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*On the cover:* Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno gives testimony before the federal House Committee on Judiciary, Washington, D. C.,

April 7, 1954. *From:* The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* Archives.

Courtesy: Urban Archives, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.



THE JUSTICE, THE INFORMER, AND THE  
COMPOSER: THE ROY HARRIS CASE AND  
THE DYNAMICS OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN  
PITTSBURGH IN THE EARLY 1950S

*Richard P. Mulcahy*  
*University of Pittsburgh–Titusville*

**Abstract:** Michael Musmanno, a staunch liberal, was a colorful figure in Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania politics. He loathed Communism, taking up the anti-Communist crusade in 1950. He was joined in this by Matt Cvetic, a former paid FBI informant in the Communist Party, who styled himself as a former “FBI undercover agent.” Roy E. Harris, an American composer on the order of Aaron Copland, was brought to Pittsburgh to serve as composer-in-residence at the Pennsylvania College for Women. His coming was part of Mayor David Lawrence’s Pittsburgh Renaissance. Harris was accused by Cvetic and Musmanno of being a Soviet sympathizer since he dedicated his Fifth Symphony to the Soviet people during World War II, creating a McCarthy-style controversy. This article shows how backers of the Renaissance supported Harris and fought off the accusations, and offers thoughts on the case’s broader implications and long-term impact.

**Keywords:** Roy E. Harris; Michael Musmanno; Matt Cvetic; Pittsburgh; David L. Lawrence; J. Edgar Hoover; communism; Pittsburgh Renaissance; Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival

## Introduction

In 1951 Pittsburgh was in transition. Still a major industrial center, it was undergoing the Renaissance initiated by democratic Mayor David L. Lawrence with his election in 1945. The effort's purpose, to make Pittsburgh a more livable and attractive place, would help move it away from its old identity as "the Smoky City," and raise its profile as a center of the arts, culture, and learning. To achieve this, Lawrence established an alliance with the city's economic elite through an organization dubbed the Allegheny Conference.<sup>1</sup> Through this alliance, positive changes were put into place across an entire spectrum of concerns from slum removal to bolstering the city's major educational institutions.

It was against this backdrop that three distinct personalities became the principal actors in a major controversy: local justice Michael A. Musmanno; former FBI informant Matthew Cvetic; and American composer Roy E. Harris. Essentially, Cvetic and Musmanno accused Harris of being a Soviet sympathizer due to having dedicated his Fifth Symphony to the Soviet people during World War II. This became a serious matter for Harris, for in the overheated atmosphere of the early Cold War an accusation of Communist or Soviet leanings could wreck a career, no matter how distinguished.

Although the security mania dubbed "McCarthyism" in the postwar era is generally viewed as happening only on the federal level, concerns about possible Communist subversion played out on all levels of government in the United States: federal, state, and local. Hubert Humphrey, for example, while mayor of Minneapolis, worked to purge Minnesota's Democratic-Farm-Labor Party of its left wing between 1947 and 1948, under the claim that it was Communist influenced.<sup>2</sup> Several states had outlawed the Communist Party within their jurisdictions by the early to middle 1950s, and maintained their own legislative investigating committees. Various cities also had their own anti-Communist ordinances.<sup>3</sup> Pittsburgh, therefore, was not unique when this issue spilled out into its own politics.

Always a colorful figure in Pittsburgh's politics since the start of his public career in 1929, Musmanno had been an Allegheny County Common Pleas Court judge since 1935. Coming off an unsuccessful bid to become Pennsylvania's lieutenant governor in 1950, he ran in 1951 for the Democratic nomination to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, and defeated the party's endorsed candidate, Justice Conrad C. Ladner. Eating crow because it had endorsed Ladner, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* congratulated



Musmanno in an editorial dated July 26, 1951, but also had some fun with the event, running a political cartoon by Cy Hungerford on its front page. It depicted a beaming Musmanno, dressed in his judicial robe, running into the state Supreme Court building with a huge gavel, a spotlight, and an armful of fireworks. An old-line justice, representing the court's staid traditions of judicial dignity, was depicted hiding behind one of the building's pillars. The cartoon's caption read, "He will liven up the old place."<sup>4</sup>

Matt Cvetic had served as a paid confidential informant for the FBI from 1943 to 1950, providing the bureau with information on southwestern Pennsylvania's Communist apparatus. This involved his joining the Party, being inducted by no less a notable than Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.<sup>5</sup> Although he gave the FBI a great deal of valuable information, Cvetic proved hard to handle, resulting in his termination in January of 1950.<sup>6</sup> However, during his years with the bureau, Cvetic became friends with Pittsburgh journalist James Moore, who worked for the city's Hearst outlet, the *Sun-Telegraph*. Through Moore, Cvetic was introduced to William T. Martin (also known as "Pete" Martin), who eventually wrote a series of as-told-to articles about Cvetic's alleged exploits that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title, "I Posed as a Communist for the FBI." The story proved to be popular and was eventually made into a 1951 feature film by Warner Brothers, entitled *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, as well as a later radio series under the same title.<sup>7</sup> Little of it was true, and the FBI became increasingly disgusted with both Cvetic's love of the spotlight and his erratic behavior outside of it.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike Musmanno or Cvetic, who were from the Pittsburgh area, Roy Harris was a transplant. A distinguished American composer, Harris came to Pittsburgh in 1951 to serve as composer-in-residence at the Pennsylvania College for Women (PCW), now Chatham University. The appointment was financed through a grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust. In addition, his wife, Joanna Harris, a noted concert pianist in her own right, was appointed to PCW's music faculty with him, a point stressed in the college's 1951 catalogue.<sup>9</sup>

The issues played out between these three men questioned the limits of anticommunism, as well as a composer's rights with regard to respecting artistic vision and integrity. Although much of the story took place in the public sphere, a great deal was secluded from public view, notably: exchanges between the FBI, the Allegheny County branch of the American Legion, and eventually William Block, publisher of the *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*.

This article's purpose is to tell the complete story of the case, including both its public and nonpublic aspects, as well as to offer some insight on its long-term impact upon the City of Pittsburgh.



**FIGURE 1:** Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno gives testimony before the federal House Committee on Judiciary, Washington, D. C., April 7, 1954. *From:* The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* Archives. Courtesy: Urban Archives, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.

## Musmanno

Michael A. Musmanno was a bundle of restless energy: eloquent, bombastic, brash, brave, and ruthless. He seemed to thrive on adversity and relished a fight. As a public official, his ambition was limitless and he loved the spotlight.<sup>10</sup> Musmanno was born in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania; the son of Italian immigrants, his father labored as a coal miner. Because of this, Musmanno identified with working people and was intensely loyal to the mainstream coal miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), as well as to its leadership, particularly John L. Lewis and Philip Murray.<sup>11</sup> Determined to get ahead and make a difference, Musmanno attended and graduated from Georgetown University School of Law, after which he earned six additional law degrees from various schools. Returning to southwestern Pennsylvania in 1928, he settled in Stowe Township and worked as a "people's lawyer" providing legal services for those at the bottom of the socioeconomic order. Thus, the region's coal miners were one of Musmanno's main constituencies.<sup>12</sup>

Although the UMWA had been a successful industrial union, it was in full retreat by 1928 due to a worldwide glut in coal supplies. Management slashed wages in response, leading to a bitter strike between 1926 and 1928. Coal companies that had once cooperated with the UMWA now broke their agreements, reorganized on a nonunion basis, and resorted to using Coal and Iron Police (C&IP) to enforce the arrangement, a rarity in western Pennsylvania prior to 1920.<sup>13</sup> A private industrial police force maintained and paid by corporate management, they were originally created to protect mining operations from sabotage. However, while these forces worked for the coal companies, they had police commissions issued by the state, thereby giving them the same authority, including the use of deadly force, held by municipal police, the Pennsylvania State Police, and county sheriffs. Thus, they constituted a corporate army, enforcing employer hegemony in the state's mining towns, and were manned by people Musmanno considered the dregs of society.<sup>14</sup>

Against this backdrop, Musmanno first entered public life, winning a seat in the Pennsylvania state house in 1929. While there, he introduced two pieces of legislation: one to end the C&IP (generally referred to as the "Musmanno Bill"), the other to outlaw the Communist Party in Pennsylvania.<sup>15</sup> The first measure received a great deal of support because the C&IP was universally hated, especially after a western Pennsylvania miner named John Barcoski was slain in February 1929 by two members of the force

in a night-long beating.<sup>16</sup> Musmanno successfully guided the bill through both houses of the legislature, and was characterized by one contemporary observer as one of the state house's most effective members.<sup>17</sup> The anti-Communist proposal, however, went nowhere.

From Musmanno's perspective, the Communist Party represented a threat by feigning concern for people suffering economic injustice in order to advance an unsavory hidden agenda. Central to that agenda was the destruction of non-Communist progressive organizations, including the UMWA. To further that goal, Musmanno claimed that Communists were willing to partner with anyone, including the C&IP and coal companies, to drive the UMWA out of the coalfields. This would be done through a front organization: The Ohio and Pennsylvania Relief Society (OPRS). While this group provided food and clothing to dispossessed strikers, it also preached a revolutionary message.<sup>18</sup>

Although these claims sound far-fetched today, they were not unfounded. Much of Musmanno's thinking about Communists wanting to destroy mainstream liberalism reflected the views of a number of people in that mainstream, including US senators Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey.<sup>19</sup> With regard to the OPRS, its actions were related to a full-blown rebellion then taking place in the UMWA against union president John L. Lewis. Aside from the coal glut's effects, Lewis had become very unpopular due to his authoritarian leadership style and for a perceived lack of militancy when it came to dealing with coal operators. In response, dissident elements created a "Save Our Union Committee" whose stated purpose was Lewis's unseating.<sup>20</sup> The committee had a sizable Communist element, and when it proved unable to depose Lewis, the dissidents broke away and formed the Communist-backed National Miners Union at a convention held in Pittsburgh in 1928.<sup>21</sup>

Earlier that same year, the US Senate's Subcommittee on Interstate Commerce conducted an extensive investigation on conditions in the bituminous coal fields. Two veteran liberals were on the committee: Burton K. Wheeler of Idaho and Robert Wagner of New York.<sup>22</sup> Holding some of its hearings in Pittsburgh, the committee was primarily concerned with the actions of the C&IP. However, during the course of its hearings, it took testimony about the union in-fighting mentioned above, as well as activities and radical connections of the OPRS. While several witnesses testified on these matters, the most detailed testimony came from Max Henrici, a prolabor journalist working for the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*.

In the course of his testimony, Henrici outlined the organization's association with both the Communists and the revolutionary Industrial Workers of

the World (IWW). This and other testimony the committee received tended to bear out Musmanno's claim of an alliance between the far left and the far right to force the UMWA out of southwestern Pennsylvania, with the Ohio and Pennsylvania Relief Society serving as a vehicle to achieve that end.<sup>23</sup>

This period had a profound impact upon Musmanno and reverberated throughout his career. Communism was bad enough, but "fellow travelers" and front organizations were far worse since they put a benign face on something evil.<sup>24</sup> Any and all tactics to fight such groups were justified since they would help achieve a greater societal good.

### Cvetic

According to Professor Daniel J. Leab, Matt Cvetic will always be remembered through the film *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, a highly fictionalized account of his work as a paid FBI informant.<sup>25</sup> Although he began passing information to the FBI in 1941, Cvetic first came to J. Edgar Hoover's attention in February 1942. In a letter to Hoover, J. E. Thornton, Pittsburgh Special Agent-in-Charge (SAC) at the time, presented Cvetic's short biography: the son of immigrants, Cvetic came from a large family, and claimed to speak seven Eastern European languages, including Russian, and Polish. The reason for the letter was that Cvetic, who was then working at the Pittsburgh branch of the US Employment Service, claimed that agency was riddled with Communists. Thornton concluded the letter by stating that Cvetic had been taken on as an unpaid informant by the bureau's Pittsburgh office. Cvetic had been invited to join the local Communist Party in the past, and would let the bureau know if the invitation was ever made again. There was one sour note in this letter: Thornton stated that Cvetic had once been arrested for assault and battery involving his sister-in-law over an unpaid debt. Regardless, Thornton appeared definitely interested in what Cvetic had to offer.<sup>26</sup>

Nearly a year passed. Then, in a letter dated February 16, 1943, Thornton told Hoover that Cvetic had joined the Party. Thornton stated that "He [Cvetic] . . . should be in a position shortly to obtain reliable information regarding the activities of the same . . . especially regarding . . . the White Collar Branch, . . . about which little has been . . . learned." Citing the fact that Cvetic would have daily access to party members, Thornton stressed Cvetic's potential value as an informant, and asked that Cvetic be paid the modest sum of \$15.00 to help cover expenses.<sup>27</sup>

Writing back, Hoover authorized Cvetic's appointment as a paid informant. In so doing, Hoover stressed that Thornton was responsible for overseeing Cvetic's actions. At the same time, Cvetic needed to understand that his position was confidential, and that he was not to divulge his connection with the FBI with anyone. Along the same line, Hoover added that, while the bureau was anxious to have the information Cvetic could provide, it would assume no responsibility for him, meaning that Cvetic was on his own. Hoover added, though, "It may be pointed out to him [Cvetic] that he may expect increases in the compensation being offered him in accordance with the value of the information he is able to provide."<sup>28</sup>

So began Cvetic's formal association with the FBI. He was designated CNDI (Confidential National Defense Informant) 133, shortened later to CI 133.<sup>29</sup> From the available evidence, this relationship became a Faustian bargain for all involved. The bureau regarded Cvetic as one of the most productive informants it ever had. Between 1943 and 1949 he was active in several Communist front and subsidiary organizations, including the Slavic Bureau, the Nationality Commission, and the Civil Rights Congress.<sup>30</sup> By April 1948 the FBI considered Cvetic to be their best chance of gaining entrée to what they termed "the high inner circle of the Communist Party."<sup>31</sup>

This came at a price the bureau would eventually regard as too high. The first incident happened in March of 1947, when Cvetic allegedly told a girlfriend about being a confidential informant. The bureau wanted to end its relationship with him immediately, but the Pittsburgh office objected, characterizing Cvetic as irreplaceable.<sup>32</sup> But, as time moved forward, Cvetic became increasingly erratic and difficult to handle. Not only was his personal life in a shambles, but he also had a drinking problem, as well as psychological issues. In one report, the author asserted that "in recent years there has been an indication that Cvetic is a moody individual subject to alternating periods of enthusiasm, self-pity and depression."<sup>33</sup>

Along with this, during the course of the seven years he worked for the bureau, Cvetic's salary was steadily increased from \$15.00 to \$85.00 a week.<sup>34</sup> From the bureau's perspective, it had bent over backwards to accommodate him on the money issue. Yet Cvetic never seemed to be satisfied with what he was making, and began demanding \$100 a week, claiming his living expenses necessitated it.<sup>35</sup> Various problems notwithstanding, Thornton backed Cvetic's request due to the fact that the information he provided proved so valuable, but it was never granted.<sup>36</sup> Difficulties that arose with Cvetic did cause the bureau to rethink how confidential informants were handled. These people needed their morale constantly bolstered, since they

were under an unending emotional strain due to the nature of their work. The concern was not about their well-being, but “to continue their productivity as informants.”<sup>37</sup>

The issue of morale in Cvetic’s case proved crucial. Cvetic, who was probably on the edge for some time, began falling to pieces, with the bureau wanting to terminate him in January of 1949.<sup>38</sup> But, this decision was reconsidered due to his possible use in a prosecution the federal government was planning against the Communist Party’s national leadership.<sup>39</sup> Complicating these plans was Cvetic’s revealing his status to yet another person, as well as a letter he had submitted to the bureau’s Pittsburgh Office on September 23, 1949, indicating that he wanted out. Cvetic added that he did not want to sever ties unless the bureau disclosed that he had been working on their behalf. He also wanted severance pay.<sup>40</sup>

Bureau officers were in a quandary over what to do. They would not make any public statement about Cvetic’s service as an informant, but were willing to do so privately if anyone contacted the FBI about him. Also, while no severance pay would be given, the FBI was willing to continue paying him for six weeks past his date of termination.<sup>41</sup> Shortly after sending the letter, Cvetic informed the bureau that his intentions had been misunderstood, and that he wanted to continue as an informant. He went on to say that certain problems he had recently experienced in his private life had been resolved, easing his stress.<sup>42</sup> Based on this, it was decided that Cvetic would not be terminated, and continue providing the bureau with his “inestimable assistance.” The memo outlining this decision was dated November 22, 1949.<sup>43</sup>

During these years, Cvetic resided at Pittsburgh’s William Penn Hotel under the alias Robert Stanton. In a report dated December 9, 1949, the Pittsburgh SAC informed Hoover that Cvetic, using the name of Stanton, had suffered a drunken breakdown in his hotel room, and threatened to shoot a woman visitor, while making wild claims about being an FBI undercover agent/counterspy. This was the last straw, and the Pittsburgh SAC called for Cvetic’s immediate termination.<sup>44</sup> Meeting with the SAC on January 3, 1950, Cvetic burst into tears, saying that his past work for the bureau did not merit such treatment. He added that he was in debt, and that he needed his bureau salary to supplement his income.<sup>45</sup> As things turned out, an arrangement was made whereby Cvetic left the bureau on good terms, and was paid up to January 23.<sup>46</sup>

It was shortly after Cvetic’s termination that his legend as an FBI “undercover agent” began to grow. As mentioned earlier, it was through his friendship with James Moore that Cvetic’s so-called story eventually

made its way to the *Saturday Evening Post*. Also, within a month of his leaving the bureau's service, Cvetic was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).<sup>47</sup> He testified on February 21, 1950, revealing over 290 names during the course of that hearing, some of them fellow confidential informants. With his name splashed all over the newspapers, Cvetic became a public hero, and a factotum on Communism, speaking on the subject on a nationwide circuit.<sup>48</sup>

The film and later radio series *I Was a Communist for the FBI* reinforced this view, popularizing the idea of Cvetic serving in the exalted role of an FBI undercover agent who had infiltrated the dark and dangerous world of international Communism. Believing his own hype, this was how Cvetic styled himself and it was how he was characterized by HUAC in its 1950 annual report.<sup>49</sup>

This characterization was particularly galling for J. Edgar Hoover, who always hastened to point out in any correspondence concerning Cvetic that he never was an FBI agent, only holding the far more modest position of a paid informant. Although Cvetic came to a sad end, especially since he did not reap nearly as much financially as others did from his story, there is no question that the period immediately following his termination from the FBI was his salad days. For its part, the bureau did not approve of the film or radio show, did not cooperate in their making, and would not comment on them. Basically, the FBI sat back and watched with quiet disdain.<sup>50</sup>

## Harris

Roy Ellsworth Harris was born on February 12, 1898, in Lincoln County, Oklahoma, but his family moved from Oklahoma to California when he was a boy.<sup>51</sup> As far as his musical education was concerned, it appears that Harris did a number of musical apprenticeships with established figures, rather than a more formal route via university. However, he did attend the University of California for two years, between 1919 and 1920, studied in France and received an honorary doctorate of music from Rutgers University in 1942.<sup>52</sup> Among his mentors were Fanny Dillon, Arthur Farwell, Modest Altschuler, Arthur Bliss, Rosario Scalero, and Nadia Boulanger. He began composing in 1922 at the age of twenty-four and published his first concerto when he was in Paris.<sup>53</sup> In 1928 he was awarded the first of two Guggenheim fellowships that he was to receive. From that time forward, Harris's career took off,



achieving an unequaled international stature. Conductor Nicolas Slonimsky rated him as America's premier composer.<sup>54</sup>

Harris's musical style was contrapuntal, involving the development, and then harmonizing, of two divergent melodies.<sup>55</sup> This was very different, for example, from his contemporary, Aaron Copland, who tended to use simple themes. Writing in the *Saturday Review*, music critic Howard Hanson described Harris's style, adding that his music could "soar to heights seldom attained by any other composer."<sup>56</sup> This is not to say that Harris's music was devoid of Americana, for, like Copland, he celebrated American identity in several of his compositions. Two cases in point were his 1941 opus *Freedom's Land*, and his Sixth Symphony, built around Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and dedicated to the American servicemen of World War II.<sup>57</sup>

Harris's politics appear to have been fairly mainstream. Certainly no radical, he was described as a staunch Republican who was fairly liberal in his views. In this vein, Harris's patriotism was beyond question, and he had no use for Communism. While he had great respect for the Soviets as an ally, their system of government was entirely distasteful for him. However, after America entered World War II, it appears that Harris entertained a hope the United States and the Soviet Union would continue cooperating after the war was over.<sup>58</sup> This hope was not unusual, and reflected a sensibility shared across the political spectrum in the United States at the time.<sup>59</sup>

After the United States entered the war, Harris made every effort to contribute. Interested in Russian music, Harris served as vice chairman of a musician's committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF). Other members of this committee included Aaron Copland, Benny Goodman, and Andre Kostelanetz. The committee's goal was to raise money to help rebuild the Tchaikovsky museum, as well as to help Russian music conservancies destroyed by the war. The committee proposed doing this by holding a series of concerts. It was also trying to preserve recordings of Tchaikovsky's various works that would be put into a single collection and then sent to the Soviet Union.<sup>60</sup> Later in the war, Harris oversaw the Office of War Information's music section, which broadcast American music to sixty-two overseas outposts. But the most notable thing Harris did during the war was to compose two symphonic pieces: his 1943 Fifth Symphony, which he dedicated to the "heroic and freedom loving people" of the USSR; and his "Ode to Friendship," performed at a rally sponsored by NCASF, held November 16, 1944.<sup>61</sup>

Although these pieces were well received when they were presented, they did raise some eyebrows, particularly the Fifth Symphony. Likely for this reason, the FBI conducted an extensive investigation into Harris's loyalty between 1943 and 1945. Leaving no stone unturned, the bureau intruded into all aspects of his life, including his private affairs.<sup>62</sup> What they found was an extraordinary man living an extraordinary life.<sup>63</sup>

On the more conventional side of things, the bureau noted, as mentioned above, that Harris was a Republican. He was member of the Rotary Club, and a practicing Episcopalian.<sup>64</sup> Nowhere in the course of this investigation did the bureau find anything indicating, or even hinting, that Harris was a Communist or a Soviet sympathizer. In every instance people who were interviewed attested to Harris's loyalty and patriotism. Finding nothing irregular in his politics, or anything else, the FBI finished its investigation, with the implication that further inquiries into Harris's loyalty were unnecessary.<sup>65</sup>

Sadly, although Harris had been cleared, the bureau, true to its secretive nature, did not offer him any help when he came under fire for his alleged radicalism. Instead, the bureau was more concerned about Cvetic, who was going to be the star witness in a planned federal trial for southwestern Pennsylvania's Communist leadership under the Smith Act. What concerned them was the real possibility that Cvetic would say or do something to discredit both himself and the government's case.<sup>66</sup> Lost in that shuffle was an innocent man, an internationally renowned artist, being victimized for economic and political gain.

## The Case

While the Pittsburgh Renaissance heralded a new identity for the city, in 1951 there were still plenty of events taking place there that were firmly grounded in its roots as an industrial center with a hardscrabble politics. Most notable would be the 1951 trial and conviction of local Communist leader Steve Nelson for sedition. The action had been brought by Musmanno while he was still a sitting judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Privately, as a leader of a group called Americans Battling Communism (ABC), Musmanno raided the Communist Party's downtown headquarters. Nelson, a.k.a. Stefan Mesarosh, was arrested, and later convicted of violating Pennsylvania's 1919 antisedition statute.<sup>67</sup> Matt Cvetic was also involved, testifying against Nelson at the trial.<sup>68</sup> Not able to secure his own defense counsel, Nelson

himself cross-examined Cvetic. According to Nelson's account of events, he was able to rattle Cvetic on the stand, and thereby discredit his testimony to some degree.<sup>69</sup> While I do not dispute Musmanno's sincerity as a dedicated anti-Communist liberal, the raid and subsequent trial did provide him with a great deal of free publicity, since he was running for Pennsylvania's lieutenant-governorship at the time.<sup>70</sup> That campaign was unsuccessful, but it did prove useful when he ran for Pennsylvania's State Supreme Court the following year.

For Roy Harris, however, these matters were probably the furthest thing from his mind. Owing to the times, and to be compliant with the standards of good practice, Harris had been cleared of any questionable political associations by PCW and the Mellon Trust before being appointed director of the Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival.<sup>71</sup> This investigation, done to make sure he did not have any questionable political views or associations, had been conducted with the assistance of an organization specializing in this sort of work, the Friends of Democracy. In the course of its research, investigators found several leftist groups/events listing Harris as a participant, thereby requiring an explanation from him. Among these: the Artists' Front to Win the War; the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the Hans Eisler Concert; the Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Progressive Citizens of America; the Celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Soviet Union; the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship; and the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace.<sup>72</sup> At the investigators' behest, Harris wrote a long letter of explanation, asserting that while he had been associated with some of the organizations contained in the list, and that he may have been politically naïve, others had used his name without his consent. In addition, he attested to his loyalty, as well as his utter rejection of Communism, both as an ideology and a system. This satisfied the Friends of Democracy investigators, and Harris was cleared.<sup>73</sup>

Taking up his appointment in September 1951, Harris immediately began work on organizing the music festival. Coordinating with Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University), the festival would be held between November 24 and 30, 1952. Financed by the Mellon Trust, and cosponsored by Tech and PCW, the festival would feature music written over the past twenty-five years. Harris would serve as the festival's director, with PCW president Dr. Paul Anderson, and Tech president James M. Bovard serving as the event's co-chairmen.<sup>74</sup>

Reaction in the city to this news was overwhelmingly positive. *Pittsburgh Press* music critic Ralph Lewando was most enthusiastic about the idea,

pointing out in his column that the Heinz Foundation had commissioned fourteen prominent composers representing ten different countries to prepare new works specifically for the festival. In addition, the event was to feature works from fifty top composers from all over the globe. Among the works to be performed was Harris's Fifth Symphony.<sup>75</sup> Lewando's imprimatur for the event was important. A noted violinist and composer, Lewando had been music critic for the *Press* since his appointment in October of 1930, and he also had been a long-standing member of PCW's music faculty.<sup>76</sup> The Heinz Foundation's participation was also significant, since it was a further indication that Pittsburgh's moneyed elite was on board with what Harris was doing.

Despite this good news, however, a very loud discordant note was about to be sounded by Matt Cvetic. His forum would be the annual state convention of the Pennsylvania American Legion held in Philadelphia the first week of August 1952. By this time, not only was Cvetic working with James Moore of the *Sun-Telegraph*, but with Justice Musmanno, whose association with Cvetic began in March of 1950.<sup>77</sup> There is nothing in the record for those weeks prior to the Legion convention indicating that Cvetic planned to offer anything more than the standard, ritualized boilerplate speech denouncing communism, the Soviet Union, and duped American liberals. But, whenever Cvetic was engaged as a speaker, he was paid for it, and because he wanted to continue being newsworthy, rehashing old points simply would not do. He had incentive to make new accusations: the more sensational, the better.<sup>78</sup>

The only cautious note about the convention and Cvetic's role in it was sounded in the FBI. Philadelphia SAC Lionel Cornelius informed the bureau that a prominent Philadelphia Legionnaire had invited Cornelius to take part in an informal welcome for Cvetic. Cornelius wanted to know if he should accept. The matter was a delicate one, since the American Legion was an important bureau ally. The bureau advised Cornelius to "tactfully" decline since Cvetic was a "publicity seeker" who had shamelessly capitalized on his former association with the bureau. When Cornelius asked if he could explain why he was declining, the bureau said no, with Hoover commenting, "We want no part in Cvetic's promotion."<sup>79</sup>

Hoover's decision to keep the bureau's distance from Cvetic was fortuitous; Cvetic's Legion speech on August 7 amounted to a declaration of war, not only on Roy Harris, but on higher education in general. The speech opened with the following assertion:

In the great debate on Freedom versus Communism, the apologists and bleeding hearts for the latter have vainly tried to inject new meaning into the phrase “academic freedom.” But the big question these bleeding hearts refuse to answer is: “Should our schools and colleges be used as sanctuaries for irresponsible teachers and employees who give their support to un-American causes?” The answer is a resounding “No!”<sup>80</sup>

From here, Cvetic recounted his days as a pseudo-Communist and how the Party wanted to gain control of the nation’s schools, and attempted to do so by placing dozens of red cells in American universities. Making this assertion, he then shifted focus, claiming that educators who were Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers were just as dangerous as outright Communists, and had no right to teach (2).

At this point, Cvetic leveled his charges at Roy Harris. He claimed that he had been “thumbing through” the sixth report of the California Un-American Activities Committee and came across Harris’s name. Saying the name “rang a bell” he allegedly wrote to the HUAC asking for information. Cvetic claimed that HUAC wrote back, identifying Harris as a composer and sent a report for Cvetic’s information (3). Cvetic then referred to the upcoming music festival, and how Harris had suddenly become a Pittsburgh celebrity. This led to the fact that Harris had premiered his Fifth Symphony in 1943, dedicating it to the Soviet people (4).

Cvetic said that the matter could be overlooked if “Harris had dropped his pinko associations when the Russian myth was exploded” (5). But, Harris persisted in his heresy, due to his membership in several organizations regarded as Communist fronts, and for his association with Nicholas Slonimsky. Cvetic claimed that Slonimsky was listed in the HUAC report as being one of 113 people associated with *New Masses*, which he stated was an official publication of the American Communist Party. Cvetic also damned Harris for his work for the Office of War Information, belittling him as a “cultural disc jockey.” In the same vein, Cvetic characterized Harris as riding “the US State Department’s gravy train” when a musical radio series Harris directed in 1952 entitled *Master Keys* was rebroadcast to Europe over Voice of America during the course of twenty-three weeks. Worst of all, Harris had been presented with an inscribed gold baton by West Point after the premiere of one of his compositions the academy had commissioned to mark its sesquicentennial. Cvetic called this “a national disgrace” (6).

Cvetic then listed the questionable organizations to which Harris belonged; the same ones he had been questioned about when cleared in 1951. Describing each of these, Cvetic asserted that Harris owed everyone in Pittsburgh an explanation for this, and especially for his association with Nicholas Slonimsky. He concluded, "I have already sent Dr. Harris an advance copy of this address. Like all Pennsylvanians, I await an answer" (7).

Written in the sardonic style of a hard-hitting journalistic exposé, Cvetic's speech did not arouse much attention. While articles about it were in Pittsburgh's newspapers the next day, nothing appeared thereafter.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, Harris's public reaction was one of amusement. Leading with the headline "Composer Laughs off Charges," the *Post-Gazette* quoted Harris as saying that if he was a Communist, then every brass man during the war had been a Communist as well.<sup>82</sup> Clearly, Cvetic's speech had failed to arouse the outrage he had wanted to engender. There the matter could have ended, but Cvetic was not to be put off. He gave a second speech nineteen days later, on August 26, 1952, before the Optimists' Club in Pittsburgh at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Repeating the charges that he made in Philadelphia, Cvetic went further. He criticized Harris for sending Dimitri Shostakovich a congratulatory telegram when Shostakovich attended the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace held in New York in late March of 1949. Cvetic implied that Harris's behavior in this instance was disloyal, since the Russian composer came to the conference to rail against the United States. From here, Cvetic leveled additional charges against Nicholas Slonimsky, painting him as a Communist sympathizer. As proof, Cvetic pointed to an article Slonimsky had written about Shostakovich that appeared in *New Masses* in 1942.

Cvetic reserved special ire for the Mellon Trust. This organization was financing Harris as well as the music festival, and the composer had received support over the years from similar organizations, including the Carnegie and Guggenheim foundations. In making this point, Cvetic said, "Everybody now knows that Alger Hiss . . . and others got money from certain foundations," implying that these organizations were subsidizing subversion.<sup>83</sup>

This was a hot-button national issue at the time, and such thinking was reflected in a report that had been published in July of 1952 by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (SSIS), relating to its investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).<sup>84</sup> Founded in 1929 as a scholarly organization studying Asia and the Pacific Rim, the IPR was accused of advancing Communism in Asia. The SSIS through its investigation endorsed this charge

and, very pointedly, stated in its final report that the IPR had been enabled to pursue its allegedly subversive agenda due to generous support it had received from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, and other groups.<sup>85</sup>

Clearly, with regard to Harris, someone was out for blood. Was it Cvetic, or was he fronting for someone else? While there is no hard evidence that Cvetic's speeches were ghost-written, an FBI staff member who attended a Cvetic presentation claimed it was obvious Cvetic's remarks had been prepared for him.<sup>86</sup> In addition, some of Cvetic's claims regarding Harris did not sound right. A good example was his matter-of-factly citing the sixth report of the California Un-American Activities Committee with respect to both Slonimsky and Harris. Published under the auspices of the California State Senate, Cvetic did not volunteer how he managed to access such an arcane publication. In addition, while Harris's name does appear in the sixth report, this document is well over 400 pages in length, with a thirty-page index packed with names.<sup>87</sup> One does not casually "thumb through" such a document and accidentally discover a name; one intently researches through it, with a specific name in mind.

In a different vein, Cvetic's criticism of the Mellon Trust and other foundations had an oddly populist quality to it. This sort of thinking certainly appealed to Musmanno who enjoyed playing the workingman's David fighting the corporate Goliath of wealth and privilege. Yet there was a problem with Cvetic's having made such an issue of Slonimsky's article about Shostakovich appearing in *New Masses*. Roughly a year after the article appeared, the magazine carried an item written by Musmanno.<sup>88</sup> Entitled "The Conscience of Dr. Lowell," it was an excerpt from Musmanno's book on the Sacco and Vanzetti case entitled *After Twelve Years*.<sup>89</sup> Taking this into account, as well as the style of the two speeches, it is reasonable to assume they were written by Moore. However, once Cvetic got underway, Musmanno wasted no time rushing to his side, taking the lead.

It should be noted that while Cvetic damned Slonimsky for having an article published in *New Masses*, Cvetic did not mention one word about the article's content. It was a review of Shostakovich's music, especially how his work attempted to describe musically the sense of activity experienced in the Soviet Union with its crash industrialization program under the five-year plans.<sup>90</sup> Because of this, the article was about the music and only the music. It did not contain a single word endorsing either Communism or the Soviet system. Thus, Cvetic's commentary consisted of half-truths, producing the net effect of a lie.

This same mentality also pervaded the charge that Harris was a member of eight Communist front organizations. Although neither Cvetic nor Musmanno said so, their source was a sixty-two-page pamphlet released by HUAC on April 19, 1949, entitled *A Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace*. The work was a critique of an international peace conference held in New York in late March of 1949 sponsored by the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The pamphlet lambasted the meeting as a pro-Soviet/anti-American jamboree, characterized the sponsoring organization as a Communist front, and listed the names of the meeting's individual sponsors, writing them off as either Communist sympathizers or fellow travelers. It then presented additional name lists, linking various people to other groups the HUAC found questionable. The mentality at work here: if your name appears here, and especially if it appears more than once, you are a Communist sympathizer. Harris's name appeared eight times, listed as "Roy Harris," "Roy E. Harris," or "Dr. Roy E. Harris." They even got his name wrong at one point, listing him as "Ray E. Harris." This indicated that whoever assembled this document simply compiled lists of names gleaned from various sources, without much thought or accuracy.<sup>91</sup>

The wellspring of this appears to have been Harris's listing as a conference sponsor for the Social and Cultural Conference on World Peace. When questioned about this in 1951, Harris stated that he had been approached about being a sponsor by his friend, playwright Clifford Odets. Harris declined, but Odets put Harris's name down anyway.<sup>92</sup> The sponsor list appeared in the March 29, 1949, edition of the *New York Times*, and was taken from there.<sup>93</sup>

As the controversy in Pittsburgh unfolded, Harris attempted to put on a brave face about the matter in public.<sup>94</sup> Privately, it was getting to him. By early October, he was looking for help and attempted to find it through the FBI. On October 3, Harris and his wife Joanna went to the bureau's Pittsburgh branch, speaking with Office Chief F. J. Baumgardner and supervisor C. E. Sendall. In the course of this meeting Harris asserted that Cvetic was using half-truths and smear tactics, and presented several documents taken from his personal correspondence that he considered proof of his loyalty, possibly the correspondence arising from his 1951 vetting. In conjunction with this, Harris asked if the bureau could provide him with a letter clearing him of Cvetic's charges.

The FBI responded that this was impossible since the bureau was a fact-finding organization, and did not engage in adjudication.<sup>95</sup> Disingenuous as this response may have been, it was essentially correct. Referring to



his alleged Communist front memberships, Harris admitted that he had belonged to these groups, adding that he had been naïve in his organizational activities. With this, he had hoped that differences between the United States and the Soviet Union could be reconciled, but came to realize this was impossible. Because of this, he had supported former vice president Henry Wallace when he ran for the presidency in 1948, but eventually broke with the campaign. Harris also stated that various groups had used his name because of his prominence. In conceding these points, though, Harris insisted that he was a loyal American citizen, and declared that if necessary, he would contact the HUAC in order to straighten things out.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, the Mellon Trust reinvestigated Harris, and this was overseen by Pittsburgh attorney Charles Kenworthy.<sup>97</sup>

As for Musmanno, he used a tactic on Harris he had employed in other contexts and venues: the populist crusade. He understood that the central ingredient in such an approach was to stoke indignation. Once this happened, backing one's opponent into a corner would be a fairly simple matter. To accomplish this, Musmanno tried to demonize Harris as a pro-Soviet dilettante giving aid and comfort to the enemy, claiming that he appeared to be lining up with the Soviets, despite their being responsible for 22,000 American deaths in the Korean War, still raging at the time.<sup>98</sup>

Musmanno stated that there was a way that Harris could come back into the nation's good graces: admit his mistake and drop his Fifth Symphony's dedication to the Soviet people. In calling on Harris to do this, Musmanno cited Beethoven's experience. Beethoven originally dedicated his Third Symphony to Napoleon, only to drop it later when it became apparent that he was not Europe's liberator.<sup>99</sup> If Harris tore up the dedication, all would be forgiven, and Musmanno would be the first to take Harris's hand in friendship. What Musmanno was proposing amounted to what author Victor Nevansky described as a degradation ceremony.<sup>100</sup> In such a proceeding, the accused heretic admits his fault, *a la* Galileo, renounces his work, and asks forgiveness. This was something Harris refused to do.

Since no public exoneration would be forthcoming from the FBI, Harris soldiered on with the music festival, held November 24–30, 1952. The event was given much fanfare and full coverage in Pittsburgh's media.<sup>101</sup> Musmanno, trying to foment public ire over the work's dedication, called upon the audience to show their displeasure by refusing to applaud when Harris's Fifth Symphony was performed.<sup>102</sup> Not only did Musmanno's plea fall flat, the ovation the work received was thunderous and overwhelming,

leaving the justice with egg on his face.<sup>103</sup> The Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival proved a great success. Harris's Fifth Symphony had been performed and well received. Because of this, one would have assumed that the controversy over the symphony's dedication would have been moot, and that Musmanno would have cut his losses and ended his crusade. Unfortunately for Harris, none of this dissuaded the justice. If anything, it seemed to make him all the more determined.

On December 1, two days after the festival concluded, it was announced that Musmanno had contacted HUAC, calling for Harris's investigation. The committee was looking into various foundations at this time, and since Harris had been brought to Pittsburgh via foundational support, it seemed to Musmanno only natural that the committee should extend its investigation to a controversial recipient. Musmanno reported that he had spoken to the committee's staff, and turned over to them all of his materials on Harris, including the two speeches that Cvetic had delivered in August.<sup>104</sup>

Response to the maneuver was immediate. Mayor Lawrence, as well as Paul Anderson and James Bovard, issued a joint statement saying, "We have heard a lot about guilt by association. This was the first time that we deal with guilt by dedication." They also attempted to turn the tables on Musmanno logically by adding, "No greater catastrophe could happen to us than to adopt the Russian Communist rule of conformity in all things. If in the guise of opposing Communism, we adopt its worst practices, we have lost much of the reason for our world-wide challenge to it." In other words, Musmanno, in his zeal, was becoming the very thing he despised.<sup>105</sup>

Harris issued his own statement attesting to his loyalty that very same day. Saying that he had remained silent until now, due to his belief that "our elected government" had created structures to protect people from social and political dangers, Harris asserted, "I was born an American. I am one, I have always done and will continue to do the best I can to honor and protect this country." Citing his work as musical director of the Office of War Information, Harris went on to say:

as a patriotic duty, I did what I could . . . to aid our common cause with Russia. That we have since found our philosophies and program incompatible is no reason to challenge my loyalty or that of anyone else. It only demands that we continue to identify ourselves with the ideals of our government and the people it represents.<sup>106</sup>

Thus, lines between the two sides were clearly drawn with no clear resolution. On the one side was Harris, having the backing of Mayor David Lawrence, the presidents of PCW and Carnegie Tech, as well as the silent support of Pittsburgh's elite. On the other were Musmanno and Cvetic, wrapping themselves in the American flag with patriotic outrage, and neither of them in the mood to back off. If the matter were to be resolved, resolution would be in the court of public opinion.

Ironically, the American Legion was the vehicle for Harris's exoneration. As a veteran's organization, the Legion was conservative to the point of being right-wing. At the same time, various local branches sponsored Americanism committees designed to promote loyalty and patriotism in the public sphere. As things turned out, the Americanism Committee of the Allegheny County American Legion was given the task of determining whether or not Harris was a Soviet/Communist sympathizer.

In a memo dated December 11, 1952, the FBI's Special Agent in Charge (SAC) recounted to J. Edgar Hoover a visit he had from a member of the Pittsburgh community relating to the Harris case. Although the document is heavily redacted, the story it relates can be reconstructed. The visitor, possibly Pittsburgh Legionnaire Colonel John H. Shenkel, reported that an unnamed person in the community, presumably Musmanno or Cvetic, had been condemning Harris "with miserable results." The informant also pointed out that several of Pittsburgh's leading citizens were supporting Harris, and that the charges being leveled against him "appear to be ill-founded." This notwithstanding, the unnamed critic had originally approached the American Legion for a resolution condemning Harris as a follower of the Communist line. However, as things worked out, it was decided that the Legion would provide a forum for both sides to present their respective claims. The meeting was set for December 15.<sup>107</sup> Aside from his work for the Legion, Shenkel was chief clerk of the Allegheny County Criminal Court.<sup>108</sup>

The meeting took place as scheduled. This was the only time that Musmanno and Harris squared off with each other face to face. It happened in the Allegheny County Courthouse before the Americanism Committee of the Allegheny County American Legion. Colonel Shenkel chaired the meeting, and he opened it by reading a resolution condemning Harris written by Musmanno. The meeting went on for two hours. Musmanno spoke for the first twenty-eight minutes, essentially rehashing what Cvetic had said the previous August. Harris then gained the floor, denying the charges. It was at

this point the proceeding became heated, with Harris and Musmanno trading insults. President Anderson of the PCW was also present, attesting to Harris's loyalty and to the fact that the college had investigated the charges against Harris and found them baseless. At the meeting's end, Harris probably scored some points by saying that he planned to dedicate his Seventh Symphony to the American forces fighting in Korea.<sup>109</sup>

With both sides having presented their case, it would be up to the Americanism Committee, and by extension the Allegheny County American Legion, to either clear or condemn Harris. It appeared that Harris and his supporters were gaining the upper hand. Although Musmanno continued to point to Harris's supposed Communist front activities, no groundswell of support calling for Harris's removal was apparent after this meeting.

Musmanno and Cvetic next attempted to rally people to their cause via radio, and get time on Pittsburgh station KQV for them to deliver a joint speech. KQV was a major Pittsburgh media outlet, and usually Musmanno would not have had any difficulty securing airtime on it or any other Pittsburgh station. KQV refused. Undeterred, Musmanno was able to get time on WMCK in McKeesport.<sup>110</sup> The program was broadcast the evening of December 18, 1952, three days after the American Legion meeting.<sup>111</sup> Cvetic went first. Referring to himself as "a former FBI undercover agent," he implied he had a special understanding of Communism and its insidious nature, adding that "the respectable person in the cultural, educational, and professional field who participates in Communist front activities does far more harm to our country than hundreds of rank and file members who carry party cards." Cvetic went on to add that Harris, by refusing to repudiate his symphony's original dedication, wanted the work to "remain dedicated to the people of the Soviet Socialist Republic, the same Soviet force whose Soviet bullets are continuing to kill American boys in Korea" (3). After making this point, Cvetic called for a congressional investigation of the Mellon Trust, and for the people of Pittsburgh to insist that tax-exempt foundations limit their support to people "who had not lost faith in American ideals and American traditions" (4).

Musmanno spoke immediately thereafter. A far more moving and eloquent speaker than Cvetic, Musmanno first lauded Cvetic for the service he had rendered to the FBI. He then turned to Harris. Like Cvetic, he tried to tie Harris to the Korean War by his continuing "a dedication to a country which to date is responsible in Korea for over 126,000 American casualties" (5). He added "whether the dedication is by word of eulogy or by displaying

the flag of Russia, the effect is the same. It a manifestation of homage to an enemy, our mortal enemy" (6). After this, he eventually turned his attention to Harris's promise that he would dedicate his Seventh Symphony to the American forces fighting in Korea. Musmanno denigrated this by saying that the work had been written in 1947, and thus was being recycled for a cynical purpose. In proof of this, Musmanno cited *Modern Composers* by Daniel Ewan (9). Musmanno was mistaken. While the Seventh Symphony had been commissioned in 1947, it had only just recently been completed.<sup>112</sup>

The broadcast had muted response. About the only person who noted it publicly was Milton K. Susman, who wrote a regular column entitled "As I See It" for Pittsburgh's weekly Jewish newspaper, *The Jewish Criterion*. In the paper's December 19 and 26 editions, Susman wrote two stinging assessments of Musmanno's behavior relative to Harris. In short, he characterized Musmanno as a grandstander whose "tawdry" behavior was beneath the dignity of his high office.<sup>113</sup> This was significant, since Pittsburgh's Jewish community was an important part of Musmanno's base of support. Far from rallying the city to his side, the justice appeared to be discrediting himself.<sup>114</sup>

The FBI kept a close watch on Cvetic afterward, since the government was going ahead with its plan to prosecute Pittsburgh's Communist leadership under the Smith Act.<sup>115</sup> This presented a major problem: Cvetic's antics threatened to discredit him, and thereby jeopardize prosecutions with which he was connected.<sup>116</sup> Although dropping him as a witness was discussed, he was indispensable, and the government was stuck with him.

Fortunately for the government, the Harris case remained dormant from December 19 to the end of January 1953, while the Americanism Committee considered the evidence before it. In early February things came to a head. On February 3, William Block, publisher of the *Post-Gazette*, came to Washington to speak with J. Edgar Hoover about the case. Block assured Hoover from the outset that their conversation would be entirely off the record. From there, Block stated that, based on information he had, Cvetic was "owned" by Musmanno and an unnamed "Hearst newspaper reporter," presumably Moore. Block went on to say that Musmanno was well known for self-promotion, and that his alleged fight against Communism was just a continuation of this. He added that Cvetic was becoming quite careless in charging people with either Communist or Communist front activity. What concerned Block most, however, was Cvetic's characterization as a former FBI agent, which was enabling him to speak with considerable authority in the FBI's name.

Hoover responded that he too was concerned about Cvetic's behavior, asserting that Cvetic was never an undercover agent but a paid informant, and expressed a willingness to make a public statement to that effect. Block then stated that he "intended to go further into Cvetic's activities and particularly those persons associated with him." Just what Block meant by this is unclear, but it would seem that he was contemplating some sort of negative exposé of Cvetic, Musmanno, and possibly Moore, if Cvetic kept it up.

Judging from the memo's content, and from subsequent correspondence, the meeting was cordial and friendly in tone. Hoover, though, was concerned. He directed two of his top associates, D. Milton Ladd, a personal assistant, and Deputy FBI Director Alan Belmont to prepare a summary about Cvetic's efforts for the bureau. Hoover also wanted to be updated about the necessity of using Cvetic in the approaching Pittsburgh Smith Act trial. He concluded that, based on Block's comments, Cvetic was becoming increasingly discredited, and that using him as a witness might hurt the prosecutions. The summary was prepared.<sup>117</sup> After reading it, Hoover wrote, "I think Ladd and Belmont should speak to [Deputy Attorney General] Onley re Cvetic so he will be aware personally. The use of Cvetic in any good case would be most unfortunate. H."<sup>118</sup>

Back in Pittsburgh, on the same day Block met with Hoover, the Pennsylvania College for Women issued a point-by-point refutation of the charges that had been leveled against Harris. Written by Dr. Anderson, it was nineteen pages in length.<sup>119</sup> The document appears to have been based on information gathered by PCW about Harris when he was originally cleared, as well as Charles Kenworthy's second investigation. While Kenworthy's report does not appear to be available, he stated that the charges against Harris were baseless.<sup>120</sup> That point was stressed in the report's cover letter, signed by Thomas W. Hamilton, the college's vice president. It stated that Harris had been the victim of several vicious and unscrupulous attacks. Not wanting to carry out a vituperation campaign in the public arena, the college carried out an extensive reinvestigation into Harris's background as it related to Cvetic's charges. That second investigation was now done, and President Anderson's statement contained the facts.<sup>121</sup> Using a restrained style, Anderson systematically deconstructed all of Cvetic's and Musmanno's claims, reserving a certain rhetorical flourish for the document's last paragraph. Citing the Pittsburgh Renaissance, Anderson asserted that Harris was "one of our great

creative men” who had been brought to the city to help make this happen. Thus, “to have tolerated irresponsible and unstudied charges against a man of this stature is a blight upon our civic morality.” If such an unwarranted attack were allowed to stand, what chance would Pittsburgh have in attracting other scholars, scientists, and artists?<sup>122</sup>

That evening the Americanism Committee issued its report. Musmanno had first introduced a resolution calling for Harris’s dismissal on December 2, 1952. In that time, he had won a position to the county Legion’s governing board, representing the Legion post in Stowe Township. To Musmanno’s chagrin, the committee’s report cleared Harris of disloyalty. Speaking about the committee’s investigative work, Colonel Shenkel made a veiled reference to his possibly having contacted the FBI, saying that the committee had asked questions about Harris “from here to Washington” including “some sources I can’t even divulge to you.” The committee also believed that since PCW was a private institution, its decision to have Harris on its faculty was a private matter.<sup>123</sup>

Incensed, Musmanno declared the report a whitewash, and used his position on the Legion’s governing board to delay a vote on the report for one month.<sup>124</sup> Although Musmanno and Cvetic had been outmaneuvered, they were not giving up so easily. At this point certain anonymous parties began using what must be regarded as hardball tactics to prevent Musmanno or Cvetic from going any further. One example of this was that Cvetic had been scheduled to give another talk over McKeesport radio station WMCK the night of February 17 at 7:30 pm. Two hours before Cvetic was to go on the air, the station received a phone call from someone who threatened the station with a libel suit if Cvetic carried out another verbal attack on Harris. Consequently, the speech was not given; nor was the caller identified.<sup>125</sup>

Undaunted, Cvetic mailed the speech, with a cover letter, to 300 Pittsburgh Legionnaires, dated February 24, 1953. Unfortunately, because the speech was done as a mimeograph, it did not photocopy well, leaving the digital copy available for this researcher illegible. However, the cover letter provides good insight as to the contents. Repeating earlier accusations, it pilloried Harris for things he said before the Americanism Committee, including his opinion that the HUAC was a witch-hunting body. Affecting a sense of moral outrage, Cvetic implied that no loyal American would hold such an opinion.<sup>126</sup>

The letter apparently did not go over well. On February 27, an unnamed source, possibly Colonel Shenkel, informed the FBI that he had been told that

if Cvetic came to a Legion meeting scheduled for March 3, 1953, he would be “verbally attacked” by several members for his “personal habits,” as well as for his association with Justice Musmanno. The upshot was that if such a thing happened, it would negatively impact upon the up-coming Smith Act trial.<sup>127</sup>

The anticlimactic end came at the March 3 meeting. With neither Cvetic nor Harris present, the county Legion cleared Harris of all charges. Harris issued a statement calling the attacks upon him “vicious” and “unwarranted,” adding, “The effrontery of these two persons is equaled only their lack of principle.” Harris also stated that if any questions remained, he was prepared to appear before HUAC to answer them. Going further, he challenged both Cvetic and Musmanno to go before the committee and to repeat their charges against him there.<sup>128</sup> This finally prompted Musmanno to back off on the matter, apparently realizing that he had overplayed his hand.<sup>129</sup> Cvetic, refusing to believe that the case was over, said that he was ready to testify at any time.<sup>130</sup>

For its part, the government never looked into the matter, and neither man was called before HUAC. Editorializing the day of the meeting, in a statement entitled “The Legion and Fair Play” the *Post-Gazette* condemned both Musmanno and Cvetic for what they had been doing, and lauded Colonel Shenkel. Characterizing Cvetic as a “sometime FBI informer” and Musmanno as a political opportunist, the paper asserted that the charges against Harris were flimsy, and that the whole episode needed to end. With this, the affair was over and Harris was vindicated, but implications would be far-reaching.<sup>131</sup>

## Epilogue and Conclusions

Ironically, a week after the Harris case ended, Musmanno suddenly found himself in trouble. John J. Mullen, mayor of Clairton, accused two of his city councilmen of bribery. Musmanno allegedly approached Mullen, an old ally, and urged him to drop the charges. Mullen brought the issue to the district attorney’s office, and Musmanno was charged with hindering a witness, a misdemeanor offense carrying a fine of \$300 and possibly a year in jail.<sup>132</sup> Fortunately for Musmanno, the charge was dismissed in fairly short order. Musmanno continued as a fixture in both Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania politics, even achieving some international standing, testifying at Nazi Adolph Eichmann’s 1961 trial in Jerusalem.<sup>133</sup>



But the Harris case was a turning point for him; not only did Musmanno irreparably damage his standing with his fellow Pittsburgh Democrats, he had made a public fool of himself. When the case concluded, Cy Hungerford drew a cartoon whose caption read, "The Persistent Sniper." In it Musmanno is depicted as a child trying to hit Harris with a slingshot. Musmanno then turns to an American Legionnaire, who gives the justice an ugly sneer when he says, "Hey buddy, loan me your gun."<sup>134</sup> Musmanno attempted to dispel this by minimizing what he did in his book *Across the Street from the Courthouse*. Writing about the Harris case, he devotes one page to it, claiming that he only asked people not to applaud the Fifth Symphony when it was performed, and then subtly changes the subject.<sup>135</sup> It was no use; the damage was done. Musmanno remained on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court until his sudden death by a massive stroke in 1968. By that time his influence had waned entirely.

The FBI's worst fears appeared to be coming true. Cvetic would be arrested in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, for drunk driving about eighteen months after the Harris affair ended.<sup>136</sup> Pittsburgh's Smith Act trial took place in August 1953. Cvetic testified, and all of the defendants, including Steve Nelson, were convicted.<sup>137</sup> Unfortunately, Cvetic's arrest became public knowledge, and an organization identified as the Western Pennsylvania Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born began calling for the reopening of all cases where Cvetic participated.<sup>138</sup>

For its part, the FBI did a great deal of ruminating about its usage of ex-Communist witnesses. True to form, the bureau's concerns were practical rather than ethical in nature. Overuse of certain witnesses carried with it the danger that they would come to be seen as professional informers and thereby be discredited.<sup>139</sup> While the matter was discussed at length, no good solution was found. Ironically, while the federal government fretted about Cvetic damaging its case, the undoing came from a different source: another paid informant, Joseph Mazzei. In *Mesarosh v. United States*, handed down November 6, 1956, the US Supreme Court found that Mazzei, who had testified at the trial, perjured himself, and so threw out the convictions.<sup>140</sup> That same year, the Supreme Court also threw out Nelson's conviction under the Pennsylvania sedition law, based on the theory that only the federal government could prosecute for sedition.<sup>141</sup> Confronted with the fact that its two star witnesses had major credibility problems, the government opted not to retry Nelson or his co-defendants. From here Cvetic's life continued in a downward spiral until his sudden death of a heart attack in 1962. He was fifty-three.

Roy Harris continued at PCW, moving on only after his appointment there was finished. Around the time when his term at the college came to an end, the Department of State tapped him in 1958 to take part in a goodwill tour.<sup>142</sup> While the case had been a frightening experience, he had remained true to his principles and prevailed. Very few artists or academics that came under fire for communism in the 1950s could make that claim.

In terms of the affair's implications for the city, they were twofold. First, although Harris prevailed, damage was done. Although the first International Contemporary Music Festival was a success, it would be a long time before there would be a second. Plus, there was no telling how many creative people who might have been brought to Pittsburgh balked at the idea after seeing what happened to Harris.

Second, the Harris case provided a model for the future. In 1961 University of Pittsburgh history professor Robert G. Colodny came under fire for alleged Communism. Although Colodny, too, was ultimately exonerated and cleared of disloyalty, a major contributing factor was Pitt Chancellor Dr. Edward Litchfield's standing by Colodny, much like Dr. Anderson standing by Harris, and for much the same reason: the city's Renaissance. If Pittsburgh were to shed its old image of a parochial and culturally stunted industrial center for one of greater sophistication, then it had to tolerate a wide range of ideas and beliefs, including dissenting points of view. Thus, the Harris case marked the beginning of the city's long march in that direction, and thereby typified Pittsburgh's Renaissance by serving as a transformative event.

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## NOTES

1. Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, vol. 1, *Government, Business and Economic Change* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 106–11.
2. See John Earl Haynes, "Farm Coops and the Election of Hubert Humphrey to the Senate," *Agricultural History* 57, no. 2 (April 1983): 201–11.

3. David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 70–81.
4. “Musmanno’s Victory,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 26, 1951; Cy Hungerford, front-page editorial cartoon, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 26, 1951.
5. J. E. Thornton, FBI Special Agent in Charge (SAC), Pittsburgh, letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, February 16, 1943; see Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf at <http://www.buildingdemocracy.us>. Unless otherwise cited, all FBI documents relating to Matt Cvetic have been downloaded from the Building Democracy website (<http://www.buildingdemocracy.us>). These documents are also available at the Internet Archive website (<https://archive.org>), and can be downloaded from either website for free. The Cvetic documents were declassified by the FBI in 2012 as a result of a Freedom of Information Act request. Internet Archive has many different hard-to-get materials, including a wealth of government publications. Unless otherwise noted, all government publications cited here have been downloaded from Internet Archive.
6. J. A. Carlson, interoffice memo to Clyde Tolson regarding Matthew Cvetic, former National Defense informant, February 20, 1950; see Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
7. Daniel J. Leab, “Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic: The Ups and Downs of a Professional Informer,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115, no. 4 (October 1991): 539–40, 554–59.
8. One good example of this behavior was outlined in a 1951 teletype the bureau received from its Los Angeles office stating that Cvetic was in a “hopelessly intoxicated state” and creating a scene at the Beverly Hills Hotel. The hotel’s detective was seeking the FBI’s assistance in the matter. The bureau refused to get involved, with Director J. Edgar Hoover pointedly writing, “This is none of our business.” See teletype, December 18, 1951, Fr[o]m Los Angeles, [to] Director, FBI, and SAC, Pittsburgh, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
9. *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania College for Women* 47, no. 3 (November 1951): 37; Paul R. Anderson, President, Pennsylvania College for Women, “Statement on Roy Harris,” p. 1, File Folder (FF) 1: Anderson, Paul R. Statement on Roy Harris 1953, Box 23: Writings about Roy Harris by Others, 1930–1994, Roy Harris Papers, Call Number ML31.H37, Music Division, Library of Congress (hereafter Harris Papers). The Harris Papers are available for research purposes; however, scholars must receive permission from Dr. Harris’s daughter before the papers can be accessed. With this, the author wishes to extend his thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Patricia Harris Connelly for so graciously granting him access to her father’s papers.
10. Sally (Sarah) Stephenson, “Michael A. Musmanno: A Symbolic Leader” (D.A. diss., Carnegie Mellon University, 1981), iii–iv, 1–4, 30–33.
11. See Michael A. Musmanno, “The Battle of the Miners,” chap. 7 of *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1954), 69–75.
12. Stephenson, “Michael A. Musmanno,” 33–38.
13. Richard Mulcahy, “Musmanno’s Fury,” *Western Pennsylvania History* 95, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 49.
14. American Civil Liberties Union, *The Shame of Pennsylvania: The Story of How Pennsylvania Leads the States in Police Violence and Brutality, Prosecutions for Opinion, and War on Strikers and Radicals* (New York: ACLU, 1928), 1–4; Arthur Garfield Hays, *Let Freedom Ring* (New York: Liveright, 1937), 93–123; Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 69.
15. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 73–74.
16. Mulcahy, “Musmanno’s Fury,” 53.

17. Jeremiah Patrick Shalloo, *Private Police: With Special Reference to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1933), 65–66.
18. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 70–71, 73.
19. Jonathan Bell, “The Changing Dynamics of American Liberalism: Paul Douglas and the Elections of 1948,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 96, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 374–78; Paul R. Haerle “Constitutional Law: Federal Anti-Subversive Legislation: The Communist Control Act of 1954,” *Michigan Law Review* 53, no. 8 (1955): 1154–56, 1158–65.
20. Richard P. Mulcahy, *A Social Contract for the Coal Fields* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 127–28.
21. Cecil Carnes, *John L. Lewis: Leader of Labor* (New York: Robert Speller Publishing Corporation, 1936), 219ff.; Walter T. Howard, “The Miners Union: Communists and Miners in the Pennsylvania Anthracite, 1928–1931,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125, no. 1 (January/April 2001): 91–92.
22. *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate*, 70th Congr., 1st sess., Pursuant to S. Res. 105, A Resolution to Investigate Conditions in the Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, February 23–27, 1928, pt. 2 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1928), 344.
23. *Ibid.*, 141–46, 349–56.
24. “Fellow travelers” was a term of art/slang expression used by security investigators like McCarthy, as well as by anyone writing about the issue at the time. It meant a person who was not a Communist per se, but who was a leftist and who sympathized with the positions the Communists advocated in the political realm.
25. Leab, “Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic,” 581.
26. Both from Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf: F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, October 5, 1949; J. E. Thornton, FBI Special Agent in Charge (SAC), Pittsburgh, letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, February 26, 1942.
27. Thornton, letter to Hoover, February 16, 1943, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
28. Hoover, letter to Thornton, February 22, 1943, in *ibid.*
29. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, October 10, 1952, in *ibid.*
30. Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949, in *ibid.*
31. SAC Pittsburgh (no name given), letter to Director, FBI, April 14, 1948, in *ibid.*
32. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, March 27, 1947, in *ibid.*
33. Carlson, FBI interoffice memo to Tolson, February 20, 1950, in *ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*; SAC Pittsburgh (Thornton), FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, May 7, 1948, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
36. SAC Pittsburgh (Thornton), FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, May 7, 1948, in *ibid.*
37. Carlson to Tolson, February 20, 1950, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
38. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, January 4, 1949, in *ibid.*
39. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI teletype to SAC New York and Director FBI, January 11, 1949; H. B. Fletcher, FBI interoffice memo to D. M. Ladd, January 26, 1949; Edward Schmidt, SAC New York,

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- letter to Director, FBI, February 15, 1949; Director, FBI, memo to SAC Pittsburgh, June 8, 1949, all in *ibid.*
40. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, September 23, 1949; Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949; Carlson to Tolson, February 20, 1950, all in *ibid.*
  41. Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949, in *ibid.*
  42. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, November 8, 1949, in *ibid.*
  43. F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, November 22, 1949, in *ibid.*
  44. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, December 9, 1949, and F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, December 20, 1949, in *ibid.*
  45. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, January 4, 1950, in *ibid.*
  46. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1950.
  47. Guy Hottel, SAC Washington, DC, FBI interoffice memo to Director FBI, February 20, 1950, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
  48. Leab, "Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic," 538, 569.
  49. *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1950* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1951), 13.
  50. Leab, "Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic," 539, 565, 573.
  51. "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," FBI confidential report, January 20, 1944, file no. SS 100-3417, p. 2, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953 (the report quotes an article by Nicholas Slonimsky entitled "America's Number One Composer," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 27, 1943), Box 27: Business Papers, 1938–1985, Harris Papers. All future citations to confidential reports are from the Harris Papers.
  52. FBI confidential reports: "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, file no. NY 100-60230, pp. 1, 2–3, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers; "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 1.
  53. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 2–3.
  54. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," FBI confidential report, January 12, 1945, file no. DVR 100-3475, 4, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers
  55. "Roy Harris, Contrapuntist," *Literary Digest*, May 19, 1934, 24.
  56. Howard Hanson, "The Flowering of American Music," *Saturday Review*, August 6, 1949, 162.
  57. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2.
  58. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 12, 1945, 1–2.
  59. See Joseph E. Davies, *Mission to Moscow* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941); Wendell Willkie, *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943).
  60. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 4.
  61. Confidential reports: "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 2; "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 2, 4.
  62. "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 4ff.
  63. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 12, 1945, 4.
  64. *Ibid.*; Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2.
  65. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 4.

66. J. Edgar Hoover, memorandum to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Ladd, Mr. Nichols, February 5, 1953, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
67. Robert Gorczyca, "Sound and Fury: The Sedition Trial of Communist Steve Nelson," *Western Pennsylvania History* 91, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 46–47.
68. Steve Nelson, James R. Barrett, and Robert Ruck, *Steve Nelson: American Radical* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 333.
69. Ibid. 334–35; see also Steve Nelson [Stephan Mesarosh], *The Thirteenth Juror: The Inside Story of My Trial* (New York: Masses and Mainstream, 1955), 180–86.
70. Nelson, Barrett, and Ruck, *Steve Nelson*, 321.
71. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2. In fact, later that year the state would pass the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act, prohibiting any state-aided college or university from employing anyone who advocated the overthrow of the American government by force and violence. Although PCW was a private institution, it is reasonable to assume that it sought to be compliant with the act. No educational institution at this time would have been wanted to be seen as providing a safe harbor for subversive persons. See *Pennsylvania Loyalty Act*, Act of December 22, 1951, P.L. 1726, No. 463, Cl. 65, pp. 1–6.
72. John G. Frazer Jr., of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, letter to Adolph W. Schmidt of the A.W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, April 26, 1951, FF 4: Papers, Re: Roy Harris Political Life, Box 41, A. W. Mellon Educational Trust Papers (hereafter "Mellon Trust Papers"), collection no. A15.1980.29, University Archives, University of Pittsburgh.
73. Roy Harris, letter to John G. Frazer Jr., of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, April 21, 1951; Frazer, letter to Schmidt, April 26, 1951, Mellon Trust Papers.
74. "World Music Festival Here in Fall; Tech, PCW Sponsor November Event," *Pittsburgh Press*, April 18, 1952.
75. Ibid.
76. "Ralph Lewando Becomes the Press Music Critic," *Pittsburgh Press*, October 5, 1930.
77. W. E. Leishear, FBI interoffice memo to A.H. Belmont, March 6, 1950, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-2.pdf.
78. National Council of Jewish Women, Pittsburgh Section, Oral History Collection at the University of Pittsburgh, *Pittsburgh and Beyond: The Experience of the Jewish Community*, William Block interview, May 10, 1994, recording no. T3S5, <http://images.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/i/image/image-idx?view=entry;cc=ncjw;entryid=x-ais196440.047>. This is a digital recording of an oral history interview with *Post-Gazette* publisher William Block.
79. L. L. Laughlin, FBI interoffice memo to A. H. Belmont, July 23, 1952, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
80. Matt Cvetic, "An Address by Matt Cvetic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, Delivered before the Pennsylvania American Legion Convention in Philadelphia on August 7, 1952, at Convention Hall, 1:30, pm," p. 1, Cvetic-Matt-HQ-281.pdf. Subsequent page numbers appear in the text.
81. "PCW Professor 'Pink' Cvetic Says, Dr. Harris Calls Charge Ridiculous," *Pittsburgh Press*, August 8, 1952; "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris, Cvetic Accusation Brings Quick Denial by PCW Professor," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 8, 1952.
82. "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris."

83. Matt Cvetic, "Address of Matt Cvetic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, Before the Optimists Club of Pittsburgh, at noon Tuesday, August 26, 1952, Roosevelt Hotel," p. 1, Cvetic-Matt-HQ-281.pdf.
84. *Institute of Pacific Relations: Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 366 (81<sup>st</sup> Congress) A Resolution Relating to the Internal Security of the United States, Hearing Held July 25, 1951–June 20, 1952 By the Internal Security Subcommittee* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1952), 3.
85. *Ibid.*, 3–4, 87, 164, 211. This criticism of the Rockefeller Foundation supporting subversion was also publicly made by Congressman Edward E. Cox of Georgia; see "Rockefeller Foundation Hit," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952. The Rockefeller Foundation categorically denied that it ever subsidized subversion, but had promoted free thought. See *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, 1953* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1953), 26–29.
86. H. H. Clegg, FBI interoffice memo to Mr. Tolson, October 15, 1952, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
87. See California Legislature, *Sixth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on un-American Activities, 1951* (Sacramento: California State Senate, 1951).
88. Michael Musmanno, "The Conscience of Dr. Lowell," *The New Masses*, January 19, 1943, 22–23.
89. See Michael A. Musmanno, *After Twelve Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939).
90. Nicholas Slonimsky, "Shostakovich's Colleagues," *The New Masses*, September 1, 1942, 26–28.
91. *Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace, Arranged by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Held in New York City, March 25, 26, and 27, 1949*. Report dated April 19, 1949, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC, 1–3, 9, 14–15, 19, 23, 28, 30, 33, 43, 50, 58.
92. Roy Harris, letter to John G. Frazer Jr. of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, April 21, 1951, FF 4: Papers, Re: Roy Harris Political Life, Box 41, Mellon Trust Papers.
93. *Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace*, 57.
94. "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris"; "PCW Professor 'Pink' Cvetic Says."
95. A. H. Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to D. M. Ladd, October 9, 1952, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
96. Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to Ladd, February 12, 1953, Harris Papers.
97. Thomas A. Clarke, *Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the Post-Gazette* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 225; Block interview.
98. Stephenson, "Michael A. Musmanno," 171.
99. "Reply by Judge Michael A. Musmanno and Matt Cvetic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, to Statement on Roy Harris by Paul R. Anderson, President, Pennsylvania College for Women," 13, Michael A. Musmanno Papers, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh PA (hereafter Musmanno Papers). The Musmanno Papers are open for scholarly with few, if any, restrictions.
100. Victor Nevansky, *Naming Names* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 314ff.
101. "Music Festival to Include 11 Concerts, Thanksgiving Week Program Announced," *Pittsburgh Press*, September 16, 1952; "Music Festival on Tonight: All-Star Lineup at Carnegie Hall to Survey Contemporary Works," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 24, 1952; Editorial "Music Week in Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 24, 1952. This editorial celebrates the festival's

- facilitation of Pittsburgh's emergence as a center of the arts, and pays particular note of the fact that local artists are playing a prominent role in the event, and that it was made possible by a grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust; "Music Festival Off to Auspicious Beginning: Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra Under Steinberg Presents Newer Composers," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952; "First Nighters Savor Rare Musical Fare: Several Composers on Hand to Hear Their Works Rendered in Hallowed Oakland Auditorium," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952; "Tension Fades Fast at Music Festival: Justice Musmanno Asks No Applause for Harris, But Audience Gives Ovation," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 27, 1952.
102. "Tension Fades Fast at Music Festival."
  103. Cy Hungerford, editorial cartoon, "A Little Too Big to Handle," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 28, 1952.
  104. "Musmanno Asks Investigation of Roy Harris" *Pittsburgh Press*, December 1, 1952.
  105. "Mayor, President of PCW Defend Composer Harris," *Pittsburgh Press*, December 1, 1952.
  106. Ibid.
  107. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, December 11, 1952, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
  108. Block interview; see also "The Colonel's Day, Flag Day Procedure Reversed," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 14, 1963.
  109. "Legion Defers Action on Slap at Harris: Composer Meets Accuser Face to Face to Say That Judge's Charges Are Lies," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 16, 1952.
  110. Milton K. Susman, "As I See It," *Jewish Criterion*, December 26, 1952; 6. Note: *The Jewish Criterion* was a weekly newspaper/news magazine published for and by Pittsburgh's Jewish community between 1895 and 1962. Complete digital copies of the paper can be accessed through the Carnegie-Mellon University Library's Digital Collections website at <http://digitalcollections.library.cmu.edu/portal/index.jsp>.
  111. Verbatim transcript of radio broadcast made by Matt Cvetic and Michael A. Musmanno entitled "The Real Issue in the Roy Harris Case" over station WMCK in McKeesport, PA, December 18, 1952, p. 1, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers. Subsequent page numbers appear in the text.
  112. "Statement by Robert B. French on Roy Harris' Seventh Symphony," FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
  113. Milton K. Susman, "As I See It," *Jewish Criterion*, December 19, 1952, 6, and December 26, 1952, 6.
  114. Stephenson, "Michael A. Musmanno," 229–32.
  115. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, November 17, 1952; SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, December 1, 1952, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
  116. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to A. H. Belmont, February 5, 1953; C. E. Hennrich, FBI interoffice memo to Belmont, February 9, 1953; Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to Ladd, February 9, 1953; Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 3, 1953, all at Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
  117. Hoover, memorandum to Tolson, Ladd, and Nichols, February 5, 1953, in *ibid*.
  118. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 3, 1953 in *ibid*.
  119. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris."
  120. Clarke, *Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the Post-Gazette*, 226; Block interview.



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121. Thomas W. Hamilton, cover letter dated February 3, 1953, Harris Papers.
122. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 19.
123. "Composer Harris Cleared in Legion Loyalty Report," *Pittsburgh Press*, February 4, 1953.
124. Ibid.
125. SAC Director, FBI interoffice memorandum to Director, March 10[?], 1953, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf. Note: the problem with the memo's exact date is that it was partially obliterated by an FBI internal circulation stamp.
126. Matt Cvetic, circular cover letter, February 24, 1953, in *ibid.*
127. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 27, 1953, in *ibid.*
128. "County Legion Clears Harris of Disloyalty: PCW Composer Calls Attacks Against Him 'Vicious' as 92 Posts Uphold Him, Each Unanimously," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
129. "Musmanno Passes Harris Challenge," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, March 4, 1953.
130. "County Legion Clears Harris of Disloyalty" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
131. Editorial, "The Legion and Fair Play," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
132. "Musmanno Faces Charge in Bribe Case: Accused of Hindering Witness," *Pittsburgh Press*, March 11, 1953.
133. "Musmanno Accuses Eichmann as Power; Authority Unlimited Trial Told," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 16, 1961.
134. Cy Hungerford, editorial cartoon, "The Persistent Sniper," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
135. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 327–28.
136. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, March 21, 1955; L. V. Boardman, FBI interoffice memo to Director, March 24, 1955, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf. Cvetic would eventually be admitted to St. Francis Hospital in 1955 for chronic alcoholism by his son, who authorized electroshock. Pittsburgh FBI Office, airtel to Director, April 1, 1955, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
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# TEACHING MUSEUM STUDIES IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES, OR, A TALE OF TWO COURSES

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**Abstract:** This article uses the lens of teaching museum studies to analyze how museums have changed over a nineteen-year period and how university-based teaching has and might continue to respond to these changes. I compare my current class at Penn State Harrisburg to the one I taught from 1996 to 1999 at George Washington University, focusing on changes in museum audience engagement, technology, and pedagogy. Specific content, as well as activities inside and outside of the classroom, were adapted to the needs of varied student bodies and locales to prepare students to participate in the future of history museums.

**Keywords:** Historic sites; museums; teaching; audience; exhibitions

*I*n 1996 most museums and historic sites were optimistic about their future; the decline in attendance in many history museums was viewed as repairable through careful choices of exhibitions, programs, and marketing strategies. By 2010, in the aftermath of two economic downturns and larger societal changes, the future of history museums was more uncertain. In the years to come, how can museums (and here I include history museums and

historic sites) attract and retain audiences in the face of competing options for their leisure time and attention?<sup>1</sup> How can a museum make its historical collections relevant to today's audiences? And how does an institution go about preserving, protecting, and expanding that collection in the face of the public's—and sometimes the museum's leadership—questions about the relevance of history and historic objects?

These questions are addressed virtually every day by museum professionals. But how do universities help train a new generation of museum professionals to respond to pressing issues about collections and audiences? What do these students bring to both the university seminar table and the museum conference room that can help provide answers to these conundrums? One way to begin addressing the issues of a markedly changed and ever-shifting museum world is to examine and reshape the museum studies class, which is increasingly part of undergraduate and graduate curricula.<sup>2</sup> This article uses the lens of teaching museum studies to analyze how museums have changed over a nineteen-year period and how teaching has and might continue to respond to these changes.

Between 1996 and 1999 I taught an undergraduate museum studies course in an adjunct capacity in the art history department at George Washington University, in Washington, DC, while working as a museum curator. I returned to teaching a museum studies course in 2011, at Penn State University's Harrisburg campus, when I took a full-time teaching position. Despite having continued to work in a museum during the interim, I was surprised to discover how much of what I had taught in the late 1990s, particularly in terms of audience engagement and technology, needed to be radically changed. As important, I realized that the university's locale in central Pennsylvania afforded opportunities to focus on historical museums rather than art museums.

Although much has been written about museum studies and public history programs, few works focus on the content of courses directly. Marla Miller provided an excellent summary of the breadth and depth of public history programs in 2004.<sup>3</sup> Noel Stowe, Constance Schulz, and Deborah Welch are among those who address how to create public history programs that include both strong historical preparation and substantive practical experience in undergraduate and graduate programs.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars, such as Elizabeth Belanger and Steven Burg, note the mutual advantages of collaborative efforts among students, faculty, and nonprofits, particularly in developing a broader understanding of one's community.<sup>5</sup> Numerous articles, whether in journals or newsletters, stress the importance of collaboration between university-based scholars and organizations such as the National Park Service



**FIGURE 1:** Undergraduate and graduate students in Museum Studies class at Penn State, Harrisburg, using PastPerfect museum database software. January 2015. Photo by the author.

to ensure “cutting edge” scholarship and interpretation at historic sites, a long-term goal of the Organization of American Historians.<sup>6</sup> This article looks at the content as well as in-class and out-of-class activities that can be employed to help students respond to the ever-changing environment in museums and historic sites. Comparing experiences in the two classes, data on the changing nature of historical and art museums, information on leisure in the United States, and scholarship on learning in museums, I address changes over time in teaching about, and working in, museums.

The two museum studies courses were offered in different environments in terms of time and space, but also within different curricula. At George Washington University, the Museum Studies class was offered to upper-level undergraduates; it was primarily taken as an elective course by art history majors within the Fine Arts and Art History Department. At Penn State Harrisburg the Museum Studies course is comprised of advanced undergraduate and MA students; the course largely attracts students from the American studies and humanities programs. Since 2013 the American studies program has offered a graduate twelve-credit certificate in heritage and museum practice, for which Museum Studies is one of the required courses. The class consists of much the same mix of students as before the certificate, but the presence of the certificate has increased the number of students who are particularly interested in a museum or archival career. The course is supplemented by a more theoretical public heritage class, offered at the graduate level. These offerings are complemented by one-credit courses in collections management, curation, education, and exhibitions, which expose students

to much of the hands-on work undertaken in area historical museums and houses, taught by my colleague Susan Asbury.<sup>7</sup>

Before we discuss the changing nature of museums and teaching, the differences between the two universities need to be addressed. The distinct locales and student bodies required significant modifications that took into account the variety of students, the changing nature of postsecondary education, and regional differences in access to museums and historic sites. George Washington University, where I taught from 1996 to 1999, had a student body that attended college full-time and was of traditional college age, generally lived in dormitories, and had few outside commitments. The wealth of mostly free art museums in Washington, DC, easily accessible by subway, and the students' strong preparation in art history led me to focus the course primarily on art museums. Penn State Harrisburg is located about nine miles south of Harrisburg in the town of Middletown. Most of my upper-level undergraduate and graduate students work while attending college full- or part-time.<sup>8</sup> They range in age from their late teens to their sixties, and some are preparing for second careers; many will remain in the region after graduation. Some students are responsible for children, parents, or even grandparents. A number of students have significant commutes and there is limited public transportation to the largely rural and suburban communities outside of Harrisburg. The majority of the students in Penn State Harrisburg's Museum Studies class are interested in pursuing careers in historical rather than art museums, and most local and regional museums focus on historical materials. Although course offerings are strong in American studies and the humanities broadly, there are limited upper-level art history courses. The students' interests and preparation and the nature of the area museums meant shifting the focus toward history museums and historic sites and away from art museums. The students visit fewer museums than those in Washington did, and the institutions are often small ones with modest budgets. The region's institutions and the nature of the student body, as well as changes in the museum field and society at large, have driven modifications to the course.

### Social and Economic Change

The course had to be adapted to take into account the dramatic changes in the economic environment for both art and history museums over the last two decades. When I taught at George Washington University in the late 1990s,

museums had some success in finding external funding from federal and state agencies, corporations, foundations, and individuals to create exhibitions that were large in scale and scope, to borrow traveling exhibitions, and to sustain multiyear commitments of staff and funds to their exhibition programs. The economic downturn of 2008–9 meant that museums had fewer staff members, smaller budgets, and more limited outside funds. Although the height of the financial collapse has passed, many institutions and their funders are much more conservative in terms of spending. The upshot is fewer exhibitions, longer showings of exhibitions, less external and internal funding for them, more shows that draw on the strengths of permanent collections, and a strong emphasis on attendance.<sup>9</sup> The push to draw in paying visitors by staging exhibitions on popular topics has resulted, in some cases, in exhibitions that are light on content, have limited numbers of objects (and I include art, ephemera, and manuscripts in the definition of objects), and have a marginal connection to the institution's mission.<sup>10</sup>

The larger societal changes in the United States that contribute to museum attendance are familiar to us all. People either perceive that they have, or actually have, less leisure time than in the past.<sup>11</sup> They often weigh the time and cost of an activity seen as educational versus one viewed as entertaining, as well as look for activities that will engage an entire household.<sup>12</sup> A computer, tablet, or other device of one's own is a constant lure for many both outside the museum and within it and has changed the nature of how, how much, and what kind of information is delivered.<sup>13</sup> And last, some have the urge to “cocoon” and not venture out of their immediate environment as a response to external factors such as stressful jobs and readily available entertainment through electronic devices.<sup>14</sup>

Given these societal issues, how do museums attract audiences for a specific exhibition or program and, ideally, for multiple visits? In other words, how does one not only entice people, but also ensure that their expectations are met? The rise of ever more sophisticated audio, video, and imaging means that, for some, the static exhibitions often at the core of museums are not as enticing as they once were. Moreover, meeting the needs of an ethnically diverse country and community is a challenging task for many institutions. School trips, once a gateway to museums for younger visitors from many socioeconomic backgrounds, are declining in the face of constricted budgets and more regimented curricula.<sup>15</sup>

Getting visitors to go to museums and historic sites is the central challenge. In 2006 Cary Carson noted that museum visitation to history

museums had continued to decline since the 1990s, and suggested that much of the (largely federal and corporate) funding for exhibitions and programs had not done much to stay this decline.<sup>16</sup> He argued that historic sites need to provide visitors and potential visitors with engaging experiences online and on-site. What these engaging experiences are is the more challenging question. Social media may be part of the solution for communicating what an institution offers, but museums need to provide compelling reasons for visitors to actually come to their sites.<sup>17</sup> How, then, do we prepare a new generation of museum professionals and draw on their creativity to meet the challenges museums face in the twenty-first century?

### Audiences and Exhibitions

Recognition of the centrality of visitors' experiences and satisfaction has increased in the last fifteen years, as has the importance of a museum's ability to meet the interests and needs of a whole household, including children. Thus an important objective of the current course is to provide students with the tools to understand visitation beyond attendance statistics and to convey this perspective to staff and board members. Issues related to museum audiences need to be more thoroughly addressed in the course than they were in the 1990s. How staff understand the needs and expectations of existing and potential visitors, as well as how these audiences are changing, are topics that intersect with exhibition planning, strategic planning, and budgeting, among other areas. Perhaps most centrally, the role of exhibitions in museums is far different than it was in the late 1990s. Exhibitions are seen as drivers of attendance, albeit expensive ones. Thus a museum's staff, collectively, is responsible for devising exhibits that will encourage not only short-term visitation, but contribute to a plan of programming and subsequent exhibitions that lead to repeat visitation, increased membership, and other forms of engagement.

Early in the semester, reading assignments and discussions address developing and understanding a museum's current and future audiences. Students are introduced to visitor evaluation through two case studies, as I have yet to find a way to fully incorporate visitor analysis into the course. We discuss the basics of front-end, formative, and summative evaluation, using Boston's USS *Constitution* Museum as a model. The museum, situated near the USS *Constitution* in Boston, "collects, preserves, and interprets the stories

of the USS *Constitution* and the people associated with her.”<sup>18</sup> In 2004 the museum began its Family Learning Project, using a wide range of evaluation techniques, to better comprehend its core audience: families with children.

The museum then developed a highly interactive exhibition and website, *A Sailor's Life for Me*. Later phases of the project expanded data on family learning, shared it with national audiences, and implemented findings in a permanent exhibit. In class, the museum's website on evaluation and the implementation of their findings is used in conjunction with an academic article on the project.<sup>19</sup> This and other articles ask the class to address how one provides exhibitions and programs that generate new audiences (particularly families), satisfy existing ones, and provide experiences that provide them with new information and ideas about the past.

A second case study that the class uses is the Dallas Museum of Art's "Framework for Engaging with Art," an in-depth analysis of museum and online visitors' interests and behaviors. In the series of studies, undertaken between 2003 and 2009, visitors were categorized by their engagement with art: tentative observers, curious participants, discerning independents, and committed enthusiasts. These data were correlated with preferred strategies for looking (such as creating art, using reading areas, and using a computer), demographic information, and frequency of visits to that and other museums.<sup>20</sup> Much from the Dallas Museum's research, while focused on art, can be applied to history museums. The studies at Dallas suggest such fundamental questions as: how do we produce overlapping layers of information when creating exhibits that involve both the latest technology and traditional methods such as labels? Can we provide reflective areas as well as ones that engage multiple senses? How do we ensure that "hands-on" areas are welcoming to visitors of all ages and are engaging, entertaining, and convey information and ideas? In the Penn State Harrisburg classroom, I wondered how the often multi-generation student body, with varied learning styles and abundant creativity, could address the needs of visitors' different levels of interest, knowledge, and engagement styles. In past classes, students have suggested crowd-sourcing for funding and a flash mob for attracting attention to a historic house in a nearby city. When one student suggested using QR codes in an exhibit, I asked him to explain them to a classmate who was unfamiliar with them. This difference in knowledge led to a discussion of individual visitors' varied affinity for, as well as knowledge and use of, technology.

The research conducted by the Dallas Museum of Art and the USS *Constitution* Museum allows the class to understand and apply audience



research. To this discussion I add my experiences of learning from the research undertaken by colleagues on several exhibits I curated at Winterthur, and note how we implemented changes in subsequent exhibitions based on our comprehension of visitors' interests and behavior in the galleries over time.<sup>21</sup> For example, in an exhibition borrowed from another institution that had limited information about individual objects, visitors' remarks on comment cards made it clear that, largely based on previous visits, they expected more information about the works on display. Thus midway through the exhibition, we added information to many labels, focusing on the most challenging artworks. By tracking visitors, we learned that they often ignored material on a specific wall; in future installations, we placed less-central objects and information in that location. When visitors were queried about three possible titles for a proposed exhibition, we ascertained which one conveyed the theme of the installation best. These case studies and experiences help the class learn how quantitative and qualitative data can be used to understand visitors and their museum experiences.

Although the three museums discussed here employed or contracted people focused on evaluating and improving the visitor experience, a number of the lessons learned could be applied or modified to an institution without this expertise. Realistically, most students at Penn State Harrisburg will work at smaller, historic museums and sites with very limited funds and staff. By contrast, when I taught in the late 1990s at George Washington University, relatively few institutions had invested in exhibition-related audience research. Yet both the size of institutions at which students might work and the potential for grant and other funding meant that they might have been able to hire an audience research firm to devise, perhaps execute, and analyze the data. By 2010 it became clear that audience research, particularly related to exhibitions, was a powerful tool that students needed to be able to use in any museum, regardless of its size or budget. Thus, explaining to the class that asking visitors to complete the seemingly simple statement, "Before I came to this exhibition, I never knew that \_ \_ \_," measures what the visitor learned and may generate information about satisfaction. Other questions can ascertain information about frequency of visits, demographics, and the effectiveness of various forms of publicity. This segment of the class asks students to consider the advantages of finding the time or funds to survey visitors, looking at changes over time, and integrating visitor input in future exhibitions or programs. Discussions emphasize the importance of recognizing the fluidity of audiences' expectations over time at an individual

museum and more broadly. The purpose is not to negate the value of more sophisticated surveys, but to empower students to use a variety of tools to understand museum audiences.

Exposing the students to some of the abundant literature that critiques museums and exhibitions is another way to develop their understanding of museums and historic sites. Some of the literature from the 1990s has remained relevant and timeless, while other sources have not proved to work in a different time and context. Since the late 1990s I have had the class study *Mining the Museum*, curated by Fred Wilson at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore in 1992. We begin with Lisa Corrin's remark, "The idea for *Mining the Museum* grew out of a belief that the American museum as we know it is not merely in a state of transition but in a state of crisis. I believe that by the end of this [twentieth] century the museum population will be greatly reduced and those that do remain will have become very different institutions." She goes on to note that, in their written responses, most of the audience for *Mining the Museum* told us they wanted museum experiences to provoke new ways of thinking, to encourage critical learning, and to reconnect them with the past viscerally. Most of all, they told us that they feel museums still have a part to play in their lives."<sup>22</sup>

Although I would suggest that museum audiences rarely—then or now—state that they want more "critical learning," her comments twenty years ago remain valid. I start the class by addressing the issue of race in Baltimore and the nature of the Maryland Historical Society during the second half of the twentieth century (I worked at the Maryland Historical Society in the late 1990s, when an abbreviated version of the exhibition was in place). We look at images of other exhibitions Mr. Wilson has curated, and then focus on the techniques he used in *Mining the Museum*. We discuss, for example, an image of the silver tea service he juxtaposed with iron shackles of the same period, and one of photographs of Native Americans that he placed near cigar-store Indians. We consider the museum's willingness to mount the exhibition and allow Wilson to choose any object in the collection. It is my hope that Wilson's example of using "traditional" museum objects, juxtaposed and interpreted in novel ways, will encourage students to creatively employ collections. Many older historical museums have a preponderance of objects that represent their earlier elite, white constituents. The legacy from *Mining*, which remains relevant today, is that collections can be used to question the status quo determined by earlier generations of donors, staff, and trustees.

*Mining the Museum* thus became a stage to examine audiences, exhibition techniques, institutional change, and interpreting non-dominant cultures and controversial subjects. At a time when museums are trying to make themselves relevant to nontraditional audiences and, simultaneously, are often choosing popular rather than substantive topics to appeal to large numbers of people, *Mining the Museum* serves as an important case study. The exhibit challenged the visitor and the institution to confront contemporary and historical issues of race and class, brought new information and ideas to the fore, attracted new audiences, and relied on permanent collections.

At George Washington University and Penn State Harrisburg, the students critique exhibitions; one of the goals this activity is to hone analytic skills. Each GWU student prepared five-page written critiques of two exhibitions of his or her choice; the PSU students do one such review. Because of the restraints of locale and the students' time, the Penn State Harrisburg students visit far fewer exhibitions overall in preparation for classes and have less opportunity to engage in extended discussions about exhibitions before writing their review. Thus I have developed more detailed questions and guidelines to structure their analysis, for example, "Are there any particular features or techniques that add or detract from the exhibit, such as layout or design features, brochures, audio-visual or computer components, hands-on activities, and related programming?" The review allows students to look for many of the facets of exhibit design and interpretation that we discuss in class, observe visitors in the exhibition, and think about what might have been done better. Students complete the assignment roughly midway through the course, so that they can bring to their formal learning in class to the critique and use the specific museum in later class discussions. Each student makes a short presentation about his or her museum visit, answers classmates' questions, and contributes to a broader discussion on museum installations. In future classes, I will require students to tweet about their museum and historic site visits and report on the responses they generate. I want students to see how social media can be used to engage new audiences and think about how one might use various forms of social media creatively.<sup>23</sup>

Neither class had access to the space or the time to produce an exhibition on-site. The exhibition-related projects in the class have varied. In the late 1990s the GWU students were asked to prepare a grant, using National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grants as a model, for an exhibition. The NEA's comprehensive requirements required the students to provide a well-developed plan for the exhibition, including justification, object

selection, and budget. Classes throughout the semester had prepared the students for the project, but it nonetheless required significant time and research. As they were largely full-time students with limited outside commitments, they were able to complete this project admirably. At Penn State Harrisburg I have opted to use exhibitions as a final project and ask students to envision an exhibition that occupies roughly the space of our classroom (about 625 square feet).

Each student chooses his or her topic, selects twelve to fifteen artifacts (often found in museum online catalogs), writes labels, lays out the exhibition on paper, and creates a budget. Relatively early in the semester, each student suggests several ideas for exhibitions, with five tentative objects and a proposed interactive; I provided feedback on the proposals. Components of exhibition development, both related to their projects and more broadly, are covered in different classes. For one class, students prepare four 100-word (or less) object labels. Background reading included selections for Beverly Serrell's *Exhibition Labels*, a tip sheet developed by a former colleague, and examples of award-winning labels from the American Alliance of Museums.<sup>24</sup> In class, students first critique labels I have written for past exhibitions and then write and exchange three draft labels with a classmate for review. The latter activity models reviewing labels with colleagues, regardless of a given institution's formal process for editing. Students continue writing and discussing labels as I circulate the room and coach them. A few weeks later, sometimes in lieu of a class, students meet with me individually to discuss their projects.

Portions of classes are devoted to exhibition development and budget. The topic is challenging to teach, as even similarly sized museums have markedly different processes for selecting and budgeting for exhibitions, whether short-term, long term, or traveling. Moreover, the exhibit process sometimes changes frequently in a given institution, as many museums (of all sizes) have moved to less frequent exhibit rotations, and allocations for exhibitions are closely scrutinized. We also cover exhibition planning requirements that are related to curation, collections management, and interpretation, such as developing a theme and an object list, assessing the object's condition, incorporating interactive components, and preparing supplemental media in the exhibition and online. In their projects, I want students to hone their ideas under a single theme, judiciously choose objects and interactive components that contribute to it, and create labels and other media that are accessible to a general audience at a specific museum. The objective is for the students

to understand how to convey information and ideas through objects and other media, as well as to understand the timetables, planning, and funding of exhibitions.

In both courses, creating a level of comfort with budgets and grants among students has been a goal, as it is important for everyone on a museum's staff to have a familiarity with and, to varying degrees, responsibility for an institution's budget. We address the difference between endowments and operating funds; the three-year averaging of endowments that many institutions use; and determining an appropriate draw from the endowment for an annual budget. We also discuss crafting or contributing to a departmental as well as an exhibition budget, understanding the importance of planning for and estimating the costs of future activities, lobbying for one's needs, and fundraising.

The final class is a charette that focuses on the exhibitions as students near completion. Using a format borrowed from the fields of architecture and planning, the charette provides an opportunity for students to present their works in progress to their classmates in small groups. I create three rotations that provide time for presentations and critiques of overall layout, the interactive and its label, and object labels. Students are divided into groups of three or four at each table; the makeup of the groups changes with each topic. The charette allows for diverse feedback and the exchange of ideas in a setting that encourages peer coaching and group work; I rotate among the groups to provide guidance as needed. This process, in addition to providing significant feedback, also gives the students an opportunity to see a range of approaches to creating an exhibition. Just as important, it asks students to model the kind of group interaction that occurs in museums and other workplaces.

Critiquing and creating exhibitions encourage students to think about the balance among provocative exhibitions, popular exhibits that may have a limited connection to a museum's mission but draw in visitors, and less broadly appealing topics that focus on the collection and draw on the institution's staff (and, perhaps, consultants') strengths. I want to encourage students to help develop exhibitions and programs that generate repeat visitation, word-of-mouth recommendations, and membership. We have all learned that immensely popular (and sometimes expensive) exhibits, perhaps not closely related to an institution's mission, may reap only short-term benefits for the organization. At the other extreme, when discussing a specialized exhibition that would likely draw limited numbers of ticket-buyers, we consider its other benefits to an organization, such as

cultivating audiences or donors, or generating ancillary revenue through shop sales or rentals. The goal is to provide students with the tools not only to create better exhibits, but to understand and perhaps shape a museum's program, regardless of their position. Over time, the Museum Studies course has tried to better integrate exhibition planning into the areas of institutional planning and budgeting, and emphasized the importance of incorporating visitor evaluation findings into large institutional strategies.

## Collections Management

Most museum studies courses or programs provide traditional training regarding the policies, practices, and ethics of collections management, and my course is no exception. Readings and discussions about collections management have always included staff members' roles, the importance of climate (temperature and relative humidity) in storage and exhibitions, and preservation and conservation practices. Over time, I have placed more emphasis on issues of ethics, particularly those related to deaccessioning; the development of policies; and the choice and use of collections management software. In an effort to provide more "hands-on" activities, we use collections management software in one class. Analytical skills are developed by examining and discussing critical sections of collections management policies and deaccessioning case studies.

Virtually all museums use databases to make information available about collections, whether internally, externally, or both. Thus, prior to one class, I ask students to download a free trial version of PastPerfect museum software and use it to catalog a small object that they bring into class. Why cataloging? In many positions in a museum or as an object-centered researcher, one needs to employ collections databases. I chose PastPerfect as a model because it often used by the small to mid-sized museums in which our students are most likely to be employed. The software is intuitive, one of the least expensive, and readily learned by new staff and volunteers. Projecting the software from a laptop, I walk the class through the different fields before they create their own catalog records. I then discuss the pros and cons of various museum databases, including ongoing costs, add-on products, upgrades, platforms, and Web-based access. As one of the most basic tasks in a museum is cataloging objects and using databases to manage collections, students have found that even this rudimentary familiarity with collections databases has served

them well in job interviews. By contrast, in the late 1990s, most museum databases were used almost exclusively internally; a large number of firms provided programs with very varied fields and formats, and some institutions relied on databases developed in-house. Since then, software firms have consolidated and there is a more widespread understanding of the needs, limits, and possibilities of museum databases.

The cataloging activity provides an introduction to accessioning and creating records for acquisitions. Two later classes address the legal, practical, and ethical aspects of collections management. For these classes, students do extensive reading in Marie Malaro and Ildiko deAngelis's *A Legal Primer on Managing Museum Collections*.<sup>25</sup> The book, like the earlier edition I used when teaching in the late 1990s, tends to fascinate students. They are intrigued by the case studies that accompany the descriptions of best practices and many realize that the book will be a useful reference throughout their careers. I add specific, albeit anonymous, instances of ethical "gray areas" that I have encountered in my career. We discuss examples of ethics- and policy-related documents in Malaro and De Angelis, as well as those created by individual institutions. I then project the collections management policy, developed by the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia, and highlight points for discussion. This thorough policy serves as a model—it regularly makes reference to the institution's mission and provides specific guidance for virtually all collections-related issues.<sup>26</sup> Through the analysis of this and other policies, students are made aware of the importance of having carefully worded collections management plans and other documents that guide staff, volunteers, and board members.

Perhaps the most changed component of collections management in the last fifteen years is deaccessioning (removing artifacts from a museum's collection permanently).<sup>27</sup> In 1996, when I began teaching museum studies, deaccessioning often happened without publicity (and sometimes without transparency); the New-York Historical Society's sale of collections in 1994 was one of the few instances that made headlines. More recently, the Delaware Art Museum, Detroit Institute of the Arts, Fisk University, Randolph College, Brandeis University, and Philadelphia's Atwater Kent Museum garnered regional and national news coverage when they sold or considered selling museum collections to address financial problems. These and other institutions' desires to monetize a collection to provide support for non-collections-related activities have made the issue of deaccessioning more public and have caused outcry. The limited, if any, sanctions placed on these

institutions (the Delaware Art Museum excepted) may, I fear, normalize the practice. Other circumstances, such as crowded storage, a change in mission, or the need for acquisition funds, have precipitated deaccessioning. Thus a class session about collections management was expanded to include the highly varied deaccessioning policies of different museum professional associations; the question of whether a university, library, or historical museum that owns fine arts collections should consider these materials as assets unrelated to its mission; and such problematic tactics as changing an institution's mission statement to validate deaccessions.<sup>28</sup>

Readings for the day include portions of *A Legal Primer on Managing Museum Collections* that address the importance of collections-related policies (deaccessioning and other) and current ethical issues, and another lawyer's essay on recent deaccessioning cases.<sup>29</sup> Before class, students are asked to find online newspaper articles about one of the recent deaccessioning controversies to spark discussion. We then cover the best practices for deaccessioning: under what conditions deaccessioning is appropriate, the criteria for selecting objects, how to research objects and correspond with donors and their descendants, and how to obtain bids and negotiate terms with auction houses. This discussion of how to conduct deaccessioning in a transparent manner includes the need to provide board and committee members with detailed information well in advance of meetings where decisions will be made.

The changes in the sections on collections management reflect the updates to standards and practices in recent years. Students are also exposed to the complex legal and ethical issues related to collections. The central importance of clear policies and practices, and the need for red flags if an institution is considering changing them dramatically, is made clear. Perhaps most centrally, students are made aware of both legitimate and surreptitious ways that staff and board members may modify policies and practices, sometimes toward controversial ends.

## Career Guidance

Formal and informal career guidance has become more important over time, particularly in the wake of the drastic changes in the job market for recent graduates. One of my current goals is for students to think about museum careers in areas other than education and curatorial work. When I taught in the 1990s, it was possible for a committed student to launch a museum



career in those areas. In the 2010s, those positions have become sharply constricted, and the only silver lining that I can see for the students is that there will be more entry-level, rather than mid-career, positions opening. As the Association of Art Museum Curators noted in 2006, salaries have been rising faster in areas such as fundraising and publicity than curatorial ones.<sup>30</sup> Development positions generally pay better, require less experience and education at each level, and have greater opportunities for advancement within a particular community as well as nationally. The challenging fundraising environment has also meant that the standards for grant writing have risen; I would argue that many humanities-based students with museum and subject-matter preparation are well positioned to write grants to a high standard. Moreover, in development and marketing, one has access to jobs in a wider range of organizations if one is looking to climb a career ladder or wants to stay in a given community.

Some students are unfamiliar with positions such as collections manager or registrar that allow them to work directly with objects, use a very wide array of knowledge and skills, and take advantage of superior organizational abilities. I convey to students that the range of skills and knowledge to be a collections manager (knowledge of subject matter, preservation, the law, and computers, to name a few) reflects the diversity of the position. Collections managers typically process legal documents for gifts, bequests, and loans; oversee databases and files related to the collection; and manage projects and grants associated with collections storage and preservation. I also mention that people in these positions often have the opportunity to spend more time with the objects themselves than other staff members, even curators. Collections management is an area that can engage an object-focused person and, arguably, has a better career ladder than curatorial or education jobs.

Internships have long been a hallmark of museum training, and I encouraged internships as not only a source of experience but a “foot in the door” in the field. As before, internships are an essential way to learn how museums operate on a day-to-day basis. Many tasks are best learned by observing and doing: moving artworks, leading a school group, and so on. Watching how people in related functions interact, how decisions are made, and how individuals prioritize time and funds can benefit interns as well. I now add a few cautions regarding students and internships, as many nonprofits and for-profits are employing paid or unpaid interns in lieu of hiring staff members, and few individuals have the time to devote to training and supervising interns. The traditional path of completing an internship or two and then

gaining full-time museum employment no longer seems to be a reliable one. Moreover, some millennials (the generation of most college students) expect degrees of learning and mentoring in their internships that do not dovetail with what even the most conscientious supervisor can provide. Striking a balance between getting meaningful experience and completing some of the less glamorous tasks that need to be done can be a challenging one for both interns and their supervisors.

I also want students to develop the skills to assess and understand an institution before applying for a job or an internship. Each student brings a recent IRS return (Form 990) for a museum or historic site of his or her choice to class; in the 1990s this tool was neither as readily available nor as widely discussed as it is now. Often, students will choose an institution where they have volunteered or are otherwise affiliated. In small groups in class, students compare and analyze information in an institution's annual report (often available online) and its recent IRS Form 990 (available online free through the [Guidestar.org](http://Guidestar.org)).<sup>31</sup> We then compare assessments as a class. The project seeks to demystify numeric data—we examine and discuss endowments, debts, and fundraising costs and outcomes. We cover using the forms as a research tool before approaching foundations—one can readily see the mission and criteria, as well as learn who the decision-makers are, the amount of the average grant, and the foundation's giving preferences. I also use this opportunity to discuss boards and issues such as qualifications, expectations, the desire for diverse skills, the need for broad representation of the community, and term limits. Particularly when combined with newspaper-based research, this exercise shows how one can gain a sense of not only an institution's financial health, but also the slippage between rhetoric and reality regarding leadership, diversity, and community engagement. This activity provides students with another opportunity to develop critical thinking skills. Moreover, students develop a tool for researching many facets of an institution, including salaries, when applying for jobs.

We also discuss the mechanics of job hunting and application. Penn State Harrisburg has a fine career office, but I find that many students do not take full advantage of it. For one class, students are required to prepare a résumé and cover letter for a specific museum-related position that is currently advertised. I provide materials such as a list of job boards and examples of résumés and letters beforehand. As a class, we review examples of cover letters and résumés, including one or two students' voluntary submissions; students then trade their materials with a partner. I also offer to review

an individual's revised materials and offer lifetime résumé and cover letter coaching. We then discuss techniques for online and in-person networking throughout one's career, as well as interviewing techniques and salary negotiation. The methods of job hunting and networking—such as maintaining an online presence through LinkedIn and social networking sites—have changed since the 1990s. Personal contacts for hearing about and securing positions and consulting opportunities remain as, or even more, important than before. Yet the reality of teaching museum studies is that most of the students from both universities do not embark on museum careers. Many students have found other fields enticing. Others have chosen jobs or careers that had more openings, were more remunerative, or fit geographic needs.

Museum studies classes can and will continue to provide students with opportunities to see museums as sites for learning, creativity, and fun, and, in turn, will allow them to help shape museum visitors' experiences. Those of us who teach museum studies and work with museums will likely be changing our syllabi frequently in response to the myriad changes in museums, developments in technology, and evolving expectations of museum audiences on site and online. We will be updating our teaching to match and occasionally get ahead of trends in delivering information and ideas in an engaging—and sometimes entertaining—way. Yet just as important, we can develop courses that ask our students to analyze and question the status quo and work within these sometimes conservative institutional settings to affect change.

It is worth reiterating the skills any student, whether interested in a museum career or not, can develop in a museum studies class. Although both employers and professors value critical thinking, including the ability to analyze, synthesize, and critique, it can be challenging to move students from habits of simply repeating information they have learned. Museum studies classes can develop students' ability to analyze not only the information that is presented—whether it is found in an exhibition label or on an IRS form—but how it has been shaped for consumption. Analyzing IRS Form 990s, whether in the context of other institutional information or not, need not be confined to museum studies and other nonprofit-related courses, but can be used in accounting and other classes. Exhibit analyses can be undertaken in art, science, and history museum and sites and thus be applied to almost any part of the undergraduate curriculum. Writing skills can be practiced and honed in such a course. Last, museum studies courses can respond to both the current academic environment, which encourages active learning and group work, and the students' desire for “hands-on” skills that can be easily transferred

to the workplace. My hope is that, regardless of their chosen profession, the museum studies course, combined with their other classwork and experiences, will make students more analytic thinkers, better writers, active museum goers and, perhaps, future staff, volunteers, or board members.

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## NOTES

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4. Noel J. Stowe, "Public History Curriculum: Illustrating Reflective Practice," *Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 39–65; Deborah Welch, "Teaching Public History: Strategies for Undergraduate Program Development," *Public Historian* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 71–82; Constance B. Schulz, "An Academic Balancing Act: Public History Education Today," *Public Historian* 21, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 143–54.
5. Elizabeth Belanger, "Public History and Liberal Learning: Making the Case for the Undergraduate Practicum Experience," *Public Historian* 34, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 30–51. Steven B. Burg, "'From Troubled Ground to Common Ground': The Locust Grove African-American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service-Learning and Community History," *Public Historian* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 51–82.
6. For an example, see Edward T. Linenthal, "The National Park Service and Civic Engagement," *Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 123–29.
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18. For the mission statement, see <http://www.usconstitutionmuseum.org/about-us/mission-history/> (accessed March 5, 2014). The museum complements the work done of the US Navy, which owns and operates the vessel.
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21. Winterthur is comprised of a museum, garden, and library founded by Henry Francis du Pont (1880–1969) and opened to the public in 1951. Du Pont collected decorative and fine arts, as well as architectural elements, installing them in his house from the late 1920s onward with a view toward eventually opening Winterthur to the public. A gallery with permanent and changing exhibitions was added in 1992. I am indebted to Mary Jane Taylor and Anna Schnug for their evaluation work at Winterthur, particularly between 2003 and 2006, and to Taylor for extended discussions on visitor behavior.
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25. Marie Malaro and Ildiko deAngelis, *A Legal Primer on Managing Museum Collections*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2012).
26. [http://www.marinersmuseum.org/sites/default/files/mariners\\_museum\\_-\\_collections\\_management\\_policy.pdf](http://www.marinersmuseum.org/sites/default/files/mariners_museum_-_collections_management_policy.pdf) (accessed March 5, 2014).

27. Instances of deaccessioning that have garnered the most attention are those that have been sold, generally at public auction, but occasionally as a private sale. Other means of deaccessioning include giving, trading, or selling an object to another institution or destroying an object that has been compromised by extensive damage. Under ideal conditions, deaccessioning is an orderly, open process that targets duplicate or damaged objects, or ones for which there are better examples in the collection.
28. The American Association for State and Local History, the American Alliance of Museums, and the Association of Art Museum Directors have very different guidelines for how proceeds from deaccessioning should be used.
29. Christian H. Brill, "Art or Assets: University Museums and the Future of Deaccessioning," [http://www.cooley.edu/lawreview/\\_docs/Brill.pdf](http://www.cooley.edu/lawreview/_docs/Brill.pdf) (accessed May 13, 2013). On library deaccessioning, see Samuel Streit, "Going, Going, Gone: Case Studies in Library Deaccessioning," <http://rbm.acrl.org/content/rbml/12/1/21.full.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2013).
30. Association of Art Museum Curators with Adrian Ellis/AEA Consulting, *Compensation Review* (New York: AAMC, 2006).
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CONTINUING TO PAY THE “PATRIOTIC  
DEBT”: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS’ ORPHANS  
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, 1893–1912

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**Abstract:** In 1893 the Pennsylvania legislature approved funding to build a residential, industrial school designed to consolidate under one facility the thirty-year-old program for the care and education of Civil War orphans in the state. Two years later, the Pennsylvania Soldiers’ Orphans Industrial School opened on 100 acres of land in Scotland, Pennsylvania, a small village near Chambersburg and convenient to the Cumberland Valley Railway line. This article examines how the school’s mission and early history were shaped by several distinctive features, including its roots in an existing system for educating Civil War orphans, its chronic financial problems, and its lack of a single founder with a clear vision. Under the direction of a state-appointed commission, the school maintained a traditional focus on order, discipline, morality, and military structure while simultaneously seeking to employ emerging trends in industrial education and child welfare.

**Keywords:** Civil War orphan education; industrial education; PA residential schools; veteran-affiliated schools

*T*he Pennsylvania Soldiers’ Orphans Industrial School (Scotland School) opened on 100 acres of beautiful land in Scotland, Pennsylvania on June 3, 1895.<sup>1</sup> With a mission to give care and



protection to any remaining eligible Civil War orphans in Pennsylvania, the school provided academic and industrial training in an effort to develop disciplined, patriotic, and productive citizens.<sup>2</sup> Pennsylvania legislators who approved the creation of the school viewed it as a mechanism to consolidate under one facility the thirty-year-old program for the care and education of Civil War orphans in the state. At the time of its opening several other residential schools already operated within Pennsylvania to educate certain populations of dependent children, including three schools still under the auspices of Pennsylvania's system to care for Civil War orphans. Two of the best known schools outside of this system included Girard College, opened in 1848 in Philadelphia for poor, orphaned, or fatherless white boys, and the Carlisle Indian School, established by General Richard Henry Pratt in 1879 as the first of what would become many Indian boarding schools around the country.<sup>3</sup> The Milton Hershey School—originally named the Hershey Industrial School—opened for orphaned boys in 1909 and also shared a common historical context with the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Industrial School.<sup>4</sup> At the national level, several noteworthy industrial schools opened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a result of the prominent and largely successful industrial education movement. Despite certain similarities to these schools, the Scotland School possessed distinctive features that shaped both its origins and subsequent history.

First, unlike schools built from the ground up, the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Industrial School grew out of a well-established, state-run system that by 1893 had been in place for thirty years.<sup>5</sup> With roots dating back to the deadliest days of the American Civil War, the school represented another step, albeit not an inevitable one, in Pennsylvania's ongoing commitment to the care of war orphans. The commitment began with Pennsylvania's wartime governor, Andrew G. Curtin, who, in an effort to recruit soldiers reluctant to join the Union cause, promised them that the state would take care of children orphaned by the war. Curtin remained true to his promise and, beginning in 1864, used a sum of \$50,000 previously donated by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to support the war effort as seed money for orphan education.<sup>6</sup>

Governor Curtin considered several different approaches to handling the Civil War orphan question in his state, but ultimately decided on a statewide system for orphan care and education under the direction of a state superintendent appointed by the governor.<sup>7</sup> Although he recognized that gaining legislative approval and funding for such a system might be difficult, Curtin believed that it was the only way to ensure that vulnerable children received

proper care and were not subjected to the whims of local leaders or exploited for financial gain.

Curtin convinced the Pennsylvania state legislature to approve and fund an ongoing program to educate and care for children orphaned by the Civil War. Both he and his legislative colleagues believed that the system, set up to accommodate children between the ages of five and sixteen who were full or half orphans as a direct result of the war, would only be needed for a few years. Because the initial plan prohibited the enrollment of any children born after 1866, state leaders calculated that the program would come to an end no later than the early 1880s. Curtin believed that this short-term investment would be well worth the cost because it would pay a "patriotic debt" to fallen soldiers and would simultaneously strengthen the commonwealth by ensuring that the orphans would grow up to be respectable, self-sufficient citizens. Neither Curtin nor the legislators serving in 1864 when the initial plan was approved anticipated the long-lasting enrollment demands that ultimately shaped the program over the three ensuing decades.

Despite financial pressures in the postwar years and the state government's expressed goal of keeping the system targeted and manageable, the enrollment pressures that extended the system stemmed largely from a series of legislative actions that expanded the pool of eligible applicants to include children born after 1866 as well as those whose parents became disabled after the war.<sup>8</sup> As a result, by 1880 only about 100 children in the system had fathers who died while still in the military. The fathers of most of the children had either died after being discharged or had become sick or disabled as a result of the war. It was not uncommon for young men to go to war, to become sick or disabled as a result of the war, and to then have children long after returning home.<sup>9</sup> These changes meant that the expected enrollment decreases never came.

By the early 1890s, the Civil War orphan program in Pennsylvania had supervised a total of forty-three institutions across the state and had served almost 15,000 children at a cost of nearly \$10 million.<sup>10</sup> Legislators had a choice. They could either end the system, thus turning away needy children who met the same criteria as previously admitted ones, or they could find more efficient and cost-effective ways to continue it. Among those advocating for the continuation of the orphan education program, support began to grow for the construction of a centralized industrial school that could first meet the needs of Civil War orphans and then be converted to a manual training school for other destitute children once the last of the orphans had left the school.

Several other states, including Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, had already established homes specifically for the orphans of Civil War soldiers, and, unlike in Pennsylvania, in these cases the states owned and operated the facilities directly.<sup>11</sup> To its credit Pennsylvania, with its decentralized system, took on the care of far more soldiers' orphans than other states did in the same period, but this costly system presented its own challenges and after three decades many legislators hoped to find a new way to keep the state's commitment to Civil War veterans and pay its "patriotic debt" to them and their children.

In order to determine the feasibility of an industrial school plan, the Commissioners of Soldiers' Orphan Schools set up a special committee in 1892 to explore options and to make a recommendation about how best to move forward. As part of its work, this committee sent members to visit a variety of industrial schools around the country, including: the St. Louis Manual Training School; the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home in Knightstown, Indiana; the Toledo Manual Training School; the Chicago Manual Training School; the University School and Jewish Orphanage in Cleveland, Ohio; the State Industrial School in Rochester, New York; Pratt's Institute in Brooklyn, New York; and the New York Trade School.<sup>12</sup> The school in Knightstown, Indiana, was the only one specifically geared to soldiers' orphans. Based on an examination of the various methods used at the schools, the committee issued a report with recommendations to the commission and to the state legislature on December 15, 1892. After reminding readers that many worthy and needy Civil War orphans remained to be cared for and that providing them with industrial training would benefit both them and the state, committee members recommended that Pennsylvania build an industrial school to accommodate up to 1,000 students. They further recommended that a committee of three be appointed to help prepare a bill for legislative approval and to help secure the required appropriations.<sup>13</sup>

As a result of this committee's work, Pennsylvania's Act of 1893 authorized the creation of the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Industrial School and approved funds needed to erect, equip, and maintain the school. According to the law, the school would be operated by the existing Commissioners of Soldiers' Orphan Schools until 1897 when new appointments would be made for two-year terms. This commission, established by the Act of 1889 to replace the state superintendent as the administrator of the Civil War orphan schools, comprised the governor, two state senators, three members of the state house, and five honorably discharged soldiers who were members of the

Grand Army of the Republic.<sup>14</sup> The new law authorized the commission to purchase 100 acres of land in an easily accessible location on which to build an industrial school that would care for and educate those children still being served by schools in the Civil War orphan education system. The law allowed the commission to continue to operate other schools until all children could be transitioned to the new school.

The Act of 1893 reaffirmed admissions requirements established under previous laws and outlined admissions preferences. The act required parents of applicants to have lived in Pennsylvania for five years prior to the date of application and mandated that applicants be under the age of fourteen. According to the law, they would be educated to the age of sixteen, but provisions were made for those students who would be fifteen or sixteen when the new school was completed to stay an extra two years if they would benefit from an industrial education. First priority for admission went to full orphans of soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the Civil War and were members of Pennsylvania commands or having served in other commands were residents of the state when enlisted. Second priority went to children as described above whose father may be deceased and mother living. Those children whose parents may either or both be disabled got third priority.

In addition to authorizing the purchase of land, the Act of 1893 made other specific appropriations. The law provided \$150,000 to build and furnish the school and \$10,000 for the education and maintenance of the children admitted to the new school for the year ending May 31, 1894. An additional \$50,000 was appropriated to care for and educate the children admitted for the year ending May 31, 1895.<sup>15</sup> Per capita rate of appropriation was not to exceed \$200. Finally, the law designated \$3,000 for the expenses of the commission, although it stipulated that commissioners were not to be paid a salary and could not have any financial involvement in any of the schools. At the time that the law was authorized, there were technically five schools still in the system, but two of them only housed one Civil War orphan each. The commission's annual report for 1893 showed 439 children in the system, 194 at Chester Springs, 92 at Harford, and 151 at Uniontown.

Although commissioners and legislators expected the number of 439 to decline in the years after 1893, it did not. As the superintendents of the industrial school would soon find out, by the time the last of the Civil War orphans made their way through the system, Pennsylvania found itself with orphans from the Spanish American War (1898–1902) who had similar needs. In fact, during the period from 1893, the year that the state authorized

the building of the Scotland School, to 1900, two years after the start of the Spanish American War, enrollment in the system began to climb again after dropping off sharply from 1886 to 1893. By May 31, 1897, 945 students attended the industrial school or one of the remaining feeder schools and by the same date a year later, the number rose to 1,127.<sup>16</sup> This pre-Spanish American War increase can most likely be attributed to the growing number of deaths among Civil War veterans who left widows unable to care for their children. Thus, in the first decade of the Scotland School's existence, school leaders needed to convince the state to invest in the industrial school not only to produce well-trained, self-sufficient graduates for the benefit of Pennsylvania's economy but also to consolidate the system and make it more cost effective for what turned out to be a growing number of students.

This question of cost and funding for the school, plaguing the original orphan education system since its inception, reflects another distinctive feature of the Scotland School. The struggle for public funding played a significant role in the development and administration of the school throughout its history and ultimately led to its closure in 2009. This was not the case for many other residential schools in Pennsylvania. Girard College, for example, was originally funded—and still is today—by an endowment created from the will of its founder and benefactor Stephen Girard, who died in 1831. In addition to other charitable causes in Philadelphia, Girard left \$5 million for the school, \$2 million of which was to be used for construction. In 1901 Milton S. Hershey, the chocolate company magnate, provided 486 acres of prime farmland in Hershey, Pennsylvania, and \$60 million in Hershey Chocolate Company stock for the creation of the Hershey Industrial School, later renamed the Milton Hershey School. The Hershey Trust Company was put in charge of the school trust, which was to fund the education of disadvantaged, orphaned children in perpetuity. The school remains open today. In 1918 the Carson College for Orphan Girls, later renamed the Carson Valley School, opened in the Philadelphia area. Although the vision for this well-known progressive school and orphanage was shaped most directly by progressive educator Elsa Ueland, who became its first president and then served for forty-two years, it was generously funded from the estate of Robert N. Carson, a Philadelphia entrepreneur who made his fortune in the street railway business.<sup>17</sup>

As residential schools, each of these institutions faced many of the same challenges as publicly funded institutions, and school leaders undoubtedly dealt with scrutiny and contention from trustees who themselves were often

subject to provisions within the benefactors' wills, but none of these schools ever confronted the kind of financial limitations and hardships that plagued the Scotland School throughout its history. The Carlisle Indian School, which opened in 1879, might present a more direct funding comparison, as it was financed through both private donations and public funds, but unlike the state-supported industrial school in Scotland, its public resources came from the federal government under the auspices of the Department of the Interior and the Department of War as part of a national-scale effort to use education as an instrument for assimilating American Indians. The Carlisle Indian School closed in 1918 when the federal government's Indian education program began to move away from the boarding school model. Scotland, like other state-funded residential schools around the country, faced constant threats of budget cuts, deferred plans, and pressures to be efficient.

The struggle to secure state funding, while difficult, was not unexpected. With a limited amount of tax dollars available and many worthy causes to consider, legislators appropriated money cautiously. For decades, advocates of the Civil War orphan education program, including its first and staunchest defender, Governor Andrew Curtin, appealed to legislators' sense of patriotism in the call to support the children of men who gave their lives to save the Union. Despite their caution, lawmakers showed sympathy to this argument by repeatedly funding and expanding the system in the thirty years after the war. Even as individual legislators changed, the notion of the "patriotic debt" continued. Lawmakers might have differed on details, but a general consensus existed that Civil War orphans deserved care and schooling. However, by the time they voted to approve the Act of 1893 establishing the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Industrial School, legislators had become increasingly concerned about how schools within the system spent state funds. Ironically, the events causing these concerns actually increased legislative support for the creation of an industrial school while simultaneously making members of the state legislature more wary of the ongoing financial burden it would entail.

The concerns grew in the 1880s due to a series of rumors of financial improprieties being carried out by several school managers within the orphan education system. Because the state did not own or operate any of the schools directly, the legislature appropriated funds to school managers and directed them to use the money only for the care of children and maintenance of the school.<sup>18</sup> While schools were supposed to provide legislators with detailed financial records each year, this practice was not always scrupulously followed. In 1889 the state legislature appointed a committee comprised of

three House members and two senators to investigate the financial operations of schools during the period from 1875 to 1889. On May 31, 1893, the committee issued its report based on detailed reviews of financial records and on subpoenaed testimony from a variety of witnesses.<sup>19</sup> Legislators expressed frustration with a lack of cooperation from school managers and their lawyers, which made it difficult for them to compile necessary evidence.<sup>20</sup> While they were unable to substantiate all of the allegations, committee members criticized many of the players involved. The committee report noted that the state treasurer acted in good faith based on the information provided by school leaders, but it was highly critical of individuals within the Department of Public Instruction who, in the committee's view, did not monitor the school leaders carefully enough.<sup>21</sup>

The committee's conclusion regarding the danger of state funds being misused by school managers provided one important incentive for the construction of a single industrial school owned and operated directly by the state. At the same time, it meant that this school would rely on financial support from a legislature that not only had other financial priorities but that had also grown weary of funding the orphan education program. Lawmakers had been assured at various points in the 1870s and 1880s that closure of the system was imminent, but the projections for diminishing numbers of students did not prove true.<sup>22</sup> Although committee discussions and legislative debates from the 1890s in Pennsylvania are not part of the published record, it seems likely that the suspected financial improprieties within the Civil War orphan education system in the period leading up to 1893 played a role in the state's reluctance to invest fully in the new school.

Finally, in addition to having roots in an existing system and confronting financial challenges, Scotland was distinctive from its peer institutions in Pennsylvania because it lacked a single founder with a unifying vision for the school. Histories of Girard College, the Carlisle Indian School, Milton Hershey School, and the Carson Valley School all begin with the stories of their founders, each of whom had a specific vision that shaped the development of their respective schools. The Scotland School, on the other hand, would have many individuals who profoundly shaped its 114-year history, but no single person could be credited with its founding. Instead, the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Commission, established in 1889, developed a plan for the school and made its case to the state legislature. As previously noted, the commission included the governor, two state senators appointed by the senate president pro tempore, three members of the state house appointed

by the Speaker of the House, and five honorably discharged soldiers who were members of the Pennsylvania Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). Members of the commission when the school was approved included: Gov. Robert E. Pattison, ex-officio; Gen. J.P.S. Gobin and Jacob Crouse as members of the Senate; William F. Stewart, Michael B. Lemon, and George W. Skinner as members of the House of Representatives; and Capt. George G. Boyer, Col. Thomas G. Sample, Gen. Thomas J. Stewart, Judge G. Harry Davis, and Col. Ezra H. Ripple as members of the Department of Pennsylvania GAR.

In many respects, the commission established quite conservative goals for the Scotland School. They sought to maintain and extend at Scotland several key aspects of the original system, particularly the emphasis on order, discipline, and military drill. Like their predecessors, they believed that this approach was especially appropriate for dependent children who would be less likely to learn the importance of self-discipline and hard work at home. As in the past, students at the new school would be expected to master an academic curriculum similar to what was being offered in common schools at the time, to receive religious and moral education, and to help maintain the school. All students, male and female, would be required to work whether it was in the kitchen, the laundry, the bakery, or on the school's farm. Essentially, the commissioners hoped to retain what they considered to be best nineteenth-century practices from their existing system.

Despite its natural conservatism, the commission also wanted to create a school that would be truly different from its predecessors in two fundamental ways. First, since Scotland was conceived as an industrial school, the commissioners envisioned a thriving industrial curriculum taught by well-trained teachers in fully equipped shops. Using the rationales being purported by the growing national movement for industrial education, the commissioners appealed to the legislature to adequately fund these new, ambitious goals. Second, in an attempt to be responsive to growing criticism among child advocates of institutional life for children, the commissioners proposed that Scotland establish a more nurturing community for its students than what previously existed in the Civil War orphan program. To achieve this end, they proposed a plan to house the children in a more homelike way, using the newly emerging cottage system rather than traditional large dormitories. In fact, the school's first plan called for sixteen cottages that could each house up to sixty students.<sup>23</sup> Both of these goals reflected important late nineteenth-century trends with respect to caring for and educating children. They would also prove to be extremely costly for the state.



The features that most distinguish Scotland from other similar schools in Pennsylvania (i.e., its emergence from an existing system, its ongoing financial struggles, and its commission-based leadership) provide a framework for understanding its early history. School records show that its Civil War roots and adherence to nineteenth-century traditions led school officials to make conservative choices with respect to academic and moral curriculum, discipline, and military culture. The school's constant financial pressures due to the state legislature's failure to ever fully match its rhetoric of support for veterans' children with adequate funding to provide that support limited what school leaders could do with infrastructure and programming. Finally, the commission's role in establishing the school resulted less in a singular and coherent vision and more in a broad range of goals that reinforced traditional values while simultaneously seeking to capitalize on emerging trends in education and child welfare. As with other aspects of the school, a lack of financial resources curtailed or delayed important parts of the commission's original goals.

### Opening the School

By the time the commission issued its annual report to the legislature in 1894, it had purchased 100 acres of land in Scotland, Pennsylvania, a small town approximately fifty miles southwest of Harrisburg, from state senator Alexander Stewart, for \$12,000.<sup>24</sup> The land, which was chosen for its proximity to the central part of the state and its location on the Cumberland Valley Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, had originally been part of a 600-acre plantation called Corker Hill, owned by Alexander Thompson, the first permanent settler in Scotland.<sup>25</sup> With the land secured, the commission hired Thomas P. Lonsdale, Esq., of Philadelphia to design the first building and began accepting bids for its construction. John A. Burger and Son of Lancaster put in the lowest bid at \$76,986 and received the contract along with an additional \$30,000 to construct the power house and mechanical department and to install the boiler.<sup>26</sup> On March 13, 1894, the legislature appropriated an additional \$69,000 for the construction of the industrial plant. Despite heavy lobbying from the commission, the legislature approved no funds for cottages.

When the school opened on June 1, 1895, it could not accommodate all of the children from the three remaining schools. Instead, the 242 students

enrolled were mostly older children between the ages of twelve and fifteen who transferred to Scotland in order to receive some industrial training before exiting the system. The Act of 1893 only officially allowed children to stay in the system up to the age of sixteen, but in 1901 the legislature amended section 6 of that law to allow children to stay beyond their sixteenth birthdays. If they turned sixteen between January 1 and June 30, they could remain at the school until June 30. In 1905 the law was amended again to allow qualified students to stay in school until the age of eighteen. Although the school was open to boys and girls of all races, the vast majority of students during this early period were white.

The first group of students at Scotland came under the care of Gen. Charles L. Young, who took the reins as Scotland's first superintendent in 1895. Young shared duties with his wife, Cora, who served as the first head matron and as nurse, and with four teachers and a principal. Altogether the school employed thirty-three people that year, including a local doctor, J. J. Hoffman, who came three days per week to provide health services.<sup>27</sup> Young, who served only from June 1895 to May 1896, endured a difficult first year at Scotland and found himself on the receiving end of considerable criticism from Frank G. Magee, the commission-appointed school inspector.

In describing Scotland's first year, Magee bluntly stated, "There was assuredly a most noticeable lack of proper intelligence and ability in the general management."<sup>28</sup> He then went on to describe unrest and insubordination among the male students, frequent runaways, shabby clothing, and defaced property. He contrasted this with what he considered to be well-managed schools at Harford, Uniontown, and Chester Springs.<sup>29</sup> In August 1896 the commission hired James M. Clark to replace Young, but he fared little better, according to Magee. While the inspector credited Clark with improving discipline and orderly conduct among the students, he offered a sharp critique of his leadership with the teachers and staff and went as far as to say, "To the want of regard for the feelings and rights of subordinates and the extreme superciliousness of the superintendent, can be attributed many of the difficulties that militated against the best interests of the institution."<sup>30</sup> In his reports for both of these years, Inspector Magee offered warm praise for Scotland's first principal, M. L. Thounhurst.

Interestingly, when Clark was relieved of his superintendent's duties in August 1897, the commission replaced him with none other than Magee himself. Sadly, Magee had only a short time to prove that he could do better than his predecessors, for he died in April 1899, less than two years

into his term, and was replaced by Principal Thounhurst. In June 1900, however, Thounhurst, who had been part of the Civil War Orphan Program in various capacities for a long time and generally received high marks for his competence, moved from Scotland to Chester Springs, leaving the Industrial School without a superintendent once again. A month later, the commission appointed George W. Skinner as superintendent. He served for nine years, giving the new school some much needed stability and continuity in planning.

Early leaders spent considerable time trying to stretch limited state dollars to pay for the construction needed at Scotland that would allow the remaining schools to be closed. Burger and Son completed the initial building, housing all school operations other than the shops, and the industrial building prior to the school's opening, but many smaller building projects and capital improvements still needed to be completed after students arrived. By the close of 1897, a machine shop, forge shop, and pumping station had been built and renovations of the property's existing barn had begun. The school also put in a pond during the 1896–97 school year, spurring the beginning of a long tradition of winter ice-skating by the students. During the same year, Scotland added fire extinguishers and hoses and built a gun rack for firearms that the boys used in their military drills.<sup>31</sup>

Putting the fire equipment in place proved fortuitous, for on February 20, 1901, the school faced its first serious fire, which broke out behind the switchboard of the electric lighting plant in the engine room of the industrial building and destroyed the structure.<sup>32</sup> This fire, due to unknown causes, turned out to be the first real test of the fire apparatus, which worked well in keeping the fire from spreading. The system of hydrants and hoses saved the boiler room that was twelve feet away and the laundry room, thirty feet away. According to the head of Scotland's Industrial Department, it was a cold, windy night so school officials called the Chambersburg Fire Department to be sure that the fire did not spread to the main school building.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the fire did destroy the electrical system and heating pipes passing through the engine room, meaning the school was without lights or heat for a short period of time and that some industries had to be temporarily relocated.<sup>34</sup> In total, the fire cost \$62,000, but the school only had an \$18,500 insurance policy on the building. The legislature authorized additional funding to rebuild the industrial plant.<sup>35</sup>

During the same year, the school faced its first major health crisis with a scarlet fever epidemic that affected seventy-four students. All of them

survived, but they had to be isolated in the farmhouse that was turned into a temporary hospital. The commission had called upon the state to fund the building of a hospital in their initial plans and school leaders had raised concerns about healthcare facilities in several of their early reports. In 1899, for example, the Medical Department noted the general inadequacy of the infirmaries and pointed to a discrepancy between the quality of the boys' and girls' facilities. Girls could only get to their infirmary by passing through the girls' dorm, thus exposing everyone to their illnesses.<sup>36</sup> The scarlet fever crisis increased the pressure to build a hospital at Scotland. By the spring of 1901, the school secured a contract of \$7,650 to build such a facility and construction got under way.<sup>37</sup> The building remained in use until 1960 when it was razed and rebuilt. As the school confronted all of these early infrastructure and health challenges, its teachers and administrators also began to work toward the broader goals of building on past practices and implementing new initiatives.

### Preserving the Past

Because none of the schools in the Civil War orphan education program prior to 1893 provided any kind of real industrial training, students spent their days engaged in some combination of basic academic work and physical labor or chores to support the running of their schools. From the outset, the commissioners wanted the industrial school to maintain an academic curriculum similar to what already existed. As a result, during the early years, students spent three hours in academic classes, three hours in industries, and one hour in the evening in study hall.<sup>38</sup> While the other schools remained open, most of the students coming to the industrial school were between the ages of twelve and fifteen, but by 1899 the school had been organized into four branches: primary, intermediate, grammar, and high school. Despite their ages, some students at the industrial school were listed in second grade. The lower branches included basic mathematics, reading, writing, and geography, whereas the high school curriculum included algebra, civil government, natural philosophy, geometry, literature, rhetoric, and bookkeeping.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to academic coursework, students at Scotland received moral and religious training. When Pennsylvania first established its system for the

education of Civil War orphans in the 1860s, the superintendents assigned children to schools based largely on geographic location, but they also took into account the religious affiliation of the children and when possible placed them in homes/schools connected to their own religions. Schools not affiliated with any particular religion still provided Bible study and moral training. This tradition continued at the industrial school. Even before the first chapel was built in 1907, the school held services on campus on Sunday afternoons conducted by a local Lutheran minister.<sup>40</sup> In addition, students participated in daily chapel exercises and attended weekly Sabbath school classes.<sup>41</sup>

Just as school leaders sought to promote character in their students through religious instruction, they hoped to instill patriotism and discipline by incorporating military drill, pageantry, and physical culture into the school. Beginning in its first year, the school was divided into two military companies that drilled on the oval area in front of the main school building twice per day, although they were hampered somewhat in their efforts due to muddy conditions as a result of both construction and bad weather.<sup>42</sup> Instructors considered physical conditioning to be an important part of school culture for both sexes, and girls participated in flag calisthenics drills each morning and also worked with dumbbells. The emphasis on fitness and military culture served several purposes. In one respect, school leaders sought to connect students to their military roots and to prepare them, the boys in particular, for military service should they choose to serve or be called upon to do so. During World War I, for example, annual reports to the state legislature stressed how well the school prepared its students for the demands of war. Phil Johnson, who served for ten years as the head of the Military and Physical Culture Department before being called himself to military service in April 1918, reported that over 160 recent graduates of the school were serving in the military in 1918 with many "winning rapid promotions" and at least two recognized for bravery by the French government. He also reported knowing of three female graduates in the US service: Emma Kerby and Anna Hoover serving as Red Cross nurses and Harriet Hoadley McDermott as yeoman in the Naval Reserves Radio Service. Johnson further noted with pride that no graduates who applied for military service had been rejected as unfit.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to preparing students for military service, Scotland's emphasis on drill, parades, and calisthenics created discipline, provided students with structure, and promoted patriotism. Not only were students expected to

arrive on time and complete drills each and every morning, but they were also expected to be precise in their movements and to practice routines until they achieved perfection. School officials believed that students coming from insecure and unstable homes would especially benefit from the structure that regimented drilling provided. The military program at the school also offered an excellent way for Scotland to build relationships with the surrounding community by participating in parades and in Memorial Day services at nearby cemeteries and by inviting local officials to attend their programs and exercises held at the school. In addition to performing in the neighboring towns of Chambersburg, Waynesboro, and Greencastle, Scotland students sometimes participated in parades in Harrisburg, the state's capital, as well.<sup>44</sup> In their annual reports to the commission, school leaders regularly included either local press clippings or their own accounts of how well Scotland students comported themselves in the community and how popular they were in parades and drills.

If military training provided one vehicle for establishing discipline and a sound work ethic, the school's requirement that all children work to support the school offered another. It was not uncommon at the turn of the century for orphanages and residential schools to provide students with food grown and harvested on their own property as a cost-effective measure. This practice also taught boys at the school about farm labor and food production. When purchased by the state, the Scotland property came with a barn, a house, and 100 acres of farmland. The barn was renovated in 1897, and, in this early period, students and teachers carried out most of the farming. By 1903 the farm produced \$1200 worth of products, almost all consumed by students.<sup>45</sup> That same year, the commission petitioned the state to purchase an additional forty-seven acres from the Stewart Farm in order to "square off" the farmland used by the school.<sup>46</sup> Students who did not work on the farm helped to support the school through cooking, sewing, laundering, maintaining the buildings and grounds, and performing daily chores. In the "Correspondent's Column" of the school newspaper, students made regular reports on their classmates' work and often doled out humorous praise. In a March 1897 column, for example, the correspondent writes, "Ross Edwards . . . has been in the business of cleaning pans for a number of months. . . . He will soon be an expert at the business. John Kane keeps the floor in good trim and he is an excellent doughnut fryer."<sup>47</sup> Students frequently shifted from one work detail to another in order to fill in for sick classmates or to offer additional help during busy times.<sup>48</sup>

#### CONTINUING TO PAY THE "PATRIOTIC DEBT"

The students' daily schedules further reinforced the order, routine, and hard work promoted by school leaders. The schedule, containing few variations over the years, went as follows:

- 6:00: Wake up, calisthenics for ten minutes, wash and dress for breakfast
- 6:30: Breakfast followed by work detail
- 8:00–8:30: Drill or Band
- 8:45–11:45: School and Trades
- 12:00: Lunch followed by free time
- 1:00–4:00: School and Trades
- 4:00–5:30: Sports and other extracurricular activities
- 5:30: Dinner followed by free time
- 7:00–8:30: Study Hour for older children
- 9:00: Taps and Bed

On Saturdays, supervisors inspected the students' living quarters while they spent time cleaning and doing other chores. This schedule, minus the trades training, closely resembled ones used in most of the Civil War orphan schools prior to 1893. Neither the commission nor school leaders saw a reason to change this daily structure.

Despite a wide range of challenges in its first few years, Scotland largely succeeded in establishing basic practices preserving what the commission saw as the best of the nineteenth-century model of Civil War orphan education in Pennsylvania. The school's success with this aspect of the commission's goals can be attributed largely to two factors. First, most of the early leaders at Scotland, as well as most of the teachers at the school, came out of the existing orphan education system and felt comfortable maintaining the status quo. Many served in the military and supported both the military culture and the emphasis on morality, order, discipline, and hard work. In their view, these traditional practices supported the ongoing mission to pay the "patriotic debt" by not only caring for veterans' children, but also by preparing them for moral and productive lives. Although there were some questions about how to maintain the appropriate curricular balance once the school began to incorporate industrial training, these leaders also supported the basic academic curriculum that had been well established in the system. Second, once the school was built, this more traditional aspect of the commission's vision required few additional expenditures from the state legislature beyond what it had provided to the

system in the past. The commission's more ambitious goal to establish a strong industrial curriculum in a school with a true homelike environment proved to be more challenging.

## New Goals

Because the commission conceived of Scotland, first and foremost, as an industrial school, they hoped to capitalize on the growing momentum across the United States for industrial education. The movement in this direction stemmed from two important forces emerging in mid-nineteenth-century American society: the establishment of common schools in many parts of the United States and the shift in the nation's economy from one built on agriculture and the work of skilled craftsmen to one based on industry and mass production. Most educators recognized that the newly emerging public school system needed to be responsive to changing economic realities, but by the last quarter of the nineteenth century a growing number of critics argued that common schools were not doing enough to meet the needs of working-class children.<sup>49</sup> Even those recognizing the need for a workforce trained in industrial fields disagreed about how best to approach the task at hand and about how to handle the costs of establishing well-equipped shops within schools. By 1893, when the Soldiers' Orphans Commission in Pennsylvania sought to establish a curricular vision for its new school, three different, but sometimes overlapping, approaches to industrial education had emerged in US education and school leaders had to determine which would be best for Scotland.

The first approach sought to meet industrial society's need for well-educated engineers, architects, and chemists whose jobs would be not to engage in industrial labor themselves or even to oversee such labor, but, rather, in the words of Francis Walker, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the 1880s, to "investigate the material resources of the country . . . and project operations for the development of such resources."<sup>50</sup> Some of the best-known schools devoted to this kind of scientific education included the Troy School of Civil Engineering, the Hoboken School of Mechanical Engineering, the Sheffield School of Civil and Mechanical Engineering, the Columbia School of Mining Engineering, the Boston Institute of Technology, the Worcester Free Institute of Industrial Science, and Dartmouth College's Chandler Scientific School and Thayer Engineering



School.<sup>51</sup> Although graduates of these schools generally worked in research and industrial design, some took administrative jobs and operated more closely to the actual production process. By the late 1870s many of the leaders at these engineering schools began to look for ways to more closely connect theory and practice for prospective engineers.<sup>52</sup> John D. Runkle, for example, became president of MIT in 1870 and by the end of the decade was advocating the Russian Model of industrial education with its emphasis on shop work for engineers.<sup>53</sup>

A second approach to industrial education, known as manual training, applied to the training of both engineers and other students, particularly boys, who might pursue a broad range of technical, mechanical, and industrial jobs. Advocates of this approach, found both in traditional public schools and in separate manual training schools, argued that students should be schooled in certain habits of mind that promote self-discipline and leadership and that establish general skills transferrable to a variety of professions rather than in any particular trade. Manual training focused more on the whole student and taught him, beginning at a young age, basic principles of physics and mechanics upon which both the natural and material worlds are based. Calvin Woodward, dean of the O'Fallon Polytechnical Institute of Washington University and head of its manual training school in St. Louis, Missouri, was perhaps the best-known advocate of this approach both for schools like his own and for K-12 public schools.

By the turn of the twentieth century, however, many industrial educators, in an effort to find more practical ways of educating the broad masses of students, male and female, toward gainful employment, began to shift away from the nineteenth-century emphasis on leadership and rising up through manual training with its focus on general intelligence and broad scientific principles. This led to a third approach to industrial education, one that supported training students for a particular trade. This model, similar to those in many European countries such as Switzerland with its watchmaking trade, tracked students into specific trades and then geared their training to that trade. It gained momentum in the 1890s and in the first decades of the twentieth century. As with the old apprentice model, students attending trade schools or completing trade programs within public schools were expected to know what jobs they wanted to pursue when they got out of school and to focus their educations on the skills needed for those particular jobs. For boys these might include areas such as electrical work, plumbing,

woodworking, pipe fitting, and shoemaking, among several others. The most common trades for girls included stenography, typewriting, and telegraphy along with domestic sciences such as cooking, laundering, and housekeeping. A few schools, such as the Carlisle Indian School, offered nursing, giving young women additional options.<sup>54</sup>

Many critics of industrial education lumped all other approaches together with trades training and argued that early career tracking undermined traditional American values such as freedom and social mobility and took time away from the primary mission of schools to provide moral and academic training.<sup>55</sup> Trade school proponents, including many engineers who supported this as the best educational model to ensure “competent mechanics and superintendents who could help to realize an engineer’s industrial dreams” saw this as a practical approach, especially for lower classes.<sup>56</sup> For the Commissioners of Soldiers’ Orphan Schools, there was never a question in 1893 as to the value of industrial education. In fact, from the beginning of the orphan education system, dating back to 1864, there had been a desire to incorporate some kind of trades training, but the lack of funding and the difficulty that would be incurred in trying to maintain fully developed programs in dozens of schools throughout the state kept this desire from ever being satisfied. Throughout the annual reports from 1864 to 1893, there are numerous references to wanting trade programs but, with few exceptions, they never developed.<sup>57</sup> Early reports lament the lack of industrial training, but also emphasize that the children were learning good work habits and self-discipline that would serve them well once employed. In the 1874 annual report, Rev. C. Cornforth, the state inspector for boys’ programs, suggests that, given their financial limitations, the schools should focus on finding the right training and employment opportunities for students once they left.<sup>58</sup>

By 1878, however, school leaders began to discuss the need for industrial education in earnest and first posed the idea of opening an industrial school. As an alternative to this expensive option, then Superintendent Wickersham proposed establishing a partnership with the Pennsylvania State College that would allow a certain number of graduates of the orphan education system to receive scholarships and pursue industrial training there.<sup>59</sup> The state at that time was already funding a similar program that gave scholarships to qualified graduates who wanted to attend some of Pennsylvania’s normal schools in preparation for careers in teaching. Despite these proposals, the state made no further moves toward any kind of systematic industrial education until the approval of its new industrial school in 1893.

Having visited schools with a range of approaches to industrial education during their exploration period in 1892, the commission ultimately encouraged the establishment of an industrial curriculum closely resembling the trade school model. In its initial years, when Harford, Uniontown, and Chester Springs remained open, Scotland received the older students who selected specific trades for their final years of schooling. As younger students were added to the school, they experienced an elementary curriculum that employed elements of the manual training model and then had an opportunity during middle school to explore several different trades before selecting their specialty. According to the superintendent's report for 1896, the girls' industrial curriculum provided training in stenography, typewriting, telegraphy, scientific cooking, dressmaking, and general sewing (sometimes also referred to as mending). In 1896 the boys' curriculum included printing, woodworking, and shoemaking with plans to add a machine shop, blacksmith shop, and plumbing and pipe fitting. They could also choose to work in the bakery or laundry. Plus all boys helped with electrical work and machinery around the school.

Among many other tasks, those working in the print shop began issuing a bimonthly school newspaper, the *Industrial School News*, on February 2, 1896. The newspaper included exchanges with many prominent newspapers and magazines around the country, including the *New York Times* and *Baltimore Sun*, as well as local papers in the Chambersburg and Harrisburg areas.<sup>60</sup> An early source of pride at the school, the print shop, by 1903 was making 1,300 copies of each edition of the *Industrial School News*; 850 copies went to subscribers, mostly GAR members, 150 to exchanges, and 300 to students at the school.<sup>61</sup>

By 1904 printing, tailoring, laundry, telegraphy, typewriting, and stenography were listed as options for both boys and girls.<sup>62</sup> Students at Scotland gained practical experience in their trades through their work at the school. Boys in the wood shop, for example, repaired everything from door frames to window screens and made basic furniture. On one occasion, they made twenty sleds for the children and on another made a large closet for football uniforms. Through these projects, large and small, students put their skills to practical use.<sup>63</sup> Those in tailoring and dressmaking made school clothing, aprons, and new dresses for young women leaving the school due to age. The baking department reportedly made 400 to 500 pounds of bread per day.<sup>64</sup> Although critics of the trades training approach to industrial education may have questioned the appropriateness of having students spend

such a large portion of their days “working” in one specific area, educators at Scotland believed that their students would benefit from leaving the school having mastered at least one trade. Despite reports of overcrowded shops and occasional shortages of equipment and materials during this early period, the school established a basic framework for trades training that remained intact for decades.

In addition to taking the Scotland School in a new direction with its trades program, the commission envisioned, through the cottage system, a more homelike model of education that would address the harshest criticisms of institutional living and reflect new understandings of child welfare. While still not widely practiced, the popularity of the cottage system for orphan asylums and industrial schools in the 1890s represented an evolution in how child advocates and school managers viewed what would be best for poor and orphaned children; the commission adopted this changing view. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was not uncommon for destitute children to be placed in almshouses with adults or for older orphans to be “placed out” as apprentices or household help in exchange for their care. Because almshouses were susceptible to a range of problems, including lack of safety and insufficient leadership as well as overcrowding and unsanitary conditions, child advocates began to look for institutional placements that could serve as alternatives for children and protect them from neglect, abuse, and improper influences.<sup>65</sup> Even with a growing recognition of these problems, however, almshouses continued to “care” for children, at least in limited cases, well into the twentieth century. In his 1930 book describing the history of care for dependent children, Henry Thurston points out that as of 1929 social workers continued to find children being raised in almshouses “with no chance to play normally or get the right food . . . shut up all day with a bunch of old women.”<sup>66</sup> Despite the stubborn persistence of almshouses for children, critics of the approach had been pushing alternatives for more than a century by the time Thurston made his observation.

By the mid-nineteenth century, construction of child-specific institutions, particularly orphanages, expanded considerably. In their research on orphan asylums in the nineteenth century, Downs and Sherraden provide data, based on estimates from US census reports, institutional records, and other sources, showing the number of institutionalized dependent children in the United States at various points between 1790 and 1910. By 1910, 126,600 children were being cared for in orphanages and only 3,600 in almshouses.<sup>67</sup> The shift reflected the growing sense that orphanages improved upon care provided

by almshouses designed for adults and, in many cases, upon the practice of "placing out" where children could be subject to exploitation. Despite the initial support for institutional placement as a benevolent and socially useful approach to raising orphaned and destitute children, concerns about the effects of these asylums and schools had begun to emerge by the late nineteenth century. Critics suggested that many of the institutions were too large, rigid, and impersonal and that they simply "warehoused" children without taking into account their innate needs for affection and home comforts.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, critics argued that children could not get the individual attention they needed in large institutional settings and that the order and strict discipline that characterized so many of the homes/schools produced individuals not adequately prepared to be independent, creative members of society. As they saw it, children in institutions lacked the affection and care that characterized healthy family relationships. Added to these concerns was the suggestion that asylums/schools were often costly and ineffective in meeting their original lofty goals to improve society by guiding children to be productive and upright citizens.<sup>69</sup> Defenders of childcare institutions recognized the legitimacy of some of these criticisms, but rather than support the elimination of institutions, a step considered both impractical and unnecessary, they sought ways to address concerns and make improvements from within the system. The cottage system became one of the most popular responses and was indicative of Progressive Era reforms in child welfare.

Although there are examples of institutions employing the cottage system as early as the 1850s, the model did not gain widespread support until the Progressive Era. The commission, in recommending in 1893 that the Scotland School adopt this plan, showed considerable foresight as criticisms of congregate institutions continued to grow in the ensuing decades. More than twenty years later, for example, when plans were being developed for the decidedly progressive Carson Valley School near Philadelphia, school leaders saw themselves on the cutting edge of progressive reforms when mandating the cottage system of housing for their students.<sup>70</sup>

Not surprisingly, implementing the cottage system proved to be expensive, and the Pennsylvania General Assembly refused to provide adequate funding for the construction of cottages in the early period. The school instead opened with only one-fourth the proposed number of students all housed in a single building, meaning that the remaining three schools could not be closed.<sup>71</sup> Construction on the cottages did not begin until 1927. Despite this initial setback, none of Scotland's early leaders gave up on this

aspect of the commission's vision, and they continued to push for movement away from the congregate living that characterized Scotland's early years.

Although Scotland's first students did not have the benefit of the cottage system, school leaders found other ways to build a sense of community and belonging among the students. Most notably, they developed an extensive extracurricular activity program. While many of the previous Civil War orphan education schools offered music programs and a few clubs and athletic opportunities, the Scotland School offered a wide range of options and allowed students to compete in sporting and music events against other schools. Music played an especially significant role in school life by the early 1900s. The school quickly formed a band as well as boys' and girls' glee clubs that had sixteen members and twenty members respectively by 1897 and a girls' band that had twenty-nine students by 1902.<sup>72</sup> The boys' band played at all school drill functions as well as in local parades and at GAR functions, but often had to turn down invitations to perform due to its popularity.<sup>73</sup> Scotland also welcomed guest bands at the school and early on hosted performances from neighboring schools such as the concert given by the sixty-piece Carlisle Indian School band on January 11, 1900.<sup>74</sup>

As with the music program, athletics at Scotland evolved and expanded over the school's first several decades, but at least a few teams, including football and baseball, were established within the first couple of years of the school's opening and found early success. On April 8, 1897, the school newspaper reported on Scotland's first home baseball game held the previous Saturday. Not only did the Scotland team beat a local Chambersburg team 15 to 10, but the students gained an opportunity for fun and celebration. The student reporter humorously described the response to the event, "The boys and girls of our institution were as happy over the afternoon's sport as though they had been sliding down a rainbow with a Star Spangled Banner in one hand and a yard of bologna sausage in the other."<sup>75</sup> Later that same season, the team reportedly defeated the Cumberland Valley Normal School by a score of 22 to 8.<sup>76</sup> Reporting on the strong sports program in 1912, Principal William Bambrick claimed that the school's teams won more than 80 percent of their games that year and that Scotland likely had a higher percentage of boys playing football and baseball than any other school in the country.<sup>77</sup>

Eventually Scotland would add numerous organized sports for both boys and girls and these programs would become a significant part of the school's culture. Even in its first few decades, the school stressed physical fitness and informal sports such as skating in the winter and swimming in the summer

as well as croquet and tennis for all students. While student participation in these sports and other extracurricular activities provided a sense of belonging and an avenue for support, it did not entirely mitigate the commission's concerns about the negative effects of congregate housing or decrease commissioners' desire to establish cottage living for students. This goal remained unfulfilled during Scotland's early history, despite the efforts of school leaders to convince the legislature that it would be both good for the students and cost effective.

### Moving Forward with One School

As Scotland's leaders, teachers, and coaches worked daily to establish the school's basic infrastructure and its curriculum and procedures, the question of how to close the other three schools remaining in the system continued to loom over the commission. Although Harford closed in 1899, each year the superintendents pressed the commission who, in turn, pressed the legislature to appropriate the funds needed to fully support the school's mission and to consolidate all operations under one facility. The superintendents argued on three grounds. First, despite the initial expenditures needed for construction, operating a single school, with or without cottages, would be much more cost effective in the long run because staff, facilities, and equipment would not need to be duplicated. The commission, in 1901, suggested that it would take approximately \$100,000 to equip the school for all 1,100 children left in the system and that the investment would pay for itself within four years. Second, the school would only be able to achieve the commission's initial vision of providing a homelike environment and a useful industrial education to all Pennsylvania veterans' orphans if new construction at the school was approved. Finally, with the decision in the Act of 1905 to extend the exit age from sixteen to eighteen, school leaders were finding it increasingly difficult to accommodate the students they already had, which led to reasonable complaints.

In June of 1906 Scotland housed 333 students in facilities originally designed for no more than 300. Overcrowding combined with the rising costs of meeting students' basic needs caused the commission to state that "such economy has necessarily reached the verge of parsimony" and to request that the per-pupil spending be raised from \$225 per year to \$250. Finally, on June 13, 1907, the Pennsylvania legislature approved funds to

enlarge the capacity of the school and construction began on a chapel and a girls' dormitory. The following year, the veterans' orphan program at Uniontown was closed down and students were moved either to Chester Springs or Scotland. In July 1911 the commissioners received approval to close Chester Springs the following June and to move the last of the orphans to Scotland. Because this would bring the total number of students at the school to well over 500, the decision was made to add on to the auditorium and to build a new two-story building that would be connected to the auditorium at each floor. This would allow the boys' dormitory to be in the original building and the girls to move to the new section off the other side of the auditorium.

When the new school year began in the fall of 1912 with all of the veterans' children in the system at Scotland, the school was filled to capacity, but officials hoped that they would be able to admit more children as students left the school due to age. This also marked the first time that the industrial school took on the care of young children, requiring changes in discipline and curriculum as well as staffing. Several members of the Chester Springs staff made the move to Scotland. In many respects the fall of 1912 marked a promising time for the school because at least one of the commission's major goals—consolidating the system at one facility—had finally been achieved. The commission fully expected that their work with veterans' children would soon be completed and that the school could then be used to meet the needs of other disadvantaged children in Pennsylvania. In a few short years, however, World War I dashed that hope as the state once again found itself with many children who were either orphaned by war or who found themselves in a host of difficult circumstances often resulting from war. They needed a home and the Scotland School gave them one as it would continue to do for children in veteran-affiliated families until its closing in 2009.

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## NOTES

1. In 1895 the school opened as the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Industrial School, but it was often referred to simply as Scotland or the Industrial School. In 1924 the school was renamed the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans School (see *Public Opinion*, August 27, 1970, 19). In 1951 the state legislature renamed the school The Scotland School for Veterans' Children in Public Law (PL) 350, passed May 24, 1951.
2. Although there are variations in wording, the school's mission was referenced in early publications such as the *Industrial School News* (the school's newspaper, later renamed the *Scotland Courier*) as well as in annual reports issued by the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Commission to the state legislature. School newspapers from 1897 to 1970 are housed in the Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, as part of Record Group (RG) 19. The annual reports by the Commission for the period from the school's founding in 1895 to 1918 and from 1921 to 1923 are also located in the State Archives as part of RG19. Beginning on August 15, 1923, reports are issued by a board of trustees rather than the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Commission.
3. For more information on Stephen Girard, founder of Girard College, see George Wilson, *Stephen Girard: America's First Tycoon* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1995). For a history of the early years of the school see Cheesman A. Herrick, *History of Girard College* (Philadelphia: Girard College, 1927). David R. Contosta, in his *Philadelphia's Progressive Orphanage: The Carson Valley School* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), provides a useful overview of Stephen Girard's role in the founding of Girard College and how the school compared to the Carson Valley School established in 1918 for orphaned girls in the Philadelphia area. For information on the Carlisle School, see Hayes Peter Mauro, *The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011); Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998).
4. For a recently published history of the Milton Hershey School see James D. McMahon Jr., *Milton Hershey School* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007).
5. For a full description of this system see Sarah Bair, “Making Good on a Promise: The Education of Civil War Orphans in Pennsylvania, 1863–1893,” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2011): 460–85.
6. *Ibid.*, 464–65.
7. It should be noted that responses by states to the aftermath of the war coincided with both local volunteer efforts and a governmental response at the federal level. For discussion of the federal pension system for Civil War veterans and widows, see Amy E. Holmes, “Widows and the Civil War Pension System,” in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 171–95; Patrick J. Kelly, *Creating a National Home: Building the Veterans' Welfare State, 1860–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24–31, 52–62; Megan J. McClintock, “Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families,” *Journal of American History* 83, no. 2 (1996): 456–80; and Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*

- (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). For a description of programs in other states see the *Annual Report of the Superintendent for Soldiers' Orphans to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania, 1872*, 30–31, Collection of Annual Reports, 1870–1918, Record Group (RG) 19, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA; and James Marten, *The Children's Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 212.
8. *Annual Report, 1874*, 21.
  9. See *Annual Report, 1884*, v for an explanation of the enrollment status in the 1880s by E. E. Higbee who became the state superintendent of the Civil War orphan education system on April 1, 1881.
  10. *Annual Report, 1893*, 14.
  11. In his 1872 report, State Superintendent J. P. Wickersham provides a two-page excerpt (found on pp. 30–31) from a paper presented by Col. Robert B. Beath, Pennsylvania's Surveyor General, to the annual meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in May of 1872 in which Beath outlines the efforts of individual states on behalf of Civil War orphans. Each of the states that operated a state-funded institution generally cared for between 200 and 300 children annually in their institutions by 1872. Iowa's program, which was initiated by a private association that later transferred "the property" to the state, listed the highest number at 718 children, but it is unclear whether they were housed in a single facility or in a variety of homes. By contrast, during the same year in Pennsylvania, the state was overseeing thirty-seven schools and close to 3,000 orphans.
  12. *Annual Report, 1893*, 9.
  13. *Ibid.*, 10.
  14. The decision to replace the state Superintendent for Soldiers' Orphans with a Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphans Commission in 1889 stemmed from a series of problems and scandals that challenged the system in the 1880s during the tenure of Superintendent E. E. Higbee. For further discussion of the scandals see Bair, "Making Good on a Promise," 481–82.
  15. Although the law appropriated funds for the 1893–94 and 1894–95 school year, construction was delayed and the school did not open until June 3, 1895.
  16. *Annual Report, 1898*, 16.
  17. Contosta, *Philadelphia's Progressive Orphanage*, 7–38.
  18. For further discussion of the management of these schools, see Bair, "Making Good on a Promise," 482–84.
  19. The report can be found in the *Journal of the Senate, 1893*, vol. 2, May 31, 1893, 1661–1665. *The Journal of the Senate* is available in the Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg, in both hard copy and microfilm.
  20. *Ibid.*, 1665.
  21. *Ibid.*, 1663.
  22. Bair, "Making Good on a Promise," 472–74.
  23. *Annual Report, 1895*, 8.
  24. *Annual Report, 1894*, 8.
  25. See *Reveille to Taps, Yearbook for the Class of 1937*, the school's first yearbook, which includes a brief history of the school and "100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of SSVVC," a speech given to the Kittochtinny

## CONTINUING TO PAY THE “PATRIOTIC DEBT”

Historical Society to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the school in June 1995, no author listed. SSVC Museum.

26. *Annual Report*, 1894, 8.
27. “100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of SSVC.”
28. *Annual Report*, 1896, 79.
29. Ibid.
30. *Annual Report*, 1897, 82.
31. Ibid, 103–6.
32. *Industrial School News*, 6, no. 2 (November, 21 1901): 3. School newspapers from 1897 to 1970 (37 volumes) are located in the Pennsylvania State Archives as part of Record Group 19.
33. *Annual Report*, 1901, 104.
34. Ibid., 104–5.
35. Ibid., 8.
36. *Annual Report* 1899, 120–21.
37. *Annual Report*, 1901, 3.
38. *Annual Report*, 1896, 97.
39. *Annual Report*, 1899, 111.
40. Ibid., 112.
41. *Annual Report*, 1911, 58.
42. *Annual Report*, 1896, 101.
43. *Annual Report*, 1918, 41.
44. *Annual Report*, 1899, 122.
45. *Annual Report*, 1903, 92.
46. Ibid., 8.
47. *Industrial School News* 2, no. 3 (March 11, 1897): 3.
48. The Correspondent’s Column, usually found on page 3 of the *Industrial School News* during the early years of the school’s history, frequently refers to students switching departments as needed.
49. Melvin L. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education in the United States* (Peoria, IL: Chas. A. Bennett Co., Inc., 1967), 31.
50. Francis A. Walker, “Industrial Education,” *Journal of Social Science, Containing the Proceedings of the American Association* (1869–1909) 19 (December 1884): 117.
51. Ibid.
52. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education*, 37–39; Berenice M. Fisher, *Industrial Education: American Ideals and Institutions* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 68.
53. Runkle and several members of his staff attended the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 during which they were introduced to the Russian system of workshop education, pioneered by Victor Della Vos of the Imperial Technical School of Moscow. The system, designed for engineers and draftsmen, was built around a system of graded shop work. See Barlow, *History of Industrial Education*, 38–39, and Fisher, *Industrial Education*, 67–68, for more on Runkle and the Russian Model at MIT.
54. For more on industrial education for women see Barlow, *History of Industrial Education*, 339–74.

55. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education*, 39; Walker, "Industrial Education," 117.
56. Fisher, *Industrial Education*, 71.
57. Although trades training was limited in the Civil War orphan system prior to 1893, a few schools established modest programs including a printing program at the Titusville School; printing, sewing, and knitting at Dayton School; and the establishment of a broom shop, shoe shop, and blacksmith shop at Uniontown. See Bair, "Making Good on a Promise," 477.
58. *Annual Report*, 1874, 35.
59. *Annual Report*, 1878, 3.
60. *Annual Report*, 1898, 116–17.
61. *Annual Report*, 1903, 101.
62. *Annual Report*, 1904, 6.
63. *Industrial School News* 6, no. 1 (February 14, 1901): 3; *Industrial School News* 6, no. 15 (May 8, 1902): 3; *Industrial School News* 10, no. 2 (September 28, 1905): 3.
64. *Industrial School News* 6, no. 1 (February 14, 1901): 3.
65. For a discussion of problems within almshouses see David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 193–99.
66. Henry W. Thurston, *The Dependent Child: A Story of Changing Aims and Methods in the Care of Dependent Children* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 207.
67. For more detailed information on the shift from almshouses to orphanages see Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael W. Sherraden, "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century," *Social Review* 57, no. 2 (1983): 273.
68. For a different perspective on nineteenth-century orphanages see Timothy A. Hasci, *Second Home, Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 65–68. Hasci suggests that orphan asylums never became the kind of rigid, custodial institutions that characterized prisons, reformatories, and mental hospitals.
69. LeRoy Ashby, *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890–1917* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1984), 4–5; Robert H. Bremner, ed., *Children and Youth in America A Documentary History*, vol. 2, 1866–1932 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 285–88; Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 41–43; Rothman, *Discovery of the Asylum*, 237–64; Susan Tiffin, *In Whose Best Interest? Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 64–76.
70. Contosta, *Philadelphia's Progressive Orphanage*, 13.
71. *Annual Report*, 1896, 96.
72. *Industrial School News* 2, no. 4 (March 25, 1897): 3; 6, no. 11 (March 13, 1902): 1.
73. *Annual Report*, 1903, 109.
74. *Annual Report*, 1900, 111.
75. *Industrial School News* 2, no. 5 (April 8, 1897): 3.
76. *Industrial School News* 2, no. 7 (May 6, 1897): 4.
77. *Annual Report*, 1912, 52.

# LEGENDS OF THE SUSQUEHANNA: FRONTIER NARRATIVES AND THE FOLKLORIC SENSE OF PLACE

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**Abstract:** This article examines two pieces of regional folklore set in the Susquehanna Valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the historical legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery. Taking an interdisciplinary approach that combines environmental history, folklore studies, and ecocriticism, I argue that these stories constitute a mythology of place that invites our critical attention. In effect, the collection of frontier narratives associated with Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery has created an imaginary geography of the Susquehanna Valley, a storyline of tragic or heroic experience that combines landscape and narrative, connects the local residents to the past, and, in doing so, provides a point of access to the region's fraught history of frontier conquest, racial violence, and resource extraction.

**Keywords:** Susquehanna Valley; Pennsylvania folklore; historical legends; Juniata Jack; Cherry Tree Joe McCreery; Uriah J. Jones; Henry Shoemaker

## Introduction

American folk legends often depict working-class figures—farmers, loggers, coal miners, and oil drillers—whose daily labors radically reshape the natural world.<sup>1</sup> These characters

participate in a long history of environmental conquest dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so we need to beware of romanticizing their labor for its heroic dimensions. But we must also acknowledge the complex combination of economic constraints and class politics that gave rise to these occupations. When reading folklore about working-class heroes, one might ask, what critical approaches will allow us to interpret those stories on their own ground, as products of the regional landscape reflecting cultural values at particular moments in time, without sanctioning the acts of racial or environmental violence those narratives often glorify? And what, if anything, might these legends teach us about land use (and abuse) in our own age?

To answer those questions, this article examines two pieces of regional folklore set in the Susquehanna Valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first of these historical legends takes place in the 1750s, when a settler by the name of Jack returns home to his cabin along the Juniata River to find his family murdered by a band of roving Indians. Jack responds with rage and spends the rest of his life wandering the hills, seeking revenge, and killing Indians at every opportunity. So begins the legend of Captain Jack, the Wild Hunter of the Juniata (also known as Black Jack, Juniata Jack, and the Black Rifle). The second of these regional narratives concerns the life of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery, a lumberjack and log-driver who worked the West Branch of the Susquehanna during the mid-nineteenth century. A man of impressive size and strength, McCreery rode the first raft down the West Branch in 1827; he broke a famous log jam at the mouth of Chest Creek in 1875; and during the great Johnstown Flood of 1889, he saved a house afloat on the floodwaters by plucking it from the river and dragging it up the bank—or so the stories say.<sup>2</sup>

Historically, these two legends bookend the process of frontier settlement in the Susquehanna Valley, and thus they reveal in narrative form what historian Patricia Nelson Limerick has labeled “the legacy of conquest.”<sup>3</sup> Embracing a view of backcountry settlement based on heroic masculinity, they glorify a history of racial violence and the boom-and-bust pattern of resource extraction. Yet these legends also have an upshot: they help to shape what ecocritic Kent Ryden has called a “folkloric sense of place.”<sup>4</sup> They promote the study of regional geography by infusing abstract space with concrete experience and emotional meaning; they forge a sense of cultural identity rooted in the shared stories of a local landscape; and they connect readers

(or listeners) to the history of place, thus opening a space for political or environmental inquiry.

When we apply Limerick's historical critique and Ryden's ecocritical analysis to the frontier narratives of the Susquehanna Valley, we discover that the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery constitute a mythology of place that invites our critical attention. In short, these historical legends have created an imaginary geography of the Susquehanna Valley, a storyline of tragic or heroic experience that combines landscape and narrative, connects local residents to the past, and, in doing so, provides a point of access to the region's fraught history of frontier conquest, racial violence, and resource extraction. If in the past the hapless telling of folk legends has constructed a vision of the frontier that distorts historical fact, then today the careful analysis of these stories may also help to explain the cultural attitudes of a region that remains woefully devoted to environmental exploitation as its primary means of salvation.

### Frontier History and Folklore Studies

The frontier has long held a special place in the study of American history. At the end of the nineteenth century, Frederick Jackson Turner expounded his famous Frontier Thesis, arguing that western expansion and backcountry settlement was the defining national experience. Turner celebrated the frontier as a proving ground for democracy, an influential geography that shaped both political culture and masculine identity.<sup>5</sup> Later in the twentieth century, Henry Nash Smith and Richard Slotkin complicated Turner's Frontier Thesis by uncovering the cultural myths and symbols that emerged from historical experience and continue to frame our understanding of the past.<sup>6</sup> In colonial captivity narratives and early American frontier literature, Slotkin found a "myth of regeneration through violence" that involved a recurring pattern of conflict between whites and Indians, eventually giving rise to the "Indian fighter and hunter" as "the first of our national heroes." As we shall see, this mythology of racial violence will help to explain the basic motifs of the legend of Juniata Jack, a figure who resembles the frontier hunter Daniel Boone, Slotkin's archetype for the "myth-hero of the early republic."<sup>7</sup>

More recently, scholars of the so-called new western history have further complicated Turner's Frontier Thesis by devoting particular attention to

themes of race and the environment. Focusing on the perspectives of the oppressed and the colonized, historians Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, among others, have emphasized the reciprocal relationships between men and women, Indians and white settlers, and Mexican and Asian immigrants. Occasionally, they have found a middle ground of accommodation and cooperation among multiple groups of settlers, but more often they tell a story of racial violence and resource extraction, reminding us that cultural values have collided on the frontier with tragic consequences. Shattering the illusion of the frontier as an unpeopled wilderness, Slotkin and the new western historians have replaced Turner's thesis with a more critical vision of the backcountry as a contested ground.<sup>8</sup>

The Susquehanna Valley, running from western New York into central Pennsylvania, provides an ideal location for exploring this legacy of conquest. Today, we may not imagine the Susquehanna as part of the American West, but it certainly shares a similar narrative of frontier history. In the eighteenth century, for example, the valley served as a middle ground where Indians and whites lived and worked in relative harmony, but after the Seven Years' War, this era of accommodation degenerated into a period of racial conflict that intensified during the American Revolution and resulted in the displacement of the Native peoples. The valley also experienced a series of market revolutions, a boom-and-bust pattern of resource extraction that thrust various groups into conflict as they competed for natural resources, rapidly reshaping the landscape in the process. During the colonial era, the fur trade led to the near extinction of the local beaver population; in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries timber and coal companies rapaciously exploited the Susquehanna's economic potential; and today, a new wave of natural gas drilling has begun, once again, to change the face of the region.<sup>9</sup>

Studies of the Susquehanna Valley have often identified a culture of improvement as the key characteristic of the region's inhabitants. Peter Mancall, for example, refers to the Susquehanna as a "valley of opportunity," while Susan Stranahan calls it a "river of dreams."<sup>10</sup> In both cases, these historians explain how settlers have flocked to the valley in pursuit of economic ambitions; how their eyes have widened with the prospect of profit and independence; and how the goal of economic improvement has connected the frontier with the Atlantic commercial world, thus accelerating the capitalist transformation of the countryside. Unfortunately, these economic improvements have often damaged the land base, polluted the river, and displaced



those people on the losing end of capitalist competition. So the story of the Susquehanna flows both ways, glistening with opportunity and independence for some, clouded with cultural violence and environmental destruction for others.

To develop a critical analysis of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery, we might read their legends through the lens of the new western history. Both figures represent pivotal moments in the process of Indian removal and resource extraction, and the stories associated with their lives reveal how racist and capitalist ideologies underpinned the cause of frontier conquest. But there are two principal dangers to this approach. First, as literary critic Thomas Hallock has argued, scholars of the new western history too often engage in “a grail quest for fact.”<sup>11</sup> That is, they dismiss frontier legends as acts of obfuscation and, in doing so, ignore what the narratives achieve *as* narratives. They fail to consider how literature functions to advance the cause of empire; for example, how character representation essentializes racial differences, and how plot structure depicts racial conflict as inevitable, how heroic rhetoric displaces responsibility, and how the myth of pristine wilderness erases the contested nature of the backcountry. Second, seeking to unmask the ideologies of frontier conquest, new western historians sometimes slip into an elite academic critique of rural land-use practices. From the comfortable armchair of an outsider’s perspective, one can all too easily condemn the working-class heroes of regional folklore for their racial violence and destructive land-use practices, but such an approach may overlook the economic and cultural constraints that shaped those behaviors in the first place. In other words, we must be sensitive to matters of class politics as they influence the plot of historical legends like those of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery.

In many ways, the study of folklore has followed a critical trajectory similar to the study of frontier history. As an academic field, folklore studies emerged in the early twentieth century and matured in the 1960s and 1970s. At first, folklorists worked to recover, record, and collect both oral and written tales; then they sought to trace those tales to their original sources; and finally, they adopted theoretical frameworks allowing them to interpret folklore’s relationship to oral history and ethnic culture. During the first half of the twentieth century, under the influence of Franz Boas and his followers, many folklorists abandoned the racist assumptions derived from the nineteenth century—specifically, the evolutionary theory of the progress of the human

race, which often supported an ideology of white supremacy—and replaced it with a more enlightened understanding of cultural relativism and historical particularism. Taking an ethnographic turn in the 1970s, scholars then began to perceive folktales as individual performances involving both a speaker and a specific audience; they regarded each telling of a tale as a complex, contextualized event, and doing so, they left behind the preoccupation with source hunting and motif tracing. By the 1980s, folklorists had combined performance theory with reader-response literary criticism, and studies began to appear that focused on particular folklore genres, tracked those genres from oral traditions through written manifestations, and applied the techniques of literary historicism to the textual versions of different folktales.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to these methodological changes, folklore studies also experienced a shift in perspective from a nationalistic to a pluralistic vision of American culture. After World War II, folklorists like Richard Dorson celebrated the US national project as a democratic endeavor integrating multiple cultures into one melting-pot tradition, and this political assumption shaped his view of American folklore.<sup>13</sup> In the 1980s and 1990s, however, folklorists took a turn toward multiculturalism as the next generation of scholars challenged the belief in a unified tradition. Instead, they sought to collect a variety of folklore from different subcultures within the United States and, in the process, they interpreted this source material as evidence of ethnic and cultural pluralism, replacing the metaphor of the melting pot, we might say, with that of a salad bowl.<sup>14</sup> In recent years, Stephen Gencarella has called for the development of a more “critical” folklore studies that borrows its methodology from rhetorical theory. Defining folklore as a form of rhetoric—that is, a set of discursive practices engaged in the production and articulation of power—Gencarella argues that folklore itself constructs a vision of “the folk” that often resists or reinforces the dominant ideology. In short, a rhetorical approach to folk legends may allow us to unmask the discourse of power and to expose the structures of violence, conquest, and alienation embedded in those legends.<sup>15</sup>

If we read the legends of the Susquehanna through the lens of the new western history, and if we adopt the critical orientation to folklore that Gencarella promotes, then we can uncover within the frontier narratives of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery an ideology of environmental conquest that has long plagued the region of central Pennsylvania. Indeed, that is a primary goal of the second half of this article. But again, there are problems with this critical methodology—it lacks empathy and it threatens

to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In other words, an aggressively critical attitude may condition us to engage in a condescending attack that neglects (or even rejects) the perspective of the local inhabitants who find in these folk legends a source of cultural pride and a point of access to their home region's history. Thus, critical folklore studies may lead us down the same path as the new western history, yet with a bit more awareness of narrative patterns and ideological practices.

A literary approach combining folklore studies and ecocritical analysis may yield a more nuanced interpretation of the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery. In *Mapping the Invisible Landscape*, for example, Kent Ryden models an ecocritical reading practice that involves a broader awareness of the narrative techniques of regional folklore as well as a deeper sensitivity to the local inhabitants' cultural values and emotional perspectives. This is *not* to say we should let these Susquehanna legends off the hook and absolve them of all responsibility for reinforcing an ethic of conquest, but we *should* make an effort to understand the cultural source of such stories, the complex set of economic and emotional forces that inspired their genesis and perpetuation. Before proceeding to an in-depth analysis of the two legends, let us briefly consider Ryden's theory of a folkloric sense of place in a bit more detail.

To begin, Ryden draws a distinction between space and place, between the abstract representation of physical geography, as found in maps, and the personal dimensions of cultural geography, as apparent in storytelling. In the process, he develops a working definition of the sense of place that remains helpful despite, or perhaps because of, its ambiguity:

A place is much more than a point in space. To be sure, a place is necessarily anchored to a specific location which can be identified by a particular set of cartographic coordinates, but it takes in as well the landscape found at that location and the meanings which people assign to that landscape through the process of living in it. A sense of place results gradually and unconsciously from inhabiting a landscape over time, becoming familiar with its physical properties, accruing a history within its confines.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, Ryden emphasizes our temporal and emotional engagement with the land, and he suggests that folk narratives, in particular, reveal the ways in which local residents imagine and perceive their home ground.

Traditionally, scholars studying the relationship between folklore and geography have sought answers to four key questions: How does the folk legend travel across space over time? Can we use the legend to define distinct regions? Can we trace the legend to its material origins in the local landscape? And is the legend historically authentic and/or verifiable? While these approaches are certainly valid, they are also rather scientific and sterile. In contrast, Ryden is more interested in the ways in which “folklore *vivifies* geography”—that is, how it inscribes the landscape with memory and meaning, thus transforming space into place. He identifies four “layers of meaning” produced and transmitted through folklore.<sup>17</sup> First, people invent and/or repeat folk legends to navigate and organize their physical geography; second, they use narrative to record and reinforce their versions of history; third, they employ folklore to strengthen their community identity; and fourth, they share stories to articulate an emotional bond with the local landscape. These four registers—geography, history, identity, and emotion—work together to shape a folkloric sense of place.

Put another way, folklore performs its own act of interpretation; it imposes its own set of meanings upon the environment; it layers the landscape with culture and thus creates local color. In many cases, regional folklore also advances its own version of history, which is perhaps why historians distrust it. But from the perspective of the literary critic, this narrative revision and retelling of historical events often reveals something interesting about the way in which local residents envision the past and their place within it. While it may be helpful (and necessary) to compare folklore to fact in order to uncover key moments of slippage, we ought not to dismiss folklore on account of its distortion of fact, for such distortion offers its own insights, its own opportunities for analysis. Indeed, we will not get very far toward a critical understanding of the Susquehanna Valley if we merely seek to confirm or deny the historical authenticity of Juniata Jack’s existence or Cherry Tree Joe McCreery’s heroic feats. The point of these legends is not to relate fact but to convey feeling. Jack’s Mountain *feels* haunted with a history of racial violence; the West Branch *feels* like a river that required incredible acts of personal strength and courage to carry out the task of resource extraction.<sup>18</sup>

We are better off, perhaps, if we approach Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery not as historical figures but as examples of “migratory” or “floating” legends. Such stories travel into a region from elsewhere and anchor themselves to particular features in the local landscape, intertwining with songs and other oral traditions to recount historical events and express the

community's emotional response to a place and its past.<sup>19</sup> For instance, the legend of Juniata Jack, a classic story of a white settler seeking revenge in the aftermath of an Indian attack, has fixed itself to Jack's Mountain in central Pennsylvania and memorialized the period of racial violence that defined the region following the Seven Years' War. But it does *not* recount actual historical events; it merely captures the local residents' response to those events. Likewise, many of the feats attributed to Cherry Tree Joe McCreery resemble those found in traditional songs like "The Jam on Gerry's Rocks," a ballad long popular in logging regions.<sup>20</sup> Because migratory legends are *stories*, not lists of facts, they move beyond (or beneath) history into the realm of emotion. Likewise, we don't read tall tales seeking evidence of actual historical events; we read them—and laugh at them—because they capture the community's emotional response to incredible features in the local landscape or extreme elements of the climate.

Now, with these two critical approaches in mind—the historical and the ecocritical, the legacy of conquest and the folkloric sense of place—let us examine a few written versions of the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery and see what they can teach us, not only about the history of land use in the Susquehanna Valley but also about the emotional response to the region's working landscape.

### Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery

In the mid-nineteenth century, Uriah J. Jones recorded a version of the Juniata Jack legend in the *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (1855).<sup>21</sup> Published a full century after the period it recalls, this work not only functions as a vehicle of historical memory, but it also mixes fact with fiction and distorts the historical record in provocative ways. While recounting the conflicts that accompanied the settlement of the Juniata Valley, Jones sheds more light on the cultural attitudes of his own moment than he does on the actual events of the eighteenth century. Consider, for example, the language of the subtitle, which sets "*the Trials and Privations*" of the white settlers against the "*Predatory Incursions, Massacres, and Abductions*" perpetrated by the Native peoples. Thus, Jones transforms a complex history of racial violence into a morality tale reflecting the ideology of the mid-nineteenth century, and in doing so he illustrates the process of historical revision that often occurs in narrative reconstructions of the past.

In classic folk-legend fashion, Jones depicts Juniata Jack as a frontier hero of superhuman strength and courageous character. "He was a man of almost Herculean proportions," writes Jones, and he possessed woodcraft and survival skills that rivaled those of his Indian enemies: "With an eye like an eagle, an aim that was unerring, daring intrepidity, and a constitution that could brave the heat of summer as well as the frosts of winter, he roamed the valley like an uncaged tiger, the most formidable foe that ever crossed the red man's path."<sup>22</sup> According to Jones, Jack is also a man of mystery—no one knows his real name or his origins—and due to his "swarthy complexion," some believe he has a mixed-race heritage; perhaps he is part African or part Native American. But Jones insists upon Jack's racial purity, classifying him as "a white man, possessing a more than ordinary share of intelligence."<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, it is telling that Jack is introduced in racial terms, thus suggesting the predominant theme that will dictate the events of his legend. From a fictional standpoint, Jack resembles Natty Bumppo, the hero of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, a frontier hunter who fought in the Seven Years' War and settled for a time in the upper Susquehanna Valley before migrating west. Indeed, Jack is a veteran of the same imperial wars, an inhabitant of the same watershed, and a composite of the same frontier archetype derived from the figure of Daniel Boone. Like Natty Bumppo, Jack is "a man without a cross" who performs his pioneer function in a national narrative of conquest that is directly determined by his racial affiliations.<sup>24</sup>

Jones provides a rough sketch of Jack's life, which unfolds as follows: He arrived in the Juniata Valley in 1750 and built himself a cabin in the hills, hoping to devote his life to hunting and fishing, but upon returning from an excursion in 1752, he found his cabin in ruins and his wife and two children murdered by Indians. Thereafter, Jack vowed eternal revenge against any and all Native peoples. He retreated into the wilderness, emerging only at rare intervals, and he spent most of his time shooting Indians with his rifle, occasionally engaging in hand-to-hand combat, and always scalping his victims. Jones recounts a few of Jack's heroic acts of racial violence, all of which call to mind Richard Slotkin's theory of frontier narratives as artifacts of "the myth of regeneration through violence."<sup>25</sup> In such instances, Jack functions as a protector of white settlers, stalking the forests and slaying Indians before they can conduct any additional massacres. Thus, the figure of Black Jack gives form to a broad cultural anxiety about the trials of backcountry settlement, and his acts of violence carry out a kind of eighteenth-century racial cleansing of the frontier that absolves mid-nineteenth-century readers of their own

culpability for supporting contemporary policies of Indian removal. In other words, by valorizing white settlers and demonizing Indian peoples, the legend assuages white guilt for a history of racial violence.

Mixing fact with fiction, Jones also connects Juniata Jack to some actual historical figures. Eventually, for instance, Jack earned himself a number of followers and the settlers of the Juniata Valley trusted him with the command of a company of rangers. Governor Hamilton granted Jack "a sort of irregular roving commission to hold in check the unfriendly Indians on the frontier," and during the Seven Years' War, "Captain Jack's Hunters" patrolled the valley and defended the settlements by "*hunting* for Indian scalps."<sup>26</sup> This subplot of the story may allude to the Paxton Boys, the real-life band of vigilantes who led the Conestoga Massacre in 1763 and later fought in the Yankee-Pennamite Wars in the Wyoming Valley, but unlike the Paxton Boys Jack enjoys the official blessing of the colonial government, whose laws in this fictional universe actually sanction white-on-Indian violence.<sup>27</sup>

However, as a man exhibiting all the cliché characteristics of rugged individualism, Jack does not fully align himself with government forces. During the Seven Years' War, for example, he refused to join Gen. Edward Braddock's expedition to Fort Duquesne because the British general would not allow the frontier hunter to serve in a voluntary capacity and conduct his own brand of guerrilla warfare. Instead, Braddock required that Jack and his rangers submit to military authority and, of course, Jack refused. According to Jones, had Braddock secured Jack's services, the expedition would not have failed so miserably. Thus, Jones's version of the legend makes an implicit claim about American nationhood that anticipates Turner's Frontier Thesis. Scoffing at General Braddock's demands, Jack delivers a veiled attack from the margins of the British empire against the aristocratic pretensions of central authority. The rugged frontier hero will not serve in a subordinate capacity, and his resistance to imperial power encapsulates the attitudes of rural settlers in the American backcountry whose interests and values had begun to coalesce into an emerging national identity. As historian Tom Hatley observes, this new cultural identity was often forged through acts of interracial violence, as groups of backcountry settlers from multiple ethnicities joined forces in a brutal effort of Indian removal that began in the Seven Years' War and carried through the American Revolution.<sup>28</sup>

To conclude this version of the legend, Jones refers to reports of Jack's ghost appearing in the Juniata Valley, thus investing the story with an additional supernatural quality. Jack died as an old man in 1772, but his

ghost continues to haunt the backcountry region in which he spilled so much blood. Likewise, the settlers of the valley have fixed the story in the landscape by naming a mountain after Jack—Jack’s Mountain—which Jones calls “an indestructible monument to his memory until time shall be no more.”<sup>29</sup> Through the rumor of a ghost story and the name of a topographical feature, the legend of Juniata Jack has inscribed itself in the physical landscape, texturing the terrain with the memory of racial violence and imperial conquest, and so the narrative functions as a gloss on the cartographic record, for Jones’s readers can no longer look at Jack’s Mountain on the map without recalling the story of the Black Rifle.<sup>30</sup>

Pennsylvania folklorist Henry Shoemaker recorded his first version of the Juniata Jack legend in chapter 10 of *Susquehanna Legends* (1913), a collection of short stories that displays the Progressive Era interest in regional folklore and reveals the influence of Turner’s Frontier Thesis on writers of the early twentieth century.<sup>31</sup> Unlike Jones, Shoemaker claims to know Jack’s real name, tracing his identity to a settler by the name of Jacob Swartz who grew up near Harris’s Ferry and later moved to the Juniata Valley. Like Jones, however, Shoemaker also opens his legend with a discussion of Jack’s racial profile (indeed, nearly every version of the legend begins with a reference to race). “While it is true that his skin was extremely dark,” Shoemaker insists, “he contained no Negro nor Indian blood.”<sup>32</sup> Instead, Jack’s father was a Spanish sailor and his mother was the daughter of a German innkeeper in Philadelphia. Later, his mother married a German and Jack took his stepfather’s name of Swartz. The family moved to Harris’s Ferry, and after growing up on the edge of the frontier, Jack married a young Irish woman and moved to a hunting cabin along the Juniata River. Significantly, then, Shoemaker departs from the narrative of Anglo-Saxon racial purity and describes Jack as a man of mixed ethnicity—part Spanish, part German, with an Irish wife—a more accurate representation of the multicultural character of the Pennsylvania backcountry in the eighteenth century.

This version of the legend constructs a captivity narrative that functions as a backstory to the standard sketch of Jack’s life. As a young man, says Shoemaker, Jack spent his time in the woods hunting and fishing, and at first he befriended the Native peoples of the region, often making camp with them and sharing both food and stories. One night, however, long before he had married, he agreed to camp with a group of Iroquois warriors on a bluff near Fisher’s Ferry, just a few miles south of present-day Selinsgrove. Their leader, Chief Yellow Prongs, offered Jack a peace pipe, but just as the young



hunter began to smoke, he was grabbed from behind and tied to a tree on the edge of the bluff. There the Iroquois began to torture him, first by heating a gun barrel and burning Jack's body, then by flaying him alive, cutting strips of flesh from his shoulders to his waist. In this scene, Shoemaker portrays the Iroquois as senselessly inhumane, villains who take pleasure in brutality and the physical pain of their victims. In contrast, Jack displays both courage and ingenuity; he laughs at the Indians for failing to make him cry out, and at one point he offers to torture himself, taunting his captors for their ineffective tactics. They hand him a hot gun barrel; he breaks free of his bonds, fights his way to the cliff, and plunges into the river below.

A chase ensues, in which Jack's superior woodcraft allows him to evade his Iroquois pursuers, who eventually give up. Meanwhile, Jack wanders through the wilderness, enduring immense pain, disoriented but not lost. Soon he stumbles into a camp of sleeping Indians and murders all eight of the men, sparing a young woman because, as Shoemaker declares, "His chivalrous nature would not let him kill her." Jack has no qualms, however, about brain- ing her companions with a gun barrel, "an awful task" resulting in "frightful carnage." As he recovers from his wounds, Jack undergoes a kind of trial in the wilderness, "a period of fiendish suffering" in which "no stoic could have been more calm."<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Shoemaker's Juniata Jack possesses all the attributes of a frontier hero: superhuman strength, impressive intelligence, wily woodcraft, a stoic resistance to pain, and a fierce capacity to defend his life (and seek his revenge) by means of violence.

To conclude the legend, Shoemaker summarizes the plot of the Jones version, but he makes a key revision by incriminating Yellow Prongs for the murder of Jack's family, indicating that the chief had never forgotten the white hunter's escape and so committed this act of treachery out of spite. Consequently, in Shoemaker's view, the Indians deserve the blame for Jack's ultimate conversion to an Indian killer, for they committed the original act of violence, not once (with Jack's torture), but twice (with the murder of his family). Adding a new chapter to an old legend, Shoemaker suggests that Jack's captivity and torture scarred him for life, thus explaining why he later became "the most bloodthirsty foe the Indians possessed."<sup>34</sup> In other words, this version of the story defends Jack's racial violence by personalizing the wrongs he suffered and thereby justifying his revenge. In the process, it downplays, and even erases, the more complex political and economic factors contributing to racial conflicts in the eighteenth-century backcountry.

Shoemaker recorded a second version of the legend of Black Jack in chapter 19 of *Juniata Memories* (1916).<sup>35</sup> Like his first version, published just three years earlier, this adaptation of the narrative begins by tracing Jack's identity to Jacob Schwartz (spelled differently in this version) and establishing his racial profile. According to some reports, General Braddock refused to enlist Jack's service in the expedition to Fort Duquesne because he mistook Jack for a Jew, a rumor that Shoemaker dismisses by appealing to Jack's facial features and essentializing race as a physical characteristic. In a new twist, however, Shoemaker frames this second version of the story with reference to "the recent discovery of a box of gold money" on an island in the Susquehanna, and he uses this event to invent another backstory for the legend of Black Jack.<sup>36</sup> In this version, Jack's father plays a larger role, and Jack first arrives in the Juniata Valley in search of a buried treasure. Thus, we can see how Shoemaker applied different plot structures to pieces of regional folklore, fitting them into captivity narratives, wilderness survival stories, and, in this case, the legend of a buried treasure.

The first part of this version deals with the story of Jack's father, who in the early eighteenth century joined a scouting party up the Susquehanna River to locate an inland waterway to the Mississippi. On this expedition, the sailor and his companions carried with them a chest of gold coins intended as a gift for Spanish officials in the Southwest, but one night, while camping on an island a dozen miles south of present-day Sunbury, the party suffered an Indian attack. A band of Shawnee warriors from Shamokin killed the entire group, with the exception of Jack's father, whom they scalped and left for dead. While pillaging the camp, the Shawnees overlooked the chest of gold coins, hidden in a canoe in a willow thicket, and of course, Jack's father survived. Suffering incredible torment from his scalped head, he set off downriver, but his canoe sprung a leak and he was forced to abandon the gold, which he buried on an island near Selinsgrove. After arriving in Philadelphia, the young Spanish sailor married a German woman who would soon become Jack's mother. Before shipping out on another voyage, he left her with a map of the buried treasure. When Jack came of age, he set out for the Susquehanna in search of his father's gold. "That was why Jack Schwartz left his city home for the perils of the frontier," declares Shoemaker. "And that was why he felt his first sentiments of hatred for the Indian race."<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, Jack misread his father's map and began his search on the Juniata River, only later realizing his error, but by then a band of Indians had murdered his wife and children, and he had commenced his revenge.

In this version of the legend, Shoemaker attempts to soften Jack's racial violence in a number of ways. First, he represents the hunter's campaign of revenge not only as a personal vendetta but as a family duty reaching back to his father's generation. Second, while we might explain the murder of Jack's wife and children as the collateral damage of the Seven Years' War, this backstory suggests that the Indians of the Susquehanna Valley committed such crimes long before the imperial conflicts of the 1750s had inspired such desperate efforts. Third, and perhaps most surprisingly, Shoemaker invents a fictional friendship between Black Jack and James Logan, the Oneida Indian celebrated for his "eminence in oratory" in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787).<sup>38</sup> According to Shoemaker, the two men "resolved to hunt the treasure together," and in the process "the Mingo orator and Black Jack became fast friends while on this prospecting tour."<sup>39</sup> Later, when Logan relocated to the Ohio Valley, the two friends spent a year hunting deer together before the lure of the buried treasure drew Jack back to the Susquehanna. This interracial friendship blossomed in the 1760s, after Jack's temper had cooled, and, says Shoemaker, by the time of the hunter's death in 1774, "He had not killed an Indian in ten years."<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, this version of the legend dates Jack's death to the same year that Logan's family was murdered by a group of white men during Lord Dunmore's War in the Ohio Valley. Likewise, Shoemaker maintains that Jack himself was shot by a white man in the Juniata Valley amid the backcountry violence of the American Revolution.

Thus, Shoemaker's second version of the Juniata Jack legend constructs a narrative that allows the frontier hunter to move beyond his violent revenge toward a period of forgiveness forged through an interracial friendship. In the process, it advances a theory of frontier history that charts an inevitable transition through multiple stages of land use, from wilderness hunting to backcountry farming, and it affiliates Black Jack with James Logan, a figure long associated with the myth of the vanishing Indian. Whereas earlier versions of the legend stopped short of overt interpretation, here Shoemaker explicitly praises Jack as "an agent of civilization" who "felt no remorse for killing so many Indians" because "it was necessary to get the savages out of the country to make way for the settlements."<sup>41</sup> Ironically, however, much like Natty Bumppo, Jack becomes the victim of the very civilization for which he cleared a space in the wilderness.

Such irony defines the folklore recovery project that occupied Shoemaker throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Born into a wealthy family

in New York, Shoemaker worked as a stockbroker on Wall Street before moving to Pennsylvania, where he became a prominent newspaper publisher who supported the Progressive politics of the Republican Party. He joined the Boone and Crockett Club, collaborated with Gifford Pinchot on conservation efforts, founded the Pennsylvania Folklore Society, served as chairman of the state Historical Commission and as state archivist, and eventually accepted a position as the nation's first state folklorist. Extending his conservation efforts beyond nature to include culture, Shoemaker published more than 200 books and pamphlets recording the regional folklore of Pennsylvania and he launched an ambitious effort to erect historical markers throughout the state, many of them memorializing Indian legends and frontier settlements.<sup>42</sup> Thus, Shoemaker inscribed the state with stories drawn from oral traditions and historical legends, constructing a sense of the past rooted in particular locations and texturing the landscape with memory and meaning. Challenging the authenticity of Shoemaker's stories, scholars later debunked them as "fakelore," but when approached from a literary perspective, these stories teach us a deeper truth about the narrative reconstruction of history.<sup>43</sup>

For Shoemaker, Pennsylvania folklore reinforced Turner's view of the frontier as the proving ground for democracy and the source of cultural identity, and thus it supported a vision of the United States as nature's nation, a western empire established through the heroic conquest of the wilderness. As an outspoken critic of industry, which he feared would establish monopolies, lay claim to the forests of Pennsylvania, and exploit such resources without benefit to the public, Shoemaker marshaled his frontier mythology to stand in opposition to the industrial development of his adopted state. Ironically, however, Shoemaker's family made its fortune from coal mining, banking, and railroading, so he was the product and beneficiary of the very industrial capitalism he set out to reject. Furthermore, the figures he chose to celebrate were themselves part of the process of environmental exploitation that Shoemaker bemoaned in his own age. In other words, we can draw a straight line from Juniata Jack to Cherry Tree Joe McCreery to the industries that undermined conservation efforts in the Progressive Era. When we view these folk heroes through the lens of the new western history, we find them participating in an unbroken narrative of displacement, conquest, and resource extraction, but Shoemaker's stories too often silence this pattern of violence. By framing frontier history in a rhetoric of romance, his legends erase the economic energies at the heart of the legacy of conquest and replace those capitalist forces with an elegy for a vanishing cultural spirit.

Nevertheless, Shoemaker's frontier narratives also create a sense of regional pride by inscribing the landscape with stories of heroic back-country feats. After all, these pieces of folklore represent figures from the working classes who struggle to scrape out a living in a region far removed from the economic resources of Pennsylvania's cities. In this sense, readers and listeners from central Pennsylvania may recognize some of their own class struggle and community solidarity when they learn of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery's labor in the West Branch timber industry. McCreery earns a living and forges an identity through his participation in resource extraction, as so many regional residents have done for the past two centuries. For better or worse, these industries have provided both economic opportunity—to an extent—and a sense of pride for the people of rural Pennsylvania, and Shoemaker's folkloric sense of place reinforces that regional identity. Even so, we must question the cost of such labor if we are to move beyond the boom-and-bust pattern of industrial development that continues to undermine the economic stability and environmental sustainability of the region.

These themes of class conflict and regional pride play out in the popular folk ballad of "Cherry Tree Joe McCreery," attributed to Henry Wilson and first published in the *Cherry Tree Clipper* in 1880. After the last timber raft passed down the West Branch of the Susquehanna in 1938, local nostalgia for a lost way of life inspired a renewed interest in the history of the timber industry, leading to several reprints of the ballad over the next two decades.<sup>44</sup> Shoemaker first mentioned Cherry Tree Joe McCreery in a press release from the Pennsylvania Folklore Society issued in 1950.<sup>45</sup> Responding to the popularity of the Wisconsin giant Paul Bunyan, Shoemaker reminded his readers of the real-life Pennsylvania lumberjack, Joe McCreery, whose heroic feats on the West Branch had also elevated him to the status of a folk hero. Two years after the press release, Shoemaker provided a footnote for the republication of Wilson's ballad in a special issue of *Pennsylvania History* dedicated to the timber industry, in which he recounted a few legends associated with McCreery's life.<sup>46</sup> A decade later, the folklore enthusiast George Swetnam wrote a pair of articles about Cherry Tree Joe McCreery for the *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, which also have as their subtext an effort to promote regional pride.<sup>47</sup> "Cherry Tree Joe was the Pennsylvania Paul Bunyan," proclaimed Swetnam, "long before an advertising campaign crystallized around the Wisconsin figure of Bunyan all the legends that had been told for many years through the lumber industry from Maine to Washington."<sup>48</sup>

As recorded by Shoemaker and Swetnam, the frontier narrative of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery exhibits elements of both the tall tale and the historical legend genre.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, those familiar with the figure of Paul Bunyan will easily recognize the tall-tale quality of the feats and features ascribed to Cherry Tree Joe. Some say he was seven feet tall; he kept a herd of moose as milk cows and a panther as a house cat; his wife cooked flapjacks on a six-foot-square griddle and used a barrel of flour for each breakfast. Once, to clear a log-jam, Joe pulled out his pocketknife and began to carve up the trees, but before he knew it, he had whittled them to slivers, and that's how toothpicks were invented. Such tales have no fixed location in the regional landscape, but other elements of Joe's life connect him to particular times and places and thus reveal aspects of a historical legend. He was born in Muncy, Pennsylvania, in 1805, and moved to Cherry Tree on the West Branch in 1818; he rode the first timber raft down the river in 1827; he broke the famous ten-mile log-jam at Buttermilk Falls; he broke a seven-mile log-jam at the mouth of Chest Creek; he challenged John L. Sullivan, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, in Dwyer's Saloon in Renovo, and caused his opponent to back down; he single-handedly lifted a raft off Gerry's Rocks and refloated it; he saved a house from the Johnstown Flood in 1889; and he died of old age in 1895 at his home in Cherry Tree.

Other versions of McCreery's life are less heroic. Wilson's ballad of "Cherry Tree Joe McCreery," for instance, tells the story of a failed effort to improve river navigation on the West Branch. In 1870 the state passed a law allowing private individuals to make improvements on impassable stretches of water and to recoup their costs by charging a fee, perhaps by way of a toll, to those aided by the work. The state issued a \$3,000 appropriation for projects on the West Branch, which it doled out to several lumber barons, among them E. B. Camp, Robert McKage, James B. Graham, and John Patton.<sup>50</sup> Hoping to profit from the law, McCreery volunteered to clear a path through the rocks at Chest Falls, an obstacle notorious for snagging rafts and causing log-jams. En route to the river, he swilled a gallon of whiskey, and instead of building a splash dam, as some "men of sense" recommended, he simply dynamited the rocks, failing to produce any fundamental improvement.<sup>51</sup> Afterwards, he ran a raft through the falls and smashed it on the rocks, but regardless of this outcome he still collected his payment, an act of duplicity inspiring Wilson's chorus: "Looking out for number one, / Spending all the money, / And getting nothing done."<sup>52</sup> In the second half of the ballad, Wilson describes how McCreery became a scapegoat for every broken boat and log-jam that later occurred at Chest Falls.

This ballad illustrates a couple of important points. First, it reveals how the residents of the Susquehanna Valley frown upon the graft and corruption that often accompanies government appropriations for improvement projects. Today, this distrust of government spending continues to define the political culture of the region. Second, the ballad demonstrates how the protagonists of folk legends do not always perform acts of heroic valor, but often function as trickster figures that circumscribe cultural values by way of opposition. Drunk, lazy, and dishonest, McCreery serves as a foil to the celebrated work ethic of rural Pennsylvanians; rather than doing a job well, he takes advantage of the law to line his pockets with drinking money. This depiction of Joe's character meshes with the account of R. Dudley Tonkin, who claims to have known McCreery and who also represents him as a kind of ne'er-do-well. According to Tonkin, Cherry Tree Joe "dodged work when he could," but his showmanship and his many memorable performances nevertheless transformed him into "a sort of patron saint of the lumber industry."<sup>53</sup>

Thus, the legend of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery promotes regional pride and strengthens community identity by reinforcing the rural values of the upper Susquehanna Valley. In his role as a trickster figure, he encapsulates many of the tensions produced during the period of timber extraction in the nineteenth century. His character demonstrates how regional identity emerges from direct contact and confrontation with the physical landscape, and his labor as a lumberjack, raftsman, and log-driver celebrates the working-class culture of rural Pennsylvania while also revealing the region's fraught relationship with the boom-and-bust pattern of resource extraction. Even in Wilson's ballad, Cherry Tree Joe stands out as a heroic figure, despite his dishonesty and intemperance, because he displays a rugged individualism in the face of moneyed interests, and he ultimately dupes a group of timber barons out of the funds they siphoned from the state government. In this sense, we might say that Cherry Tree Joe gives form to the rural population's working-class resentment toward downstream political leaders, businessmen, and bureaucrats, and thus he represents a figure of resistance. Embedded in the region's geography, mapped in narrative terms, this local legend empowers working-class residents by capturing their emotional response to the economic pressures exerted upon their home region by extraction industries.<sup>54</sup>

However, we ought to not entirely absolve Cherry Tree Joe for his exploits or for his environmental exploitation. According to Jack Brubaker, McCreery's primary occupation offers a key to understanding his impact upon the land base. He was not a raftsman but a log-driver; that is, instead of navigating rafts of timber lashed together, he engaged in the more dangerous labor of

free-floating individual logs. In the first half of the nineteenth century, timber operations on the West Branch of the Susquehanna required two essential components: sawmills and rafts. The sawmills would cut logs into lumber, and the rafts would transport it downriver. Because rafts could only carry a finite supply of lumber, the industry engaged in selective cutting, taking only those trees (mostly pine) worth transporting in this fashion.<sup>55</sup> By mid-century, however, timber barons began to construct booms (mechanisms that would catch and release free-floating logs in accordance with water levels), and thereafter, log-driving became the preferred method of transportation, a paradigm shift that “radically changed the timber industry and the West Branch landscape.”<sup>56</sup> Enabling the transport of more timber, log-driving encouraged the practice of clear-cutting and led to a period of massive forest removal. Thus, the figure of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery represents a profound ecological revolution, so we should not read this legend without acknowledging its element of environmental conquest.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusion

In *Here and There*, a recent work of narrative criticism about the history of land use (and abuse) in Pennsylvania, Bill Conlogue argues that the stories we tell about place have a profound impact upon matters of social and environmental justice.<sup>58</sup> Surveying a range of regional literature, from poems about New England hill farms to novels set in the water-scarce Southwest, Conlogue uses narrative to arrive at a deeper understanding of the working landscapes that surround his home ground in the coal fields and dairy country near Scranton. As his study reveals, the stories that have grown out of regional landscapes often speak directly to the environmental problems their inhabitants continue to face today. In its own way, this article has attempted to arrive at a similar conclusion, reading the historical legends of the Susquehanna in an effort to expose the legacy of conquest that defines land-use practices in the region while also working to understand the complex array of class conflicts and regional pride that have given rise to those legends.

The story does not end here, for storytelling is itself a recursive practice that involves perpetual revision and reworking. No story sits still, and even as the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery fade from memory, new narratives have emerged in central Pennsylvania expressing



contemporary environmental conflicts and demonstrating that the region remains a contested zone. Consider, for example, two coloring books that appeared on the desks of Pennsylvania schoolchildren in the wake of the recent boom in natural gas drilling. The first, created by Talisman Energy's Good Neighbor Program, features a friendly dinosaur in hard hat, safety vest, and work boots, who goes by the name "Talisman Terry the Fracosaurus." The second, issued by the Marcellus Protest Group, depicts a sharp-toothed, fork-tongued, shape-shifting public relations dinosaur dubbed "Toxic Tommy."<sup>59</sup> Silly as they seem, these coloring books illustrate the ways in which character and narrative shape public opinion about land-use practices, even at the earliest ages. Their propaganda is obvious, almost humorous, but as with the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery, we must approach these texts with critical tools that help to unmask the ideologies that lurk between their lines and images. What new frontier heroes, one might ask, will emerge in the future as the fracking boom continues to exert its influence on the natural and cultural landscapes of the Susquehanna Valley? And how should we read these new narratives if not with an eye toward the patterns of the past?

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## NOTES

The author wishes to thank the anonymous reader for *Pennsylvania History* who provided several useful suggestions for the revision of this article. I would also like to thank James Reitter for organizing the panel "Folklore of the River" at the 2014 NEMLA conference in Harrisburg, PA, where I delivered the first version of this essay, and Simon Bronner, whose feedback during that conference panel helped me to develop the current version of the article.

1. See Richard M. Dorson, *America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Pantheon, 1973); and Tristram Potter Coffin and Hennig Cohen, eds., *The Parade of Heroes: Legendary Figures in American Lore* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978). I follow Dorson in my use of the term "folk legend" to label the stories associated with Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery.

Dorson and other folklorists distinguish between “tales,” which are told as fiction and often consist of fantastic or implausible elements, and “legends,” which are told as true, set in the historical past, and designed to invite commentary or criticism. See Dorson, “Legends and Tall Tales,” in *Folklore: Selected Essays* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 159–76. For an overview of the way folklorists have defined different genres, see Dan Ben-Amos, ed., *Folklore Genres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), which includes two relevant essays about legends: Max Lüthi, “Aspects of the *Märchen* and Legend,” 17–33; and Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi, “Legend and Belief,” 93–123.

2. The choice of these two historical legends may appear somewhat arbitrary, but I have selected them for a number of reasons. First, the events of both narratives take place primarily in the Susquehanna Valley in central Pennsylvania; second, they are representative examples of the historical process of frontier settlement that unfolded in that region from the mid-eighteenth to the late nineteenth century; and third, they illustrate the cultural attitudes that both contributed to and responded to the racial violence and environmental exploitation that accompanied the history of frontier settlement. This article is not intended as an exhaustive, quantitative study of folklore in the Susquehanna Valley but rather as a profile of two particular narratives that found their way into print, in multiple versions, during the twentieth century. I might have selected another set of stories to conduct the same fundamental analysis. For instance, I might have traced the different versions of the legend of Simon Girty, a white man of Scots-Irish descent whose family settled in central Pennsylvania and who, as a boy, spent seven years in captivity among the Seneca Indians. During the American Revolution, Girty fought alongside the Iroquois on behalf of the Loyalists, and many of the rumors about his life suggest that he encouraged acts of torture against colonial patriots, earning him the nickname “the White Savage.” However, Girty’s infamous exploits occurred outside of the Susquehanna Valley, so his legend falls beyond the scope of this study. Likewise, because other scholars have already adequately analyzed the stories associated with Girty’s life, I have decided to focus on the less popular (but related) figure of Juniata Jack. For an excellent analysis of the Girty legends, see Daniel P. Barr, “‘A Monster So Brutal’: Simon Girty and the Degenerative Myth of the American Frontier, 1783–1900,” in *Essays in History*, ed. Ed Lengel, Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1998.
3. Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 17–32.
4. Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 58–68.
5. Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” and Other Essays*, ed. John Mack Faragher (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
6. See, for example, Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); and Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). Later, Slotkin continued his study of the frontier myth in both *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985) and *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992).

7. Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, 5, 18, 21. Slotkin's concept of "myth" is particularly relevant to the historical legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery. According to Slotkin, "A mythology is a complex of narratives that dramatizes the world vision and historical sense of a people or culture, reducing centuries of experience into a constellation of compelling metaphors" (6). When evaluating folk legends, we should not confuse myth with fiction or falsehood; instead, myth functions as a deeper set of cultural and psychological beliefs that give shape to the narrative structure and character description of the legends. Likewise, the legends of Juniata Jack and Cherry Tree Joe McCreery are not myths in themselves; rather, they are what Slotkin calls "myth-artifacts," particular iterations of the underlying cultural myth (8).
8. In addition to Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest*, works that inform my knowledge of the new western history include the following: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York: Norton, 2000); Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, eds., *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991).
9. For this history of the Susquehanna region, I draw on the following: Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); Susan Q. Stranahan, *Susquehanna, River of Dreams* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Brian Black and Marcy Ladson, "The Legacy of Extraction: Reading Patterns and Ethics in Pennsylvania's Landscape of Energy," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 79, no. 4 (2012): 377–94. For book-length discussions of the natural gas boom in Pennsylvania, see Seamus McGraw, *The End of Country* (New York: Random House, 2011), and Tom Wilber, *Under the Surface: Fracking, Fortunes, and the Fate of the Marcellus Shale* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).
10. See Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity*; and Stranahan, *Susquehanna, River of Dreams*.
11. Thomas Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749–1826* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 22. In his introduction, Hallock calls for more conversation between literary critics and the new western historians, a synthesis he achieves by drawing upon White's concept of the "middle ground" and Limerick's emphasis on "the legacy of conquest" in his reading of frontier narratives from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. But Hallock also expresses a key note of skepticism about the pitfalls of a purely historical methodology.
12. Admittedly, this trajectory of folklore studies dramatically oversimplifies the field. For a more detailed history, the reader should refer to Simon J. Bronner's many books on the subject. For my brief overview, I draw upon Bronner, *American Folklore Studies: An Intellectual History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986); *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998); and *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002).
13. For a succinct statement of this nationalism, see Dorson, *America in Legend*, xiii–xv. Dorson did not view his interest in a national folklore as incompatible with the fact of different regional and ethnic traditions. For example, in *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers: Folk Traditions in the Upper Peninsula*

- (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), he found in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan a heterogeneous culture that illustrated the American melting pot.
14. In *Following Tradition*, 483–502, Bronner includes a bibliographic essay that traces this shift from nationalism to pluralism within folklore studies from the 1920s to the 1990s. Likewise, in *Folk Nation*, 249–63, Bronner reprints an essay from Richard Kurin, a curator at the Smithsonian, demonstrating the multicultural perspective of the late twentieth century.
  15. Stephen Olbrys Gencarella, “Constituting Folklore: A Case for Critical Folklore Studies,” *Journal of American Folklore* 122, no. 484 (2009): 172–96; Stephen Olbrys Gencarella, “Folk Criticism and the Art of Critical Folklore Studies,” *Journal of American Folklore* 124, no. 494 (2011): 251–71. Gencarella was not the first folklorist to call for a rhetorical approach. See, for example, Roger D. Abraham, “Introductory Remarks to a Rhetorical Theory of Folklore,” *Journal of American Folklore* 81, no. 320 (1968): 143–58.
  16. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape*, 38.
  17. *Ibid.*, 57, 62.
  18. In one of the few critical interpretations of the Juniata Jack legend, Dennis P. McIlnay examines multiple versions of the story in an effort to corroborate Jack’s historical existence, but in doing so, he adopts an approach to folklore studies that will only take the reader so far. First, he summarizes the versions of the legend as recorded by U. J. Jones and Henry Shoemaker; then he searches the historical archive for proof of Jack’s existence; and finally, he concludes that the legend of Captain Jack contains more fiction than fact. See McIlnay, *Juniata, River of Sorrows* (Hollidaysburg, PA: Seven Oaks Press, 2003), 192–209. In my analysis of the Black Jack legend, I hope to build upon McIlnay’s study by devoting more attention to the narrative techniques of the different versions.
  19. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape*, 83.
  20. For a version of “The Jam on Gerry’s Rock,” see Dorson, *America in Legend*, 158–62. “The Jam on Gerry’s Rock” generally involves the death of a young log-driver, whereas the feats associated with Cherry Tree Joe McCreery often conclude with the triumph of the hero. For a Pennsylvania version of “The Jam on Gerry’s Rock,” titled “The Log Jam at Hughey’s Rock,” see George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 345–46.
  21. Uriah J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley: Embracing an Account of the Early Pioneers and the Trials and Privations Incident to the Settlement of the Valley, Predatory Incursions, Massacres, and Abductions by the Indians During the French and Indian Wars, and the War of the Revolution, &c.* (Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1855; reprint, Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1856), 145–51.
  22. *Ibid.*, 148.
  23. *Ibid.*, 145.
  24. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (New York: Penguin, 1986), 117. For a detailed treatment of Daniel Boone as the archetype of the frontier hunter, see Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, 268–312.
  25. Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, 5.
  26. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, 148–49.
  27. For a brief discussion of the Paxton Boys, see Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 201–8.

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- For a history of the Yankee-Pennamite Wars, see Paul B. Moyers, *Wild Yankees: The Struggle for Independence along Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Frontier* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).
28. In *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), Hatley shows how interracial violence during the Seven Years' War and the Cherokee War of 1759–61 created a new unity among white settlers in the southern Appalachian backcountry. For a history of that process in the Susquehanna Valley, see Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity*, 130–216; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 108–28; and Frederick J. Stefon, "The Wyoming Valley," in *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*, ed. John B. Frantz and William Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 133–52.
  29. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, 151.
  30. It should be noted that Jack's Mountain may also be named for Jack Armstrong, a fur trader who resided in the Juniata Valley until his mysterious murder in 1744. For more on Jack Armstrong, see McIlnay, *Juniata, River of Sorrows*, 122–30.
  31. Henry W. Shoemaker, "The Escape (Story of Fisher's Ferry)," in *Susquehanna Legends: Collected in Central Pennsylvania* (Reading, PA: Bright Printing Company, 1913), 174–86. Interestingly, both Jones and Shoemaker also promoted the legend of Simon Girty (see n. 2 above), which reveals just how central the theme of racial violence was to their folklore projects. For their versions of the Girty legend, see Jones, *Simon Girty, The Outlaw*, ed. A. Monroe Aurand Jr. (Harrisburg, PA: The Aurand Press, 1931); and Shoemaker, "Girty's Notch," in *Allegheny Episodes: Folk Lore and Legends Collected in Northern and Western Pennsylvania* (Altoona, PA: Altoona Tribune Company, 1922), 161–74.
  32. Shoemaker, *Susquehanna Legends*, 174.
  33. *Ibid.*, 183–84.
  34. *Ibid.*, 176.
  35. Henry W. Shoemaker, "A Story of Black Jack: The Narrative of a Buried Treasure," in *Juniata Memories: Legends Collected in Central Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1916), 273–85.
  36. Shoemaker, *Juniata Memories*, 273.
  37. *Ibid.*, 280.
  38. James Logan, sometimes referred to as John Logan, was also known as Tahgahjute and Tachnedorus. See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Frank Shuffleton (New York: Penguin, 1999), 66–68 and 233–64. For an analysis of "Logan's Lament," see Hallock, *From the Fallen Tree*, 109–17; and Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 213–14.
  39. Shoemaker, *Juniata Memories*, 281–82.
  40. *Ibid.*, 282.
  41. *Ibid.*, 283.
  42. For these details about Shoemaker's life and legacy, I am indebted to Simon Bronner's excellent biography, *Popularizing Pennsylvania: Henry W. Shoemaker and the Progressive Uses of Folklore and History* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996). According to Bronner, Shoemaker's folklore recovery project "underscored loyalty to the land by being imbued with a romantic regionalism that expressed the glory of the frontier and its common, hardy folk" (xiii).

Among the historical legends that Shoemaker printed were several regional stories related to geographic features in the Susquehanna Valley landscape, such as “The Legend of Penn’s Cave” (1908), “The Indian Steps” (1912), and “Nita-nee: The Indian Maiden for Whom the Nittany Mountain Is Named” (1916). For a version of these place-based legends, see Bronner, *Popularizing Pennsylvania*, 187–210.

43. See Richard M. Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). In this collection of essays, Dorson recounts his twenty-year battle against the forces of “fakelore,” which he defines as “a synthetic product claiming to be authentic oral tradition but actually tailored for mass edification” (5). Dorson lamented the commercialization of folklore and debunked writers like Shoemaker who revised (or invented) folk legends to produce works of literature that appeased an appetite for folksy stereotypes and fulfilled the demands of a marketplace driven by nationalistic nostalgia.
44. See, for example, Henry Wilson, “Cherry Tree Joe McCreery,” *Pennsylvania History* 19, no. 4 (October 1952): 461–64; and “Local Paul Bunyan,” *The Lock Haven Express*, January 28, 1950. For the full publication history, see Homer Tope Rosenberger, *Mountain Folks: Fragments of Central Pennsylvania Lore* (Lock Haven, PA: Annie Halenbake Ross Library, 1975), 195–98.
45. News Release from the Pennsylvania Folklore Society, January 12, 1950, Manuscript Group 114, Henry W. Shoemaker Collection, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA.
46. Shoemaker’s footnote appears in Wilson, “Cherry Tree Joe McCreery,” 461.
47. George Swetnam, “On the Trail of Cherry Tree Joe,” *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1962): 15–33; Swetnam, “More about Cherry Tree Joe,” *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1962): 38–41. Rosenberger reprinted these articles in *Mountain Folks*, 199–207.
48. Swetnam, “On the Trail of Cherry Tree Joe,” 15.
49. For more on the genre of the tall tale, see Carolyn S. Brown, *The Tall Tale in American Literature and Folklore* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987). According to Brown, “the tall tale is a fictional story which is told in the form of personal narrative or anecdote, which challenges the listener’s credulity with comic outlandishness, and which performs different social functions depending on whether it is heard as true or fictional” (11).
50. For details on this law, see Rosenberger, *Mountain Folks*, 195–96; and Earl E. Brown, *Commerce on Early American Waterways: The Transport of Goods by Arks, Rafts and Log Drives* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2010), 134–40.
51. Wilson, “Cherry Tree Joe McCreery,” 462.
52. *Ibid.*, 461.
53. Swetnam quotes this account from Tonkin in “On the Trail of Cherry Tree Joe,” 20.
54. In *America in Legend*, Dorson observes that most of the folklore collected from the timber industry in the nineteenth century does *not* celebrate heroic figures like Paul Bunyan; rather, it criticizes corrupt camp bosses and corporate management. In this sense, the ballad of Cherry Tree Joe McCreery has more in common with Dorson’s “true” folklore than it does with the literary “fakelore” of Paul Bunyan.
55. Although these early timber operations were confined to selective cutting, they were certainly not sustainable. As students of forestry know, this form of selective cutting generally involves “high-grading”—cutting only the best trees—which leads to the loss of biomass and biodiversity

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and causes the forest's genetic stock to decline over time. Thanks to my colleague Ethan Mannon for alerting me to this fact.

56. Jack Brubaker, *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 95. Brubaker explains the transformation of the West Branch timber industry in the nineteenth century and highlights Cherry Tree Joe as a representative figure in this transformation. See 79–117, and especially 93–97.
57. Other stories about Cherry Tree Joe reveal additional ways in which he contributed to the environmental conquest of the Pennsylvania forests. One story, for example, suggests that he actually anticipated the shift from pine to hemlock, which occurred after the timber industry had stripped the state of pine, and another story reports that McCreery worked part-time as a market hunter, a practice with its own set of devastating ecological consequences. Swetnam repeats these stories in “On the Trail of Cherry Tree Joe,” 16, and “More about Cherry Tree Joe,” 38.
58. Bill Conlogue, *Here and There: Reading Pennsylvania's Working Landscapes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).
59. See, for example, Erich Schwartzel, “Color Me Fracked: Energy Industry Produces Coloring Book to Make Case for Gas Drilling to Kids,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 19, 2011. After a brief media storm, Talisman Energy discontinued its coloring book, but readers can still download it, along with its Toxic Tommy counterpart, from the website of the Marcellus Protest Group: <http://www.marcellusprotest.org/talisman-terry-replaced-with-toxic-tommy>.

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL  
AND MUSEUM COMMISSION AND THE  
PAPERS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY:  
AN ACQUISITION, A FIVE-DECADE  
LOAN, AND RECOVERY

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**Abstract:** Among archivists and manuscript collectors, the term “replevin” commonly describes efforts by government archives to recover public records that are in private hands. At times, such efforts can provoke friction, raising questions about the line between public and private property rights. This article chronicles an atypical replevin case in Pennsylvania, one that focuses on the struggles over the ownership of papers of a private origin, but which became government property with their transfer to the Commonwealth in 1937. This is a custodial history of a collection of papers documenting the Harmony Society, a religious separatist society once located in western Pennsylvania and in southwest Indiana. It is a story that involves a former Harmonist, a scholar, misplaced trust, and recovery that highlights the complex psychology of ownership.

**Keywords:** Harmony Society; ownership; property; Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Karl Arndt; John S. Duss; replevin

The Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials is part of the collections of the Pennsylvania State Archives and is housed at Old Economy Village, a Pennsylvania Historical and Museum



Commission (PHMC) historic site eighteen miles northwest of Pittsburgh. There is a seemingly innocuous line that appears in the scope and content notes for the manuscript group. It reads, “The majority of the materials in this collection were obtained by Dr. Arndt through a series of interlibrary loans, 1941–1943, from the Old Economy Village historic site while the remainder was collected independently by Dr. Arndt.”<sup>1</sup> This article probes the story that sits behind this brief statement. In doing so, it chronicles the custodial history of the papers of the Harmony Society, a separatist religious group once based in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and situates this history within the concept of “replevin,” a legal term that describes efforts to recover property that is wrongfully held by another party. This custodial history demonstrates that property can be a complex and controversial concept, with various interests and ties to an object eliciting differing views of rightful ownership.

## The Harmonists and Their Records

Even the youngest of school-aged children in the United States learn, often every November before Thanksgiving, about religious separatism. John Archibald Bole, author of the 1904 publication titled *The Harmony Society: A Chapter in German American Culture History*, characterizes religious separatist groups as communities that sever ties with an established church.<sup>2</sup> Like the Pilgrims before them who found a spiritual home in America, the German followers of Pastor George Rapp departed their homeland and settled in Pennsylvania in 1804. There, in February of 1805, the members of the Harmony Society, or “the Harmonists,” penned and signed the first iteration of the group’s “articles of association,” a set of agreements that codified a practice of communal living.<sup>3</sup> During their active years, the Harmonists met with prosperity in the three locations that they made home: Harmony, Pennsylvania (1804–15), New Harmony, Indiana (1815–24), and Economy (now Ambridge), Pennsylvania (1824–1905).<sup>4</sup> Rapp, who lived until 1847, served as the leader of the Harmonists at each of the three sites, but decision-making powers were also extended to a string of designated trustees. John S. Duss (1860–1951) and Susanna C. Duss (1859–1946) were the final two individuals to hold trustee positions; the former, an individual who figures prominently in the story of the records, was the senior trustee

during the period of 1892–1903, while his wife held this same office from 1903 to 1905.<sup>5</sup>

Over time, membership in the Harmony Society dissipated dramatically and the group, in single numbers, formally dissolved in 1905. In 1910 legal proceedings and negotiations commenced to determine the party or parties that would secure ownership of the Harmony Society's property. In 1919 the state of Pennsylvania procured the Harmonists' land in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, and opened the grounds to the public in 1921.<sup>6</sup> Today, the PHMC continues to administer the Harmony Society settlement as a historic site named Old Economy Village.

Robert M. Dructor and Roland M. Baumann's introduction to the PHMC published *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records* provides an historical account of the religious society's records. The guide is useful in building an understanding of the custodial history of the Harmonist papers that now form the collections in the state's care (see fig. 1 for an illustration of the custodial history outlined in this section and the next section of the article). While the state of Pennsylvania acquired the Ambridge land and buildings in 1919, records and artifacts were a later acquisition, largely delayed by former senior trustee John S. Duss's sense that he and his wife were the private owners of these materials. As one of the last living Harmonists, Duss planned to pen and publish both his memoirs and a history of the Harmony Society and desired to have exclusive access to the papers until he was able to do so. His writing ambitions undoubtedly contributed to his reluctance to transfer ownership of his source material.<sup>7</sup>

Dructor and Baumann characterize the 1930s as "an important decade for the records"; it was during these years that there was some loosening of Duss's tight grip over the records, although, as this article demonstrates, he did not totally relinquish total control during the remainder of his life.<sup>8</sup> The involvement of the Works Projects Administration (WPA) in the arrangement and preservation of the Harmonist papers was a notable development in the 1930s. It was the WPA's work at Old Economy Village, coupled with the Commonwealth's appeals, that contributed to the Dusses' decision in 1937 to sell the records and artifacts to the Commonwealth at the sum of one dollar.<sup>9</sup> These materials now compose Manuscript Group 185, Harmony Society Papers, 1742–1951, but the materials that are the focus of this article—those that the Commonwealth loaned to Arndt and recovered decades later—are included within Manuscript Group 437, the Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials, 1794–1949.

PAPERS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

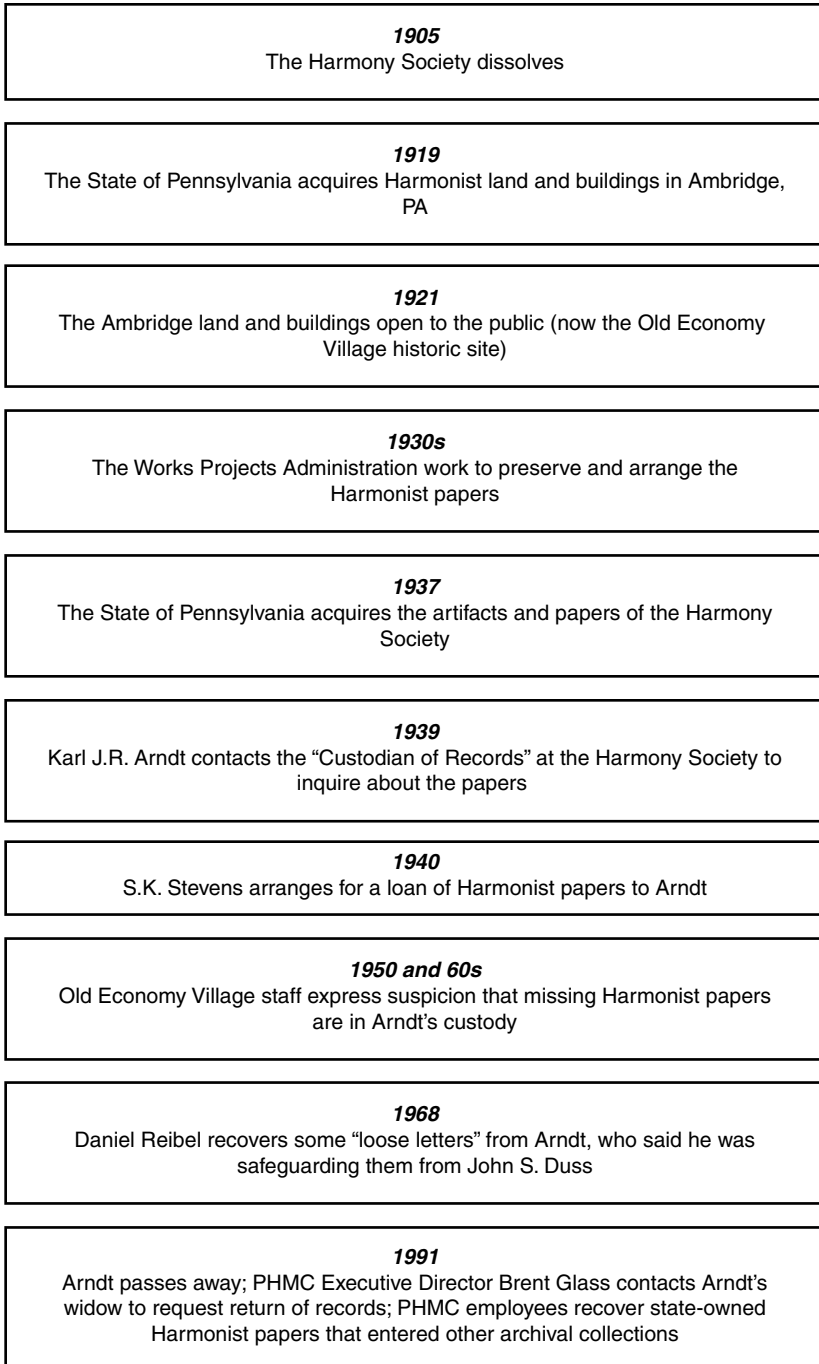


FIGURE I

Even with the transfer to the Commonwealth in 1937, Duss continued to feel a strong sense of ownership over the records. This was evidenced when Margaret Lindsay, leader of the WPA records project at Old Economy Village, suggested that the Commonwealth had an obligation to make the Harmony Society records available for researchers' use. Duss balked at this, responding, "I note what you write about the papers being Commonwealth property and the Commission therefore not in position to deny to research applicant[s] the privilege of examining said papers. However I happen to be still laboring under the impression that Mrs. Duss and I have not as yet turned over the collection to the Commonwealth. (I am speaking morally not legally as to Major Melvin's [the Chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission] imperfect and misleading contract.)"<sup>10</sup> To Duss, the signed transfer agreement did not invalidate his hold over the materials; "morally," the papers remained his property, shared only with his wife. The papers documented a community that totaled 1,050 members over its century-long lifetime and the Dusses, as surviving Harmonists, viewed themselves as having a remaining true connection with them.<sup>11</sup> The possessiveness Duss felt toward the materials is signified by his desired name for the collection. He corrects a reference to the papers as the "Harmony Society Archives," remarking, "Pardon me, but I don't like the 'Harmony Society Archives.' . . . All the books and papers at 'Old Economy' were personal property. And, as specified in the contract twixt the Dusses and the Commonwealth, the entire collection is to be known as 'The Duss Exhibit.'"<sup>12</sup>

### Dr. Arndt and the Harmonist Records

Karl J. R. Arndt (born 1903 or 1905; died 1991), then a professor of German at Louisiana State University, entered the narrative while the WPA project was in residency at Old Economy Village.<sup>13</sup> Arndt spent part of his childhood in China, where his missionary father established a Lutheran church, before beginning his academic study of German in the United States and ultimately earning his PhD from Johns Hopkins University. In addition to his professorship at Louisiana State University from 1935 to 1945, Arndt later found scholarly homes at the University of Heidelberg in Germany and Clark University in Massachusetts, and was recognized with a prestigious fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.<sup>14</sup> In his

career, Arndt explored several threads through his research: the life and work of Austrian American journalist and author Charles Sealsfield; the German American press more broadly; the experience of Germans in the United States; and, of particular relevance to this article, utopian religious communities in the United States. Arndt's obituary in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* attributes to him the publication of thirteen volumes on the Harmony Society.<sup>15</sup>

Arndt was a collector of materials that related to the objects of his study, accumulating, for example, a collection of materials related to Charles Sealsfield, which his wife donated to the American Antiquarian Society after his death.<sup>16</sup> His scholarly interest in German Americans in Louisiana was presumably the generative force behind his acquisition of the papers of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, a German social society in New Orleans, and the society's director, J. Hanno Deiler. The Historic New Orleans Collection now manages and preserves the Dr. Karl J. R. Arndt Collection of J. Hanno Deiler Papers and Deutsche Gesellschaft Records.<sup>17</sup> Most notable for this article, the Pennsylvania State Archives addresses Arndt's practice of collecting documentation related to his scholarship in the scope and contents note for the Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials. It reads: "these materials were collected by Dr. Arndt during the course of his research and publication of documentary histories of the Harmony Society (1805–1905) of Harmony, Pennsylvania; New Harmony, Indiana; and Economy, Pennsylvania."<sup>18</sup>

A June 25, 1939, letter from Arndt is among the earliest records in the PHMC collection that points to his scholarly interest in the documentation of the communal group. Addressed to the Harmony Society's "Custodian of Records," the letter reveals Arndt's discovery of records created by another German separatist group, this one consisting of former Harmonists and located in Louisiana. Arndt essentially submitted a reference request, asking for information about the records in Harmony and noting an interest in visiting the site, should there be material relevant to his scholarship.<sup>19</sup> Despite the 1937 transfer of the records' ownership to the state of Pennsylvania, John S. Duss responded to the letter, illustrating the continuation of his perceived authority over the Harmonist papers. Arndt's scholarly curiosity was evidently kindled by the response he received. He made plans to travel to Pennsylvania that same summer.<sup>20</sup>

The correspondence subsequent to his initial inquiry, however, provides insight into an involved relationship that Arndt would form with the

Harmonist records, a relationship that would move beyond one in which Arndt saw himself as simply a records user. Upon learning of the holdings in Harmony, Arndt immediately suggested that his knowledge of the German language could prove to be an asset to Duss and the WPA project team that was arranging and describing the Harmonist records.<sup>21</sup> Arndt would later stress to his readers that he played an instrumental role in efforts to organize the Harmonist materials, claiming that after the completion of the WPA project he assumed the role of “*de facto*” archivist of the Harmony Society Archives.”<sup>22</sup> His hands, time, and expertise were lent to the early efforts to process the papers, which likely served to legitimize his later implicit and explicit expressions of rightful control over them.

After making his summer trip to Pennsylvania, Arndt did not delay in requesting physical custody of the original Harmonist records for private use in his research. In October 1939 Arndt wrote to Duss and said that, while he had commissioned photographs of records taken in Pittsburgh, the quality was such that the surrogates were of no use to him. Awaiting the arrival of redeveloped photographs from Pittsburgh, Arndt wrote to Duss, “I wonder whether you could not arrange to have the manuscripts sent here [Louisiana State University] so that I may use them here? I am still hoping that I will get the photographs, but if the new photographs are as dark as those that I have[,], it will be impossible to read them. I fully appreciate the value of manuscripts, but I do believe they ought to be used by those who can read them in the original.”<sup>23</sup> Duss expressed regret that Arndt’s photographs were illegible but replied that he did not have the necessary “authority” to send the originals, a notable admission given the former Harmonist’s aforementioned remarks to WPA project director Lindsay concerning his moral rights over the collection.<sup>24</sup> Instead, he was pessimistic that Arndt would be successful in this request, remarking, “I doubt your being able to secure permission to have them sent.”<sup>25</sup>

Duss expressed, in no uncertain terms, a refusal to endorse a research grant application that would enable Arndt to work as a scholar-in-residence, a temporary research post, at Old Economy Village. This was the first evidence of growing strife between the competing scholars. Arndt’s research would likely conflict with his own memoirs and historical account, said Duss, even if the academic were to constrain his study to the period of the Harmony Society’s history that predated Duss’s birth. In a letter to Arndt, Duss told him, “Your idea of limiting yourself to the early history does not appeal to me because I have already written that; and you can bet your boots . . . no one is going to

cross swords with me and come out the victor.”<sup>26</sup> Duss proved to be incorrect in his prediction about the outcome of Arndt’s request to the Commonwealth for physical custody of the records. With Pennsylvania state historian S. K. Stevens as an advocate, Arndt was able to arrange for the PHMC to loan the records in 1940. “Hand in glove. It was all hand in glove stuff,” said Roland M. Baumann, of the loan agreement between the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and Arndt.<sup>27</sup>

The Harmony Society records strayed from government custody directly because of special privileges that Stevens, along with WPA project director Lindsay, extended to Arndt. Some documentation that reveals the arrangements between the Pennsylvania Historical Commission (now the PHMC) and Arndt is accessible in the accessions folder for the Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials, in the Pennsylvania State Archives’ collections management records in Harrisburg. There is a definite suggestion that Lindsay thought the loan would cultivate a relationship with Arndt, a potential donor. She wrote to Stevens, “I’m very anxious that Dr. Arndt feel disposed to deposit his collection of books and papers discovered in Louisiana with us rather than with a library where they will not have such a close relationship to materials on hand. I know that Dr. Arndt feels inclined to do this at the moment and would not care to see him change his mind.”<sup>28</sup> It is likely that there were dual motives at play for lending Arndt the papers. For Stevens, he was helping a fellow historian move forward with his research. For Lindsay, she was nurturing a relationship with a party who possessed a related record collection that was relevant to the historic site. It was perhaps Duss’s territorial hold over the records—and over the Harmony Society’s history—that caused Arndt to refrain from disclosing an arrangement for a loan of records from the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Arndt makes no outward reference to the arrangements he successfully secured in the correspondence that is now preserved among the John S. Duss papers at Old Economy Village.<sup>29</sup>

As archival educator and researcher Richard J. Cox has oft-reminded the archival community, an understanding of the history of the profession is important to an understanding of the profession’s present concerns.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, archival loans to individuals did occur in archival practice at this time. In 1955, for example, Waldo Gifford Leland issued a staff instruction paper to employees at the National Archives, which Archivist of the United States Wayne Grover approved. The instruction paper stipulated that public officials should be given the same level of access to records following the transfer

of the records to the collection as they enjoyed prior. Leland provides limited parameters to the loan process, indicating simply the “documents should not be withdrawn without giving a receipt for them, and they should be promptly returned.”<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the evolution of archival ethics throughout the twentieth century provides valuable historical context to this study. The formalization of professional codes of ethics for archivists occurred in the years following Stevens and Lindsay’s facilitation of the state’s loan to a private researcher.<sup>32</sup>

Today, the Society of American Archivists’ Core Values Statement (approved in May 2011) and the Code of Ethics for Archivists (last revised in January 2012) call for “fair . . . and equitable” relationships with stakeholders and “open and equitable access to the records in their [the archivists’] care within the context of their institutions’ missions and their intended user groups.”<sup>33</sup> It is heartening to note a shift in professional ethics since this 1940 loan, a shift that would likely place Arndt’s exclusive access of the Harmonist materials (to the detriment of other researchers) as outside of the scope of good archival practice. Writing in 1992, Mary Jo Pugh maintained, “Repositories should not loan archival materials to individual users. . . . The expanded use of interlibrary loan might considerably assist individual users and facilitate research. At this time few repositories loan original materials . . . but more might consider it.” Since Arndt’s loan, there have been successful examples of inter-institutional lending programs, suggesting that the considerable contributions that Arndt made to the scholarship on the Harmony Society might have still been possible with a carefully documented arrangement between his academic institution and the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.<sup>34</sup>

## Recovering the Harmonist Records

Arndt would, as his years of Harmony Society research advanced, come to mirror Duss’s possessive relationship with the records. This relationship necessitated the state of Pennsylvania to ultimately engage in recovery efforts so that the records would be publicly accessible. While the PHMC recovered some of the records from Arndt during his lifetime, the majority of the records from the original loan were transferred back to the Commonwealth in the aftermath of the scholar’s death. It remains possible, however, that there are records that were part of the 1937 acquisition that remain outside



of Commonwealth custody, a consequence of scant documentation of the 1940 loan to Arndt and the likelihood that additional materials escaped Old Economy Village in the decades that followed.

The natural question to ask is why the Commonwealth allowed Arndt to retain the records as long as he did. A letter from Lawrence Thurman, then curator of Old Economy Village, to John W. Oliver, University of Pittsburgh history professor and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum commissioner, suggests that there was not universal knowledge of the approved loan within the agency or certainty of Arndt's role in the papers' displacement. Thurman highlighted notable Harmonist items that were included in the WPA's finding aid of the collection but that, at the time of his writing in 1954, could no longer be located at Old Economy Village. "I have the strongest feeling," Thurman wrote, "that they [the missing papers] were here after the WPA left."<sup>35</sup> He explained, however, that this "feeling" is indeed just that: a hunch that Thurman had as a consequence of his familiarity with Old Economy Village's records and a verbal account he heard only indirectly. Thurman said that he understood that a foreman of maintenance at Old Economy Village, deceased at the time of his writing, sent numerous "boxes and bundles of records" to Arndt. He goes on to maintain, "Loan slips were not made, and to my knowledge this sending of documents was a matter between Mr. Arndt" and the referenced employee.<sup>36</sup> There was, indeed, nonspecific and little documentation surrounding the loans. Moreover, the collections management records held in Harrisburg challenge the notion the materials found their way into Arndt's custody as a sole consequence of loans and raise the possibility that he took even more than what the Commonwealth sent to him.

The literature pertaining to archival theft points to the perils of extending privileges to trusted researchers. Charles Merrill Mount, who was arrested and tried in the 1980s for stealing manuscripts valued at more than \$100,000 from the Library of Congress and the National Archives and Records Administration, used friendships with staff and a resultant insider status to secure special accommodations; his belongings, for example, were not inspected by Library of Congress guards, who were told by staff that Mount was "okay."<sup>37</sup> Like Mount, Arndt was able to gain initial physical possession of the records in 1940 because of a privileged status and arrangements that are not commonly extended to archival researchers. Further, like Mount, there is a suggestion that Arndt may have acquired records through less legitimate methods than the initial loan. In 1968 Daniel Reibel, then curator at Old Economy Village, wrote to S. K. Stevens, who had by this

time risen to the rank of executive director of the PHMC, and reported the following concern: "In 1967 we had a girl microfilm the archives for the Workingman's Institute in New Harmony. She checked off each document as she found it [using the WPA catalog]. If she did not find it she was instructed to stop and check with us; therefore we know which documents we had as of August, 1967. Dr. Arndt was the next person to use these archives; he used them unsupervised. Now we find a great number of documents is missing."<sup>38</sup> If this insinuation is true, Arndt's accumulation of the records was a slow, prolonged process, with his acquisition of Commonwealth-owned records continuing twenty-five years after the initial loan agreement.

Replevin of the archival records began under Reibel's tenure as director of the Old Economy Village historic site. *Black's Law Dictionary*, a principal reference text for the legal profession that is now in its ninth printing, defines "replevin" as "an action for the repossession of personal property wrongfully taken or detained by the defendant, whereby the plaintiff gives security for and holds the property until the court decides who owns it."<sup>39</sup> It is, as attorney and archivist Menzi L. Behrnd-Klodt describes, a remedy that a party can employ in order to regain personal property "from one who has taken it wrongfully or holds it unlawfully."<sup>40</sup> Archivists Gary M. Peterson and Trudy Huskamp Peterson explain that an archival repository technically exercises a replevin action when it sues another party for the return of a document.<sup>41</sup> The archival and manuscript collecting community's understandings of replevin do not depart fully from its meaning in the legal field. However, archivists and collectors have traditionally expanded its definition to describe the transfer (or attempts for transfer) of public records in the possession of private parties to a government repository.<sup>42</sup>

The recovery case involving the Harmony Society papers is an atypical one in Pennsylvania. Former State Archivist of Pennsylvania David Haury remarked, "This [notion of] replevin and recovery—the only time it applies to private papers would be if they already were given to the archives and someone stole them. And that's pretty rare."<sup>43</sup> Still, while the existing archival literature on replevin uses the term to describe governmental efforts to recover public records in private hands, this case study suggests that there are instances in which replevin actions include governmental efforts to recover government-owned property records in private hands.

Replevin cases are initiated when either a public employee or an external tipster locates records in private hands that are believed to be public property.<sup>44</sup> In the case involving the Harmony Society papers, Reibel and his

staff's examination of Arndt's publications prompted the first sequence of recovery efforts and negotiations. In comparing the WPA-produced catalog of Harmonist records with Arndt's citations, Reibel found that Arndt "cites a great number of documents listed as being in the Archives here. Almost without fail any important document mentioned in his book is missing from the Archives."<sup>45</sup> When asked about the missing documents, Arndt shifted the responsibility onto Duss, positing that the now-deceased Harmonist destroyed the papers, presumably to prevent any other parties from using or possessing them. Two months later, however, Arndt's account changed; he admitted that he had Harmonist papers in his possession but argued that he had been safeguarding them from Duss. Reibel informed Stevens that Arndt returned papers to the Commonwealth "with the statement to me that he had to take them to keep Duss from burning them. Along with them he gave some loose letters. He did not give all the letter books mentioned in his citations. . . . This raises the question in my mind of just how much did Dr. Arndt take from the Archives and what he intends to do with it."<sup>46</sup> The inconsistency in the understanding of the loan agreement across the agency and over time likely extended the period in which the scholar held the remainder of the Harmonist records.

Although Reibel was successful in recovering some records from Arndt, the replevin efforts largely occurred following the scholar's passing in 1991. Upon learning of Arndt's death, Brent D. Glass, the executive director of the PHMC, wrote to Blanca H. Arndt, his widow, and requested the transfer of the government-owned Harmonist papers back to the state. She replied that she intended to transfer the Harmony records, including those now on loan for half a century, to another professor of German, stating, "I am fully aware of the fact that Dr. Arndt's papers contain materials which were graciously loaned to him by the Commission. I also realize that these papers should be returned the Commission. However, [Arndt's faculty colleague] will require these papers in order to complete Dr. Arndts' [*sic*] work."<sup>47</sup> With this response, Mrs. Arndt suggested that she could exercise some control over the materials, now fifty years outside of the Commonwealth's custody.

In common law, property refers to "not things but *rights*, rights in or to things" and legal rights to a thing can be shared and separated.<sup>48</sup> While Mrs. Arndt acknowledged the Commonwealth's legal title, she implied with her letter that she possessed rights associated with the alienation of the papers. For legal scholar J. E. Penner, alienability "includes the rights to abandon [property] . . . , to share it, to license it to others (either exclusively or not),

and to give it to others in its entirety.”<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Arndt had the right, she suggested, to share these papers with an academic interested in continuing her husband’s research.

The PHMC, however, was unwilling to extend the length of the loan any further. As is common in archival replevin cases, however, Glass demonstrated a readiness to compromise during this negotiation phase.<sup>50</sup> Although Mrs. Arndt could not transfer the records to the professor, the PHMC would, after receiving the records that were originally placed on loan to Arndt, “identify those items necessary for [Arndt’s faculty colleague] continued research and determine the most appropriate way to reproduce those items . . . at no charge.”<sup>51</sup> With this determination, the PHMC politely countered Mrs. Arndt’s suggestion that she held any rights to the materials and she, for her part, allowed Old Economy Village Director Raymond Shepherd, to travel to her home in Worcester, Massachusetts, to recover physical custody of the records.<sup>52</sup>

Staff of the PHMC, and specifically the administrators at Old Economy Village, did not recover all of the loaned materials directly from Arndt’s widow. There are papers that have an even messier custodial history, finding their way into academic archives and the possession of other private parties through transfers by the Arndts. The PHMC engaged in discussions with the University of Southern Indiana, which had collections from Arndt, and Clark University in Massachusetts, which was considering acquiring collections from the Arndt estate. In these secondary replevin cases, however, the institutions cooperated fully with the Commonwealth. The archivist at the latter institution said that university policy would require the library to return any property to its rightful owner that Arndt did not possess title to should they enter the university’s collection. Linda A. Ries, an archivist at the Pennsylvania State Archives, remarking on her communications with the Clark archivist, conveyed to her colleague Robert Dructor, “Apparently they have acquired in the past papers of other professors who ‘borrowed’ materials from other institutions, and are familiar with this type of situation.”<sup>53</sup>

A receipt signed by Shepherd in 1991 reveals documents that were on loan to Arndt first entered the University of Southern Indiana’s collections before returning to Ambridge. It reads, “These materials had been in the temporary custody of USI [University of Southern Indiana]. I [Shepherd] agree to place them immediately in their original repository with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.”<sup>54</sup> Today, the Archives and Special Collections at the University of Southern Indiana University’s David L. Rice

Library retains photocopies of the Harmonist papers that were returned to the PHMC's custody.<sup>55</sup>

When materials were recovered from Arndt, they re-entered the PHMC's collection as part of PHMC Manuscript Group 437, the Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials, 1794–1949, rather than rejoining PHMC Manuscript Group 185, titled the Harmony Society Papers, 1742–1951. This latter collection contains the materials that the PHMC (then the Pennsylvania Historical Commission) acquired from the surviving Harmonists in 1937, an acquisition that included those materials lent to and retained by Arndt.<sup>56</sup> The Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials now includes state-owned papers that were recovered from Arndt. Arndt's perception of the records originally loaned to him as part of his personal collection of Harmony Society papers is thus partly perpetuated by the PHMC's processing decisions.

### The Psychology of Ownership

The custodial history of these papers serves as a lens to consider the psychology behind ownership. Jon L. Pierce, Tatiana Kostava, and Kurt T. Dirks, all academics in the fields of business, management and organizational behavior, define “psychological ownership” as “the state in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of that target is ‘theirs.’”<sup>57</sup> There is, the authors explain, a distinction between legal ownership and psychological ownership; Duss's feelings in relation to the papers evidence this contrast. Legal ownership “is recognized foremost by society . . . and protected by the legal system. In contrast, psychological ownership is recognized foremost by the individual who holds this feeling.”<sup>58</sup> Pierce et al. and others argue that the latter can exist without the legal rights to the property; Duss, who was dismissive of the legal agreement that extended property rights to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, is testament to the independent nature of these ownership perspectives.<sup>59</sup>

The authors' review of the literature on ownership and self-identity provides some insight into what may be at the root of Duss's continued attachment.<sup>60</sup> They write, “We propose that ownership helps people define themselves, express their self-identity to others, and maintain the continuity of the self across time.”<sup>61</sup> Duss's connection to the Harmony Society began in his childhood and continued until the group's dissolution. Perhaps his

desire to hold on to the records of his community was motivated by more than his interest in writing, as discussed above, the authoritative history of the Harmonists. The persistence of his efforts to exact some authority over the materials may have been Duss's way to hold onto his Harmonist identity now that the Harmony Society itself no longer persisted.

There is a sizable body of literature on collecting, with a segment of this literature focused on motivations that drive collectors to accumulate objects.<sup>62</sup> Arndt, as chronicled above, was himself both a scholar and a collector of materials related to his objects of study. Developmental psychologist Ruth Formanek's work is a notable contribution to the study of motivation of collecting. Through a questionnaire that asked collectors for their attitudes, feelings, and practices related to their collections, Formanek identifies a series of five motivations for collecting. She writes, "(1) Collecting has meanings in relation to the self, (2) to other people, (3) as preservation, restoration, history, and a sense of continuity, (4) as financial investment, and (5) as addiction."<sup>63</sup> Formanek's framework can help make sense of Arndt's tendency to collect materials connected to his scholarship. While Formanek's questionnaire respondents described expanding their social circles through collecting, Arndt may have felt connected to his scholarly subjects by physically possessing historical materials that told their stories. Moreover, Arndt suggested to Reibel that he had retained the state-owned records, absorbing them into his personal collection, out of fear that Duss would destroy them. It is uncertain whether this fear was true or founded, but Arndt at least suggested a motivation that connects to Formanek's third theme.

Pierce et al. identify experiences and conditions under which an individual will be most prone to feeling psychologically connected to objects. Two are particularly applicable to Arndt's actions and attitude with regard to the Harmony Society papers. First, Pierce et al. draw upon the work of psychologists and philosophers and suggest that in instances in which an individual has closely worked with or come to deeply know an object, he or she will see the object as part of the self. The French philosopher Simone Weil is persuasive in her description of this phenomenon. She maintains, "All men have an invincible inclination to appropriate in their own minds, anything which over a long, uninterrupted period they have used for their work, pleasure, or the necessities of life. Thus, a gardener, after a certain time, feels that the garden belongs to him."<sup>64</sup> It is not difficult to liken the hypothetical gardener's attachment to his plot to Arndt's proprietary relationship with the Harmonist. For Arndt, the "long, uninterrupted period" during which

he worked with the papers was indeed quite sustained. Arndt sent his first inquiry about the materials in June of 1939 and he continued to research the Harmony Society throughout his decades-long career, with one of his documentary histories published posthumously in 1993.

## Conclusion

There is a secondary history concerning the Harmony Society that is presented in this article, one that sits behind the records that provide evidence of the religious separatist society. The custodial history of the papers, as it turns out, provides rich insight into the complex and, at times messy, nature of ownership of the documentary record.

Three actors are at the heart of this custodial story. The first is John S. Duss, the Harmonist who struggled with lessening his grasp over the material culture of his community. Karl J. R. Arndt was entrusted with a loan that he became possessive of and attached to, an attachment that likely deepened during his decades-long study of the Harmonists. Both provide interesting insight into the psychological nature of property ownership and collecting. Finally, there are lessons learned about the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the agency home to the Pennsylvania State Archives and Old Economy Village historic site, and the nature of archival practice more broadly. These lessons are encouraging ones. In 1940, when the loan to Arndt was made, the entrusted stewards of the materials were willing to privilege their relationship with an academic over their commitment to the public's access to the documentary heritage of the state of Pennsylvania. A handshake with the borrower, it would seem, occurred in place of well-documented and agreed-upon terms and conditions for the loan. In the decades that followed, however, employees at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission persisted in reuniting members of the public to the Harmonist papers, demonstrating the crystallization of an archival tradition and ethic that prioritizes equitable access to the documentary record.

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## NOTES

1. "Manuscript Group 437, Scope and Content Note, Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials, 1794–1949," PHMC, accessed July 18, 2013, <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/mg/mg437.htm>.
2. John Archibald Bole, *The Harmony Society: A Chapter in German American Culture History* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1904), 5.
3. Ibid., 6–7.
4. Robert M. Dructor and Roland M. Baumann, "Introduction," in *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records: 1786–1951*, ed. Roland M. Baumann (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission), 3. As this article is not the appropriate space for a complete historical account of the Harmony Society and their settlements, readers may choose to reference the PHMC's brief guide to the historic site of Old Economy Village: Daniel B. Reibel, *Old Economy Village: Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002). Bole's text, cited above, is notable as the first written history of the communal group. The works of two others, John S. Duss and Karl J. R. Arndt, both players in this replevin case study, are additional resources. It is necessary to note, however, that Reibel and Arndt call into question claims made by Duss, one of the final surviving members of the Harmony Society, in his *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943).
5. Reibel, *Old Economy Village*, 22–23, 25.
6. Ibid., 5.
7. Dructor and Baumann, *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records*, 6–7. Duss ultimately went on to publish his historical account in *The Harmonists*.
8. Dructor and Baumann, *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records*, 6.
9. Ibid., 7.
10. John S. Duss to Margaret Lindsay, January 22, 1940, MG-310 John Duss Papers, Box 4, Incoming and Outgoing, Folder 43, Correspondence Margaret Lindsay, Old Economy Village, Ambridge, PA (hereafter Lindsay Correspondence, Duss Papers).
11. Bole, *The Harmony Society*, 34.
12. John S. Duss to Karl J. R. Arndt, January 21, 1941, Box 2 Incoming and Outgoing, Folder 14 Correspondence: Karl J. Arndt, MG-310 John Duss Papers, Old Economy Village, Ambridge, PA (hereafter Arndt Correspondence, Duss Papers).
13. There are conflicting references to 1903 and 1905 as Arndt's birth year: 1903 is cited in Mortimer Herbert Appley, "Karl John Richard Arndt," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (1992): 21–26 (accessed May 9, 2015), <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44517783.pdf>, and David Whitesell, "The Acquisitions Table: German-American author Charles Sealsfield," in



- Past Is Present: The American Antiquarian Society Blog* (accessed May 10, 2015), <http://pastispresent.org/2010/acquisitions/the-acquisitions-table-german-american-author-charles-sealsfield/>; 1905 is cited in Manuscript Group 437, Scope and Content Note, Karl Arndt Collection of Harmony Society Materials, 1794–1949, PHMC (accessed July 18, 2013), <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/mg/mg437.htm>.
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  16. Whitesell, “The Acquisitions Table.”
  17. Daniel Hammer, “J. Hanno Deiler, German Orleanian,” *Historic New Orleans Collection Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 6–8.
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  19. Karl J. Arndt to Custodian of Records, Harmony Society, June 25, 1939, Arndt Correspondence, Duss Papers.
  20. Karl J. Arndt to John S. Duss, July 10, 1939, in *ibid*.
  21. *Ibid*.
  22. Karl J.R. Arndt, foreword to *Harmony on the Connoquenessing, 1803–1815: George Rapp’s First American Harmony, A Documentary History*, edited by Karl J. R. Arndt (Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Press, 1980), xvi.
  23. Karl J. Arndt to John S. Duss, October 24, 1939, Arndt Correspondence, Duss Papers.
  24. John S. Duss to Margaret Lindsay, January 22, 1940, Lindsay Correspondence, Duss Papers.
  25. John S. Duss to Karl J. Arndt, November 1, 1939, Arndt Correspondence, Duss Papers.
  26. John S. Duss to Karl J. Arndt, February 14, 1940, Arndt Correspondence, Duss Papers.
  27. Roland M. Baumann, interview by author, July 24, 2013, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH.
  28. Margaret Lindsay to S. K. Stevens, September 6, 1940, MG-185 Accessions Folder: “Karl Arndt,” Pennsylvania State Archives.
  29. The relationship between Duss and Arndt would disintegrate in the years that followed Arndt’s first communication and visit to Old Economy Village. Duss’s correspondence with the academic reveals a relationship that was irrevocably damaged after Arndt’s review of Duss’s *The Harmonists*, in which Arndt questioned the historical accuracy of the account.
  30. Richard J. Cox, “On the Value of Archival History in the United States,” *Libraries and Culture* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 135–51.
  31. Waldo Gifford Leland, “National Archives Staff Information Paper #20,” in *Archival Principles: Selections from the Writings of Waldo Gifford Leland* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, March 1955), 21 (accessed May 24, 2015), <https://archive.org/details/archivalprinciploolela>.
  32. Chronicling a history of archival ethics in the United States, Karen Benedict cites Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States from 1948 to 1965, as the author of the first ethical code in 1955, intended to guide the actions of employees at the National Archives. It was not until late 1976 that the Society of American Archivists began to draft a code for applicable for archivists

- working outside of the National Archives, published in 1980. Karen Benedict, "Archival Ethics," *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions*, ed. James Gregory Bradsher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 174–84.
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44. For a discussion of the stages of replevin, see Eleanor Mattern, "A Six-Stage Process for Recovery of Public Records: Replevin and the State of North Carolina," *Archival Science* (ePub available 2015), doi: 10.1007/s10502-015-9241-9.
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46. Ibid.
47. Blanca H. Arndt to Brent D. Glass, PHMC Executive Director, January 22, 1992, Administrative Files of Ray Shepherd, folder titled "Arndt Folder," administrative files of Old Economy Village, Ambridge, PA.
48. C. B. MacPherson, "The Meaning of Property," in *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions*, ed. C. B. MacPherson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 2.
49. J. E. Penner, *The Idea of Property in Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 103.
50. For a discussion of the nature of negotiation in archival replevin cases, see Mattern, "A Six-Stage Process for Recovery of Public Records."
51. Brent D. Glass, PHMC Executive Director, to Blanca H. Arndt, February 28, 1992, MG-185 Accessions Folder: "Karl Arndt," Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.
52. Blanca H. Arndt to Brent D. Glass, March 24, 1992, MG-185 Accessions Folder: "Karl Arndt," Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.
53. Linda A. Ries, memo to Robert M. Dructor, November 19, 1991, MG-185 Accessions Folder: "Karl Arndt," Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.

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## PHA 2014 CONFERENCE POSTER SESSION

*T*he Pennsylvania Historical Association sponsors a poster session at their annual meeting for undergraduate and graduate students to present their research as emerging scholars in the field of Pennsylvania and Mid-Atlantic history. At the Fall 2014 meeting held November 6–8 in Philadelphia, the following were selected as the top three posters. The winning poster is reproduced on the following page. A list of all entries is included.

—*The Editor*

### First Place

“We Have Had It Up to Here”: Murder, Riot, and Civil Rights  
in a Western Pennsylvania Industrial Town

*Shelby Heisler and Alex Tabor*

Just after midnight on the first of November 1970, Ronald Mitchell, a Vietnam veteran, Purple Heart winner, husband, father, carpenter, and African American, was murdered outside of the Rainbow Gardens Bar in New Castle, Pennsylvania. Witnesses claimed the murderer was a white man who fired from a slow-passing automobile. Infuriated by this tragic act of violence and a notable delay in the response time of emergency services, African

Americans rioted in the streets of south New Castle, smashing windows, overturning cars, throwing rocks at police and firefighters, and firebombing neighborhood businesses and homes. The murder and riot occurred during a tense time for race relations in the city. During the late 1960s, New Castle civil rights and labor activists had protested for open housing and against discriminatory hiring practices with only limited success. Ronald Mitchell himself was active with Black Concerned Citizens, the leading African American rights group within New Castle at the time. Based on newspaper articles and oral history interviews with surviving participants and witnesses, this project aims for an objective evaluation of the series of events leading to Mitchell's murder, and also examines the significant impacts of the events in the context of contested civil rights in New Castle during the 1970s. The project also intends to question the place of the murder of Ronald Mitchell in local public memory, as the silences imposed by a predominantly white society significantly impacted the local understanding and passing down of civil rights and race relations in New Castle and western Pennsylvania. The story of Ronald Mitchell and the New Castle riot has received no significant



FIGURE 1: The judging begins at the poster session, November 8, 2014.

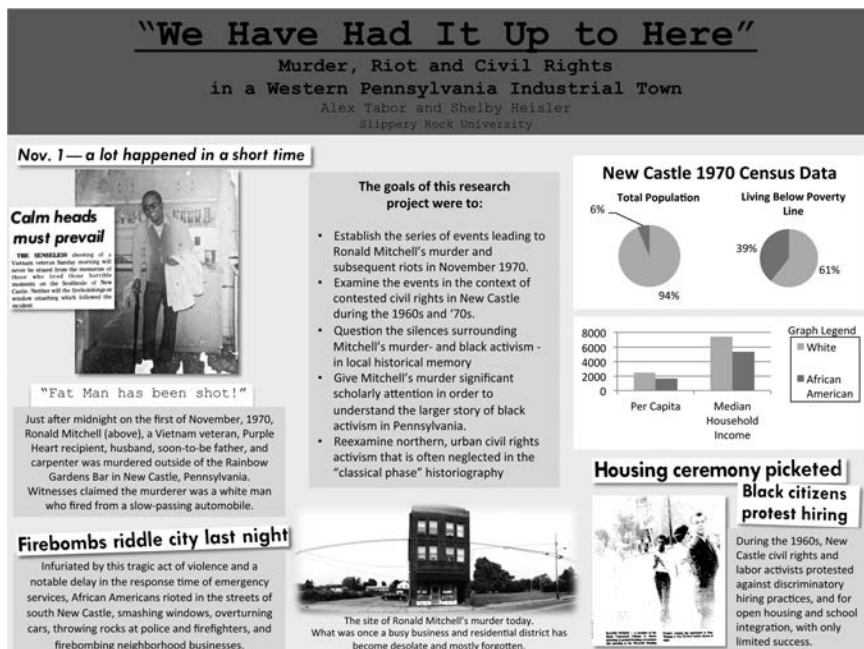


FIGURE 2: The winning poster: "We Have Had It Up to Here."

scholarly attention; thus this project advances our understanding of the larger story of black activism and race relations in Pennsylvania. It also contributes to the recent historiographical trends in civil rights scholarship that seek to reexamine northern, urban civil rights activism not usually included in the "classical phase" of the civil rights movement (see fig. 2).

## Second Place

*The Letter and the Spirit: Toward a Quantitative Method for the Study of Pennsylvania German Calligraphy and Manuscript Illumination, ca. 1683–1855*

*Alexander Lawrence Ames*

As members of early America's largest European minority, the Germans of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Pennsylvania contributed to the spiritualistic heterodoxy that long characterized their colony-turned-state. The faith traditions of German-speaking Radical Pietists, who comprised a vibrant subset of German settlers, undergirded a manuscript culture in

which ornamental handwriting and manuscript illumination comprised acts of religious devotion. This manuscript culture, grounded in blackletter type and broken-letter script (known in German as *Frakturschrift*), represented a confluence of factors shaping ideas and material texts in early modern Europe and colonial America. First, the German language shared a close association with the blackletter print culture of Protestantism. Second, a vague sense of German identity was grounded in common linguistic heritage. Third, some branches of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestant theology were rooted in mystical engagement with Scripture through the activities of reading and writing. Radical Pietists' distinctive manuscript culture did not thrive in perpetuity. Within several generations, the baroque design template characteristic of early Pietistic manuscripts colloquialized into the rustic "Pennsylvania Dutch" aesthetic famous today. One illuminative form closely associated with the Central European Pietistic experience disappeared from Pennsylvania entirely. This form, the *Vorschrift*, or manuscript writing sample, was a ceremonial document presented by teachers to schoolchildren. The renaissance and decay of the *Vorschrift* may shed light on the breakdown of Pietistic hermeneutics in Pennsylvania, *if* scholars interpret the documents as evidence of cultural change.

### Third Place

William White's War: An Irish-Philadelphian's Experiences in the American Civil War.

*James Kopaczewski*

While thousands of letters from Union and Confederate soldiers exist, William C. White's letters, 1861–1869, provide an intriguing perspective on the war. As an Irish Catholic Philadelphian, White was raised in a tradition and culture that has not received much attention from scholars. White's upbringing in the tough ethnic districts of Philadelphia was marked by prejudice, poverty, and outright violence. Despite Philadelphia's standing as a cultural, economic, and political power, waves of ethnically focused violence periodically occurred. This violence climaxed with the destructive and deadly Nativist Riots of 1844. Irish men, women, and children were physically and verbally assaulted, Irish Catholic churches burned, and Irish laborers forced to work for the lowest paying, most menial jobs available. White grew up in this highly charged ethnic context and it helped to shape the ways in which he viewed the war.

When the Civil War erupted in April 1861, White rushed to sign up for the Union army. He joined the predominately Irish Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment (69th Pa) and was quickly whisked off to Washington, DC, to protect the capital. White experienced some of the most pivotal moments of the war with the 69th Pa., including the Battle of Antietam, the Battle of Fredericksburg, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the Overland Campaign. White’s service in the Union army, his Irish Catholic upbringing in Philadelphia, and his marvelous set of letters offers scholars the opportunity to use White’s life to study the experience of Irish Catholic soldiers from Philadelphia. Evocative of African Americans’ and women’s war experiences, the war became an arena for William White and Irish Catholic Philadelphians to prove their loyalty and claim their stake in the future of the United States. William White’s war cannot be simply described by notions of fighting for “cause” and “comrades,” for this picture is too clear. Rather, White and Irish Catholic Philadelphians fought to cast aside identities as Irishmen and realize identities as Irish Americans. The process of developing an Irish American identity entailed ardent Unionism and devout religious belief. In all, the story of William White’s war is the story of all Irish Catholic Philadelphians struggling to build a new life in a new land, navigating the complexities of urban America, and creating a future in a country that begrudgingly welcomed them.

APPENDIX

*PHA 2014 Conference Poster Session Participants*

TABLE 1.

Student Name	Project Title	Faculty Advisor	University
Kaitlyn Adams	L’Hermitage: The History Behind the Mystery	Emily Blanck	Rowan University
Alexander Ames	The Letter and the Spirit: Toward a Quantitative Method for the Study of Pennsylvania German Calligraphy and Manuscript Illumination, ca. 1683–1855	Consuela Metzger	University of Delaware
Rachel Baer	The Power of an Ideal: Class and Professionalism at the Williamsport Hospital School of Nursing	Karol K. Weaver	Susquehanna University



PHA 2014 CONFERENCE POSTER SESSION

Student Name	Project Title	Faculty Advisor	University
Tracy Barnett	Daniel E. Sickles's Unauthorized Advance at Gettysburg	Jeffery S. Prushankin	Millersville University
Sara Baum	A Prosopography of Pews	John Pankratz	Albright College
Nicole Crossey	The Unlikely Causes of the "Eight Year Cycle" Between Political Parties in Pennsylvanian Gubernatorial Elections since 1950	J. W. Leckrone	Widener University
Grace DiAgostino <sup>a</sup>	Columbia Avenue to Cecil B. Moore Avenue: Riots, Supposed Revitalization, and Temple University	Seth Bruggeman	Temple University
Mary Halbur	Giving Voice to the Jobless: The Unemployed Councils of Philadelphia in the 1930s	Rachel Batch	Widener University
James Kopaczewski	William White's War: An Irish-Philadelphian's Experiences in the American Civil War	Judith Giesberg	Villanova University
Caressa Lynch	Religious Thoughts Regarding the Yellow Fever Epidemic of Philadelphia in 1793	Scott Morschauser	Rowan University
Katrina Ponti <sup>a</sup>	Of Politics and Pedagogy: The Search of the Pennsylvania Germans for a Republican Identity in the Early Republic	Robyn Davis	Millersville University
Jennifer Rogers	The Transcribing of a Local Civil War Soldier's Diary: From Private to Doctor	Ellen Knodt	Penn State University, Abington
Ashley Smith	The Change of People's Attitudes Toward Migrant Workers from the 1950s to the Present in Pennsylvania	Patricia Clark	Westminster College
Alex Tabor and Shelby Heisler	"We Have Had It Up to Here": Murder, Riot, and Civil Rights in a Western Pennsylvania Industrial Town	Aaron Cowan	Slippery Rock University
Eric Wieland	African Americans in Pageants of the Twentieth Century: Negative Images, Morals and the Dominance of the Light Skinned	Bill Bergmann	Slippery Rock University

<sup>a</sup> Indicates graduate student.

## BOOK REVIEWS

William J. Campbell. *Speculators in Empire: Iroquoia and the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2012). Pp. 212. Illustrations, notes, works cited. Paper. \$39.95.

*Speculators in Empire* is written by an academic historian for other academic historians, particularly those whose interest is the Six Nations of New York. Campbell utilizes the entire universe of Iroquois studies for this book and, while some of this ground has been plowed before, he has compiled a comprehensive study that is well written, thoroughly researched, and well documented.

The title of this book makes reference to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, yet the content includes more, such as the history of European entry into the North American continent and the resulting collision with the Stone Aged indigenous peoples. Campbell also describes the greed and duplicity of the European countries and men who hoped to profit from this collision.

The author exhibits a real empathy for the Iroquois and all indigenous people by describing what made them special. He describes their native intelligence illustrated by the commonsense creation of the Grand Council to limit wars and the

elaborate traditions centered on “longhouse” values, ancestral spirits, and a holistic relationship with the cosmos.

In any history of the American Indian a dichotomy exists in understanding the true nature of indigenous peoples. The history of the Indigenous peoples has been written by Europeans and excerpted from the journals of the explorers, traders, missionaries, and government officials who were closest to them, yet, there are no perspectives provided by indigenous peoples. In many cases, the history was written to cover up and justify atrocities, and also written by Indian agents and missionaries who had their own agenda in creating the image of the “noble savage.” This book continues the confusion about the nature of the indigenous people, a point Campbell acknowledges in his introductory notes.

The Iroquois depicted in *Speculators in Empire* were feared for their ferocity, but this image was chastened by a matriarchal system of census governance. Campbell presents a compassionate story of the Iroquois. He describes the history and tradition, as well as their enlightened use of the longhouse and the creation of the Grand Council. He describes a sophisticated political thought process, and, he talks of Native statesman traveling to the courts of Europe as diplomats. The book alludes to many eloquent speeches delivered by Indian spokesman at the signing of the many treaties. The speeches expressed intelligent ideas on matters of trade, land, and the politics of the time. Campbell says that they were adept at identifying their interests, at devising remedies, at putting pressure on other parties, and at stating matters eloquently. In diplomatic arts, they equaled the colonizers.

To the European settler, on the frontier of this new country, the Indian had a different persona, one in which they made savage attacks on settlements, butchering men, woman, and children. Their barbaric practices and savage behavior made them feared and in some ways was used as justification for their eradication.

In their journals, traders, Indian agents, and missionaries describe child-like creatures who placed great value on trinkets and were easily manipulated by these gifts, resulting in being swindled out of their land. Campbell’s depiction of the indigenous people is the official version and is certainly authenticated by the various references he makes to previously published accounts. Hundreds of books and articles have been written about the Six Nations; the hyperbole includes bits and pieces that have been endlessly recycled and are then used as a basis for new interpretation. Between the paucity of actual events and the woeful unreliability of the prose, the reader is left to

wonder if the indigenous peoples actually were as sophisticated as Campbell and other historians describe them.

This history turns on one event, the coming of the European to the North American continent. So this book discusses treaties and describes Indian agents, special interest of the French, English, Germans, Dutch, and the newly independent States of America. The book presents a well-documented and interesting examination of these events. We know from the outset that the indigenous people are doomed because this same scenario has happened to the indigenous peoples all over the world. The title "*Speculators in Empire*" tells us that there is more, and that more is a study of greed and political interests.

This study includes narratives and maps of the arteries and waterways throughout the Eastern Seaboard and westward into the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Region. These descriptions help the reader grasp the vastness of the Six Nations empire before the European's arrival. Campbell describes how those arteries and associated waterways were used for the swift invasion of European people, their commerce, and the resulting forts at strategic points along the routes.

The period leading up to the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix is described in detail by the author, such as how the Indian Agent Johnson fed the thousands of Indians who came to participate and witness the largest land cession in early America. For the most part, the treaty was drafted by William Johnson and most historians depict the events at Fort Stanwix as Johnson's brainchild. He was quite skillful at accommodating the interests of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, and New York, while drawing a boundary line that he hoped would protect the Six Nations lands from the encroachment of settlers. This diplomatic achievement was Johnson's shining moment.

This gathering and negotiation provided the Six Nations with a rare opportunity to put forth their grievances and anxieties; it gave them an occasion to bargain and negotiate long overdue boundaries and guarantees. This treaty would have been a fine pragmatic achievement if the promises had been kept. The 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix was supported and enforced by the Crown and became tenuous when the war with the colonies resulted in the English withdrawal from North America.

The book's emphasis on the speculators provides an interesting drama to the study. The cast included the European powers, various businessmen hoping for profit, and two main personalities, Sir William Johnson,

superintendent of Indian Affairs, and George Croghan, the assistant superintendent of Indian Affairs.

In any history of the Six Nations, William Johnson will receive a considerable amount of scholarly attention and this book is no exception. Johnson is depicted as a heroic figure who traversed indigenous and white worlds. He learned Indian customs and languages, and married a prominent Mohawk, daughter of a chief. This marriage gave him a considerable amount of credibility and trust with the Native tribes and he usually measured up to the trust. Many Six Nations historians consider him the most famous American in the British empire, eclipsing Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. Campbell did him no disservice in this study and spends considerable time explaining his paternalism while representing the interest of the indigenous peoples to his European bosses.

George Croghan was the consummate speculator and is referred to in this and other books as a "vile Rascal." At various times, he both owned outright or controlled for others vast areas of land in New York and the Ohio Valley, yet was always on the verge of bankruptcy. Croghan also wed a daughter of a Mohawk chief and this union benefited him with access to trade. During the mid-eighteenth century Croghan was almost indispensable for those Eastern business speculators who wanted to influence and profit from the frontier but avoid venturing beyond the clearing. Campbell's descriptions of Croghan are for the most part negative and it is easy to identify him with everything that was bad about greedy Indian agents. Campbell's detailed narrative depicting the speculations and maneuvering of these two men is the glue that holds the entire story together.

Once the American Revolution was won, all of the agreements, treaties, and niceties were gone. Each state in this new Union had an agenda centered on the principles of "Manifest Destiny." By mid-1770, dealings with the Six Nations were no longer negotiated, they were dictated. The Iroquois were relegated to the status of a defeated political identity by the second Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Six Nations and its Grand Council lost its advocate when Sir William Johnson died, but, even if he lived, he could not have changed the destiny of the indigenous peoples in the new United States. The speculator Croghan lost his influence when his backers and England were no longer in the picture. He lost huge tracts of land to creditors and died a pauper.

The literature on the Six Nations is vast and Campbell consolidated most of it into this book. His writing style is clear with maps and drawings. He also wraps this study of agreements and treaties into a story about speculation

in empire, making the book an enjoyable read and a reference book for any future historian studying the history of the Six Nations.

WILLIAM S. TRESS  
*University of Baltimore*

POLITICIANS, SLAVES, AND TANGLED ROOTS: A REVIEW ESSAY  
 OF *DUNMORE'S NEW WORLD, THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION OF 1776,*  
 AND INDEPENDENCE

James Corbett David. *Dunmore's New World: The Extraordinary Life of a Royal Governor in Revolutionary America—with Jacobites, Counterfeiters, Land Schemes, Shipwrecks, Scalping, Indian Politics, Runaway Slaves, and Two Illegal Royal Weddings* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013). Pp. 270. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$29.95.

Gerald Horne. *The Counter-Revolution of 1776: Slave Resistance and the Origins of the United States of America* (New York: New York University Press, 2014). Pp. 348. Notes, index. Cloth, \$39.00.

Thomas P. Slaughter. *Independence: The Tangled Roots of the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014). Pp. 487. Maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$35.00.

James Corbett David, Gerald Horne, and Thomas Slaughter have produced three different works that offer some insight to major developments within the British empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, anchored by the American Revolution. David approaches the task from a narrower perspective by focusing on the life and times of John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore (1732–1809). Horne and Slaughter examine the subject from larger viewpoints. Horne offers an examination of the role that slave resistance played in the events leading to the American declaration of independence from Great Britain, while Slaughter seeks to explain how the desire for independence among those who settled in Britain's North American colonies finally became so radicalized that it led to a separation.

James Corbett David makes a valuable contribution to British and American historiography by writing this biography of Lord Dunmore; he introduces his reader to a remarkably resilient person as his family became

tainted with treason. Due to influential connections, the family survived the ordeal, allowing Murray to become the 4th Earl of Dunmore and eventually the governor for New York, Virginia, and Barbados through appointment. Among the more significant contributions made by David is highlighting the important role that western lands played in the political situation of the 1760s and 1770s. He demonstrates a level of understanding of the competing interests of different land companies rarely matched by scholars today; he shows that when it came to the Ohio River Valley the situation involved much more than mere land speculation. The battle for the North American West was a fight for control of the heart of empire. Few historians of American revolutionary era comprehend the complexity of the situation as well as David does. However, he rushes through much of the material and misses an opportunity to note other reasons why enmity existed between Dunmore and other Virginians, such as Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and George Washington. All three strongly disagreed with Dunmore's view of the status of the Ohio Company of Virginia's land grant (David, 71)

Gerald Horne attempts a far more ambitious project. He stresses that "slavery permeated colonial North America, underpinning the pre-1776 economy" in ways that ranged far beyond agriculture extending into insurance, banking, and shipbuilding (Horne, vii). Horne carries his central point further, asserting that slave resistance in Great Britain's Caribbean and North American colonies established the necessary preconditions leading to the decision in 1776 to declare independence and separate from the British empire. He attaches great significance to the 1772 Somerset Decision, which many (notably abolitionists) mistakenly heralded as the death knell for slavery in the British empire, and Lord Dunmore's 1775 proclamation offering freedom to slaves belonging to rebels in exchange for their service in the British army.

However, Horne's effort to establish a connection between slave resistance and the decision to declare American independence is unsupported by the evidence. Additionally, Horne interprets the significance of developments like the Somerset case and Dunmore's proclamation through the lens of those abolitionists who exaggerated the importance of these developments. His excessive reliance on secondary sources represents another frustrating aspect of Horne's book; when presenting a provocative thesis, the argument should be grounded in primary sources. Toward the end Horne's book devolves into a polemical justification for why his thesis must be true rather than a presentation of evidence that proves his thesis. Those who seek to understand the

role that slavery, slave resistance, and racism played in shaping the events leading to and surrounding 1776 would be better served by the works of Paul Finkelman, Sylvia Frey, and Woody Holton.

Thomas Slaughter seeks to explain how "independence became revolutionary in British North America" (Slaughter, xviii). In pursuit of that goal, Slaughter presents a selective history of the growth of British North America. It is difficult to criticize Slaughter for all that he leaves out of his book because he informs the reader at the outset that he did not intend to write a survey of British North America "that pays equal attention to all places, people and institutions" (xviii). Nonetheless, Slaughter follows a familiar pattern by mainly focusing on New England.

Slaughter's presentation is marred at the outset by his refusal to offer a definition of what he means by "independence." Consequently, the term becomes a word without meaning, diminishing the significance of the events he relates in his book. Much of his book reads as a rough draft rather than a finished work. Yet throughout, several insightful observations could potentially support his thesis, but he fails to carry them far enough. For example, he notes the need to "distinguish between independence and separation" because "they were not the same in the minds of colonists before the late spring and summer of 1774" (Slaughter, xvii). Later Slaughter notes how "when Americans spoke of independence they meant freedom within the empire; when the British heard or used the word, they understood it to be synonymous with separation" (161); and his summation as to why Crown officials regarded the colonial complaints regarding taxation as "delusional" is well presented (317). At the same time, however, Slaughter's summation of the Salem witchcraft episode (25) suggests greater familiarity with Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* than Mary Beth Norton's *In the Devil's Snare*.

Another area of concern regarding both Gerald Horne's and Thomas Slaughter's work relates to their citations. Horne uses a unique format for his endnotes that makes it difficult for the reader to follow up on his arguments or check his facts. Horne alters or misquotes sources, and far too often relies on primary sources cited in secondary works rather than referring to original documents. In his introduction, Horne focuses on tensions between the English and the Irish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Horne, 9–10). As the War for American Independence begins, he quotes Arthur Lee: "Irish troops go with infinite resistance . . . strong guards are obliged to be kept upon the transports to keep them from deserting as a whole" (10). Lee actually wrote: "The English and Irish troops go with infinite reluctance,



and strong guards are obliged to be kept upon the transports to keep them from deserting by wholesale.” By leaving out Lee’s reference to the “English,” Horne changed the meaning of Lee’s quote, tailoring it to support his point. In another part of his book, Horne misquotes from Woody Holton’s *Forced Founders*. Horne writes: “In Virginia, Founding Father George Mason echoed this viewpoint, reminding that the ‘primary cause’ of the decline of Rome was ‘introduction of great numbers of slaves’” (200). He cites page 69 of *Forced Founders*, but the quote is not found on that page or any page of Holton’s book. Holton actually quotes Arthur Lee, *not* George Mason. Holton writes: “Furthermore, the ancient Romans had been ‘brought to the very brink of ruin by the insurrections of their Slaves,’ even though ‘the proportion of slaves among the antients was not so great as with us’” (Holton, p. 69). These are not the only citations that raised questions found in Horne’s book, and this kind of recklessness undermines the credibility of his entire work.

Slaughter’s book suffers from the complete absence of citations (although he does include a long bibliography). At the end of *Independence* he writes: “As we know, the footnote is a beleaguered genre in our Internet world, one in which you can google keywords from a quotation to identify the source” (Slaughter, 437). Slaughter’s observation regarding footnotes is simply not true, and a scholar of his stature should know better than to make such a comment. At one point Slaughter quotes General Charles Lee: “reconciliation and reunion with Great Britain is now as much as a chimera as incorporation with the people of Tibet” (431). Googling the quote provided a link to page 88 in volume 3 of John Barry’s multivolume *History of Massachusetts* first published in 1857. Barry (unlike Slaughter) provides a footnote that directs the reader to William Bradford Reed’s 1847 biography of Joseph Reed. At no point does an Internet search for this quote actually reveal the original source containing Charles Lee’s quote. It must be a recent development that led Slaughter to embrace this view toward citations because he certainly provided ample documentation in his previous work.

The careless and/or nonexistent citations in *The Counter-Revolution of 1776* and *Independence* have a direct effect on determining the appropriate target audiences for both of these books. Horne seems to suggest in his conclusion that he hopes his book will lead to further study of this subject. If Horne wants to be a trailblazer, then he needs to leave a trail that others can follow—which represents the role citations are meant to play. Unfortunately, his poorly constructed and inaccurate citations make it difficult for anyone to follow up on his conclusions. As noted, Slaughter’s book contains a number

of insightful observations based on both primary and secondary sources that could represent multiple foundations for additional studies on the subjects he raises in his book, but the absence of citations negates that prospect and renders his book of little use to the specialist. For different reasons, the incompleteness of Slaughter's *Independence* leaves it a book without an audience.

The common ground shared by *Dunmore's New World*, *The Counter-Revolution of 1776*, and *Independence* is that all three represent an attempt to provide a synthesis of key developments in Great Britain's Atlantic empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. James Corbett David concludes his book with a brief essay, "A Note on Method: Biography and Empire," which addresses the need for a synthesis but at the same time highlights the central problem with such efforts. David begins by observing that "the exploration of eighteenth-century empires seems to require a wide-angle lens" (David, 185). He identifies that the difficulty with many syntheses lies with topic definition, and he advocates a microhistorical approach that also allows for the author to develop the larger panorama of the time period. David successfully accomplishes this goal with his biography of Lord Dunmore. Gerald Horne and Thomas Slaughter should be commended for their attempts to develop an interpretive syntheses; the lack of clarity in defining their topics represents the underlying problem for their respective works and limits their usefulness to readers. Thomas Slaughter's book is well written, and Horne offers a semblance of scholarship by making an effort to cite (albeit incorrectly) his sources. James Corbett David's book avoids these errors and missteps and deserves recognition for his contribution.

J. KENT MCGAUGHY

*Houston Community College, Northwest*

Mark L. Thompson. *The Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013). Pp. 265. Notes, map, index. Cloth, \$48.00.

*Contest for the Delaware Valley* was recently named the 2014 winner of the Philip S. Klein prize for the best book on Pennsylvania history. It is well deserved. Making excellent use of Dutch and Swedish archives to study an often-neglected region, Thompson has crafted a compelling framework for understanding the intersection of nationalism and cosmopolitanism

in early America. He argues that “cosmopolitan forms of interaction and communication coexisted with, and indeed reinforced, national identities,” and that “empire fostered an interpenetration of the local and the national in the colonial setting” (13).

Thompson begins with the earliest European visitor to the Delaware Valley, Henry Hudson. The crew of the *Halve Maen* were both English and Dutch, and Hudson was an Englishman even if he captained a ship belonging to the Dutch East India Company. This kind of international cooperation was common, because ostensibly national ventures often became international as merchants cast a wide net for capital and talent. In other words, imperial ventures were often “Patriotic in principle” but “cosmopolitan in practice” (33).

The bulk of the book—three of the six chapters—focuses on the Söderkompaniet (Swedish South Company) and its colony Nya Sverige, better known as New Sweden. The South Company was a corporate chimera: dreamt up by the Dutchman Willem Usselinx, sponsored by the Swedish crown but funded by Dutch and German capital, operated largely by colonists from Finland, and led by the Dutch-born German Peter Minuit, who cut his teeth in the Dutch West India Company (WIC) as director of New Netherland. This multinational patchwork of capital and political allegiance was ambiguous enough to contain many contradictory visions, to be simultaneously a machine for generating Dutch profits and the vessel of Swedish imperialism in the Baltic and Atlantic.

Thompson is at his best when he examines the way that these contradictions played out on the ground, through the everyday actions of colonists rather than through the words of mercantile theorists. New Sweden was a trading colony, and was therefore predicated on flow; it welcomed people and goods from all nations. Yet the Swedish South Company was not the only power to claim the Delaware Valley: the region was contested by the WIC, the English proprietors of Maryland, and rogue New Englanders led by George Lambertson. So the South Company also blocked the flow of people and goods as a way of performing sovereignty, including acts of aggression such as tearing down trading posts and trampling the flags of rival princes. The actions of cosmopolitan men often served patriotic ends, as when South Company employees from Finland, Germany, and England threatened interlopers in the name of the Swedish crown. In this way, Thompson argues, the formation of imperial identities—the crafting of the relationship that turned subjects and sovereigns into a transatlantic imagined community—often flowed from the colonial fringes to the metropolitan center rather than the other way around.

Thompson's supple analysis also shows the limitations of national identification, and the points at which they simply fractured. Allegiance, he points out, was often conditioned upon protection, and colonists from all nations were often willing to declare allegiance to any sovereign whose officers could provide effective governance. The WIC conquered New Sweden in 1654 and transformed it into New Amstel, and then in 1664 the Duke of York's agents conquered New Amstel and transformed it into an appendage of New York. In each case conquest followed a prolonged period of decay, and colonists deserted in droves as it became clear that their governments could not defend them against Native American attacks or aggression from encroaching Europeans. Colonists of all nations were often willing to transfer allegiance to their conquerors. Because their loyalty was so important for the new regimes to secure, however, they were able to extract recognition as minority populations, often with special privileges such as religious toleration, exemption from trade restrictions, and even separate courts of law, gaining what Thompson calls "a new form of power that came with ethnic solidarity" (147).

There is much to admire about Thompson's book, which is the most sophisticated and comprehensive treatment of the Delaware Valley that has been produced in decades. It makes a strong argument for the significance of early modern nationalism, a case that is based on careful examination of the contradictions inherent within ideas about nations and that paradoxically derived its power from those contradictions. As Thompson demonstrates in an epilogue that takes the history of the Delaware Valley all the way into the early American Republic, careful attention to the interplay of nationalism and its countervailing forces has important implications for our understanding of eighteenth-century Anglicization, Pennsylvania's unruly pluralism, and the development of racial identities.

Thompson gives ample credit to the agency and power of Native American nations, who were more powerful than the hardscrabble European outposts and as savvy traders often controlled the terms of economic exchange. He shows that Lenapes and especially Susquehannocks were decisive actors in shaping the course of events in the Delaware Valley, intervening decisively between squabbling colonial agents on a number of occasions. This makes it all the more surprising that Thompson neglects to bring his sophisticated analytical apparatus to study these Native American nations. Despite his consistent focus on European ethnicity and nationalism, he misses opportunities to explore the ways that these concepts operated in the Indian countries.

This is an unfortunate omission, given recent scholarship highlighting the complexities of Lenape identity, such as Gunlög Fur's analysis of gendered nationhood in *A Nation of Women*, and sources that Thompson himself cites which describe the Susquehannocks as a collection of "united nations" (139). Indian ethnicities, forms of national belonging, and relationships between people and polity, all cry out for interrogation.

Still, if the strength of a book can be judged by the paths that it opens for those who follow, then Thompson should be commended for inviting further scholarship that explores these subjects. *Contest for the Delaware Valley* suggests productive new ways of studying the interplay of sovereignty, nationalism, and the messy realities of how big ideas manifested in the midst of sordid rivalries. The prominent roles played by the Swedish South Company, the WIC, and the city of Amsterdam (which owned the colony of New Amstel) suggest that future work can further explore the tensions between familiar forms of nationalism and the peculiarities of corporate sovereignty.

MATTHEW KRUER

*University of Oklahoma*

Ian K. Steele. *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013). Pp. xvi, 688. Illustrations, maps, tables, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, \$39.95.

Scholars have long been interested in the treatment and redemption of colonists taken as captives by Native Americans and integrated into their communities. Yet, the extant literature is disproportionately focused on the New England region. The same attention has not been paid to Allegheny country, where "the rich military history of this contested region has paid scant attention to captives" (4). Ian K. Steele's *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country* corrects this gap by refocusing the study of captivity on Allegheny country and "putting captives at the center of a study of the cultural and military war for Allegheny country" (4).

Steele's investigation of captivity is more than simply an attempt to track those taken by Indians. Instead, it uses the evolution in the taking of captives from 1745–65 to explore the cultural, social, and political implications of captivity within the context of imperial conflicts between the British and French. Steele's work offers insight into the role of captivity in shaping

Indian and colonial cultural values as both sides struggled to understand the changing nature of the cultural borderlands of the Ohio Valley. In charting the shifts to captivity during peacetime and war, Steele illuminates how captives were seized, the grueling process of re-education and integration into Indian communities, and the challenges freed captives faced in returning to colonial society. In doing so, he makes a compelling case for the impact of captivity in forging a unique American identity deeply invested in narratives of personal freedom.

Divided into five sections, Steele's book addresses three major aspects of captivity: the taking of captives, assimilation into Indian communities, and the consequences for redeemed captives. Parts 1 and 2 address evolving tactics for taking captives from peacetime raids to clashes during the Seven Years' War and the Anglo-Indian War of 1763–65. While both colonists and Indians took captives, the taking of prisoners by colonists was a practical decision. For Indians, seizing colonists was a symbolic act and part of their cultural framework. Successful raids were seen as rites of passage for young men. Indians often found themselves drawn into imperial rivalries, such as when the Canadian government directed Indian raids on Pennsylvania traders "that disrupted their rivals' trade and diplomacy" (34). The taking of traders often contradicted the cultural emphasis Indians placed on raids as martial acts, though no such problem occurred when clashing with Virginian and Canadian soldiers in the Ohio Valley. These conflicts became increasingly violent and established a "culture of captivity" on the eve of widespread war (71).

While peacetime captivity was aimed at taking rival Indians, traders, or colonial soldiers, wartime raids transition from a cultural rite to "a contest to preserve and strengthen settlements of one's own culture, and to thwart rivals" (73). Unlike British or French captives, taken as prisoners and quickly exchanged, Indians took captives with the intent to assimilate them into Indian communities. The re-education of captives, explored in part 3, was a grueling process for captives and a "display of cultural confidence" in the eyes of Indians (185). Before integration could begin captives had to survive the retreat into Indian Territory. This was a "baptism into a different life for captives" (187). Indians killed those too young, too old, or too sickly to make the perilous journey. Survivors were forced through re-education programs. Immersion saw European languages forbidden, death as a punishment for escape, and a forced separation of European captives. Steele's nuanced discussion of White Indians stands out as one of the more noteworthy moments

in the book, as he skillfully illustrates the cultural flexibility experienced by those embracing Indian culture.

Steele's most powerful conclusions are found in parts 4 and 5, which engage with life after captivity and the cultural impact of captivity narratives. Although many did return to colonial society, "captives were all marked for life" and faced myriad struggles reintegrating into societies that viewed them with great skepticism (354). Redeeming captives were part of the ongoing negotiations taking place on the cultural frontiers of Allegheny country. While escape was one dangerous option for captives, most were redeemed through the efforts of others. Gift exchange, diplomatic negotiations, and raids on Indian communities were the most common ways colonial groups sought to free their friends and family.

Those freed by the efforts of others were viewed with suspicion upon their return home. Many redeemed captives felt they could "never truly go home again," returning home as cultural hybrids straddling both white and Indian societies thanks to their bilingualism, newfound survival skills, and supposed divided loyalties (351). The ease with which one rejoined society was shaped by age, gender, and the time spent in captivity. Young children, for example, rarely maintained "independent memory of their life before captivity," such as their birth names or native language (356). Girls returning as young women rarely adjusted to their native societies, while captive young men had more options for finding a way of life upon their return.

The hostility and skepticism facing redeemed captives represented an emerging culture in Pennsylvania. Returning colonists found it difficult to gain reacceptance in "white society." This increasingly racial conception of colonial society was reified through captivity narratives. Here, Steele makes an effort to move away from a literary analysis of captivity narratives by viewing them "in their more immediate context, the remaking of Pennsylvania" (384). Captivity narratives posed a threat to white Pennsylvania, as their cross-cultural nature challenged many of the Christian, white, and male assumptions of society. But they also helped Pennsylvanians, and Americans, forge a new identity. One of the book's most important contributions can be found in Steele's discussion of how, as these narratives became more widespread, the imperial perspective so prevalent during the 1750s and 1760s gave way to "an imagined American community" and an American identity rooted in notions of personal freedoms and the fight for individual autonomy (384).

*Setting All the Captives Free* is an important corrective to the overemphasis on captivity in the New England region and extensively researched.

Steele relies on colonial newspapers, printed tracts, letters, and archival collections. Most impressive is Steele's use of technology, drawing heavily from genealogical websites and using the SPSS database to chart the 2,788 captives taken during this twenty-year period. Steele turns attention to the tactics used to take captives, what it meant to be taken into captivity, and the struggles to return to a society skeptical of one's motives and sincerity. All of this is framed within the context of growing frontier violence, imperial rivalries, and the gradual decline of Quaker Pennsylvania. While a more thorough discussion of the emergence of a "white society" and the racial implications of captivity in Pennsylvania could be warranted, it does not detract from the contributions made by this book. Thanks to his engaging writing style, Steele's book can be used in a wide range of graduate courses or upper-level undergraduate classes. Ultimately, this is an essential book for scholars interested in the cultural and military history of Allegheny country.

PETER KOTOWSKI  
*Loyola University Chicago*

Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton. *Banishment in the Early Atlantic World: Convicts, Rebels and Slaves* (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2013). Pp. 309. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback, £13.99.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, judicial transportation, military and political exile, and forced migration characterized legal cultures in Great Britain and its North American colonies. In *Banishment in the Early Atlantic World*, Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton explore the processes of expulsion and the outcomes for those banished—criminals, rogues, vagrants, military and political offenders, religious dissidents, rebels, the poor, and bound laborers. Adopting an Atlantic perspective, the authors use a number of case studies to explain how various forms of banishment developed and changed in the British empire. The authors show that British authorities traditionally utilized banishment as a penalty for criminals and as a mechanism to remove undesirable people from mainstream society. Colonial authorities in British North America continued this practice, but they redefined whom they deemed troublesome or rebellious. For the British mainland colonies and the Caribbean, "banishment for political, racial or religious purposes was the



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norm rather than a penalty for criminal offenses" (3). Lawmakers, military leaders, and political officials used legislation as a means to legitimate banishment, but many offenders sought legal redress, indicating that legalism was understood in a cultural context. Morgan and Ruston assert that banishment became a critical but complicated feature of legal systems on both sides of the Atlantic, shaping the lives of exiles as well as their communities in the British empire.

The book is divided into two parts, with the first offering a "largely Eurocentric view" of the legal and political evolution of banishment in England, Ireland, and Scotland (4). With its legal roots in the late Elizabethan period, banishment emerged as a more formal means for authorities to manage and remove rogues, vagabonds, and gypsies, and other men and women they deemed undesirable. During the Interregnum, the systems of criminal law and punishment faced increasing criticism for its severity, particularly in regards to the death penalty, and legal and judicial authorities turned to criminal transportation as a less severe means to punish and dispose of offenders. Many aspects of this practice were poorly recorded, but Morgan and Rushton adeptly explain the mechanics of transportation, including the processes for petitioning and pardoning, the range of European and colonial destinations, and the consequences for returning prematurely. They also give attention to the Scottish system of banishment, contrasting its character and processes with those of England. They asserted that "Scottish banishment was most often *banishment from*, rather than *transportation to*" suggesting that the intention was to expel offenders from their respective communities (29).

In the latter portion of part 1, the authors explain that English and colonial authorities used banishment to purge communities of religious dissidents, ethnic groups, and political factions. On both sides of the Atlantic in the middle of the seventeenth century, authorities perceived Quakers as a threat to stable government, and in New England, specifically Massachusetts, local authorities responded with particular severity by banishing or enforcing the death penalty upon troublesome Quakers. On a much larger scale, Cromwell used transportation to remove thousands of Irish rebels as well as women, children, and the poor to the West Indies. The authors emphasize here that this removal was a form of "ethnic cleansing" (62). By the early eighteenth century, it was evident that English authorities sought a stronger legal policy in regards to banishment. The authors examine the Jacobite Rebellions and navigate through the legal difficulties England experienced

in prosecuting and punishing the rebels to show how authorities worked to legitimate banishment within a legal framework.

Part 2 of the book centers on banishment in British North America and the Caribbean. Similar to their metropolitan counterparts, colonial authorities used banishment to purge their communities of people whom they believed threatened public peace and social order, including religious dissidents, political rebels, Native Americans, and felons. However, Morgan and Rushton distinguish colonial practices from those in England, arguing that banishment in the colonies was more commonly used for political reasons instead of criminal ones. In addition, as the colonies continued the practice into the eighteenth century, banishment gradually became racialized and linked to slavery. The authors note that the exception to this pattern was the Acadians or French Neutrals, who were considered an ethnic and cultural threat and expelled from Nova Scotia during the mid-eighteenth century. While the Acadians left few personal documents, historians have more records from banished groups in the late eighteenth century, many of which vehemently expressed resistance to the removal process. Morgan and Rushton show how the Philadelphia Quakers exiled to Virginia and a group of prisoners in Charleston expelled to St. Augustine protested the legitimacy and legality of their detention. The last major and arguably most disreputable of the British expulsions in their Atlantic empire was the banishment of St. Eustatius's inhabitants. The British confiscation of islanders' property, their maltreatment of the Jewish population, and the expulsion of many of the island's merchants threaded together what Edmund Burke lamented as a "violation of the laws of nations to national dishonour" (229).

Morgan and Ruston's *Banishment in the Early Atlantic* is a well-researched study skillfully depicting the legal construction of banishment and its ramifications, primarily in the British Atlantic World. Rich in detail, their study uses banishment as a lens to better understand forced migration, cultural and ethnic diversity, and the influence of imperial power in an increasingly connected empire. The work is fluidly constructed and Morgan and Rushton impressively interweave major themes of legality and legitimacy regarding expulsion with a vivid portrayal of the physical and emotional toll experienced by the exiles and their loved ones. One issue with the book is that much of its framework and approach is explained in the conclusion rather than the introduction. For example, Morgan and Ruston note that "legal

#### BOOK REVIEWS

and political-administrative records” were invaluable as a cornerstone for the work and they also provide their justification for the Atlantic World perspective in the conclusion (231). However, this minor shortcoming hardly detracts from the larger value of the work. In sum, Morgan and Rushton’s contribution illuminates the emergence of banishment as a fundamental and integral aspect in legal cultures on both sides of the Atlantic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

NICOLE K. DRESSLER  
*Northern Illinois University*

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Pennsylvania Historical Association 2016 Annual Meeting Call for Proposals

The Pennsylvania Historical Association invites proposals for its 2016 annual meeting to be hosted by Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, October 6–8, 2016.

The conference theme will be “Technology, Business, and the Environment,” but the program committee welcomes proposals on all aspects of Pennsylvania and Mid-Atlantic history. In addition to sessions focused on traditional scholarship, the program committee encourages panels that feature pedagogy, public history, or material culture. Roundtable discussions that foster audience involvement are welcome as well. Full session proposals are strongly preferred, but the committee will consider individual papers. Graduate students are encouraged to submit proposals. The PHA also supports student research with a poster session showcasing work focused on all aspects of Mid-Atlantic history.

All program participants must be PHA members at the time of the annual meeting.

Proposals must be submitted electronically by February 15, 2016, to: <https://sites.google.com/site/pha2016meeting/>

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PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES, VOL. 82, NO. 4, 2015.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

For further information, please contact Beverly Tomek, Assistant Professor of History, University of Houston–Victoria: [tomekb@uhv.edu](mailto:tomekb@uhv.edu).

### **Call for Student Research Proposals Pennsylvania Historical Association 2016 Annual Meeting Shippensburg, PA**

Recognizing the importance of introducing the next generation of scholars and teachers to the best practices of the profession, the Pennsylvania Historical Association is pleased to announce the inclusion of a poster session for student research at its 2016 annual meeting. Proposals must list a faculty mentor and may include up to three students per proposal. The proposals may consist of topics focused on any historical theme, period, or methodological approach related to the Mid-Atlantic region. Students will be expected to conduct original, primary source–based research, preferably in an archival setting, during the course of their project along with significant secondary source analysis. The committee will also consider projects that address innovative techniques for teaching Pennsylvania history at the K-12 level.

Research for the project need not be completed by the May 15 application deadline, but the proposal abstract should convey a clear understanding of the historical and scholarly context of the specific subject matter. We encourage students currently working on projects to submit their proposals as soon as possible. The program committee will inform applicants and faculty mentors of their proposal's status during the summer, with a project completion check to be confirmed by September 15. Undergraduate students selected for the session will receive a complimentary one-year PHA membership and the registration fee will be waived.

Proposal Due Date: May 15, 2016

For additional information or to submit a proposal, please visit the 2016 PHA annual meeting website at <http://sites.google.com/site/pha2016meeting/>. Questions may be directed to Dr. John Bloom at [jdbloo@ship.edu](mailto:jdbloo@ship.edu)

### **State Museum and Archives Complex Turns Fifty in 2015!**

On Saturday October 24, 2015, Pennsylvanians from across the Commonwealth will come together at The State Museum to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of The State Museum and Archives Complex in Harrisburg. At this black-tie dinner, produced by the JDK Group, we will welcome governors, community

leaders, historians, and other proud Pennsylvanians to celebrate the rich history of the state.

Guests will progress through the museum for interactive opportunities with curators and museum staff. The event will also include a preview of two new exhibits: *Pennsylvania Modern Architecture Juried Photo Exhibit* and *Pennsylvania Icons*. This fundraising event will benefit the Pennsylvania Heritage Foundation, which financially supports the priorities of The State Museum and State Archives through private funding for educational programs, exhibits, capital projects, and preservation. Sponsorship opportunities are available and include valuable benefits for supporters. Your sponsorship will assist in educating and inspiring people of all ages so that the past will become a useful tool for understanding the present and envisioning the future.

For more information, please contact PHF at 717-787-2407 or RA-paheritage@pa.gov.

### Catholic University Starts Archives Blog

The Catholic University of America's University Archives in Washington, DC, has recently started a blog on Catholic history called "The Archivist's Nook." It can be accessed at: <http://www.lib.cua.edu/wordpress/newsevents/category/acua/archivistsnook/>

### New Journal on Pietism Now Available

The *Journal for the History of Reformed Pietism* (JHRP) has been launched in the Netherlands. JHRP is a blind-reviewed online journal for the history of Reformed Pietism in Early Modern times and aims to offer a platform for researching Reformed Pietism from an international and interconfessional perspective. You can access it via <http://jhrp.godgeleerdheid.vu.nl/index.php/jhrp>, where you can register to acquire a login and password. The editors are advised by a board of leading scholars in the field, whose names appear on the home page.

### 2016 History Education Conference

The National Council for History Education Conference will be held in Niagara Falls on April 21–23, 2016. The theme of the conference is "Crossing Borders" and more information can be found at [www.nche.net/conference](http://www.nche.net/conference).