican machine, the mayor of Philadelphia, and the head of public safety all had input with regard to the enforcement of Prohibition in Philadelphia in 1924–25. W. Freeland Kendrick, a member of the Philadelphia machine, had won the mayoralty overwhelmingly in 1923 because he was the choice of machine head William S. Vare. The Republican machine did not support Prohibition and Vare expected Kendrick to turn a blind eye to the Prohibition laws. Kendrick, however, decided to appoint a Marine brigadier general, Smedley D. Butler, as the head of the Department of Public Safety. It was Butler's belief that all laws had to be upheld, including the Prohibition laws. Butler's methods of Prohibition enforcement were not popular with either the machine or the populace. Kendrick found himself between Vare and Butler. The result was that Kendrick fired Butler, and the machine destroyed Kendrick's future in politics.

Keywords: Prohibition; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; police; Smedley D. Butler; W. Freeland Kendrick

Philadelphia during Prohibition was a wide-open city run by the Republican machine, or Republican Organization, as it was known.¹ In 1923 William S. Vare, the head of the Organization, chose W. Freeland Kendrick, the Philadelphia receiver of taxes,

as his choice for the Republican mayoral nominee. Kendrick, a likeable man, had been active in the Organization since his twenties, but he “is not a reformer, nor even a distinguished machine politician. As an inveterate ‘joiner’ of secret societies, he owes much to his famous smile.”²

With Vare’s backing, Kendrick got the nomination and went on to win the mayoralty. Most everyone expected him to be a front for Vare’s policies, but Kendrick did not fulfill this expectation. Instead, he became known for his appointment of Marine Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler (1881–1940) as his head of the Department of Public Safety.³

Upon winning, Kendrick declared that one of his major foci would be to clean up this department, which included the police bureau in charge of enforcing the Prohibition laws. Butler agreed to take the position with the stipulation that he would have free rein to run the department as he saw fit. For Butler, this meant running it according to marine conventions and upholding the Prohibition laws:⁴

Whether a law is right or wrong, all law has got to be enforced. And if you do not want law enforced, do not call upon a marine to help you out. The tradition of our service is one of absolute law enforcement. . . . Philadelphia policemen will not be permitted to question any law. Banditry and bootlegging are going to stop. It may be necessary to discharge the entire police force. But it is silly to say that laws cannot be enforced.⁵

The machine, however, was not a proponent of Prohibition. This was made clear when the Vare delegation, along with other local leaders, met with Republican Gifford Pinchot who was running for the governorship of Pennsylvania. The *Bulletin*, a conservative paper, reported that while they threw their support behind most of his program, they did not endorse his call to close all the saloons in the state.⁶

The result of the disparate positions between Butler and Vare forced Kendrick to maneuver between the two. This became especially galling to Kendrick when the newspapers and reformers lauded Butler, often treating Kendrick as Butler’s sidekick. Problems between the two men began to emerge. Kendrick, a Shriner and machine player, was a consensus builder. Butler, a marine general who loved the limelight, was an autocrat. The result was a clash of values and management style. Kendrick, however, was not the ultimate political force in Philadelphia; that was William S. Vare. A consummate politician, he decided,

after two years, that he had had enough of Kendrick's reforms and orchestrated events that led to the end of Kendrick's political career. As a side bonus, they also forced Kendrick to fire Butler.

The Machine—The Republican Organization

In the late 1800s, northern politics often vacillated between the Republican and Democratic parties. The Republican Party generally represented the moneyed and business classes, while the Democratic Party ordinarily comprised immigrants and the underprivileged. This frequently translated to Republican-run state governments and Democratic-held city and local administrations.

Philadelphia did not follow this pattern, however; it was a Republican city through and through. While reformers were Republican, so were machine politicians. The Republican Party acted as an umbrella that covered



FIGURE 1: Left to right: William S. Vare, W. Freeland Kendrick, and Charles B. Hall, September 1924. National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-npcc-12094.

disparate groups vying for power. Often several “bosses” competed for control, factionalizing the city, while the city’s Republican reformers formed their own organizations, such as the Independent Republicans, to battle the machines.⁷

The development of the machine as a fully organized entity in Philadelphia had much to do with Matthew Stanley Quay (1803–1904). He had helped push through the Bullitt Bill of 1886, which many reformers had believed would rid the city of machine politics. Instead, it centralized power into its grip. Quay, a US senator, had helped create the law, but knew it was not enough to consolidate his position as “the new proprietor of Pennsylvania.” He concluded that the way to cement his position would be as the conduit between the national and state legislatures, and business. He devised a path to power through the management of state legislative allotments and legislation. This depended on his ability to keep state government party aides in check. He was able to do this through patronage and money, which he got through the allocation of national resources and the manipulation of state funds. With his leadership assured, Quay chose several men to serve in city government. Among them was Boies Penrose, who became the heir to Quay, both as a US senator and as state Republican leader.⁸

Quay’s choice for Philadelphia Republican party leader was Israel (“Iz”) Durham (1855–1909), who had been Penrose’s campaign manager. When Durham retired, he left the management of the Organization to “Sunny Jim” James P. McNichol (1864–1917). McNichol, however, never controlled all of Philadelphia the way Durham had because by then the Vare brothers were on the rise.⁹

The Republican Organization of the 1920s owed much of its structure to Iz Durham. As party leader in the late 1890s, he transformed the way the Organization worked. First, he made party, not ward, membership the prime unit in the organizational structure. Instead of having ward representatives elected at the ward level, he broadened the pool to include all public officeholders and party workers. That is, he took ward leadership out of the wards they were supposed to represent and gave it to those who were Organization partisans. Second, he changed the Republican Party’s rules so that the Republican City Committee and ward committees were in charge of the right to issue admission tickets to the Republican convention. Because the ward committees now consisted of Organization members, the Organization was able to select who would be the nominees of the party.¹⁰ Third, Durham systemized and centralized party revenues. If businessmen or corporations needed legislative privileges from the city government, the

requests would be channeled, along with their “contributions” (routine graft, considered the oil that kept a machine humming) to the office of the city “boss,” adjacent to City Hall.¹¹

The Organization was also able to levy “political assessments” on patronage holders. This practice was called “macing” and existed throughout Pennsylvania. In the first decade of the twentieth century, almost 95 percent of all city employees paid assessments to the Republican Organization even though this was against the law. These “contributions” were based on a progressive system of taxation, which graduated from 1 to 4 percent of a person’s salary. The lowest-paid employees, those who made \$900 a year or less, had to pay 1 percent of their salary twice a year, while those who earned \$6,000 or more paid 4 percent. An additional sum of half the total they had donated to the city committee was the suggested added sum to be laid out for the workers’ ward committees. These contributions were often deducted directly from wages.¹²

Fourth, Durham changed the way payments were issued to those who staffed the party apparatus. Before the Bullitt Bill of 1886, the majority of the thirty separate government agencies responsible for city services reported to the Common and Select Councils. Political appointments were handed out to all councilmen on an individual basis. The Bullitt Bill was supposed to reform city government and integrate its unruly structure by consolidating all of these agencies under the mayor. Under the new structure, the mayor, in consultation with and with advice from the heads of his eight newly established departments, became responsible for formulating the rules that would prescribe a singular and systematic method to select and promote city officials. Many reformers had believed that this new framework would break the hold of the machine, but it did not. They hadn’t factored that the mayor, himself, was often an Organization man. He now had unprecedented power, including the authorization to appoint the civil service examining board. The Organization’s control of civil service introduced a new criterion for job distribution. Positions were now distributed according to the number of votes a ward leader could produce. Thus, a major reward for loyalty coupled with longevity to the party became public office.¹³

Besides routine graft, the Organization used what was known as the “strike bill.” In Philadelphia it was also called “macing.” This would be a bill that would be so detrimental to a corporation or public utility that officials of that business would pay politicians large sums of money to stop it. Lincoln Steffens described it as high blackmail. Again, the Bullitt Bill’s centralization

of Philadelphia government into the hands of the Organization meant that it could effectively quash all veto threats to any bill.¹⁴

The complete hold the Organization had over city and political positions led to the recruitment and promotion of men who were quite different from pre-Bullitt Bill leaders. Careers in local politics became low-risk ventures as unlimited tenure in office was virtually assured. This changed the type of men sought after and who would be elevated in their positions. Independent thinkers were weeded out, their places taken by those who blindly followed the party line. Party membership was distinguished by its most striking quality, that of loyalty.¹⁵

This was the reality in the 1890s, when the three Vare brothers began their political careers. As natives of South Philadelphia, they began their rise to power there. George, the eldest, served as a state representative and then a state senator. His brother Edwin, three years younger, followed in his footsteps. William, the youngest, was consecutively a member of the city select council, the recorder of deeds, and a member of the US House of Representatives. He was also US senator-elect from Pennsylvania, but was never seated. Ed became active in the Republican Organization under Durham and also started a construction company. In 1911, as their power grew, they decided to run Bill for mayor.¹⁶

Iz Durham died in 1908 and had bequeathed the Philadelphia Republican party to "Sunny Jim" McNichol. As the Vares' power in South Philadelphia expanded, McNichol found his fiefdom shrinking to the northern sections of the city. This left McNichol with two problems: first, he did not want Bill Vare to become mayor and consolidate his power over the entire city; and second, he, like Ed Vare, owned a construction company, and both competed against each other for business. McNichol believed that a Vare mayoralty would effectively shut him out of city contracts. He appealed to Penrose to find another mayoralty candidate, and the two settled on George H. Earle. This caused a rift in the Republican Party, with the result that both Vare and Earle lost the election. The entire affair caused a rift between Penrose and the Vare brothers.¹⁷

With the death of Penrose in December 1921, Ed rose to the top leadership position of the Organization. When Ed died, less than a year later, the *Evening Bulletin* ran an editorial entitled "The End of a Dynasty," ending: "Apparently, the party will wait, for an indefinite time, for another 'boss' like Ed Vare."¹⁸

By 1923, Bill Vare was beginning to consolidate his dominance. That July 4 he was elected a member of the Republican City Committee from the

Twenty-sixth Ward. The next day Vare paid a visit to Kendrick to discuss the latter's mayoralty bid.¹⁹

The Mayor—W. Freeland Kendrick

In 1923, however, the vacuum left by Ed Vare was still evident. The *Evening Ledger*, a Republican-leaning newspaper but decidedly anti-Organization, described Philadelphia as “a congeries of little principalities in the shape of



FIGURE 2: W. Freeland Kendrick, *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 7, 1923. Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Library, Philadelphia, PA.

wards ruled by petty princes yclept ward leaders,” and while several among this group would have liked “to head a confederacy of these principalities, otherwise wards and districts,” that was currently not possible because of rampant personal jealousies. Instead, “the ward leaders have ‘sworn in’ to Kendrick under the pledge that every one of them is to get a square deal and everything that is coming to him.”²⁰

Kendrick’s road to the mayoralty did not begin in politics, however. It began when, at twenty-one in 1895, he joined the Masons, an affiliation he kept throughout his life. Kendrick rose fairly quickly through the Masons’ ranks and in 1906 was elected the Illustrious Potentate (head) of the LuLu Temple. He was then re-elected four times, serving in that capacity until 1918. Then, in 1919 and again in 1920, he was elected Imperial Potentate, the chief executive officer for the Shriners International. Kendrick had long wanted to involve the Shriners in a worthy cause and he got his wish when, in June 1920, at the Shriners Imperial Session, he initiated the idea of a network of Shriners Hospitals for Children.²¹

Although a Masonic Order was not a political institution per se, many of that day’s politicians were members and it was through those connections that he transitioned into the Organization. His name was continually part of the Organization’s speculative lists of possible candidates for mayor or governor. Perhaps the reason for this, opines historian T. Henry Walnut, was Kendrick’s personality, which Walnut described as one that “attracts the average man” with a smile that was “one of the city’s points of interest . . . like Niagara Falls.” Kendrick’s response to these entreaties was always the same, that he had given no thought to the matter. This changed in 1923 after he spoke with Vare.²²

Kendrick ran on a platform of reform. It included construction of the Broad Street subway, the construction of the Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition, improvement of the water supply, sewage, and hospitals, and a major cleanup of the police, all of which were considered vital to the commercial viability of the city. He declared that his administration would be clean, would not tolerate vice or crime, and would be free from the domination of contractor bosses. While he did not mention the name of William S. Vare, his political sponsor and now the head of the Vare Construction Company, he implied that Vare should not expect any special treatment with regard to city contracts. Thus, with his feet planted firmly in the Republican Organization, Kendrick ran on a platform of change.²³

Reform Under Blankenburg

Kendrick said he would model his administration on that of reform Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg (1912–16), considered the gold standard of reform government in Philadelphia from the Gilded Age through World War II. In 1911 Blankenburg was voted into office on the independent Keystone Party line, composed of a small group of reform Republicans against machine rule. This was the election that was supposed to be the political coming out of Bill Vare as mayor. But with the opposition of McNichol and Penrose to his nomination, and their support of George H. Earle, III, the Republican vote split. The result was a Blankenburg win.²⁴

Blankenburg's reforms, with regard to the Department of Public Safety, began with the appointment of George D. Porter, whose goal was to remove the police from politics. To do this, he wanted to cut the ties of police to ward politicians, stop ward leaders from evaluating the performance of officers, and terminate the practice of making officers obtain permission from their ward leaders to change districts. Porter's plan was fairly radical, since police retained and held their positions through political appointments, which were obtained through the civil service. Kendrick decided he needed someone like Porter, and with the advice of Charles B. Hall, the president of the city council, chose Marine Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler.²⁵

Republican opposition to everything Blankenburg tried to implement beset his one-term tenure as mayor. While he had tried to initiate many reform ideas, most of those requiring action by the legislature did not get through. A second problem Blankenburg encountered was the desertion of Keystone party members who had elected him. He had run on a platform of nonpartisan government, adhering to the reform principle of professionalism. In keeping that pledge, however, he had alienated Keystoneers who had assumed that he did not actually mean this and would continue the spoils system for their benefit. The result was a Republican Party sweep of all important city posts in the 1913 election. This signaled to many local businessmen, who had been part of the rise of independent parties in Philadelphia, that it was time to rejoin the GOP. Reform was put on the back burner, and conservative conformity returned with a vengeance as the country entered World War I.²⁶

"Sound Business Practices"

Another promise Kendrick made was to run his administration on "sound business principles." In 1913 Kendrick had campaigned for the Office of Receiver of Taxes with the same pledge. He had repeated this message at every meeting he attended during that campaign. Thus, the *Philadelphia North American*, a major voice for progressivism and the only newspaper in the city to support reform, decided to investigate just what Kendrick meant by this, publishing the results in a series of articles that began on October 21, 1913, and ran through October 31, 1913.²⁷

The newspaper focused on two of Kendrick's businesses: the American Assurance Company located in Philadelphia, which the *North American* called "the graveyard of a dozen insurance promotion swindles," where Kendrick was fourth vice president and special stock selling agent; and the Monaton Realty Investing Corporation of New York, which the newspaper described as "a bare-faced stock and bond swindle," where Kendrick was the Philadelphia manager.²⁸

The American Assurance Co. was incorporated in 1903 and, after the first year, continually ran deficits while still managing to pay 8–10 percent dividends. Insurance companies can be held legally responsible for their actions and are liable to policyholders. Therefore, insurance swindlers shielded themselves from prosecution by transferring their policies to other companies. American Assurance had "reinsured" policyholders of sixteen different companies involved in this business, paying them dividends for the privilege. This was known as "buying the business." Because of these practices, the company was now in grave financial trouble.²⁹

To deal with this problem, the managers of the American Assurance Co. decided to make Kendrick, Illustrious Potentate of the LuLu Temple of the Shriners, its fourth vice president. Kendrick had already begun using his name and position for commercial ends, and the managers proposed that if he agreed to allow the company to use his name and position to float new worthless stock issues (which would be sold to his Shriner friends at double par), he would be guaranteed commissions of not less than \$10,000 a year. When questioned about this later, Kendrick agreed that he did have such a contract with American Assurance, saying that the company was "a good, straight, healthy, growing Philadelphia institution."³⁰

Kendrick's relationship to the Monaton Realty Investing Corporation, however, was a different story. He completely denied that he had ever worked for it, saying he had never sold any stock or security, never advised anyone

to buy anything, and that he knew nothing of the business practices of that company. According to the *North American*, Kendrick's protestations were not true. They found that Kendrick had worked for Monaton Realty part of 1910, all of 1911, and part of 1912, where he was a manager with his name on his office door and on the company's engraved stationery. There was also documentation of original receipts for money Kendrick collected for the company.³¹

The investment swindle consisted of selling stock, "profit sharing certificates," "gold certificates," "industrial accumulative profit-sharing certificates," and "six percent coupon exchangeable certificates." The money obtained was supposed to be invested in New York City apartment buildings, expected to yield income both from rent and increases in property values. The company did invest some of the money it received in real estate. But it took title through straw men, transferring the titles to its own books at highly inflated prices. This meant that Monaton took out mortgages for more than the actual value of the properties. When the company would take nominal title of the property, it would not pay off the mortgage. Instead, like American Assurance, it would pay out 8-10 percent dividends. After a time, however, investors began to demand the surrender values of their buy-ins. This was now less than what they had put in originally, and the company had to acknowledge it had cheated and defrauded them.³²

The *North American* claimed that the Shriners were targeted in both schemes as possible marks because of Kendrick's importance in the Organization. But the Shriners did not believe these allegations. As Henry Walnut chronicled, the person described in the newspaper was not the person they knew and so they continued to support and vote for him.³³

Although this exposé had not worked in 1913, Kendrick's opponent, Powell Evans resurrected it during the 1923 Republican primary. It had as similar a result in 1923 as it had in 1913. Kendrick won the primary and went on to win the mayoralty. His election on November 6, 1923, shattered all previous aggregate votes of Republican mayoralty candidates. He won by more than 200,000 votes, carrying every ward in the city. He received 286,350 votes to the Democratic candidate's 37,019, while a third-party nominee got only 2,739. The entire Republican slate won top-heavy majorities over Democrats, including all twenty seats on the City Council. Nineteen of the twenty were Organization Republicans. Democrats won seven offices, including two magisterial places and a county commissionership allotted to them by law. The other four positions were one Common Pleas and

three municipal court judgeships, which were given to Democrats but only through endorsements by the Republican Organization.³⁴

The Marine—Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler

The machine used the police as an integral part of its operation. Reformers knew that the only way to rid the city of the machine was to control the police. Therefore, they devised a plan: they established commissions to study crime, and used scientific studies to support their argument that the police function should be that of law enforcement, not of order maintenance. This was important, for it changed job requirements from that of membership in the machine to one with reform-related prerequisites, such as physical ability and age limits. It also necessitated a model of policing from which to work. During the 1920s, the most popular model for reformers was the military.³⁵

In compliance with this interpretation, Kendrick decided on Marine Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler to be his head of public safety. Butler was a very fiery, bold figure. At forty-two, he held the Navy Distinguished Service Medal, two Congressional Medals of Honor, the Marine Corps Brevet Medal, and five medals for heroism. Although he was of Quaker descent, he had seen military action in China, the Philippines, Central America, the Caribbean, and France in World War I. One of his nicknames was the “Fighting Quaker.” He had a reputation for blunt, honest talk, complete honesty, impatience, and an insistence on discipline. At the time of his death in 1940, he had attained the highest Marine rank at that time, that of major general, and was also the most decorated Marine in US history up to that point.³⁶

Butler had reservations about the public safety position because he presumed that the two big political bosses of Philadelphia, Congressman William S. Vare and President of the City Council Charles B. Hall would block any reform effort on his part. He knew that the Republican Organization would never allow the police to be separated from politics. Kendrick assured him this would not be the case, probably because Hall had recommended Butler.³⁷

Regardless, Butler’s disdain of the city council was rooted in reality. Reformers began to realize that the Bullitt Bill gave the mayor the power to appoint the three-member civil service commission, allowing him to control it and all civil service positions. To change this, they passed the Philadelphia City



FIGURE 3: Smedley D. Butler, *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 1, 1924. Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Library, Philadelphia, PA.

Charter of 1919. This stipulated that the civil service commission would consist of three commissioners elected by a majority vote of the city council members, with each commissioner holding office for a term of four years. The commissioners would elect a president and a secretary. These changes were supposed to

rectify the problem of machine control. Actually, they resulted in no functional difference, since the councilmen were also loyal to the Organization.³⁸

By the beginning of December 1923, however, Butler was reported to be willing to assume the position, provided Kendrick agreed to specific conditions: (1) that he have the power to hire and fire policemen; (2) that police salaries be increased and the force enlarged to 10,500; (3) that he be independent of the mayor, with the ability to enforce the law without interference; (4) that he be allowed to retain his military rank; and (5) that if the mayor were to revoke any of Butler's orders or interfere with his enforcement of the law, he would immediately resign and return to the Marines. Kendrick had wanted Butler to resign from the Marines, but agreed to these conditions.³⁹

Butler wanted to retain his rank because he was to be promoted to the rank of major general the following April. He made it clear to Kendrick that he considered himself a Marine first, and would only consider taking the position if ordered to by his superiors, in his case Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby, and the president of the United States, Calvin Coolidge. He had no intention of asking for a leave of absence. On December 13, Denby and Coolidge announced they had agreed to grant Butler a one-year leave of absence, which would allow him to stay in rank. He took up his new position on January 7, 1924.⁴⁰

Butler was energized by the task of Prohibition enforcement. Since he interpreted the duties of the city police to be comparable to those of a country's soldiers, he aggressively undertook a campaign to save Philadelphia from its criminal enemies. This meant all-out war on bootleggers. His battle plan was a frontal attack on saloons, hotels, cafés, and clubs. He also planned to keep breweries under police surveillance to insure compliance with the Volstead Act. At the same time he had to guard his rear flank, as his officers often took their orders from the Organization. Upholding prohibition laws became a war on two fronts.⁴¹

Butler lost no time in beginning his fight. He was sworn in on January 7, 1924 and by that Friday, January 11, newspapers reported that he had closed 973 saloons out of a reputed 1,200 in the city. On January 16, he outlined a second forty-eight-hour intensive drive. In all, Butler conducted 484 raids in his first week in office. He made it clear that if this cleanup was not effective enough to solve the liquor problem, he would inaugurate continuous, seven-day-a-week drives. He then ordered 100 raids a week. These raids continued throughout his first year as head of public safety.⁴²

Raids were not enough to contain the liquor problem. Therefore, by November, Butler tried to get legislation passed that would allow the police to padlock saloons, cafés, and other similar establishments. He based his request on the grounds that certain establishments violated the common nuisance clause of the state prohibition law, and decided to begin slowly, only padlocking five saloons, to assess the feasibility of using that provision.⁴³

Butler's request was granted and he continued to padlock saloons into 1925. The problem was not the law, it turned out, but the internal obstacle of police resistance. Judge Harry S. McDevitt of Common Pleas Court number 1, one of Butler's staunchest supporters, responded to this by ruling that padlocked saloons or other establishments must have yellow signs placed on their doors to indicate they were closed. He then sent a padlock violator to jail for contempt of the court order and warned police to start showing more interest in these actions and involve themselves in the court prosecutions. If they did not take the witness stand, he said, he would postpone the entire list of liquor law violators for several months.⁴⁴

By May 1925 Butler had brought injunctions against 130 establishments, including saloons, drugstores, cigar stores, restaurants, and a grocery. He also set a quota of 300 raids for July and 500 for August. An underlying problem surfaced, however, when the *Inquirer* reported that they knew of at least one saloon that had been raided six times over a two-week period. Again Judge McDevitt intervened and ordered that those businesses that had been padlocked would now also have bars and chains installed to keep them closed. These efforts did little to stem the liquor trade, however. As the Special Grand Jury of 1928 would show, many of the police who were involved in the raids also tipped off the proprietors beforehand.⁴⁵

Butler took a different tactic with the managements of hotels, clubs, and cafés. Early in March 1924 he warned them of serious consequences if they did not stop evading Prohibition laws. He thought he had their backing when he received a letter from the Philadelphia Hotel Association stating that it had formed a committee to cooperate with him.⁴⁶ Hotels had their own detectives whose powers equaled those of the police, so Butler made plans to use his men as an auxiliary force. Together with Kendrick, he conceived of the idea to create a special squad of detectives attired in full evening dress who would be located in hotels, cafés and clubs. These men would be picked "on a basis of their good looks and the ease with which they can grace a lamp-shaded table without fretting over a boiled shirt and long coat tails." The mayor suggested placing cards on every table that read: "Transportation

or drinking of liquor at (name of establishment to be inserted) is prohibited by law and is not permitted. Guests are warned that violations subject them to immediate arrest." The results were not very effective.⁴⁷

Butler soon realized that hotel detectives were not following his injunction on liquor. Hotelmen declared they were. Butler stated publically that he did not doubt their words, but the public had to understand that the law was the law and that he would not play favorites. In response, managers of twenty Philadelphia hotels held a closed-door meeting to protest what they deemed to be Butler's "unreasonable attitude." Butler's answer was a plan to keep the hotels under continual surveillance by detectives armed at all times with search-and-seizure warrants, ready to make an arrest or seizure at any moment. This action incensed the hotelmen and led to further agitation.⁴⁸

Beer and breweries were another major headache for Butler. He was as determined to keep beer out of the public domain as he was alcohol. His war on beer stemmed from the Volstead Act, which made it mandatory to strip the alcoholic content of beer from 5 percent to 0.5% or less, the arbitrary amount the law decreed. This new brew, called "near" beer, was made by brewing real beer and then extracting the alcohol from it. Philadelphia was home to several breweries, and Butler stationed officers around each, to make sure they were complying with the law. He also organized a special secret squad of "ginks" to spy on these policemen in case they were crooked, in order to use them to turn state's evidence against those higher up in the illegal operations.⁴⁹

Somehow, while officers guarded the "real" beer to make sure it was not distributed, its alcoholic content disappeared, leaving only "near" beer in its place. Butler's investigation found that, in several breweries, the real beer was loaded on trucks and then driven out in the middle of the night, sometimes through secret exit tunnels, for distribution. The trucks then returned to the brewery and, when tested, contained "near" beer. Truckloads of real beer disappeared in this fashion. Police collusion was the obvious interpretation.⁵⁰

On May 16, 1925, Butler announced the conclusion of a year and a half long undercover operation tracking police irregularities. Part of this investigation involved the police guarding the breweries. Almost 400 officers were implicated. By the end of May 1925, Butler thought he had enough evidence to indict these men and launch a major police scandal. The result, which Butler had expected to be a "bombshell," turned into a "dud." The June

grand jury only charged five officers with taking money from bootleggers and distributors.⁵¹

Butler and the Organization

The problems between Butler and Organization politicians began early on. This was exacerbated by his announcement in late March 1924 that he was going to revise the entire system of police districts. Police district boundaries coincided with those of the wards. This structure was used to tie the district police to their specific ward leaders. Like Porter, Butler wanted to cut the cord between police and ward politics. His solution was to change district boundaries so that sections of four, five, or even six wards would meet in one new police district. Accordingly, he submitted a redistricting plan to Mayor Kendrick, the members of Kendrick's cabinet, and the members of the city council, in the beginning of May. In June, Kendrick approved Butler's plan to close twenty of forty-two districts and reapportion the rest.⁵²

By this time, Butler was actively not getting along with Charles B. Hall, president of the city council and major Organization player. Butler therefore tried to work around him whenever possible, especially with regard to the police district issue, since control of the police was a major tool the Organization used to sustain its authority. Butler's argument to the members of the council was that, in the opinion of City Solicitor Gaffney, the sole power of redistricting lay with the director of public safety, under the act of May 11, 1867. This act allowed the director to change the boundaries as he saw fit in order to achieve the most conducive structure. The approval of the council was only needed in the event the department wanted to sell or lease the abandoned stations. The council did not respond positively to these arguments. Redistricting effectively ended any truce Butler had with the Organization.⁵³

By July 1924 Butler's interaction with the Organization had further deteriorated. The *Record*, the solo Democratic-leaning newspaper in Philadelphia, reported that there was "smoldering animosity" between the leading members of the city council and Director Butler. Kendrick, however, decided to ignore the situation in his review of the first six months of his administration. All he would say was that there existed "some differences of opinion" in the way the department should function. He praised Butler's performance and maintained his support of the director who, he said, had been doing

impressive work as seen by the decrease in crime and the rise in arrests for criminal offenses. He also credited Butler with keeping the police out of politics and underscored how important it was for the executive and legislative branches to work together. He then announced, a little prematurely, that he had ended "the old so-called politically controlled system."⁵⁴

The following day tempers flared anew, and Kendrick now found himself in the role of peacemaker between Butler and Hall. Allegations flew. Allegedly, Butler accused Hall and other councilmen of having an interest in crap games. They retaliated by intimating that Butler's raids had been directed against them personally. Hall denied he had been the political sponsor of a lieutenant who had been threatened with dismissal by Butler the week before, and added that he had been authorized by the mayor to say, "that he [the mayor] would not allow any department official to criticize the council in which were many of his old friends."⁵⁵

This state of affairs did not alleviate, and several weeks later Kendrick felt impelled to state that he would not get rid of Butler. Pennsylvania governor Pinchot also weighed in on the controversy, saying he was sure Kendrick would not drop Butler, who was not only doing great work, but was also a national figure in law enforcement. Addressing the immediate problem with Hall, he said: "Butler had little dangerous opposition before he tried to break up the old-time alliance between the police and the liquor gang politicians."⁵⁶

Butler also had difficulties with the Civil Service Commission. In February 1924, while following through on his drive to wipe out liquor, he announced that any policeman found intoxicated would be dismissed from the force. To implement this, he went to the Civil Service Board and pressed his case. He had the backing of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, the former head of the Civil Service and current special assistant city solicitor. Woodruff argued that since the enforcement of prohibition was a main focus of Butler's, all proven cases of police intoxication should result in dismissal from the force. Woodruff had the support of the new head of the commission, Alfred H. Kreider, who made it known that there would be no leniency for any officer who was found to have deserted his beat or traffic post. Like his initial read on the hotel management dispute, Butler thought that the commission had sided with him.⁵⁷

By September, Butler realized that what the commission said and what it did were not synchronized. Angered by the Civil Service Commission's indiscriminate reinstatement of policemen who had been dismissed by previous administrations, and the absurd clemency given officers with alleged political connections, Butler broke with the agency. In an order, acting on the advice

of Edwin M. Abbott, counsel for the police department, Butler directed that all trials be taken out of the hands of the commission and instead be heard by the boards of inquiry of the respective departments in which they occurred. These departments would then recommend punishment to the director, who would impose it. The defendant would go before the commission only when the charges called for summary dismissal because, under the city charter, this was the exclusive province of the commission. Assistant Superintendent of Police Souder would preside at the trials of accused police.⁵⁸

Arthur Eaton, the secretary of the commission, expressed surprise at Butler's action, emphatically denying that the body had been swayed by political influence. Butler ignored Eaton's comments and began personally fining twenty-six policemen \$100 each, threatening to increase the penalty by \$900 more. He then fixed a schedule of fines that he thought would ensure sobriety. A first offender would be fined thirty days' pay or about \$150. The second offense would increase to the amount to such an extent that the officer would, in effect, be surrendering the rest of his year's pay. The officer's alternative would be to resign.⁵⁹

Added to this were Butler's problems with magistrates. Originally, all but one (Magistrate Carney) had pledged to cooperate with Butler's efforts to enforce the dry laws, but this pledge lasted for only four days. Incidents where magistrates released those arrested for drinking became commonplace. For example, on January 20, 1924, four detectives at the Hotel Lorraine reported that there was drinking on the premises. However, only four patrons were charged with illegal possession, and only a half of a half pint of whisky was found. Magistrate Holland, who heard the case, released everyone on insufficient evidence.⁶⁰

Magistrate Carney, who was known to have "declared open war" on Butler, began to involve himself in the cases of other magistrates. In one such instance, Magistrate Pennock discharged three of four defendants for lack of evidence, while the fourth, a waiter, was held in \$500 bail awaiting a further hearing. He was alleged to have sold the detectives the drinks. Magistrate Carney decided to hear the evidence, too. He then protested the arrests on the basis that a search-and-seizure warrant was not a process warrant and did not give the police the right to arrest, unless the person had custody of liquor. The battle lines had been drawn between Butler and the magistrates by the second month of Butler's tenure.⁶¹

Judge Harry McDevitt, incensed at this behavior, gave notice that he would sit as a committing magistrate to counter those who refused to cooperate

with Butler. While the judge gave no names, it was clear he was referring to Magistrate Carney. It was Carney who often pointed out the legal defects in the search warrants. They failed to say: that the crime was committed within three years; that it was committed in the County of Philadelphia; or that the offense was in violation of a particular act of the Legislature, which needed to be quoted by name and number in the warrant. According to Carney, there were several hundred arrests and searches that had been made using defective warrants. If tested in the courts, he said, the defective warrants might result in the quashing of indictments or the need for new trials.⁶²

Butler's answer to the problem of magistrates leaking information about forthcoming raids and then dismissing charges was to issue a peremptory order that all search-and-seizure warrants be obtained from Magistrate Violet E. Fahnestock, the only female magistrate in Philadelphia, and the only magistrate Butler trusted. Judge McDevitt contended that not only did many of Philadelphia's twenty-eight magistrates disagree with Butler's campaign, they actively sought to disrupt it. To stop this practice, he ordered that Common Pleas judges would preside over the trials. None of the magistrates criticized McDevitt's comments. Perhaps this was because, as strong as McDevitt's pledge was, it did little to dampen the liquor trade in Philadelphia. The judge was out of step not just with the magistrates, who did not support Prohibition, but also with many Philadelphians who served on juries. By the middle of 1925, the April grand jury had refused to indict in 171 liquor cases, while the May grand jury ignored 114 cases and declared itself opposed to prohibition. McDevitt, frustrated, called the juries' handling of these cases "traitorous" and order them to pass on the facts of the cases, which should rely solely on the law, and not mix "maudlin sentiment" into their verdicts.⁶³

Problems between Kendrick and Butler

In the middle of September 1924, late on Friday afternoon, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* broke the news that the long-threatened confrontation between Kendrick and Butler would occur the following Monday. Matters had come to a head when Butler declared that he had no support in City Hall and that the only reason he had not been fired was because he had the backing of the people of Philadelphia. Hedging its bets, the paper reported that some rumors claimed it would result in Butler's resignation, but that others had it that the two men would come to an understanding.⁶⁴

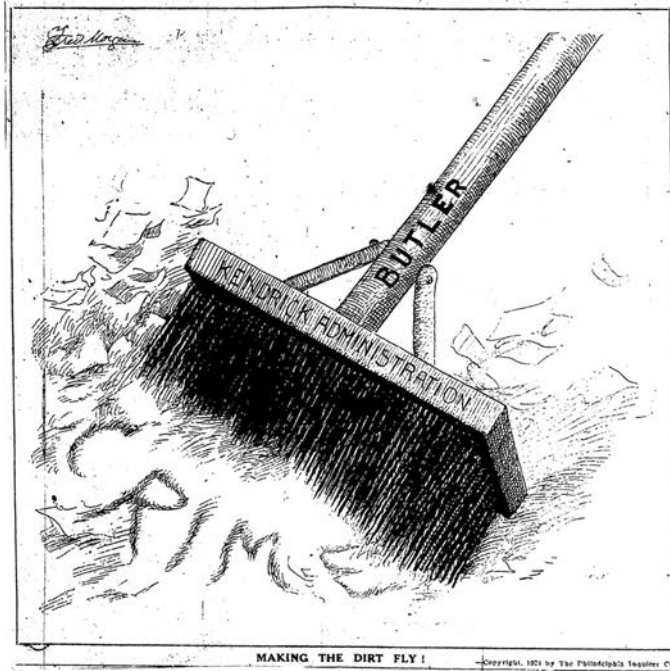


FIGURE 4: Political cartoon from the January 13, 1924, issue of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Used with permission of *Philadelphia Inquirer* Copyright © 2014. All rights reserved.

Kendrick was incensed by this statement and said that it was Butler who had created “an intolerable situation.” He already had someone in mind to take Butler’s place, but would not disclose whom at this time. However, that person would not be a politician, and that the Republican Organization would have no hand in his selection. “I am the most disappointed man in Philadelphia,” he said. “Harmony was the keynote of my platform. I wanted my cabinet officers to be harmonious with me. Yet I feel I have been viciously attacked.” With all of his posturing, however, Kendrick did not make any fast moves to oust Butler because he had been advised that if he did, many Philadelphians would be upset and his political future destroyed. And if the truth were known, Kendrick’s chief grievance with Butler was that Butler ignored him. “I am Mayor, but I am less informed of what is going on in the Department of Public Safety than any other man. That shows how much I have been interfering with General Butler.”⁶⁵

On Wednesday, September 24, the *North American* clarified what Kendrick meant when he had alluded to the “intolerable” situation Butler had caused.

The previous Saturday, Butler had raided both the Union Republican Club protected by Big Tom Cunningham, and the Washington Square Social Club protected by Bruce Burke. Cunningham and Burke represented the Boies Penrose faction of the Republican Party and, while now not as strong as Vare's Organization, still held power in certain districts. Cunningham had been the president of the Republican Alliance and did not have warm feelings for Kendrick for several reasons. During the period when Kendrick had been the receiver of taxes, he had employed a group of Cunningham's division workers and had selected several of them to take political instructions from a Vare lawyer. The men, pledged to Penrose, refused to do this and were fired. A second situation occurred later on when a Cunningham lieutenant requested a job under Kendrick. Negotiations began and seemed to be going smoothly until Kendrick said he was powerless to ratify the appointment. Cunningham took this as an insult and charged that the Vare organization, having a 50-50 patronage arrangement with the Penrose faction, was not playing fairly. This grew into a personal feud between Cunningham and Kendrick.⁶⁶

Bruce Burke had not had run-ins with Kendrick, but he had operated many different gambling joints in the Eighth Ward under the guidance and protection of Penrose leader Edward "Buck" Devlin. Devlin's motto was: "Clean up the city of vice and gambling but leave the Eighth Ward alone." The Penrose faction of ward leaders had maintained a hands-off policy with regard to Director Butler since the beginning of the Kendrick administration. It had been careful to say that it was Mayor Kendrick and Council President Charlie Hall who had brought Butler to Philadelphia and his retention or dismissal was their business, not that of the old Republican Alliance leaders. With Butler raiding such Penrose machine strongholds as Big Tom Cunningham's Tenth Ward Union Republican Club, and Bruce Burke's Washington Square Social Club, however, the old Republican Alliance leaders were beginning to demand that Butler leave. Vare supporters, under no such stricture, had felt free to continually attack Butler since he was installed as department head. This "situation" had actually existed for three months and was well documented in the press, but Kendrick had not called the situation "intolerable" until now. Butler said that forty-eight hours after he had accepted the position of director, he began to suspect that he was being used as a "fancy front." According to the *North American*, the mayor's statement that he had never interfered with Butler was greeted with laughter from those who knew how Kendrick had recently attempted to force Butler out.⁶⁷

The split did not occur. Butler sent an expression of regret over the turn of events to Kendrick and promised that he would keep Kendrick apprised of his (Butler's) actions. Kendrick stated that it was his policies that his directors were to carry out. Both agreed that since they did not often cross paths, even though Butler's office was down the hall from Kendrick's, others had kept the mayor informed about Butler's activities and had made them sound insubordinate. To rectify the situation, they decided to hold frequent meetings. Butler said he would take any information about the department or himself to Kendrick personally. Despite the intentions, the conflicts between the two continued.⁶⁸

Butler's Departure

At the end of 1925 questions again surfaced about whether Butler would stay or go. Kendrick announced that he would ask the president to extend the general's leave of absence for the remainder of Kendrick's term. Coolidge said no. Butler had two years to straighten out Philadelphia, and it was now time to turn the reins over to someone else. Butler had to return to the Marines.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, Butler continued his prohibition enforcement without any letup. In the beginning of December, he asked for padlocks for 150 establishments, including three private homes. This was the largest number of padlocks Butler had ever sought and the first time padlocks were requested for private residences.⁷⁰

Then, a defining event occurred. Butler ordered his counsel, Edwin A. Abbott, to bring padlock proceedings against the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. This action came in response to a report made by Magistrate Carney with regard to a raid he made on the hotel during the evening of December 2. On December 3 Carney, accompanied by his clerks Hugh McLoon and John Muldoon, called on Butler and gave him their affidavits of the preceding evening's events. Carney said he had learned around 8:30 p.m. that there was to be a coming out party in rooms 201 and 202, that there would be drinking, and that socially prominent people would be present. When pressed about the time he first called the police, he said he had first called Lieutenant Beckman at the detective bureau but had not reached him. Then time had "drifted on" while Carney was "locked in room 201 with liquor." He had not contacted the police for a while, he said, because he feared what the people at the party would do to him if he did, but finally called the Electrical Bureau

(which was part of the Department of Public Safety) at around 1 a.m. Shortly afterwards a police wagon came. Butler was very excited by this turn of events. He thanked Carney and made ready to padlock the entire hotel. The manager of the Ritz-Carlton was arrested and held on \$1,000 bail. For Butler, this would be the beginning of a new chapter in prohibition enforcement, one where he would go after the big hotels and fashionable clubs for violations.⁷¹

The raid on the Ritz-Carlton energized Butler and he announced his intention to continue his "military stance" against crime and vice until he left office on December 31. Meanwhile, he traveled to Washington, DC, to meet with Major General John A. Lejune, Commandant of the Marine Corps, at the Navy Department to discuss his new position as head of the Marine Corps base in San Diego, California. and to complete arrangements for moving there.⁷²

This all changed on December 22. Butler announced that he had sent a letter tendering his resignation from the Marine Corps to Washington the previous evening and would stay in Philadelphia, at least until the end of the Kendrick administration. Kendrick immediately demanded Butler step down as director. The reason Kendrick gave was that he wanted an active Marine, not a resigned officer, in his cabinet. Perhaps more to the point, Kendrick said that Butler's resignation showed his disdain for the mayor by not discussing the matter with him first. If Butler would not step down from his position as director of public safety and return to the Marines, Kendrick said, he should consider himself fired. Butler blasted back that he was staying to show his men that if they stood with him, he would stay with them.⁷³

Why the Mayor does not wish me as a resigned officer is beyond my comprehension, as I am the same person. I am being dismissed from public service because I am making the greatest sacrifice any Marine can make, and I should, without any other ties, be of more service to the city of Philadelphia than I was before. . . . The Mayor has suspended me from duty and I will obey his order.⁷⁴

Butler did not go quietly. He demanded a letter from Kendrick explaining why he was dismissed, and then replied to it in print, accusing Kendrick of pandering to his Organization friends and not having the moral courage to ensure objective law enforcement. For its part, the Marine Corps rejected Butler's letter of resignation. It then became known that Butler's letter had not been mailed on December 21, but rather December 22, after he had been

fired. Public speculation had it that Butler knew his resignation would not be accepted and was just posturing.⁷⁵

Philadelphians were stunned by this sequence of events and Butler began losing the support of the newspapers. While they had lauded him throughout his tenure, none came to his defense for this last raid. The *New York Times* even editorialized that Coolidge had been very shrewd in realizing that Butler “was not saving Philadelphia and his work was not reflecting credit on the Marine Corps.” Rather, having a senior marine officer outflanked by an urban machine was an “indignity.”⁷⁶

Almost a year and a half later, in May 1927, Magistrate Carney agreed to talk to Kendrick about the raid on the Ritz-Carlton, which had effectively ruined Kendrick’s political future. Carney said that Vare, now US senator-elect, and his closest lieutenant, Recorder of Deeds James M. Hazlett, instigated the raid. According to Carney, Vare had played Butler against Kendrick. Everyone knew about the rows between the two and how much Butler wanted to “shut off the booze” in the big hotels. A raid such as the one on the Ritz-Carlton would put Kendrick in a difficult political position with many people. It was all a political stratagem ordered by Vare to destroy Kendrick’s gubernatorial ambitions, which it did. While Carney had no proof that Vare was complicit in the order, he doubted that Hazlett would have requested the raid on his own. He also said that Vare had left Hazlett’s office minutes before Carney arrived. The reason why Carney was now talking to the press, he said, was that: “It was all a political frame-up and they used me to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. . . . That put Kendrick in the soup, which was what the Vare crowd wanted. Incidentally, it cooked Butler’s goose, because it was the one thing that induced the Mayor to fire him as Director of Public Safety.”⁷⁷

Elliott was sworn in as the new director of public safety on December 23, 1924, and promised to continue Butler’s policies, but ward politics continued much as it had been. Elliott rehired some of the officers Butler had fired, the Civic Service remained a bastion of agency jobs for the machine, and Vare retained his position as head of the Republican Organization. The new director under the following administration restored the old police districts.⁷⁸

While Kendrick had asserted that his administration would be free of contractor dominated politics, between 1924 and 1928 Vare was able to amass between \$15 and \$20 million in construction contracts that went to the GOP city committee. All in all, the Organization had the final say.⁷⁹

NOTES

1. The newspaper articles from the *Evening Bulletin*, the *Philadelphia Daily News*, *Philadelphia Record*, *Public Ledger* and *North American*, and the photos of W. Freeland Kendrick and Smedley D. Butler, are from the "George D. McDowell *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* News clipping Collection," n.d., Urban Archives, Temple University, Philadelphia.
2. T. Henry Walnut, "Our American Mayors: VII. W. Freeland Kendrick of Philadelphia," *National Municipal Review* 16, no. 5 (May 1927): 302.
3. "Kendrick Carries City by More than 200,000 in Republican Sweep," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 7, 1923; Walnut, "Our American Mayors," 304; Samuel Walker, *A Critical History of Police Reform* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1977), 66–67.
4. Ellen C. Leichtman, "Smedley D. Butler and the Militarisation of the Philadelphia Police, 1924–1925," *Law, Crime and History* 4, no. 2 (2014): 48–52, 59–69.
5. "Butler Pledged to Enforce Law, Right or Wrong," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 15, 1923.
6. "G.O.P. Leaders Here Shy At Supporting Prohibition," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 26, 1923; Christopher Wink, "Philadelphia Evening Bulletin History: 'Nearly Everybody Read It,' a 1998 Book from Peter Binzen," <http://christopherwink.com/2012/01/23/philadelphia-evening-bulletin-history-nearly-everybody-read-it-a-1998-book-from-peter-binzen/> (accessed February 22, 2014).
7. Peter McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia: The Emergence of the Republican Machine 1867–1933* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 48–55.
8. *Ibid.*, 43–44, 72–82.
9. Lloyd M. Abernethy, "Progressivism: 1905–1919," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 545, 551.
10. McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 82–86.
11. "Israel W. Durham: New President and Principal Owner of Philadelphia National League Club," *Sporting Life Magazine*, March 6, 1909; McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 88.
12. McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 88–89; Abernethy, "Progressivism," 539; Kenneth J. Heineman, "A Tale of Two Cities: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and the Elusive Quest for a New Deal Majority in the Keystone State," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 132, no. 4 (October 1, 2008): 331, doi:10.2307/40543376. There are articles that describe the practice of involuntary contributions, but that do not call it "macing." Karl de Schweinitz, "Philadelphia Striking a Balance between Boss and Business Rule," *The Survey*, January 17, 1914, 460; Stefano Luconi, "Italian Americans and Machine Politics: A Case-Study Reassessment from the Bottom Up," *Italian Americana* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 123–42; Alfred L. Morgan, "The Significance of Pennsylvania's 1938 Gubernatorial Election," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102, no. 2 (April 1978): 192.
13. *The Bullitt Bill*, 1886, Pennsylvania Legislature, 1885, Councils of Philadelphia 1886, 8; McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 89–91; Albert A. Bird, "The Mayor of Philadelphia," *The Citizen* 1, no. 10 (December 1895): 234–35.
14. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1904), 222; Gary J. Miller, "Confiscation, Credible Commitment and Progressive Reform in the United States," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE)/Zeitschrift Fur Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 145, no. 4 (December 1989): 688; Joseph Gyourko, Robert A. Margo, and Andrew F. Haughwout,

- "Looking Back to Look Forward: Learning from Philadelphia's 350 Years of Urban Development," *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* (2005): 18–19.
15. John T. Salter, *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1935), 36–40; McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 93–95.
 16. McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 99; Samuel J. Astorino, "The Contested Senate Election of William Scott Vare," *Pennsylvania History* 28, no. 2 (April 1961): 187–201.
 17. Abernethy, "Progressivism," 551.
 18. McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 99; Astorino, "Contested Senate Election of William Scott Vare"; "Ending a Dynasty," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 17, 1922.
 19. "Vare Asks Leaders to Work for Peace," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 30, 1922; "Vare Smiles at Glendinning Boom," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, February 5, 1923; "Vare on Ward Committee," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 5, 1923; "Hint Pact as Vare Calls on Kendrick," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 5, 1923.
 20. "Kendrick 'Consents' to Run for Mayor," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 13, 1923; George Nox McCain, "Combine Solid for Kendrick in Secret Pact," *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, July 11, 1923; McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 142.
 21. "LuLu Shriners," http://www.lulushriners.org/our_history.html (accessed January 29, 2014); "History of the Shriners Hospitals," <http://www.shriners22.org/about-the-shriners-hospitals-for-children/history-of-the-shriners-hospitals> (accessed January 31, 2014); "Shrine Membership: Shriners Dictionary," <http://www.araratshrine.com/membership/faqs/dictionary/> (accessed January 29, 2014).
 22. Walnut, "Our American Mayors," 303–4; "LuLu Shriners"; "History of the Shriners Hospitals"; "Shrine Membership: Shriners Dictionary."
 23. "Kendrick Declares Against Boss Rule," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 22, 1923; Donald W. Disbrow, "Reform in Philadelphia under Mayor Blankenburg, 1912–1916," *Pennsylvania History* 27, no. 4 (October 1960): 379; "Kendrick Pledges Wide Improvement," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, August 18, 1923; Walnut, "Our American Mayors," 302; Arthur P. Dudden, "The City Embraces 'Normalcy' 1919–1929," in *Philadelphia*, ed. Weigley, 570–71.
 24. Abernethy, "Progressivism," 550–53; Disbrow, "Reform in Philadelphia under Mayor Blankenburg," 380–81.
 25. Disbrow, "Reform in Philadelphia under Mayor Blankenburg," 385; Schweinitz, "Philadelphia Striking a Balance between Boss and Business Rule," 460; "Breaks with Mayor Mark Butler Term," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 23, 1925.
 26. Disbrow, "Reform in Philadelphia under Mayor Blankenburg," 379–95; Abernethy, "Progressivism," 555–556; McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 183.
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 28. "Kendrick Local Manager of Big Realty Swindle, His Denial False," *Philadelphia North American*, October 27, 1913.
 29. "Kendrick Hired Out to Unload Losing Stock on Shriners," *Philadelphia North American*, October 24, 1913.

30. "Kendrick Concern Paid Fake Profits from Stock Sales," *Philadelphia North American*, October 22, 1913.
31. "Kendrick Local Manager of Big Realty Swindle"; "Kendrick Trims, Admits He 'Decided to Join' in Monaton, the Realty Swindle," *Philadelphia North American*, October 28, 1913.
32. "Candidate, Swindlers (part of title is missing)," *Philadelphia North American*, October 21, 1913; "Kendrick Local Manager of Big Realty Swindle."
33. Walnut, "Our American Mayors," 304.
34. Ibid.; "Evans Quizzes Kendrick Again on the Monaton Co.," *Philadelphia North American*, September 11, 1923. The election results for Kendrick may be found in the article "Kendrick Elected: 286,350 Total Vote Shatters Record," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 7, 1923. For works on the Democratic party during this period, see Irwin F. Greenberg, "The Philadelphia Democratic Party, 1911-1934" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1972), and for specifics on the way "kept minorities" functioned, see 233-80. Charles Ashley Hardy III, "Race and Opportunity: Black Philadelphia during the Era of the Great Migration, 1916-1930 (Volumes I and II)" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1989), 479-569. The major study on the way votes were controlled in Philadelphia is David H. Kurtzman, "Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1935). Other studies include Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "Philadelphia's Election Frauds," *The Arena* 24, no. 4 (October 1900): 397-404; *Report of the September, 1940, Grand Jury for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania: Relative to the Possible Existence of Violations of the Laws of the United States Pertaining to Elections*, Grand Jury (Philadelphia, PA, 1940).
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36. "Butler Accepts to Make Force Best in World," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, December 5, 1923; Fred D. Baldwin, "Smedley D. Butler and Prohibition Enforcement in Philadelphia, 1924-1925," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 3 (July 1960): 353.
37. "Kendrick Wants Gen. S. D. Butler as Safety Chief," *Public Ledger*, December 2, 1923; Lowell Thomas, *Old Gimlet Eye: Adventures of Smedley D. Butler* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1981), 264-.
38. "Philadelphia City Charter" (Greater Philadelphia Movement, 1919); McCaffery, *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia*, 181; Kurtzman, "Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia," 55-56.
39. These five conditions were reported in the "Gen. Butler Accepts Safety Directorship Upon His Own Terms," *North American*, December 4, 1923. The previous day, the *Evening Bulletin* had listed two conditions: that he would not be interfered with in his administration of the department, and that he be allowed to resign when he wished.

40. Ibid.
41. Leichtman, "Smedley D. Butler and the Militarisation of the Philadelphia Police"; "Butler May Tackle 'Big Guys' Himself," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, January 9, 1924; Baldwin, "Smedley D. Butler and Prohibition Enforcement in Philadelphia," 353; "Butler Gets Help of US Dry Agents in Clean-Up Drive," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, January 11, 1924.
42. "Butler Padlock on 973 Saloons By First Drive," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 12, 1924; "New Drive Against Mockers of Law Is Ordered by Butler," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 16, 1924; "Butler Now Wants 200 Raids Weekly," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 22, 1924.
43. "Saloons Here Face Padlock Campaign," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 26, 1924; "Butler 'Padlocking' Campaign to Begin," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 29, 1924; "Butler Requests 11 Liquor Padlocks," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, December 13, 1924; "4 More Padlock Requests Granted," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, December 18, 1924.
44. "McDevitt's Boom for Bench Killed," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 10, 1922; McDevitt had been a reporter, day city editor, and political editor of the *Philadelphia Press*. He studied law while a newspaperman and was admitted to the bar in 1913. He was appointed the private secretary to Pennsylvania governor Sproul when Sproul took office, and was appointed by the governor to the bench in June 1922. At thirty-seven, he was one of the youngest judges ever to serve and was said to have looked "extremely youthful" at his swearing in on July 1. He became actively involved in the city's antidrug crusade and was threatened with bodily harm and the destruction of his new home that fall. Harry S. McDevitt Appointed Judge," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 30, 1922; "McDevitt in Office as Youngest Judge," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 1, 1922; "30,000 Drug Users Menace City, Court Tells Grand Jury," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 11, 1922; "Police Guard Home of Judge McDevitt," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 4, 1922; "Judge Threatened in War on Dopers," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 3, 1922. "McDevitt Scores Police Lethargy in Padlock Cases," *Philadelphia North American*, March 15, 1925; "Won't Put Padlock on the Globe Café," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, March 14, 1925.
45. "23 More Padlocks Sought by Butler," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 19, 1925; "McDevitt Grants 7 More Padlocks," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 19, 1925; "Butler Crusaders Begin August Raids," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 2, 1925; "Butler's Men Raid Saloon Sixth Time," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 15, 1925; "Locks and Chains Ordered for Bars," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, August 28, 1925.
46. "Hotel Men Pledge Support to Butler," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, January 21, 1924. The content of the letter: "I am instructed to inform you that the Philadelphia Hotel Association, at its annual meeting last Saturday, appointed a committee to co-operate with you in the enforcement of the law and rules prescribed for acceptable hotel operation in this city. This committee will promptly inform you of any infraction of the law and the rules coming to their knowledge in the hope you will speedily correct the evils reported."
47. "Get Busy or Go, Detectives Hear," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, February 6, 1924; "Continual Liquor Guards at Hotels," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, March 4, 1924; "Butler Details Police to Keep Bal Masque Dry," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 4, 1924.
48. "Continual Liquor Guards at Hotels."
49. Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998), 149; "Butler Ready to Explode Big Police Bomb," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 28, 1925.

50. "Beer Waxes 'Near' as Police Guard It," *Public Ledger and North American*, June 10, 1925; "Kendrick Supports Butler Beer Probe," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 10, 1925.
51. "Suspended Police Facing Demotion," *Public Ledger and North American*, May 19, 1925; "Butler Starts Big Shake-Up by Suspending 40," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, May 16, 1925; "Butler Ready to Explode Big Police Bomb"; "Police Graft Bomb Is 'Dud' to Butler," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 12, 1925.
52. "Butler Plans New Ward Boss Battle," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, March 27, 1924; "Butler Routs Bank Criminals and Cuts Down Auto Thefts," *North American*, May 7, 1924; "'Clean Up or Quit' Says Butler as He Redistricts Police," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 3, 1924.
53. "Butler Plans New Ward Boss Battle"; "'Clean Up or Quit' Says Butler as He Redistricts Police"; "Butler Routs Bank Criminals and Cuts Down Auto Thefts."
54. "Mayor Ignores Split in Review of His Work," *Record*, July 6, 1924.
55. "Butler Called Spoiled Child by Councilman," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 7, 1924; "Kendrick Settles Hall-Butler Row," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 7, 1924; "Kendrick Puts Lid on City Hall Row," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 7, 1924.
56. "Mayor Gives Hint Butler Will Stay," *Evening Bulletin*, July 23, 1924. Pinchot was a Progressive Republican who was Pennsylvania governor, 1922-26 and 1930-34; see M. Nelson McGeary, "Gifford Pinchot's 1914 Campaign," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 81, no. 3 (July 1957): 303-18; M. Nelson McGeary, "Gifford Pinchot's Years of Frustration: 1917-1920," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83, no. 3 (July 1959): 327-42.
57. "Demand Drunken Police Be Ousted," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, February 11, 1924.
58. "Butler and Civil Service Body Split," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 16, 1924.
59. Ibid.
60. "Magistrate Frees Lorraine Manager," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 5, 1924; "Magistrates Pledge Aid in Clean-Up," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 18, 1924.
61. "Spent \$40 on Food to Obtain Evidence," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 9, 1924; "Butler-Carney 'Go' Over Bums Near Fisticuffs," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 8, 1924.
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64. "Butler Declares Public Backs Him," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 19, 1924.
65. "Will Fire Elliott When Butler Goes," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 22, 1924.
66. Joseph Barton, "Kendrick Yields to Gang to Save 'Protected' Joints," *North American*, September 24, 1924.
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68. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 1, 1924.
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73. "Butler 'Quits' Today with Parting Blast at Wide Open Town," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 23, 1925; "Mayor Orders Butler to Quit; He Refuses; Accepts 'Suspension,'" *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, December 23, 1925; "Gen. Butler Is 'Fired'; Impugns Mayor's Aim; Elliott Takes Office," *Public Ledger*, December 24, 1925.
74. "Butler 'Quits' Today with Parting Blast at Wide Open Town."
75. Ibid.; "Mayor Orders Butler to Quit; He Refuses; Accepts 'Suspension';" "Butler 'Quits' Today with Parting Blast at Wide Open Town"; "Butler Harpoons Kendrick as He Accepts Dismissal; Elliott Takes Directorship," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 24, 1925; "Butler to Leave for Marine Post Late in January," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 24, 1925.
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77. "Mayor Will Quiz Carney on Vare," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 27, 1927.
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**PHILADELPHIA PERIWIGS, PERFUMES, AND
PURPOSE: BLACK BARBER AND SOCIAL
ACTIVIST JOSEPH CASSEY, 1789–1848**

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Abstract: Joseph Cassey was a free black child refugee from the French West Indies who arrived in Philadelphia circa 1800. He married Amy Williams, the only child of Rev. Peter Williams Jr., a black community leader in New York City. Cassey ascended to the wealthiest ranks of the black community and joined Reverend Williams and sailmaker James Forten to promote social change in Philadelphia and New York City. Hard working by day, an activist by night, barber Cassey amassed considerable wealth and promoted antislavery and education in the black community, while within razor-close proximity to the founders of this country.

Introduction

The late 1700s through the early 1800s was a transformational period for the institution of slavery in the early republic of America. In Philadelphia, the black population transitioned from an enslaved majority to a fast-growing and increasingly visible community of free blacks.¹ Many factors contributed to this transformation, including legal developments such as Pennsylvania's 1780 Gradual Abolition of Slavery Act. The Quaker City soon became a hub of

social activism with the largest population of free blacks in the north. Other factors were more basic, such as the emergence of a highly respected wealthy black elite well connected within the white and black communities. Many black leaders—notably James Forten, Frederick Douglass, Robert Purvis, Rev. Peter Williams, Rev. Richard Allen, Rev. Absalom Jones, Stephen Smith, and William Whipper—tirelessly promoted reform of the social institutions that promoted slavery and oppression, blocked educational pursuits, impeded religious freedom, and limited employment opportunities. Others among the elite, such as Joseph Cassey (1789–1848), contributed less obviously, but still significantly, providing financial and strategic assistance. Cassey's personal history and its social context provide insight into social activism and organization within the black community.

Cassey joined James Forten, Stephen Smith, William Whipper, and Robert Purvis, who ranked among the wealthiest black Philadelphians in the early republic. Wealth gave them prestige, credibility, power, influence, and the ability to financially support social activist efforts. Originally a free black Frenchman from the island of Martinique, Cassey engaged in a variety of activities that made him the second-wealthiest black in Philadelphia after James Forten and, later, Stephen Smith. He then married into the leading black activist family from New York City, launching him into a lifelong commitment to antislavery, anticolonization, education, religion, and employment.

As a young child in the late 1790s, Joseph Cassey escaped the slave revolts, British military takeovers, and waves of yellow fever that swept the French Antilles in the Caribbean to sail to the United States and make a new start with his French Creole family. In Philadelphia he found opportunity and a lifelong home, building an empire based on hairdressing, money-lending, renting property, and buying and selling real estate in a bustling center of commerce. His extraordinarily keen business sense, his commitment to activism, and his retiring manner enabled him to achieve extraordinary success without fanfare.

In his teens, he was a “proprietor” of a hairdressing shop. In his early twenties, he expanded his business interests as a landlord and rental property owner. By his thirties, he was loaning large sums of money for home mortgages, and buying and selling numerous properties. By his forties, and into his fifties, Cassey accelerated his real estate investment and money-lending activities, totaling nearly one hundred transactions recorded with the city in his lifetime. He retired quite wealthy in the mid-1830s and devoted the rest of his life to the social activism he first undertook at night, after spending his days dressing the hair and shaving some of the most famous figures

in American history. Cassey's significant wealth provided for his large family across several generations, as described in family wills, and sustained religious (notably St. Thomas's Episcopal Church), educational, and activist organizations into the late 1800s. He inspired later generations of Casseys, among others, to support the Civil War and civil rights.

Island Origins

Joseph Cassey's exact island origins were not well documented or widely known. Even after his death in 1848, close friends and colleagues remained ignorant of his birthplace. On May 22, 1885, Cassey's friend and business partner Robert Purvis (1810–1898) responded to an inquiry from Wendell P. Garrison, son of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison.² Purvis wrote that "Joseph Cassey was a native of one of W. India Islands. I will endeavor to learn in a day or two, the place of his nativity, his age, and the time of his death and send it to you."³ At the time that this letter was written, Cassey, his wife Amy, and several of his children had died or moved out of the city. Purvis likely intended to talk to Cassey's son, Alfred Cassey (1829–1903), but whether or not he obtained this information is not known.⁴

Over the decades, Cassey's children were somewhat lackadaisical in reporting their father's birthplace in the US censuses. "France" appeared often, along with "Philadelphia" and "West Indies." Current Cassey family lore places him from either Martinique (French) or St. Martin's (part French and part Dutch), both in the Lesser Antilles, although this was not supported by documentation.⁵ Eventually, in 1920, the family of recently deceased Reverend Peter William Cassey, Cassey's middle son, stated on the US Census that Peter's father was from the French Caribbean island of Martinique.⁶ Family lore proved mostly correct in this case, with the island of Martinique finally identified in documents. Cassey would have been a free black French citizen from Martinique as France had extended citizenship to "*gens de couleur*" (French for "people of color") by 1792 and abolished slavery by 1794.

Joseph Cassey's arrival in Philadelphia was likely prompted by several simultaneous events that in combination threw the Caribbean Islands into violent upheaval. The French Revolution (1789–99) weakened French administrative and military power. The English took advantage with a military takeover of the Lesser Antilles by the mid-1790s. In 1793 an accord transferred the island of Martinique from French to British jurisdiction, but with the intention that

the British would rule only until the French monarchy was reinstated. In 1794, the year France abolished slavery, the British took over Martinique, reinstating slavery. The island returned to French rule in 1815.

In 1788 73,416 slaves, 4,851 free blacks, and 10,603 whites—88,870 people in all—lived on Martinique.⁷ Tensions mounted between the three groups. In 1793 and again in 1800, there were unsuccessful slave rebellions. With French citizenship snatched from the *gens de couleur* and personal freedom taken away from the former slaves by the British, it was little wonder that many decided to leave. They joined other refugees from Saint Domingue (the part-French, part-Spanish island of Hispaniola) that produced nearly half of the world's coffee and sugar. In 1791 on St. Domingue, slave rebellions erupted that would last nearly a decade and spread throughout the islands, driving 15,000 French-speaking islanders, of whom two-thirds were whites and one-third free blacks and slaves, to the eastern ports of the United States.

Refugees from the violence fled on the first ship on which they could obtain passage. Ships sailed for France or the US ports of Charleston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Loaded with whites, blacks, and mulattos, mostly poor, as well as the dreaded yellow fever disease, these arriving ships were hardly a welcome sight to local populations. Philadelphia was hard hit as four waves of yellow fever began in the waterfront areas where the ships unloaded, then spread through the rest of the city during the 1790s. This pestilence killed thousands of residents, only to disappear each year when cold weather arrived, killing the mosquitoes, the unrecognized carrier of the disease.⁸

Joseph Cassey's family sailed into Charleston, South Carolina, sometime in the late 1790s and made their way north to perceived freedom and opportunity.⁹ The information on their migration route was obtained by Richard Wright, who wrote a dissertation on early black Philadelphians, from one of Cassey's children, probably Alfred, or Alfred's family, still living in Philadelphia (243 Delancey Street, formerly 60 Union Street) at the time (see fig. 1).¹⁰

As with so many *gens de couleur*, the male heads of households were often missing, assumed to be dead, having lost their lives in the widespread violence on the islands.¹¹ The Cassey family of four was no different. The family was identified as living in Baltimore, Maryland, in the 1800 US Federal Census, which lists the family of four under "Negro Cassey."¹² At eleven years old, Cassey was living in Baltimore with, likely, his mother and two sisters as no other black male named Cassey was recorded later in the cities of Baltimore or Philadelphia.



FIGURE 1: Photo of “The Cassey House,” 243 Delancey Street, Philadelphia. Owned by the Casseys for eighty-nine years. Photo by J. Black, 2006.

If French-speaking Cassey arrived by ship in Charleston, then lived in Baltimore at the age of eleven before coming to Philadelphia, then his reluctance to discuss his island origins may have simply been due to somewhat vague youthful recollections. Alternatively, he may not have wanted to advertise the circumstances of his family’s escape from Martinique.

The Philadelphia French Community

Philadelphia was the preferred arrival port for blacks over New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, or Norfolk due to the Quaker City’s progress in abolishing slavery (e.g., Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, 1780) and its sizable free black community. For French islanders of any color, Philadelphia was also preferred as the center for French culture in the states. Hundreds

of refugees came to the city even from continental France during the French Revolution, including future king Louis Philippe, his two brothers, and the statesman Talleyrand.¹³ French slave owners fleeing to Philadelphia found loopholes in the abolition laws, by transporting their slaves out of the city every six months—as George Washington did—or by indenturing their younger slaves until the age of twenty-eight. As the slave revolts spread through the Caribbean islands, including the Lesser Antilles, and the French Revolution continued on the European continent, a French-speaking refugee community emerged in the area south and east of Independence Hall.

Upon arrival in Philadelphia, the Cassey family located among the tenements and shanties of Moyamensing, south of South Street (formerly Cedar Street), containing one of the highest densities of poor, black immigrant population in the city.¹⁴ Teenager Cassey headed off to look for work in the center of the French community, several blocks north. He found employment at a hairdressing establishment at 36 South Fourth Street, the same city block as the most famous French hotel in the city, the Union Hotel.¹⁵ Immediately south of this block were the French Catholic congregations of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's churches. He landed in the very center of the French commercial and cultural district and remained there for his entire career.

Island Child to Urban Entrepreneur

The busy commercial district of Market Street (prior to 1800 known as High Street) was the center of American and French business and culture. French hotels, French businesses, and businesses catering to a French clientele were all within close proximity of the State House (more widely known as "Independence Hall") and the former home of US president George Washington. This business district would have attracted Cassey and, conversely, businesses would have been interested in hiring young Cassey for his fluency in French. It is likely that Cassey found an apprenticeship with hairdresser Charles Cummins directly across the street from the Union Hotel. Opened by Frenchman John Francis in 1793, the hotel was home to two US vice presidents (Adams and Jefferson), plus several congressmen, during their stays in Philadelphia. The word "hotel" is of French derivation. Most hotels in the city at the time were called "inns," so those that held the name of "hotel" typically were owned and operated by Frenchmen.

Located adjacent to the Union Hotel was the Indian Queen Hotel (see fig. 2) with outbuilding and stables stretching along most of the city block. It was purchased by John Francis in 1804 after he sold the Union Hotel.¹⁶



FIGURE 2: Indian Queen Hotel, 1831. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

With the two French hotels across the street, and the recent growth in Philadelphia's French-speaking immigrant population (at the time, French refugees accounted for 10 percent of Philadelphia's population of about 45,000), Charles Cummins's business would have benefited significantly from having a bilingual employee of French origins. By 1807 Cassey, at the age of eighteen, became sole proprietor of the shop.¹⁷ Charles Cummins does not show up in any later city directories, suggesting that he retired, moved out of the city, or died.

Cassey's shop would have seen heavy foot traffic of the most prominent and influential characters in the city. His city block included a biscuit baker,

coppersmith, jeweler, saddler, tavernkeeper, cabinetmaker, lumber merchant, attorneys, doctor, another hairdresser, toy merchant, boardinghouse, grocer, plater, scrivener and broker, tailors, hatters, and a sexton of the Friends Meeting House, as well as the two large French hotels.¹⁸ The location bode well for developing a successful and profitable enterprise.

The building housing the hairdressing shop was also formerly the home of influential gentlewoman Hannah Dean. Hannah Dean wove in and out of Cassey's activities through the first and second decades of the 1800s. She first appeared at 36 South Fourth Street, his barbershop and later residence, in 1800 and 1801. Hannah was operating a boarding house a couple of blocks away in the late 1790s and early 1800s at 83 North Third Street.¹⁹ Her parents and brother, and later Hannah as the sole surviving heir, owned at least the two properties behind the three-story brick-front house and storefront that housed the hairdressing and perfumery shop on the ground level at 36 South Fourth Street. Cassey and Dean were neighbors at that same address for several years until she sold the two small (12' × 12') trinity properties behind the shop individually to Cassey: the first in 1811 when he was twenty-two years old, and the second adjacent trinity by 1820 when he was thirty-one years old.²⁰ Cassey used these units for family housing and as rental properties. Today, this site is marked with a historical marker for Amy and Joseph Cassey.

It is not clear exactly where Cassey resided between 1801 and 1807, although it would be likely that as a teenager he lived with his family in Moyamensing, a short walk south of the barbershop. By 1807 he was renting the front barber-shop space and likely lived in the residence above it as no other name appeared at that address in the later city directories. Perhaps with thoughts of marriage, Cassey purchased the 12' × 15' three-story building housing the barber shop and residence in 1825, less than a year before his marriage to Amy Williams.

Barber, Wigmaker, and Perfumer

Joseph Cassey prospered as an upscale French hairdresser, perfumer, and wig-maker.²¹ An 1823 engraved advertisement for Cassey's barber shop at 36 South Fourth Street states: "Keeps a general assortment of perfumery, scented soaps, shaving apparatus, ladies work and dressing boxes, fine cutlery, fancy hair, pom-made, "huil antique," combs, &c."²² Selling hair-care products and cologne was part of his strategy to offer his customers a more upscale (and more expensive) experience. Cassey advertised exotic French products and accessories, plus a separate gentleman's dressing room, all signs of a high end establishment (see fig. 3).



FIGURE 3: Joseph Cassey's Advertisement. Shaw's *United States Directory for the use of Travelers and Merchants* (Philadelphia, 1823). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Money Lending, Rental Properties, and Real Estate

Hairdressing may not seem like a way to wealth, but Cassey's clientele would have been white, male, wealthy, and well connected. At the time, women took care of their hair at home. Considering Cassey's location in the center of the commercial district and the separation of black and white clienteles, only white males would have used the shop. The wealthier black neighborhood of that era was located several blocks south, between (east-west) Spruce and South (formerly Cedar) Streets, and between about (north-south) Fourth and Twelfth Streets.²³ It was among this white elite clientele that Cassey first provided money-lending services, offered rental properties, and dealt in real estate purchases and sales.

If Cassey's money-lending, real estate dealings, and rental activities recorded are divided by decades, his activities in all areas peaked in the 1830s and 1840s prior to his death in 1848. He also conducted business off the city records as documented in his will. These off-the-record clients were likely his friends and associates with whom he had a greater level of trust, negating the need to document the dealings in the city record.

Providing more detail relating to the summary of transactions in Table 1, Cassey's first recorded transactions were two house purchases and one ground rent purchase.²⁴ He did not appear to need to borrow money for these transactions. One of the houses bought, and its accompanying ground rent, was at 36 South Fourth Street, the site of his barbershop. The original site contained one larger house and shop bordering the street, with two smaller trinities behind it. It was one of the trinities behind the larger house that Cassey first purchased (in 1811) from Hannah Dean while he was only in his twenties. It may be that Cassey housed his island family in this trinity

TABLE 1. Joseph Cassey's Business Transactions Summary By Decades

Transaction			
Decade	Type of Transaction	Number	Dollar Amount ^a
1810s	Real estate purchase	2	\$900–\$1,450
	Mortgage borrowed or loaned	0	\$0
	Ground rent purchase	1	\$68
1820s	Real estate purchase	5	\$900–\$4,650
	Real estate sale	1	\$6,550
	Mortgage loaned	6	\$?–\$4,000
	Mortgage borrowed	2	\$300–?
1830s	Real estate purchase	16	\$1–\$7,500
	Real estate sale	8	\$1–\$12,000
	Mortgage loaned	13	\$5,000–\$13,679.82
	Ground rent purchase	1	\$104
1840s	Rents	2	\$1 each
	Real estate purchase	13	\$1,350–\$5,500
	Real estate sale	21	\$1–\$10,000
	Mortgage loaned	7	\$2,000–\$10,000

^aNot all dollar amounts are recorded.

as they disappear from Moyamensing in the census records after 1810. By this time, Cassey was the sole proprietor of the barbershop, likely renting the front property and living above the shop. A note on the ground rent purchase documents suggested that Hannah Dean was then living in one of the trinities in the 1810s.

In the 1820s Cassey took out two mortgage loans for himself, his only personal mortgages recorded. He purchased five properties, sold one, and loaned six other people mortgage money. This was the decade when he completed the purchase of the three homes at the same address as his shop: the two trinities and the three-story main house with barbershop. This was also the decade when he married and unexpectedly sold the combined property. While he remained there until 1836 or 1837 in his shop and home, he was renting the property from Allyn Bacon and Abraham Hart who owned a music store a few doors away. Over the years, Cassey made large loans to Abraham Hart (even ones as high as \$4,000 and \$10,000), ensuring that Hart owed him a considerable debt. This was a good insurance policy on Cassey's part, allowing him to remain in the house and shop without concern of loss of lease.

In the 1830s Cassey's focus shifted more to real estate purchases and sales, his mortgage loans and real estate purchases being the highest of any decade. Unfortunately, the immigrant and racial tensions of the 1830s and 1840s were also peaking. Whites were not supporting black businesses as they had in the past. Cassey was vulnerable, his shop being located in an all-white area. It was also probable that he was having some heart health issues. Reports at the time of his death in 1848 were inconclusive but suggested possible congestive heart failure.²⁵ He was physically slowing down in the 1840s, resulting in more real estate sales than purchases and fewer mortgage loans made. This change in portfolio balance, possibly made to accommodate health and age concerns, was also a reaction to the greater difficulties of dealing with whites in the business environment.

A surprisingly large amount of cash flowed through Cassey's shop for many decades. Even two hundred years later, after significant cash devaluation, a single entrepreneurial barber might be hard-pressed to come up with this level of cash flow. More than one hundred real estate and mortgage transactions were recorded with the city, while many transactions with close associates were off the record. With these financial dealings involving individual sums as high as \$14,000, it is striking how much cash Cassey accessed and managed on a daily basis. His ledger, and one assumes that he would have

had one, would be quite revealing. The actual figures would disclose how he went from having nothing to becoming one of the wealthiest black residents in Philadelphia.

Personal Character

We extract some indications of Cassey's true character from the company that he kept. His closest friend was successful businessman and primary black community leader James Forten (1766–1842), a man widely respected in the white and black communities for his integrity and character.²⁶ Martin Delaney stated of Cassey after his death in 1848,

His name and paper were good in any house in the city, and there was no banker of moderate capital, of more benefit to the business community than was Joseph Cassey. He also left a young and promising family of five sons, one daughter, a most excellent widow, and a fortune of seventy-five thousand dollars, clear of all encumbrances.²⁷

David and Elizabeth Hicks Bustill, Philadelphia African Americans and Quakers, named a son after Cassey when Cassey was only thirty-three years old, Joseph Cassey Bustill (1822–1895), who became a conductor of the Underground Railroad in Ohio. Cassey achieved considerable stature within his community and family throughout his lifetime.

Tragedy and Fortune in Family Life

Cassey married and started his first family sometime in the 1810s when he was in his twenties. Not much is known about his first wife and children except that some tragedy overtook both wife and young daughter early in the marriage. The city death notices relating to St. Mary's Catholic Church on South Fourth Street, a church and cemetery just a couple of blocks south of his home and barbershop, indicated that "Joseph Cassey's daughter," without a name listed, died at thirteen months of age in 1814.²⁸ For Joseph Cassey to attend a Catholic church would have been consistent with a West French Indies origin, although, as with most of the white churches of that era, there would have been segregation of blacks to the rear pews in the church.

It might have been unusual, at the time, for a black man to bury his daughter in a mainly white church's cemetery in the center of the city. But the French Island community was very strong and, apparently, community trumped race in the burial decision. The presence of numerous French names, and names from the island of St. Domingue, on tombstones at St. Mary's Church today suggest a strong presence of church members with French and French Island origins. No records of his first wife's nor his daughter's name has been found although it is believed that he lost his first wife in the 1810s since she was not discussed among his friends by the 1820s. Cassey was at that time described as a "widower."

Soon after this personally difficult period, and perhaps frustrated with his treatment by the church regarding his wife and daughter's anonymous death records, Cassey left St. Mary's Church and crossed Fifth Street to join St. Thomas' African Episcopal Church. Led by Reverend Absalom Jones, St. Thomas' was founded in 1792, the first church dedicated to serving the black community in Philadelphia. Here Cassey became very active in the leadership of the church as a long-time treasurer and vestryman. He personally and financially supported the church for the remainder of his life.²⁹

This church was also the religious refuge of the most influential, elite, black social activists in Philadelphia. The move to St. Thomas would have been a calculated action consistent with Joseph Cassey's character and ambition. It was symbolic of an emotional and intellectual transition for Cassey, from relying on the opportunities and support within the French community, where his life and family were invisible to society, to immersing himself within the support system of the very active and visible African American community. In all likelihood, sailmaker James Forten, having considerable influence over Cassey during this time, invited him to join St. Thomas while Cassey grieved for his wife and daughter. Forten was apparently the only later contemporary of Cassey's to have known him during these difficult years when he lost his family, the only friend known to have called Cassey a "widower."

Cassey's sense of loss due to the deaths of his wife and daughter may have been assuaged by a renewed focus on wealth creation and interactions with some very influential friends. Increasingly active with James Forten in church and social activist activities, Cassey also met Reverend Peter Williams (1780–1840), leader of the black community in New York City. In 1818 Cassey served as an officer of the Pennsylvania Augustine Society. This networked him with some of the strongest proponents for Haitian resettlement, including Williams. In 1824, while Williams served as chairman

of the New York City chapter for the Haytien Emigration Society, a group recruiting free people of color to emigrate to Haiti, Cassey served as treasurer for the Haytien Emigration Society of Philadelphia.

During his interactions with Peter Williams, Cassey would have heard of, or even met face to face, Peter's only child, Amy Matilda Williams, who was perhaps as young as nine years old at their first meeting. Amy was later to become Cassey's second wife. It would not be too difficult to imagine that Amy's father, Rev. Peter Williams Jr., met often with Cassey during Williams's visits to Philadelphia and recognized in Cassey a promising suitor for his only child and cherished daughter: a future husband who would provide well for her. Here again, one might suspect that the consummate businessman, Cassey, now nearly forty years old, held off starting a second family until he had developed a diverse portfolio of businesses and generated sufficient wealth to support a family in comfort and luxury. The marriage was widely announced in newspapers in Philadelphia, New York, Washington DC, and Baltimore (see fig. 4).

Cassey's second marriage, on September 12, 1826, in New York City, was an inspired union, mutually beneficial to both Amy and Cassey.³⁰ Only seventeen years old and her spouse twenty years her senior, Amy Matilda Williams (1809–August 15, 1856), had already established herself as a very attractive potential asset for any aspiring businessman and suitor.³¹ Amy came from an elite, influential family of church leaders in New York City and was already interested in improving the lot of black Americans. Her relatives were associated with the first black Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City and the first African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Together, Amy and Joseph had eight children, two of whom died in infancy. Many of these children left their own legacy of activism, religious pursuits, or wealth. These children included Joseph Williams

In New York, on the 12th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Lisle, Mr. *Joseph Cassey*, of this city to *Matilda*, daughter of the Rev. Peter Williams, Rector of St. Philip's Church of that city.

FIGURE 4: Newspaper clipping announcing Cassey's wedding to Amy Matilda Williams. *The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette* (1826–1827); September 27, 1826, 1, 17, American Philosophical Society Online, 7.

(June 17, 1827–?), Alfred Smith (July 26, 1829–September 3, 1903), Reverend Peter William (October 13, 1831–1917),³² Sarah Louisa (December 9, 1833–October 18, 1844), Henry Garrison (October 19, 1840–?), and, the youngest, Francis L. (Lloyd?) (1844–?). Children Mary Caroline (February 29, 1836–March 1837) and William Henry (February 12, 1838–26 July 26, 1840) died young.³³

Amy Williams's influential family included her father, Rev. Peter Williams Jr. (1780–1840), the son of Mary "Molly" Durham (1748–1821) and Peter Williams Sr., known as "The Tobacconist" (1750–1823).³⁴ Peter Williams Sr. was the well-known sexton from the John Street Methodist Church. Peter Sr. also served as the church's funeral director. He raised the funds and laid the cornerstone for the first church building in New York City for people of color, the Zion Church, for which he was one of the original trustees.³⁵ The Reverend Peter Williams Jr. was only the second African American, after Absalom Jones in Philadelphia, to be ordained (1820) in the Episcopal Church.³⁶ He was involved with Trinity Church and the founding of St. Philip's Church in downtown New York City.

Under the influence of such esteemed and proactive community leaders in New York City, Amy was an early and active proponent of antislavery efforts. Her personal album resides in the collection at the Library Company of Philadelphia and contains original drawings and writings by such antislavery advocates as Frederick Douglass, Lucy Stone, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Sarah Mapps Douglass, and Robert Purvis, as well as members of James Forten's family, among others.³⁷

As the Cassey household always employed at least one servant, Amy was free to devote considerable attention to antislavery and civil rights efforts including being active in the interracial Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.³⁸ It wasn't until his marriage to Amy, and under the strong influence of his wife and her father, that Cassey immersed himself into social activism efforts.

When Joseph Cassey died in 1848, Amy remarried two years later to Charles Lenox Remond, a caterer and noted orator on antislavery and abolition, who had visited Philadelphia on numerous occasions. She moved to Salem, Massachusetts, where Remond lived, and continued her work in abolition and civil rights.³⁹ The days and hours leading to her death due to illness on August 15, 1856, were captured in the diary of young Charlotte Forten, James Forten's granddaughter, who was attending school in Salem and staying with the Remonds.⁴⁰

Social Activist and Black Community Network

Through his community and business activities, Joseph Cassey met and befriended notables Robert Purvis, James Forten, William Lloyd Garrison, Stephen Smith, William Whipper, Charles Lenox Remond, Frederick Douglass, and Lucretia Mott, naming his children after many of these respected individuals. Sailmaker James Forten was the primary black community leader in Philadelphia during Cassey's lifetime. At retirement, Cassey moved his home and family to 113 Lombard Street, within a few doors of Forten's family at 92 Lombard Street, after he closed his barbershop around 1836 or 1837. The Cassey and Forten families were very close for at least three generations as captured in the diary of James Forten's granddaughter, Charlotte Forten.⁴¹

Robert Purvis (1810–1898), prominent community leader and commonly considered to be the chairman of the Underground Railroad in Philadelphia in his later years, became Cassey's business partner in numerous real estate deals including sharing a farm in Bucks County once visited by Lucretia Mott. Stephen Smith and William Whipper ran a successful lumber mill at Columbia in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They also began the Underground Railroad in the Philadelphia area and were known to have a special boxcar with a false wall to transport runaway slaves via the railroad. Cassey's son, Joseph W. Cassey Jr., became their accountant and later ran his own lumber mill in Penyan, New York. Stephen Smith was the co-executor of Cassey's will. Orators Frederick Douglass and Charles Lenox Remond passed through Philadelphia on speaking tours for the abolition cause and frequently visited with the Casseys. As stated above, Charles Lenox Remond later became Amy Williams Cassey's second husband. Cassey's activities with the church and activist organizations would have connected him with all of the influential blacks in the city of Philadelphia and many from New York City, Baltimore, and Boston.⁴²

Cassey's wealth created opportunities for him to contribute to important events of the day. He was pulled into the community spotlight initially by James Forten in the 1810s, and to a much greater extent when he married Amy Williams in the 1820s. He retired from main-stage activities when Forten and Rev. Peter Williams retired from community service in the late 1830s. Cassey was neither generally known for taking primary roles in activist organizations nor for producing passionate orations to civic-minded audiences, but his ready support of the more senior Forten's front-stage activist efforts was life-long. When Forten took a primary leadership role, Cassey stepped up consistently into the number two spot.

Social Activism

The 1820s through 1840s were the highest public profile years for Cassey in community service, when he focused on antislavery, black education, religious improvement, and intellectual pursuits. He initially supported emigration to Haiti, influenced by his future father-in-law, but later joined Forten in his anticolonization campaign. The appendix summarizes Cassey's numerous activities. He frequently appeared as an officer, delegate, agent, founder, and not just a member of various organizations. He took a very active role in these activities, but usually not in the very top position.

Sunset on Success

Joseph Cassey was talented and insightful enough to be unusually successful at building wealth in an era of obstacles for most blacks. They had neither the liberties nor basic rights: they were informally prevented from voting before the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838 took away that right.⁴³ At the point when Cassey withdrew from his primary business of hairdressing, sometime around 1837, the business climate had turned acrimonious and violence against blacks was manifested in several race riots between 1834 and 1842. Tensions grew as the local white labor force had difficulty adjusting to the recent influx of cheap Irish labor and the improving status of the growing population of free blacks. Blacks comprised nearly 10 percent of the total population by 1830.⁴⁴ They directly competed with Irish immigrants who were not above using violent means to eliminate their competition. Some said Cassey had to retire due to health issues, although it is more likely he was disgusted with the deteriorating civic climate in the city.⁴⁵ James Forten was also retreating from civic duties under increasingly poor health, old age, and severe disappointment in how little progress blacks had made toward improving their conditions. The Reverend Peter Williams Jr. had been asked in 1834 to withdraw from his leadership roles by the bishop, as St. Philip's Church had been attacked by a mob, the attack attributed to his antislavery activities.

The 1834 riot was especially brutal. It took approximately 300 constables and special militia to subdue a three-day riot, but only after black churches had been destroyed and defaced, numerous people had been injured, and one person had died. As with future riots, prosperous free blacks and their institutions were targeted. Forten received death threats and his son was set upon,

FIGURE 5: Joseph Cassey's signature, 1828, from one of Cassey's property deeds, Philadelphia Archives Deed Book GWR, 12, Butler.

meeting halls were torched, and middle-class homes were damaged. Cassey's hairdressing shop would have been a likely target as he was well on his way to becoming one of the wealthiest black residents in the city.⁴⁶

In the end, more than thirty-seven homes were destroyed, and several churches and meeting halls were damaged. The mayor and firemen of the city were kept active subduing the riots and minimizing property damage. The mayor showed up at many of the riots to personally dissuade the attackers.⁴⁷ A historical marker today marks the location of a riot that took place yards from Forten's doorstep. By the end of the riots in the early 1840s, two pivotal black community leaders in the city of Philadelphia, Forten and Cassey, as well as the primary leader of the New York City black community, Reverend Williams, together withdrew from business and activist roles, retreating into retirement and the security of their churches. All three died in the 1840s. With them passed away an older generation of black leaders, born in the late eighteenth century. Their successors would be more vocal and belligerent, much like the whites who took over national political leadership from Clay, Webster, and Calhoun a few years later (see fig. 5).

APPENDIX

Joseph Cassey's Social Activist Record

1818: Cassey served as an officer of the Pennsylvania Augustine Society. This networked him with some of the strongest proponents for Haitian resettlement, including his future father-in-law, Rev. Peter Williams Jr. (1780–1840), leader of the black community in New York City.

1820: Involved life-long in St. Thomas's Church on South Fifth Street, he was a member and treasurer beginning in 1820, with Forten pledging \$1,000 personally to guarantee Cassey's performance. He was active as an officer in the Sons of St. Thomas benevolent society, and in the nondenominational Benezet Philanthropic Society.

1824: Cassey served as treasurer for the Haytien Emigration Society of Philadelphia (while Reverend Williams was president of the New York City branch), a group recruiting free people of color to immigrate to Haiti.

1830: He was recruited to be a delegate from Philadelphia to the national Negro Convention of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour founded by Rev. Richard Allen.

1831: Introduced to William Lloyd Garrison by James Forten, Cassey became the first agent in Philadelphia for *The Liberator*, the early abolitionist newspaper published in Boston by Garrison, which Cassey actively funded and distributed.

Also in 1831, Cassey was a delegate to the first national convention of colored men where a proposition was put forth to establish a College for Colored Youth. Cassey raised funds for this school to be established in New Haven, Connecticut, home of Yale University. This met with much resistance from the local townspeople, to the extent that they would “resist the establishment of the proposed College . . . by every lawful means.”

1831: Cassey served as agent for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* newspaper.

1833: Cassey was appointed vice president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

Also in 1833, Forten recruited Cassey to help raise funds for Garrison’s trip to Europe to speak on anticolonization.

1833: Cassey served as chair of the public meeting of people of color at the Wesleyan Church in Philadelphia.

1834: Cassey was a founding manager of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, an auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

1834–1836: Cassey was on the board of the American Anti-Slavery Society, providing financial support to this organization.

1835–1841: Cassey served as treasurer of the American Moral Reform Society.

1833–1834: The ill-fated “Canterbury Affair” saw Cassey and colleagues supporting the transition of a school for local white children in Canterbury, Connecticut, to a “High School for Young Colored Ladies and Misses,” as advertised in the *Liberator* abolitionist newspaper. The local townspeople rose up against the school teacher and threw her in jail, closing down the school permanently. Laws were enacted preventing students of color from outside the area to be educated within Canterbury.

1839: Cassey joined with friends and colleagues, sailmaker James Forten, and lumber merchant Stephen Smith, to establish a ten-year scholarship for poor but deserving black students at the Oneida Institute in upstate New York which had a race-blind admissions policy.

1841: Cassey and second wife, Amy Williams Cassey, were founding members of the Gilbert Lyceum for scientific and literary interests, the first of its kind established by African Americans and which included both genders. The Lyceum organized lectures on “Physiology, Anatomy, Chemistry & Natural Philosophy.”

NOTES

1. For an analysis of both the southern and the northern positions on the topic of slavery in the early Republic, look at Richard S. Newman, “Prelude to the Gag Rule: Southern Reaction to Antislavery Petitions in the First Federal Congress,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 16 (1996): 571–99.

PHILADELPHIA PERIWIGS, PERFUMES, AND PURPOSE

2. Margaret Hope Bacon, *But One Race: The Life of Robert Purvis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).
3. Robert Purvis to William Lloyd Garrison Jr. (1885), "My Dear Mr. Garrison," The Gilder Lehrman Collection at the New-York Historical Society, New York.
4. Alfred Cassey was the sole offspring to remain in Philadelphia with wife Abby A. (died 1912) and daughter Matilda Inez (1851–1916) at 243 Delancey Street (known as the Cassey House), formerly 63 Union Street, within two blocks of his father's final residence at 113 Lombard Street (now an open churchyard).
5. Dianna Ruth Cassey-Warner, conversation with author, March 7, 2008.
6. *US Federal Census 1920, St. Augustine, Florida*. Interestingly, the Reverend Peter William Cassey died in 1917, yet the family still listed him as head of the family in 1920. A member of the family listed Peter's father's (Joseph Cassey) origin as Martinique. This is the only documentation known of Cassey's origins.
7. Paul Finkelman and J. C. Miller, eds., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 1:160.
8. See Billy G. Smith, *Ship of Death: The Voyage that Changed the Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), and P. Sean Taylor, "We Live in the Midst of Death: Yellow Fever, Moral Economy, and Public Health in Philadelphia, 1793–1805" (PhD diss., Northern Illinois University, 2005).
9. Joseph was fluent in French and had a life-long French accent. He taught French to his children. He would have to have lived in a French-speaking community most of his early childhood years to develop this fluency. As he was born in 1789, the family would have left the islands in the late 1790s, allowing Joseph to build his French-language skills.
10. Richard R. Wright Jr., "The Negro in Pennsylvania: A Study in Economic History," *History* 250 (1907): 52.
11. Gary B. Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North: Black Saint Domingans in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (1998): 44–73.
12. *U.S. Federal Census 1800, Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1800).
13. Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti."
14. *U.S. Federal Census 1810, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1810); *A Statistical Inquiry into the Condition of People of Colour, or the City and Districts of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Kite & Walton, 1849).
15. A Philadelphia city block is 400–425 feet long, per William Penn's plans in 1681.
16. R. B. Ludy, *Historic Hotels of the World: Past and Present* (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1927).
17. James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1808* (Philadelphia, 1809).
18. Cornelius William Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1801* (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1801).
19. Ibid.
20. A "trinity" is a traditional Philadelphia small home from the 1700s or early 1800s. It consists of three stories above ground, one below, and each story contains only one room, often in the 12' × 12' range (or smaller) for a total house size of 576 square feet. Early allusions for the word "trinity" houses were to "faith, hope, and charity," evolving into "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with

the Devil in the basement” (kitchen). These homes were heated with fireplaces on each floor or Franklin stoves.

21. Joseph Willson, *The Elite of Our People: Joseph Willson's Sketches of Black Upper-Class Life in Antebellum Philadelphia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 167.
22. J. Shaw, *United States Directory for the Use of Travelers and Merchants* (Philadelphia, 1823).
23. *The 1838 African American Census* (Philadelphia, 1838).
24. Ground rents represent a separation of above ground and ground ownership for a property in Philadelphia. These were abolished later by the city as they complicated ownership. You could own your house but lose it at a sheriff's sale if you neglected to pay an annual ground rent to whoever owned the ground rent. Owners of properties tried to buy the ground rents for their properties and unite the two deeds permanently.
25. Death Records, Philadelphia City Archives.
26. Julie Winch, “A Person of Good Character and Considerable Property: James Forten and the Issue of Race in Philadelphia's Antebellum Business Community,” *Business History Review* 75 (2001): 261.
27. Martin Robison Delaney, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), Project Gutenberg EBook.
28. Death Records, 261, Philadelphia City Archives.
29. The records of St. Thomas Church are maintained in excellent shape by archivist Mary Sewall-Smith at the church's present home at Sixty-Ninth Street and Overbrook Avenue (near City Line Avenue).
30. *The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette* (1826–27), September 27, 1826, 1, 17; APS [American Philosophical Society] Online, 7.
31. Charlotte Forten Grimké, *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787–1848* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Willson, *The Elite of Our People*, 167.
32. Cassey Family newspaper clippings excerpts, Howard University Archives, Washington, DC.
33. Cassey 1700s Family Bible, Howard University Archives, Washington, DC.
34. J. B. Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1858). These dates are derived from a tombstone description found in Wakeley's book. The Cassey family Bible from the 1700s (Howard University Archives) states slightly different dates, e.g., 1824. Both sources have been found to have errors in dates.
35. *Ibid.*, 443–44.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Phillip Lapsansky, *The Library Company of Philadelphia: 1998 Annual Report* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1999).
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39. *Ibid.*
40. Grimké, *Journals*.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Wright, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*.

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43. Eric Ledell Smith, "The End of Black Voting Rights and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837–1838," *Pennsylvania History* 56 (1998): 279–99.
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45. Delaney, *Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*.
46. Lapsansky, "Since They Got Those Separate Churches."
47. Julie Winch, *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

INTIMATE ENEMIES: CAPTIVITY AND COLONIAL FEAR OF INDIANS IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WARS

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Abstract: During the mid-eighteenth century, relations between British Americans and Indians in North America were defined by the events of the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War. A critical component of the relationship was the Native American capture of European American civilians, particularly those living on land simultaneously claimed by competing groups. Native American captivity had a long history in the colonies and continues to be studied by historians. This article concludes that the strict separation introduced by the Proclamation Line of 1763 was ineffective because it did not take into account the complexity of white-Indian relations at mid-century, but the ideology behind the Line's implementation resolved the tension that had been the defining character of life on simultaneously claimed land. That resolution had far-ranging effects, pointing to the lasting importance of Pontiac's War as well as the impact of those events on the continuing relationship between Native Americans and Americans.

Keywords: Pontiac's War; Seven Years' War; captivity; Proclamation of 1763; borderlands

*I*n February 1765 six children were enjoying the disinterested hospitality of the government of Pennsylvania while they waited to be claimed by unknown relatives. They had been taken captive

by Native Americans during the Seven Years' War and, as part of Colonel Henry Bouquet's successful negotiations during Pontiac's War, had been surrendered back to the British. The children did not know who their biological parents were, and from Bouquet's negotiations in November 1764 until February 1765 no one had come forward to claim them. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertised the children's existence and location and attempted to assist searching parents by providing descriptions of the children. One can easily imagine a colonial official or perhaps a printer for the *Gazette* peering into the faces of the unclaimed children, looking them up and down, asking their names and ages, and summing up their existence in a few words: "William, about 12 Years of Age, brown Complexion, black hair and black eyes. . . . The other Boy, Name unknown, about the same Age, fair Complexion, brown Hair, and brown Eyes."¹

What did the recorder see when he looked at those children? Raised by Ohio Indians, ignorant of their Euro-American past, separated from the life they knew, the children were caught between two cultures. Or were they? Perhaps they should rather be seen as representatives of how life was lived on land claimed by a variety of European and Native American groups: children of a distinct culture founded on conflict and cooperation.² The difficulty experienced by the Pennsylvania government in trying to identify the unclaimed children mirrors our own difficulty in defining the relationship between Euro-Americans and indigenous groups in the mid-eighteenth century in general and the early years of the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War in particular.

For them and us, two themes emerge: division and connection. These themes can be described in many ways: conflict and cooperation, enmity and amity, war and peace. The two opposing yet intertwined themes can be most clearly seen, perhaps, during the decade of conflict formalized as the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War. The tension between division and connection peaked with the end of Pontiac's War and the establishment of the Proclamation Line of 1763 served as a resolution—albeit ineffective and ultimately short-lived—to the tension. The formal division introduced by the Line begs the question of why it was necessary in the first place. Assuredly, there are military answers to that question, but examining the social and cultural side reveals a complex moment in the larger history of European–Native American interactions.

The necessity of thoroughly re-examining this relationship in the eighteenth century develops out of the events of the nineteenth century and

beyond. Since Indian removals of the nineteenth century and subsequent continuing racism against Native Americans proceeded from the events of the eighteenth century, the story of Native American and Euro-American relations in that century must be carefully and thoroughly told. Between King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s and the Paxton Boys' Massacre in 1763, there was a certain degree of ambiguity in these relationships.³ This ambiguity was gradually replaced with a more rigid hostility as the westward expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries turned into an all-out land grab in the nineteenth.

In looking for origins of this hostility and the nascent racism that fueled it, we can benefit from re-examining the era when the tension between division and connection was unresolved. One way of exploring that tension is through an examination of captivity narratives and newspaper reports about captivity. Because of the relational nature of Indian captivity, white captives lived as "intimate enemies," or people who walked the line between being members of a family and prisoners of war. Studying their lives and ways they wrote about their experiences provides a window onto the complex and paradoxical Indian-white relationship in the era before it became defined by the emotional, ideological, and physical separation symbolized and enforced by the Proclamation Line of 1763.

Seeking a renewed emphasis on the importance of the mid-century wars is consistent with the larger trends in the historiography that emphasize nuance and complexity in white-Indian relations, particularly in the eighteenth century. A critical step in this re-evaluation is removing the traditional periodization of the era between 1750 and the 1830s. Because the antecedents of the American Revolution can easily be found in the 1760s, Pontiac's War (and, to some extent, the Seven Years' War) is traditionally glossed over and only mentioned in order to complicate the story of British-colonist interactions. Harried British officials, the story goes, set up the Proclamation Line of 1763 in order to appease the Native American alliances that they inherited from the French, but ungrateful, greedy colonists disregarded the measure and poured over the Line. Any undergraduate will tell you that American expansion to the west was inevitable, and the proto-revolutionary colonists simply could not be stopped. Reading these wars in light of the development of the United States, however, misrepresents their place in the story of life on land under contention and the story of how Euro-Americans and Native Americans interacted. Instead, the significance of these conflicts derives from the long buildup in the first half of the eighteenth century and their

continuing effect on both Indian-white relations and the development of a distinct American identity in the nineteenth century.

Historiographical trends support this re-examination. Peter Silver has shown how fear of Indians bound colonists together and shaped a new, white, American identity. Silver's work focuses on provincial leaders and how they emphasized fear, or what he calls the "anti-Indian sublime," in order to foster a united front among disparate colonists. Similarly, Alan Taylor shows how American fear of Indians, helped along by vivid American imaginations, dramatically shaped the events of the War of 1812, as the Indian fear that developed in the eighteenth century came to full fruition in the early nineteenth century. This fruit can be seen in particular during the Cherokee removals of the 1830s, as racist intolerance of all Native Americans cast a dark shadow over the proceedings, tainting all of the discussions about whether or not the Cherokee were, or could be, "civilized."⁴

In addition, a continuing rich historiography examines the complex relationships existing among inhabitants of North America, particularly before the formation of the United States, and how those relationships contributed to identity formation. John Demos set the stage, in many ways, for a discussion of the interwoven nature of white-Indian family life during the colonial era. James Axtell's classic article, "The White Indians of Colonial America," showed how captivity narratives could help delineate the intricate intertwining of European and native communities. Pauline Turner Strong builds on this idea by examining the hegemonic power of captivity narratives in the creation of a developing "American Self." Mark Rifkin challenges the ways that Native identity was, and continues to be, shoehorned into European categories. David Preston demonstrates how a careful examination of the records of daily life can yield a richly textured portrait of how white and Indian neighbors, friends, enemies, and family members navigated life together on land under contention. Ned Blackhawk and Wayne Lee refocus attention on the violence—and restraint—that in many ways defined the post-contact era.⁵

Two other fruitful branches of study explore the role of gender and slavery in connecting the inhabitant groups. Juliana Barr discusses the importance of "gendered terms of kinship" in the creation of Spanish-Indian relationships in Texas. James Brooks argues that a "nexus of honor, gender, and kinship" created a culture in which exchanges redefined fundamental identities in the Southwest. Alan Gallay demonstrates how slavery and the Indian slave trade in the South provided identity-challenging linkages among groups. Christina Snyder examines the relationship between slavery and kinship and the

complexity of moving between categories, whether one was white or Indian. As this discussion develops, historians can continue to challenge periodization and interpretations that confine the events and participants to ahistorical and even damaging categorizations.⁶

While historians begin to tease out the complexity of relationships among competing and conterminous groups, mid-eighteenth-century inhabitants of North America certainly did not fully recognize the broader patterns of their interactions. The benefit of examining the singular perspectives that contribute to the tapestry of interaction is that it becomes clear that each interaction was nuanced and messy. While similarities and patterns are obvious to those who have the benefit of hindsight, searching for the pattern should not erase the legitimacy of how one person participated in and interpreted the events.

The intricacy of Native American and Euro-American relations during the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War can be observed in three areas. First, captivity accounts show that both Europeans and Native Americans who had direct experience of captivity perceived the lines between captive and captor and even native and European as very blurry. This blurring is particularly clear in longer captivity narratives but can also be seen in newspaper reports about captivity. Second, the relational dimensions of the captivity experience were perhaps the most misunderstood feature of the wars and of eighteenth-century native-European relations more generally. The relationships involved in captivity ensured that the wars themselves became less clearly defined as they were fought and negotiated on an individual level. Finally, while complex connection was the norm in the mid-eighteenth century, the Proclamation Line of 1763 established a new separation, that, while ineffective, marked a departure in how coexistence (violent and otherwise) had been maintained on land under contention. The Line also carried with it an unanticipated legacy, which initiated a new chapter in British colonists' fear of Native Americans. Examining these three aspects of the mid-century wars will contribute to our understanding of some critical stages in the development of Native American and Euro-American relationships, and will in turn define the increasingly formal interaction into the nineteenth century and beyond.

Captivity in both the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War was inextricably linked. Some people who were taken captive in the earlier war were not retrieved until the later conflict, and the slow transmission of news about the Peace of Paris ensured that the first war bled over into the second. In addition, the wide publication of captivity narratives and reports assured that as time went on many people had heard about the experiences and even had some

idea of what to expect if they were taken. In both wars, captivity and escape increased points of contact between European and native groups involved in conflict (in addition to other factors such as war, trade, competing claims for land, intermarriage, and others). Many captives were not carried very far from their homes, and many that escaped managed to do so after a relatively short captivity. Escaping was a real option for these “local” captives for they knew that they were in or close to familiar territory. In comparison to famous captivity experiences like those of Eunice Williams and Mary Rowlandson, there was the possibility of a much quicker back and forth between the groups in the mid-eighteenth century. This continual, rapid exchange increased the points of contact between European and native settlers. Continual contact shaped the ongoing narrative of Indian-white relations developing in published narratives and newspaper reports.

These narratives and reports became part of the *oeuvre* upon which colonists and colonial leaders were building their opinions regarding the place of Native Americans in provincial and, later, American society. Even if colonial opinion disregarded these nuances in the narratives, exploring the nuances is a useful way to understand the possibilities of the way not taken, in that they reflect the complexity of the captivity experience for each individual. What becomes clear in a careful reading is that captives often became confused about how they were different from their captors and that captors themselves worked hard to blur the line between family and enemy or master and prisoner.⁷ This confusion can be seen at each stage of captivity.

A staple of captivity narratives is the moment when a captive realized that quick compliance was the key to survival, no matter how uncomfortable they felt about the situation. Captives wanting to survive had to quickly overcome any shock or distaste they felt about unfamiliar tactics and rituals. This compliance, usually insincere, nevertheless forced captives to attempt to empathize with their captors and share their goal of quickly and efficiently returning to Indian settlements. Compliance, therefore, while a clear survival technique, introduced the paradoxical feelings of amicability and hostility that would often come to define the captivity experience.

A Pennsylvania captive, William Fleming, implemented a survival strategy that exemplifies this complexity. When two Delawares, Captain Jacobs and Jim, first apprehended Fleming, they told him that they would spare his life if he led them “to those houses that were most defenseless.” Fleming decided that his best option was to lead them to his own house to capture his wife, since it would be better for the couple to suffer the same fate than for her to

be left alone and defenseless in the house. In addition, Fleming was reticent to choose one of his neighbors to attack. However, on the way to his house, they passed the Hicks's house, neighbors to the Flemings. Captain Jacobs and Jim managed to snatch one of the Hicks boys. The young man was so distressed that he persisted in making a lot of noise. Fleming wanted to explain to the young man that he had a better chance of surviving if he kept quiet, but since the Indians knew English and Fleming did not want to betray that own his compliance was disingenuous, he was forced to keep quiet. When the young man continued to make a disturbance, Jim tomahawked him to death. This sight pressed William Fleming to keep up his charade of compliance and to get his wife to quickly calm down and pretend to cheerfully go along when she was captured a few minutes later.⁸

Similarly, leading up to Pontiac's War in 1763, John Rutherford was seventeen years old and working for a trader at and near Detroit. Ojibwe attacked a surveying and hunting expedition that included Rutherford. The trader for whom Rutherford worked was killed, scalped, and beheaded; the leader of the survey expedition, a Captain Robertson, was also shot dead and scalped, along with two other soldiers. Rutherford and several other men were each "seized by his future master" and taken to an Ojibwe village. Rutherford, therefore, survived the initial bloodshed but also witnessed the murder of his associates. The first step in the captivity process was surviving the initial attack and the psychological shock of seeing friends, family, or acquaintances killed and often scalped. Although eighteenth-century North America was a place of violence, intimate violence against one's loved ones was physically and psychologically alienating, and a sense of separation between captive and captor was perhaps strongest at this point.

The transition between surviving and thriving occurred as captives were taken to their new masters' homes and captors made a decision about their future. Sometimes, captives who had survived the initial bloodshed were ritually tortured and killed, or given to another master, or traded away from the village. John Rutherford was almost killed at this stage. The Ojibwe became intoxicated, and one made several attempts on his life. However, his master, named Peewash, and his wife, defended and protected Rutherford.

Similarly, John Cox, a young man captured in Pennsylvania in 1755 and taken to Kittanning, witnessed the torture and murder of a fellow captive, Paul Bradley. Cox, "who with the other white People, . . . [was] obliged to be Witnesses of their horrid Barbarity," watched as Paul Bradley was "beat[en] for Half an Hour with Clubs and Tomahawks." Next, Indians "cropt his Ears

close to his Head; after which an Indian chopt off his Fingers, and another, with a red hot Iron, burnt him all over the Belly, in such a barbarous Manner, that occasioned a Smoke, by which the Prisoner . . . could hardly see him." Finally, "they shot him full of Arrows, and at last killed and scalped him, and made the Prisoners burn his Body."⁹ While Cox and his fellow captives had survived the first stage, they were now presented with a choice between compliance and the fate of Paul Bradley.

With this decision before them, captives had to find a way to thrive, or, put another way, their captors had to decide whether or not the captives could hold a viable place in their community. On the second day of Rutherford's captivity, the Ojibwe roasted and ate Captain Robertson's body, and Rutherford faced his first test. Peewash, according to Rutherford, "requested me to taste it, telling me I was never to think of going back to the English, so ought to conform to the custom of the Indians." Rutherford refused but recognized the importance of the request, and he tried to convince Peewash that he was willing to accept his new circumstances. He earnestly asserted that he would follow every other command and "Thus, by a seeming readiness to obey him, I avoided eating the body of my friend."¹⁰ A critical step toward thriving in captivity was displaying a willingness to conform to one's new life. Native people looked for captives to become functioning members of their communities, not prisoners needing to be watched. Captives who recognized that the choice was either to conform or die had a better chance of actively deciding their own fate. This partial alignment of a captive's goals with those of his or her captor blurred the line separating the two.

This blurring continued with the process of physically transforming the appearance of the captive.¹¹ For John Rutherford, this occurred at the hand of Peewash's father, who "stripped me of my clothes and told me I should wear them no more, but dress like an Indian." He also shaved Rutherford's head, except for "a small tuft of hair upon the crown and two small locks," and gave him a pipe to smoke, which Rutherford "became fond of."¹²

James Smith, an eighteen-year-old when captured, who lived in captivity for five years during the Seven Years' War, also experienced the identity blurring that occurred as his appearance was changed to match his captors'. As his Kahnawake captors took him through the rituals of adoption—plucking, piercing, and painting his body—Smith was convinced that they were preparing to kill him. When three women took him into the river, he thought they were going to drown him. One woman, who spoke some English, said,

"No hurt you." Smith ceased his resistance and "gave myself up to their ladyships" to be ritually cleansed. Once Smith was dried and dressed, a sachem made a speech declaring, "You have now nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligation to love, support, and defend you, that we are to love and defend one another," Smith recalled that he did not believe "this fine speech." Looking back, however, he admitted, "I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them."¹³

Components of the captivity experience were not unknown to mid-century captives. By 1763 the details of captivity had been widely publicized in the British American colonies. The columns of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* were routinely filled with stories of escaped captives, and in-depth first-person accounts of captivity in the form of a narrative had a long history in the colonies.¹⁴ These captivity narratives, of course, were part of a well-developed and distinctly American literary genre that sought to analyze and interpret captivity experiences. Captives, especially in Pontiac's War, therefore, were unlikely to be experiencing captivity without any prior knowledge of what was involved.

Euro-Americans' familiarity with captivity experiences ensured that they understood the benefits of acceptance and compliance. Early on in his captivity, Rutherford planned to escape but his captor discovered his scheme and even demanded to hear the plan's details. Rutherford then decided "it was absolutely necessary for my safety to affect a relish for their savage manners, and to put on an air of perfect contentment." He turned to this plan as an alternative to escape because "I had often heard [this strategy] was the way to gain the affection of the Indians."¹⁵

The goals of captives and captors were thus again aligned, even if their motives were different. Through both conformity and compliance, relationships on land under contention continued to become more complex. While all the early stages of the captivity experience were based on opposition and conflict, compliance introduced a new phase based on cooperation, even if the end goals were different. The process of negotiating compliance and safety involved seeing the situation through the eyes of one's enemies, which was extremely detrimental to continued opposition. In Rutherford's case, his captor thought through Rutherford's escape plan, pointing out the flaws that would lead it to fail, including, for example, "how impossible it was for us to have escaped in our boat." Rutherford, in turn, could understand Peewash's perspective, noting that "a gloomy, discontented air irritates them

and always excites worse treatment.”¹⁶ This shared perspective built on the connection initially forged through the physical transformation and shaped the rest of the captivity experience, introducing a tension between connection and division.

This tension was developed further by captives’ unfamiliarity with the concept of being adopted into a family as “punishment” for being captured in war. While slavery would, perhaps, be a more familiar idea, there was a certain level of unease that attended the process of finding one’s place in a new family and community. For James Smith, this process manifested itself in the form of a fear that occasionally arose in his mind that his captors expected him to try to escape and were secretly planning to kill him. Early on in his captivity, Smith watched the Kahnawake build a wooden structure that he suspected was a gallows. Smith began to fear “that they were about putting me to death.” However, the next day he was relieved to see that the structure was being used for drying animal skins. In another instance, Smith was out with a hunting party but was sidetracked while chasing buffalo. He could not find his way back to the camp, and spent the night alone, except for a dozen hunting dogs. The rest of the party tracked him down the next morning, and when they found him, “they appeared to be in a very good humor.” Smith asked one of them, Solomon, if they thought he was running away, but Solomon explained that between the dogs and the huge track he had left, they knew that he was just lost. However, for his irresponsibility, they exchanged his gun for a bow and arrows. It appears that Smith perceived himself as an outsider while the Kahnawake accepted him as a member of their community.¹⁷

The process of adapting, however reluctantly, to one’s new life, can also be seen in the case of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, captured in October 1755 and prisoners for three and a half years before they escaped. Both girls and their families were immigrants from Switzerland who had settled near Fort Augusta. On October 16, after Braddock’s defeat the previous July, Delawares attacked the Le Roys’ house, immediately killing Marie’s father. They burned the house and took Marie, her brother, and “a little girl, who was staying with the family” captive. They also killed and scalped a neighbor that happened to ride by.¹⁸

Two of the Delawares proceeded to the Leininger plantation, demanded rum and tobacco, and then, according to Barbara, said, “We are Alleghany Indians, and your enemies. You must all die.” They killed her father and brother, and took Barbara and her younger sister Regina prisoner. Over the

course of the next few days the Delawares met up with other parties who had scalps and prisoners. In the division of goods, Marie, Barbara, and two horses went to "an Indian named Galasko."¹⁹

Although they survived the initial bloodshed, the girls struggled to adjust to captivity and often looked for a chance to escape. Nevertheless, they still preferred captivity to becoming a prisoner of the French. In 1757 their captors moved them to Fort Duquesne where they were subcontracted to the French, and their Delaware master received their wages. Although they are better with the French, the girls "believed that it would be better for us to remain among the Indians, in as much as they would be more likely to make peace with the English than the French." In addition, "there would be more ways open for flight in the forest than in a fort." With this in mind, the girls refused the offer to stay at Fort Duquesne for the winter and went with their captors to Sakunk, on the Ohio River.

Tension between division and connection continued to build the longer one's captivity lasted. During the beginning of his first year of captivity, James Smith left his most precious possession, a collection of books, wrapped in a blanket in camp while he went out to gather chestnuts. When he returned, the books were gone. Smith suspected that his new Indian family members had taken the books, even though they denied it. Several months later, the Kahnawake, including Smith, returned to that camp site and a young Wyandot found the deerskin pouch containing Smith's books. They rejoiced with him at the discovery and were anxious to know if the books were damaged. This unexpected sympathy caused Smith to rethink his attitude toward his captors. He recalled, "This was the first time that I felt my heart warm towards the Indians." He recognized that "though they had been exceeding kind to me, I still before detested them, on account of the barbarity I beheld after Braddock's defeat." Yet, a long acquaintance led him to excuse even that action, "on account of their want of Information."²⁰

Additional complexity came from the Euro-American Christian religious beliefs that justified and bolstered their actions and attitudes. The imperial wars of the eighteenth century were, in part, a fight between Protestantism and Catholicism, and that battle influenced the wartime interactions between the Ohio Indians and their captives. Whereas in the early years of contact, Europeans had been able to point to indigenous pagan beliefs as evidence of their savagery, by the mid-eighteenth century Native Americans in contact with Europeans had a long familiarity with Christian beliefs and practices.

This familiarity only added to the difficulty that captives had in categorizing their captors as savage enemies.

All sides claimed that their position represented Christian orthodoxy, but they used this conviction in a variety of ways. After William Fleming led Captain Jacobs and Jim to his own house to capture his wife, the Flemings and their captors spent the night of November 1, 1755, in the woods, just a few miles from their house. William Fleming recalled in his captivity narrative that they spent the evening sitting around the fire “without Distinction.” Despite the turbulence of the day, Elizabeth Fleming took the opportunity that the warm fire’s relaxed atmosphere provided to confront her captors about their motives and plans, finishing with the question, “if they did not think it a Sin to shed so much innocent Blood?”²¹ Far from being affronted by the question, Captain Jacobs answered evenly that French priests “had assured the Indians it was no Sin to destroy Hereticks, and all the English were such.” They also assured William Fleming that they would not “abuse my Wife . . . for Fear of affronting their God (and pointed their Hands towards Heaven).” They further informed the Flemings that “the English have such bad luck” because “the Man that affronts his God, will surely be kill’d.”²² This theological defense silenced the Flemings.

Similarly, Barbara Leininger’s captors had no problem incorporating her religious beliefs into their rituals. Early in her captivity, Leininger attempted to escape. However, “she was almost immediately recaptured, and condemned to be burned alive.” The Delawares gave her a French Bible, but when she told them she could not understand it, they gave her a German Bible and told her to prepare for death. The funeral pyre was lit, but Barbara was reprieved at the last minute by a “young Indian [who] begged so earnestly for her life . . . and to stop her crying.”²³ Even if the death threat was part of a ritual to gain Leininger’s compliance, the Delawares’ easy ability to accommodate her religious needs certainly made the experience believable for Leininger, who would not try to escape again for over three years.

In addition, captives viewed captivity as part of a divine work in their lives, and believed that resenting it meant resisting the sanctification process. James Smith was certainly receptive to how his response to captivity should be shaped by his religious beliefs. In 1756 another Pennsylvanian, Arthur Campbell, who was figuring out how to thrive in his own captivity, borrowed Smith’s Bible and pointed out Lamentations 3:27, “It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.” Campbell told Smith, “We ought to be resigned to the will of Providence, as we were now bearing the yoke, in

our youth.”²⁴ Smith was content to bear the yoke for another two years before he thought seriously about escaping.

Thriving, therefore, was a complex process of attempting to adjust to a new reality. The hostility that captives initially felt toward their captors became more nuanced as they shared daily life, became part of the community, and found a unique place for themselves. In addition, captives began to see captors as multidimensional humans. Both groups were wrestling with their place in the same war, and both groups were attempting to measure their actions and attitudes against Christian teachings. These points of commonality allowed captives to thrive in captivity, but also provided surprising points of connection that captives could not shake off, even after they attempted, however successfully, to escape.

The process of deciding to escape illuminates the degree to which extended captivity was successful in blurring the lines that separated former enemies. A key component of Native American war strategy was eliminating enemies by making them family, and although captives did not, perhaps, perceive this larger trend, the narratives display the results of this process. While captives thought about escaping to varying degrees, an examination of the timing of the attempts, as well as the opportunities not taken, betrays that the decision was psychologically complex. Even though escaping involved some degree of danger, the nature of Native American captivity—where captives became family members—meant that escaping often involved little more than walking or running away. The decision to escape or not was often dependent on the degree to which a captive accepted his or her new life.

Whether after a few hours or several years in captivity, the captives who would later write narratives of their experience did decide to escape. Escaping involved a confirmation that the captive was not, in fact, part of his or her adoptive community. While such a decisive move would seem to resolve the paradox of the intimate enemy, the reality was more multifaceted and still preserved the tension between insider and outsider status. This tension remained because escaping was a multistep process never fully completed.

This was certainly the case for James Smith. During the winter of 1757, Smith was living with an elder named Tecaughretanego and a ten-year-old boy. It was up to Smith to find food for the group. He was successful until sometime in February 1758 when he could not find any game for three days. On the third day, despairing of hunger (exacerbated by spending each day hunting in the snow), Smith decided to take his chances on an escape. He knew that he would be passing through Native American territory in order to

get back to Pennsylvania but decided that “if I staid here I thought I would perish with hunger, and if I met with Indians, they could but kill me.” Smith proceeded to a distance of about ten miles from the hut when he came upon fresh buffalo tracks. He killed and ate, then suffered a crisis of conscience. Smith recalled that he “began to be tenderly concerned for my old Indian brother, and the little boy I had left in a perishing condition.” He returned to the hut, and it would not be until over a year later, the summer of 1759, that Smith would again attempt to escape (eventually finding his freedom).²⁵

For captives, escaping was a complicated endeavor because the action potentially involved revealing their hostility toward their Native American captors and the captivity experience, which would be detrimental if the escape failed. John Rutherford had betrayed his intentions to Peewash early in his captivity, when his first escape attempt was discovered. All along, Rutherford had struggled to adapt to captivity, and his final decision to escape was fueled by his revulsion at seeing Ojibwe roast the heart of Captain Dalzell and then take fat from the heart and rub it on the mouth of a captured soldier. Rutherford noted, “This [action] and other barbarities committed upon prisoners taken in the action, shocked me so much” that he immediately put his escape plan into action that night, despite a driving rainstorm.²⁶

The decision to attempt escape grew in importance and complexity the longer captives stayed with their adoptive communities. Captives who escaped within the first few days or weeks of captivity were still living through the initial ordeal of captivity, of which making a blind run for freedom was the final step. The Flemings were still in their own neighborhood when they escaped, and the most difficult part of the ordeal was when they were separated and Elizabeth Fleming wandered alone for several days, attempting to avoid a second captivity.²⁷ Benjamin Springer, another Pennsylvania captive, joined up with two other men, and the three made their escape attempt less than two months after their initial capture. The attempt almost killed them. They spent over a month in the woods, not finding any settlements until they reached Cole’s Fort on the Delaware River in New Jersey. During that time, they were often hungry and “were obliged to eat Rattle-snakes, Black-snakes, Frogs, and such Vermin.”²⁸

Since attempting to escape was no guarantee of survival, it is not surprising that some people chose to remain in captivity until a prime opportunity arose or until they could make a reliable plan. Barbara Leininger and Marie Le Roy knew the risks involved in an escape attempt, and tried to plan for every contingency. The girls were held near conflict zones; their experience was shaped by

the ongoing war. Most specifically, in 1756 Colonel John Armstrong attacked Kittanning, a central Indian town holding many captives. Armstrong's attack was designed as retaliation for the attacks that had plagued land under contention in western Pennsylvania. The attack succeeded in killing Captain Jacobs and destroying the town, but not in freeing the prisoners.²⁹

Because of the raid, the Kittanning Indians were worried that the prisoners would try to escape. Since incarceration did not fit into the native approach to war, they had to use fear instead in order to force compliance. Therefore, the first person who used Armstrong's raid as inspiration for escape—a British woman who tried to join Armstrong's men as they were leaving—was ritually tortured to serve as an example to the rest of the community. Leininger and Le Roy recalled that she was scalped, burned, dismembered, and left to slowly die, until a French soldier shot and killed her. This example was bolstered by the ritualized killing of another prisoner who attempted to escape a few days later. The rest of the prisoners were made to watch as the British man was partially burned alive and then had melted lead poured down his throat, which killed him. With these two images in their minds, the captives resumed their lives of living and working as intimate enemies.³⁰

For Leininger and Le Roy, the display had the intended effect of making them pause before they escaped. The girls recalled that they were forced to “compare two evils, namely, either to remain among them a prisoner forever, or to die a cruel death.” It was only by being “fully resolved to endure the latter” that an escape could be attempted. It would be about three years before the women acquired this resolution, and they spent several years working toward an effective escape plan. Leininger and Le Roy did not seem to have a moment, as James Smith did, when their hearts warmed toward their captors. However, they did recognize the relational element of captivity; when they made it back to a British settlement, a Native American who was in British custody asked them why they had escaped. Le Roy replied “that her Indian mother had been so cross and had scolded her so constantly, that she could not stay with her any longer.” The women noticed that “this answer did not please him.”³¹

Escaping, a complicated endeavor, revealed the escapees' hostility toward their Native American captors and the captivity experience. Even so, any interactions they had with people they met along the way kept up the tension between a specific, individual relationship and the more global animosity that the Seven Years' War and borderland fighting was cultivating. An example of this tension can be seen in the story of Abraham Miller who relates how

his escape attempt was aided by an Indian woman named French Margaret. French Margaret was a relative of Madame Montour, the famous intercultural broker of French and western Abenaki parentage. As a *métis* herself, French Margaret seemed to live comfortably in the ideological and geographic borderland between European and Native American societies.³²

In the newspaper report of his escape, Abraham Miller recalled how he, his wife, and his mother-in-law had been captured by a party of Mingos, Shawnees, and French. They were taken to Tioga, where Miller's wife and mother-in-law were killed by their captors because they were injured and slowing the party down. Less than two weeks after his initial captivity, Miller and another captive, George Everts, escaped and made it to French Margaret's house. Whether they knew she was friendly or just took a chance, surrendering to French Margaret's protection became beneficial. When a French-allied Delaware saw them at French Margaret's house and alerted a search party, French Margaret "behaved to them like a parent": she hid them, misdirected and deceived the search party, and gave them a canoe in order to escape. It is obvious from Miller's report that life at French Margaret's house involved complex navigations through shifting loyalties and relationships based on individual experiences rather than allegiance to a specific group identity. In the conclusion of his account, Miller reflected this complexity, noting that the Delawares he had encountered in captivity "gave him many evident Marks of their Inclination of being at Peace with the English, and often expressed the greatest Concern at the Murders that were committed on our Frontiers."³³

After escaping from captivity, captives faced one final complex transition. When Thomas Sherby, Benjamin Springer, and John Denite made and survived their vermin-fueled escape and arrived at Cole's Fort in New Jersey, they were sent to Elizabethtown with an armed guard because they looked "more like Indians than Christians, being very swarthy, and their Hair cut by the Savages after the Indian fashion, and dressed only in Indian blankets." Indeed, being mistaken for an Indian was a common feature of the transition back to one's own settlement. Sherby, Springer, and Denite had only been in captivity for two months, but apparently they were almost unrecognizable as white "Christians."

James Smith, after five years in captivity, arrived home to find that his sweetheart had married and everyone had given him up for dead. They were happy to see him but "were surprised to see me so much like an Indian, both in my gait and gesture." Smith parlayed this likeness and the apprenticeship he had undergone in becoming "like an Indian" into a successful career as

a ranger. He trained his men to dress and fight like Indians, and led them in defensive and offensive missions in the Pennsylvania borderland during Pontiac's War. Smith continued to wrestle with his liminal status. He fought against Native Americans, but recognized the superiority of native tactics and the power that the fear of Indians invoked. For example, in 1765 Philadelphia traders traveled west to sell supplies and guns to the natives around Fort Pitt. Smith devised a plan to stop them. He dressed his men as Indians and hid them behind trees in the native fashion. When the traders approached, Smith and his men kept up a repeating fire on them, causing them to become so fearful that they abandoned their goods and fled to Fort Loudoun.³⁴

John Rutherford did not record much about his transition back into Euro-American society, except to note the difficulty he had in writing his narrative because he had "so long been confounded with hearing and speaking different languages, French, Dutch, Chippewa, Ottawa, &c." Nevertheless, the final stage of escape was difficult to complete with finality, as captives struggled to put the past behind them and return to their former lives. If the early stage of captivity was a process of complying and empathizing with Indian goals in order to survive, then part of escaping was throwing off this emotional and psychological connection. Escaped captives had to find ways to quickly signify to their former British American communities that they were not outsiders but insiders. As much as this step could be accomplished by displaying a European voice or European knowledge or by a bath and a haircut, the psychological connection could not be wiped away as easily. The very fact these captives needed the intensely cathartic experience of writing and sharing their captivity experience shows that the paradox of being an intimate enemy was something that had to be worked through, and, in cases such as James Smith's, fully reintegrating into British colonial society was hard to immediately accomplish.

Captivity was more than just a change in outward appearance or geographical location. Captivity changed one's core identity, due in no small part to the powerful influence of the relational aspects of Native American captivity. This idea helps to explain the events of 1764 when Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians resulted in the return of 367 white captives. William Smith's account of the emotionally charged scene portrays families being broken up and families struggling to reconnect. Smith strives to characterize the situation, first explaining to his readers that the Indians "as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness" were very distraught to be losing "their beloved captives." He notes that the Delaware and Shawnee sought to ensure that their captive-adopted family members would

be safe, and some insisted on traveling with them and their biological families as far as Fort Pitt. One young Mingo man was very distressed about losing his white Virginian wife and traveled with the returning captives despite the danger of “being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons, who had been captivated or scalped by those of his nation.”

William Smith uses this affecting scene to ruminate on Indian character, noting that “when they once determine to give life, they give everything with it.” Smith explains to his readers that Indians’ “unenlightened” state had not allowed them to think up a system of “perpetual slavery [for] those captivated in war.” Their barbarity, Smith concludes, led them to incorporate captives into their families and communities. Despite this explanation, Smith puzzles over the cases of “some grown [white] persons who shewed an unwillingness to return.” Some refused to rejoin their original communities and instead ran back to their Indian homes. Others “clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.” Smith decides that these people must have been “of the lowest rank, either bred up in ignorance and distressing penury, or who had lived so long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections.”³⁵

This account, reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1765, presents an interesting juxtaposition to other discussions of captivity and borderland relations printed in that newspaper. While William Smith attempts to rationalize the events in his account, the complex emotions involved still come through. The “Mr. Hall” who submitted Smith’s extract for publication in the *Gazette* recognized the nuances in the narrative and noted, “I was particularly affected with the following . . . , relative to the delivery of the prisoners. The tender descriptions, and interesting reflections, it contains, will, I am persuaded, be acceptable to such of your humane readers, as may not have an opportunity of seeing the original publication.” The excerpt was a departure for the *Gazette*, more accustomed to printing reports of the devastation of the “back inhabitants.” On July 7, 1763, for example, an account of the war at Fort Bedford emphasized grisly horror: “Two Men are brought in, alive, tomahawked and scalped more than Half the Head over—Our Parade just now presents a Scene of bloody and savage Cruelty; three Men, lying scalped (two of them still alive) thereon: Anything feigned in the most fabulous Romance, cannot parallel the horrid Sight now before me; the Gashes the poor People bear, are most terrifying.”³⁶ Certainly the prospect of slowly dying of a ghastly head wound increased the feelings of unhinged terror that accompanied warfare against Indians and seemed to justify any tactics against them.

Juxtaposed to this general fear of Indians propagated by colonial newspapers were accounts in captivity narratives of individuals fighting an intensely personalized version of the wars. Replacing a faceless fear of Indians, captives warred and negotiated with their adoptive communities on an interpersonal level. John Rutherford related how the Ojibwe looked for revenge after a sortie from Fort Detroit killed one of their leaders. They turned to an Ottawa captive, Captain Campbell, and killed him. The Ottawas became angry because they “were fond of” Campbell, and they sought revenge by attempting to kill an Ojibwe captive, Ensign Paul. But Paul was “informed of his danger by a handsome squaw who was in love with him” and escaped. Rutherford himself was next in line, but Peewash saved him. Instead of a war being waged by nameless, homogenous tomahawk-wielders, captives’ experience of war was complicated by love, friendship, and belonging to the enemy.³⁷

The struggle between intimacy and enmity can also be seen in an instance from the Seven Years’ War. In the fall of 1754, twenty-four-year old Susannah Johnson was living as a captive in St. Francis, a French mission town located on the St. Lawrence River and populated by western Abenakis. Her original Abenaki captors traded her to the sachem’s son-in-law, and his family formally adopted her. Susannah Johnson was distressed to be separated from her husband and three of her four children and unsure about her future and safety. One bright spot in Johnson’s misery came in the form of her adoptive Abenaki brother, Sabatis. Susannah Johnson was keenly aware of her status as an outsider and struggled with loneliness. Young Sabatis befriended her, probably reminding her of her own captured son, Sylvanus. In her captivity narrative, Johnson remembered how her new brother would bring in the cows for her and play with her infant daughter, Captive, who had been born on the journey to St. Francis. She also recalled that he “often amused me with feats performed with his bow and arrow.”³⁸

Five years later, in 1759, Susannah Johnson had survived her captivity, negotiated her freedom, reunited with part of her family, and returned to her hometown of Charlestown, New Hampshire. During the Seven Years’ War the town had struggled to protect itself from French-allied Abenaki attacks, and the climax of that defensive struggle occurred in 1759, shortly after Susannah Johnson’s return. Robert Rogers and his rangers carried out an attack on St. Francis that succeeded in reducing the threat to British settlements in western New Hampshire. During their raid on St. Francis, the rangers took some Abenakis captive, including Sabatis. Rogers brought him along with the others to Charlestown. They stopped at Susannah Johnson’s

house, and upon seeing her, Sabatis cried out, "My God, my God, here is my sister." Johnson recalled that Sabatis was "transported to see me, and declared that he was still my brother, and I must be his sister."

Despite her long years of captivity and the significant toll that Abenaki attacks had taken on her family, Johnson responded to Sabatis with joy and kindness. She remarked, "The fortune of war had left him without a single relation, but with his country's enemies, he could find one who too sensibly felt his miseries."³⁹ The anomalous bond between Susannah Johnson and Sabatis reflects the difficulties that occurred when personal relationships turned enemies into family members.

Life on land under contention was, therefore, a multifaceted experience of balancing connection and division, building and destroying relationships, and negotiating contradictory associations and emotions—in short, of being intimate enemies. It was richly textured as the people involved attempted to comprehend each other and had their own identity crises in response. Carefully examining the print record of the time period gives us some indication of the complexity involved. It is jarring, therefore, to introduce the Proclamation Line of 1763, which attempted to draw clear-cut divisions on an intricately connected world. The wording of the Royal Proclamation indicated that there were only two groups involved: "the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected" and "all our loving Subjects."⁴⁰ The Proclamation does not account for people who fell in-between those two categorizations or how interconnected life was on land under contention. Although it is easy to point to the greed of British American speculators and squatters for the failure of the Proclamation Line, that explanation erases the Line's importance as a tool to enforce separateness and the fear it engendered. White-Indian relationships were still not clearly defined at mid-century, but the Line imposed definition; after its imposition, it would be difficult to return to the emotional, psychological, and physical complexity that was the hallmark of the pre-Line era. The events of the nineteenth century built on the idea of strict separation that the Line introduced.

Captivity was a life-changing experience. Not only because of the death of relatives, destruction of property, and separation from community that it produced, but also because it exposed ordinary colonial Americans to the everyday life of ordinary Native Americans. This exposure elicited paradoxical feelings about Native Americans—both specifically and in general—as well as about the captivity experience. The evidence of

this complexity is the existence of the captivity narratives themselves. James Smith wrote his narrative forty years after the experience, when anti-Indian sentiment and ideas of manifest destiny were at an all-time high. Yet, he based the narrative on the journal that he kept during his captivity. His turn-of-the-century account of his Seven Years' War captivity creates a tension within the narrative between the experience and the interpretation.

This paradox points, perhaps, to the psychological effectiveness of captivity as a war strategy. One way to get rid of enemies is to make them friends. That European Americans so thoroughly resisted and came to violently fear this system puts on display the increasingly intense desire of whites to differentiate themselves from Indians. The fear of the psychological effects of captivity ensured that coexistence was not a viable option as the eighteenth century progressed. Beginning with the New England praying towns of the seventeenth century and continuing through the Indian boarding school movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Britons and, later, Americans would continue to try to force Native Americans to assimilate and become "white." But, increasingly, the desire to remove the opportunity for more casual interactions overshadowed the attempt to remake Indians in the European image. The omission of any mention of Native Americans in the Treaty of Paris in 1783, its virulent aftereffects that culminated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 and Tecumseh's War in 1811, and the intense desire for separation that overpowered all other arguments in the 1830s are all evidence of the rejection of coexistence.

The advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* about the six unclaimed captive children concluded with the direction that anyone who had lost children "during the first Indian War" should come and examine the children, "and if they find any of their Relations among them, are requested to take them away." If the children continued to be unclaimed by any white relatives, they did not have an option of returning to the only families they had known or to resume their lives under their Indian names. Presumably, the boy who did not know his English name would be assigned a new one. As for their future, it would be predicated on the assumption that it would be better to be a nameless orphan captured by the English rather than the captive-adopted child of the Indians. Therefore, "the Boys will be bound out to Trades, and the Girls so disposed of, that they may be no further Expence to the Publick."⁴¹

NOTES

The author would like to thank the participants of the “The War Called Pontiac’s, 1763–2013” conference at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies and especially James Merrell for his insightful comments. Thanks are also due to Linda Ries, Beverly Tomek, and the anonymous reviewers for *Pennsylvania History* for their insightful critiques, and to Kathleen Wilson, Donna Rilling, Andrew Newman, and especially Ned Landsman, who have all influenced my thinking on this topic.

1. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 21, 1765.
2. James Merrell has—rightly—cautioned historians against flippant use of words like “backcountry” as reinforcing a narrative of inevitable colonial settlement. While there is no consensus on viable alternatives, employing slightly clunky terms such as “land under contention” helps to deconstruct assumptions of inevitability. Nevertheless, the ideal phrase would give some weight to Native Americans’ prior claim to the land under contention. See James H. Merrell, “Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 69, no. 3 (July 2012): 451–512.
3. Alden Vaughan, “Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys’ Legacy, 1763–1775,” *Pennsylvania History* 51, no. 1 (1984): 1–3.
4. Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008); Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010); Michael Morris, “Georgia and the Conversation over Indian Removal,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 403–23.
5. John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1994); James Axtell, “The White Indians of Colonial America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1975): 55–88; Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 1–3, 200; Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667–1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Wayne Lee, “Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500–1800,” *Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (2007): 701–41.
6. Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 2; James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). See also Andrew Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Colin Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997);

- Dawn G. Marsh, "Hannah Freeman: Gendered Sovereignty in Penn's Peaceable Kingdom" in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400–1850*, ed. Sandra Slater and Fay A. Yarbrough (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 102–22; Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 625–44; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Cocoochee: Mohawk Medicine Woman," in *Native Women's History in Eastern North America before 1900*, ed. Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 137–65; Daniel Ingram, *Indians and British Outposts in Eighteenth-Century America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012). The specific historiography of contact and conflict developed out of earlier work that refocused early American history on the central position of Native Americans. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); James Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiations on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000); Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998); Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).
7. It is, of course, problematic to take captivity narratives and newspaper reports of captivity at face value since both followed a specific form. Nevertheless, the documents represent an attempt to interpret confusing interactions and that attempt should not be completely disregarded simply because the form was the conduit for the interpretation. James Axtell's "The White Indians of Colonial America" represents one strand of this interpretative web and Pauline Turner Strong's *Captive Selves, Captivating Others* represents another.
 8. William Fleming and Elizabeth Fleming, *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Surprising Deliverances of William and Elizabeth Fleming* (Boston: Green and Russell, 1756), 5–8.
 9. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 9, 1756.
 10. John Rutherford, "A Journal Of An Indian Captivity During Pontiac's Rebellion In The Year 1763, By Mr John Rutherford, Afterward Captain, 42nd Highland Regiment," *American Heritage* 9, no. 3 (April 1958), accessed February 02, 2013, <http://www.americanheritage.com/content/journal-indian-captivity-during-pontiac's-rebellion-year-1763-mr-john-rutherford-afterward-c>, 3.
 11. For other examples, see the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 9, 1756.
 12. Rutherford, "A Journal," 4.
 13. James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith* (1799; Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co., 1907 [1799]), 13–16.
 14. Reports are consistent beginning in 1755. See especially September 9, 1756.
 15. Rutherford, "A Journal," 4.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Smith, *Account*, 28–29, 24.

18. Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, "The Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger," in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1878), 7:403.
19. *Ibid.*, 404.
20. Smith, *Account*, 29, 39–40 (quotes). For more on the significance of Smith's books see Andrew Newman, "Captive on the Literacy Frontier: Mary Rowlandson, James Smith, and Charles Johnston," *Early American Literature* 38, no. 1 (2003): 31–65.
21. A Christian interpretation of captivity was a staple of the captivity narrative genre. By the mid-eighteenth century, narratives had drifted away from their Puritan roots and reflected the evolution of religious belief in North America during the Enlightenment. Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*, chap. 1.
22. Fleming and Fleming, *Narrative of the Sufferings*, 10, 11.
23. Le Roy and Leininger, "Narrative," 404.
24. Smith, *Account*, 50.
25. *Ibid.*, 89–95; quotes from 93, 94.
26. Rutherford, "A Journal," 11.
27. Fleming and Fleming, *Narrative*, 12–20.
28. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 9, 1756.
29. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 163–64.
30. Ritualized torture has long been pointed to as a clear sign of Indian "savagery," but when it is understood within the system of Indian war and captivity, its meaning becomes more complex. Europeans were accustomed to incarceration and European nations had systems in place for relieving their subjects from imprisonment. Indians who were imprisoned could not rely on a similar system. Both sides employed an equal degree of "savagery" in how they treated prisoners.
31. Leininger and Le Roy, "Narrative," 405, 409.
32. Jon Parmenter, "Isabel Montour: Cultural Broker on the Eighteenth-Century Frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America*, ed. Ian K. Steele and Nancy Rhoden (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Press, 1999), 141–59.
33. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 30, 1757.
34. Smith, *Account*, 107, 110.
35. William Smith, *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in 1764* (1907; Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 2010), 63–67.
36. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 7, 1763.
37. Rutherford, "A Journal," 8.
38. Susannah Johnson, *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson*, 3rd edition (Windsor, VT: Thomas M. Pomrot, 1814), 62.
39. Johnson, *Captivity*, 117.
40. "The Royal Proclamation—October 7, 1763," Avalon Project—The Royal Proclamation—October 7, 1763, accessed February 1, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp.
41. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 21, 1765.

BOOK REVIEWS

Andrew Newman. *On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). Pp. 328. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

Andrew Newman aims to unravel the fundamental complexities of Native American sources written by non-natives and how those records often times do not catch the entire context of cultural meaning. In this case, Newman analyzes four contentious episodes between the Delaware Indians and the early settlers of New York and Pennsylvania. Uncovering the myths behind the *Walam Olum*, the Dido Motif, the Great Treaty of Peace, and the Walking Purchase of 1737, Newman successfully illustrates how the media of history and memory was contested between colonists and Indians in the past and how they continue to be disputed by scholars and the courtroom in the present. He skillfully threads his narrative around the central question: "To what

extent might we consider written representations of Native American oral forms as records not only of spoken language but also of the sometimes distant historical events that were spoken of?" (6). Newman finds his answer in the unwritten context of the records and representations that were used to negotiate understanding between whites and Indians. These events, recorded by Euro-Americans and used as factual information for decades, failed to have native peoples "speak to us fully, without mediation, to circumvent the processes of negotiation involved in reading for the 'real' Native Americans in writings by non-Indians" (53).

Concerned with the idea of the "chain of memory," Newman demonstrates how various Native American material culture—wampum, landmarks, and relics—possess important messages that are often overlooked because their meanings are not easily interpreted. They also require confidence in sources that are not always present in the written record. Despite the reliance on memorization, Newman believes that the "chain of memory" is closely linked to the stability of group identity and strongly attached to the landscape where it originated. These memories are maintained through apprenticeship and carried forward by subsequent generations, even during times of encroachment and removal. And although not completely transportable, "the parts of the chain that have become visible, so to speak, are sufficient to allow the inference that it extended deeply into the precolonial past" (194). Memory, however, is not without its weaknesses. Indeed, Newman candidly points out that memory, over time, will exaggerate, lose detail, and distort, but oral traditions often retain specific details that can be collaborated by later generations. Thus, when memory and documentation overlap, it provides stronger evidence that native traditions possess historical time more so than the above weaknesses do to invalidate them.

One of Newman's greatest contributions is his ability to provide a balanced interpretation of how a common experience between natives and colonists ultimately diverged into two completely separate understandings. Whether it be over a misinterpretation over words and phrases that the Indians believed were mutually understood in the Walking Purchase of 1737, a dubious historical narrative that the Delaware defiantly claim to be false in the *Walam Olum*, the trickery of the first land transaction between the Dutch and Delaware known as the Dido Motif, or the centuries-old story of William Penn meeting Delaware leaders under the elm tree outside Philadelphia

negotiating the Great Treaty of Peace, Newman cites all as significant challenges to native memory and oral traditions. One of the conflicting reasons for misunderstanding is largely based on the written language. Writing has often been used as the defining determinate for civilization, and "human memory," according to James Logan, a Proprietary agent for Pennsylvania, "was short and weak" (146). Therefore, Newman explains, too much significance has been placed on the western value of writing and "to check oral traditions against the documentary record for inconsistencies is to hold them to an unrealistic standard" (62).

The danger of denying the association of native oral traditions with historical events, according to Newman, is to not recognize native self-determination. In fact, Newman goes to great lengths to demonstrate that known native traditions and memories can oftentimes be verified within the documentary sources if carefully consulted. Here the author reveals how native oral traditions can be evaluated without being recorded by the colonists themselves. The Dido Motif, for example, is not extant in North American colonial papers, but the story has tradition among the Delaware, not because it pertains to a specific event but, rather, it is used by the Delaware to explain their entire experience of removal by Euro-Americans. At the same time, the *Walam Olum* migration story is largely recognized only among non-natives because the written record of it was preserved, but it is not received by the Delaware as being authentic. Newman believes that a balance between the two ends of the spectrum is possible, but native oral traditions that were not attested to by colonists must first be accepted to avoid the "whole problem of the spoliation of the Indian's rights by the white invader" (68).

In an exciting and continually evolving field of inquiry, Native American history finally has a compelling guide on how to approach the difficulty in interpreting indigenous sources and how they may be applied alongside traditional, written documents. *On Records* provides clear and concise explanations on the nuances of language, culture, and understanding, and how they all contributed to the miscommunication between natives and colonists in early American treaties, land transactions, and the Delawares' ancient claims of creation.

BRANDON C. DOWNING
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Norman L. Baker. *Braddock's Road: Mapping the British Expedition from Alexandria to the Monongahela* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2013). Pp. 190. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$19.99.

Major General Edward Braddock's ill-fated expedition to seize and hold the forks of the Ohio River has been the subject of numerous articles and more than a handful of books. Generally the historical analysis has focused on Braddock's often-justified complaints concerning the lack of support the colonial governments of Virginia and Pennsylvania provided to the expedition, although in truth, when it came time to move, sufficient logistical assistance was present to permit Braddock to move forward toward his objective, Fort Duquesne. Other studies have focused on Braddock's inability to coax more than a handful of indigenous people willing to serve as guides and scouts for the expedition. Finally, some scholars have addressed the nature of Braddock's army, particularly the inexperience of many of the regular units and their lack of preparation for operations on the European frontiers of the North American continent. Norman L. Baker's book, *Braddock's Road: Mapping the British Expedition from Alexandria to the Monongahela*, is, as the title suggests, a simple book aimed at laying out the route Braddock took from Alexandria to his defeat just short of the walls of Duquesne. The reader should expect little more from the book. There will be no great debates on tactics, political discussions concerning support and who pays for it, or after-action recriminations for the debacle the French and their indigenous allies inflicted on Braddock.

What Baker has provided is a travel narrative complete with exhaustive work as to the route Braddock took. It makes little if any comment on the topics of earlier studies. What Baker does succeed in doing is describing each move, camp by camp, Braddock took using an exceptional array of primary documents as well as the simple process of walking as much of the route as is physically possible given the current topography of the region. He has exhaustively studied early land ownership records, noting that frequently early boundary lines used Braddock's road as a clearly visible marker to separate private farms as well as township and county borders. He has worked the archives in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to find post-Civil War photos of the road as it looked nearly a century after the army passed. One gets a feeling for how time ravages the past as images of the road fade rapidly before the onslaught of modernity. Baker's juxtaposition of a 1908 picture postcard of the road clearly evident in Braddock Park in Frostburg, Maryland,

with a photograph of the same area in 2012, in which the author notes that a housing area has now claimed the glen of trees as well as the roadbed itself drives home the point.

Baker has provided a very solid account of Braddock's march from a geographical perspective. There is sufficient information to allow the modern traveler to walk most of the road Braddock and his men followed. Could a good book be made better? The answer is clearly yes. The inclusion of larger-scale maps where place names and topography lines are readable would certainly help. As things are, the reader needs a magnifying glass to make out some place names as well as get a better feel for elevation. The photos he uses also might well have been colorized. Some of the photos were deliberately done in black and white. While the use of the latter gives an old feel to the road, a colorized version would make the idea of hiking parts of this more inviting than the current book suggests. I might even suggest a little more effort in letting the reader know what sections are easily hiked today given land ownership issues.

If one were to turn this into a larger work, questions such as why Braddock thought he was going to move an artillery train of twelve- and six-pound artillery across the Indians trails and mountains by brawn alone warrants discussion as the size of the French fortress at Duquesne would never have withstood bombardment by even the six-pounders, let alone the twelves. The size and weight of this train made them nearly impossible to move, save by river, and that was simply not possible given the route. During the American Revolution, Major General John Sullivan attempted to move a similar although lighter artillery train up the Susquehanna River intending to use it against Iroquois settlements and possibly even Fort Niagara. Sullivan found that once river movement was not possible, much of his artillery had to be left behind in the interests of speed. Another issue Baker might have discussed was how Braddock adopted this logistics to the demands of the terrain. Feeding soldiers and providing fodder to horses would have been no small feat.

Baker's mapping of Braddock's Road is a limited book, given its scope, but a necessary one for anyone needing to match geography with history. Nothing of this quality existed prior to Baker's work, rendering the effort a must have for historians who need to get a little mud on their boots to better understand the past.

JOSEPH R. FISCHER

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Michael Kraus, David Neville, and Kenneth Turner. *The Civil War in Pennsylvania: A Photographic History* (Pittsburgh: Senator John Heinz History Center, 2013). Pp. 312. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$34.95.

Samuel W. Black. *The Civil War in Pennsylvania: The African American Experience* (Pittsburgh: Senator John Heinz History Center, 2013). Pp. 239. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$29.95.

The battles of the Civil War are never finished. This is especially true as the United States finds itself in the midst of innumerable sesquicentennial commemorations. These commemorations have produced an explosion of print exploring the legacy of a war that claimed more American lives than any other conflict in the nation's history. Two prime examples of this output have been published by the John Heinz History Center in cooperation with Pennsylvania Civil War 150, an agency that serves as the commonwealth's official planning committee for the sesquicentennial (see <http://pacivilwar150.com>). The purpose of Pennsylvania Civil War 150 is to reach a broad audience, and both publications have much to offer general and academic readers alike.

The relatively new technology of photography was just coming of age at the beginning of the 1860s. After the war began, a heavy demand was created by the public for information about the fighting and those who participated, and photographic images helped satisfy this demand. In addition, soldiers going off to war sought to create keepsakes for loved ones and photographic studios sprang up to fill the need. Focusing on the visual, *The Civil War in Pennsylvania: A Photographic History* closely resembles an exhibit catalog, and draws heavily from the private collection of author Ken Turner, but also utilizes resources found in various repositories. Some images are well known, but many have not enjoyed wide circulation. The five sections are arranged chronologically by year (1862–1865), with preliminary and aftermath chapters. Each chapter is divided into subchapters arranged thematically. These themes include the usual subjects—campaigns, politics, generals, and soldiers—but also devote considerable space to immigrants, uniforms, music, technology, the homefront, women, and African Americans. The chapter introductions and captions are well written and succinct, and nicely complement the images. The graphics are well organized and the size of the volume (23 cm) allows for clear and striking reproductions in color, sepia tone, and black and white. Readers will find many interesting images, such as the group captured by a photographer in front of the office of the

Christian Commission (224–25), which portrays the diversity of Civil War Washington in a fascinating display that draws one into the picture—who are these people—what drew them to this spot on this particular day—how would their stories play out? This image is a good example of the power of photography, whose immediacy and detail stimulate further questions. Civil War enthusiasts and general readers owe a debt to the authors who chose such compelling images.

The Civil War in Pennsylvania: The African American Experience offers a different approach. The purpose of “this work goes beyond the battlefield, however. It treats the war with circumspection to understand it from an African American point of view” (12). Divided into three sections (“Early Impact of Race, Politics, and Freedom”; “In Search of Freedom: Migration, Emigration, or Just Stay Put”; “The War to End Slavery: On the Road to Freedom”) eight essays written by members of the academic and legal communities trace the development of race relations, emigration debates, abolition, and military experience among Pennsylvania African Americans. Though the book is generously illustrated, the emphasis of the essays is not visual, with the exception of a chapter by Kraus, Turner, and Neville on the photographic history of Pennsylvania’s African Americans. Instead, there is prominent attention devoted to the leaders of the Keystone State’s African American community, such as Martin R. Delany, William Parker, and George Boyer Vashon, and how their views, careers, and activities transmuted into actions that affected the history of the era.

A common theme running through these essays is the transformative effect of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law on Pennsylvania’s African American community. Sitting astride the slave states of Maryland and Virginia, the tenuous freedom of Pennsylvania’s African Americans were put at greater risk from the effects of this legislation, which among other provisions allowed slaveholders to pursue fugitives across state lines and called for fines and/or imprisonment for anyone who did not fail to aid in the capture of runaways. The African American community faced difficult decisions on how to formulate responses to the law, and several essays discuss the range of options that were considered and debated, including emigration to Canada, Haiti, or Africa, civil disobedience, political engagement within the existing system, and violent resistance. As with any other community under stress, Pennsylvania’s African Americans did not always speak with one voice, but the cumulative effect of the volume reveals the remarkable determination of a people who would shape their own fate, even within the confines of an overtly racist society. All the essays are well written and documented, and stand on their own as works of scholarship,

and educators will find it a useful introduction to the subject for students. There is some repetition of events and incidents across chapters, but this is to be expected in a volume featuring separate authors working in the same subject area and limited time period.

Both books are thoughtful and welcome additions to the burgeoning literature of the Civil War and do much to illuminate our understanding of Pennsylvanians' participation and legacy.

JEFFREY M. FLANNERY

Library of Congress Manuscript Division

Blake A. Watson. *Buying America from the Indians: Johnson v. McIntosh and the History of Native Land Rights* (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012). Pp. xvi, 456. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

Bartosz Hlebowicz with Adam Piekarski, editors. *The Trail of Broken Treaties: Diplomacy in Indian Country from Colonial Times to Present* (Wyższa Szkoła Gospodarki, 2011). Pp. 237, illustrations, notes, index. Polish, with English translations. Pricing unavailable.

Did Native Americans truly own the land they inhabited? As law professor Blake A. Watson demonstrates in *Buying America from the Indians*, this question vexed generations of early American legal theorists. Ultimately, most agreed that Native Americans did not hold absolute title to their lands, which instead belonged to the European powers that had “discovered” those lands. While the book is primarily a history of the landmark 1823 Supreme Court case of Johnson and Graham’s *Lessee v. McIntosh*, Watson also explains how early American legal doctrines continue to affect the land rights of indigenous groups in the United States and abroad. His book will interest scholars of property law, Native American rights, and early American land speculation, as well as laypeople who enjoy narrative history.

The case of *Johnson v. McIntosh* stemmed from two separate land deals that speculators conducted in 1773 and 1775 with the Illinois and the Piankeshaws, who lived in present-day Illinois and Indiana. While the British Proclamation of 1763 had banned white expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains, a variety of speculators conducted direct purchases of Indian lands around this time. Some were buoyed by the Camden-Yorke

opinion of 1757, in which England's solicitor general and attorney general held that land sales in the Indian subcontinent could be transacted between Indians and individual Europeans. Others aimed to entice well-connected politicians with shares in backcountry land companies, hoping to develop new colonies in the West. As Watson recounts, the American Revolution intervened to dash these plans. Because private speculative activities undercut the potential for the new patriotic governments to profit from sales of western lands, the revolutionaries promptly mimicked British policies by preventing individuals from transacting land deals with Indians and temporarily halting expansion beyond the Appalachians.

Nevertheless, the purchasers of the Illinois' and Piankeshaws' lands sought to cash in on their original agreement, either by securing legitimate land titles or by receiving compensation from the US government for extinguishing Indian title to millions of acres of land. While some possibility of remuneration remained in the first few decades after the Revolution, this outcome became increasingly unlikely as the United States began to purchase much of the land in question in separate treaties. The heirs to the original purchasers, along with subsequent investors in the project, pressed for a lawsuit to settle the issue. The case that ultimately proceeded through the court system depended on a legal fiction, based on the conceit that "Simeon Peaceable" had leased land from two of the speculators (Johnson and Graham), only to be forcibly ejected by another lessee, "Thomas Troublesome," who rented from William McIntosh. A merchant who had bought land in Illinois from the federal government, McIntosh likely agreed to be a defendant in return for a financial reward from the speculators.

In the colonial era, only a handful of intellectuals like Roger Williams of Rhode Island believed that Indians held full legal ownership of their land. Most believed that Indians could not truly own land since they lacked the civility of Christians and failed to sufficiently improve land for agriculture in the European style. The legal basis for these beliefs rested on the internationally recognized doctrine of discovery, which held that the European nation that discovered land in the New World had the exclusive right to own it. A small minority of early American legal scholars also believed in the doctrine of *terra nullius*: that Indians deserved no right at all to their lands, and that any payments for lands should merely be made as an expedient to avoid bloodshed. While it rejected *terra nullius*, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall held two minds: in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), it ruled that Indians did not own their land, but rather possessed occupancy rights

to it. The United States owned the land by virtue of the doctrine of discovery, thereby rendering void any private sales transacted with Indians. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the court “implicitly overruled *Johnson v. McIntosh*,” arguing instead that Indians actually owned their lands (326). In this interpretation, discovery granted the US government a preemptive right to purchase Indian lands, but only should the Indians choose to sell them. A fuller investigation of this switch in opinion would have been instructive. Instead, Watson only hints at the possible reasons. Marshall expressed his political opposition to Democratic efforts to remove Indians to the West. He also had misgivings about the doctrine of discovery, which he felt disregarded Indians’ natural rights.

Subsequent courts ignored the distinction made in the *Worcester v. Georgia* ruling, making the interpretation of the doctrine of discovery laid out in *Johnson v. McIntosh* the law of the land. Watson notes that the ruling has since been a cornerstone of the law in much of the English-speaking world, influencing major court decisions on indigenous land rights as recently as 1996 in Canada, 2000 in Australia, 2003 in New Zealand, and 2005 in the United States. In 2009 and 2010, all of these countries embraced the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states that native peoples “have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired” (354). In light of this, Watson states: “the U.S. Supreme Court should acknowledge the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and revisit the ‘limited possessor’ conception of indigenous land rights set forth in 1823” (355). He also calls for the United States to “formally reject the discovery doctrine” (356).

Watson’s call to action would likely find support among the contributors to the collection entitled *The Trail of Broken Treaties*. This book arose out of a 2009 conference on Native American treaties that brought historians and anthropologists from Poland, Germany, and the United States to the University of Economy in Bydgoszcz, Poland. According to the editor, Bartosz Hlebowicz, the resulting volume “reflects a substantial part of the state of Polish studies on Native Americans” (10).

The volume leans heavily on recent early American historiography, aiming to “(face) east” in an effort to adopt the point of view of Native Americans, in the spirit of Daniel Richter’s *Facing East from Indian Country* (13). Hlebowicz’s examination of eighteenth-century forest diplomacy in Pennsylvania takes James Merrell’s *Into the American Woods* as a starting point, and delves further into the Delawares’ use of wampum. Mirosław Sprenger’s discussion of

nineteenth-century Indian agents in the Arkansas and Upper Platte valleys uses Richard White's "middle ground" as a central metaphor. Other essays address the constitutional status of Indian treaties, the struggles of the Shinnecock Indians of Long Island in their quest for federal recognition of their tribal status, and the Delawares' attempts to carve out a form of sovereignty for themselves in Oklahoma on the territory of the Cherokee Indian Nation.

Some of the volume's essays speak to the legal issues that Watson raised. Henry Kammler's essay focuses on the 1993 "BC Treaty Process," an ongoing effort by the government in British Columbia to negotiate settlements with native tribes to compensate them for the Canadian government's land grabs. Similarly, Harry Schüler describes New York State's ongoing efforts to defraud the Iroquois out of their traditional land rights. Despite the doctrine of discovery and the US Constitution banning state-negotiated land sales, New York State purchased approximately 6 million acres of Oneida land between 1785 and 1842, using a variety of underhanded tactics. During the twentieth century, the state blocked Indian efforts to sue for the return of some of these lands by arguing that Indian treaties were a federal matter. This forced the Oneidas' lawyers to sue New York counties during the 1970s. By the 1990s, the state began settling out of court, granting rights to a small number of tribes to build casinos. The Oneidas used their casino profits to repurchase their traditional lands. When the Oneidas began selling goods on their repurchased lands without charging sales tax, the city of Sherrill sued for property taxes, eventually prompting a 2005 US Supreme Court decision that held "that repurchased land within the boundary of the Oneida's land claims did not unilaterally revert to sovereign tribal status" (121). The court also held that Indians waited too long to bring their land claims to court, according to what is known as the laches doctrine. The laches defense has so far barred further pursuance of land claims by Native Americans in New York.

Two final essays in the collection present conflicting views of Native Americans' current status, in light of recent legal outcomes that limit tribal access to traditional lands while granting some tribes access to casino gaming. The former assistant chief of the Delaware Tribe of Indians, Michael Pace, argues that "tribes today are using their new wealth to promote the old ways and slowly are helping their people through the new age of cultural awareness, language and the return to traditional ways. The expectations are better than it has been in the past; the 'Pride' of its

people is on the rise once again” (219). Professor emeritus John Strong states, “The old stereotype of the ‘noble savage’ has been eclipsed by the ‘entrepreneurial Indian’ basking in the flush of gambling and tax free tobacco profits. This new image, of course, is yet another convenient perspective that distorts reality. Most Indian populations remain in poverty, facing bleak futures with inadequate facilities for health care, education, and housing” (230).

While little is groundbreaking in this collection, *The Trail of Broken Treaties* adds to the growing international scholarly consensus that the United States fails to treat its indigenous populations justly. Along with Blake Watson, several of the collections’ authors demonstrate that federal Indian policies are out of step with internationally recognized norms. This suggests that judicial precedents based on colonial attitudes may be difficult to sustain in the coming years.

MARCUS GALLO
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Dustin Gish and Daniel Klingboard, editors. *Resistance to Tyrants, Obedience to God: Reason, Religion, and Republicanism at the American Founding* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013). Pp. 260. Index, notes on contributors. Cloth, \$85.00.

Resistance to Tyrants, Obedience to God: Reason, Religion, and Republicanism at the American Founding represents a substantial effort to present and explain the importance of “Bible religion” in the United States from the founding of the nation through the antebellum years. It is an interdisciplinary work that showcases the talents of thirteen scholars from at least eight different disciplines. The editors and authors did not undertake this project to discuss the various religious beliefs of the Founders or plumb the depths of their faith, however. The essayists indicate that, regardless of what they may have professed individually, the Founders used the Bible as a guide and reference to shape both their rhetoric and their vision of the nation. In fact, they paired this ancient source with the modern influences of the moderate English Enlightenment. In short, the resulting “creative tension” involved in this balancing act produced remarkable things: a uniquely American political idiom and thought—and the republic itself.

Following an introductory chapter by editors Dustin Gish and Daniel Klingboard, the contributors' writings are presented in four groups: "Reason and Faith," "Biblical Rhetoric and Republicanism," "Religion and Politics," and "Legacies." The first part deals with the foundations—the European Enlightenment—and here Robert Faulkner tackles the influences of Bacon and Locke on the Founders' approaches to religion; Jonathan Israel presents the radical Enlightenment's assessment of the American Revolution; and Jeffery Bernstein explores how and why Jefferson's ideas about religion are similar to those of Spinoza. In their two chapters in the second section, Carla Mulford and Eran Shalev detail the profound impact of the Bible in early American political expression and the editors themselves provide a provocative interpretation of the Pentateuch's influences in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*. In the third set, Maura Jane Farrelly demonstrates the role of religion in revolutionary American political affairs through the story of Roman Catholic Charles Carroll of Carrollton's exertions to get Marylanders to support independence from Britain; Vincent Phillip Muñoz deals with the different understandings of religious freedom of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison; and Peter McNamara explains Alexander Hamilton's thoughts on religion as a moderating influence to counter the radical Enlightenment's potential threat to the stability of the new government. In the concluding section of the work, Danilo Petranovich and Matthew Holbreich provide a fascinating analysis of Lincoln's use of biblical rhetoric and Aristide Tessitore expounds on Tocqueville's prescient understanding of the influence of both religion and the Enlightenment in America's founding and in its political culture.

The authors want readers to appreciate the pervasiveness and importance of the Bible and Christianity in American politics. Our Founders were not entirely—or even mostly—guided by the writings of Enlightenment philosophes. Instead they very consciously utilized the Scriptures for direction and inspiration. As important as it is to know and understand this, it does not seem entirely surprising. Regardless of their religious affiliations or beliefs, all our early political luminaries must have grown up listening to parents or elders read or relate Bible stories to them. No doubt the King James Version was the first book they all read. Indeed, the Bible was a common touchstone for the vast majority of Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. And, like anybody else, the Founders relied on that text and other sources for guidance. Then, as now, reason and faith are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The Founders are the same people who edited and

approved the Declaration of Independence, which, in fact, makes mention of two different Gods: the Enlightenment deity—the “Creator” and “Nature’s God”—and the Judeo-Christian God who offers “Protection” and is the “Supreme Judge of the world.” They embraced these contradictory forces and yoked them together to both direct and inspire. It is also worth noting that they managed to work with other opposing ideas, too, for example, conservatism and radicalism, and liberty and slavery. These are the same gentlemen who came up with federalism and the system of checks and balances in the US Constitution. Having said that, the work provides important depth and new insights to our very human Founders and their thinking in establishing the new nation.

Although it deals with a topic that is currently very popular—religion and its influence in American politics—this work is not for a general audience. Some essays, including the one by Muñoz and the contribution by Petranovich and Holbreich, are brilliant and eminently readable. Others, no less intelligent or insightful, are dense philosophical essays that nonspecialists will find difficult to read. Like a growing number of recent publications, this work could have used a good copyeditor to eliminate typographical errors—one essay included the wrong date for the writing of the Constitution!—and some awkward turns of phrase here and there. A number of contributions contain multiple rhetorical questions, which might have served well when the authors delivered these papers at the conference at College of the Holy Cross in fall 2010 but prove unnecessary and distracting in print. The contributions would have been much improved had the rhetorical questions been removed. These problems aside, the book is a very valuable addition to the scholarship of early American history, philosophy, and politics.

STEVEN GIMBER
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Brycchan Carey. *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657–1761* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Pp. xi, 257. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$35.00.

If Quakers were key players in the drama of transatlantic abolitionism, Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley were the stage upon which they made

their best performance. Until recently, historians have showered most of their attention on events from the 1750s onward, when Friends famously made slave trading, then slavery itself, a disciplinary offense within their ranks. Two of the most celebrated Pennsylvania Quaker abolitionists from the 1750s, Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, are the subject of numerous popular and scholarly biographies. By contrast, the earlier period, from the founding of Pennsylvania to about 1750, has garnered less attention, partly because the narrative appears less heroic. Instead of Benezet and Woolman, the main protagonists feature eccentric cranks like Benjamin Lay, who once kidnapped his neighbor's child to demonstrate the sinfulness of slave trading, and George Keith, the notorious Quaker preacher who is best remembered for instigating a contentious schism. In this earlier, more ambiguous era, a few outspoken Friends criticized slavery but were unable to persuade the majority of their coreligionists to do anything about it.

Far more than previous scholarship, Brycchan Carey's *From Peace to Freedom* successfully mines the discursive origins of Pennsylvania Quaker abolitionism in painstaking detail. Carey's main contribution is to demonstrate that, in his words, "Quaker discussions about slavery were far more extensive and far more interconnected than a reading of the printed sources alone would suggest" (22). Carey's approach is revisionist, and he takes issue with previous historians, most notably David Brion Davis and Christopher Brown, who have characterized earlier Quaker antislavery as a series of disjointed texts and protests that lacked coherence or relevance. According to Carey, Pennsylvania Quakers did in fact develop a sustained and coherent set of arguments against slavery that began with the Germantown Protest of 1688 and culminated with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's decision in 1758 to ban slave trading among its members. Acting like common law jurists, Quaker antislavery writers elaborated on the moral arguments of their predecessors while introducing new ones to the mix. The cumulative effect over decades was to create an interlocking set of arguments against slavery that convinced a critical mass of Friends to take the first real steps toward abolition. Although Carey mentions Eric Williams's "decline thesis" only briefly, his book is clearly making a larger statement about the importance of ideas in motivating abolitionists at a time when, even among Quakers, the financial interest in slavery posed serious obstacles to moral reform (20, 179–80).

Carey's training as a literary scholar serves him well. His readings of antislavery texts are rigorous and nuanced. He is also not shy about applying

the techniques of rhetorical analysis to speculate on motivation when other evidence is lacking. Despite the abundance of manuscript and printed texts for the period, Quakers left few candid remarks about their state of mind or what motivated their actions. Carey does a good job of reading between the lines and putting human flesh and emotion into otherwise frustratingly vague or incomplete texts. In discussing George Fox's *Gospel Family Order*, for example, Carey argues that it at times reveals "a man very troubled by what he has witnessed" (57). Elsewhere in Fox's writings, he identifies "grammatically lazy but rhetorically effective sentences" that functioned more like "a hymn or catechism" than a philosophical treatise (52). In another tract from the early eighteenth century, Carey creatively speculates that it may "originally have been intended for oral delivery" or as a primer "supplying simple propositions and answers for [antislavery activists] to use in the field or the meeting house" (137).

At times, *From Peace to Freedom* could use more historical analysis to bolster its argument for the exceptionalism of Quaker antislavery. In the introduction, Carey briefly considers why Pennsylvania Friends were the first to make antislavery a "central plank of [their] corporate identity" (25). Carey sketches out a few possible answers by comparing Quakers to other religious groups in the British Atlantic. According to Carey, New England Puritans also questioned slavery, but Congregationalism lacked the hierarchical organization necessary to develop a more coherent antislavery policy. Carey also contends that because Quakers were the majority in early Pennsylvania and in control of the provincial government they "worked harder to disseminate antislavery ideas than they might have done otherwise" (33). These intriguing suggestions merit further exploration than is given in the book. Carey notes one of the central planks of Quaker antislavery is the "Golden Rule"—the religious injunction that we should love our neighbors as ourselves. But Friends were hardly alone in seeing its relevance to slavery. Even the Puritan minister Cotton Mather, a slaveowner, repeatedly invoked the Golden Rule to condemn slave trading in Boston, which he saw as emblematic of the growing power of merchants who put the exploitation of human beings ahead of salvation. Seventeenth-century Puritans and Quakers, despite their institutional and theological differences, shared a common vernacular that grappled with slavery as a moral problem of violence. Carey's book raises the question of what Friends had in common with other antislavery groups. Further research along those lines would better clarify what exactly was unique about Quaker antislavery.

Quaker pacifism also deserves further attention, especially since it is what arguably most distinguished Friends from other antislavery groups.

Carey maintains that the peace testimony, combined with the Golden Rule, “made it easy for many Friends to turn their backs on slavery, and difficult for slaveholding Friends to justify their practice” (31). While it is true that Quakers were renowned (and reviled) as pacifists, I would argue their pacifism, which originated in England as an objection to state-sanctioned violence, was neither uniformly observed nor consistently interpreted across time. As Quakers settled in the American colonies, they had to “learn” to see slavery as a violation of the peace testimony. Carey quotes from an anonymous early eighteenth-century author who reasons that if “*Violence* is (in ordinary Cases) unlawful” and “making *Slaves of Men* (against their Will) is Violence,” then “making *Slaves of Men*, is unlawful” (136). If the equation of slavery with violence was so obvious to the author’s presumably Quaker readers, why bother with the rhetorical gymnastics? From the beginning, there were Quakers who grounded their antislavery in the language of the peace testimony, but just as Quaker abolitionism took time to develop, so too did the notion that the Quaker pacifism unambiguously applied to slavery.

Carey’s *From Peace to Freedom* is a welcome addition to the history of Quaker abolitionism. Its analysis of the rhetorical arguments that underpinned early Quaker antislavery texts is unparalleled. Readers will find its clear prose and careful argumentation essential to any serious study of Quakers and their complex relationship to slavery.

MICHAEL GOODE

Utah Valley University

Daniel Jay Grimminger. *Sacred Song and the Pennsylvania Dutch* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2012). Pp. xxi, 213. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$85.00.

Hermann Wellenreuther. *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broad-sides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). Pp. xv, 352. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$94.95.

The two books included in this review essay both focus upon the language and culture of German settlers in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Daniel Jay Grimminger’s *Sacred Song and the Pennsylvania Dutch*

concentrates on the music of the Lutheran and Reformed settlers in Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution whose language and culture has continued to influence the Commonwealth in the twenty-first century. Hermann Wellenreuther's *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides* focuses on one media used by German settlers in Pennsylvania and other colonies/states as a way to maintain their cultural identity.

Grimminger begins by explaining why he has chosen to call them Pennsylvania Dutch (*Pennsylvanisch Deutsch*) instead of the more commonly used Pennsylvania German. Following Ernst Troeltsch's church/sect typology, Grimminger identifies three distinct religious subgroups among the Pennsylvania Dutch: the *Kirchenleute* (church people), the *Sektenleute* (sectarians), and the *Brüdergemeinen* (Moravians). He briefly reviews the unique identity of the Pennsylvania Dutch in religion, material culture, language, food, celebrations, and food. Of particular interest is the establishment of union churches as a means to maintain German culture, and he identifies the union hymnal as the most significant outcome of these cooperative arrangements.

By the nineteenth century, traditional German church music had become a way for ministers to attempt to preserve their ethnic identity. Singing schools promoted the use of hymns, often in conjunction with Lutheran and Reformed parochial schools. Chorale books were especially important in Lutheran and Reformed churches; they aided in retaining the German language while reinforcing the theology of the two denominations. Tune books, however, provided more flexibility, as students could record musical notations and staff lines themselves. Consistently, they retained European influences, especially those used by Lutherans.

By the mid-nineteenth century, use of the English language had increased in the ethnically German churches, partly as a result of the decline of parochial schools following the passage of the Free School Act in 1834. Tune books, hymnals, and liturgies began to appear in both English and German. By the mid-1850s, tune books included pronunciation guides to improve the students' English-language skills, concurrently transitioning away from traditional religious themes.

Grimminger's volume is a fascinating study of the evolution of religious music from earliest German settlements in Pennsylvania into the twentieth century. Wellenreuther's monograph, in contrast, examines the impact of one type of publication during the early years of German-language printing in North America. He creates a fictitious German-speaking farmer,

Peter Beimert, to describe the importance of broadsides in the daily lives of these settlers and the wide distribution of these materials. Courtship, land acquisition, house blessings, and medical advice all reinforced the religious beliefs of the settlers as well as helping them adapt to changes in society. ABC booklets for early education also were appropriate for Beimert and his family, along with Old Testament stories such as Adam and Eve (which Wellenreuther contends were used to educate youth about the physical features of the opposite gender). Songs related to baptism or confirmation, similar to the “sacred songs” discussed by Grimminger, also appeared on broadsides. Perhaps more important to the fictional Beimert were broadsides that advertised breeders, provided advice on the cultivation of crops, and promoted markets and fairs.

Similar to Grimminger’s focus on Lutheran and Reformed settlers and their hymnody, Wellenreuther discusses the importance of religious broadsides on these denominations. Most related to confirmation, yet broadsides also printed “devotional poems and hymns” sung by Lutherans. Many of these songs originated in Europe and were reprinted in North America. Some of the more popular hymns, however, appealed to the settlers because they were nondenominational. Devotional broadsides also served as house blessings, as they identified the homeowner Beimert and his family as devout Christians. Some of these included reflections, while others represented the religious controversies of the 1740s that led to the formation of denominations. All of these were uniquely German and not merely translations of English broadsides.

Political broadsides demonstrated the influence of German Protestant clergymen while at the same time show how English political culture affected Germans far more than their religious ideals did. During the early years, they promoted German immigration and encouraged naturalized immigrants to vote for political candidates who served their interests and not those of the English or Quakers. The turmoil of the 1760s and 1770s provided opportunities for patriotic printers to distribute broadsides condemning British policies (such as hiring Hessian troops) and supporting the rebellion. Later, German-language broadsides issued during constitutional debates (both state and federal) revealed that these residents were not as disinterested in politics as English politicians thought. Minority rights particularly served as a focus of these publications, probably because the Germans accurately viewed themselves as a political minority. The dichotomy was especially evident in that they represented the yeoman farmer of Jefferson’s ideal (and thus supported

Jefferson and Jackson) and yet at the same time were staunch conservatives—which should have led them to support the Federalists and Whigs, except those parties opposed the rights of the common man.

Overall, according to Wellenreuther, broadsides served as a means to disseminate information, whether it was political, social, economic, or religious. The circulation of these publications reveals the networks of German settlers while also showing their interests. They were not merely translations of English-language texts, but instead they demonstrated an emerging Americanized German print culture. Both books include illustrations to enhance the reader's understanding of the media explored in these monographs. While they focus on different topics, both are well researched and articulately explain the impact of music and print on the lives of German settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

KAREN GUENTHER

Mansfield University

James A. Schafer Jr. *The Business of Private Medical Practice: Doctors, Specialization, and Urban Change in Philadelphia, 1900–1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, December 2013). Pp. 276. Cloth and paper, \$32.95.

James A. Schafer's *The Business of Private Medical Practice* is an outstanding addition to the historiography of medicine. Schafer examines the formative years of private practice in the early twentieth century when science, mandatory hospital internships, and rapidly changing urban demographics influenced the financial and spatial decisions reached by both general practitioners and specialists.

As the twentieth century dawned, medical advances enhanced the ability of physicians to successfully treat an expanding circle of diseases, traumas, and chronic conditions. These developments—from aseptic surgical techniques to an expanding array of inoculations and antitoxins—wrought profound changes on the medical profession that are well understood by historians. One critical area, however, has gone unstudied during this period of rapid scientific change: the ways in which physicians in private practice responded to both the advances in their profession and, concomitantly, the changes that occurred in the American city during the height of immigration

from Europe and migration of African Americans from the rural south. Historians acknowledged that private physicians were forced to respond to these factors, but hitherto no systematic study of private practice physicians and their responses has been undertaken.

With so many factors informing the business decisions of private practice physicians, a book on the subject might easily bog down. Schafer has avoided the problem through superb organization. *The Business of Private Medical Practice* is organized into two broad parts; one spans the period 1900–1920 and the second 1920–1940. The first portion of the book illustrates the expectations of patient and physician with special care taken to explain private practice as both clinic and small business. Schafer is arguably at his best when explicating the business end of private practice medicine, seemingly leaving no detail unexplored, from the need for newly minted physicians to scrimp during their first few years in practice, to the selection of successive office locations over the course of a career. In this regard, Schafer's skillful use of maps and graphs (forty-four are included) enables readers to conceptualize physicians' movements in the highly competitive Philadelphia medical marketplace. Indeed, without visual representations, the movements of doctors' offices would be little more than a crazy quilt of neighborhood names and references to the central business district.

Schafer does well, also, in his explanation of the marked differences in the number of general practitioners in each ward, with the densely populated immigrant and African American sections of the city equipped with few doctors though their need for medical services far exceeded the more sparsely populated, but private practice–dense, middle-class sections of the city. This pattern emerged partly for financial reason—laborers were less likely to pay their medical bills on time—but also because the medical profession was mostly male and white, with all the prejudices that attended such backgrounds. In a further cleavage of private practice patterns, general practitioners tended to avoid the upscale medical offices of the city's downtown while specialists flocked to such locations as their proximity to hospitals and innovations in urban transportation allowed specialists to afford the high rents associated with downtown office space.

The second half of his work concentrates on post–World War I changes in private practice, exemplified by the required period of hospital internship and the move of the middle and upper classes from the city proper to suburban communities along intraurban rail lines. As medical education and running a private practice increased in both complexity and expense, private

practice physicians felt keenly the need to begin realizing a profit to pay for educational expenses, precious new equipment, and office rent. As well, the automobile meant the successful physician could maintain a downtown office, or perhaps two offices to serve city and suburban patients, while moving efficiently from suburban home to city office. Indeed, the wholesale movement of the middle class from city neighborhoods to suburban communities presaged the migration of both general practitioners and specialists to suburban medical buildings so familiar to middle-class America in the early twenty-first century. To understand the landscape of private practice today one must come to grips with the demographic trends that developed in the metropolitan areas of American cities between 1920 and 1940 and prompted physicians to follow suit.

Schafer's work is truly pathbreaking, and like all such works it opens doors to follow-up investigations by posing new questions. For instance, what was the nature of African American, immigrant, and female-headed private practice during the same period and were there similarities between the trends Schafer explicated in his study and the patterns evinced by physicians who hailed from minority groups? Was the pattern in Philadelphia unique, or might historians find it replicated in all major American cities, or was it an anomaly? Schaefer's work promises to spur further studies by historians of American medicine.

JIM HIGGINS

University of Houston–Victoria

H. L. Dufour Woolfley. *A Quaker Goes to Spain: The Diplomatic Mission of Anthony Morris, 1813–1816* (Lehigh University Press, 2013). Pp. 197. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$70.

H. L. Dufour Woolfley visited Wyck House in Germantown while researching a biography of William Lloyd and noted possibly relevant archival materials there. Reading a collection of letters Anthony Morris sent from Spain to his daughters in Philadelphia, Woolfley knew that his next project would be to learn more about the man and the diplomatic mission that took him to Spain in 1813. *A Quaker Goes to Spain* is the result of his quest.

Anthony Morris belonged to an elite of well-to-do Quaker mercantile families. Born in 1766 to Samuel and Rebecca (Wistar) Morris, he

married Israel Pemberton's granddaughter in 1790. Morris was a successful Philadelphia attorney and a former Pennsylvania state senator when he found himself in straitened circumstances in 1812. Public service was an acceptable way to mend broken fortunes and Anthony Morris aimed at a lucrative consular post in some busy port overseas. Morris had access to the White House through his long friendship with Dolley Payne and her first husband, John Todd. After her second husband became president in 1809, Dolley Madison invited Morris's eldest daughter Phoebe for extended visits with the first family and launched her in Washington society.

James Madison had no diplomatic post to offer Morris, but early in 1813 he was able to propose his friend be stationed in Bermuda to coordinate prisoner-of-war exchanges with his British counterpart. It was not to be. The British admiral would not countenance an enemy agent at his headquarters. James and Dolley Madison were still determined to help their friend and the president found a place for him. Morris would go to Spain as his personal envoy to persuade the Spanish government to cede Florida to the United States.

Madison made no secret of his intention to acquire both East and West Florida by any means. His instructions to General George Mathews in 1811 were sufficiently vague to offer plausible deniability when the Patriot invasion of East Florida went awry a year later and a bill authorizing seizure of the Floridas failed in Congress when northern Republicans voted against it. Faced with the unpopularity of "Mr. Madison's War" and opposition to the expansionists of 1812 as a result, he could not risk confrontation with Spain.

With the Spanish government in Cadiz wholly dependent on British arms for its survival, there was reasonable fear that Spain might transfer the Floridas to Great Britain as staging ground for an invasion of the United States. Anthony Morris was authorized to ascertain the truth of this rumor and, if possible, to obtain agreement for a temporary occupation by the United States to restore order. His mission was hampered from the first by American refusal to accept Luis Onís y González-Vara as Spain's ambassador or officially recognize the exiled government in Cadiz. Morris had no authority to heal this breach.

A wartime crossing required a neutral ship sailing from New Haven to Lisbon. As Morris and his secretary, James Murray, left Lisbon on their way to Cadiz in October 1813, Wellington's army pushed the last French troops out of Spain. When Morris was invited to meet with José Luyando, the First Secretary of State, in December, the Cortes and the Regency Council were already packing up to move back to Madrid. His meetings with

Luyando were cordial, but he soon realized that nothing could be decided about Florida before an official recognition and exchange of ambassadors. In February 1814, nevertheless, Morris made a formal proposal for "a temporary and provisional occupation of those territories by the United States to be held by them in trust for Spain." He was not surprised when no response was forthcoming, as he explained to US Secretary of State James Monroe in April. On the basis of his conversations with Luyando, Morris assured Monroe that both Floridas "might be purchased on moderate terms and a considerable portion of its price paid in articles of the produce of the United States, particularly beef, pork and tobacco," but substantial bribes would be needed to complete the deal.

Napoleon abdicated in April 1814 and was on his way to Elba. Spain's King Ferdinand VII was on his way to Madrid, determined to set aside the Regency Council and Cortes who would impose a constitution on the monarchy. After a long war the government was bankrupt and army pay hopelessly in arrears. With lavish promises to his generals, Ferdinand had army support for a coup d'état. The men who had governed Spain in his name were dismissed and Ferdinand restored as an absolute monarch.

Morris had stopped in Seville on his journey from Cadiz to Madrid and decided to stay there. He had received no instructions from either Madison or Monroe since he left home, despite the steady flow of reports he sent to Washington. What he did not know was that the United States was prepared to restore diplomatic relations with Spain and in August 1814 George Erving was appointed US minister to Spain. Monroe, on the other hand, did not anticipate Spain's reluctance to receive an ambassador when a presidential envoy served just as well.

The Duke de San Carlos, Ferdinand's first minister, received Morris in October 1814 and arranged for him to be presented at the royal court. Morris did not know of Erving's appointment, much less Ferdinand's decision to reject him. Talk of Florida was put off to a future day. Morris finally left Spain in November 1816. His last two years there were marked by increasingly bitter dealings with Erving and his secretary, Thomas Brent.

As a retired US Foreign Service officer, Woolfley is able to guide the reader through the diplomatic maze. His research in official and private correspondence is thorough and his presentation of the broader context deft. What is most engaging in *A Quaker Goes to Spain* is the picture that emerges of Anthony Morris and his family. A tireless letter writer, he shared everything with his daughters in Philadelphia and his son studying in Edinburgh.

This is what drew Woolfley in the first place and he has succeeded admirably in bringing a thoroughly decent man and his impossible mission to life.

RICHARD K. MACMASTER

University of Florida

Bill Conlogue. *Here and There: Reading Pennsylvania's Working Landscapes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). Pp. xviii, 248. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$69.95; paper, \$29.95.

Many scholars have written about transformations in the United States that have moved the country to a service- and knowledge-based economy, with deindustrialization as a central feature. Pennsylvania's anthracite coal region is an early example of the economic devastation that has often accompanied this transformation. Bill Conlogue has written a book that examines the economic dislocations visited upon the anthracite region, but gives particular attention to the impact on the local environment caused by the many decades of exploitation of its natural resources, now taking the form of hydraulic fracturing, or "fracking" for natural gas in the Marcellus Shale. But *Here and There* is a different kind of book. Primarily a work of literary criticism, it is an example of the new discipline of "eco-criticism" with roots in American nature writing that privileges representations of individual interactions with the wild. He uses the device of "narrative scholarship," interweaving personal stories with history, literature, movies, and plays to give us an intensely personal assessment that "challenges the assumption that literature and local places matter less and less in a world that economists describe as 'flat,' politicians insist is 'globalized,' and social scientists imagine as a 'village'" (1). Above all, Conlogue wants us to "pay attention" to the work we do and our stewardship of the land. Certainly a worthy goal.

Here and There takes us on a literary journey. From the poems of Robert Frost to the novel *Ceremony* by Leslie Marmon Silko, the author seeks to show us how literature has helped him understand his connections to "home." In the nineteenth century anthracite coal extraction fueled America's industrial growth. Aided by Pennsylvania politics and courts favoring capital, coal companies mined the land, creating a boom that drew thousands of people to the region. In the process the land was ravaged, rivers polluted, and the

ground itself undermined by the ubiquitous tunneling required for deep coal extraction. When the decline in the anthracite market accelerated rapidly in the 1920s, the region was left not only with severe economic distress, but a pockmarked landscape, mountainous culm heaps, and polluted rivers. Later efforts to draw capital investment resulted in further exploitation as the region became a site for large landfills to service the waste management of the Northeast, especially New York City. Today, northeastern Pennsylvania's past of resource extraction has come back to haunt it in the guise of the natural gas rush. By 2010 one-quarter of Pennsylvania had been leased for gas drilling, with the state allowing drilling on large blocks of state forest and game lands. The "fracking" boom has brought money to the economically depressed area but, again, endangered the water supply, added to the looming problems of climate change, and continued to undermine the ground itself.

In an introduction and six themed chapters, Conlogue, a professor of English in a small Catholic university, skillfully interweaves historical sketches with literary texts that fit within the themes, examining both how nature gets reproduced in literature and a deeply personal connection to "home" as he understands it. The scion of a farming family from the area, Conlogue also recounts personal reminiscences that he hopes will connect the reader to the broader issues addressed in the monograph. At times sections of chapters are "discontinuous" (a deliberate device of the author's) and this sometimes makes it difficult to discern the point he is attempting to make. Many sections work well, such as that on factory farms, where the literature reviewed is relevant and admirably critiqued. Through the lens of Don DeLillo's *White Noise* we see how easy it is to lose awareness of the processes by which our food gets to our table (88). The abundant and dazzling displays in supermarkets distract us from the dangers, both environmental and health-related, that food animals raised in crowded, antibiotic- and steroid-laden conditions pose. Similarly, the unavoidable advertising that fills the airways and social media encourages us to consume well beyond our needs, buying more and more "stuff" to fill the landfills that create manmade mountains that we must then find some way to reclaim.

Less focused is the author's discourse on water. Water is an essential and very fragile resource. Covering close to two-thirds of the earth's surface, only about 5 percent is fresh and, of that, less than 1 percent is easily accessible for human consumption. Conlogue's use of such enduring works as Silko's *Ceremony* may help us understand life in a parched environment and connect

us with the human condition (39), but it does little to help us analyze why the world's water supply is endangered, or how to formulate strategies of resistance and remediation. And therein lies one of the two biggest problems with the book. It is, indeed, more "meditative" than "sharply analytical (16)." For historians and environmentalists this can be problematic.

As the author argues, we may need a Utopian "agrarian sensibility" (115), but we also need concrete analyses and alternatives to policies that threaten people's livelihoods and even our very existence. Remarkably absent from the book is any real engagement with the workings of capital. The loss of family farms through their inability to "get big enough" is a recurring feature of capitalist agriculture, and large conglomerates expend much money to make sure laws go their way. So it goes with the gas industry. Methane released by natural gas drilling is 34 times more powerful at trapping heat than is carbon dioxide. It is polluting the water and threatening more rapid atmospheric warming even as researchers have shown that the world can, by the year 2030, power itself with renewable energy. We cannot afford fatalism, simply lamenting our neighbors' "sit and watch" mentality while the earth bleeds.

At issue also is the book's descriptions of working-class people. Through the lens of works written by people with little connection to the region and/or its workers, we are presented with stereotypes of downtrodden women, and men whose main characteristics consist of the "apathy" and "active forgetting" that are allegedly representative of the "main ways most people in the region have responded to environmental catastrophe" (155). There are no voices of the workers themselves, and the book leaves out stories of resistance that are very much a part of the region's history. In fact, aside from miners' long history of standing up to coal operators, locals have resisted landfills, demanded land remediation, voted corrupt officials out of office, and organized against "fracking." Americans Against Fracking, a coalition of organizations with international connections, has twenty-six member groups in Pennsylvania. As Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht have shown, local people are resilient, with strong attachments to the land that, in fact, retains much real beauty (Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht, *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005]). They have a right to preserve their history.

These critiques aside, Bill Conlogue has written a book that should be of interest to a wide range of scholars. He challenges us to think about the world we inhabit. In a society reduced to sound bites and the lowest common

denominator, if we can indeed learn to read more closely and “pay attention,” it will be no mean accomplishment.

SHARON MCCONNELL-SIDORICK

Independent Scholar

Aaron Spencer Fogleman. *Two Troubled Souls: An Eighteenth-Century Couple's Spiritual Journey in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Pp. 321. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth,

With *Two Troubled Souls*, Aaron Spencer Fogleman gives us a deeply engaging account of the lives of an eighteenth-century Moravian missionary couple, both telling the story of their marriage and illuminating the multifaceted and multicultural experiences of the Atlantic World they inhabited. The lives of Jean-Francois Reynier and Maria Barbara Knoll spanned continents and decades, intersecting with two Atlantic World empires (Dutch, English) and bearing witness to four colonial wars. Fogleman effectively explores both their relationship and the cultural, imperial, and religious contexts they encountered as they traveled their new world searching for their own place and purpose and trying to serve their God.

Fogleman begins his story with Jean-Francois' solo travels in North America. Descendant of a family of Huguenot refugees in Switzerland, he gravitated to the radical wing of the pietist movement, compelled by its vision of “isolation from corrupting worldly influences to find individual perfection” (27). He emigrated to North America at sixteen, where in Philadelphia he followed a rocky path from indentured servitude to an impoverished freedom, eventually finding his way to Ephrata, one of the many religious communities in Pennsylvania. There he experienced a “bout with madness” brought on by his spiritual seeking, an event that, Fogleman argues, deeply affected his life course. Fogleman returns often to this moment at Ephrata as one that demonstrated Jean-Francois' difficulty relating to others and highlighted the tension between individualist and communal approaches to pietism that influenced his lifelong spiritual quest and his relationship with his wife. From Pennsylvania, Jean-Francois journeyed to a Moravian community near Savannah, where missionaries attempted to convert Creeks and South Carolinian slaves (Georgia was not yet a slave colony). Here, he honed the medical skills that he plied during his trajectory through

the Atlantic World. When after a total of eleven years in North America he returned to Europe, Fogleman notes he “had tried and failed to change people in America; instead the Atlantic system he entered had changed him” (70). Fogleman pursues this theme, showing how the Atlantic system made by its inhabitants both shaped them and was shaped by them.

After Jean-Francois returned to Europe, the next phase of his life began when Moravian leaders set him up with Maria Barbara at the Moravian community in Wetteravia. Their union sanctioned by their faith’s practice of “the Lot,” they left on the journey the church leaders ordained: to be missionaries in the Americas. Over the course of their lives, this charge took them from Dutch Suriname to St. Thomas to Pennsylvania and finally to Georgia.

In the course of documenting the couple’s tumultuous and adventurous marriage, Fogleman explores several important histories and their intersections: marriage and gender identity, slavery in its varied Atlantic World forms, the Great Awakening and the Moravian experience in the Americas, and the history of science and medicine in this era. Thus, as the author intended, this book is both the story of a marriage and a narrative of the couple’s times, equally valuable for its close attention to these contexts and for its gripping personal story. By mining primary and secondary sources to contextualize the Reyniers’ experiences, Fogleman suggests parts of their lives for which he lacks direct evidence.

One of the book’s many strengths is its clear depiction of the diverse religious sects of this time period, particularly in accommodating Pennsylvania, charting the interconnections and conflict between them, and their approach to missionizing among Native Americans and enslaved peoples. Fogleman, who has also authored a monograph on the Moravians, clearly explains the history, beliefs, and missionary goals of this controversial sect, and shows how their ideas—about gender roles and sex, for example—both provided opportunity (for Maria Barbara) and generated internal strife.

Another of the book’s strengths is its closely told story of a marriage. Fogleman has done creative and nuanced work reading his sources; Reynier’s autobiography provides invaluable material, but given its writer’s own desire for revenge and possible mental instability, its discoveries require careful use, which Fogleman supplies. Fogleman pays equal attention to Maria Barbara’s story, reading her contemporary sources to parse out her perspective (though she left no written record, she talked to others who recorded her views). He makes gender central in his discussion, analyzing the power dynamics at play in their relationship and the ways their peripatetic life and the different

cultural practices of each missionary home allowed Maria Barbara more or less opportunity to pursue her own needs and desires. Fogleman describes the different concerns that motivated husband and wife; Maria Barbara, like many Moravian women, he suggests, was drawn to the faith more because of the leadership opportunities it offered women than for the missionizing work that galvanized her husband. In wry sentences like these, Fogleman conveys the vast gap between them: “Now she was traveling to a deadly tropical colony on the other side of the ocean with a man she hardly knew who had just publicly declared that she was less important to him than his work” (102).

Indeed, the fluid space of the mid-eighteenth century Atlantic World offered much to fear; Fogleman vividly details the threats from disease, human violence, and deadly wildlife. But at the same time, it offered much possibility. For Maria Barbara, it offered some chance at freedoms many European women could never experience; for Jean-Francois, it meant the possibility of fulfilling a personal spiritual mission.

The mix of challenge and possibility, of hope and hope denied, makes this story a riveting read. As Fogleman puts it, “these two Atlantic lives reveal a tension or struggle between opportunity in the Americas and the inability or difficulty of individuals to affect real change in that new world of opportunity.” From these missionaries to the enslaved people and Native Americans whose status Fogleman also describes, this opportunity existed—or failed to exist—on very different scales.

During their colonial experience, Jean-Francois and Maria Barbara underwent another profound change: from skeptics on slavery to slaveholders. Fogleman notes how their immersion in slave systems gradually accustomed them to the norms, beliefs, and prevailing rationale for holding slaves. Essentially, they became acculturated to slavery. This transition is one example of how Fogleman uses this couple’s story to suggest broader models for understanding the behaviors and beliefs of this time period.

Fogleman has woven multiple complex histories together to tell the story of Jean-Francois and Maria Barbara, “two troubled souls” whose lives both reflected and shaped the tumultuous times and spaces they inhabited. Supplying both a narrow and wide view of its subjects, this vividly written book offers an important contribution to Atlantic World history and to the history of the various people and places it describes.

EMILY MIERAS
Stetson University

Lisa Smith. *The First Great Awakening in Colonial American Newspapers: A Shifting Story* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013). Pp. 183. Figures, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. Paper, \$32.99.

Lisa Herb Smith closely analyzes the phenomenon called the First Great Awakening as it played out in colonial newspapers during the decade from 1739 to 1748. To define and give shape to her collected data, Smith identifies three important stages in the First Great Awakening: the years 1739–41, when the revival could be traced by following newspaper accounts of Rev. George Whitefield’s tour of the colonies; 1741–43, the “most contentious years,” when (with Whitefield gone) “both revivalists and their critics were attempting to define the movement and influence public opinion” in the newspapers; and 1744–48, the years marking Whitefield’s second tour of the colonies, a period of marked decline in news concern about the movement (7). Smith highlights shifts that occurred across time or within individuals’ views about the awakening, showing how the revival was, across time, presented by the majority of newspapers she discusses, how the newspaper reportage differed in different regions, and how the central personalities of the revival were represented.

The first chapter, “Reporting the Awakening,” argues that newspapers fueled public fascination with the revivalism of George Whitefield and fueled as well different communities’ anticipation of his arrival. Because of the emotional and enthusiastic responses among some participants in the revival, some newspapers treated revivalist news as major news, reprinting stories of Whitefield’s movements across the colonies. After the initial news furor about Whitefield’s presence, some newspapers began to offer negative views about Whitefield and revivalism, after Whitefield had departed. Smith points out two features of news reports after 1741: negative reports by far outnumbered positive ones, and letters debating the quality and reliability of faith practices resulting from revivalism dominated newspaper reports (23). Smith’s evaluation of the situation is that “Whitefield’s criticisms of established church traditions and ‘dead’ religious practice created a backlash” against him (22), and this criticism, coupled with anxiety about “the impact of the revival on the colonial social order” (29), led to a significant change in how lay preachers would be treated in some communities. In fact, Smith reports, “some colonies outlawed itinerant and lay preaching” entirely (32). Eventually, the reportage faded, but for a time, religious news—pro and con revivalism—dominated newspaper reporting, so much so that Benjamin

Franklin could remark in his autobiography that “it seem’d as if all the World were growing Religious” (36). For those interested in Pennsylvania history, the book’s discussion of Franklin and Whitefield will be useful.

Chapter 2 recounts the “Regional Paper Wars” that took place during the era of revivalism. By tracking the local “paper wars,” as they were called, Smith can outline the central controversies caused by the awakening within the different communities. In some well-populated areas, “party papers” could afford to take particular viewpoints and hold to them (the *Boston Gazette* in favor of revivalism, the *Boston Evening-Post* against). In other areas, where papers were fewer and the population more dispersed, partiality toward a particular view could have sunk the paper. In New England several issues dominated newspaper discussions. From 1739 through 1743, the primary concern about the revival arose over itinerancy and whether itinerant preachers ought to be permitted to operate. From 1745 to 1747, another topic emerged as more crucial—what to do about congregations broken apart by itinerant preachers. A third element of concern arose thereafter, this time around sacramental practices of baptism and of ministers’ ordination (56–57). In the middle colonies—which Smith seems to identify as New York through Virginia—where there was greater diversity in religious practice, there was likewise a more tolerant disposition toward the awakening, with the strongest support emanating from Philadelphia, where Benjamin Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette* favorably reported on Whitefield and tended to dominate the news scene. Even so, Smith says, the middle colonies did offer some concern about the revival as it continued, with the key area of concern about authenticity: “Whitefield’s honesty as a minister of the gospel, the accuracy of newspaper accounts on the Awakening, the genuineness of emotionalist preaching—these were some of the matters that Philadelphians debated in the papers” (65). New York, by comparison, seemed “lackluster” in its concern about the revival, perhaps (as Smith concludes) because of the previous newspaper controversies (e.g., the Zenger trial of the 1730s) in their recent past (70–71).

In southern areas, where William Parks (Maryland, then Virginia) and Elizabeth and Peter Timothy (South Carolina) had significant connections with Franklin’s printing network, reports of the revival appeared, but they did not seem to cause the extreme controversies evident in places like New England. To be sure, controversy did occur in South Carolina, where Whitefield in 1740 refused to use the Anglican Prayer Book and thus was called before the ecclesiastical court of Alexander Garden to answer for his

actions (77–78). The issues that arose in South Carolina related more to theology than practice, Smith says: “While Bostonians argued over topics that dealt with religious tradition and church stability, the most lengthy local paper wars in the South dealt with . . . debat[ing] the concept of original sin and Calvinist versus Arminian doctrine” (80). Rather than using her information to create an overarching argument about the awakening, Smith concludes that an examination of the newspapers suggests the extent to which “newspaper readers brought their own opinions and interpretations to the religious events of the 1740s” (81).

Chapter 3, “Whitefield, Tennent, and Davenport: Newsmakers of the Awakening,” treats the different careers of the three principal characters of the awakening and the different regional responses made to their activities. Smith argues that “the newspapers made Whitefield, Tennent, and Davenport household names” by covering their preaching tours in detail and printing numerous local contributors’ letters about them. The chapter offers a detailed summary of the three men’s activities and the newspaper reports made about them.

Smith’s conclusion summarizes her findings and suggests some of the larger implications of her study. Remarking that scholars have “linked public discussion of the Awakening to later intercolonial incidents in American history, such as the Stamp Act and the Revolutionary War,” Smith asserts that the “public debate of the revival made readers more comfortable with civic disagreement and helped create a sense of interrelatedness among the colonists” (163).

The book’s many tables and graphs, in addition to its several appendices, offer readers a source to support larger arguments than Smith’s about religious life in early America. Given that the study was produced not from using electronic databases but from careful reading and mining of newspapers available on microfilm, Smith’s book is a singular achievement.

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Gregory L. Heller. *Ed Bacon: Planning Politics, and the Building of Modern Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Foreword by Alexander Garvin. Pp. 320. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$39.95.

Domenic Vitiello. *Engineering Philadelphia: The Sellers Family and the Industrial Metropolis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013). Pp. 288. Notes, index. Cloth, \$35.00.

Urban planning takes many forms. Ed Bacon was a planner by profession, and, as Gregory Heller shows in this sympathetic but balanced biography, Bacon's ideas and plans have profoundly shaped the direction and landscape of Philadelphia since the mid-twentieth century. The industrialists of the Sellers family were not self-conscious planners in the same sense, but, as Domenic Vitiello persuasively argues in an excellent, multigenerational family biography, through their interventions in the economy, investments in the city's infrastructure, and civic leadership, they shaped the future city just as much as Bacon.

In framing his study around two centuries of the same family, Vitiello enables us to see the critical importance of kinship and personal networks in building technical and entrepreneurial skills. He primarily focuses on the careers of Nathan (1751–1830), William (1824–1905), and Coleman (1827–1907) Sellers. From 1682 to 1780 the Sellers family ran mills and wove wire screens and sieves in Darby and Chester County. In 1780 Nathan relocated to Philadelphia and, together with his sons, grandsons, nephews, and cousins, over the next century produced the machine tools and equipment essential to the first and second industrial revolutions. Successive generations operated under various names, but mostly as Seller and Company and then as William Sellers and Company. Throughout the nineteenth century they reinvested their profits in their firms but also in city, turnpike, and canal bonds and in banks to build the infrastructure that solidified the city's manufacturing dominance. The family's interests also included Midvale Steel and Edge Moor Iron Works, among other firms. In the second half of the century William Sellers and Co. was the nation's leading manufacturer of machine tools and power transmission equipment (shaft, gear, and pulleys). It developed interchangeable parts for a wide range of machines.

Sellers firms sat at the geographic and technological center of the city's manufacturing economy. The machine tool works was located in the Bush Hill district (north of Vine Street, west of Broad), which they helped make

into a global center of machine builders. The industrialists and machine designers all knew one another and shared technical problems and knowledge. They drew on a dense network of highly skilled and well-paid machinists and draftsmen. William Sellers's dominance in machine tools and gauges enabled him to establish the international standard scale for screw threads and to play a leading role in standardizing production practices across all heavy industry. William and his cousin, Coleman, consistently promoted and emphasized research on ways to improve production and products and collaborated with peers throughout the industry. The research they initiated at Midvale Steel on high-quality steel and on worker productivity they turned over to a young engineer named Frederick Winslow Taylor (brother-in-law of a Sellers partner). William and Coleman also made Philadelphia essential to the beginnings of the military-industrial complex. Midvale was the first American firm to produce steel for the new naval fleet. By the 1880s Midvale was the navy's leading supplier of heavy ordinance. Dozens of other local firms produced parts and components for the new great warships, and most of them relied on the machine tools and equipment from William Sellers and Co.

By founding and nourishing the city's key technical and cultural institutions, Sellers men and their fellow industrialists built in Philadelphia what Vitiello calls an educational-industrial complex. In addition to the Apprentice Library, the Social Science Association, and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, they were among the founders of the Franklin Institute and sustained it as the nation's leading disseminator of technical knowledge during much of the century. They organized and financed the 1876 Centennial Fair that gave pride of place to the city's industry. William, Coleman, and their associate Joseph Wharton were leaders in creating the engineering and business schools at the University of Pennsylvania, both of which contributed to the continued vitality of the city's industrial economy.

Sellers men were also committed to the city and its improvement, which they did define in their own terms. Nathan Sellers served on the city council from 1806 to 1812. William Sellers was an original member of the Fairmount Park Commission. Family members were involved in other good government initiatives throughout the late nineteenth century and fought the machine politicians and the gas-traction-real estate interests that came to dominate city government. In distancing themselves from the corrupt Republican machine, in their constant quest for efficiency and rationality, their nurturing of expertise, their embrace of social science as a tool to address urban problems, their forays into urban development, and their support of

a model slum clearance project Vitiello sees the nineteenth-century roots of Progressivism.

Vitiello concludes by using the Sellers' story to argue that the roots of Philadelphia's deindustrialization date from early in the twentieth century. By the 1890s, the Sellers' firms were failing to keep up with new industries and to produce the machine tools necessary for the twentieth century. The next generation of Sellerses sold their interests to national corporations dominated by New York financiers. The Philadelphia works became just branch plants whose owners lacked any particular commitment to the city or its workforce. Eventually the local plants closed. The Franklin Institute became a museum. The University of Pennsylvania lost its earlier links to local manufacturing. Local wealth was no longer committed to maintaining the mission of either civic or industrial leadership.

By the time Edmund Bacon arrived on the scene in the late 1940s Philadelphia's industrial base was already eroding. No one foresaw the extent to which the city's industry would collapse, and no planning on Bacon's part could have saved it. But, as Gregory Heller shows, Bacon possessed three important attributes that enabled him to dominate city planning in the mid-century decades. First, he had a consistent vision for how the city should look and function. Second, he had a strong personality and could tenaciously advocate for his plans. Thirdly, Bacon understood that he needed to work with other stakeholders to build a broad base of support for his plans if he wished to accomplish anything. His achievements came from a combination of a willingness to compromise, a detailed understanding of the policymaking process, and sound political instincts.

As executive director of the City Planning Commission from 1949 to 1970, Bacon was involved, or involved himself, in almost every major project during those years (as well as for some time after): the plan for the Far Northeast, Independence Mall (a federal project), Penn Center, Penn's Landing, Society Hill, Eastwick, the Market East Gallery and commuter rail tunnel, construction of I-95 through the city, and the ill-fated Chestnut Street pedestrian mall. Long after he retired, Bacon spoke up forcefully against skyscrapers taller than the statue of William Penn on City Hall (One Liberty Place [1985] was the first). But Heller also reminds us that Bacon was not the Robert Moses of Philadelphia. Moses had vastly more power in New York than Bacon did in Philadelphia. Consequently, to accomplish most of his ideas, he had to work with the Redevelopment Authority, Public Housing Authority, and local business community.

The two most prominent and influential projects of mid-century Philadelphia were Penn Center and Society Hill, both largely Bacon's vision, and both drew considerable national attention. Penn Center replaced the obsolete Pennsylvania Railroad station that stood opposite City Hall and the train viaduct, known as the Chinese Wall, that extended westward to the Schuylkill River. Bacon immediately foresaw the importance of a unified development for the site and hoped for an office complex comparable to Rockefeller Center. He convinced the railroad to redevelop it as a single project. The Penn Center story is well known, but Heller, telling it from Bacon's perspective, emphasizes the compromises he had to make along the way. While heralded as a triumph by the press, Penn Center could have been much more, but that wasn't for Bacon's want of effort. In any case, Penn Center was the catalyst for the construction of a host of modern office buildings around City Hall.

In Society Hill Bacon worked to create a centrally located district that would attract middle- and upper-class families to stay in the city. Heller argues that without Bacon it never would have happened. The project had its flaws, and Bacon lacked much sympathy for the poor, mostly African American, population it displaced. Although there is much to criticize about gentrification, Society Hill was the catalyst for the upgrading and gentrification, first in Bella Vista and Queen Village, and then all around the periphery of Center City. In that sense Society Hill was a spectacular success in achieving the goals Bacon had set out for it.

The Gallery and Market East was another long-term Bacon idea. The SEPTA commuter rail tunnel, critical to the whole project, finally completed in 1985, is a testimony to Bacon's prescience and vision. The Gallery has been less successful, and at this writing, its anchor tenant, K-Mart, just closed. The idea of building a suburban mall downtown has not been a notable success.

Like all influential and prominent public figures, Bacon was contradictory and sometimes made mistakes. He long supported a crosstown expressway that would have created an ugly barrier between Society Hill and neighborhoods to the south. Here perhaps was an example of how events passed him by. Heller argues that Bacon had turned against the automobile in the sixties and worked behind the scenes to kill the project. That may be, but given his penchant for speaking up and his reputation, he could have done more to influence highway development. Despite a few missteps, Bacon's enduring legacy left the city far better than he found it.

Both of these books are important additions to the history of Philadelphia and to urban history generally. *Engineered Philadelphia* deserves the attention

of historians of technology and of regional economic development as well. Gregory Heller's treatment of Bacon is even-handed, offering perspective and analysis on both Bacon's achievement and flaws. In undertaking this review I was skeptical that the two books had much in common, but in fact they complement each other in surprising ways. It is not just that they were all planners; the Sellers family industrialists and Ed Bacon all believed in Philadelphia and believed it could take charge of its future.

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Brian Joseph Gilley. *A Longhouse Fragmented: Ohio Iroquois Autonomy in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press 2014). Pp. 167. Illustrations, notes, works cited. Cloth, \$70.00.

Brian Joseph Gilley's *A Longhouse Fragmented* is a study of the Iroquois movements from their ancestral home, called the "Six Nations" in New York State, to Ohio where they became the Seneca of Sandusky, through migration to their eventual home in Oklahoma where they became the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma. An ancillary theme of this text is an effort to establish that the Seneca-Cayuga were true Iroquois and not a fragmented assimilated people. Gilley disagrees with the conclusions of most Iroquois scholars on this topic, who say, "Those Western people are not Iroquois as we think of the Six Nations. They have kinship, a longhouse, but they're not actually Iroquois." Gilley's thesis is that they are true Iroquois just like the people of the Six Nations because of their contiguous customs and traditions. He further believes that, tragically, these Western people are ignored by Iroquois scholars.

The intended audience for this book is those scholars whose special interest is Iroquois studies. The author forcefully challenges the claims of the scholars who disagree with him and implies that current Iroquois studies are flawed. He is so confidently adamant in his position that he suggests the possibility of a conspiracy by Iroquois scholars to keep his position from being published.

Gilley may have been better served if he had started this book with a chapter on what made the Six Nations special among Native Americans. He does tell us that their form of democracy was a precursor of the American model, and their innovations in agriculture were highly successful, and their ability

to govern helped in creating the Iroquois empire that covered most of the eastern United States. This may be a topic for another book, yet expansion of this topic by Gilley would have made the picture of fragmentation clearer.

By chapter 2, the style of writing takes a narrative form as the author defines and explains the longhouse tradition. The longhouse is his primary weapon in defense of his thesis for continuity. He uses it in the book's title, the longhouse is pictured on the cover, and he repeatedly points to its importance to the Iroquois as a democratic tool employed in each crisis as they were pushed west. The longhouse is a connecting custom between Six Nation people through the Seneca of Sandusky and finally the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma.

The narrative style flows and is connected by time frame, location, and historical context. The chapters capture the flow of the Iroquois migration through American history and the historical time frame by referencing the period of the French and Indian War, the British occupation, American independence, the Civil War, and American "Manifest Destiny." This approach is quite good and answers the following questions: why was the migration necessary, how and when the move took place, and who benefited and who suffered because of the migration.

As Gilley presents his case for the continuity of political and socioreligious practices and community values, he paints a very interesting picture of the various common ceremonies, such as the Midwinter ceremony, also called the Dog Dance, and even the game of lacrosse. The discussions of customs and traditions are the strength of this book.

Gilley presents a balanced argument for his belief in continuity, yet, the argument for multicultural fragmentation is more compelling. The original migrants to Ohio were Six Nations people, yet the case cannot be sustained when other factors are considered that change individuals and cultures from their historical roots. Even the authors Gilley cites don't embrace the continuity principle. For instance, in the text Lewis Henry Morgan is quoted as saying, "Can the residue of the Iroquois be reclaimed?" Gilley's answer is yes, while the evidence says no. On page 5, Gilley quotes Chatterjee and then Gilley concludes, "Thus the communities who Trans located to the western frontier (Ohio Territory) in the late eighteenth century away from the Iroquois proper represent the primordial non-nationalized and thus illegitimate embodiment of Iroquois culture. These trans located people are more difficult to 'order' within epistemological particularities and thus occupy a secondary historical and intellectual space." I believe when Gilley says this he is making the case for fragmentation.

History has provided many examples of the impact of forced migration that are similar to what was experienced by the Iroquois. The trauma of migration alone creates change; the generations who never actually experienced the Six Nation culture are different people; assimilation through marriages and interaction with other native cultures changes people. The changes brought by the struggles that a new environment brings in living conditions, and the close comingling with other native peoples and Europeans, all add up to fragmentation. The unreliable leadership of the people in migration, and a political system guided by self-interested chiefs, alcoholism, and lethargy, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, are the sad result of the forced migration and the erosion of community values. The scholarship on these points is large and it all points to the resulting fragmentation, multiculturalism, and varying degrees of assimilation. So the weight of evidence refutes Gilley's position that because the same or similar customs and traditions in some form are contiguous, it should be concluded that the Seneca of Sandusky and the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma should be included in Iroquois studies.

In the preface, Gilley says, "The book is short on purpose but intended to begin a conversation." When it is read in this context, the book becomes an interesting addition to Iroquois study. Whatever the outcome of this debate we are still left with the New York Iroquois and the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma. The migration west is a piece of American history and whether or not it is a separate story of Indian western migration or an Iroquois story with an asterisk will be unimportant to most readers.

Gilley's presentation regarding the story of removal in chapters 2 and 3 and the migration west in chapter 4 is very well done. His storytelling is at its best in the narrative describing the hardships, betrayal, and traumas experienced along this trail of tears.

This book is well documented with quotations, notes, and works cited. This scholarly effort with its cited source material should be a welcome addition to the library of the student of Indian studies.

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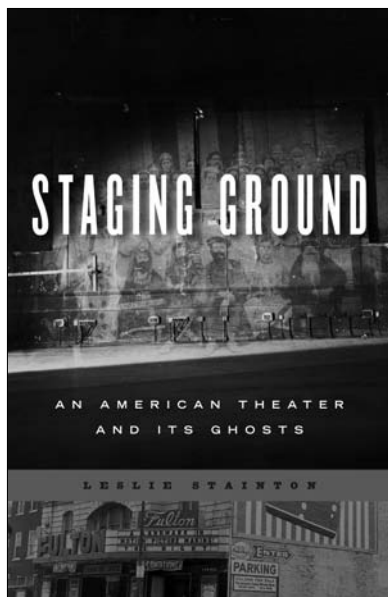
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