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Send books for review to Andrew Arnold, History Department, 115 Lytle Hall, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania, Kutztown, PA 19530, arnold@kutztown.edu.

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The Pennsylvania Historical Association advocates and advances knowledge about the history and culture of Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic region, because understanding how the past informs the present helps us shape a better future. PHA achieves this mission by fostering the teaching and study of Pennsylvania history and culture through:

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ON THE COVER: *The First Three*. American Red Cross fundraising poster ca. 1920, honoring the first Americans to die in the Great War. Thomas Enright of Lawrenceville, PA is at the top. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania State Archives, Poster Collection (MG-200, #191).

THE GREAT WAR AND MODERN AMNESIA

STUDYING PENNSYLVANIA'S GREAT WAR, PART 1

Barbara A. Gannon
University of Central Florida

ABSTRACT: This article is an introduction to this journal's special two-part edition on Pennsylvania in World War I. At the centennial of the Great War in Pennsylvania it is uncertain how much residents of the Keystone State remember about World War I. World War II, fought by the greatest generation, overshadowed their fathers' war. In order to remind Pennsylvanians about this critical period in the state's history, this edition, Part 1 of a two-part series, highlights important historical issues, including religious history, military history, and the history of criminology. The goal of these editions is to commemorate the service, suffering, and sacrifices of Pennsylvanians—men and women, black and white, at home and overseas—at the centennial of the war that was supposed to end all wars.

KEYWORDS: World War I, Pennsylvania, memory

At the end of the World War I segment in my military history course, I discuss the Meuse-Argonne, the greatest, most decisive American battle that no one in the class knows about. My lecture ends with a picture of the American Battle Monuments Commission cemetery, which honors the American dead and missing from that final battle of the war that did not end wars. In one class, a student raised his hand after looking at the almost endless rows of crosses and asked, "Are they *all* Americans?" It is not surprising that someone who came of age in the twenty-first century, when the number of war dead does not exceed eight thousand in two separate wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, would find the more than fourteen thousand men and women memorialized in this single cemetery shocking. Among the dead and missing commemorated in this landscape, seventeen hundred Pennsylvanians—an Abbot, Adzentoivitch, Alfonso, and even a Trump—are together for all eternity.

Among these brothers and sisters is Alfred L. Johnson, an African American Pennsylvanian in the all-black Ninety-Second Division; there are no color lines in this cemetery.¹

The title of this introductory article is both an homage to a wonderful book, Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory*, and a statement on the nature of American war memory at the centennial. While Fussell chronicled how World War I profoundly changed the very nature of how Europeans remember, one may wonder if Americans at the centennial remember World War I at all. In honor of all the men and women who died in this war, the next two editions of *Pennsylvania History* hope to present a partial remedy for this forgetting. Because of the status of the Great War in American memory, Linda Ries, our editor, and I were concerned about finding enough articles for one edition, let alone two. However, we have been enormously gratified by the fine articles in this edition and those we have planned for the next. In both volumes, scholars examine a number of fascinating aspects of the Great War and Pennsylvania. Topics include everything from the sacred—religion and war in Pennsylvania—to the almost sacrilegious—crime and punishment. Redemption may be found in strange places; some of those who sinned against society became soldiers overseas and their story will be chronicled in the next edition. When the war ends, death comes home; the flu ravages Pennsylvania. Women also serve and suffer in war and peace; Pennsylvanians nursed soldiers and civilians. When the war ended, monuments were built and museums saved artifacts, but as the decades passed, the war faded into memory and then often forgotten.

Despite this amnesia, Pennsylvania's Great War was more than about a single battle; instead, from the shipyards of Philadelphia to the steel mills of Pittsburgh, the state mobilized for total war. Its National Guard Division, the Twenty-Eighth Infantry Division, became one of the hardest-fighting units of the war. The American Expeditionary Force commander, John Pershing, nicknamed this unit the "Iron Division." Even beyond the state's National Guard, hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvanians—black and white, men and women—served in a variety of functions in the army, navy, and marine corps. Overall, about ten thousand Pennsylvanians were killed in action; among these were African Americans who served in support units, though some like Alfred L. Johnson served in combat units. As many as two thousand women performed clerical functions for the navy and marine corps in Philadelphia; they were among the first women who ever enlisted in these services as "yeomen (F)." Others served overseas; women served as nurses

and doctors in combat hospitals staffed by Pennsylvania's civilian hospitals. Some of these women died at home, a victim of the influenza epidemic; in our second edition, we will have a remarkable article on this catastrophe.²

Pennsylvanians at home supported the war effort in factories and shipyards. Steel produced in Pittsburgh made artillery shells, naval guns, armor plating, and a host of other war materials. Philadelphians built merchant ships; the unrestricted submarine warfare that prompted American involvement targeted these types of vessels and required the navy to build more ships to fight U-boats. As part of this effort, Philadelphians built the largest shipyard in the world, stretching over two-and-a-half miles. Despite these accomplishments, not everyone supported the war effort, such as the pacifist Quakers and Mennonites. Guy Aiken's short article on the American Friends Service Committee chronicles their wartime humanitarian efforts overseas and the price they paid at home for their pacifism. In addition, other Pennsylvanians, including socialists, believed that the working class of the belligerents should refuse to fight one another. The government's efforts to suppress dissenters is another important chapter in the state's history.³

Ironically, the people who questioned the war won the battle for memory. As the years passed, particularly in the 1930s, Americans questioned the value of their participation in the "European" war. Americans came to believe that their involvement had been due to profit-seeking arms dealers, "Merchants of Death," who manipulated Americans into joining the Allied powers. These views strengthened when the war that ended all wars did not; instead, a Second Great War devastated Europe twenty years after the first ended. Eventually, the memory of the second war replaced the first, the greatest generation of World War II sacrifices remembered, their fathers' World War I military service mostly forgotten.⁴

Not all religious-minded Pennsylvanians objected to the war; however, some of these men and women were singled out because of their religion. Karen Guenther offers a remarkable micro-study of how German churches at home fared as Pennsylvanians fought German armies overseas. Pennsylvanians likely have forgotten how many of their fellow citizens spoke German regularly until World War I, even those who had been in the United States for some time. At that time, anti-German sentiment prompted the language to be outlawed in churches, schools, and was suppressed elsewhere. While many readers may be aware of German churches in Pennsylvania, they may not be as aware of the Philadelphia-based organizations that began a religious movement that continues to shape the United States one hundred years

later. Richard Kent Evans identifies the rise of Christian fundamentalism in America as partly rooted in Pennsylvanians who came to believe that the Great War really was the war to end all wars because it signaled the End Times and the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Ironically, a horrific war made End-Timers happy. These men and women were likely the only people in the Allied nations disappointed when the war ended. When peace came, the institutions these individuals created evolved and articulated a type of Christian fundamentalism that had profound implications for twentieth-century American society.

Religious history exists on one end of the spectrum, perhaps criminal history on the other. Bobby Wintermute does a rare service; in this edition, he documents notions of criminality and deviance in Pennsylvania by examining a memorial wall in the historic Eastern Pennsylvania Penitentiary. In the next edition, he will document these men's wartime activities. Journals usually do not have cliff-hangers, but in this instance you will have to wait and see how these men, deemed as morally wanting, found redemption in military service.

Not surprisingly, we also cover military history, looking at two aspects of material culture. Tim Ziaukas describes the impressive monument for the first American killed overseas. Unlike many mass-produced World War I memorials, it was specifically designed for its location in Lawrenceville, now a suburb of Pittsburgh. A World War I artifact of a different sort—a French-designed American tank—may be found in the Pennsylvania Military Museum in Boalsburg. Karen Tidwell and Mike Siggins explain that Americans came late to the war when warfare on the Western Front had stalemated in the trenches. Desperate to break the impasse, the Allies developed the first primitive armored forces. Americans joined the war and used French-designed, American-built tanks. Both vignettes, which document the war's material legacies, represent a tangible link to Pennsylvanians' World War I experience.

As we stand here at the centennial of World War I, those connections seem few and far between. Like Hervey Allen, a Pennsylvanian and famous novelist who wrote one of the outstanding memoirs of the war, we know that “there is no plot, no climax, no happy ending” to either this war or these editions. Despite this cynicism, which seems endemic to World War I studies, it is our hope that these editions may, in some small way, connect the generation of 2017 with that of 1917.⁵

BARBARA A. GANNON is an associate professor of history at the University of Central Florida and has written on a number of subjects, including veterans, Civil War memory, and Pennsylvania's military history.

NOTES

1. American Battlefield Monuments Commission, Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery, <https://www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/europe/meuse-argonne-american-cemetery#.WLMtLvIogw8>. For Pennsylvanians interred in the cemetery: <https://www.abmc.gov/database-search>, search Pennsylvania, Meuse-Argonne Cemetery. The title of this article is based on the classic study of WWI memory: Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
2. William A. Pencak, Christian B. Keller, and Barbara A. Gannon, *Pennsylvania: A Military History* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2016), 212–21; “Pennsylvania in the First World War,” The United States World War One Commission, <http://www.worldwar1centennial.org/index.php/pennsylvania-ww1-centennial-home.html>.
3. Pencak, Keller, and Gannon, *Pennsylvania: A Military History*, 212–21.
4. *Ibid.*, 225.
5. Hervey Allen, *Toward the Flame: A Memoir of World War I* (1926; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), xix.

“A NEW PROTESTANTISM HAS COME”

WORLD WAR I, PREMILLENNIAL DISPENSATIONALISM, AND THE RISE OF FUNDAMENTALISM IN PHILADELPHIA

Richard Kent Evans
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ABSTRACT: This article interprets the rise of Protestant fundamentalism through the lens of an influential network of business leaders and theologians based in Philadelphia in the 1910s. This group of business and religious leaders, through institutions such as the Philadelphia School of the Bible and a periodical called *Serving and Waiting*, popularized the apocalyptic theology of premillennial dispensationalism. As the world careened toward war, Philadelphia's premillennial dispensationalist movement grew more influential, reached a global audience, and cemented the theology's place within American Christianity. However, when the war ended without the anticipated Rapture of believers, the money, politics, and organization behind Philadelphia's dispensationalist movement collapsed, creating a vacuum that was filled by a new movement, fundamentalism. This article reveals the human politics behind the fall of dispensationalism, explores the movement's rebranding as fundamentalism, and highlights Philadelphia's central role in the rise of Protestant fundamentalism.

KEYWORDS: Religion, fundamentalism, Philadelphia, theology, apocalypse

On July 12, 1917, Blanche Magnin, along with twenty other members of the Africa Inland Mission, boarded the steamship *City of Athens* in New York and set sail for South Africa. Magnin, twenty-two years old, was a student at the Philadelphia School of the Bible, which had been founded just three years earlier. Seventy-six other missionaries from various Protestant denominations and organizations, including the Mennonites, the YMCA, and the fundamentalist Moody Bible Institute, joined the Africa Inland Mission on board. Though these missionaries shared the same ship, the same destination, and, to some degree, the same faith, they did not share the same mission.

The Mennonites hoped to spread a testimony of peace in a world at war. The YMCA hoped to build institutions in South Africa through which a gospel of muscular Christianity could take root. But Blanche Magnin did not intend to work for peace or lay the foundation for the propagation of Christianity in Africa. Her concern was much more immediate. To the leaders of the Philadelphia School of the Bible, working toward peace, building churches, and converting lost souls were mere “entanglements” that distracted Christians from their only role in the End Times: proclaiming the gospel to the few remaining nations that had not already heard it.¹

It was not an opportune time for a transatlantic crossing. World War I was at its climax. Peace negotiations had broken down in late 1916. The United States entered the war in April, the political landscape in Europe was changing by the day, and submarine warfare had resumed. Yet the Africa Inland Mission believed they had a key role to play in the End Times.² The *City of Athens* arrived off the coast of Cape Town around noon on August 10, 1917. It had been an uneventful crossing, and the passengers were told that they could expect to disembark within a few hours. Magnin was gathering her belongings when she felt a “slight shock.” Thinking nothing of it, she returned to her work when suddenly the *City of Athens* was rocked by a massive explosion. As it awaited permission to dock, the ship drifted into an underwater mine set by the British Navy in hopes of defending its South African colony from German assault. A few crew members died instantly from the explosion. The rest lowered the seven wooden lifeboats and instructed the women aboard to gather on the deck of the sinking ship. The crew instructed the men to go below deck to fetch life preservers and flare guns. All the passengers survived the explosion and made it safely onto the lifeboats. Despite being only one mile from shore, no one in Cape Town seemed to notice the accident. Magnin, the other passengers, and the crew feverishly bailed out the water from the overcrowded lifeboats and waited for rescue that was not coming.

Afternoon faded into night, and the weather began to worsen. A sudden storm tossed the leaky lifeboats ferociously. Blanche Magnin’s boat was one of the first to capsize. She tried desperately to keep her head above water, but failed. As she sank beneath the churning waves, she looked up to see a South African businessman clinging to the overturned boat with one hand and reaching for her with the other. He managed to grab her hair and pulled her back up. Magnin’s lifeboat capsized three more times before rescue finally arrived. Fourteen passengers and five crew members drowned awaiting

rescue. Missionaries from other organizations died, but every member of the Africa Inland Mission, including Blanche Magnin, survived.³

Blanche Magnin, like her fellow students and teachers at the Philadelphia School of the Bible, was a premillennial dispensationalist. For this group of apocalyptically minded Protestants, World War I was the final event in world history: the war of Armageddon heralding the Second Coming of Christ. Premillennial dispensationalism was a technique for mapping prophetic biblical texts onto world historical events. Conceived by British theologian John Nelson Darby in the mid-nineteenth century and further developed in the United States by Bible teachers and evangelists like William E. Blackstone and Cyrus Scofield, premillennial dispensationalism posited that all of biblical history could be subdivided into seven distinct eras called dispensations. The Old Testament described the first five dispensations, beginning and ending with the inauguration of a new covenant between God and Israel. Jesus inaugurated the sixth dispensation when he enacted a new covenant with the Church: the covenant of grace. Darby and theologians he influenced believed that this sixth dispensation would end with an apocalyptic event called the Rapture, which is often, but not always, imagined as the ascension of living believers into the air to meet Jesus. The Rapture begins the seventh and final dispensation. Those non-Christians left behind will find the final years of human history to be among the worst. This period, called the Tribulation, will be marked by warfare, famine, and political turmoil. This chaos will give rise to a political and religious figure whom premillennial dispensationalists call the Antichrist. This person will “control the military system, the worship, and the commerce of the world.”⁴ He (this figure is invariably imagined as a man) will rule over a demonic world system until he is vanquished by Jesus in a war called Armageddon. Premillennial dispensationalists believe that a cataclysmic battle will take place in which Jesus will lead a holy army against the Antichrist and his minions. After Jesus’s victory, he will establish a Millennial Kingdom and rule the world from his throne in the rebuilt temple in Jerusalem.⁵

In the United States, premillennial dispensationalism as a distinct movement reached its zenith during World War I. For this group of Protestants, World War I was Armageddon, the culmination of world history. Convinced of this interpretation of the Last Days, premillennial dispensationalists in the 1910s built an institutional structure largely in and around Philadelphia that was tasked with the goal of warning the world that World War I was the final milestone preceding the Rapture of the true Church. Capturing the broader sense of doom within American society, premillennial dispensationalists

warned that the “great peace palace at the Hague will become a barracks,” and that the world would not again see peace this side of the Rapture.⁶ This interpretation of the events of World War I resonated with millions of Americans who were shocked by the brutality, the mechanical efficiency, and the destruction wrought by the first global modern war. But of course, the world did not end with the Armistice in November 1918. Defeated, premillennial dispensationalism faded as a distinctive movement, though its core ideas became a hallmark of a subsequent theological and political movement: fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism was a political, social, and religious movement that began in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The origin of fundamentalism is often traced to the publication of a series of religious pamphlets titled “The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth,” written by a group of evangelists and published from 1910 to 1915 at the behest of a wealthy oil tycoon named Lyman Stewart. The pamphlets articulated the evangelists’ growing unease with the direction of the Christian faith in the new century. The authors felt that increasing numbers of Americans doubted the veracity of the Bible, especially in the face of the growing influence of critical biblical scholarship and modern scientific theories such as evolution. But the fundamentalist movement began in earnest in 1919 when six thousand Christians gathered in Philadelphia to mark the first meeting of the World Christian Fundamentals Association. The WCFA consolidated fundamentalists’ anxieties into a movement with agreed-upon doctrines, including the virgin birth of Christ, the inerrancy of the Bible, and the physical resurrection of Christ. Perhaps the most significant doctrine embraced by this new fundamentalist movement was a commitment to the importance of premillennial dispensationalism.⁷

While the networks that sustained premillennial dispensationalism collapsed at the end of World War I, its theology became a key feature of the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s. One of the first scholars to take this connection seriously was Ernest Sandeen. In his 1970 book *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, Sandeen argued that the fundamentalist movement that arose in the 1920s was the product of two prior theological movements: premillennial dispensationalism as developed by Darby and those who followed his teachings, and a literalist style of reading the Bible that developed at Princeton Theological Seminary in the late nineteenth century. In 1980, George Marsden’s *Fundamentalism and American Culture* supplanted Sandeen’s work as the definitive text on fundamentalism. Marsden agreed with Sandeen that premillennial dispensationalism and Princeton theology influenced the

later fundamentalist movement, but placed a great deal of emphasis on what he calls the fundamentalists' "militant opposition to modernity"—their reactions to the political, cultural, and social developments associated with modernity, including critical biblical scholarship, evolutionary theory, and internationalism. Matthew Avery Sutton's *American Apocalypse* (2014) returns premillennial dispensationalism, and apocalyptically inclined "radical evangelicalism" more generally, to the center of his narrative of the rise of fundamentalism. Sutton argues that fundamentalists inherited the dispensational premillennialism of Scofield and Blackstone and used a belief in the immediacy of the End Times to develop a "politics of apocalypse" that wielded tremendous influence over American politics throughout the twentieth century. Though these three key texts differ in important ways, they agree that the premillennial dispensationalist organizations that flourished in the 1910s were a, if not *the*, precursor to the fundamentalists who wielded such a tremendous influence over American social life throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.⁸

When we approach the relationship between premillennial dispensationalism and fundamentalism from the ground up, however, this narrative becomes more complicated. The premillennial dispensationalist network based in and around Philadelphia viewed their movement as distinct from, and at times in opposition to, the nascent fundamentalist movement. And though many of the key figures of the dispensationalist movement became leading fundamentalists, others—including dispensationalism's key intellectual Cyrus Scofield—wanted little to do with fundamentalism. And there is some evidence that the feeling was mutual. Indeed, *The Fundamentals* themselves had nothing to say about the end of the world. It was not until the World Conference on Christian Fundamentals in 1919 that fundamentalism and premillennial dispensationalism became conjoined. What was the relationship between these two movements before the emergence of fundamentalism as a distinct and self-conscious movement? It is important to disentangle premillennial dispensationalism *as a theology* from premillennial dispensationalism *as a movement*. Of course, many fundamentalists embraced the theology of premillennial dispensationalism. Indeed, Sutton argues that one of the two styles of fundamentalism—that which emerged from the 1919 World Conference on Christian Fundamentals headed by William Bell Riley—held a commitment to premillennial dispensationalism as a litmus test for authentic faith. But the success of premillennial dispensationalism as a set of ideas overshadows the failure of premillennial dispensationalism as a movement.⁹

This article is a study of the transition from premillennial dispensationalism to fundamentalism in Philadelphia. The premillennial dispensationalist network in Philadelphia included many of the key figures of the movement as a whole, including Cyrus Scofield, Charles Huston, and William Pettingill. From Philadelphia, these men built a network of Bible teachers, evangelists, educators, and business leaders committed to the idea that global events should be interpreted through a premillennial dispensationalist lens. This network built institutions, including colleges, Sunday school networks, publishing houses, and conventions through which premillennial dispensationalism became a self-contained and often schismatic religious movement. But there was a key flaw in their plan. So much of the movement they built depended upon World War I being the final chapter in human history. When the war ended in 1918 but the world did not, the premillennial dispensationalist movement in Philadelphia collapsed. William Bell Riley, who had been ambivalent about premillennial dispensationalism throughout the war, took advantage of its collapse and took over the formidable network and institutions his more apocalyptically-minded colleagues had built to bring about the 1919 World Conference on Christian Fundamentals, the beginning of the self-conscious fundamentalist movement.

BUILDING A DISPENSATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Cyrus Scofield, an evangelical Bible teacher and pastor, popularized premillennial dispensationalism in the United States. Scofield was born in 1843 in Tennessee. After the Civil War (he fought for the Confederacy and won a Cross of Honor after the Battle of Antietam), Scofield pursued a career in law and politics in Kansas. He grew up in a Christian household, but was not himself a believing Christian until he was thirty-six years old. While living in St. Louis in the early 1880s, Scofield ingratiated himself in that city's evangelistic community. He was involved in the YMCA, the American Home Missionary Society, and with James H. Brookes, pastor of Walnut Street Presbyterian Church and a prominent early dispensationalist. In 1888, Scofield was ordained as a minister in the Congregationalist denomination. Soon thereafter, he began publishing tracts explaining the doctrine of premillennial dispensationalism, which he had inherited from Brookes.¹⁰

In 1909, Scofield published his own edition of the King James Version, which featured annotations and commentaries that presented a futurist, premillennial interpretation of the End Times. The *Scofield Reference Bible* became wildly popular in the United States and Europe, and he capitalized on this by delivering lectures and organizing Bible conferences in which he expanded upon his interpretations. At one of those conferences, Scofield met William Pettingill, a Philadelphia pastor, and the two men decided Philadelphia needed its own Bible school devoted to training missionaries and pastors in the doctrine of premillennial dispensationalism.¹¹

William Pettingill was one of the most influential dispensationalist evangelists in the United States at the time. From 1899 to 1928, he served as the pastor of North Church, a Baptist denomination in Wilmington, Delaware. He was one of several prominent premillennial dispensationalist thinkers listed in the *Scofield Reference Bible* as a consulting editor. In 1911, Pettingill founded a periodical titled *Serving and Waiting*. Under his leadership (he was the periodical's chief editor and primary contributor), *Serving and Waiting* became one of the leading American periodicals devoted to premillennial dispensationalism. It accompanied the International Sunday School Lessons, a uniform teaching plan from the New York Bible Society that was popular with the Sunday school movement and with in-home Bible studies all around the world. In *Serving and Waiting*, Pettingill offered a forum for the growing movement and connected current events to Scofield's interpretation of prophecy. As premillennial dispensationalism grew in popularity, Pettingill saw a need for a Bible school in Philadelphia. The idea held an allure for Scofield as well. By heading the Philadelphia School of the Bible (PSB), Scofield's teaching could reach a broader audience and he could consolidate the growing premillennial dispensationalism movement under his control. Scofield and Pettingill planned to build a massive organizational infrastructure under the banner of the Philadelphia School of the Bible (PSB).¹²

To accomplish this, Scofield and Pettingill needed money. They turned to Charles Huston, vice president of Lukens Steel Company in nearby Coatesville, Pennsylvania. Huston was well known in the premillennial dispensationalist movement as being a generous philanthropist with a seemingly limitless supply of money (Lukens Steel generated revenues at the time in the tens of millions of dollars). Huston was an enthusiastic supporter of PSB and was awarded a seat on its board. Once the school was in place, Scofield consolidated other premillennial dispensationalist organizations into the PSB. *Serving and Waiting* went from an independent publication to the official

periodical of PSB. Scofield bought out a dispensationalist publishing house in New York City and moved its operations to Philadelphia. The publishing wing of PSB gained exclusive rights to Scofield's increasingly influential and lucrative lectures and tracts.¹³ Scofield, Pettingill, and Huston began planning annual premillennial dispensationalist conferences in Philadelphia. Premillennial dispensationalists throughout the country took notice of the rise of Philadelphia as the capital of the new movement. Scofield, Pettingill, and Huston were referred to as the "Philadelphia Committee," and it became understood that the flagship meeting of premillennial dispensationalists would be held every autumn in Philadelphia.¹⁴

By 1917, Scofield, Pettingill, and Huston had consolidated large swaths of the movement under the auspices of the Philadelphia School of the Bible. But all the institution building belies the fact that the premillennial dispensationalist movement kept a close eye on current events, believing that the war in Europe proved that the final events of world history were well underway. According to the teachings emanating from Philadelphia, the events that preceded the Rapture began perhaps as early as the First Balkan War in 1912. This war was the first major European conflict since the 1909 publication of the *Scofield Reference Bible*, and many premillennial dispensationalists immediately recognized the war as a key milestone in End Times prophecy. The First Balkan War fit neatly into Scofield's biblical commentary. The Ottoman Empire appeared to be crumbling at the hands of Gentiles who, it was assumed, would pave the way for the return of the Jews to Palestine. A group of premillennial dispensationalist missionaries stationed in Cuba wrote to Pettingill expressing excitement that biblical prophecy was coming to fruition right before their eyes: "Oh, Brother, do you see the sign in the East? The falling Turk, the Gentile who is treading toward Jerusalem . . . This war in Turkey may be the definite opening of Palestine for the Jews." The belligerents of the First Balkan War fit neatly into a biblical paradigm. The Ottoman Empire's three insurgent European provinces (the Gentiles) were combating a clearly demonic world power (the Ottomans who possessed Jerusalem) in order to pave the way for God's chosen people to return to the Promised Land.¹⁵

According to Scofield and the PSB, the insurgent European kingdoms of Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro played a key role in triggering Armageddon. In the narrative of the End Times, they were the heroes. By rising against the modern-day Babylon (the Ottoman Empire) that was holding Jerusalem captive, these three kingdoms were fulfilling an End Times prophecy that the "concert of Europe" was unable to fulfill. Europe proper was largely a

bystander in these interpretations of prophecy. The role of the Gentiles, premillennial dispensationalists thought, was to reshape the world and prepare the way for Jews to return to Israel. It was assumed that the great and powerful Christendom—the Church militant and triumphant—would fulfill this role. Much to the premillennial dispensationalists’ surprise, it appeared God had chosen three “vest-pocketed kingdoms,” as Pettingill put it, from within the new Babylon itself.

After the founding of the Philadelphia School of the Bible and the consolidation of *Serving and Waiting* into Scofield’s new organization, the First Balkan War evolved into a larger European war. And as the war evolved, so did the premillennial dispensationalists’ interpretations of prophecy. Pettingill wrote in 1914 that, while “no one can be positive that the great European war now in progress marks the beginning of the end of the present dispensation . . . no student of the Word of Prophecy can read the daily war news without a quickening pulse. ‘Armageddon’ is on everybody’s lips.” While the premillennial dispensationalists in Philadelphia were confident that Armageddon had begun, premillennial dispensationalists elsewhere disagreed. James Gray, who had worked with Scofield on the *Scofield Reference Bible* and was serving as president of the Moody Bible Institute, believed that the war of Armageddon could not be fought in Europe, but only in Palestine. Though premillennial dispensationalists throughout the country differed in how they read current events, they shared a commitment that history could be read through the lens of scripture, and that they had a role to play in triggering the End Times.¹⁶

The primary way that premillennial dispensationalists believed they could bring about the Rapture was through international missions. This hinged on the belief that the Rapture would not commence until every nation had heard the gospel. This was only fair, after all. How could God judge a nation for rejecting the gospel if that nation had not received it? Yet premillennial dispensationalists did not believe the Church had the burden of *converting* every nation. On the contrary, they just had to ensure that the gospel had indeed arrived at even the most remote locations in the world. For this reason, the premillennial dispensationalist missions emanating from the Philadelphia School of the Bible took on a different character. They were firmly against missionary efforts that took a long-term approach to nation building, humanitarianism, and church planting. Scofield called such efforts “entanglements.” As the war dragged on, the premillennial dispensationalist network in Philadelphia began to emphasize the importance of international missions. The Philadelphia School of the Bible sponsored like-minded missionaries whom they sent

around the globe and worked with interdenominational organizations—like the Africa Inland Mission—for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel to those distant corners of the globe that had not yet received it.¹⁷

The premillennial dispensationalist tendency to withdraw from and at times object to the missionary efforts of other Protestant Christian organizations was the product of both their theology and their interpretation of the tragedies that beset their missionaries in the field. The Philadelphia School of the Bible also sent missionaries to the Central American Mission, an organization Scofield founded in 1890. Like the Africa Inland Mission, the Central American Mission's goal was to proclaim the gospel to unreached populations in South America. Four months after the sinking of the *City of Athens*, the headquarters of the Philadelphia School of the Bible's Central American Mission suffered another near disaster. The headquarters of the Central American Mission in 1917 was located in Guatemala City, Guatemala. In December of that year, the PSB had three missionary families in the city. The Bishop family was stationed there in part to facilitate the arrival of other missionaries to Central America. Two other families, the Hunters and the Aberles, were in the city that December on their way to other countries.¹⁸

Beginning on Christmas Day 1917, a series of massive earthquakes leveled Guatemala City, resulting in thousands of deaths and widespread destruction. A theater collapsed, killing almost everyone inside. Hospitals, prisons, churches, and government buildings all collapsed. Both the British and American consulate buildings were destroyed. The earthquakes caused a massive humanitarian crisis and left a quarter of a million people homeless. The Philadelphia School of the Bible had just sent the Hunter family, which included three children, to Guatemala City. If their passports had not been delayed, they likely would have already left Guatemala for their final destination of Honduras. Had tragedy again beset Philadelphia's premillennial dispensationalist movement just four months after the PSB's missionaries miraculously escaped the sinking of the *City of Athens*? After several days of anxiety, the leaders of the PSB received a cablegram from the Aberles and Hunters. Both families were in Guatemala City during the earthquakes. They and the Bishop family were left homeless, but all had survived. Again, the PSB's missionaries were spared when others were not.¹⁹

The sinking of the *City of Athens* and the earthquakes in Guatemala reinforced the belief among the premillennial dispensationalists in Philadelphia that the world was indeed in its final days. They believed they were accomplishing their divine duty in those last days by attempting to witness to the

few unreached souls left on earth, but they were met at every turn with adversity of apocalyptic proportions. For premillennial dispensationalists, though, bad news was really good news in disguise. Earthquakes held a special significance within their theology. In the Olivet Discourse, portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus offered apocalyptic signs that would precede the Last Days. These signs included wars, famine, false prophets, and earthquakes. The Guatemala earthquake was, for Philadelphia dispensationalists, further proof that the ongoing war would not end before the Rapture of the Church.

Even those premillennial dispensationalists most reticent to admit the apocalyptic significance of the war were forced to acknowledge the fulfillment of prophecy in the events of December 1917. After months of fighting, Ottoman forces surrendered the city of Jerusalem to the British on December 30. With Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, in Christian hands, many premillennial dispensationalists believed there was very little prophecy left to be fulfilled. They had, for decades, suggested that Jews would return to Palestine and convert en masse to Christianity in the Last Days. Scofield, who remained throughout the war more reluctant than many of his colleagues to confirm the prophetic significance of the war, finally admitted after the fall of Jerusalem that its capture represented “at last a real sign!”²⁰ The Battle of Jerusalem also rescued the image of Great Britain in the eyes of the PSB. Before the war and throughout much of the fighting, premillennial dispensationalists criticized Great Britain for the rising agnosticism of its people, its violent methods of imperialism, and for growing too close to Rome. By paving the way for the return of the Jews to Palestine, though, it was clear to the premillennial dispensationalists of Philadelphia that Great Britain was fighting on behalf of God after all.²¹ When *Serving and Waiting* rang in the new year in January 1918, they wondered, now that “the great war is well on towards the end of a full quadrennium,” whether there would be an opportunity to mark another.²²

WILLIAM BELL RILEY AND THE PHILADELPHIA PROPHETIC CONFERENCE OF 1918

Believing the Rapture was imminent, the Philadelphia Committee planned a different kind of Bible conference for May 1918. Instead of the usual Bible conference, Scofield, Huston, and Pettingill made plans for a conference strictly devoted to understanding current events in light of biblical prophecy

of the End Times. The Philadelphia Prophetic Conference, more than any before, was explicitly devoted to studying, predicting, and anticipating the “return of the Lord Jesus,” amidst the “shadow of the tragedy of world-wide war.”²³ The Philadelphia Prophetic Conference commenced on May 28, 1918. Though the Academy of Music building held 3,300 people, it was not large enough to accommodate everyone. Most of the key thinkers in premillennial dispensationalism were slated to speak, including W. W. Rugh, Harris Gregg, Mark Matthews, William Bell Riley, James Gary, A. E. Thompson, and P. W. Philpott. One key figure of the premillennial dispensationalist movement, however, was notably absent. Cyrus Scofield was now seventy years old, and his health was beginning to fail. He sent a message to the conference wishing them well, “especially in the putting forth of a fearless warning that we are in the awful end of the Times of the Gentiles, with no hope for humanity except in the personal return of the Lord.” Most of the speeches at the conference shared a common theme: the prophecies concerning the End Times in the Bible have almost all come to pass and, accordingly, the Rapture could take place at any moment. One speaker pointed out that the gathering of the Jews into Palestine, which according to the premillennial dispensationalist reading of the Bible was one of those key prophecies, has “been largely fulfilled.” To him, “even if nothing else were to come of the people of Israel than what has already been fulfilled, what seems like a human impossibility has already been accomplished.”²⁴

World War I factored heavily into the speakers’ interpretations of prophecy as well. One of the speakers interpreted a prophecy in the Book of Daniel as saying that the world would see the rise of “four great world-empires” before the Rapture. The first empire to rise and fall was the Babylonian Empire, followed by the Achaemenid or Persian Empire, the Greeks, and the Romans. According to this reading of Daniel’s prophecy, there could be no fifth world empire. This is why Charlemagne, Napoleon, and others have been thwarted in their attempts at uniting much of the world (or at least Europe) under their authority. Many of the speakers at the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference believed that the Kaiser was trying to establish the same foredoomed world empire. But, of course, he could not be successful because, according to one speaker, the “Word says that there shall be no fifth world empire until Jesus shall set up His kingdom.” One speaker, who had been in the Middle East during much of the fighting, saw the hand of God at work in the Battle of Jerusalem. After witnessing the British take Palestine, paving the way, he believed, for the return of the Jews, the speaker declared

that “if the hour of the passing of the Turk from Palestine has come, it means great things to the Promised Land. It means the end of the desolation. . . . The hour of deliverance is at hand!” On the whole, the speakers at the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference were less interested in convincing the audience of the truth of premillennial dispensationalism than in celebrating the nearness of the Rapture. As one speaker put it, “There is nothing in these tempestuous days that gives me so much strength as the knowledge that I may hear the shout of the Lord at any moment.”²⁵

However, not every speaker at the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference was convinced that the world was in its last days. By 1918, William Bell Riley had cemented his reputation as one of the most brilliant minds of the premillennial dispensationalist movement. Riley was born in Indiana in 1861. He converted to Christianity when he was a teenager and entered the ministry at an early age. From 1897 to 1942, Riley served as the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis. From his position there, Riley exerted a tremendous influence over conservative Protestantism in the Midwest. He founded and served as the first president of an evangelical college called the Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School (now Northwestern University St. Paul). Billy Graham succeeded him. In the 1920s, as editor of a periodical titled *The Christian Fundamentalist*, Riley fought against the teaching of evolution in schools and argued passionately against the encroaching theological liberalism in American Christianity.²⁶

Historians know William Bell Riley as one of the movement’s leading figures. Before he was the “Grand Old Man of Fundamentalism,” Riley was an influential figure in premillennial dispensationalism. But Riley was somewhat unique among its leaders. Unlike Scofield, Pettingill, and Huston, Riley was not convinced that World War I was the war of Armageddon that prophecy indicated would herald the Second Coming of Christ. He preferred a slightly more composed approach to the doctrine of the Second Coming. Riley, like all premillennial dispensationalists, believed in the literal, physical Rapture of the Church and the bodily return of Jesus to the Earth. Unlike many of his colleagues, however, Riley did not believe that the Rapture was necessarily imminent. He did not share their confidence that the war in Europe, the political developments in Palestine, and the reports of earthquakes around the world were obvious heralds of the End Times.

Throughout his five keynote addresses during the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference, Riley argued that it was folly for the premillennial dispensationalist movement to look so closely at current events for signs of imminent

apocalypse. In a very subtle and nuanced exposition of I Thessalonians, Riley laid out his case that the Second Coming might not be as imminent. He began by arguing against a theologically liberal interpretation of the Second Coming. Riley believed, like all premillennial dispensationalists, that the Second Coming was not strictly figurative, calling such an argument only a “little less sacrilegious” than denying that God had inspired the Bible. However, he reminded his colleagues that Christ’s Second Coming had been imminent for two thousand years. He urged them to understand the timing of the Second Coming as “indefinite.” After all, Riley argued, Christ himself had warned that “no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father” knew the time of the Second Coming. If Christ did not know when he would return, Riley wondered, why were premillennial dispensationalists so preoccupied with reading prophecy through the lens of historical events?²⁷

Because Riley was not convinced that the Second Coming was impending, he developed a more long-term approach to the premillennial dispensationalism. Riley did not share Cyrus Scofield’s fear of institutionalization and centralization. Though Philadelphia premillennial dispensationalists shied away from the “entanglements” of church planting, interdenominational missions, and social work, Riley saw these kinds of activities as central to the future of the movement. Riley argued that “if we are to impress the world with the value of the ‘second coming’ propaganda, we will only do so by a diviner practice.” The premillennial dispensationalists, Riley believed, had to be *more* committed to social causes—those “entanglements”—than any other Christian group if their teachings were to have any influence. He exhorted the conference attendees not to fulfill the stereotype of being “lazy lookers for a catastrophic end to the present order and an easy introduction of the Utopian dream,” but to live a life of “sacrificial service.” Riley urged his audiences to invest more heavily in foreign missions, to commit themselves to “the establishment of desirable Christian institutions,” and to stand out among all other denominations “in the realm of social service—such as giving to the poor, providing for the hungry, clothing the cold, visiting the sick, sympathy with the soldier, with the bereaved, showing brotherhood to the imprisoned and love for the social outcast.” For Riley, these were not “entanglements” but the central mission of the Church.²⁸

Though Scofield, Pettingill, and other Philadelphia premillennial dispensationalists saw no need in building institutions for the long term (which may not exist, after all) Riley argued before the conference that premillennial

dispensationalism should move from a distinctive theological movement toward a denomination unto itself. "No single denomination," argued Riley, "is as definite in its fellowship and as distinct in its doctrinal teaching as is the brotherhood of premillennialism." The weakness of the premillennial dispensationalist movement, according to Riley, was that it was decentralized and lacked political ambition. Riley saw enormous potential in premillennial dispensationalism. The only thing preventing this massive and growing movement from winning the whole world for Christ was that they had resigned themselves to the idea that the world would end at any moment.²⁹

Riley's desire to remake the movement had little influence in the months that followed the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference. Most people in the movement were more confident than ever that the Second Coming was impending. The return of the Jews to Palestine was, for many, the final indisputable sign that all pre-Rapture biblical prophecy had been fulfilled. After the fall of Jerusalem, it was evident to many premillennial dispensationalists that the purpose of the war had been to clear the path for a "United States of Europe," which would create the Jewish state. The Rapture, however, was sure to happen before such a state was created, and likely before the United States of Europe was brought to fruition. Pettingill, anticipating the news of the fall of Jerusalem for his readers, reminded them "before all this, however, the Church is to be caught away, and this may occur at any moment. It behooves us to *watch every minute*. That's the word: watch every minute!"³⁰

DISPENSATIONALISM COLLAPSES

On November 11, 1918, the unthinkable happened. The war to end all wars had come to an end, but the world had not. The end of World War I was a crisis for premillennial dispensationalists. Sure that the war would not come to an end before the Rapture, many leading figures in the premillennial dispensationalist movement viewed the Treaty of Versailles with surprise and disappointment. If the Great War was not the immediate precursor to the Rapture, what was it?

Not having a clear answer, the Philadelphia premillennial dispensationalist movement was in full retreat after the war. Pettingill stopped interpreting world events. *Serving and Waiting* began publishing polemical articles excoriating the rise of theological modernism, petitioning for money for the PSB, and searching for evidence of Jews returning to Palestine. Scofield, too,

took the disappointment of the war's end especially hard. Though his health continued to worsen, Scofield never stopped anticipating the rise of the Antichrist. He became obsessed with centralization. All around him, Scofield saw his decentralized Bible conference movement coalesce into annual international conferences. Though, ironically, some of the blame for this trend can be attributed to Scofield. It was he, after all, along with Pettingill and Huston, who consolidated much of the premillennial dispensationalist movement under his authority. Scofield viewed the process of centralization within the Bible conference movement as precisely what the Antichrist wanted the Church to do. A movement that previously provided Bible teaching to the masses was now just the kind of hierarchical organization that an Antichrist could commandeer for his own satanic purposes.³¹

The end of the war was also very difficult for Charles Huston, the Philadelphia premillennial dispensationalist movement's chief financier. When wartime demand for steel suddenly stopped, Lukens Steel found itself overextended. During the war, the company had to build more facilities and hire more workers to try to keep up with demand. Without this demand, steel plate manufacturing facilities stood idle and Huston's workers grew restless. This restlessness was felt throughout the American iron and steel industry. Beginning in May 1919, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, in association with the American Federation of Labor, began organizing the country's steelworkers. The AA called for a general strike and on September 22, 1919, a quarter of a million American steelworkers (and five hundred of Huston's workers) walked off the job. Suddenly, the seemingly unlimited supply of money that underwrote so much of the premillennial dispensationalist movement in Philadelphia dried up.³²

Amidst this postwar crisis, William Bell Riley emerged from within the models created by the Philadelphia Committee to reshape the movement in his own image. The Philadelphia Prophetic Conference of 1918, during which William Bell Riley expressed his frustration at dispensationalism's lack of ambition, was the last prophecy conference organized by the premillennial dispensationalist community in Philadelphia. Shortly after it ended, Riley contacted Charles Huston, Cyrus Scofield, and William Pettingill with a new idea. Riley wanted the Philadelphia Committee to plan a different kind of conference, a conference devoted to organizing a new movement, distinct from dispensationalism, and chiefly committed to preserving the fundamentals of the Christian faith. He hoped this second conference could meet in Philadelphia at the same time as the premillennial dispensationalists'

annual prophetic conference. Riley's idea, which would become the World Conference on Christian Fundamentals, marks the first emergence of a distinct fundamentalist movement. However, the contentious relationship between Riley and the members of the Philadelphia Committee proves that the transition from premillennial dispensationalism to fundamentalism was not a smooth one. Riley took advantage of a moment of weakness, disappointment, and confusion within dispensationalism caused by the end of World War I. The emergence of fundamentalism in Philadelphia was not a natural evolution but a coup.³³

Riley assured the Philadelphia Committee that he was not trying to co-opt their movement. He imagined that conference attendees and speakers could move from one conference to the other "without the loss of time or money." Huston was an enthusiastic supporter of Riley's fundamentalist idea from its inception. With two conferences, the Philadelphia Committee could focus more on premillennial dispensationalism while Riley and his cohorts were hard at work defending the fundamentals of the faith.³⁴

Pettingill, however, did not believe the conferences could exist amicably. He believed that allowing Riley to move forward with his plans was tantamount to turning over the reins of the premillennial dispensationalist movement. He warned Huston that the Philadelphia Committee had built a brand through their prophetic conferences. Dispensationalists all over the world looked forward to the Philadelphia conferences every year, Pettingill argued, and failing to provide a conference would be a "calamity." Pettingill viewed Riley's growing movement as a threat to premillennial dispensationalism and urged Huston not to sacrifice their own movement for Riley's. "The people," Pettingill warned Huston, "are looking to the Philadelphia Committee to provide leadership in this crisis."³⁵

Huston did not see Riley as a threat because he failed to see the difference between Riley's movement and premillennial dispensationalism. Riley's ambitions for the World Conference on Christian Fundamentals were evident from the initial planning. Once he had created his "distinct fellowship" out of the premillennial dispensationalist movement, his goal was to create a network of Bible schools, seminaries, religious colleges, periodicals, book publishers, churches, and denominational boards that were committed to fundamentalism. Riley wanted his Worldwide Christian Fundamentals Association to be distinct from premillennial dispensationalism. Dispensationalism offered a critique of Christendom. Riley's wanted to remake American Christianity so that it could become the New Christendom.³⁶

Scofield was adamantly opposed to Riley's fundamentalist conference. After Riley released his conference call and the statement of beliefs for his new movement, Scofield responded by saying, "there has been NO response to that. No one is thinking about it." To Scofield, Riley's new fundamentalist conference was a plot on behalf of a few fundamentalist Baptists to take control of American Christianity. Scofield believed that the world needed to be awakened to the fact that Jesus could return at any moment. No such awakening could ever come about through such a long "theologically phrased plan supplemented by plans for a new theological seminary." Riley and the fundamentalists had turned their backs on the importance of End Times prophecy. In his efforts to build a denomination out of the husks of the premillennial dispensationalism movement, Riley had forgotten the central importance of End Times prophecy. And Riley's efforts to create a centralized fundamentalist movement were precisely the type of centralization Scofield had warned about.³⁷ Scofield worried that the Antichrist could easily take advantage of the large-scale organizations like the one Riley proposed. He suggested that a group of like-minded premillennial dispensationalists should assemble "a statement of belief which may be a protest" against Riley's burgeoning fundamentalism.³⁸

Despite Scofield's opposition, the World Conference on Christian Fundamentals was held between May 25 and June 1, 1919. Over six thousand delegates gathered in Philadelphia representing forty-eight states and several countries. The fundamentalist movement was born. It was clear to Riley that his movement was distinct from the premillennial dispensationalist movement from which it arose: "I have no question that the future will look back to this World Conference . . . as a meeting of equal, if not greater moment than that which resulted from the nailing of the ninety-five theses o'er the door at Wittenberg. I have no question of the hour, for a new Protestantism has come!"³⁹

CONCLUSION

William Bell Riley may have overstated his "new Protestantism," but he was correct in pointing out the novelty and importance of the new movement he had built. The emergence of fundamentalism in Philadelphia was not a seamless integration of prior theological and political movements into one fundamentalist coalition. The transition from premillennial dispensationalism to fundamentalism in Philadelphia was more complicated and contentious

than theological affinities would suggest. Fundamentalism arose from within a premillennial dispensationalist movement that was weakened by unfulfilled prophecy after the end of World War I. As Riley predicted, the premillennial dispensationalists had grown too assured that the war was the foretold war of Armageddon. And when the Rapture failed to appear, the movement built around the imminence of the Second Coming all but collapsed. Riley took advantage of this weakness and harnessed a long-standing and powerful coalition of Philadelphia premillennial dispensationalists into the new political, religious, and social movement of fundamentalism. Though Scofield resented fundamentalism and had a particular antipathy toward Riley, it was his own organizational prowess that allowed fundamentalism to be so successful in the 1920s and beyond. Pettingill gave Riley's fundamentalism a powerful, influential, and recognizable voice through his writing in *Serving and Waiting*. In Charles Huston, Riley's new movement had a supporter with deep pockets and years of experience building an effective network for the propagation of his religious beliefs. The almost instant national prominence of the early fundamentalist movement can be attributed, in part, to the sizable foundation already built by the premillennial dispensationalist movement in Philadelphia.

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NOTES

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35. William Pettingill to Charles Huston, October 2, 1919, Box 20, Huston Papers.
36. William Riley to J. B. Adams, July 11, 1918, Box 15, Huston Papers.
37. Cyrus Scofield to Charles L. Huston, August 21, 1919, Box 20, Huston Papers.
38. Cyrus Scofield to Charles Huston, September 15, 1919, Box 20, Huston Papers.
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REMEMBERING PRIVATE ENRIGHT

THE CONTEXT OF THE LAWRENCEVILLE DOUGHBOY

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ABSTRACT: For many among the thousands who attended its dedication in 1921, Lawrenceville's statue of a doughboy evoked the service and the sacrifice of their native son, Thomas F. Enright, perhaps the first American to be killed in World War I. **KEYWORDS:** Thomas F. Enright, Pennsylvania, Lawrenceville, World War I, World War I memorials

The first American casualty of World War I was probably a private from Pennsylvania¹ who was honored, as far as many of his contemporaries were concerned, with a statue that a United States congressman has called "one of the most meaningful World War I memorials in the country."² New York sculptor Allen G. Newman's bronze of a doughboy designed for a Pittsburgh neighborhood, Lawrenceville, evokes the service of nearly 300,000 Pennsylvanians who served in the Great War,³ as those who remembered would have called the conflict, but Newman's soldier at the time of its unveiling in 1921 conjured the sacrifice of one local hero, Thomas F. Enright, who was among the first three doughboys to be killed in the war and may have been the first to die. Both the soldier and the statue merit reexamination.

It is unclear how much or even if Enright was in mind during the planning for the monument, but a year after the war ended in 1918, Lawrenceville's Board of Trade established a memorial committee, with Lawrence W. Dunn, chairman, and it raised \$10,000 for the project. The City of Pittsburgh then commissioned Newman (1875–1940), a sculptor with a national reputation,⁴ to create a monument where Butler Street and Penn Avenue intersect at the entrance to Lawrenceville, long an important crossroads. From the early nineteenth century, that triangle of land, dubbed "the Forks in the Road,"

marked where the turnpikes to Butler on the one hand and Greensburg on the other converged.⁵ Strategically important, triangular “Doughboy Square,” then, would specifically honor those three thousand soldiers who served from wards within three of Pittsburgh’s neighborhoods, which included parts of Lawrenceville, Polish Hill, and the Strip District.⁶

Unlike many other war memorials that were mass-produced and marketed, Newman’s work was site-specific for Lawrenceville and was one of only three cast.⁷ This statue complements the site, said Michael Kraus, curator and staff historian at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall and Museum in Pittsburgh, who was interviewed for this article: “It’s so well placed in that intersection. The proportions are perfect for that spot. And the pose is dynamic.”⁸ (A second Newman doughboy was installed in Cliffside, New Jersey, in 1929; a third remained in the artist’s collection and was exhibited occasionally, but subsequently sold by the artist’s son to a private collector, who then gave it to Rhinebeck, New York, in 1973).⁹

The eight-and-a-half-foot Lawrenceville *Doughboy* stands atop a seven-foot pedestal on which bronze panels list both those who died in service and those who served and returned home. Newman’s soldier is caught in *contrapposto*, a classical innovation revived in the Renaissance to suggest dynamism, movement, life, the shifting of the subject’s weight onto one leg. The implied movement enacts a psychological state further suggesting an attitude or emotion in the static human form, thus demonstrating that representative figures, like statues, could articulate complex human emotions. (Michelangelo’s *David*, a most familiar seventeen-foot example of *contrapposto*, might easily have been an inspiration for Newman’s *Doughboy*, for the poses of the Renaissance master’s marble and the New York sculptor’s bronze bear a striking resemblance.)¹⁰

More than twenty thousand people participated in or witnessed the *Doughboy*’s dedication on the afternoon of May 30, 1921, Decoration Day Weekend.¹¹ While the throng surrounded the veiled statue, a parade formed at 2:30 p.m., ten blocks from the site, and marched through Allegheny Cemetery and Lawrenceville. Mounted police escorted the chief marshal, Maj. Clinton T. Bundy, the Pennsylvania National Guard, a color line and guard from the US Marine Corps’ recruiting office, along with members of the American Legion and Marine Corps veterans, among others. When they arrived at the site, as schoolchildren sang “The Star-Spangled Banner,” the 107th Field Artillery, twenty blocks away at the Allegheny Arsenal, was contacted by wireless and fired a twenty-one-gun salute. Col. Churchill Mehard, who served at the Battle of the Marne, Pittsburgh Mayor Edward V. Babcock, and



FIGURE 1 Doughboy Square at Butler Street and Penn Avenue in Lawrenceville. (Photo by Tom Powers, Lawrenceville Historical Society.)

Judge Ambrose B. Reid spoke. Finally, two schoolgirls, Dorothy Ziegler and Isa Wolfe, unveiled the statue. Mrs. William J. Gilbert, whose son had died in service, placed a wreath at the foot of the monument. Rev. Leon Stewart offered an invocation, and Rev. Father B. McGuigan gave the benediction.

Many in that dedication crowd undoubtedly knew that in a few weeks Enright's remains would be exhumed in France and returned to Pittsburgh for reburial at his parish cemetery, ten blocks from Newman's statue. While not cast by Newman to catch Enright's likeness, the face of the soldier was a raw reminder of their lost son or brother, neighbor or friend. "For thousands in that dedication crowd," said Kraus, "that doughboy was Private Enright."

"What's really interesting about this doughboy, though, is how beat up he is. His clothing is torn; his leggings are sagging," he continued. "But he's very muscular, very hardened to combat. . . . Here is the common man in a heroic pose."



FIGURE 2 The face of Newman's *Doughboy*. (Photo by Tom Powers, Lawrenceville Historical Society.)

You can almost see the smoke of battle still hanging around him. He could have just walked out of a trench at the front to see the carnage.” Enright wasn’t as lucky. He was slaughtered in a trench east of Verdun, the first of 10,287 Pennsylvanians and perhaps the first American to die in the war.

He took a long road to that trench. Thomas F. Enright was born May 8, 1887, in Bloomfield, the Pittsburgh neighborhood just east of Lawrenceville, the last of seven children of Ellen and John Enright, Irish Catholic immigrants, and their first child born in the United States.¹² After attending St. Mary’s parochial school in Lawrenceville, he enlisted in the US Army on September 15, 1909, and served in China, the Philippines, and Mexico, before returning to Pittsburgh. In 1916, he reenlisted in the Sixteenth Regiment, Company F, and on June 26, 1917, under the command of Gen. John J. Pershing, was sent to France, where his company was moved into the trenches near Bathelemont and then into the middle of their darkest night.

On November 2, 1917, a wintery night in northern France, Enright slung a hundred-pound pack on his back, trudged through the mud, the rats, and the scattered shells, then slipped into a trench.¹³ A soldier in Enright’s company, Cpl. Frank Coffman later wrote: “All was quiet . . . except for an occasional rat-tat-tat from some nervous machine-gunner further down the line . . . Lured on by exhaustion and a sense of safety, we wrapped our blankets around us and prepared for a few hours of restful slumber.”¹⁴

World War I veteran and writer Laurence Stallings captured what happened to the men of Company F (and Enright) in his account, *The Doughboys*:

When night fell on November 2, [a German] Assault Company was brought into the German front line and sent to the deepest dugouts to await its hour. . . . Exactly at three o’clock in the morning all hell broke loose. Enemy guns spoke in chorus, tons of metal descended heavily along the Yank front, communicating trenches were plastered with mortar fire, machine guns sent their whispering streams of nick-eled steel over the heads of the Doughboys in the line. After a strident overture, with men for the first time knowing the bone-shaking, head-rocking effect of eight-inch mortar shells breaking nearby, the fire was concentrated, isolating in a box barrage F Company, 2nd Battalion, 16th US Infantry. The box soon closed in on one platoon front. There was nothing now, on the face of the earth, which could reach this chosen platoon. The Assault Company, facing it, leaped

from their trenches and started across the two hundred meters that separated Americans from Germans. Bangalore torpedoes blasted a path through the wire. The side of the box barrage nearest the Germans now vanished, the other three sides roaring with breaking shells. The platoon first knew of the Germans' presence when grenades burst among them.¹⁵

Two hundred battle-ready German soldiers from the Seventh Bavarian Landwehr Regiment had approached the trench to capture the green doughboys for interrogation. "But to the men of Company F it was all terrifyingly new," wrote historians Meirion and Suzie Harries. "Deafened, stunned, the survivors crawled out of their dugouts and hit back with rifle butts, fists, and bombs, killing two Germans and wounding several more."¹⁶

For the Americans, seven months after the formal declaration, the war was now on. But this time, the Germans prevailed. Eleven American men were taken prisoner, five were wounded, and three soldiers were killed: Pvt. Merle D. Hay, twenty-one, of Iowa, and Cpl. James B. Gresham, twenty-three, from Indiana, were shot dead. Pvt. Thomas F. Enright, thirty, of Pittsburgh, put up a fight, apparently determined not to be taken prisoner. He was found half in, half out of the trench with his chest opened and twelve bayonet wounds over his body. His throat cut, his head nearly severed, he guarded the trench with his life.¹⁷ (While accounts vary as to who was killed first, Kraus said that the positions of the bodies suggested to him that Enright was the first to die.)

The three Americans were buried that afternoon with full military honors near where they fell.

The French government erected a monument at the site on which was inscribed: "Here lie the first soldiers of the illustrious Republic of the United States who fell on French soil for justice and liberty."¹⁸ It was destroyed by the Germans in World War II.¹⁹

The death of the doughboys shocked the country in general, the Commonwealth in particular, and the Bloomfield and Lawrenceville neighborhoods especially, said Kraus. "Pittsburgher Is First to Die Fighting with Pershing's Men in France" was a front-page headline from Pittsburgh's *Gazette Times*, announced on November 6, 1917. The three soldiers became symbols, posthumous celebrities, "something more than they could have ever imagined," wrote historian Williams.²⁰ Along with Hay and Gresham, Enright was emblazoned atop a Red Cross poster to raise money for its War



FIGURE 3 This duotone rotogravure was produced by the New York Times Company in 1919 in one of the paper's mid-week pictorials. The first three Americans to die on November 3, 1917, are pictured at the top; Enright is far left. Below are photos of the burial service and of Enright's and Hay's grave and memorial. (Enright's grave is in the background.) The item is now a part of the American Memory Collection in the Library of Congress, specifically in the War of Nations, a portfolio of rotogravure etchings. The photos of the soldiers are from International Film Series. The photos of the graves in France are from the Times Photo Service.

Fund Week: “The First Three! . . . Give till it Hurts—they gave till they died.”²¹ His early death made Enright a national hero.²²

The war ended in 1918, but Enright’s body was not returned to Pittsburgh until July 21, 1921, fifty days after the dedication of the *Doughboy* statue in Lawrenceville.²³ His flag-draped coffin lay in state in Pittsburgh’s Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Oakland. Pallbearers from Lawrenceville’s St. Mary’s School escorted it to a packed St. Paul’s Cathedral for the funeral Mass celebrated by Bishop Hugh C. Boyle. “Thousands Pay Tribute to City’s First Dead of War,” the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* headlined on July 21, 1921. He was laid to rest in St. Mary’s Cemetery in Lawrenceville. A wreath, sent by General Pershing, was placed on his grave.

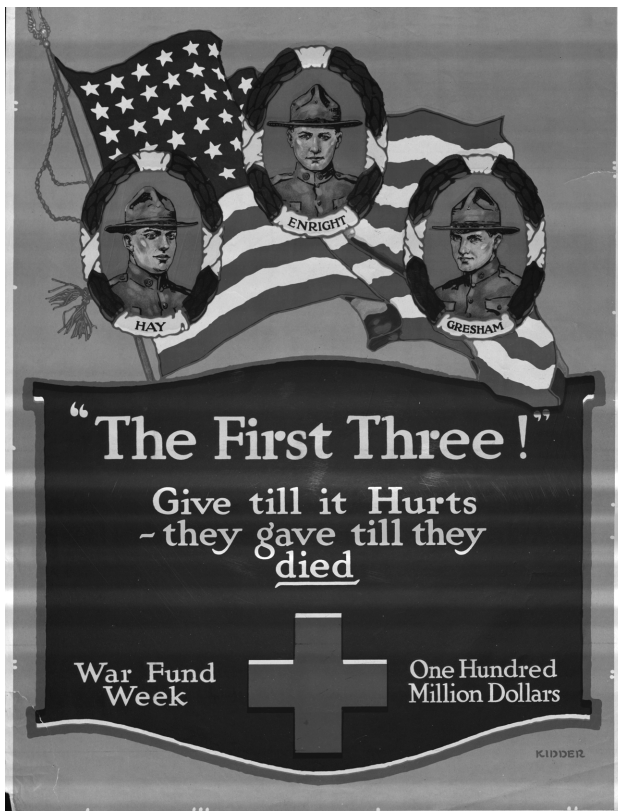


FIGURE 4 The Red Cross fund-raising poster *The First Three* featuring Enright at the top. (Image courtesy of the Pennsylvania State Archives, Poster Collection, MG-200, #191.)

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FIGURE 5 After lying in state, Enright's body is carried from Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Oakland and taken to St. Paul's Roman Catholic Cathedral for a funeral Mass. (Image courtesy of Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall.)



FIGURE 6 Enright's grave in St. Mary's Cemetery in Lawrenceville. (Photo by Tom Powers, Lawrenceville Historical Society.)

A century later, Enright's connection to the monument has been largely lost to history. Historian Budreau writes that he is "all but forgotten at home."²⁴ A theater named for him in the East Liberty neighborhood in 1928 was torn down in 1960; a "parklet," a site too small to be called a park, remains in that neighborhood and Enright Court, also in East Liberty, still carries his name. But Connors points out, "There is irony in the city having named a dead-end street for Enright."²⁵

Yet the landmark that once evoked him remains and is appreciated by its community, having been restored over the years with varying degrees of success.²⁶ In 1983, the statue was painted brown to suggest its original pre-patina surface. Community members and government officials are not restoration professionals; Kraus said, "They do the best they can with what they know and can afford."

Lawrenceville's *Doughboy* still stands, perhaps dominating the site more than ever for the work has lost little of its power, observed Kraus, also a sculptor who has worked in bronze. The triangular intersection is still called "Doughboy Square." The statue's image has become the logo of Lawrenceville (designed by Paul Shifino).²⁷ "The *Doughboy* is a real piece of that community," said Kraus. "That's what it was meant to do. It was meant for those soldiers to be remembered, for their time to be recalled . . . Lawrenceville's *Doughboy* does that . . . The most important thing is that the *Doughboy* is still there."

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NOTES

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 3. "More than 297,000 Pennsylvanians served as soldiers in the Great War, with 10,287 deaths, and more than 26,252 wounded," <http://www.worldwaricentennial.org/index.php/pennsylvania-wwi-centennial-home.html>.
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A QUESTION OF LOYALTY

GERMAN CHURCHES IN READING DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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ABSTRACT: In Reading, churches formed during the colonial period gradually transitioned to using the English language in worship services, while new congregations were established to serve the religious needs of the newer German immigrants. St. John's German Lutheran Church, St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, and Zion's German Reformed Church all held German language services when the First World War began, but by the end of the war, the use of the German language in worship services and parochial education led to questions about patriotism. At the same time, institutions with German names came under attack, and prominent industrialists who were German immigrants and members of these congregations were suspected of disloyalty. This article explores the impact of the First World War on Reading's German churches and their members, particularly examining questions of patriotism and military service.

KEYWORDS: Religion, German Americans, Reading, the First World War

The First World War proved to be a challenging time for Pennsylvania's residents with German ancestry. Government officials perceived German American churches to be foreign and its members disloyal. US Army officials asked Pennsylvania Gov. Martin Grove Brumbaugh if he needed federal troops to maintain order among the Pennsylvania Germans, not realizing the difference between Pennsylvania Germans (whose ancestors had arrived in the eighteenth century and who had patriotically served in the armed forces during wartime) and German Americans. The Pennsylvania German Society discontinued its meetings between 1916 and 1920 because of concerns about anti-German sentiment. Larger cities such as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh witnessed protests against anything German, while in smaller communities,

churches continued German-language worship services throughout the war. Reading, Pennsylvania, fell between the larger cities and the smaller communities, and its residents dealt with anti-German sentiment and suspicions of pro-German activity.¹

With the outbreak of war in August 1914, newspapers in Reading focused not only on the progress of the conflict but also on how the Great War affected families in Reading and Berks County. The front page of the *Reading News-Times* announced the beginning of the war in the first column of the August 3 issue, and in column six “Reading Families Worry for Their People in Europe” as the war disrupted communication. Among those affected were Edwin A. Quier and his family, who notified William Seyfert, president of the *Reading Eagle*, that they were still in Hamburg, Germany.² The *Eagle* reported Germany declaring war on Russia on the front page of the August 2, 1914, issue, and it mentioned Reading physician Dr. Malcolm Z. Gearhart had cut short a medical conference and returned home on a British vessel instead of a German one. It also noted a German army officer employed at the Textile Machine Works, owned by Henry K. Janssen and Ferdinand Thun, returned to Germany to serve his homeland, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt attended the dedication of the battleship *Maine* anchor in Reading’s Penn’s Common (also known as City Park).³ The latter event tied together the last war with the new one, as Company I, the first regiment to represent Reading and Berks County during the First World War, came into existence during the Spanish-American War precipitated by the destruction of the battleship *Maine*.⁴

Traveling to Germany like Quier and his family was not unusual for Reading’s residents, as 2,754 of them in 1910 were born in Germany, and another 1,415 had immigrated from Austria, Germany’s primary ally in the war.⁵ The community of Reading had been heavily influenced by German immigration since the 1700s. By the time of the Revolution, at least 80 percent of the population was of German ancestry. That percentage declined by the late nineteenth century, yet almost 70 percent of the foreign-born population were natives of Germany and Austria. With increasing immigration from southern and eastern Europe in the early twentieth century, the percentage declined to 53 percent in 1900 and 47 percent in 1910. Natives of Germany, however, continued to be the single largest nation of origin, and, when including residents whose parents were born in Germany, they still heavily influenced life and culture in Reading in the early twentieth century.⁶

The immigration of German-speaking people to Reading from the 1840s to the 1910s affected Reading's churches. Denominations that had established German-language congregations in the 1750s had transitioned to using the English language in worship services by the 1850s. The spiritual and social needs of these immigrants, along with those of local residents who preferred to worship in the language of their ancestors, led to the establishment of new German-language congregations during the second half of the nineteenth century. The impact of the First World War on three of these congregations—St. John's German Lutheran Church, St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, and Zion's German Reformed Church—and their members is the focus of this article.⁷

St. John's German Lutheran Church, officially known as *Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Sankt Johannes Gemeinde*, organized in August 1860 after Trinity Lutheran Church, the first Lutheran church in Reading, began conducting services in English. Rev. Johann J. Kuendig, a native of Switzerland and assistant pastor at Trinity, was the first pastor. The congregation dedicated their church building at Ninth and Walnut streets in November 1861, and ministers from Germany and the Reading area preached in English and German at the dedication service. Local railroad companies sold excursion tickets at reduced prices for the ceremony, with announcements stating that "no hucksters or cake stands" were permitted within two blocks of the church.⁸ The congregation established a parochial school in October 1865 for religious training and education in the German language; the latter proved to be an issue after the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917.⁹ By 1909, St. John's had over fifteen hundred members, and Kuendig still served as pastor.¹⁰ Worship services used only the German language until 1916, when Rev. Philip Kirchner, Kuendig's successor, began occasionally preaching in English.¹¹

Zion's German Reformed Church, officially known as *Deutsche Reformirte Zions Gemeinde der Stadt Reading*, organized in August 1881 as a mission of the *Deutschen Synode des Ostens* (German Synod of the East) of the Reformed Church. Formed in response to First Reformed Church (the original German Reformed congregation in Reading) and subsequent Reformed congregations in Reading conducting worship services in English, Zion's transitioned from mission status by 1890. The congregation, led by Rev. Levi K. Derr, dedicated their church in August 1883 after previously holding services at Fisher's Hall and Breneiser's Hall (location of the Reading YMCA).

In 1909, Zion's had six hundred members, and Rev. Carl H. Gramm served as pastor.¹²

St. Paul's United Evangelical Church organized in March 1900, with the first service held at the Philadelphia and Reading's (Reading Railroad) YMCA building. This church developed from a schism within the Evangelical Association, a German religious group heavily influenced by Methodism. Weeknight prayer meetings, German classes, and English classes constituted the outreach activities of the congregation.¹³ The cornerstone of the church building was laid July 8, 1900, and a combined choir from the other United Evangelical churches sang special anthems.¹⁴ The group grew quickly, increasing from 152 attendees at the first services to 500 members in 1909.¹⁵ The United Evangelical Church limited pastorates to five years; as a result, St. Paul's, unlike St. John's or Zion's, changed pastors during the war.¹⁶

The outbreak of war had no immediate impact on these churches, as anti-German sentiment was not yet an issue. Because a large percentage of the population of Germany and Austria were Lutheran, their pastors were "especially ardent in their supplications" for universal peace in their sermons on August 2. At Zion's German Reformed Church, the congregation celebrated its thirty-third anniversary that Sunday, and Rev. Carl F. Gramm preached in German on "Peace, Present, Past and Future."¹⁷

Two weeks later, Rev. Philip Kirchner of St. John's German Lutheran Church used "The German Situation in the Present European War" as the theme for his sermon. The *Reading News-Times* reported, "As German-American citizens, who still have many loved ones in the Fatherland, they have intense personal interest in this war." According to the *News-Times*, Kirchner further stated, "the strongest force which will be Germany's asset in this fight will not be its strong army and powerful navy, but Germany's trust in God, which has always been Germany's stronghold in the many conflicts for its liberty and very existence during her history." Kirchner concluded with a reference to Martin Luther's hymn, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."¹⁸

The *Reading Eagle* published the entire text of Kirchner's sermon the following Saturday, and the tone differed from the account in the *News-Times*. The pastor noted, "At this time, more than ever, we are conscious of the fact that ours is a German church, where the Word of God is read and preached, and our prayers are spoken in the German language." Kirchner again attacked the American press for not remaining impartial in reporting news of the conflict, pointing out that the local newspapers relied on reports from

England and not from Germany. He explained the conflict was one caused by Serbia, England, France, and Russia. According to Kirchner,

It is a war of life for Germany, a struggle for its very existence, its liberty, its civilization. Germany enters this struggle with clean hands and a clean conscience. In this sense the war is a moral war for Germany, while England and France must be ashamed of their participation in it, as any war waged solely for greed, hatred, aggrandizement, vengeance, or jealousy [*sic*] and commercial rivalry, must be condemned as immoral, and the motive for the alliance of France and England which has lead [*sic*] these nations to enter the struggle, must be charged as immoral.¹⁹

He concluded, "The Germans can be conscious that they stand on the side of God in this war, because they are on the side of righteousness and they can be confident that God will not forsake them."²⁰

That fall, there was hope for a quick resolution to the hostilities in Europe. On October 5, St. John's German Lutheran hosted a city-wide gathering. Reverend Kirchner preached peace sermons at both services, and attendees prayed that hostilities in Europe be brought to a speedy close.²¹ The conflict, unfortunately, did not end as quickly as Kirchner and his parishioners hoped.

The war continued to be a topic for sermons over the next few years. On May 2, 1915, Kirchner read a sermon preached in Germany on the war.²² Because St. John's, St. Paul's, and Zion's included recent immigrants among their parishioners, some members had relatives serving in the German army. Mrs. Henrietta Priebe, a member of St. John's, received lengthy letters and postcards from her grandson Otto, who served in the Field Artillery in France. Shortly before her death, she received a postcard of Otto in his field uniform with a forest in the background. He also sent letters describing "the conditions and activities of the war," which she shared with Rev. Philip Kirchner, who read them to the congregation later that month.²³

While Kirchner's sermons focused on the war, those of Rev. Carl H. Gramm of Zion's followed more traditional religious themes. Topics included "Jesus the Way of the Truth and Life," "God's Promise to Abraham," "The Value of Christ's Coming," "How Can We Receive Christ," "Faith in Christ," "True Christianity," and "Walking With the Wise" in the fall of 1914 and spring of 1915.²⁴

Gramm's sermons focused mostly on the congregation's spiritual needs, but when Washington Camp 163 of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America (POSA) presented an American flag to Zion's on July 4, 1915, the *News-Times* reported he used the occasion to attack England. According to the *News-Times*, Gramm remarked, "If the United States is tricked into this war that is tearing Europe apart, don't shoot at our parents, at our fathers and mothers, but shoot at the flag that through the years has been our enemy—that is England." Gramm reportedly continued, "England tricked us into the Lusitania affair, she is now watching to trick us into another." He concluded, "If we are led into the war, by her it shall be, and when it is over we shall know how we had been blind-folded." Gramm, who the *News-Times* stated opposed the war and preached against it, also attacked local newspapers' reporting of the conflict: "Don't believe the papers you read. They are controlled by English capitalists. My message to you is don't shoot at your mothers and fathers, if we are involved into this war, shoot at the real foe of your country."²⁵

The *Reading Eagle's* account of the same sermon provided a different perspective. Gramm "warmly thanked the camp for the gift and declared that it would be cherished by the church as only a gift of such a nature can." His sermon focused on the history of the flag, noting the contributions of Betsy Ross and Molly Pitcher. Similar to other Reading Protestant clergy, Gramm also spoke on John Huss's martyrdom five hundred years earlier.²⁶ The *Eagle* did not mention any of the vicious rhetoric published in the *News-Times*, and Gramm wrote a letter to the editor of the *News-Times* condemning their "very misleading and very unfortunate" article.²⁷

For St. Paul's, there never was a question about which side the minister and the congregation supported. Washington's Birthday prompted a patriotic sermon by Rev. Henry E. Fassnacht in February 1915. At the meeting of the Young People's Society later that week, attendees received small hatchets in honor of the holiday.²⁸ That August, special programs commemorated the sixth anniversary of the church's Bible class.²⁹

Members of these congregations, meanwhile, became involved in German war relief efforts. Jacob Nolde, co-owner of Nolde and Horst Hosiery Mill and secretary of the Consistory (Church Council) at Zion's German Reformed, contributed \$5,000 toward a relief fund for war victims, to be distributed through the Red Cross and similar organizations in Germany. His co-owner George Horst, a member of St. John's German Lutheran, donated a matching amount. Ferdinand Thun, whose wife had been raised in Zion's and

whose twin sons had recently been confirmed at St. John's, and his partner Henry K. Janssen, a former member of Zion's who had recently joined St. John's, each contributed \$2,000 to the cause. Philip Bissinger, president of Reading Brewing Company and also a member of St. John's, donated \$1,000. Combined, these industrial leaders and others raised \$20,000 in contributions, with donations ranging from \$3 to \$5,000.³⁰

At first, Reading industries also supported the Allied war effort. Ferdinand Thun and Henry K. Janssen were unwilling to produce for the war, but were "willing to supply British textile plants with machinery for domestic uses." However, the sinking of the British steamship *Leo* on July 2, 1915, led Ferdinand Thun and Henry K. Janssen to decide to refuse future shipments. The *Leo* carried a large consignment of textile machinery manufactured at Textile Machine Works in Wyomissing, destined for the mills at Manchester. German U-boats torpedoed the ship off the Irish coast, and it sank with the equipment on board.³¹

The *Reading News-Times* did not support this decision. On July 10, 1915, the *News-Times* reported that the Textile Machine Works of Wyomissing "refused war orders for the allies from exporting firms of New York, which would have meant profits of \$30,000." Bloomfield & Rapp Co., of Chicago, from its New York offices, wanted the company to finish shrapnel shell forgings.³² Ferdinand Thun explained, "I consider it against the neutrality proclamation of President Wilson for this nation to make munitions of war for any of the struggling armies of Europe and Asia." When asked to explain why his firm refused to accept war orders, Thun emphatically replied, "It is barbarous, it is inhuman and it is immoral. . . . Textile Machine Company will not accept orders from any nation . . . to supply any arms or munitions to carry on this war."³³ Because the Textile Machine Works refused to fill orders for the Allies, it was included on a "white list" of manufacturers that refused to trade with England. At the same time, Thun continued to trade with German companies, even traveling to New London, Connecticut, to purchase needles and dyestuffs shipped on the *Deutschland*.³⁴

Nolde & Horst Company also turned down contracts for war supplies for the Allies as well, but for a different reason. In an editorial published in the July 23, 1915, issue of the *News-Times*, the author noted that it was not surprising because of the owners' contributions to the German war relief fund (which Thun and Janssen had also done). Also, Nolde & Horst had ample orders from the United States and did not need the business.³⁵ Another factor was a strike that began on March 13, 1914, and called off on June 14, 1915,

shutting down production until the courts ordered the striking workers back to work.³⁶ The company finally resumed operations on July 21.³⁷

Prior to the United States' entry into the First World War, the churches in Reading that used German in their worship services continued to operate without concern. Zion's German Reformed Church remodeled its building in 1915, with a new balcony installed that seated one hundred. The interior was painted and frescoed, and the aisles on the main floor were narrowed to increase seating capacity.³⁸ When Zion's German Reformed celebrated its thirty-fourth anniversary in August 1915, it provided Rev. Carl H. Gramm with an opportunity to reflect on the need for his parishioners to be more active participants in the life of the church and community. Gramm noted, "We not only know our neighborhood, our neighbors know us, and we have demonstrated our love to them until today Zion's Reformed Church is known as the neighborly church."³⁹ Gramm continued to use that slogan on church promotional materials through the end of the decade. The church slightly increased in membership during the war from 738 members in 1916 to 759 in 1918.⁴⁰

St. Paul's United Evangelical Church also faced little opposition. Rev. Henry E. Fassnacht sang a German hymn and preached in German on Mother's Day in 1915.⁴¹ Fassnacht, who served as pastor at St. Paul's from 1911 to 1916, saw the remaining indebtedness on the parsonage paid off, grading of classes in the Sunday School, and extensive improvements to the church property during his pastorate.⁴² The young people of St. Paul's started raising funds toward purchasing a pipe organ for the church in December 1915.⁴³ Fassnacht departed St. Paul's in February 1917, preaching his last sermon in German in the morning and in English during the evening.⁴⁴

For St. John's German Lutheran Church, music was a highlight of their activities. In January 1916, choir members serenaded their pastor, Rev. Philip Kirchner, with "songs of their far-a-way fatherland of Germany" and presented him with a fruit basket for his birthday.⁴⁵ That March, the church hosted a song service that included scripture lessons and community singing, with the Apollo Male Chorus and Orpheus Male Quartet accompanying the congregation.⁴⁶ The Youths' Society arranged a program that May that included songs, musical performances, a short play, a monologue, and a speech by Reverend Kirchner.⁴⁷

When the United States officially declared war on Germany in April 1917, the citizens of Reading eagerly demonstrated their patriotism through parades and rallies, and even the draft generated support. Newspapers

printed lists of enlistees in the army. Motorists developed a “salute and ride” program to carry servicemen in uniform to their destination. Women registered for various types of war work, including volunteering as nurses. Greek immigrants who were veterans of the Balkan war volunteered to serve their adopted country. According to the *Reading News-Times*, “Practically every man expressed a willingness to go to war when the time came. Volunteering for service rather than being drafted appeared to meet with more favor.” Men ineligible for military service sought opportunities to serve in other ways on the home front.⁴⁸ The American Red Cross recruited volunteers from Reading Hospital’s nursing school to serve at home and abroad, but they did not have military rank.⁴⁹ Over ten thousand men registered for the draft on June 5, 1917. Local men served in Company A (later known as B), 198th Machine Gun Battalion; Company I (later known as D), 150th Machine Gun Battalion; and Company E, 4th Regiment of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. All of these companies fought in Europe.⁵⁰

Letters written by church members in the service provided updates on the war. Ernest Kistler, whose father had served as pastor at St. Paul’s and who had been raised in Reading, served in the ambulance service of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). He described the uncomfortable conditions in France in December 1917; cold and separation from friends were among his complaints. He further noted, “At this time when the Teutonic nations are putting forth their reserve strength and playing the final act in the drama of the world war, those at home should forget self and especially selfish sentiment that is to be used for parade purposes after the war, and they should think only of their children being freed from future wars and enjoying the freedom and liberty of a world democracy.” Kistler concluded, “Germany is playing her last card now and it is a powerful one at that, and we the democratic nations of the earth should work in harmony in expelling autocracy from the world.”⁵¹

Lloyd Burkey, a member of Zion’s German Reformed Church, was a private in Company I, 149th Machine Gun Battalion, 42nd Rainbow Division, AEF. In a letter to his father James, Burkey noted that he and his fellow soldiers were in England and “have a nice warm place to sleep . . . heated by means of a coal stove.” Three soldiers shared a bed, with eighteen blankets between them. He further commented on the high price of tobacco and asked his father to send some.⁵² Experiences like those described by Kistler and Burkey kept these congregations engaged in the war effort and supporting their members who served in the armed forces.

After the United States entered the war, the situation for these three congregations changed considerably. Once the United States declared war on Germany, Zion's German Reformed Church was perhaps the most patriotic congregation in Reading. In October 1917, Rev. Carl H. Gramm's sermons preached "that not only on Sunday, but in every prayer offered to God should the Christian people of America remember their soldier boys, as the men are doing a religious as well as a patriotic duty." Members of the congregation "prayed to God to protect, aid and be with the American troops now in the French trenches." At Sunday school on October 28, Gramm spoke about how the American soldiers in France were fighting for civilization.⁵³

Young men of Zion's enlisted in the armed forces, and young women served as nurses. On December 9, 1917, Zion's unfurled a service flag at a union service of all Sunday School departments. Assistant superintendent of the Sunday School Charles Althouse read the names of the fifteen men and one woman serving in the army or navy or as Red Cross nurses. Reverend Gramm explained the symbolism of the flag in a patriotic address. Following the service, which including singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and "America," the flag was hung outside the church.⁵⁴ Ultimately, seventy men and three women of Zion's served during the First World War.⁵⁵

By early 1918, the war began to affect Zion's in other ways. Conserving fuel was a high priority at the congregational meeting that January, and they temporarily abandoned mid-week services.⁵⁶ During the Lenten season, Wednesday evening services included Reverend Gramm reading letters from soldiers and sailors from the congregation.⁵⁷ The creation of Daylight Saving Time in March 1918 led to concerns about the timing of Easter morning worship services. Reverend Gramm commented to the *Reading News-Times*, "I think it is the patriotic duty of the churches to be the first ones to support the government in this new law and hold the services on Sunday according to the new time." He noted that he had announced it to the congregation at the previous Sunday's services and at every worship service during Holy Week.⁵⁸

After Easter, "Buy Liberty Bonds and help bring the war to a successful conclusion" was the focus of a sermon on "Duty."⁵⁹ Gramm preached another sermon on "The Wise and Unwise Use of Money" two weeks later, again focusing "on the necessity of everyone buying Liberty bonds and thrift stamps."⁶⁰ An evening patriotic service on May 26, the Sunday before Memorial Day, honored over twenty young men of the congregation "serving Uncle Sam in the great war." The newspaper account of the service in the *Reading News-Times*, however, was not complimentary as it stated, "Remarks

touching on the young man were most pathetic and were given in the address of the pastor, Rev. C. H. Gramm.”⁶¹

Over 10 percent of the members of Zion’s German Reformed Church served in the armed forces or as nurses during the First World War. Of the seventy-three men and women of Zion’s involved in the conflict, four suffered wounds, and two died.⁶² Sallie Fidler, a member of Company 10 Base Hospital Ambulance Corps, served in France.⁶³ Three sons of Agnes Johnson fought in the war. Harry, who crossed the Atlantic with Gen. John Pershing, informed her in a letter that he was gassed but was recovering; in a separate letter his brother Carl denied he had been wounded.⁶⁴ Lloyd Burkey, who had written to his father James while stationed in England, was wounded on July 15, 1918, the first day at Chateau-Thierry. According to the report in the *Reading News-Times*, “his right arm was shattered above the elbow by grenade fire, he had to run the gauntlet of a dozen enemy riflemen on his way back to the field hospital.” Burkey also suffered a bullet wound in his left arm above the elbow.⁶⁵

The two members of Zion’s who died during the conflict had different experiences. On the morning of November 4, 1918, Pvt. Charles Arnold of Company I was wounded by a bursting shell. After receiving first aid from his platoon sergeant, he was sent to the field hospital, then to Base Hospital No. 32, dying a day later. Initially buried in France, his body was brought back to Pennsylvania in May 1921. Zion’s held a memorial service for Arnold on January 19, 1919. Rev. Carl H. Gramm spoke on “What the Church Can Learn from the Soldiers in the Trench,” and the congregation sang patriotic songs.⁶⁶

The other death from Zion’s was someone who volunteered for service but never left the United States. Mary J. Scheirer had joined the Red Cross and was one of over a dozen Reading Hospital nursing graduates who served during the First World War. She died of Spanish Influenza at the Ellis Island (New York) Debarkation Hospital on October 5, 1918. Zion’s held a memorial service in her honor the following November 17, with Rev. Carl H. Gramm preaching on “Sacrifice” and Frank S. Livingood, president of Reading Hospital, noting Scheirer’s accomplishments. A soloist sang “When the Blue Star Turns Gold” during the service.⁶⁷

Regional organizations for Reading’s German-language denominations also expressed support for the war effort. The conference of the United Evangelical churches in Reading that met from February 27 to March 5, 1918, had a different approach to the war. The Temperance Committee adopted

a resolution prohibiting the sale of alcohol within five miles of army camps and forwarded it to the secretary of war.⁶⁸ Rev. H. S. Schlegel, secretary of the Evangelical War Commission, read letters from soldiers who were church members, including one who died in battle shortly after the letter arrived home. Schlegel stated,

This war is the greatest equalizer in human life that there is in the world today and let us not think alone of the fact that it is a war of submarine and airships, but rather of spiritual ideals and standards, and that our men are encountering ethical standards wholly foreign to their lives and the moral breakdown to which they are most liable is one of the really big factors of the war.

Profanity and “the laxity of the sex problem” provided challenges to soldiers who wanted to live spiritual lives while fighting for their country. Rev. Dr. Worth M. Tippy, executive secretary of the Commission of the church and social service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, suggested, “Pastors should get into communication with the young men of their congregation who are serving the colors and write to them often so as to keep them posted as to the progress being made at home by the church folk.” Tippy continued, “It will encourage the young men and give them more courage to fight on, and fight on, until world-wide peace is proclaimed.” He concluded, “And with America’s young men in the field victory is assured.”⁶⁹

In May 1918, the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states held their annual convention in Philadelphia. They passed resolutions enthusiastically supporting the United States government in the war. In addition, the Ministerium denounced the Kaiser and denied charges that he was a Lutheran. To reinforce their patriotism, the Lutheran clergy passed a resolution stating that the Lutheran Church was not a foreign church, but it was a global church. They also reiterated that the Lutheran Church in the United States did not have any connections with churches in Germany and certainly not with any churches associated with the Kaiser.⁷⁰

Zion’s German Reformed Church hosted the German Synod of the East in September 1918, with representatives from eight states in attendance. Prof. Theodore F. Herman of Lancaster Theological Seminary preached on “The Church and the War,” and they elected Rev. Carl H. Gramm president of the Synod.⁷¹ The synod adopted the following resolution: “We pledge our

patriotic loyalty and support to our country and government in these times of war and unrest, we commend the principles of justice freedom and righteousness involved in this war, and urge our people to pray for victory, which will lead to a peace, founded upon righteousness and truth.”⁷²

Unlike St. John’s or Zion’s, St. Paul’s United Evangelical Church faced a unique challenge as a result of the war. Among the new members in December 1917 was Howard Myers, a soldier at Camp Gordon in Georgia. Myers decided to join after attending a YMCA meeting in camp and wrote to the church “asking to be enrolled as a member.”⁷³ Undoubtedly Myers was one of the servicemen honored on the service flag unfurled in church on March 3, 1918. The ceremony, however, caused controversy. The presentation speech made by Rev. J. D. Kistler, a former pastor at St. Paul’s visiting from Allentown, attacked “the use of the German language and the holding of German services in the church.”⁷⁴ In response, the language question was the main topic discussed at the congregational meeting the following Thursday. The rationale to eliminate using German was partly patriotic and partly because younger members did not understand German. As a resolution, the congregation agreed to hold German services on the first and third Sundays of each month “out of consideration of the older members.”⁷⁵

Despite the decision at the congregational meeting, the issue of German language services continued to be controversial. English-speaking members of the congregation walked out of the April 7 morning service after realizing it was a German service. Rev. H. D. Kreidler, meanwhile, opposed preaching in German and had already reduced the number of German language services to two a month. Kreidler also opposed anything that supported Germany, and he delivered a patriotic sermon in English at the evening service.⁷⁶ However, a church rule stated that it required the support of only fifteen members to hold worship services in German twice a month. Young members of the church, however, especially those who served in the army, did not support using the German language. They wrote letters home urging the members to dispense with German preaching. One of them stated, “The nature, the manners and customs of a people are embodied in its language.” He continued, “Where a language is there is danger of breeding the nature which that language embodies, and for this reason the German language should be discontinued.” Reverend Kreidler, as pastor of St. Paul’s, indicated when questioned by the *Reading News-Times* that the congregation would soon settle the matter “to the satisfaction of all the members.”⁷⁷

The following month, members of the congregation agreed to amend the church bylaws to state if three-fourths of the members opposed German preaching, it would be abolished.⁷⁸ The congregation voted unanimously in early June to discontinue using the German language in all worship services.⁷⁹ Following this decision, prayer meetings were held for the twenty-four men from the church and Sunday School serving in the armed forces.⁸⁰ St. Paul's removal of "the language of the Kaiser and the Huns" even received mention in a Paris newspaper. An unnamed soldier wrote to a Reading relative, "My captain saw it . . . and read it to me. Believe me, it made the boys feel good." The relative shared the news with Reverend Kreidler.⁸¹

By 1918, opposition to using the German language expanded to include teaching it in Reading schools. When the war began, educational leaders, in response to President Woodrow Wilson's message to Congress advocating a trained citizenship for national defense, included military training in the public schools. Children would be drilled in marching in addition to the usual calisthenics, and older boys received training in maneuvers.⁸² At the High School for Girls, culture took precedence over military training. The Literary Society held a program in February 1915 at which "each girl responded to her name by reading a German proverb."⁸³ After the United States entered the war, however, German proverbs would not be welcomed. In November 1917, the *Reading News-Times* reported that students at Boys' High School had torn out the picture of the Kaiser from the German grammar books.⁸⁴ By April 1918, concern about teaching German became more prominent. "A Reading Patriot" remarked in a *News-Times* editorial:

The militaristic ideals of the German rulers have been propagated for centuries in an underhanded way by the German diplomats until no race of people is free from its taint. These diplomats knew how to spread their ideals. They knew the language of a race contains the nature bred in that race. They had bred the militaristic nature in the German people and they proceeded to spread this nature by introducing their language into other countries.⁸⁵

The author further stated, "The German language has a strong hold right here in Berks county and it is up to us to root it out . . . it is the duty of those who remain at home to wipe out the German menace within our borders, namely the German language."⁸⁶

In response to complaints like this, the Reading high schools discontinued teaching German beginning in the 1918–19 school year. The editor of the *News-Times* noted, “Educators in some cities have been advising against such a radical step, and take the ground that we are not fighting the German language, but the German people.” He continued, “Their attitude, however, meets with no favor,” and concluded, “We are fighting not alone the German nation, but we are fighting anything and everything German.”⁸⁷ In August, the editor recommended that French should be taught in high school to replace German, rationalizing that returning soldiers who were fighting in France will have talked with French soldiers and citizens and undoubtedly would have learned French phrases.⁸⁸ The ban on teaching German in Reading’s high schools continued until 1924, when the school board reinstated it after realizing its graduates “found it necessary to have some knowledge of German for their college course.”⁸⁹

Opposition to teaching German extended to parochial education as well. St. John’s parochial school first opened in 1865, and faced challenges by the late 1910s. It had only two teachers and forty-five students in June 1918, leading the congregation to discuss closing the school. Prominent members agreed to donate money to keep it operating and increased the teachers’ pay. The school taught “English as well as German, but the religious instruction has always been in the German language.”⁹⁰

In a letter to the editor of the *Reading News-Times*, Hattie May Shepler questioned why St. John’s parochial school continued to instruct pupils German after public schools discontinued teaching it. She asked, “Only a suggestion but don’t you think Reading can exist without the German teaching?”⁹¹ Partly because of anti-German sentiment and partly because of declining enrollment, the parochial school closed in December 1918, with the remaining students entering public schools.⁹²

Opposition to using the German language was just one way Reading’s citizens declared their loyalties during the war. In June 1918, Reading hosted a patriotic rally to support the troops. Rev. Carl H. Gramm of Zion’s opened the rally with a prayer. State legislator Wilson G. Sarig, the main speaker, remarked, “At the outbreak of the war the citizens of this county proved that though their ancestors may have been German they themselves were going to be loyal to the country which sheltered them.” Sarig further noted, “The difference between Berks County German and a native German was as great as the difference between day and night.” Rev. S. M. Dissinger, pastor of Grace United Evangelical Church in Kutztown, referred to the Germans as “the

hell hounds of civilization” and stated, “We must protect our freedom which Germany is menacing and trampling upon.” The audience sang “America,” “Keep the Home Fires Burning,” “Over There,” and “The Star Spangled Banner” during the event.⁹³ At another rally in August, participants unfurled a flag with 212 stars.⁹⁴

By the summer of 1918, the editor of the *Reading News-Times* expanded the scope of anti-German sentiment and began attacking German language institutions in the city. The new Eighteenth ward, organized in 1918, had street names honoring generals from Reading and major US military leaders. The newspaper also advocated changing “Hun” names for city streets.⁹⁵ One of the proposed changes was to rename Hampden Park and Reservoir to Liggett Park in honor of Gen. Hunter Liggett, a First World War general. However, 353 members of POSEA Camp 329 sent a resolution to City Council protesting the change because the city had established the park to commemorate someone involved in the American Revolution.⁹⁶

By September, the newspaper expanded its discontent by advocating the anglicization of names of German clubs. The editor particularly targeted the Turn Verein, Liederkrantz, and Männerchor.⁹⁷ The Turn Verein, a gymnastic organization established in 1891, in July 1918 celebrated a flag raising that included the Ideal orchestra playing patriotic songs.⁹⁸ The Liederkrantz, a social organization, had previously shown “a patriotic stereopticon picture show” that included “view of Germany and Austria” and “scenes of war and military life,” possibly leading to the concerns.⁹⁹ It also had hosted a women’s suffrage meeting in April 1915.¹⁰⁰ In the midst of these attacks, the Reading Liederkrantz held a program in late September that included the Peerless band and the Ideal orchestra playing patriotic songs and raising two flags, one an American flag and the other a service flag containing forty stars to honor members and their sons serving in the armed forces.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, the Harmonie-Männerchor decided in mid-June to discourage using the German language at either of the society’s homes.¹⁰²

The attacks continued throughout the fall. “There is such a wealth of regular United States material for the purpose that this city should not stand for any organization that persists in clinging to the Hun language for its title,” the editor stated on October 1.¹⁰³ On October 17, the editor further noted, “A change would be at once appropriate and patriotic and serve to remove the suspicion which, justly or unjustly, now attaches to them.” He continued, “Their names at present are in the language used by the murderous hordes that butcher women and children and are today killing and maiming

Reading and Berks county boys over there.”¹⁰⁴ Despite these attacks, none of these groups changed their names, and the Reading Liederkrantz still exists today.

Perhaps the most significant event, which attracted national attention, was the federal raid on the Wyomissing homes and offices of Ferdinand Thun and Henry K. Janssen. Thun and Janssen, both affiliated with St. John's and Zion's, were members of the Wyomissing Borough Council. Previously, the War Trade Board had visited the factories to find out if the companies had German investors and how many Liberty Loan Bonds they had purchased. Thun, who also was a director of Reading Trust Company, which sold the bonds, informed them he had purchased over \$200,000 worth. Before the United States entered the war against Germany, Thun and Janssen were heavy contributors to German war funds and had refused work orders from the Allies, possibly justifying the raid. However, after the war began, the owners offered Berkshire Knitting Mills to the government for its use.¹⁰⁵

Thun also was an active member of the Germanistic Society, an organization that in 1916 and early 1917 did everything possible in their talks to justify Germany's entry in the war. In addition, his wife Anna had sent a telegram to President Wilson in April 1917 protesting against declaring war on Germany, for which a movement was started to depose her from the presidency of the Wyomissing Civic League. Since the war began, however, both Ferdinand and Anna Thun had been active in patriotic movements.¹⁰⁶ A reporter for the *Reading Eagle* noted that, when he visited the offices of the three businesses, he observed “war savings stamps, food conservation and other posters conspicuously displayed.” In contrast, the Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger* reported federal agents saw “numerous pictures of Kaiser Wilhelm, General von Hindenburg and other German leaders” when they entered the buildings.¹⁰⁷

Employees of the three companies actively participated in the patriotic parades, and the owners contributed to the Red Cross and various war funds in addition to purchasing Liberty Bonds. They also helped feed soldiers who had camped on the Wyomissing playgrounds before deployment. One of these soldiers was Harry Janssen, Henry K. Janssen's only son. Janssen had caused a ruckus at a local café prior to joining the army by refusing to stand when the “Star Spangled Banner” was played and made improper remarks about the government, causing him to be forcibly removed from the establishment. Harry Janssen died of pneumonia in October 1918 while at Camp Meade, Maryland, awaiting transport to France to fight in the war.¹⁰⁸

On August 7, 1918, fifteen secret service agents searched Thun's and Janssen's offices at Textile Machine Works, Berkshire Knitting Mills, and Narrow Fabric Company. United States District Attorney Francis Fisher Kane of Philadelphia alleged the two men helped spread German propaganda and financially supported German periodicals and writers in the United States.¹⁰⁹ Federal agents also searched the New York offices of the companies.¹¹⁰ Thun told the *Reading Eagle* that the federal agents seized only "checks, magazines, papers and appeals that we had received." None of the checks were for German propaganda. According to Assistant United States District Attorney Rosenbaum, however, "much evidence was obtained to show the strong sympathy of the suspects with Germany, at least before the war."¹¹¹ Neither man, nor the others whose homes were searched, ever faced formal charges for espionage, despite multiple search warrants and suspicions about stock fraud.¹¹²

The end of the war three months later received ample attention in the *Reading Eagle* and *Reading News-Times*. Over 75,000 people gathered in Penn Square to celebrate the Armistice, the largest ever seen in Reading. Churches held their regular worship services that Sunday; Rev. H. D. Kreidler spoke on "Taking a Firm Grasp of the Sword of the Spirit" at St. Paul's. Zion's celebrated Holy Communion at both worship services. The churches had resumed worship services the previous Sunday after being closed the previous four weeks because of a ban on crowds due to the influenza epidemic.¹¹³

Despite the challenges, the war did not significantly affect normal congregational business for any of these congregations. Ministers baptized children, confirmed youth and adults, married members and nonmembers, and performed funerals. Between August 1, 1914, when the war began, and November 11, 1918, when Germany surrendered, the pastors at these three congregations baptized 448 infants, youth, and adults and performed 224 marriages. The clergy at St. John's and Zion's buried 329 people, at least one of whom was in the service.¹¹⁴

Unlike St. John's and St. Paul's, Zion's German Reformed Church did not confront the same language issues. Rev. Carl H. Gramm continued to preach in German during the morning services and in English for the evening services throughout most of the war. On November 4, 1918, the Consistory voted to hold morning worship services on the first and third Sundays in German and on the second and fourth Sundays in English, with services on a fifth Sunday also to be held in English.¹¹⁵ Patriotism continued to be prominent; the boys' Sunday School class, taught by Mrs. Carl H. Gramm,

presented a patriotic musicale in February 1919 that included an address on Washington and Lincoln by Reverend Gramm, and the audience concluded the program with the “Star-Spangled Banner.”¹¹⁶ That November, the congregation honored its returning soldiers and nurses with an elaborate reception that was attended by Mrs. Agnes Johnson and her three soldier sons; Sallie Fidler, mentioned earlier, who now lived in Philadelphia; and Lloyd Burkey, who had been wounded in France, along with most of the other servicemen from the church who served during the war.¹¹⁷

One hundred years after members of Reading’s three German-language congregations faced challenges about using their native tongue during worship services and in instruction, only one of these congregations still remains open for worship. St. Paul’s United Evangelical Church became St. Paul’s Evangelical Congregational Church in 1923 after another church division. In June 1996, it merged with Bethany Evangelical Congregational Church and Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church to form Community Evangelical Congregational Church, which then met in Shillington and now meets in Lower Heidelberg Township. The building became home to Segunda Tesalonica Christiana Asambleas De Dios, a Latino Assembly of God congregation.¹¹⁸ Zion’s German Reformed Church became Zion’s Reformed Church after changing to English-only services in 1927 following the departure of Rev. Carl H. Gramm to New Brunswick, New Jersey. It became Zion’s Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1934 following a denominational merger and Zion’s United Church of Christ in 1957 following yet another merger. Zion’s United Church of Christ closed its doors in September 2010, with the property purchased by Christ Presbyterian Church. The building now is home to Iglesia Misionera La Senda (Missionary Church the Path), a Latino congregation that caters to Dominican immigrants.¹¹⁹ St. John’s German Lutheran certainly fared the best. The parochial school reopened, and in December 1936 it was lauded for trying to preserve the area’s German heritage.¹²⁰ The congregation still holds German-language services today, with bilingual services conducted regularly and German spoken at special services. Reading radio station WEEU broadcasts the sermons.¹²¹ Congregations with German heritage are not as prominent in the city’s religious life, but it is certain that in at least two of these congregations by 1917, patriotism was clearly more important than loyalty to their ancestral homeland.

The First World War had a profound impact on Reading’s German churches. Members of these three congregations grappled with the question of which language to use for worship services, knowing that continuing

to preach in German would have repercussions. They also patriotically supported the war effort with few exceptions, serving in the armed forces and as nurses and purchasing Liberty Bonds. Denominational organizations denounced the German government and promoted a peaceful resolution to the conflict. In the end, Reading's German-American community proved its loyalty to the United States, and these three congregations demonstrated that while they may have used the German language in church business, they definitely were American churches.

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NOTES

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2. "Grim War Begins in All Europe," *Reading News-Times*, August 3, 1914; "Reading Families Worry for Their People in Europe," *Reading News-Times*, August 3, 1914. The *Reading News-Times* (later *Reading Times*) was published only Monday to Saturday. Quier's family was involved in publishing the *Reading Eagle*. For an overview of the response of Berks County (mainly Reading) to the First World War, see: Franklin Goldstein, "Berks County in World War I: The Sentiments and Actions of the People" (Typewritten, Henry Janssen Library, Berks History Center, Reading, Pennsylvania); Franklin Goldstein and Donald R. Shenton, "The People, Yes: Berks County in World War I," *Historical Review of Berks County* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1957): 42–47, 59–66. For more on German American tourists on the eve of World War I, see: Joseph B. Neville Jr., "Apostles for the Old Fatherland: German-American Tourists and the Outbreak of World War I," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 47 (2012): 9–99.
3. "German Emperor Declares War Against Russia; Orders Mobilization of the Entire Army," *Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1914; "Reading Tourists Safe," *Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1914; "Dr. Gearhart Lucky in Getting Passage Home,"

- Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1914; "To Leave Berks for Fatherland," *Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1914; "Unveiling a Memorable Event in Local History," *Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1914.
4. J. Bennett Nolan, *The Reading Militia in the Great War* (Reading, PA: Historical Society of Berks County, [1921]), 9.
 5. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Abstract of the Census Statistics of Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Mining for the United States, The States, and Principal Cities with Supplement for Pennsylvania Containing Statistics for the State, Counties, Cities, and Other Divisions* [hereafter cited as 1910 Census] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 96, 213.
 6. *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870), Compiled Pursuant to a Concurrent Resolution of Congress, and Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872), 448; *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880), Compiled Pursuant to An Act of Congress Approved August 7, 1882, Part I* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), 546; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), clxii, 671; United States Census Office, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States 1900* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 107; 1910 Census, 96, 213; Raymond West Ford Jr., "Germans and Other Foreign Stock: Their Part in the Evolution of Reading, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1963), 38–68, 127–85.
 7. For comparison, see: Donn Neal, "The Next Page: How the outbreak of World War I affected Pittsburgh's Germans and their Downtown Church," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 27, 2014.
 8. H. S. Kidd, *Lutherans in Berks County: Two Centuries of Continuous Organized Church Life, 1723–1923* (Reading, PA: Reading Conference of The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, 1923), 196–97; "St. John's Lutheran Church marks 150th Anniversary," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 2010; "Church Dedication," *Reading Daily Times*, November 29, 1861 (source for quote); "Church Dedication," *Reading Daily Times*, November 30, 1861.
 9. Kidd, *Lutherans in Berks County*, 198–99; "St. John's Lutheran Marks 150th Anniversary," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 2010.
 10. Morton L. Montgomery, *Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., 1909), 199.
 11. "St. John's Lutheran Marks 150th Anniversary," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 2010; Kidd, *Lutherans in Berks County*, 200; "St. John's Lutheran," *Reading News-Times*, July 10, 1916.
 12. Montgomery, *Historical and Biographical Annals*, 1:199; Karen Guenther, "Ministering to the Needs of 'Foreign and American Germans': The Foundation

- and Early Years of Zion's German Reformed, in Reading," *Historical Review of Berks County* 81, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 7–12; Daniel Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading, Pa.* (Reading, PA: Daniel Miller, 1905), 338–48.
13. "Church Record of the St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, Reading, Pa., [1900–1917]" [hereafter cited as "St. Paul's United Evangelical," vol. 1] (Handwritten, Henry Janssen Library, Berks History Center, Reading, PA), 6; "Church Record of the St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, Reading, Penna., [1917–1970]" [hereafter cited as "St. Paul's United Evangelical," vol. 2] (Handwritten, Henry Janssen Library, Berks History Center, Reading, PA), 1–2; Frank S. Mead, Samuel S. Hill, and Craig D. Atwood, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, 11th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 234. Reading had two YMCAs, one solely for employees of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad.
 14. "Cornerstone Laying," *Reading News-Times*, July 7, 1900.
 15. Montgomery, *Historical and Biographical Annals*, 1:199.
 16. "St. Paul's United Evangelical," 1:15; "St. Paul's United Evangelical," 2:1–2.
 17. "Ministers Here Pray for Peace," *Reading News-Times*, August 3, 1914.
 18. "Local Minister Deplores War in Sunday Sermon," *Reading News-Times*, August 17, 1914. Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, wife of Kaiser Wilhelm II, gave the congregation a chalice in the 1890s that, as of August 2010, was still in the congregation's possession. "St. John's Lutheran Marks 150th Anniversary," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 2010. It was not unusual for German American clergy to oppose the war in its early years. See: Thomas Reimer, "Distant Thunder: The German-American Clergy of Schenectady, New York, and the European War, 1914–1917," *New York History* 73, no. 3 (July 1992): 291–320.
 19. "Asserts That Russia Caused the Great War, Thinks England to Blame More Than Any Nation," *Reading Eagle*, August 23, 1914.
 20. Ibid.
 21. "St. John's German Lutheran," *Reading Eagle*, October 6, 1914.
 22. "St. John's German Lutheran," *Reading Eagle*, May 3, 1915.
 23. "Last Hours Were Made Happier," *Reading News-Times*, May 31, 1915.
 24. "Zion Reformed," *Reading News-Times*, September 1, 1914; "Zion's Reformed," *Reading Eagle*, November 9, 1914; "Zion Reformed," *Reading News-Times*, December 15, 1914; "Zion Reformed," *Reading News-Times*, December 29, 1914; "Zion's Reformed," *Reading Eagle*, January 4, 1915; "Zion's Reformed," *Reading Eagle*, May 3, 1915.
 25. "Flag Presentation and Patriotic Service," *Reading News-Times*, July 3, 1945; "Shoot English Flag is Advice of Pastor Gramm," *Reading News-Times*, July 5, 2015. St. Paul's United Evangelical Church also received a flag from the POA in April 1917. "Church Receives Gift of Flag," *Reading News-Times*, April 30, 1917.

26. "Proper Place for the Flag is the Church," *Reading Eagle*, July 5, 1915. Gramm served as a history teacher and substitute teacher at the Boys' High School in 1918; it is doubtful that the school district would have approved this appointment if there were concerns about his patriotism. "High School Up to Capacity," *Reading News-Times*, February 5, 1918; "School Board Appoints Some New Teachers," *Reading News-Times*, February 20, 1918.
27. "From Mr. Gramm," *Reading News-Times*, July 6, 1915.
28. "St. Paul's U.E.," *Reading News-Times*, February 22, 1915; "Hatchets as Souvenirs," *Reading News-Times*, February 25, 1915.
29. "Bible Class Six Years Old," *Reading News-Times*, August 23, 1915.
30. "German Americans Roll Up \$20,000 in Fatherland Fund," *Reading News-Times*, September 14, 1914. See also: Katja Wüstenbecker, "German-Americans during World War I," <http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=214>.
31. "Business Notes," *Reading News-Times*, July 17, 1915; "Machinery Made Here Sent to Bottom of Sea," *Reading Eagle*, July 16, 1915.
32. "War Orders Refused," *Reading News-Times*, July 10, 1915. See also: Clifton J. Child, "German-American Attempts to Prevent the Exportation of Munitions of War, 1914-1915," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25, no. 3 (1938): 351-68.
33. "Neutrality is Violated He Says," *Reading News-Times*, July 12, 1915.
34. "Get Supplies from Deutschland," *Reading News-Times*, November 11, 1916.
35. "The Textile Trade," *Reading News-Times*, July 23, 1916.
36. "Strike at Nolde and Horst Mill Called Off," *Reading News-Times*, June 15, 1915.
37. "Business Notes," *Reading News-Times*, July 20, 1915.
38. "Zion Reformed," *Reading News-Times*, March 30, 1915.
39. "Good Preaching More Needed Than Ever," *Reading Eagle*, August 2, 1915.
40. Minutes of the Consistory of Zion's German Reformed Church, January 15, 1917; January 6, 1919 (Handwritten, currently in the author's possession but to be deposited at the Evangelical & Reformed Historical Society, Lancaster, PA); *1920 Church Manual, Zion's Reformed Church* (Reading, PA: By the Congregation, 1920), 27.
41. "Pastor Sings German Hymn," *Reading Eagle*, May 10, 1915.
42. "St. Paul's United Evangelical," 1:6.
43. "Imitation Pipe Organ," *Reading Eagle*, December 27, 1915.
44. "Conference Year Closes, Farewell Sermons in Several Churches of United Evangelical and Evangelical Denominations," *Reading Eagle*, February 19, 1917.
45. "Pastor's Birthday," *Reading News-Times*, January 25, 1916.
46. "German Song Service," *Reading News-Times*, March 2, 1916.
47. "Youths' Society in Fine Program," *Reading News-Times*, May 24, 1916.
48. "Red-Hot Patriotism as Reading Faces the War," *Reading News-Times*, April 7, 1917 (source for quote); "Up, Guards, and At 'Em; Our Boys Have Mobilized," *Reading News-Times*, July 16, 1917; "Ninety-Nine Enlistments in First Ten

- Days," *Reading News-Times*, November 12, 1917; "Berks Army in the Ranks," *Reading News-Times*, December 14, 1917; "23 Reading Men for Camp Meade End First Draft," *Reading News-Times*, February 7, 1918; "Draftees to Camp Greenleaf," *Reading News-Times*, June 12, 1918; "19 Recruits for the Cavalry," *Reading News-Times*, July 2, 1918; "Called By Board No. 3," *Reading News-Times*, July 26, 1918; "Salute and Ride Plan Adopted," *Reading News-Times*, August 1, 1918; "Women Register for War Work," *Reading News-Times*, August 1, 1918.
49. "4 women among Berks County's WWI Heroes," *Reading Eagle*, June 10, 2010; Barry L. Kauffman, "Reading's Unsung Heroes: The Women of World War I," *Historical Review of Berks County* 75, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 75–80.
 50. Raymond W. Albright, *Two Centuries of Reading, Pa., 1748–1948: A History of the County Seat of Berks County* (Reading, Pa.: Historical Society of Berks County, 1948), 150.
 51. "Germany Plays Her Last Card," *Reading News-Times*, December 13, 1917.
 52. "Late Today Co. I Leaves for Long Island Camp," *Reading News-Times*, August 25, 1917; "Three in One Bed," *Reading Eagle*, December 27, 1917.
 53. "Pray for Success and Sing 'Lead Kindly Light,'" *Reading Eagle*, October 29, 1917.
 54. "Sixteen Stars in Zion's Flag," *Reading News-Times*, December 10, 1917.
 55. "Service Roll," *1920 Church Manual*, 19.
 56. "Zion's Reformed," *Reading News-Times*, January 8, 1918.
 57. "Letters from Soldiers," *Reading Eagle*, February 11, 1918; "Local News Notes," *Reading News-Times*, February 16, 1918.
 58. "Will Observe the New Time, Pastors Consider it Patriotic Duty to Comply With New Law," *Reading News-Times*, March 30, 1918.
 59. "Zion Reformed," *Reading Eagle*, April 9, 1918.
 60. "Zion Reformed," *Reading Eagle*, April 22, 1918. The sale of Liberty Bonds and war stamps was also promoted by Rev. Philip Kirchner in worship services at St. John's Lutheran Church. "Urges Buying War Stamps," *Reading News-Times*, June 25, 1918. In contrast, the purchase of Liberty Bonds in Ohio was seen as a response to anti-German sentiment. See: Michael D. Thompson, "Liberty Loans, Loyalty Oaths, and the Street Name Swap: Anti-German Sentiment in Ohio, Spring 1918," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 33 (1998): 145–47, 153.
 61. "Patriotic Service," *Reading News-Times*, May 27, 1918.
 62. "Service Roll," *1920 Church Manual*, 19.
 63. "Boyertown Man Selected Text for His Funeral," *Reading News-Times*, September 12, 1917.
 64. [No title], *Reading News-Times*, November 9, 1918.
 65. "Personals," *Reading News-Times*, August 30, 1918; "Wounded Man Returns," *Reading News-Times*, January 1, 1919; "Veteran Takes a Bride," *Reading Eagle*, June 19, 1921.

66. "Late Today Co. I Leaves for Long Island Camp," *Reading News-Times*, August 25, 1917; "Gets Belated Report of Soldier Son's Death," *Reading News-Times*, January 9, 1919; "Zion Congregation Greet Veterans," *Reading News-Times*, November 8, 1919; "Complete Report of Casualties of Berks Boys," *Reading News-Times*, January 9, 1919; "War Record of Charles Arnold," *Reading News-Times*, May 27, 1921; Pennsylvania Veterans Burial Cards, 1777–2012, for Charles G. Arnold at Ancestry.com.
67. "To Present Red Cross Banner," *Reading News-Times*, May 1, 1918; "Nurse Martyr to Influenza," *Reading News-Times*, October 7, 1918; "Pays Tribute to Heroic Nurse," *Reading News-Times*, November 18, 1918; "Sadness Shadows Seminary Recital," *Reading News-Times*, June 13, 1919. Livingood announced at the graduation ceremony in May 1919 that a scholarship fund memorializing Scheirer, Eleanor Cassidy, and Marie I. Hidell had been created in their memory. "Nurses Create Scholarship as Memorial to Heroines," *Reading News-Times*, May 2, 1919.
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69. "Conference Patriotic," *Reading Eagle*, March 1, 1918; "Patriotism Keynote of Afternoon Session of U.E. Conference," *Reading News-Times*, March 2, 1918.
70. "Lutherans Deny Kaiser Member," *Reading News-Times*, May 22, 1918. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod held similar views. See: Neil A. Johnson, "The Patriotism and Anti-Prussianism of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1914–1918," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (1966): 99–118.
71. "Church and War Talk to Synod," *Reading News-Times*, September 13, 1918; "Eight States are Represented," *Reading News-Times*, September 12, 1918.
72. "Loyalty Pledge at the Synod," *Reading News-Times*, September 14, 1918.
73. "New Members for St. Paul's U.E., One of Them Was an Applicant From an Army Camp," *Reading News-Times*, December 17, 1917; "St. Paul's United Evangelical," 2:162–63.
74. "St. Paul's U.E.," *Reading News-Times*, March 4, 1918. Kistler's son Ernest was fighting in France at this time.
75. "Bar German Service in St. Paul's Parish," *Reading News-Times*, March 9, 1918.
76. "Objected to German Service," *Reading News-Times*, April 8, 1918.
77. "German Sermons at St. Paul's U.E.," *Reading News-Times*, April 9, 1918.
78. "German Sermons To Be Barred," *Reading News-Times*, May 21, 1918.
79. "No More German Preaching at St. Paul's U.E.," *Reading News-Times*, June 4, 1918. The transition from German to English was also an issue in the Evangelical Association, from which the United Evangelical Church had

- separated. See: Edward F. Ohms, "The Language Problem in the Evangelical Association," *Methodist History* 25, no. 4 (July 1987): 222–38.
80. "Prayers for Soldiers," *Reading News-Times*, June 6, 1918.
 81. "French Paper Reports Reading Church Vote," *Reading Eagle*, June 13, 1918; "Local News Notes," *Reading News-Times*, June 15, 1918.
 82. "City Schools May Add Military Training," *Reading Eagle*, December 9, 1914.
 83. "Each Girl Responds with German Proverb," *Reading Eagle*, February 10, 1915.
 84. "Destroy Kaiser's Picture," *Reading News-Times*, November 17, 1917.
 85. "Opposed to the Teaching of German," *Reading News-Times*, April 15, 1918. Incidentally, Reading's last German language newspaper, *Der Readinger Adler* [the Reading Eagle] had ceased publication in 1913 and thus was not involved in the anti-German sentiment.
 86. Ibid.
 87. "German," *Reading News-Times*, April 19, 1918. Reading was not alone in facing this problem, as removing German language instruction was an issue nationwide. See: Petra DeWitt, "'Drifting Back into Their Old Ways': Local Efforts to Banish the German Language from Missouri During the Great War," *Missouri Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (April 2009): 161–82; Justine Greve, "Language and Loyalty: The First World War and German Instruction at Two Kansas Schools," *Kansas History* 37, no. 3 (Autumn 2014): 130–47; Amanda Kibler, "Speaking Like a 'Good American': National Identity and the Legacy of German Language Education," *Teachers College Record* 110, no. 6 (June 2008): 1241–68; Paul J. Ramsey, "The War against German-American Culture: The Removal of German-Language Instruction from the Indianapolis Schools, 1917–1919," *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, no. 4 (December 2002): 285–304; Vern J. Rippley, "Conflict in the Classroom: Anti-Germanism in Minnesota Schools, 1917–1919," *Minnesota History* 47, no. 5 (April 1981): 170–83; Mark Sonntag, "Fighting Everything German in Texas, 1917–1919," *Historian* 55, no. 4 (Summer 1994): 655–70; Thompson, "Liberty Loans, Loyalty Oaths, and the Street Name Swap," 142–45.
 88. "French in Schools," *Reading News-Times*, August 5, 1918.
 89. "German Again in Good Standing in High Schools," *Reading Eagle*, January 24, 1926. While the church building underwent renovations in 1923, Zion's German Reformed met across the street at the Boys High School, now City Hall. The Consistory decided to eliminate German language services while meeting there because German was not taught in the high school at that time. Minutes of the Consistory of Zion's German Reformed Church, March 5, 1923.
 90. "Not to Stop Parochial School," *Reading News-Times*, June 11, 1918.
 91. "Still Teaching German," *Reading News-Times*, October 5, 1918. Unlike public schools, opposition to German language instruction in parochial schools was not nationwide. See: Adam C. Hill, "Lutheran Schools in Saint Louis, 1917–1929," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 117–24.

92. "Parochial School is Closed After 53 Years," *Reading News-Times*, December 4, 1918.
93. "Patriotic Rally Hears Some Inspiring Addresses," *Reading News-Times*, June 22, 1918.
94. "Flag With 212 Stars Unfurled at Patriotic Fete," *Reading News-Times*, August 23, 1918.
95. "Liggett Avenue and Pershing Boulevard in New Eighteenth Ward," *Reading News-Times*, June 26, 1918. Renaming streets was not unique to Reading. See: Thompson, "Liberty Loans, Loyalty Oaths, and the Street Name Swap," 150–51. Efforts to memorialize General Liggett after his death in 1936 failed, as the Socialist-dominated city council rejected a request to erect a boulder in City Park in his memory because "too much stress has been placed upon the glories of war." Ruth Shaffer, "City Anti-War Socialists Reject Memorial for Reading-Born WWI Military Hero: (DIS) Honoring a Hero," *Historical Review of Berks County* 81, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 42–47, quote from p. 44.
96. "Oppose Change in Park Name," *Reading News-Times*, August 10, 1918.
97. "Change These Names," *Reading News-Times*, September 24, 1918; "Hun Names in Reading," *Reading News-Times*, September 27, 1918. The experiences of Reading's clubs typified what was happening nationwide. See: Harry H. Anderson, "The Founding of the Wisconsin Club: A Tale of Tribulation and Triumph," *Milwaukee History* 14, no. 3 (September 1991): 93–102; Erna Ott Gwinn, "The Liederkrantz in Louisville, 1877–1959," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1981): 40–59; Chris Richardson, "With Liberty and Justice For All? The Suppression of German-American Culture During World War I," *Missouri Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (October 1995): 7989; Edward C. Wolf, "Wheeling's German Singing Societies," *West Virginia History* 42, no. 1/2 (October 1980): 1–56.
98. "Turn-Verein at Silver Jubilee Recalls Youth," *Reading News-Times*, November 11, 1916; "Flag Raising at the Turn-Verein Home," *Reading News-Times*, July 22, 1918.
99. "Coming Events," *Reading News-Times*, September 30, 1914.
100. "Suffrage Address at Liederkrantz Bazaar," *Reading News-Times*, April 28, 1915.
101. "Liederkrantz to Have Double Flag Raising," *Reading News-Times*, September 30, 1918.
102. "No German Talk at the Maennerchor," *Reading Eagle*, June 13, 1918.
103. "What Say You, Fellow Americans," *Reading News-Times*, October 1, 1918.
104. "Change Names," *Reading News-Times*, October 17, 1918.
105. "Ferdinand Thun Denounces Raid; Says All His Contributions to German Causes Were for Charity, Result of 'Loafer Talk,'" *Reading News-Times*, August 8, 1918; "Ferdinand Thun Director of Reading Trust Co.," *Reading News-Times*, January 23, 1917; "Wyomissing Council," *Reading News-Times*, January 4, 1916. Rev. Philip Kirchner of St. John's also participated in the Germanistic Society's programs.

106. "Women Incensed at Anti-War Appeal," *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, March 17, 1917; "Secret Service Men Searched Women's Store," *Reading News-Times*, August 9, 1918.
107. "Sensation for Wyomissing," *Reading Eagle*, August 8, 1918; "Little Germany in Raided Homes," *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, August 8, 1918.
108. "Ferdinand Thun Denounces Raid; *News-Times*, August 8, 1918; "Sensation for Wyomissing," *Reading Eagle*, August 8, 1918; "Action in Two Weeks on Wyomissing Case Likely; Arrests or Vindications," *Reading News-Times*, August 12, 1918; "Soldier Janssen Ill," *Reading News-Times*, October 18, 1918; "Pneumonia Kills Hamburg Soldier," *Reading News-Times*, October 21, 1918; "Funeral," *Reading News-Times*, October 24, 1918.
109. "Search Three Berks Plants," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 1918.
110. "Ferdinand Thun Denounces Raid," *Reading News-Times*, August 8, 1918; "Search Three Berks Plants," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 1918; "Sensation for Wyomissing," *Eagle*, August 8, 1918; "Propaganda Hunt By Federal Agents," *New York Times*, August 8, 1918.
111. "Little Germany in Raided Homes," *Evening Public Ledger*, August 8, 1918.
112. "37 New Search Warrants," *Reading News-Times*, August 12, 1918; "Action in Two Weeks on Wyomissing Case Likely," August 12, 1918; "Stock Swindle Now Charged in Propaganda Case," *Reading News-Times*, August 15, 1918.
113. "City Delirious With Enthusiasm; Fully 75,000 People Get Out of Bed to Parade, Cheer and Sing—Kaiser's Mustache Turns Down Instead of Up," *Reading Eagle*, November 11, 1918; "Largest Demonstration Reading Has Ever Had," *Reading Eagle*, November 11, 1918; "St. Paul's United Evangelical," *Reading Eagle*, November 11, 1918; "Bright Sunday as Churches Resume Regular Services," *Reading News-Times*, November 4, 1918.
114. "St. Paul's United Evangelical," 1:252–55, 294–97, and 2:passim; "Church Record of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Pennsylvania" (Handwritten, Henry Janssen Library, Berks History Center, Reading, PA), passim; "Register of the Zion's Reformed Congregation in the City of Reading, PA" (Handwritten, currently in the author's possession but to be deposited at the Evangelical & Reformed Historical Society, Lancaster, PA), 162–73, 246–51, 468–79.
115. Minutes of the Consistory for Zion's German Reformed Church, November 4, 1918.
116. "Patriotic Musicale," *Reading News-Times*, February 20, 1919.
117. "Zion Congregation Greets Veterans," *Reading News-Times*, November 8, 1919.
118. "Final Farewell: 101-year old church closes doors for merger," *Reading Eagle*, December 30, 1995; "2 churches come to an end," *Reading Eagle*, June 8, 1996; "St. Paul's story strikes some familiar chords," *Reading Eagle*, June 8, 1996; "Latino congregation to inaugurate building," *Reading Eagle*, October 26, 1996; "Merged EC church finally 'home,'" *Reading Eagle*, September 11, 1999.

119. Minutes of the Consistory for Zion's Reformed Church, July 1, 1927, January 13, 1928; Carol Balinski, "Zion's UCC holds final services, sells building," *Reading Eagle*, October 16, 2010; "Transactions," *Reading Eagle*, April 5, 2015.
120. Thomas N. Boland, "Local Saturday School Strives to Preserve German Influence in Berks County," *Reading Eagle*, December 27, 1936.
121. "St. John's Lutheran Church marks 150th Anniversary," *Reading Eagle*, August 7, 2010.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY MUSEUM'S SIX-TON M1917

A UNIQUE EXAMPLE OF AMERICA'S FIRST MODERN TANK

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the history and significance of the World War I-era American six-ton M1917 Tank through the one-of-a-kind example of this rare artifact owned by the Pennsylvania Military Museum in Boalsburg, Pennsylvania.

KEYWORDS: World War I, M1917 Tank, Marlin machine gun, Browning machine gun, Renault FT-17

The Pennsylvania Military Museum has many significant artifacts in its collection, but two from the World War I era stand out. The American six-ton M1917 Tank, armed with a Marlin tank machine gun, is the last known tank of its type left in the world. Displayed beside it is an example of the very rare Marlin tank machine gun originally installed inside. After surviving World War II scrap-metal drives and a subsequent role as a civilian parade attraction, the tank was donated to the museum in 1969. The Marlin gun was purchased from a historical weapons collector in 2006 to complete the exhibit.

The M1917 Tank was based on a successful French tank design that had its combat debut in the closing months of World War I.

During the early months of World War I, a stalemate on the Western Front developed rather quickly. After the German attacks of 1914 into France were blunted, both sides dug in and tried in vain to blast and pry each other out of their entrenchments with prolonged artillery barrages and fruitless infantry charges. Blown to bits by rapid-firing, breech-loaded heavy artillery, and stopped in their tracks by well-emplaced machine guns and thick barbed-wire entanglements, infantry units suffered staggering losses measured in thousands of casualties per day for advancements measured in yards.

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A change was needed, and that came in the form of a revolutionary new weapon—the tank. The concept of this new weapon was conceived simultaneously by the British and the French to neutralize machine guns and barbed-wire obstacles. In 1916, the first tanks made their combat debut with the British Army. The French, and to a much lesser extent the Germans, eventually developed and fielded their own tanks. Early tanks were slow and mechanically unreliable. Some were dead-end designs doomed to failure as soon as they appeared on the battlefield. The interiors were hot, cramped, and filled with exhaust and ammunition fumes. Merely driving them to the start of an offensive line could result in more than 50 percent of the attacking tank force out of action due to mechanical failure. This, coupled with the unimaginative tactical use to which the new weapon was employed by traditional-thinking commanders, nearly relegated the new weapon to the trash heap of history just as it was starting to show some promise. By the middle of 1918, due to gradual improvements in design, manufacturing, and tactics, the tank started showing its potential as a battle winner and revolutionary weapon of war.

Toward the end of the war, the French fielded an innovative, small two-man tank, the Renault FT-17, used by French and American Tank Corps. Considered to be the world's first modern tank, the FT-17 pioneered the basic layout from which tanks have been designed ever since. The main armament was placed in a fully traversable turret on top of the hull, and became the first use of a gun turret on a tank. The turret rotated 360 degrees, allowing the gun to be aimed in any direction. The driver sat in front, the fighting compartment/turret was in the center, and the engine was in a separate compartment in the rear.

The FT-17's engine placement was a significant improvement from engine placement in previous tank designs. Prior to the FT-17, the engine and power train components were placed in the middle of the crew compartment, exposing the crew to stifling engine heat and noxious fumes. As the tank lurched across the shell-scarred battlefield, the crew was routinely knocked against the hot engine and radiators, resulting in burns and other serious injuries. In the FT-17, the main armament consisted of either one 37mm cannon or one .30-caliber machine gun. The crew consisted of a driver and a commander who also served as loader and gunner in the turret.¹ Previous tanks were much larger in size and held more crew members.

The FT-17 would soon equip the established French tank units as well as the fledgling American tank force being formed in France. However, the quantity

of FT-17s required to fill out the ranks of the French and American tank units outstripped the manufacturing capacity of the French heavy industry. As a result, the United States agreed to build additional FT-17s in American factories. In September 1917, a single FT-17 and a set of plans were sent to the United States with the goal of producing twelve hundred FT-17s for the French army and a sufficient number for the US Army's tank units. Once in the United States, the FT-17 was reverse-engineered to fit American manufacturing techniques, including a change from metric to American measurements.

The American version was originally known as the M1917 Six-Ton Special Tractor. It eventually became known as the M1917 Tank and incorporated several improvements over the Renault FT-17. A fire screen bulkhead was built between the crew compartment and the engine compartment. Two additional vision slots were added to the sides of the driver's compartment to increase range of vision. To guide the caterpillar treads, the M1917 Tank used all-steel idlers instead of the steel-rimmed wooden idlers of the FT-17. To improve ease of construction, all M1917 Tank turrets were built as octagonal bolted turrets instead of the French use of both octagonal turrets and difficult-to-manufacture molded round turrets. Hull and turret armor thickness ranged from a quarter-inch to five-eighths of an inch. The American engine, a four-cylinder Buda HU gasoline engine, originally designed as a boat engine, had forty-two horsepower at 1,460 revolutions per minute, and a maximum speed of approximately five-and-a-half miles per hour. The selective sliding gear transmission had one reverse and four forward gears.²

Some M1917 Tanks were armed with a 37mm gun M1916, and others were mounted with a machine gun. The initial plan called for the machine gun tanks to be issued with a .30-caliber Marlin tank machine gun. The machine gun was adapted from a Marlin aircraft machine gun by adding cooling fins to the barrel and placing the gun in an armored sleeve mount. The fins prevented overheating when the gun was fired from within the confined space of its armored sleeve mount. However, soon into production the Marlin machine gun was replaced with the Browning .30-caliber machine gun. The change was made due to the superior performance of the Browning gun, according to tank historian and author R. P. Hunnicut.³

All of the previously built tanks armed with Marlin machine guns were mandated to be converted to the Browning version by changing the machine gun mounts and installing the new guns. Somehow, the museum's tank escaped the conversion process and became the only known surviving M1917 Tank that retains the original Marlin machine gun mount (Figure 1).



FIGURE 1 Marlin tank machine gun on display at the Military Museum. (Credit: Pennsylvania Military Museum, Boalsburg)

The M1917 Tanks were constructed by three companies in Ohio, the Van Dorn Iron Works of Cleveland, the Maxwell Motor Company of Dayton, and the C. L. Best Company, also of Dayton.⁴

The first tank was not completed until October 1918. Ten had been shipped to France before the Armistice, but none saw combat. By the end of 1918, 209 of the original order of 4,440 tanks had been completed. The US government decided to finish a total of 950. These served as the majority of the tanks in army and national guard units from 1919 well into the 1930s, along with several hundred French-built FT-17s.

The majority of US Army tanks during this period were painted olive drab, and given a coat of gloss varnish when in peacetime livery to protect and preserve the paint underneath. However, from 1919 to 1920, camouflage patterns were used briefly on tanks of the Sixteenth Tank Battalion at Fort George Meade, Maryland.⁵ While there is no definitive proof that the museum's tank was part of the Sixteenth Tank Battalion, its underlying original camouflage pattern offers strong evidence that this tank could have been with the Sixteenth Tank Battalion from 1919 to 1920. The tank currently displays a restored version of the very colorful blue, brown, and yellow-beige original camouflage pattern.

Soon after the appearance of any new or improved weapon system on the battlefield, the means to destroy it will be developed. With the combat debut of the tank by the French and British, the Germans needed an effective weapon to counter this new form of attack. Armor-piercing rifles and machine-gun ammunition needed to be employed close to the target to have any chance of stopping or destroying a tank. The Germans required a larger caliber gun that could fire over open sights at a distance to help protect the gun crew, and enough muzzle velocity to hit and destroy tanks at that distance. Their 77mm field guns met these requirements, and began to show success as the world's first antitank guns. The Pennsylvania Military Museum's German 77mm field gun is displayed near the M1917 Tank, creating a fitting juxtaposition between tank and tank killer (Figure 2).

Few M1917 Tanks survive today. The unofficial online Historical Registers for the AFV (Armored Fighting Vehicles) Association list two M1917 Tanks in Canada, and seventeen in the United States.⁶ The Military Museum boasts the only M1917 Tank on the list that is located in Pennsylvania. The museum's tank is also the only known example that has retained the mount for the Marlin tank machine gun.



FIGURE 2 The Pennsylvania Military Museum's German 70mm antitank field gun. (Credit: B. R. Howard & Associates, Inc., Carlisle, PA)

In January 1969, J. William Richey of Everett, Pennsylvania, donated the tank to the newly built Pennsylvania Military Museum.⁷ When he purchased the tank from the Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia in the early 1930s, the original Buda motor had been removed to power a boat owned by a lieutenant of ordnance. Richey replaced it with a Ford Model A engine. A friend hid the tank during World War II to prevent it from being taken during scrap-metal drives. Richey said he later drove the tank in parades until the tank crashed into a car in York, Pennsylvania.⁸ To prevent damage to the roads during parades, he bolted wood blocks to the steel treads through two holes that he had burned through each steel tread with an oxyacetylene torch.⁹

After its donation to the Military Museum, James Altman of New Kensington, Pennsylvania, restored the tank in 1970. According to the original service purchase contract to engage Altman's services, the restoration included "interior painting, exterior camouflage painting, cleaning and repainting engine, replacement and installation of missing engine parts, upholstering driver's seat, replacement and installation of pertinent military accessories."¹⁰ The museum installed the restored tank in its room-sized diorama of a World War I trench. Restoration work included splashes of cement and pigmented plaster on lower parts of the tank to create the appearance of mud spatters from battle.

Altman touched up the exterior camouflage paint, which Richey had applied before the early 1960s on areas that could be easily seen. The camouflage pattern consisted of irregular areas of bright blue and yellow paint, separated from each other by black lines. In some areas, where the 1960s camouflage had not been applied, two earlier layers of paint were visible: olive drab and an earlier layer of brown-and-tan camouflage with no black dividing lines.¹¹

In 2006, the museum contracted with B. R. Howard & Associates, Inc., an artifacts conservation company in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to perform treatments to stabilize the tank. These included: removal of the wooden blocks on the treads and the concrete "mud" accretions, degreasing and cleaning; reduction of areas of surface corrosion and coating them with an archival varnish. After draining fluids from the Ford Model A engine, motor oil was injected into the cylinders in accordance with National Park Service preservation guidelines. The conservators replaced incorrectly fabricated parts from the Altman restoration with more accurate reproductions, including the driver's seat and backrest, the leather grab straps in the turret, the ammunition bins, and a shovel and pick ax (figures 3 and 4).



FIGURE 3 The M1917 Tank before treatment. (Credit: B. R. Howard & Associates, Inc., Carlisle, Pennsylvania)



FIGURE 4 The M1917 Tank after treatment. (Credit: B. R. Howard & Associates, Inc., Carlisle, Pennsylvania)

Conservators also removed minute samples of paint and sent them to Orion Analytical, a laboratory in Williamstown, Massachusetts, to identify the pigments and the layers of paint and varnish. In small test areas on the tank, they removed three layers of overpaint with a solvent gel to expose the original 1918 paint. The overall camouflage pattern could not be determined by viewing the sample test areas. After consulting with museum staff, the conservators removed all of the overpaint to expose the original blue, brown, and tan camouflage. The paint had extensive abrasions and losses, but approximately 85 percent remained intact. They confirmed that the original camouflage pattern did not have black dividing lines between the colors. They sprayed an isolating coat of reversible varnish on the tank to protect the paint, then repainted the camouflage pattern over the varnish with Golden MSA Conservation Colors (mineral spirit-based acrylic resin paints) that can be reversed with mineral spirits. They then applied a thin, transparent glaze of oil-based stains over the reproduced camouflage to recreate the yellowed varnish found covering the 1918 paint layer. The addition of the glaze shifted the colors to golden yellow and warmer shades of blue and brown.¹²

The Pennsylvania Military Museum's exhibit of the M1917 Tank, the Marlin tank machine gun, and the German 77mm field gun offers museum visitors an opportunity to view these key military innovations together, and provides a concise visual summary of armed conflict during "the war to end all wars."

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 1903–18, PART 1

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ABSTRACT: During World War I, Eastern State Penitentiary Warden Robert J. McKenty sought to facilitate military service for felons paroled from his institution. At least 121 individuals—commemorated on a plaque located in the Prison Rotunda—were purported to serve in the American military despite clear restrictions against inducting former and current criminals. After assessing the nature of criminology and penology in Progressive-Era Pennsylvania, this article considers McKenty's views on redemptive rehabilitation both as a factor in the inmates' military service and as a validating marker in reclaiming their civic masculinity.

KEYWORDS: Conscription, World War I, Eastern State Penitentiary, Robert J. McKenty, Progressive penology and criminology, crime and punishment

INTRODUCTION

Philadelphia's Fairmount neighborhood is host to one of the city's favorite and more esoteric historical structures, Eastern State Penitentiary (ESP). Opened in 1829, the large Gothic-influenced prison continues to inspire and impress visitors, even more than forty years after it closed in 1971. Since it reopened to the public in 1994 as a museum and National Historic Landmark, ESP has drawn thousands of visitors behind its walls to gaze upon a structure in a state of controlled decay, a most fitting fate for a building dedicated to coercion, control, and the remediation of criminality in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. There are numerous exhibits and artifacts still remaining in the prison, and perhaps none are more central and little understood as the brass plaque commemorating the military experience of 121 former inmates in World War I. Hanging in the prison's central

panopticon, the memorial was intended to inspire inmates with the example of others who went before them and who, presumably, had successfully left their criminal past and renegotiated their entry into civil society through the selfless acts of service in the war. Yet the plaque, as with World War I itself, was soon forgotten and displaced in public memory by other events and artifacts of remembrance. Long abandoned and lost for several decades after ESP closed, the plaque today is a rather confusing memorial that attracts attention more for what it does not say. It clouds the commemoration by listing the veterans by their prison inmate numbers, rather than their names. Who or what is commemorated—the former inmates or the prison itself? And what of these inmates? What were their individual offenses, and how did they bypass the War Department's and the Wilson Administration's sanctions against including social and moral deviants in the wartime military? Some of these questions can be readily answered (and are, in this article) through a careful review of the surviving archival records associated with Eastern State Penitentiary. Names and experiences can be tied to prison inmate numbers, and through this process, the plaque comes to life (Figures 1 and 2).

It turns out that this is only a small part of the story, perhaps the easiest to reconcile. As a researcher digs deeper into the experiences of the 121 named inmates, the focus shifts from the individual acting in defiance of social norms to the context and nature of how Pennsylvanians defined crime and criminal conduct in the Progressive Era. The period between 1890 and 1920 was critical to the formation of criminology as a discipline and profession in the United States. Police departments, prison administrations, and the general public all negotiated the contours of moral law-abiding behavior and criminal activity. In the best progressive fashion, a new blend of expertise and moral bias combined to establish the tools and ideologies used to combat crime in the rapidly changing nation. The study of the plaque and its individual and collective members brings these systems into the fore. Individual offenders did not simply commit their acts and serve their time. They were residents of a complex narrative that compelled (mostly) young men into committing a singular act that could be tied to a wide range of social markers—desperation, boredom, rite of passage, conformity, etc.—beyond more deterministic factors like physiological or eugenic flaws or professional criminality.

This article, Part 1, attempts to reconcile the actions of the individual criminal (and the state in assigning sentence) with the complex explanative schemas presented in contemporary criminological studies to place crime in its proper historical context. Before addressing the larger experience of



FIGURE 1 The World War I memorial plaque in the central panopticon of Eastern State Penitentiary. (Photograph by the author)

the sampling of 121 inmates listed on the plaque, several case studies will be presented in detail. These vignettes not only provide details related to the individuals listed on the plaque, they will also offer insight into the nature of crime and criminal justice in Progressive-Era Pennsylvania.



FIGURE 2 Close-up of the plaque showing prisoner numbers. (Photograph by the author.)

The wartime dimension of the intersection of criminological discourse, deviance, penal policies of rehabilitation, and military contingency will be resolved in a subsequent article, Part 2, in the Fall 2017 issue of *Pennsylvania History*. As a general rule, the question of deviance as associated with military

service is usually considered, if ever, within the framework of individual moral, emotional, and/or physical flaws.¹ It will examine uses by the military as a vehicle for remediating and reclassifying individuals labeled as “deviant” by society.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT: THE INMATES AND THEIR OFFENSES

The 121 individuals on the plaque present an interesting sampling of Pennsylvanian draft-age men and the relative state of Progressive-Era penology. Ranging in age from eighteen to forty-three as of 1917, the sampling’s average age is 23.9 years old. The prisoners came from all over the eastern half of the state, but just over one-quarter of the group—thirty-three men—came from Philadelphia. At least seventy-two on the plaque qualified as “urban,” coming from a city of at least fifteen thousand people, at the time of their arrest. In terms of race and ethnicity, the sampling is quite diverse and representative of the state’s population at the time. A fair proportion—forty-one men, or 33.8 percent of the total sampling—were either first- or second-generation Americans. The largest European ethnicity represented were Irish (fourteen), followed by eight Italians, four Russians, three Poles, two Germans, and three “Austrians.” This last classification is vague, as the individuals could be German, Croat, Czech, Slovene, or Serbian. The remaining immigrant/second-generation inmates were from various other nationalities, including Swedish, Canadian, Welsh, and English. An additional twenty-one men were African Americans, ten of whom came to Pennsylvania from southern states.²

The offenses (and the offenders) can be divided into four categories: (1) nonviolent, property-related crimes; (2) violent offenses against persons or property; (3) sexual-related crimes, ranging from violent nonvoluntary assaults to acts of mutual consent deemed at the time inappropriate and indicative of some form of antisocial depravity; and (4) murder. The majority of men, eighty-four in all, were convicted of nonviolent, property-related crimes: robbery, burglary, felonious entry, intent to steal, larceny, entering to steal, receiving stolen goods, horse theft, and breaking and entering. Thirteen were convicted of various violent crimes, including: assault, assault and battery, assault with intent to kill, and felonious assault. Nine men were convicted of sexual-related offenses, including: rape, attempted rape, statutory rape, assault with intent to ravish, sodomy, buggery, and pandering. Eight

men were convicted of a range of crimes that evade simple classification: arson, malicious injury to a railroad, and forgery. Finally, seven men were convicted of murder in the second degree.³

Such precise categorization was standard practice for Progressive reformers of all stripes. In the nascent field of criminology, however, American experts also embraced the positivism espoused by Italian pioneer Cesare Lombroso. By identifying a set list of individual biological anomalies, which he labeled as *stigmata*, positivist social theorists working in crime studies were able to create new bonds to restrain those communities deemed as marginal or lesser than the perceived white Anglo-Saxon heterosexual masculine-privileged norm. Imbued with scientific legitimacy on the basis of their statistical methodology, positivist criminologists were accorded great social and political authority and power to use their field as a tool to affirm a status quo firmly tied to whiteness, ethnic exceptionalism, and a heterosexual norm of behavior tied to civic expressions of masculinity.⁴

Thus, contemporary American criminology, following the examples set in continental Europe and the United Kingdom, maintained a clear gendered focus. Men were by their nature more prone to abhorrent behaviors and conducts that fostered crime, experts reasoned. Accordingly, criminal law and its enforcement were tied to a standard of prediction, prevention, and remediation on the purported basis of natural, i.e., *gendered* factors. Though in practice less uniform, especially in rural settings far from the urban centers of reform-minded politics, criminology acquired a progressive cast in the 1890s and 1900s exactly because of these associations between masculinity and order in the modernizing state. As mainstream society grew more complex following the tides of industrialization and commercialization, the need to maintain order—the “civilizing process,” as sociologist Norbert Elias described it—was paramount. Ethnicity and race were critical markers; subsequent generations of native-born and assimilated immigrant communities perceived new arrivals throughout the period as representing imminent dangers to normalcy and domestic stability. But gender pressures, especially as they related to young men from immigrant communities living on the margins of poverty in the Commonwealth, were the engine that drove policing in all communities save for those areas where African American neighborhoods threatened to overwhelm the notion of whiteness. Even here, race was another vehicle toward expressing gendered forces that threatened stability and the social order.⁵

Marginalized men who lived outside the constraints of law and custom in modern society were more likely to regress to violent and criminal conduct in

order to survive and prosper. Successive examples of unrestrained masculinity were cited as episodes of violent threats to the public good. These ranged from the Southern *rage militaire* that accompanied secession and war in 1860, to the real and imagined violence against race and female gender during Reconstruction to the mythology of a lawless masculine frontier, tamed only by equally violent men, and the growing specter of immigrant-fueled anarchist bombers. These mortal challenges to the prevailing sense of order established by elites in American society were born from many disparate conditions: poverty, regional and local deprivation, the collapse of long-held social norms, to name a few. These men also shared an outlook on society that rejected normalcy and stability as effeminate constraints that simultaneously discarded and unmanned them. Fueled by their failure to prosper and rise above their debilitated status, marginalized males lashed out against the society that denied them agency. Popular press accounts and pulp novels helped convey this imagery of maleness run amok; they also promoted the extension of strong legal and police protections over civil society that imbued so many masculine rituals and behaviors with the legitimacy of broad cultural acceptance.

Contemporary reformers and sociologists believed urban crime was different from that existing in rural or small-town settings. The social and physical environments of cities bred a different type of criminal, unique to the American urban landscape. Economic deprivation and squalid living conditions were definitely associated with this trend, although many researchers considered these more as symptomatic rather than causative factors. Ethnicity and the pressures of immigration across generations were considered more essential in creating and sustaining the urban criminal subclass. Accordingly, immigrant children living in urban slums were conditioned to delinquent behavior out of a desire to emulate local criminal role models. Such vulnerable youth were supposed to have broken with the cultural restraints of their parents' generation, often painted as antiquated relics of Old World deference to order. In their ethnic neighborhoods, petty criminality was not only a rite of passage for young boys, it increasingly became the norm. Social reformers working in slums in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other industrial cities observed first- and second-generation children of immigrants normalizing criminal behavior as a defense mechanism to establish security and safety for themselves against rival groups from other neighborhoods as well as from the predominantly Irish American police force. Over time, young boys in street gangs grew into idle and embittered young men who accepted

simple street behavior, often criminal in nature, as the norm. Street fights and assaults—not rational discussion or remediation—were how disagreements were settled. A rudimentary yet rigid form of honor to one's gang of friends and cohorts drove many to walk a rigid line of conduct, based not on the law, but a moral code that was both less concerned with middle-class morality and yet stricter in its ties to the street. As English historian Christopher Hibbert noted in his 1962 study, *The Roots of Evil: A Social History of Crime and Punishment*, morality was inverted in the immigrant street: "The criminal activities of the gang became normal activities and the boy who did not join in them was the nonconformist. So gradually whole communities—and they were usually foreign communities—developed in which crime was an accepted activity. . . ."⁶

Sociologists and historians alike credit ethnic and racial antagonism with fueling crime in urban industrial settings during this time. Existing social networks that unified neighborhoods and spawned patronage and jobs were tightly wound around the context of ethnic identity and loyalties. Consider Philadelphia: Since the 1830s, for example, Irish immigrants fought pitched battle in the street and in the shadow theater of politics for safety and jobs. Local nativists and Know-Nothings fed the streets with wild rumors of Catholic plots against native-born American workers. Rumor spawned riots in Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood in 1844, for example. Provoked by anti-Catholic rhetoric, nativist mobs repeatedly attacked the Irish community there over the summer, killing fifteen and injuring one hundred.⁷ The Civil War caused a brief downturn in ethnic unrest, if only because the unruliest political foes turned their anger against the Confederacy. After 1865, however, the dynamic of migration and respectability began to shift for the Irish immigrant. They still came by the thousands through 1915, but they were soon outnumbered by even more Italians and Eastern European Jews. Nevertheless, Irish gangs and political entities—often part of the larger urban political machine—retained influence and power in neighborhoods even as their identity and character changed. Ever the subject of crude jokes and racist attitudes even into the 1900s, the Irish became the self-appointed arbiters of Americanism for new arrivals. Rebranding their own struggle for acceptance as normative assimilation, Irish Americans embraced a particularly rugged and at times violent brand of American identity. Just as they had to pay their dues in the hard-knocks manner of the rough-and-tumble American city, so too would new arrivals. The Irish in this way became the enforcers of the ethnic and moral hierarchies that were at the core of American civic and

social identity. If the new immigrants dared to challenge the dividing lines on the street, then the Irish were prepared to meet them.⁸

The case of twenty-year-old Philadelphian Felix “Foot” McCrossin can be viewed in this light. He was convicted of second-degree murder related to his attack on candy seller John Aranyodi and sent to ESP. On November 16, 1901, Aranyodi, a thirty-one-year-old Hungarian immigrant, was confronted by McCrossin and two accomplices on Nobel Street between Thirteenth and Broad streets, in front of the Hoopes and Townsend’s storefront. Aranyodi worked as a candy seller, operating an increasingly lucrative stall at the junction of Broad Street and Montgomery Avenue, adjacent to Temple University. For six years, Aranyodi sold candy from his pushcart at the corner of Broad and Montgomery, and was considered a quiet, good-tempered man by his landlady. He had few friends, with no known family or female companions.

At first glance the attack was a simple case of robbery gone awry. The victim was walking back to his rented room at 725 Mervine Street after dark when he was confronted. Three attackers—William Tinen, William Massey, and McCrossin—followed Aranyodi as he walked west along Noble Street toward Broad. Suddenly McCrossin jumped ahead of him, spun around with a revolver, and demanded, “You son of a bitch, give me a quarter.”⁹ Aranyodi screamed for help before McCrossin pistol-whipped him across the face. As he fell, Aranyodi struck his head against the Belgian block curbstones. Between the blow and the subsequent fall, the victim suffered a ten-inch-long lateral fracture of the skull. The subsequent brain hemorrhage was listed as the official cause of death.¹⁰

Immediately after the attack, McCrossin took flight. Several months later, responding to a tip, two detectives paid a call to the office of Brig. Gen. Charles Heywood, the commandant of the Marine Corps, at Washington Barracks, Washington, DC. After presenting a photograph taken from the Philadelphia Police Department’s Rogues’ Gallery, General Heywood reviewed the recent enlistment rolls, and sent for Pvt. James Smith, who enlisted November 27, 1901. The detectives immediately recognized McCrossin, and took him into custody pending his extradition to Philadelphia.¹¹

McCrossin was in danger of being judged guilty of first-degree murder; multiple eyewitnesses not only placed him at the scene, he was clearly identified as the person striking the blow in an apparent robbery. His subsequent flight and enlistment under an assumed name all pointed toward his guilt. At his trial, however, McCrossin’s defense team undertook a novel tactic to redirect the question of primary guilt and to shift the onus onto the deceased

victim. Their attempts to revise the crime narrative took place on the first day of trial, when the defense attorney introduced a sexualized element to the testimony. While cross-examining David McBain, one of the prosecution's prized eyewitnesses, the defense won acknowledgment that the witness heard McCrossin mutter, "He is only a fruit, he will be all right when we get away."¹² The prospect of suspect masculinity on Aranyodi's part was further elaborated upon in redirects, as counsel would infer in noting that "This neighborhood [Nobel and Broad Streets] is noted for such persons, black or white. . . ."¹³

As the trial continued, the issue of sexual transgression and vigilantism became more pronounced. One of the arresting officers, Charles Sells, described how McCrossin and his friends came to target Aranyodi. Sells recalled that McCrossin said they were walking along Willow Street (a few blocks from Noble, East of Broad Street) when they discovered Aranyodi between two parked cars with a young boy:

A man came out from between the cars and he [McCrossin] walked up to him. He had the revolver in his hand, this way, and he told him that he wanted a quarter; he asked him for twenty five cents or a quarter. The man [Aranyodi] struck his right hand and struck the revolver away, and Felix up then with his fist and struck the man, and the man then fell down. Coming up on the cars he says that there was a young fellow between the cars, and he then says to one of his friends: "Why, that son of a bitch ought to give that boy twenty five cents," and "the fellow was nothing but fruit," and that is the reason he ought to give him twenty five cents.¹⁴

Never mind that the account McCrossin described to the arresting police days after the crime was completely different from the account given by several eyewitnesses. By introducing the prospect of Aranyodi being a sexual predator targeting young men, McCrossin's defense had recast the entire narrative of the crime. Felix McCrossin was transformed from a violent criminal who had skipped town to escape justice into a young moral vigilante who acted selflessly in the name of common decency.

The defense continued to recast McCrossin's actions, going so far as to introduce the context of local euphemism and slang to redefine Aranyodi's own identity. William J. Hughes was the friend McCrossin turned to for

disposal of the revolver with which he pistol-whipped the victim. At the time, Hughes said, McCrossin told him “he had punched a candy-man.”¹⁵ During the defense attorney’s cross-examination, however, the definition of Aranyodi’s occupation and his moral proclivities became intertwined:

Q. Have you ever heard the expression “candy-man” used before?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many times?

A. Every day more than four or five times.

Q. And are you familiar with the meaning of the term?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What is its meaning?

. . . .

A. Well, a “candy-man” means between the fellows around the corner a cock-sucker.

That is as near as I can get it.¹⁶

The District Attorney’s office did not reckon with the possibility of the ambiguity of language and class. Nor did the prosecution take into account the notion of distinct social moralities that, while not excusing the act of murder, could redefine the perception of intent for jurors. McCrossin’s attorney did not try to deny that his client had assaulted Aranyodi, nor that he had tried to boost him for small change. However, he argued that McCrossin was motivated by an upright and legitimate moral outrage, and took the only moral course available to him. The defense strategy worked. McCrossin was found guilty of second-degree murder, not the first-degree capital charge sought by the prosecution. While not enough to win McCrossin’s freedom, the defense argument, with its focus on aberrant sexuality and personal justice in defense of challenged masculinity, gave the jury pause enough to consider the nature of intent. The defense could not also adequately address the points of what McCrossin was doing with a revolver in the first place or of his flight to an environment that could likely remove him from the country for an extended period of time. What mattered in the eyes of the jury—comprised of white men of all classes and backgrounds, who, while different in many ways, shared a common perception of legitimate masculinity—was that McCrossin had done what any of them *might* have done in a similar circumstance. Felix McCrossin (Prisoner B1393) was

sentenced to twenty years in ESP, and fined \$1.00. He was released on good behavior on October 21, 1913.¹⁷

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND CRIME

Nonwhite American populations were identified by nativist whites as potential vectors of crime and deviance; positivist criminology clarified and reinforced these crude notions. African Americans and Asians in particular were infantilized and otherwise reduced to amoral types for whom social and moral deviance by “normal” Caucasian standards was biologically determined. The “primitive” and “simple-minded” nature of African Americans was presented as the root cause for an imagined predilection for insanity and crime. Despite clear evidence to the contrary, blacks were considered to be more likely than whites to commit criminal acts, ranging from petty misdemeanors to gross acts of murder and mayhem. Even the most charitable observers and advocates promulgated a sweeping list of dehumanizing negative associations to explain such behavior. Undeveloped genes; low physiological and mental status on the generally accepted racial hierarchy; collective racial cultural immaturity, thanks to the social stunting effects of over two hundred years of slavery; hypersexuality; extreme poverty and the primitive desire to copy or emulate the behavior and trappings of so-called “superior” white culture—all these and more were used to explain the imagined and real offenses taking place within African American communities. Such attitudes affected policing trends, legal recourse in the courts, sentencing, and incarceration, isolating and excluding African Americans from the flow of socioeconomic advancement taking place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁸

This was no accident; historian Khalil Gibran Muhammad argues “statistical comparisons between the *Foreign-born* and the *Negro* were foundational in the emergence of distinctive modern discourses on race and crime.”¹⁹ Even though sociologists would eventually reject casual eugenics and pathology-based theories as applied to crime in immigrant and second-generation white communities, African Americans continue to suffer from crude racial analogies and biologically deterministic categorizations. This served a dual purpose. First was the question of validating whiteness as the cultural hegemonic norm in American society. Just as progressive social reformers sought to guarantee Anglo-Saxon social identity through the projected assimilation of new European immigrants, they also craved a defining boundary of racial preference that excluded nonwhites from responsible participation in society. The second factor at play was the need to preserve order and stability in the

multiethnic urban community. Cities were already regarded by the majority of the native-born Anglo, German, and increasingly Irish communities at large nationally as places of casual danger and veiled threat. While blacks were unfairly decried by many as the source of much urban crime (claims often fabricated despite evidence to the contrary), the real threat they posed was biological. Fears of miscegenation and racial degeneration came to dominate the discourse over the role of blacks in America's urban society, further marginalizing them. Even after many tenets of Lombrosian theory had fallen into disfavor, criminologists continued to emphasize an alleged "black pathology" rooted in racialized perceptions of inferiority and immorality.²⁰

Vocal proponents of social change and resistance to social bullying and repression felt the full weight of the law if they stepped across the invisible line of behavior accepted and tolerated by white society. At best, they would be harassed by the police. One need only examine photographic evidence of mob lynchings to understand the worst and all too common penalty meted out to black men.²¹ Worst of all, whites lynched blacks at the slightest provocation, with no evidence, and at times without a crime to justify their actions. Save for a rare few cases, the mob's actions were ignored, if not sanctioned, by the state. All things considered, even as dysfunctional as the criminal justice system was for African Americans (especially men), it presented real safety and a sense of security from the danger of white rage outside the courtroom and prison walls. Not to say that Progressive-Era prisons, including Eastern State Penitentiary, were safe houses for African Americans. They were often administered with a casual brutality outside the public gaze of the administration, which continued to dehumanize their residents. But when considered against the mob violence that all too frequently targeted black individuals and communities, the criminal justice system, for all the misjudgment and poor science the positivist criminologists engendered, was by far the preferred option for the accused.

Black offenders were treated in three different ways, each reflective of their ambiguous status as citizens in the eyes of Pennsylvania's white-dominated society. The majority were dismissed as natural offenders, driven by their race to transgress society's norms. Such was the way Edward Callahan (Prisoner B5817) was described in the *Reading Times* of June 2, 1911, as a simple horse thief. More emphasis is given to "clever work" of the white arresting officer, "Officer John Entriken, of West Chester," in tracking down the horse and its thief.²² In many of these cases, the only thing that prevented their being considered as occasional offenders was their racial identity. As black men, they were held accountable to a higher standard of morality while also judged against low expectations. More than anything, black men were expected to

present an overweening deference to whiteness, not only the legal and political establishment, but the casual expectations of a multiethnic white society that imposed the complex skein of racial stratification into everyday life. As Khalil Gibran Muhammad notes, "Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the statistical rhetoric of the 'Negro criminal' became a proxy for a national discourse on black inferiority."²³ Basic offenses that might otherwise be handled on the personal level were routinely blown out of proportion. Black misdemeanants frequently confronted excessive charges, or saw their misstep blown up into a felony charge, to placate society's insatiable need to establish firm control over its least understood and most abused members.

Many other predominantly young black men were thus described as being "led astray" by bad choices and companions into committing a singular miscreant act. Such young men were often treated as a subject of pity in the press not so much for their own sake, but rather for their family members, indirect victims of their prodigals' actions due to their incarceration, and drawn into the cycle of racialized criminality. This was certainly how Arthur William Douglas (Prisoner B5050) was treated in the press and by the court. In May 1909, the twenty-three-year-old was employed as a porter at the Wabash Hotel in Gettysburg. On the afternoon of May 21, Douglas had an argument with Charles Powell, the hotel's hostler, over work. The social distinction between a porter, who served the needs of the hotel's clientele, and a hostler, who worked in the stable with horses and other livestock, was rather significant among hotel workers. When Douglas, who was reportedly in a foul mood after drinking earlier in the day, refused to carry out some tasks for the hotel manager, Powell was brought in to do the job. Douglas took great offense at this action, which amounted to a crossing of a very clear line between the front of the house and the hidden world of service behind the scenes. Fearing that he would lose his position and status to Powell, Douglas confronted him twice in the hotel, and was thrown out each time. At this point, Douglas purchased a pistol at the nearby Colliflower Store and walked out to the hotel's stable, where he fired two shots at Powell, missing each time.²⁴

Douglas ran from the stable with Powell close behind. The two men brawled in the street by the hotel, throwing punches and Douglas fired two more shots at Powell. Bystanders intervened, pulling the two apart, just in time for the town constables to arrive and place both men under arrest. In the August trial, Douglas's attorney made a strong case for his client's reputation and character: he had lived in Gettysburg for the last twelve years and was well known as a young, earnest man who had exhibited (until his altercation

with Powell) temperance in judgment. This act was his first offense, the attorney argued, and was more than likely a result of the young man's drinking between the initial argument and his trip to the general store in search of a weapon. Character references were provided by his employers, who vouchsafed his character. A concluding petition from Douglas's parents asked the court for leniency on the grounds that Arthur was the sole financial and material support for them at their advanced age.²⁵

A third group were treated as professional miscreants, recidivists who were again cast on their path largely due to the "failings" of their race. One of the more seasoned burglars in the sample was Charles Brown, alias Charles Marlowe, alias Charles Showiah, an African American who lived with a female acquaintance, Adlean Mitchell, in Philadelphia. While he later pled guilty of breaking into and pilfering the Llanarch home of Dr. C. Nelson Smith while the dentist and his wife were vacationing in Bermuda, the circumstances of his arrest would today likely be dismissed out of hand. Disembarking from the local train at Philadelphia's 69th Street Station, Brown was denied exit from the platform by an off-duty Haverford constable moonlighting as a station security guard. Demanding that Brown open the overpacked and bulky suitcase he was carrying with him, the guard tussled with the man, who loudly refused the constable's demands, telling him "he would fight him to see who was the better man."²⁶ The fight was brought to an end as a crowd of onlookers joined in and subdued Brown, tying him to the station's iron fence. Constable Thomas was now free to open Brown's suitcase, which was filled with clothing and two watches, one gold with a chain and the other silver, belonging to Dr. Smith. When the dentist and his wife returned from Bermuda, they immediately identified their belongings, and reported that an additional \$310 worth of gold filling and plate were missing from the office attached to his home. Brought to trial a month later, Brown pled guilty to all the thefts linked to the Smiths, and received a sentence of three to seven years, and a \$25 fine.²⁷

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND RECIDIVISM

Juvenile delinquency was always treated with special care. Much of the crime in urban settings was blamed on youths run wild, whether alone or organized in gangs. The latter were especially associated with working-class immigrant communities, places where unemployed young men gravitated to each other out of boredom, spite, and fear of other neighboring gangs or the police. It

was a short jump for street gangs from loitering and other misdemeanors to serious felonies. Many gangs took to simple displays and tussles to defend their territory and reputations from outsiders, ranging from shouted obscenities to thrown rocks, manure, and snowballs. Others, however, graduated to open theft and burglary, ranging from armed robbery to burglary to stripping metal fixtures out of vacant homes and businesses. One form of theft especially popular with younger offenders was till-tapping, that is, emptying the cash drawer when the proprietor was distracted by other boys, though they also were adept at “grab-and-run” or “smash-and-grab” theft, both variants on grabbing merchandise openly displayed on tables or behind plate-glass windows. There were also the more violent gangs that openly preyed on visiting outsiders and local folk alike, not to mention engaging in open warfare with the police and other gangs.²⁸

Criminologists had mixed opinions when it came to juvenile offenders. Lombroso considered all children at heart to be potential criminals. They all were subject to atavistic behaviors and impulses, which they shed only as they matured after puberty. Many American law enforcement and criminologists balanced this biological view with a strong social outlook, crediting child rearing and environment as being equally important to the rise of the young delinquent. Yet they also rejected what they saw as “soft” remediation of young offenders at the hands of social workers and probation agents. It was far better to employ hard punishments and enforcement, moderated by direct intervention with salvageable youths, to address the perceived problem. Local police—“beat cops” patrolling assigned routes—were the first and best line of defense against juvenile crime. They knew the young men in their neighborhoods, and could take direct steps against the regular troublemakers and deter younger boys from following the example of their brothers, cousins, and older peers. Ultimately, in fact, most police took the line that a little delinquency was a good thing.²⁹ Young men needed rites of passage to make the transition from childhood to adulthood:

They believed that delinquency was normal behavior for adolescents and a reasonable response to urban life. According to this view, boys would be boys. From the police perspective, young offenders were best understood as rowdy street children or disruptive youth who broke the law, not as victims of their environments or as born criminals. To the police and many urban residents, delinquency was natural, if not desirable.³⁰

What remains, then, is defining when exactly a young offender was no longer a youth who could be salvaged and had become an adult offender. In practice, the age of responsibility varied across Europe, from nine years old in Italy to sixteen in the United Kingdom. San Quentin Prison chaplain August Drähms, author of an influential 1900 criminology manual, noted the American stance was vague at best, with the age usually set by the court.³¹ In Pennsylvania, the courts usually settled on between sixteen and eighteen years old. One thing on which all criminologists were united was a genuine concern over the incessant rise in juvenile crime. Between 1880 and 1890, Drähms reported, the ratio of juvenile offenders to the whole population of the United States grew from 229 per million (11,468 offenders) to 237 per million (14,846 offenders), a 29.46 percent increase. In 1890, the greatest number of juvenile crimes nationwide—excluding petty crimes against public policy like truancy, “incurability,” and vagrancy—were classified as being committed against property. Over the same time in Pennsylvania, 16.68 percent of all juvenile offenses were crimes against property, 150 in all.³²

Of particular interest to criminologists was the concept of redirecting young offenders from their path to become habitual offenders before it was too late. Again, there is no absolute consensus on the transitional point beyond which young people pass from simple misbehavior to criminal behavior. Drähms felt it was between the ages of twenty and twenty-four.³³ This left ample time for the state to intervene when the home environment was lacking. Here again Drähms expressed his anti-urban, nativist biases against recent immigrant families:

Urban centres, as in the creation of adult criminals, remain the most prolific sources of child contamination. . . . There are no *homes* here, properly speaking, only places for temporary shelter and promiscuous herding, the sole conditions under which thousands of our cities' lowest classes subsist, and where they raise their progeny in utter disregard of the decencies and moralities of life, oftentimes glad to be rid of the responsibilities by means fair and foul. These are the raw material that make roughs, and desperadoes, and city toughs, cast in the moulds of an implacable environment as cruel as the grasp of necessitarian law.³⁴

Deprived of even a base quality of life by their circumstance, young people living in tenements across the country were easy prey for the worst elements in society. Combined with the general lack of industrial training and good economic habits, there was little wonder that so many youths were given over to

a dark future in crime and depravity. Hence the reformatory, the state-administered home for juvenile offenders, as a venue not intended for punishment, but rather for interrupting the juvenile delinquents' slide into perdition, by redirecting them toward a meaningful skilled or semiskilled trade. Combined with moral instruction, practical education, and proper material and nutritional care, the reformatory was championed as the best vehicle to retrain dangerous malcontents into law-abiding, productive, moral citizens.

Returning to the Eastern State sampling, it is clear that only in rare cases were juvenile offenders sentenced as adults. Typically, they were remanded to one of the state's youth reformatories, either Huntingdon State Reformatory or the Philadelphia House of Refuge at Glen Mills. The youngest man sent to Eastern State was sixteen-year-old Carl Cedarholm (Prisoner B7268), charged with burglary from Tioga County. Property crimes such as burglary, robbery, and receiving stolen goods were the most common offenses committed by offenders twenty years of age and younger. They ran the gamut from pickpocketing (William Hahn, Prisoner B6336, age twenty), to stripping lead pipe from vacant homes (Robert Watson, Prisoner B7848, age twenty), to property theft (Harry Northeimer, Prisoner B6950, age eighteen).³⁵ Non-juvenile petty offenders were also treated rather harshly in comparison with the gravity of their offense. Frank Aspell (Prisoner B8601) was sentenced to one to three years in Eastern State after his arrest and trial for attempting to break into the coin box of a pay telephone in Germantown, Pennsylvania, on September 25, 1916.³⁶

Juvenile offenders sentenced to prison were in for a rough time. According to William Healy, director of the Chicago Juvenile Court's Psychopathic Institute, all inmates were susceptible to "psychic contagion" during their incarceration. This was not directly a result of the physical circumstances of the prison. In fact, most inmates described how the physical circumstances and surroundings were rather benign in comparison with the corrosive emotional distress experienced in prison. Picking up on themes described by Lombroso and other experts, Healy noted it was being compelled to associate with hardened criminals that provided the "powerful stimulus" that set first offenders, primarily young men, on a path to moral and physical corruption. Essentially, the collective atmosphere of despair and what Morris Ploscowe, writing in the 1931 Wickersham Commission report, would describe as "a milieu through the common unit of selection—the commission of a crime" established a venue where crime was idealized.³⁷ Thus incarceration failed as a deterrent, as "These distressing results are so contradictory to the intended effect of

legal treatment that the situation is nothing short of tragically anomalous.”³⁸ Several conditions acted to provoke this regression. Short sentences, even for young offenders, were considered ineffectual, as inmates considered them to be a manageable, but onerous, distraction with no practical deterrent effect. Such attitudes were deceptive, however, as they distracted offenders from the greater hazards of prison life. Surrounded by the worst possible companions at all times, young inmates were subjected to an incessant discourse of crime and dissipation. Indeed, Healy wrote, such discourse acted as a virtual contagion, polluting the younger offenders’ sensibilities and setting them on the path toward habitual criminality. New acquaintances with hardened inmates left young men not only with weakened moral constraints against future misdeeds, they also acquired new criminal skills to employ after their release. “During imprisonment the older man is on the lookout for future partners, and tries to enlist those who have intelligence and nerve. Perhaps the actual teaching of new recruits may not go on in custody, but the opening wedge is placed, and when acquaintances meet on the outside definite plans are formed.”³⁹

The prospect of juvenile offenders becoming career recidivists was taken very seriously by criminologists and prison administrators. Experts not only believed the environment in prisons and reformatories eroded the moral constraints of new inmates, but that they also served as professional academies of criminal knowledge and behavior. Consider the case of twenty-three-year-old burglar Harry Miller (Prisoner B7760). At his April 21, 1915, trial for burglary, Miller amazed the court with his tale of learning his trade in an ad hoc reformatory safecracking school. On April 19, Miller and Henry Bauhoff were caught in the act of breaking into the safe on the third floor of the James Bell Company at 2840 Germantown Avenue. They confessed to two other safecracking jobs in the city, and identified a third conspirator, fifteen-year-old Felix Henry. Safecracking was a highly specialized and high-status crime in the criminal underworld, one that required no small amount of training to pull off quickly and with minimal fuss. The expert safecracker employed a wide variety of tools and special drills to cut through the stoutest safe, using black powder and nitroglycerin only as a last resort. Miller admitted as much when he testified that he was taught how to break into safes without explosives while he served time in the Huntingdon Reformatory for Young Offenders. His tales of the reform school serving as a “school of crime” could have been taken directly from the leading criminology manuals, and fed the voyeuristic impulses and imagined fears of the daily newspaper readers. Despite his expertise, Miller had a heavy hand at his craft. The two

burglars were caught because a neighbor heard them through the walls as they battered at the safe. The younger boy was remanded to juvenile court, and Bauhoff and Miller stood trial for the three thefts they confessed to, receiving a one-and-a-half to three-year sentence in Eastern State.⁴⁰

These accounts, and those of the other men listed on the Eastern State Penitentiary plaque, provide a long-observed window into aspects of daily life in Progressive-Era Pennsylvania. From the most mundane details of small-town life and the petty crimes that were cast as the handmaiden of drunken idleness to titillating accounts of professional thieves, burglars, and arsonists; from accounts of the mentally unfit progeny of family lines soiled by generations of criminal activity to racially charged accounts of violent social misconduct, at times culminating in murder—the individual narratives associated with the plaque are quite revelatory. Moving beyond the crimes themselves, the reports associated with them give precise detail into the social fabric of early twentieth-century Pennsylvania. Crime itself was defined in two broad social categories: those that were the product of a single bad choice, perhaps the outcome of a series of poor moral judgments, but hopefully a singular mistake that could be corrected; and those that represented a more permanent moral failure that was beyond salvation. Not surprisingly, this type of classification reflected the progressive world view. Once the outlines of individual antisocial behavior were defined, it could be remediated and recast into a more acceptable form that aligned with the rest of American society. As this article concludes in the next issue of *Pennsylvania History*, the focus will shift to the wartime experiences of the 121 individuals listed on the Eastern State plaque, and how this was cast as part of a larger rehabilitative experience by the prison's warden.

(To be continued)

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NOTES

1. Monographs addressing deviance in the military are few and far between. Most recently several works consider the military's response, or lack of one, to negative behaviors in World War II (Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers*

- Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Charles Glass, *The Deserters: A Hidden History of World War II* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013); Dale Maharidge, *Bringing Mulligan Home: The Other Side of the Good War* (New York: Public Affairs Press, 2013). As laudable as these works are, however, in the end they serve the same purpose of identifying specific acts such as rape, sexual assault, murder, and desertion, and focusing on perceived connections between military service and the individual or collective deviance. The work that most closely follows the approach I am employing, i.e., how the military identified alleged miscreants before induction, and how their subsequent military service was at the time viewed as an extraordinary rehabilitative/redemptive act, are Nancy Bristow's *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996) and Jennifer Keene's *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
2. This information was gathered from the ESP Prison Population records at the Pennsylvania State Archives (PSA), including: Convict Registers, Descriptive Books, Lists, Registers, 1909–17, seven volumes within Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Justice.
 3. ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillon Handbooks: Box 2, *Discharge Book, April 23, 1895–June 18, 1922*, Nos. A8047, A8432, A9829, B101-10000, C1-2318; *Discharge Book, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, Medical, B5005-B8999*, Records of the Department of Justice (RG-15) PSA.
 4. For direct reference to Lombroso's usage of atavistic or degenerative physiological stigmata, see Marvin E. Wolfgang, "Pioneers in Criminology: Cesare Lombroso (1825–1909)," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 54, no. 4 (November–December 1961): 361–91, 370, 371, 375; Wayne Morrison, "Lombroso and the Birth of Criminological Positivism: Scientific Mastery or Cultural Artifice?" in *Cultural Criminology Unleashed*, ed. Jeff Ferrell, Keith Hayward, Wayne Morrison, and Mike Presdee (London: The Glass House Press, 2004), 67–81, 68, 69, 72. The most recent translation of Lombroso's signature work, *Criminal Man (Luomo delinquent)* eliminates direct reference to "stigmata" in favor of "anomalies," perhaps to help restore his reputation as a complex, multi-faceted scholar from its most recent state as a "simplistic biological determinist with reactionary ideas." Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man, Translated and with a New Introduction*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 4–5.
 5. Martin J. Weiner, "The Victorian Criminalization of Men," in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, ed. Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 197–212, 198–200; Bobby A. Wintermute, "'The Negro Should Not Be Used as a Combat Soldier': Reconfiguring Racial Identity in the United States Army, 1890–1918," *Patterns of Prejudice; Special Issue: Racialising the Soldier* 46, no. 3–4 (July 2012): 277–98, 283, 295–96.

6. Christopher Hibbert, *The Roots of Evil: A Social History of Crime and Punishment* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1963), 321.
7. Russell F. Weigley et al., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 356–57.
8. James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2012), 5–8, 11, 16, 25–31.
9. Philadelphia City Archives, RG 21.5, Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Oyer and Terminer, A-2751, January Sessions, 1902, #1, *Commonwealth v. Felix McCrossin*, April 24–26, 1902, 79.
10. *Ibid.*, 67.
11. *Ibid.*, 181–83.
12. *Ibid.*, 114.
13. *Ibid.*, 146.
14. *Ibid.*, 196–97.
15. *Ibid.*, 201.
16. *Ibid.*, 208–09.
17. ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book*, April 23, 1895–June 18, 1922, Nos. A8047, A8432, A9829, B101–10,000, C1–2318, PSA.
18. Stephen Pfohl, *Images of Deviance and Social Control: A Sociological History* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2009), 135–36; Roger Lane, *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia, 1860–1900* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1986), 2–5; Wintermute, “The Negro Should Not Be Used as a Combat Soldier.”
19. Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2010), 6.
20. *Ibid.*, 6–9.
21. See James Allen and John Lewis, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, 10th ed. (Santa Fe: Two Palms Publishers, 2000).
22. *Reading Times*, June 2, 1911, 5; ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book*, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, *Medical*, B5005–B8999, PSA.
23. Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness*, 8.
24. “Gun Play on Town Street,” *Gettysburg Times*, May 22, 1909, 1.
25. “Ten Prisoners Sentenced,” *Gettysburg Compiler*, September 1, 1909, 1.
26. “Police Say They Have Bold Burglar,” *Delaware County Daily Times*, August 22, 1912, 5.
27. *Ibid.*; *Delaware County Daily Times*, September 24, 1912, 5; ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book*, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, *Medical*, B5005–B8999, PSA.
28. David Ralph Johnson, *Policing the Urban Underworld: The Impact of Crime on the Development of the American Police, 1800–1887* (Philadelphia: Temple

- University Press, 1979), 82–83, 125–26; Frank Morn, *Forgotten Reformer: Robert McLaughry and Criminal Justice Reform in Nineteenth Century America* (Lanham, MD, and Plymouth, UK: University Press of America, Inc., 2011), 104–5.
29. David B. Wolcott, *Cops and Kids: Policing Juvenile Delinquency in Urban America, 1890–1940* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 20–25.
30. *Ibid.*, 20.
31. August Drähms, *The Criminal, His Personnel and Environment, A Scientific Study* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), 271.
32. Drähms, *The Criminal*, 279, 280; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I: Analysis* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 20; Census Office, *Report on Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part II: General Tables* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 530–39.
33. Drähms, *The Criminal*, 283.
34. *Ibid.*, 284.
35. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 12, 1913, 14; ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, Medical, B5005-B8999*, PSA.
36. “Arrested After Long Chase,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 26, 1916, 8; ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, Medical, B5005-B8999*, PSA.
37. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Causes of Crime*, vol. I (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 87.
38. William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent; a Textbook of Diagnosis and Prognosis for All Concerned in Understanding Offenders* (London: William Heinemann, 1915), 312.
39. *Ibid.*, 312–14, quote on p. 314.
40. Johnson, *Policing the Urban Underworld*, 56; “Taught How to Rob in Reform School,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 21, 1915, 2; “Boy of 15 Held as Safe Looter,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 22, 1915, 2; ESP Prison Population Records, Bertillion Handbooks, Box 2, *Discharge Book, July 6, 1909–January 29, 1918, Medical, B5005-B8999*, PSA.

A SERVICE OF LOVE IN WAR TIME

A VIGNETTE

Guy Aiken
University of Virginia

ABSTRACT: This is a discussion of Rufus Jones's classic memoir about the American Friends Service Committee during World War I, *A Service of Love in War Time*.

KEYWORDS: Rufus M. Jones, the American Friends Service Committee, Quakers, World War I, conscientious objectors

"There will be tens of thousands of books" written on the Great War, Haverford philosophy professor Rufus M. Jones (1863–1948) predicted in 1920 at the beginning of his classic memoir, *A Service of Love in War Time*, dealing with the first two years of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC, later a co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 after its relief of victims of a second and even greater world war). "It cannot be out of place to add to this vast literature one small volume which will tell in brief compass the story of the Mission of love and service which members of the Society of Friends maintained and carried through during the critical years of the war and afterwards."¹ This was no token mission, contrived only to get Quakers and other religious pacifists out of combat once they were drafted under the Selective Service Act of 1917. This was a massive undertaking: six hundred AFSC volunteers—mostly Quaker men but also some Quaker women, along with a handful of Mennonites and Brethren—went to France between 1917 and 1919, where they helped clothe, shelter, and feed sixty thousand French refugees in 345 villages along the Western Front.²

Born in Maine in 1863 to a family of Orthodox Quakers, Jones grew up a moderate evangelical. In his thirties, he moved permanently to Philadelphia, where Quakers were still divided after splitting in 1827 into a liberal majority who came to be known as Hicksites and an evangelical minority who came

to be known as Orthodox (the rest of American Quakerism soon followed suit). In Philadelphia, Jones assumed a professorship at Haverford College, the all-male Orthodox counterpart to the Hicksite Swarthmore just outside Philadelphia, and the editorship of a major Quaker periodical, which he soon renamed the *American Friend*. In 1897 he traveled to England, where, under the influence of English Quakers, he embraced a modernist agenda of adapting Quakerism to progressivism, higher criticism of the Bible, and the theory of evolution.³ From 1897 until his death in 1948, Jones sought in almost sixty books and in countless articles and talks to transcend the doctrinal infighting of American Quakerism by grounding the validity of religion in the social and psychological fruits of mystical experience, or direct and immediate contact with God.

Despite Jones's efforts, the war found Quakers still disunited and spiritually unprepared—but the persecution of conscience and the call to alternative service that the war visited upon Quakers brought them closer together than any book Jones ever wrote. Fittingly, his *A Service of Love in War Time* is still the best account of this time of trial and renewal for American Friends.⁴ On April 30, 1917, four weeks after President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany and eighteen days before he signed the Selective Service Act into law, Friends from all of the major American Quaker bodies gathered in Philadelphia to consider establishing a “Permanent National Headquarters” (8) to coordinate alternative service for young Friends in particular and for American Friends more generally. With the US Army about to militarize all ambulance work, that avenue of service was closed to Friends and others who were conscientious objectors to war seeking noncombatant service (9).

Happily, Wilson at the time was reorganizing the American Red Cross (ARC) to direct all American war-relief work, and the man he tapped as chief of the ARC in France, Grayson Mallet-Provost Murphy, was a graduate of a Quaker high school in Philadelphia and a former student of Jones's at Haverford. After securing Murphy's endorsement in May, the central Quaker committee, which in the meantime had assumed the name American Friends Service Committee and had appointed Jones as chairman, officially formed a Friends Unit in August as a bureau of the Civilian Department of the American Red Cross in France (10–11, 42). The ARC allowed the Friends Unit to merge with English Friends, who had been aiding victims of the war since the beginning of the conflict, to form the Anglo-American Mission of the Society of Friends—Mission de la Société des Amis (42–43).

On July 11 one hundred young men—"the Haverford Unit"—started training under Jones and Dr. James A. Babbitt at Haverford College for reconstruction work in France (21). The work was to consist largely of assembling "demountable houses" in former war zones (27). Only fifty-one of the hundred men, plus three women, sailed for France in early September, arriving in Paris on September 14, 1917 (64–65). The other forty-nine men had been drafted (25). They had to report to their designated mobilization camp and await furloughs that were long in coming (87). Most were treated respectfully at camp when they refused to drill or carry a weapon or even wear the military uniform, but some were beaten, had their eyes gouged and their ears boxed, were imprisoned and chained to their cell doors and fed nothing but bread and water for days on end, and were also psychologically abused with ridicule, threats of shooting, and never-ending argument (96). Several were court-martialed and sentenced to anywhere from a ten- to thirty-year imprisonment (103–4). Many camps segregated conscientious objectors (COs) and kept them in enforced idleness. This, according to Jones, broke some of the men, but the majority "kept the faith" to the end (104–5).

The end for all the men finally arrived in the spring of 1918 in the form of a possible furlough from the army so they could "engage in civil occupations and pursuits," without pay, in the interest of "national security and defense"—to quote the Act of Congress signed into law by President Wilson on March 9, 1918. The War Department then ruled that the AFSC's work of reconstructing French villages qualified as one such occupation and pursuit, and appointed a three-person board of inquiry to interview the COs at each camp to determine the "sincerity" of each man's conscientious objection (114). According to Jones, nearly every CO deemed "sincere" accepted service with the AFSC (116).

Just at this time the AFSC's own executive secretary, Vincent D. Nicholson, was drafted and was unable to secure exemption; he languished in a military camp until the Armistice. So, the AFSC turned in August 1918 to Wilbur K. Thomas, of Boston, who led the AFSC in its great postwar work in Germany—where the AFSC fed over five million children between 1920 and 1924—and elsewhere in Europe and Russia (116–17). "Long ago in a beautiful story," Jones concludes, "Tolstoy insisted that Love is 'what men live by.' These various missions here reported have been trying to demonstrate that." Jones wrote the book to communicate "that *idea*" (265; emphasis in original). He succeeded.

A SERVICE OF LOVE IN WAR TIME

AMERICAN FRIENDS RELIEF
WORK IN EUROPE, 1917-1919

BY
RUFUS M. JONES

Author of "The Inner Life,"
"The World Within," etc.



New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920

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FIGURE 1 Title page of *A Service of Love in War Time*.



FIGURE 2 Portrait of Rufus Jones. Courtesy of the American Friends Service Committee Archives.

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NOTES

1. Rufus M. Jones, *A Service of Love in War Time: American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917–1919* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 1. All in-line page numbers refer to this work. An online version is available at: <https://archive.org/details/serviceofloveinwoojone>.
2. Caroline G. Norment, “American Food Served in Germany’s Schools,” box General Administration 1920, Foreign Service: Country-Germany: List of Cities Where Child Feeding Occurred to TB Materials, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, PA.
3. Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1988), 147–48, 171–72. The still-standard biography of Jones is Elizabeth Gray Vining, *Friend of Life: A Biography of Rufus Jones* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958).
4. Leading American Quaker historian J. William Frost, in “‘Our Deeds Carry Our Message’: The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee,” *Quaker History* 81, no. 1 (Spring 1992), writes on page 51, “The best source for understanding the early AFSC remains Rufus Jones, *A Service of Love in War Time*.” Frost’s assessment still holds true.

BOOK REVIEWS

Patrick Spero. *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Pp. 343. Index. Cloth, \$39.95.

Patrick Spero's *Frontier Country* is a remarkable reconceptualization of Pennsylvania's political development from an initially successful Proprietary colony in 1684, to a failed state in the wake of the Seven Years War, to a reinvigorated Revolutionary state in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Spero seeks to upend the field of "Frontier," "Backcountry," and "Borderlands" history popular since the days of Frederick Jackson Turner by accepting the eighteenth-century American and British definition of the word "frontier," and applying that meaning to the actions of the Empire, the Proprietors, the Assembly, and frontier settlers to reveal the transformative power of "frontier political culture," which culminated in the American Revolution.

Spero uses traditional sources for early Pennsylvania such as the Pennsylvania Archives and *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, manuscript collections of politicians, traders, and military men, and colonial and European newspapers, but applies new techniques. First, from all of these sources Spero developed a composite definition of the eighteenth-century word "frontier," which was known and accepted by all. Frontier was "a geopolitical term . . . that was created by the threat of invasion and demanded government support." Moreover, contemporaries perceived a frontier as a defensive limb protecting the heart of a society. Spero also uses digital mapping techniques to expose the locations of frontiers and their movements over time. While in other colonies frontiers were zones of fear and violence, in Pennsylvania Proprietor William Penn's nonviolent Quakerism and his need for peace to attract buyers of his

land led him to envision an expanding colony with no frontiers. His Frame of Government set up an antagonistic divide between the Quaker Assembly, which refused to arm the colony against threats, and the Proprietary executive, who could only order the frontier by establishing new county governments with sheriffs and justices of the peace to keep the peace between expanding settlers and threatened Natives. During the first half of the eighteenth century these pressures led to increased racial violence and frontier people's demands for military protection, along with a colonial border war with Maryland that Pennsylvania won more with good government than with bullets and battles while Indian relations remained relatively stable.

The Proprietors' and Empire's hopes of keeping the Indians within the English and Pennsylvania trading and defensive orbit disintegrated at the opening of the Seven Years War, and the resulting four years of Indian raids from 1754 to 1758 terrorized frontier communities from the northeast corner of the colony to the southwest. When colony and Crown reestablished military and economic ties with Pennsylvania Indians in 1758, settlers were unable to reaccept Indian neighbors, and as they rushed into the Ohio, Monongahela, and Yough River valleys, they demanded security. Pontiac's War led the Paxton Boys to massacre the Conestogas in Lancaster and then the "Black Boys" to assume the powers of militia and trade "Regulators" in the west, as Virginia and Connecticut settlers and governments assumed control of southwestern and northern Pennsylvania respectively. Virginia launched an Indian war in 1774 to win over the white people at the forks, as Pennsylvania lost nearly all control. But, at that moment, the split with the Empire and the formation of the State of Pennsylvania led to a new constitution that put frontier people in control of the Assembly, and effectively turned defensive frontiers into offensive ones, with the clear goal of ridding Pennsylvania of its frontiers by eliminating Indians. This frontier political culture established policies, institutions, and expenditures for ethnic cleansing, and won Revolutionary Pennsylvania the allegiance of its northern and western inhabitants, which led to the establishment of its permanent borders and the ultimate removal of Indians from Pennsylvania in the subsequent decades.

Unlike Turner's vision of a frontier as a zone of opportunity, eighteenth-century people saw them as zones of death and destruction, and the fear and terror of living on a frontier, or of having one's community suddenly become a frontier, led to a culture that demanded liberty through security and then demanded the elimination of a race of people. Joining and expanding upon the recent work of Kevin Kenny and Peter Silver, Spero confronts us with

the uncomfortable reality that Pennsylvania's Revolution sprang from calls for liberty from Indian attacks, and the liberty to wage a racist war of ethnic cleansing. Scholars of early Pennsylvania, the American Revolution, and especially of "frontier studies" will find Spero's book immensely valuable to understanding the intersection of all three.

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William W. Donner. *Serious Nonsense: Groundhog Lodges, Versammlinge, and Pennsylvania German Heritage* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016). Pp. 164. Illustrations, notes, glossary, index. Paper, \$29.25.

The heritage that the Versammlinge (gatherings) and groundhog lodges celebrate was developed by descendants of eighteenth-century German and Swiss immigrants during their over three hundred years in this colony and state. Their normal port of entry was Philadelphia, where a significant number remained; however, most settled in the rural interior. The vast majority were Protestant, mostly Lutheran and Reformed. A small minority was Mennonite, Amish, and Pietistic German Baptists. Even fewer were Catholic. They spoke Pennsifawnisch Deitsch, which Donner considers a language, not a dialect. It resembles what is spoken in the Rhenish Palatinate. Donner explains that most academicians call them Pennsylvania Germans, though many of the "farmers and working-class people" (10) call themselves Pennsylvania Dutch. Whatever they are called or call themselves, they are different from nineteenth-century German immigrants, and they have preserved their culture longer.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Pennsylvania Germans confronted "a rapidly changing and modernizing world" (iii). When they, especially William Troxell and Thomas Brendle, realized the need to preserve their heritage and language, they organized Versammlinge. They first met in 1933. Donner notes that in 1934, seventeen groups organized formally into lodges, located primarily in southeastern Pennsylvania. The lodges adopted the groundhog as their mascot and claimed that it had the ability to predict the weather, a tradition carried over from Europe. Members were required to speak Deitsch and were fined if they spoke in English. Donner describes the lodges' organizational pattern and specifies their officers in Deitsch with accompanying translations.

Although the lodge members were serious about preserving their culture, their meetings included much that was “nonsensical.” Donner reports that meetings begin with a procession led by a replica of a groundhog held high for all to see. It is placed under the speaker’s podium, followed by a prayer, the pledge of allegiance to the United States, and the singing of “My Country ’Tis of Thee,” all in Deitsch. There is always a meal, which in early years included buffalo and even groundhog. Recently, the menu usually consists of chicken, ham, sausage, potatoes, beans, corn, and filling. Among the many songs that they sing, “Snitzelbank” is the favorite.

Normally one or more speakers provide entertainment. Their talks might have serious points, but almost always include humor that sometimes is earthy. It often pokes fun at themselves and their ancestors. Donner considers Rev. Clarence Rahn the most popular and effective speaker. Rahn was a Reformed pastor who served a five-church rural charge for fifty years despite opportunities to move on to larger, more prestigious congregations. He died in 1976. Donner was told that Rahn avoided philosophical and theological complexities, but drew from his own experiences while growing up on a farm, working in his grandfather’s blacksmith shop, on a road crew, running a chicken farm, and listening to his parishioners. He would select a point that he wanted to get across and use stories to illustrate it. Of course, he spoke in Deitsch. He believed that Deitsch “made direct expression possible” (88). According to Rahn, “Pennsylvania German words show a disregard for frills, as did the people who created them” (88). Rahn was called the “Will Rogers or Mark Twain of the Pennsylvania Germans because his messages appealed to the common people” (81).

Also on the program are skits. Donner states that he is “fascinated” (63) by what he calls the Pennsylvania Germans’ “theatricality” (63). It proceeds from a nineteenth-century tradition of Pennsylvania German writers translating English plays into German. During the 1920s and 1930s, Pennsylvania German writers wrote original plays. For the lodge meetings, scriptwriters cooperate with the players, who often spontaneously insert their own lines during the performances. Serious plays emphasize the past, but do not advocate a return to it. They sometimes compare the unsophisticated past to the overly complex present. Lighter plays revolve around the activities of the groundhog or current events. Donner describes a recent skit that included a (fictional) call from President Barak Obama during which he talked in Deitsch about his Pennsylvania German ancestors.

According to Donner, people who participate in the groundhog lodges were initially exclusively male; however, a women’s *Versammlinge* was established

in East Greenville, Pennsylvania, in 1985. Most speakers and members are Lutheran and Reformed. Mennonites and Amish are not excluded, but do not participate. Many members are professional men, such as pastors, educators, and businessmen. Donner does not specify the other vocations of the thousands of members of the lodges, but it can be assumed that some are farmers.

The concern for the Pennsylvania German culture that the *Versammlinge* and groundhog lodges express did not emerge suddenly. As Donner provides background, he features Henry Harbaugh, a mid-nineteenth-century Reformed pastor, theologian, historian, and writer. Donner cites scholars who attribute to Harbaugh the “development of *Deitsch* as a literary language” (101). Early twentieth-century collections at Henry Mercer’s and the Landis Valley museums displayed Pennsylvania German material culture. Later exhibitions at prominent Philadelphia and New York museums “instilled a new sense of pride among the Pennsylvania Germans themselves” (106). The organization of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891 and the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society in 1935 provided outlets for scholarship about the Pennsylvania Germans.

Donner wrote this book for several audiences. Initially, he intended it “for Pennsylvania Germans themselves” (3), especially their children and grandchildren. When he realized that the *Versammlinge* and groundhog lodges express themes that are common in American life, he broadened his focus to include scholars in various fields. An even broader audience that he hopes to reach is the literate public. These people, he believes, have an inaccurate understanding of the Pennsylvania Germans that he blames on the media and the tourist industry that highlight the Amish.

In Donner’s opinion, the future of the *Versammlinge* and groundhog lodges is uncertain. He mentions that one lodge has disbanded and that attendance at others is declining. He recognizes that participants are growing older—into their seventies and eighties—and that not many of their descendants speak *Deitsch*. He suspects that a “few will continue as *Deitsch*-language events, a few will allow English, some will mix the two languages . . . , and many will be discontinued” (129). He feels more optimistic about Pennsylvania German culture, which he predicts will continue in some traditional ways, such as “eating pork and sauerkraut on New Year’s Day or *Fastnachts* on Shrove Tuesday” (130). He believes that ethnicity now is less about everyday activities and more about one’s own identity. As Pennsylvania Germans have developed ways to express their culture in the past, he seems certain that they will continue to do so in the future.

Donner's style is personal. In the "Preface," he describes his circuitous route to his interest in Pennsylvania Germans, mentions the influence of his mother and grandfather, and uses the first-person pronoun frequently. His numerous illustrations lighten the text. Nevertheless, he employs scholarly paraphernalia. Passages in Deutsch are paralleled by English translations. In eleven pages of endnotes, he carefully documents his sources, which include lodge records, newspaper accounts of Versammlinge, and material in archives of academic institutions. (He implies that he might have learned more by attending meetings and talking with knowledgeable participants.) His extensive bibliography contains numerous books and articles that indicate not only where he obtained some of his information but also where those who are interested in Pennsylvania Germans can find additional material. For readers who are not familiar with the Pennsylvania Germans, he includes a brief glossary, in Deutsch and English, of terms that appear frequently in the text.

Donner has developed a topic that few outside of the Pennsylvania German community know about. Indeed, not even all Pennsylvania Germans are aware of where and why so many men spend their evenings enjoying what Rahn called "sensible nonsense" (3, 95) at the Versammlinge and lodge meetings. Donner has expanded our knowledge of Pennsylvania German culture. His book is a valuable contribution to the increasing volume of enlightening literature about Pennsylvania Germans.

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Gary F. Coppock. *Valentines and Thomas: Ironmasters of Central Pennsylvania. Phase III Archaeological Data Recovery. The Valentine Iron Ore Washing Plant (36Ce526), Proposed Benner Commerce Business Park 82-Acre Parcel Benner Township, Centre County, Pennsylvania*. Prepared for The Centre County Industrial Development Corporation by Heberling Associates, Inc., 2012. Pp. 544. Free, available for download courtesy of the Centre County Historical Society at www.centrehistory.org/exhibits/building-on-the-past/.

It's not what you find, it's what you find out.

—David Hurst Thomas

Gary Coppock's technical monograph on the history and archaeology of the Valentines and Thomas Foundry, and specifically of the ore washing plant, is a great example of the back-and-forth interplay between history and archaeology, and the ways each discipline informs the other. The volume, and the archaeological and historical research on which it rests, were produced as part of the Centre County Industrial Development Corporation's (CCIDC) efforts to comply with federal and state historic preservation laws and regulations. In professional parlance, it's what is known as heritage or cultural resource management (CRM). Since the 1980s the overwhelming bulk of American archaeological and historical research has come from CRM. This effort to help publically funded and permitted projects lie more gently on the historic landscape has produced some of the best and most exhaustive historical and archaeological research. As I noted in a 2016 *Pennsylvania Heritage* article on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act, many millions of public dollars have been poured into archaeological and historical research ahead of infrastructure projects across the United States. The result has been more and better archaeology and public history by orders of magnitude than the work accomplished in the preceding eight decades of the twentieth century. There's no doubt about that. The problem is (as noted in this book review) nobody knows it! Coppock's volume and the project that produced it are excellent examples of some of the very best of that work, and also illustrate two of its persistent problems.

This monograph is substantial (544 pages with the appendices). It contains an extensive historical context ranging from the general (a clear and very readable description of nineteenth-century iron-making) to the particular (a company history and the documentation of ore washing technology). The focus of the context is the ironworks operated by the Thomas and Valentine families in Centre and Clinton counties. These charcoal- and later coke-fired works operated for over a century (1815 to 1922), and the company played an important role in the technological evolution of iron-making in Pennsylvania. The context sets the stage for the description and interpretation of the archaeological investigation of the remains of an ore washing plant located near the company's Lindsay Coates Tract ore beds. The plant, operated by Henry Valentine from ca. 1887 to 1898, utilized the machine called the log washer, which had been invented by his father, Abraham S. Valentine, in 1842. Water for the ore washing process was obtained from deep wells that were drilled using technology adopted from the nascent oil

industry, also developed in part in Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century. By freeing the ore washers from the need for close proximity to a stream, the invention made it possible to site the facilities close to the ore sources wherever they might be found. Thus, the report documents and interprets the specifics of one of the most transformative technologies in the history of the American iron industry.

The archaeological excavation encompassed a roughly half-acre area that exposed the masonry foundations and related features of the plant. These included the outlines of the plant's four interconnected sections, external features such as platforms and narrow-gauge rail lines, and the likely locations of the boilers and engines. More than two hundred artifacts were collected, including tools, hardware, and machinery parts. This last category included complete and fragmentary washer blades. These discoveries are significant because they document the specifics of plant organization and technology that exist only as generalities in the written and photographic record.

If this project and report highlight some excellent and important scholarship, they also illuminate two of CRM's biggest problems.

The first is the issue of access to the data. Despite at least a couple of decades of efforts to change things, the tens of thousands of CRM-generated reports are mostly inaccessible to scholars and to the interested public. Technical volumes like this one are often the principal or only product of thousands of hours and hundreds of thousands of dollars of research, laboratory analysis, and fieldwork. Typically, a few hard copies or DVDs are produced and shelved at a federal or state agency office and at the state historic preservation office. Unless scholars or the public can make a pilgrimage to these offices (usually by appointment), they will never see these monographs. Electronic distribution is slowly beginning to ease this problem, but the backlog is decades long. Thanks to the collaborative efforts of the CCIDC, the Centre County Historical Society, and Heberling Associates, this free report is the rare exception to the problem.

The second, and perhaps more difficult issue the report highlights is the difference between management (the M in CRM) and preservation of the archaeological record. Most archaeological sites owe their eligibility for, or actual listing on, the National Register of Historic Places to the fourth of the four criteria: Criterion D. This refers to heritage resources "That

have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.” There are obvious problems in the definition of what “important” means and how that might change over time, but the bigger issue is the implication that the resource in question is valuable for its information only. What that means is the resource’s significance (information) can be recovered via excavation. The result is a lack of any real incentive for agencies and project sponsors to actually preserve archaeological sites. Only when sites are eligible or listed under other criteria—which is a rarity—is there any real impetus for their long-term preservation. That’s unfortunate. Archaeology, while certainly a fascinating and indispensable way to view the past, is destructive. Once a site is excavated, the information may be preserved, but the site most certainly is not. Even the question of information loss is not entirely answered. Technology improves with time. Thanks to methodological and analytical marvels ranging from ground-penetrating radar to global positioning systems, modern archaeologists can extract data and meaning from sites that their predecessors could only dream about.

While this report may draw attention to some issues that plague CRM, it’s not diminished by them. *Valentines and Thomas: Ironmasters of Central Pennsylvania* stands as an excellent example of the high-quality scholarship that can come of meaningful collaboration between historical and archaeological inquiry. As the historical record forms the contextual foundation and framework, the details come into focus through the patient work of the archaeologist. The result is a more complete and clearer understanding of the past than would be possible with any single line of inquiry.

The value of projects and reports like this extends well beyond how we see history. Local industries and developments like those documented in Coppock’s report inform our understanding of everything that has since happened in the region. The story of Valentines and Thomas is the story of resource extraction and industry and economic growth in the Centre County region of Pennsylvania. The commerce park that is now replacing the site of the old iron industry is simply the most recent manifestation of trends that began in part on the floor of the ore washing plant.

In a way, for all of us, the archaeologist’s excavation into the site of the old ore plant isn’t just a window into the past. It’s also a mirror.

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PennDOT Highway Archaeological Survey Team

Paul Kahan. *Amiable Scoundrel: Simon Cameron, Lincoln's Scandalous Secretary of War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016). Pp. 367. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$36.95.

In his ninety years Simon Cameron made a lot of money, cut innumerable political deals, helped many people, lent and lost thousands of dollars, won and lost elections, and earned an indelible reputation as a consummate wire-puller. Almost from the beginning of his public life he was tainted by the aura of corruption, though the corruption was never proved. A long-serving US senator from Pennsylvania, he is best known as an incompetent and possibly corrupt secretary of war in Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet. In this first comprehensive biography of Cameron in half a century, Paul Kahan describes a glad-hander who by dint of craftiness and persistence gained access to power at the highest levels and held a series of significant posts in business and government. For all the good information provided in this compact, accessible work, and its subject's impressive resumé, it remains unclear at the end what Cameron's substantive accomplishment entailed beyond voting in the US Senate for the Fifteenth Amendment (giving former slaves the right to vote) and helping Mary Todd Lincoln secure a federal pension.

Simon Cameron's early life fit the classic tale of the country nobody who by dint of his pluck, charm, and innate talent turned himself into a somebody. Born in rural Maytown (Lancaster County), Pennsylvania, in 1799, Cameron had to make his own way. His father, an unsuccessful businessman, died when Simon was young and he and his siblings were dispersed among foster parents. Apprenticed by age seventeen to a printer, he spent the next several years working in different printing jobs, and in his twenties ran newspapers in various Pennsylvania locations, gaining valuable experience and making the most of networking opportunities, particularly in the political world. By the late 1820s he was serving as right-hand man to James Buchanan, then a rising political star. Although he marched in lockstep with Buchanan for many years, Cameron would gradually fall out with him, making a surprising and apparently sincere turnabout on the slavery question in the 1850s.

Kahan evokes the nexus of press, politics, and enterprise in Jacksonian America, turf that his subject found congenial. Cameron missed few opportunities to invest in promising businesses, including canals, banks, and railroads. He seems to have had a Midas touch when it came to investments, undoubtedly grounded in his ability to influence legislation that served his interests. Politics was always Cameron's primary vocation, indeed,

his passion. By his thirties he was widely recognized as a canny and formidable Democratic operative in politics-drenched Pennsylvania, enjoying connections to such national notables as Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. Obtaining and distributing patronage was his major concern for half a century, and he was exceptionally adept in that realm.

In both politics and collateral enterprises Cameron often elided or tested ethical boundaries, as exemplified by his work as a commissioner settling claims for and against the Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin, an appointment gained through credit he had earned working to install Van Buren as Jackson's successor in the White House. Misfeasance allegations against Cameron in the Winnebago claims cases were never proven, though the smell of corruption lingered. Kahan is satisfied that the best we can say is "not proved" about this and later claims that Cameron bribed, or had his agents bribe, individual legislators to vote Cameron's way on particular matters or to support him in elective offices he sought.

Kahan is more assertive, discussing Cameron's ill-starred tenure as secretary of war from 1861 to 1862. Insofar as there is any "revisionist" tint to this genial book, it lies in Kahan's argument that Cameron was fired as secretary of war less for his managerial deficiencies (which Kahan acknowledges) or corruption (which was never directly connected to him) than for getting crosswise with Abraham Lincoln on the matter of war aims. Cameron, Kahan says, was in sync with abolitionists who early on wanted the war to focus on freeing slaves, while Lincoln—sensitive to the status of the border states—was focused on preserving the Union. Consequently, when congressional investigatory committees focused on procurement problems and awarding of contracts, intent on demonstrating Cameron's ineptitude if not crookedness, antislavery men—among them Salmon Chase and Thaddeus Stevens—cut Cameron some slack. They insisted that he was an honest man, doing the best job he could. Lincoln himself took the charges against Cameron "with a sizable grain of salt" (190).

Cameron fell afoul of Lincoln in supporting Gen. John Charles Fremont's edict confiscating slaves in wake of Union successes in the west, forcing Lincoln to countermand Fremont's orders. Early in the war—again, ahead of Lincoln—Cameron advocated arming former slaves, much to the dismay of Lincoln and most fellow Cabinet members. Overall, Kahan finds Cameron's views about race "pretty advanced" (206)—and a marked change from his conservatism on virtually all political questions, including slavery, before the Civil War.

By late 1861 it was evident Cameron's days in Lincoln's Cabinet were numbered. He was given a fig leaf when forced out—the Russian mission—which proved unpalatable and short-lived. Despite his demotion, Cameron

maintained cordial relations with Lincoln and worked on behalf of his reelection in 1864. He would support every Republican nominee for president with greater or lesser enthusiasm for the rest of his long career.

The chapters on Cameron's service as secretary of war are the best in the book. They supersede the account in Erwin Bradley's 1966 biography, *Simon Cameron: Lincoln's Secretary of War* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966). From this point on, although Cameron had a second act in politics—further service in the US Senate and never-ending maneuvering behind the scenes to advance the political interests of his son Donald—the book loses momentum, drawing increasingly heavily on secondary sources, and highlighting Cameron's personal virtues. At points in the final chapters, it is a virtual gloss on Bradley's book, enhanced somewhat by exploiting newspaper clippings and an occasional manuscript collection.

Kahan could have done more intensive research in relevant manuscripts. He missed significant Cameron material at Dickinson College and Lancasterhistory.org, for example. The occasional important book for his purposes, notably Mark Summers's *The Plundering Generation* (Oxford University Press, 1987) is overlooked. Still, *Amiable Scoundrel* has merit, not least because Kahan has drawn on much of the best scholarship relevant to Cameron published in the past half-century. He recounts the basics about Cameron's career in an informed and accessible way. Kahan's closing riff that there is "much to admire" in Cameron as a personality (292) is, unfortunately, beside the point. It is Cameron's influence on policy, or lack thereof, that we need to understand better, as well as the impetus for his tendency so consistently to cross invisible moral lines in advancing his personal interests. Perhaps the secret of Simon Cameron is that there was no secret—that playing the game was what it was all about.

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Chloe Taft. *From Steel to Slots: Casino Capitalism in the Post Industrial City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016). Pp. 336. Notes, index, illustrations. Cloth, \$39.95.

The turn of the twenty-first century witnessed the decline of much of what was left of industrial America. Social changes, along with new innovations, together transformed the old structure based on industrial output into a system based

more on information and service. This transformation occurred in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where a tsunami of casino capitalism overtook the city and the decayed Bethlehem Steel site. For those of us who lived there at that time, it was easy to feel overwhelmed. The change was far and away more than those caught up in it could comprehensively see, study, analyze, or recount.

Bethlehem Steel seems to be a model of the transition from an industrial to a postindustrial society. In *From Steel to Slots: Casino Capitalism in the Post Industrial City*, Chloe Taft describes and analyzes this transformation in a case study of Bethlehem Steel. Don't expect easy answers. She argues that the transition of Bethlehem from an industrial center to casino capitalism "is a complicated narrative" of economic rebirth that "is not necessarily a firm break from the past, nor is it inevitable." What emerges from Taft's analysis is a "blurred understanding of past present and future" (4). Overall her narrative is an expression of loss and perhaps betrayal by unrelenting historical forces.

Part of south Bethlehem is a time capsule stocked with the crumbling infrastructure remnants of "The Steel," populated with the memories of those whose lives depended on it. This is what stands out most in the story. Taft does her finest work when portraying the conflict between the old guard, represented by former steelworkers, and the newcomers, representing the casino interest. Former steelworkers were burdened by the sentimental memory of what once was. Taft notes this at a ceremony for the opening of the casino. A former steelworker spoke: "Bernie subverted the celebration to instead emphasize his grief at the plant's closure." Even if you are unfamiliar with social change and the pain that often comes with it, Bernie's words and feelings should not have surprised anyone.

This transition helped to create greater inequality, visible in the disruption of Bethlehem's labor markets. The displacement of industrial labor has intensified the gap between returns to capital and returns to labor. On the other hand, it is also possible that technology's displacement of workers may, in aggregate, result in a net increase in safe and rewarding jobs. Labor may still be a factor, but based more on talent and ability than physical labor. This will lead to market segmentation with "low skill/low pay" and "high skill/high pay," which in turn will lead to an increase in social tensions. In the short run at least, what's left is the memory of a once thriving, once dominant, once seemingly permanent industrial steelmaker synonymous with a city.

For me, what stands out in Taft's analysis in this transformation is the view from the position of its victims—blue-collar America. There is something disturbing about the sense of loss and hope between those caught up in

the past and those trying to manage in an uncertain future—the transition between hope and aspirations and the reality of a casino capitalism. It may be that I am somewhat cynical about what appears to me to be a blind worship of the past. Still, I cannot help but be moved by a book that so compellingly tells a story of loss and change.

Bethlehem, according to Taft, has always been a player in the global marketplace beginning with its founding in 1741 by Moravian Church missionaries. As the headquarters for the Moravians' North American operations, the Church played an influential role in the development of the city. Similarly, Bethlehem Steel was a global company that just happened to be located in Bethlehem. Because they were both closely connected to the city, in turn they were connected to each other. Consider, for example, that it was the Moravian Church that sold the Bethlehem Steel Company the land in south Bethlehem, which would become the headquarters of one of the largest steel producers in the United States. With close connection, their culture and ideas penetrated the culture of the city.

As a longtime resident of Bethlehem, it is difficult for me to see beyond the victims, some of whom were related, and others friends. This book allowed me to imagine what my life would have been like had I worked at The Steel, an option not totally open to me because the work force was primarily white ethnic. However, the option was available to many of the people I knew and grew up with. The Steel was everywhere. This is why for me, at least, the book was a portal into my own family's history to a time when The Steel dominated everything about Bethlehem in general and south Bethlehem in particular. While my connection to Bethlehem Steel was relatively marginal, I nevertheless found the book curiously moving in that it allowed me to rethink the tradition-bound industrial world that surrounded me as I grew up.

For many years Bethlehem Steel has been entwined with the city it called home, but not all residents of Bethlehem shared equally in the opportunities it provided. The context of the city of Bethlehem is the environment in which Taft attempts to piece together present and past and to clarify the history somewhat. We know what happened. No one was cast against type. But there is also an absence: Those who, like myself, lived in Bethlehem in the shadow of The Steel, in the culture and economy dominated by its shade, but yet who were not vested in it directly are missing. Where are those who were either indifferent or were celebrating the demise of the steel industry? What about those who looked to remake an outdated community?

Many who accepted the change understood that they were on the brink of a technological revolution that would fundamentally alter their lives, work, and how they related to one another. In its scale, scope, and complexity, the transformation was unlike anything Bethlehem experienced before. While it was unfolding, one thing was clear: the response had to be well integrated and comprehensive, involving all stakeholders from the public and private sectors. Such a change, however, shouldn't be seen as entirely a matter of outside victors and local victims. In fact, locals—who were and were not vested in The Steel—were important players. This transformation from steel to casino was also an inside job that included a powerful alliance of developers, realtors, financiers, and government officials whose political and economic fortunes were tied to the transition and rapid growth of their municipality.

Those local players were supported by a wider circle of boosters in the media, utilities, chambers of commerce, and government. They strove to increase the value of land and its revenue streams from property taxes, rents, and profits. They tied the transformation and growth not just to benefit particular elites but as the basis for broad sociopolitical consensus. The overarching development goal was the attraction of capital investments that would help to make the transition successful and with limited cost and pain.

George Orwell wrote, “Who controls the past, controls the future; who controls the present, controls the past.” Who was in control of the transition? Taft, it appears, believes that it was outside forces, a global economy, outside developers, and casino moguls. For example, she writes that “memories do not have obvious value, particularly for developers with no connection to Bethlehem's past.” This may not be totally accurate. What isn't clear in the book is how change came as much from within as from without. To an extent, it was an inside job. Consider that Bethlehem Steel rose out of the Moravian settlement. The Moravians embedded their culture into the city to the extent that is hard to discern. The Steel, it can be argued, did the same, but its impact was clear and evident. Here it becomes interesting to note that Moravian College graduates were involved in the development. In other words, the developers were not outsiders with no connection and memories of Bethlehem but locals engrossed completely in the history and culture. So, you might argue, the Moravians are still players in directing Bethlehem's future—two hundred years later.

More precisely, to invoke George Orwell, it's the same players who since the beginning have controlled the city's past, present, and future—re-imaged the future—to perhaps their own benefit: “local actors have invoked the past and

exploited the memories to both interpret and shape the risk-based landscape of global capitalism since the cities founding.” It seems obvious to me that the Moravians have an unseen, if not appreciated, control over the past, present, and future control of Bethlehem’s history. Looking at events in Bethlehem more closely, the lead players in this transition had ties to the Moravian community. The lead developer and co-founder of Beth Works was a graduate of Moravian College, as was his primary rival, who teamed up with Foxwoods Casino. Furthermore, the developer and part-owner of Martin Towers was also a Moravian College grad, as was the mayor of Bethlehem. They, like myself, were not vested directly in Bethlehem Steel—none of them, as far as I know, had any interest in The Steel—that is, in working there. And there were many more like them who fall outside of this book’s central narrative.

From *Steel to Slots* portrays the transition from industrial to postindustrial as a narrative of winners and losers propelled by an expanding global neoliberalism. It portrays a new world, greased by fluid monetary assets and facilitated by online communications. We have yet to find ways to manage and control this world. In this sense it would appear that the world economy has become a speculative game, one that values steel mills no more than casinos, and casinos no more than anything else. Still, to me, the economic and cultural cost—the human cost—of turning Bethlehem Steel into a casino has been too steep.

Because this was part of my history, I could not help but admire this analysis, the back story, and the individual players, the former steelworkers, and the casino magnates cast as the villains. I lived parts of this book and I remember something different. The book is not about me. Nevertheless, it is true to its source materials, and it shines a welcome light on the story of people directly affected by The Steel’s demise.

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Andrew R. Murphy. *Liberty, Conscience & Toleration: The Political Thought of William Penn* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). Pp. 320. Notes, index. Cloth, \$74.00.

In this intellectual biography of William Penn, Andrew Murphy uses Penn’s writings to trace the development of his political theory while placing

Penn and his work in the historical context of Restoration England. This contextual approach leads to a deeper understanding of Penn's theory on toleration, or liberty of conscience, and encourages a balanced assessment of the choices he made as he worked to put his theory into practice in Pennsylvania. As Murphy shows, Penn, like many other intellectuals of his day, theorized about politics, but unlike most, Penn also experimented and tried to put his ideas into practice. This unique position makes him an ideal case study for examining not just the theoretical aspects of religious toleration, but also the practical application of religious freedom and the challenges involved in creating a society that allowed individuals to openly follow the religious creed of their own choice rather than one prescribed by the state. His efforts in Pennsylvania set him "apart from contemporaries who outlined theories of toleration yet were never forced to grapple with the concrete practicalities of governance" (x). According to Murphy, four "major political episodes" affected Penn's development as both a political thinker and an actor: the controversy over the Second Conventicle Act, the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, the founding of Pennsylvania, and the reign of James II.

Murphy begins by explaining how, although Penn never produced a major canonical work on the subject, his political thought was foundational "in the emergence of toleration as both a philosophical principle and a political reality" (12). Penn lived and wrote during an age in which individuals more openly questioned laws that forced them to follow the Church prescribed by their monarch, and this questioning led to a number of arguments for toleration. But, as Murphy points out, "toleration," which is often seen simply as "liberty of conscience," was a complex matter that involved questions not just of conscience but also of behavior. Catholics, Quakers, and other non-conformists wanted not only to believe as they chose, but also to act upon their beliefs through customs and church attendance. Those who sought to uphold the status quo by maintaining the custom of having the government support an established church argued that people could believe whatever they wanted, so long as they conformed to laws requiring them to outwardly follow the state church. Men like Penn maintained that this was not good enough. They insisted upon the right to meet in groups and worship as they chose. This was a direct violation of the Conventicle Act, which forbade religious assemblies of more than five people. Penn's arrest for this infraction led to his famous trial, which in turn led to "Bushel's Case," a case that resulted in the right of jury nullification.

Murphy shows that Penn's understanding of toleration had far-reaching implications that affected people beyond the Society of Friends in both the colonies and the mother country. His theories relied on a range of toleration arguments—from Christian to historical/political to epistemological/psychological to prudential/interest-based—to make his case, emphasizing different facets of his argument in accordance with the political context of any given moment and taking maximum advantage of any opportunity to make his case for allowing freedom of conscience and worship. All the while, he had to contend with discourses of orthodoxy and uniformity that, as Murphy showed, made perfect sense to many people still in recovery from the turmoil of civil war and religious dictatorship under Oliver Cromwell.

Penn entered the movement for religious tolerance shortly after his Quaker convincement (conversion) led him into the Conventicle Act controversy. He and William Mead were arrested for disturbing the peace by preaching on the street after their meetinghouse had been closed by authorities. Penn used their trial to present “an impassioned defense of religious assembly and the rights of Englishmen” (23), and he published a dramatized transcript of it to make a case for toleration to a wider audience. It was this publication that made Penn a widely known figure in the toleration movement as he brought together a number of important arguments that had been circulating in England and presented them in one place.

Penn's ideas on toleration were fairly typical of a broader current of theory that emerged during the Restoration, but what set him apart was his effort in founding, promoting, and governing Pennsylvania. Murphy discusses how Penn's theories were worked out on the ground in the colony, arguing that early Pennsylvania provided “both a concrete example of Penn's practical political career and a way to highlight both the importance and the limits of political theory to the study of politics” (126). He also compares Penn, who developed a theory and then set out to test it in reality, to Roger Williams, who developed theories in response to his reality in the colonies.

In Penn's fight for liberty of conscience and practice, he ended up supporting James II's unilateral efforts to impose toleration by royal decree, and this move backfired and ruined him politically. His efforts to put his theories in place in the colonies ruined him financially, and he found himself in debtor's prison.

Perhaps the best feature of *Liberty, Conscience & Toleration* is that it places Penn in a historical context that makes it easier to understand his opponents, his theories, and his behavior. Murphy provides a thorough analysis of the

key figures and writings that opposed toleration, explaining their sincere belief that religious liberty would lead to a repeat of the unrest of the 1640s and 1650s, a tumultuous time that included civil war and regicide. He does not excuse their resistance, but he shows the complexity of both sides of the debate. He also writes about Penn in a balanced way, admitting his limits. Though Penn argued for toleration, he never pushed for disestablishment of the Church of England, so Murphy shows how his ideas may have laid the groundwork for the notion of separating Church and State, but he explains that Penn himself did not quite make it that far.

The William Penn who emerges from this account is a complex man, dedicated to egalitarian ideas of toleration yet deeply affected by his own belief in hierarchy and deference. What appeared to be a shift in political loyalties from support for Parliament to support for the king actually makes sense when viewed from the perspective of someone who wanted, above all, to secure toleration. Penn's puzzling absence from his colony (he lived in Pennsylvania for only four years), which Murphy contends "virtually ensured that his high hopes for Pennsylvania would go unfilled" (10), even makes sense when his long-term work in England is taken into account. In the end, Penn's colony grew prosperous, but the proprietor never gained the economic success he sought. The success of his holy experiment and its offering of liberty of conscience and action to the settlers fell on shaky ground at times, but in the end it played an important part in shaping the American concept of the separation of Church and State. Murphy's insightful intellectual biography gives scholars and general readers who just know Penn in the American context an opportunity to understand him on a deeper level by explaining clearly the English background that led Penn to participate in New World colonization. This complex Penn is even more intellectual and interesting than many may realize.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

CONFERENCE: REMEMBERING MUTED VOICES: CONSCIENCE, DISSENT, RESISTANCE, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES IN WORLD WAR I THROUGH TODAY

On October 19–22, 2017, the National World War I Museum and Memorial, Kansas City, Missouri, will be holding a conference with the above theme. On April 6, 1917, the United States entered World War I. A hundred years later in 2017, this symposium remembers the muted voices of those who resisted the Great War and the implications of these stories for today. A draft program, with keynote speakers, is available at: <https://theworldwar.s3.amazonaws.com/prod/s3fs-public/MutedVoicesShortProgram.pdf>.

UNITED STATES WORLD WAR I CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

The United States World War I Centennial Commission has established a web page for Pennsylvania. Visit it to learn about teaching tools, commemorations, and other events: <http://www.worldwar1centennial.org/index.php/pennsylvania-wwi-centennial-home.html>.

WORLD WAR I POSTERS FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES

The State Museum of Pennsylvania, Third and North streets, Harrisburg, is presenting a special exhibit: World War I Posters from the Pennsylvania State Archives, April 2 through November 12, 2017. For more information visit: <http://statemuseumpa.org>.

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UNCLE SAM CALLS: DAUPHIN COUNTY IN WORLD WAR I, 1917–1918

The Historical Society of Dauphin County is presenting a special exhibit, *Uncle Sam Calls: Dauphin County in World War I, 1917–1918*, April 9 through December 22, 2017. The exhibit includes posters, artifacts, and images from the society's collections. HSDC is located at the Harris-Cameron Mansion, 219 South Front Street, Harrisburg. For more information, visit: dauphincountyhistory.org.

SOCIETY OF CIVIL WAR HISTORIANS

The Society of Civil War Historians will host its biennial conference at Omni William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from May 31 through June 2, 2018. The SCWH welcomes panel proposals or individual papers on the Civil War era, broadly defined. The goal of the conference is to promote the integration of social, military, political, and other forms of history on the Civil War era among historians, graduate students, and professionals who interpret history in museums, national parks, archives, and other public facilities. The deadline for receipt of proposals is September 15, 2017. Please complete a submission form (panel proposal: <http://richardscenter.la.psu.edu/conference-papers/panel-submission-form/>; single paper proposal: <http://richardscenter.la.psu.edu/conference-papers/single-paper-submission/>) and upload a single PDF file. Proposals should include a title and abstract for the papers (approximately 250–300 words) and a short curriculum vitae from each participant. Panel submissions should have an overall title and statement about the thrust of the session. For more information, see the society's web site at <http://scwhistorians.org/>, or contact the Richards Center at (814) 863-0151. Final decisions on submissions will be made at the Southern Historical Association meeting in Dallas, Texas, on November 9–12, 2017.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association announced its 2018 annual meeting will be held January 4–7 in Washington, DC, at three hotels: the Marriott Wardman Park, Omni Sheraton, and the Hilton Washington. The deadline for session proposals has passed. Please see their web site for more details: <https://www.historians.org/annual-meeting/future-meetings>.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR THE INAUGURAL ISSUE OF THE *JOURNAL OF FESTIVE STUDIES*

The *Journal of Festive Studies*, a new peer-reviewed journal published under the auspices of H-Net, invites submissions for its first issue, scheduled for March 2018. The journal's stated aim is to draw together all academics who share an interest in festivities, including but not limited to holiday celebrations, family rituals, carnivals, religious feasts, processions and parades, and civic commemorations.

For its first issue, the journal will look at festive studies as an emerging academic subfield since the late 1960s and seeks submissions that consider some of the methods and theories that scholars have relied on to learn about festive practices across the world. The specific contributions of the historical, geographical, sociological, anthropological, ethnological, psychological, and economic disciplines to the study of festivities may be explored but, more importantly, authors should offer guidelines on how to successfully integrate them. For more information, see <https://networks.h-net.org/h-celebration>. All texts should be sent by *November 1, 2017* to submissions-festive-studies@mail.h-net.msu.edu, complete with the author's bio and an abstract of about 250 words.

MID-ATLANTIC POPULAR & AMERICAN CULTURE ASSOCIATION (MAPACA)

The Mid-Atlantic Popular & American Culture Association (MAPACA) will be hosting its twenty-sixth Annual Conference November 8–11, 2017 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—Sonesta Philadelphia. MAPACA is proud to announce the 2017 Divine Impact Award winner, Chef Jose Garces. Chef Garces is an award-winning chef, author, and restaurateur with a strong connection to the Philadelphia area. Chef Garces's culinary success as a James Beard Award winner and his work on the hit Food Network show *Iron Chef America* are complemented by his work with the Garces Foundation, a non-profit that provides health and educational services to Philadelphia's immigrant community. Chef Garces will receive the 2017 DIA and participate in a Q&A at the conference on Thursday, November 9. A reception will follow. MAPACA's membership is comprised of college and university faculty, independent scholars and artists, and graduate and undergraduate students. MAPACA is an inclusive professional organization dedicated to the study of

popular and American culture in all their multidisciplinary manifestations. It is a regional division of the Popular Culture and American Culture Association, which, in the words of Popular Culture Association founder Ray Browne, is a “multi-disciplinary association interested in new approaches to the expressions, mass media and all other phenomena of everyday life.” For more info, visit www.mapaca.net.