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ANXIOUS HOSPITALITY: INDIAN "LOITERING" AT FORT ALLEN, 1756–1761
Daniel Ingram 221

A COMMON LAW OF MEMBERSHIP: EXPULSION, REGULATION, AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC
Kevin Butterfield 255

EXHIBIT REVIEW: A COMMON CANVAS
Eliza Jane Reilly 277

BOOK REVIEWS 285

BOOK REVIEWS

DORWART, *Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense, and War in the Delaware Valley, 1621–1815*, by Nathan Kozuskanich 285
BEILER, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750*, by Simone A. Wegge 286
ROBERTS and ROBERTS, *Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary*, by Christine E. Sears 288
PANGLE, *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*, by Carla Mulford 289
HOUSTON, *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement*, by Shane Ralston 291
BROWN, *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America*, by Daniel Blake Smith 292
FATHERLY, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, by Mary Kelley 293
RUST, *Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women*, by Cynthia A. Kierner 295
KAPLAN, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship*, by Matthew Hale 296
HALTMAN, *Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823*, by Patricia Tyson Stroud 298
MCGOOGAN, *Race to the Polar Sea: The Heroic Adventures of Elisha Kent Kane*, by Robert S. Cox 299
JEFFREY, *Abolitionists Remember: Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation*, by Mitch Kachun 300
LEWIS, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields*, by John H. M. Laslett 302
SLAVISHAK, *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh*, by Gregory L. Kaster 303
WARREN, *Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America*, by Lance Metz 305
MOSS and CRANE, *Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia*, by George E. Thomas 307
GUENTHER, *Sports in Pennsylvania*, by Rich Westcott 308
MCKEE, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia*, by Michael B. Katz 309

COVER ILLUSTRATION: John Millerman's certificate of membership in the Philanthropic Society of the City and County of Philadelphia, 1810. In "A Common Law of Membership: Expulsion, Regulation, and Civil Society in the Early Republic," Kevin Butterfield explores the legal meaning of membership in this and other voluntary associations in the early nineteenth century.

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Anxious Hospitality: Indian "Loitering" at Fort Allen, 1756–1761

OF THE MANY OCCUPATIONS Benjamin Franklin pursued during his storied life, one of the least acclaimed was that of frontier fort builder. Franklin's achievements in philosophy, politics, diplomacy, and science are so significant that his contributions to defending Pennsylvania during the late-1750s Delaware Indian uprising have paled in comparison. But given the unexpected developments at Franklin's Fort Allen, it is fitting that it was planned and built by an individual known more for his diplomatic legacy than his martial expertise. Constructed as part of a chain of defensive outposts to protect Pennsylvania's towns and cities from Indian threats, Fort Allen instead became a diplomatic way station, a moderately successful trading post, and even a drunken watering hole. In fact, the fort became many things, but it never really fulfilled its original purpose in Pennsylvania's frontier defense plans. Like other forts scattered throughout British North America, Fort Allen's mission

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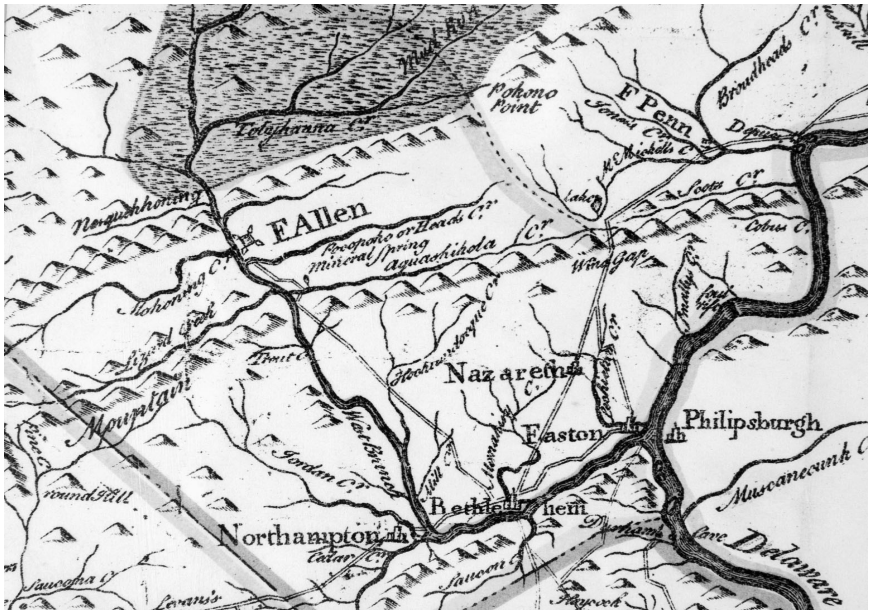
was defined not only by those who planned and built it, but also by its occupants and visitors. Fort Allen was not exceptional in this regard. It does, however, provide an excellent example of how the collision of provincial military imperatives, backcountry settlement ambitions, and Native American cultures helped define and complicate an outpost's mission.

Much of the tension that defined Fort Allen's brief existence on the northern slope of Pennsylvania's 150-mile-long Blue Mountain ridge stemmed from its frequent Indian guests. Situated astride the Lehigh River near a vital passage through the ridge, the fort was sure to attract native passersby. It was especially well placed as a stopping point for Indian diplomatic visitors to the Lehigh Valley towns of Easton and Bethlehem. During such visits, native travelers expected the full hospitality of the fort's garrison and commandant, as they would of any hosts throughout Indian country. Thus, Fort Allen became a native diplomatic checkpoint and resting place, a dramatic shift from its original role as a frontier base for punitive expeditions against belligerent Delawares. With hundreds of Indians visiting each year, and with a garrison that never exceeded one hundred men and seldom exceeded fifty, it is understandable that Indian visitors helped define the identity and nature of the small wooden stockade. Meant to reassure local settlers and to bring stability to the liminal geography that divided the upper Susquehanna River Indian country and British Pennsylvania, Fort Allen produced unexpected and ironic results. Instead of keeping Delawares away from the Blue Mountain region, it attracted them. Instead of regulating unscrupulous British traders, the fort helped bring them a ready, native customer base. Fort Allen ultimately became an Indian place as well as an English one, and the most famous resident was not Franklin or some other provincial celebrity, but rather the renowned Delaware chief Teedyuscung. Colonial exigencies and anxieties merged with native notions of hospitality and reciprocal obligation at Fort Allen, producing a place of anxious hospitality for both Europeans and Indians.[1]

[1] Fort Allen has received scant historical attention as a cultural contact point. The most complete history of the fort is William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753–1758* (Harrisburg, PA, 1960), 233–59. For an older and less analytical account, see H. M. Richards, "The Indian Forts of the Blue Mountains," in *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, eds. Richards et al. (Harrisburg, PA, 1896). See also Charles Morse Stotz's valuable illustrations and description in *Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and English in Western Pennsylvania: Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People, 1749–1764*, 2nd ed. (Pittsburgh, 2005), 106–7. For descriptions of the political and social contexts in which Fort Allen was built, see Holly



Detail of William Scull's map of the Blue Mountain region of Pennsylvania, circa 1770. Most of the map's information was transferred from Nicholas Scull's 1759 map of Pennsylvania, including the locations of forts that were abandoned or destroyed by the time this version appeared in atlases in the mid-1770s. Fort Allen is near the center; Fort Hamilton (called Fort Penn on this map) is in the upper right corner. Scull's map shows clearly that, even in 1770, the Blue Mountain ridge was a physical divide between European and Indian country. English town building had flourished south of the ridge, some of it (east of the Lehigh River) on land procured from the Delawares in the Walking Purchase of 1737. Fort Allen, built just north of the Lehigh gap in Blue Mountain, was a liminal space both geographically and culturally.

A. Mayer, "From Forts to Families: Following the Army into Western Pennsylvania, 1758–1766," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130 (2006): 5–43; Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 2007), 94–123; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, NY, 1990); Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh, 2003), 92–122; Ralph M. Ketcham, "Conscience, War and Politics in Pennsylvania, 1755–1757," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 20 (1963): 416–39; Louis M. Waddell, "Defending the Long Perimeter: Forts on the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Frontier, 1755–1765," *Pennsylvania History* 62 (1995): 171–95; R. S. Stephenson, "Pennsylvania Provincial Soldiers in the Seven Years' War," *Pennsylvania History* 62 (1995): 196–212. Forts, both British and French, provided Native Americans with a number of local advantages as well as intimidation and control. Though native groups almost always resented military forts because their construction her-

For many Pennsylvanians, Northampton County in the mid-1750s might have seemed like a place of both promise and tension. Rapid demographic expansion and ethnic and religious diversity characterized the region. Indeed, Northampton County itself was relatively new, as were many of the towns south of Blue Mountain. A boom in town building had created a minor white population explosion in the Blue Mountain region after 1730, though most of this settlement was located west of Reading and the Schuylkill River. In Northampton County, the principal towns were the new county seat of Easton, founded by Pennsylvania's proprietary Penn family in 1752, and the German Moravian spiritual capital of Bethlehem, established in 1741. Easton lay at the fork of the Delaware and Lehigh rivers, about sixty miles north of Philadelphia. It was a planned town, similar in design to recently established Reading, laid out in a grid pattern surrounding a central square. The strategic spot had been settled since the 1730s, and the town already had hundreds of inhabitants at its founding, including English, Scots-Irish, and German immigrants. Though Easton's position at the fork of two major waterways made it a natural trade center for goods moving into Pennsylvania from New Jersey, it would take several decades for the town to find commercial success.

Twelve miles to the west lay Bethlehem, another planned town with about six hundred residents. But Bethlehem's planning concerned its society as well as its shape. Its population was ordered into "choirs" divided by gender, age, and marital status as part of a utopian, communal "General Economy" designed to maximize social and spiritual education. In contrast to Easton's polyglot ethnic population, Bethlehem's was relatively homogeneous: Moravian, German-speaking, communal, and almost uniformly literate. From Bethlehem one could travel west, past small settlers' farms, toward the towns of Northampton and Reading, or northeast to

alded the spread of white settlements, the posts were also scenes of considerable cultural accommodation. For some examples, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York, 1991); James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999); and "Shamokin, 'The Very Seat of the Prince of Darkness': Unsettling the Early American Frontier," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830*, eds. Andrew R. Cayton and Frederika J. Teute (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), 16–59; Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York, 1990). For a social history of British eighteenth-century forts from the soldiers' perspective, see Michael N. McConnell, *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758–1775* (Lincoln, NE, 2005). For a broader study of forts as intercultural contact points, see Daniel Ingram, "In the Pale's Shadow: Indians and British Forts in Eighteenth-Century America" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 2008).

Bethlehem's sister town of Nazareth, about ten miles distant. Or, a traveler could take the northern path parallel to the Lehigh River and head toward the river's water gap through the stony face of Blue Mountain. Thirty miles north of Bethlehem, on the north side of the ridge, lay Gnadenhütten, the most important of several Moravian-Indian mission towns scattered throughout the region.[2]

Gnadenhütten was probably the most ethnically diverse community in Northampton County. Established in 1746 as a home for the Moravians' Mahican refugee-converts from New York, the town quickly became a center of Moravian and native activity. The town provided separate sections for its German, English, Mahican, and Delaware inhabitants. Its idyllic setting and tidy town plan and architecture probably did make it feel like the "little sylvan utopia" described by historian Anthony F. C. Wallace, except when its frequent European and Indian visitors complicated the town's communal idealism. Gnadenhütten's Christian Indian townsfolk did not abandon their kinship ties or friendships with Indians throughout the region and far beyond. As a result, both Christian and non-Christian Indians made Gnadenhütten their home, or at least a regular resting place. Because of its location at a vital pass through the mountains, the site hosted itinerant traders and Indians from many backgrounds. A visitor unfamiliar with Gnadenhütten might be surprised to find a diverse multiethnic crowd gathered around a Moravian "love-feast," listening to sermons extolling vividly the glories of Christ's blood, or enjoying a trombone recital given by resident Brethren. As the anchor of the Moravian mission towns, Gnadenhütten figured prominently in the order's proselytizing efforts. But with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, both the mission towns north of Blue Mountain and white settlements to the south would feel the sting of decades-old Delaware-white animosities.[3]

The Seven Years' War began in 1754 with Virginia's inability to

[2] For the urbanization of Northampton and surrounding counties after 1730, see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972), 130–35. For the organization of Bethlehem's communal "General Economy," see Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia, 1988), and Katherine Carté Engel, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2009). See also *History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, with Illustrations Descriptive of Its Scenery* (Philadelphia, 1877), 48, for county population figures in 1752.

[3] Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 41. For a description of Gnadenhütten's founding and organization, see George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, trans. Christian Ignatius La Trobe (London, 1794), 2:82–87, 97–105.

remove expansionist French forces from the forks of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers in western Pennsylvania. This immediately imposed crises of allegiance upon Indian groups from the Delaware River to the Great Lakes. The Delawares themselves, British allies and supposed tributaries of the Six Nations Iroquois, were quickly disappointed with Lieutenant Colonel George Washington's blunders at Fort Necessity in 1754 and General Edward Braddock's disastrous expedition into the heart of Pennsylvania in 1755. Besides failing to challenge the French establishment of Fort Duquesne, Braddock further alienated Indian allies by arrogantly refusing their help and repeatedly insulting them. Many Delawares' allegiances to Pennsylvania were already stretched thin by years of frustrating diplomatic encounters with provincial officials, Iroquois envoys, and fearful, suspicious white settlers, all while trying to maintain the European trade upon which they had come to depend. By 1755, Britain and Pennsylvania had displayed only a pitiful lack of power and a total inability to protect their friends from the French and their native allies. Several Delawares responded by striking out in anger against their best targets of opportunity: the white settlers scattered throughout the Pennsylvania backcountry. In 1755 and 1756, Delawares raided white farms and settlements both north and south of Blue Mountain. Fearful traders refused to journey into the Susquehanna region. Trade ground to a halt, further infuriating belligerent Indians and impoverishing many others. Unable to do anything about the French threat in the Ohio Valley, Pennsylvanians now faced an uprising of their closest neighbors.[4]

As Susquehanna-region Delawares grew increasingly attached to French interests and threatened British settlements, those Delawares still allied with Pennsylvania requested that forts and trading posts be constructed near the multicultural Susquehanna towns of Shamokin and Wyoming to guard and supply those increasingly important population centers. In this sense, they found common cause with Pennsylvania's white settlers south of Blue Mountain, who also petitioned the province repeatedly for forts and troops to protect them against real or rumored Indian threats. Pennsylvania's remaining Delaware allies would be disappointed. The province was not yet willing to fund military outposts deep in Pennsylvania's interior in 1755. However, escalating Indian attacks forced the assembly to consider providing frontier fortifications and

[4] Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003), 169–78.

troops to protect white settlements closer to Philadelphia. Northampton and Berks counties' small towns and farms, perched precariously between Philadelphia and the Blue Mountain ridge, lacked sufficient arms and experienced military leaders to organize effective local militias. Panic and rumors spread quickly throughout the frontier, inflaming settlers' anti-Indian animosities. By November 1755, both white settlers and "friend" natives were demanding greater provincial protection and a resumption of trade in the Blue Mountain region. As events would have it, one of the first forts to be built would serve both constituencies, albeit unexpectedly.[5]

Of immediate concern to the inhabitants of Easton and Bethlehem were reports of unfamiliar Indians near Gnadenhütten. Reports from the town's native inhabitants and Moravian missionaries that Delawares would soon attack the settlement sent waves of fear throughout the region. Gnadenhütten's Indian converts had long been a source of suspicion for Delawares living in Pennsylvania's interior, as they saw the Christian Indians as being too closely allied to English settlement ambitions and too eager to reject native for European culture. Gnadenhütten's residents took the rumors and warnings seriously and planned to take refuge in Bethlehem until the danger passed, but tragedy struck before they could evacuate their village. On November 24, 1755, a large band of French-allied Munsee Delawares attacked Gnadenhütten, killing several inhabitants and partially burning the village. By attacking the mission town, the Munsees hoped to demonstrate their ability to kill English allies and thwart provincial plans quickly and easily. Local white settlers began fleeing their homes and farms for the larger towns south of the mountains. Munsees attacked Gnadenhütten again on January 1, 1756, after a provincial company under the command of Captain William Hays arrived to protect the townspeoples' corn stores and remaining property.

[5] C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972), 223. For an example of Delawares requesting British protection for their families during General Edward Braddock's failed expedition, see Conrad Weiser to Robert H. Morris, July 21, 1755, in *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, ed. Samuel Hazard, 16 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1838–53), 6:494–95. For requests for help from leaders from Reading, Pennsylvania, see Conrad Weiser et al. to Morris, Oct. 31, 1755, Timothy Horsfield Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. For Moravian reports of imminent trouble, see Horsfield to Morris, Nov. 2 and Nov. 10, 1755, Horsfield Papers; Horsfield to Morris, Nov. 15, 1755, Timothy Horsfield Letterbook, 1754–1755, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For more descriptions of the spread of panic following Braddock's defeat and subsequent English problems with maintaining Delaware alliances, see Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 67–72; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 226–32.

Twenty of Hays's seventy-two men died in the attack and more deserted after fleeing the town, reducing the company to only eighteen men. Gnadenhütten itself was burned. The defeat of Hays's troops sent the region into full-blown panic. On January 3, a handful of Indians attacked settlers near Allemangel, a few miles from Gnadenhütten, and set the entire population of seventy people fleeing for their lives over Blue Mountain. With backcountry tensions at the breaking point, Philadelphians feared that these attacks on a peaceful mission town would bring the Delaware uprising into the populated heart of the province.[6]

If Gnadenhütten's attackers had hoped to drive a wedge between Christian Indians and their European friends, they must have been disappointed by the results. Terrified and impoverished by the loss of their village and with few options open to them, Gnadenhütten's Delaware and Mahican residents sought refuge among the Moravians in Bethlehem and assured Governor Robert Morris of their loyalty to Pennsylvania and Britain. Morris commended the refugees and promised that they would receive aid commensurate with their status as full citizens of Pennsylvania. He also promised to build and garrison a fort at Gnadenhütten to help the refugees reclaim and guard their property and offer them "equal Security with the white people" on the frontier. Morris's goals were modest. "The Fort intended to be built will only be a Wooden one," Morris told the Bethlehem Moravians, "Or a Stockade thrown round the Buildings there, as shall be found most convenient." On November 26, Pennsylvania's assembly had already authorized a grant of sixty thousand pounds for frontier defense. The fort at Gnadenhütten would be just one in a line of forts stretching along Blue Mountain from the Delaware River in the north to Maryland's border in the south, so economy was essential. The original plan was to have the Brethren con-

[6] "Examination of David Zeisberger," Nov. 22, 1755; Robert H. Morris to Timothy Horsfield, Dec. 4, 1755; Horsfield to Morris, Dec. 8, 1755; Augustus Gottleib Spangenberg to Morris, Dec. 17, 1755, all in Horsfield Papers; Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 234–35. For a description of the Gnadenhütten attack, its causes, and its significance, see Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 184–86. See also Horsfield to Morris, Nov. 26, 1755, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 9 ser., 120 vols. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1935), 1st ser., 2:520–23; and Horsfield to Morris, Nov. 29, 1755, Horsfield Letterbook, for Horsfield's frantic call for assistance and fears that the Indian attacks might endanger the province's western settlement ambitions. For the attack on Hays's company, see William Hays to Morris and the Provincial Commissioners, Jan. 3, 1756, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, eds. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven, CT, 1959–), 6:341–42. The settlers fleeing from Allemangel soon met a party of seventeen men led by trader Jacob Levan, and they regrouped and fought off the pursuing Indians. Benjamin Franklin to David Hall, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 6:348–49.

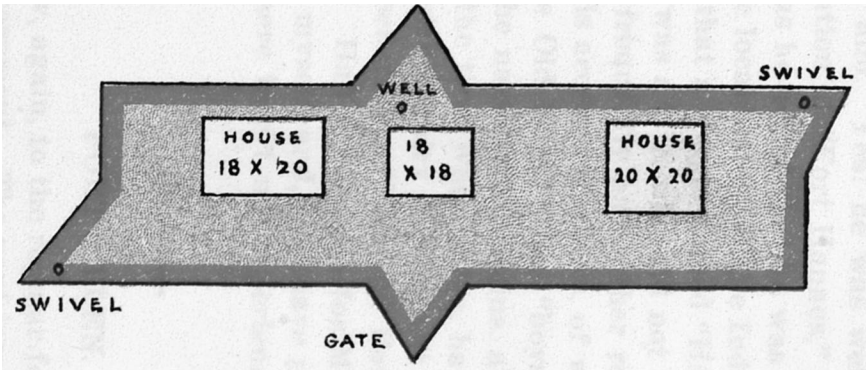
struct the fort on Moravian-donated land near the ruins of Gnadenhütten, but the missionaries had other ideas. While they had already begun to fortify and arm Bethlehem to a degree unusual for pacifists, they claimed little expertise in fort construction and asked Easton's justice of the peace and militia commander, William Parsons, to undertake the project. Several members of Pennsylvania's assembly fanned out across the backcountry in December to help erect the new forts. The January attack on Hays's company accelerated their efforts.[7]

Benjamin Franklin arrived in Bethlehem in January to organize the Gnadenhütten fort-building expedition and was appalled at the chaos in the Blue Mountain region and in the Moravian capital. Hundreds of white and native refugees had poured into Bethlehem, doubling the town's population. "We found this place fill'd with Refugees," Franklin wrote to Morris, "the Workmen's Shops, and even the Cellars being crouded with Women and Children." He warned the governor that all the regions' settlements were requesting additional troops. Lehigh Township had been entirely deserted after Hays's defeat. Refugees from the Irish settlement on the Lehigh promised to retreat from the area entirely unless thirty men could be sent to guard them and their property. Franklin was hesitant to begin moving troops around at the whims of panicked residents, especially refugees who had chosen to flee rather than to "behave like Men." He immediately ordered local magistrates to raise troops or risk losing their settlements and authorized a bounty of forty dollars per Indian scalp. He also set out for Gnadenhütten with his fort-building party of 130 men and suggested to Morris that the province hurry in completing the "Ranging Line of Forts" as soon as possible. The thirty-mile march to Gnadenhütten was terrifying and intimidating for Franklin's detachment; much of the route was a desolate and frightening scene of burnt farms and unburied bodies. Despite the risk of attack by the Delawares, who had already shown their willingness to attack large

[7] Address of Gnadenhütten Indians to Robert H. Morris, Nov. 30, 1755; Morris to the Gnadenhütten Indians, Dec. 4, 1755, both in Horsfield Papers; Answer of Gnadenhütten Indians to Morris, Horsfield Letterbook; C. Hale Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1929), 252; Morris to Timothy Horsfield, Dec. 4, 1755; Horsfield to Morris, Dec. 8, 1755; Augustus Gottleib Spangenberg to Morris, Dec. 17, 1755, all in Horsfield Papers; Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 234–35. The plan for a defensive fort line and increased troop presence on the Blue Mountain frontier came amid new reports of French-allied Indian attacks on settlers and incidents of settler mayhem and vigilantism. Address of Horsfield et al., Nov. 24, 1755, Horsfield Papers; Horsfield to Morris, Dec. 1, 1755; Horsfield to the Constables of Northampton County, and Horsfield to Morris, Dec. 12, 1755, all in Horsfield Letterbook.

bodies of troops, the expedition arrived safely in Gnadenhütten on the sixteenth and began burying the dead, laying out their fort, and cutting palisades.[8]

Nine days later, Franklin declared the fort finished and named it for his friend William Allen, Pennsylvania's chief justice. The finished fort was 125 feet long and 50 feet wide, with triangular bastions, a 12-foot high palisade, a surrounding trench, and three buildings for the garrison. "We had one swivel Gun which we mounted on one of the Angles," Franklin wrote later in his autobiography, "and fired it as soon as fix'd, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such Pieces, and thus our Fort, (if such a magnificent Name may be given to so miserable a Stockade) was finished in a Week." He hoped that the "contemptible" fort would still be "a sufficient Defence against Indians who have no cannon." Despite Franklin's uncomplimentary description, the small fort was a substantial symbol for the chaotic Lehigh region. It was fairly well built despite its speedy construction—unlike Fort Franklin, the next fort down the defensive line, which would stand for only a few months. With a proper garrison, Fort Allen could serve to anchor the province's defense of the Lehigh region.[9]



Plan of Fort Allen, 1756. Source: H. M. Richards, *The Indian Forts of the Blue Mountains*, in *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania (*Harrisburg, PA, 1896).

[8] Benjamin Franklin to John Vanetta (Van Etten), Jan. 12, 1756, and Franklin to Robert H. Morris, Jan. 14, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:546–47, 548–50; Franklin to Deborah Franklin, Jan. 15, 1756, and Ensign Thomas Lloyd to [unknown], Jan. 30, 1756, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 6:360–61, 380–82.

[9] Benjamin Franklin, *Franklin: The Autobiography and Other Writings on Politics, Economics, and Virtue*, ed. Alan Houston (New York, 2004), 123–24. Franklin's later self-deprecation was probably an effort to downplay the importance of a fort that ended up being manned for only a short period.

Procuring and provisioning garrisons proved more difficult than building forts. By early February 1756, the project had nearly devoured the sixty thousand pounds authorized by the assembly. Lack of experienced officers and proper measures for establishing military law and discipline also threatened the enterprise. Fort Allen's original garrison consisted of 50 men under Captain Isaac Wayne, and the combined garrisons on the fort line totaled only 389 men. Many of them spent much of their time away from their forts, escorting wagon trains and friendly Indians, ranging the frontier, and protecting settlers when requested. Such duties taxed the undermanned militia units to their limits. Without sufficient numbers of well-trained soldiers and officers, the fort-line garrisons were stretched too thin to guard against Indian incursions. Furthermore, it was increasingly clear that the original strategic basis for the fort line was unworkable. Pennsylvania's commissioners had hoped that after the frontier was secured and its women and children possessed safe refuges, provincial troops could invade the Susquehanna country and take the fight to the attackers' homes. But settlers and militiamen were hesitant to invade Indian country, preferring to guard their own homes and towns instead. Attempts to motivate colonial raiding parties with scalp bounties failed. Settlers living under the constant threat of attack had little desire to further infuriate Munsees or other hostile Indians and valued the fort line for the defense it offered them rather than for its role in any overall strategic scheme. As long as soldiers remained nearby, settlers were satisfied to wait out the situation and hope for the best.[10]

By the summer of 1756, Fort Allen had already fallen into a state of mismanagement and confusion. When James Young, Pennsylvania's commissary general of the musters, inspected the fort in June, he found only fifteen men present and no one commanding the post. The rest of the garrison was scattered throughout the country between Fort Allen and

For Franklin's quote and some of his letters describing Fort Allen's construction, see *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 6:365–71. See also Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 259, for a general account of the fort's construction.

[10] Robert H. Morris to George Washington, Feb. 2, 1756, and Morris to William Shirley, Feb. 9, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:564–65, 569–70; "Position of Troops in Northampton County," Feb. 23, 1756, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 6:408. For a typical example of settlers' requests for protection while performing their routine chores, see Petition of John Hughes to Morris, Apr. 21, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:638. For militias preferring to guard settlements and the use of scalp bounties, see Pennsylvania Commissioners to Morris, June 14, 1756, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:153–54. Scalp bounties were a commonly used method of motivating settlers and Indians to participate in military activities and punitive missions. James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1981), 215–23.

Bethlehem, escorting friendly Indians and Moravians. Jacob Meis, the fort's commanding lieutenant, was in Easton petitioning for soldiers' back pay. Young could not even find most of the fort's provisions, though he noted seeing a "large Quantity of Beef very ill Cured." When Fort Allen's new commandant, Captain George Reynolds, arrived in late June, he reported the poor condition of the garrison and a shocking lack of decent arms and ammunition, "not above fifteen Gunes any ways Good." He asked William Parsons for permission to raid Bethlehem's armories for decent munitions, but other more farsighted fort commanders in the region had already coveted and confiscated some of the Moravian Brethren's best weapons. After six months, the Blue Mountain forts had done little to improve the province's position in the ongoing Delaware war, and they seemed barely capable of maintaining their own garrisons and protecting the region.[11]

However ill-suited Fort Allen was as a protector of the region's settlers, it soon emerged as an inviting meeting place for Indians. In May 1756, an Iroquois delegation led by Seneca headman Kanuksusy, an influential British ally, arrived at the fort and settled in to await additional native ambassadors. Kanuksusy had asked several Indians to meet at Bethlehem during the summer to begin peace deliberations. The Moravian capital had been inundated with white and native refugees since the beginning of the year. "Most of our Rooms have been obliged to lodge 20 or 25 Persons and Seventy of our Indians have lived in one Small House where they had but 2 Rooms," wrote a Bethlehem resident in April. But many British-allied Indians still preferred the cramped quarters of Bethlehem or spartan Fort Allen to the uncertainties of the Susquehanna region. For example, two Moravian Indians, Nicodemus and his son Christian, had tried moving to the multicultural native town of Tioga near the New York border. When they learned that French-allied Munsees dominated the town, they returned to the safety of Fort Allen and the protection of Kanuksusy. The influential Iroquois ambassador, along with Shawnee sachem "King" Paxinosa, persuaded both Bethlehem Moravians and Fort Allen militiamen to ensure the safety of visiting native ambassadors in preparation for a major peace conference to be held in Easton, a town that had already become a haven for disgruntled refugee settlers and a major center of anti-

[11] "A Journal from Reading to the Sundry Forts and Garrisons along the Northern Frontiers of the Province," June 21, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:677–78; George Reynolds to William Parsons, July 10, 1756, and William Franklin to Timothy Horsfield, June 21, 1756, Horsfield Papers.

Indian animosities. Most of the delegates waiting at Fort Allen were in no hurry to move on to the county seat. As the summer wore on, many native visitors continued to prefer the hospitality of Bethlehem or the Fort Allen area to the intolerant atmosphere of Easton.[12]

It is not unusual that Indians would expect comfort and hospitality in a fort built to defend the province against belligerent native interlopers. Hospitality toward visitors was a fundamental fixture of Eastern Woodland Indian life. Throughout eastern North America, Indians felt obligated to be generous to their guests, and friendly visitors expected polite treatment when visiting allies or kin. This type of reciprocal social exchange helped prevent destructive conflicts between native groups and made traveling far from home bearable. Such effusive hospitality and forbearance were sure to create friction with less patient Europeans. When Indians made extended visits to European towns and forts, their hosts sometimes complained, to other Europeans at least, about native "loitering." Such descriptions pepper British documents of the period and identify a basic incongruity between native and European conceptions of manners and meetings in the colonial American woods. What Europeans considered to be loitering was an essential expectation in native culture. Indians would have found frustration over the length of a guest's stay to be both disrespectful and offensive.[13]

In Pennsylvania, hospitality was rooted firmly in native culture and was typically extended to Indian and European visitors alike. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger personally experienced Delaware hospitality after his arrival in Pennsylvania in the 1740s. He observed that it was a host's duty to "care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does

[12] Timothy Horsfield to Robert H. Morris, June 21, 1756; "Memorandum Regarding Unfriendly Indians," June 30, 1756; Letter from Unnamed Bethlehem Resident, Apr., 1756, all in Horsfield Papers. British officials often referred to Kanuksusy as Captain Newcastle, and he is so called in reports surrounding these events. "Captain Newcastle's Instructions," June 28, 1756, Horsfield Papers; Newcastle to the Captain of Fort Allen, July 1, 1756, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:189; Newcastle to Augustus Gottleib Spangenberg, July 1, 1756, Horsfield Papers.

[13] Some of the earliest European visitors to North America commented on native hospitality. Jesuit missionaries noted that Indians in New France would sometimes extend hospitality to friendly guests even at the cost of their own health and comfort. Father Superior Francesco Bressani claimed that this hospitable attitude was not even considered a virtue among the Hurons, just a standard feature of reciprocal native relations. For some seventeenth-century descriptions of Indian hospitality, see Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791* (Cleveland, OH, 1896–1901), 35:207–9; 38:267; 58:79.

make up his mind to go." Food was always provided immediately to weary travelers. According to Zeisberger, "If the guests are from a distance and are very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish." Zeisberger's friend John Heckewelder noted that on "more than one hundred instances" he had experienced this effusive brand of hospitality and that it was not reserved exclusively for Indian guests: "A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best." Heckewelder insisted that these favors were given out of a sense of social responsibility and that hosts would expect the same treatment themselves. But reciprocal hospitality did not imply a simple quid pro quo relationship, according to Heckewelder:

> I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visitor to return the same civilities to his host; when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

Hospitable treatment became doubly important when guests were diplomats. Ambassadors on diplomatic missions usually enjoyed the comforts of the chief's house, and nothing would be spared to make such delegates feel welcome. To do otherwise would degrade a headman's reputation and power among other nations and weaken his status among his own people.[14]

Presenting guests with gifts was also an important component of native hospitality. Presents served as physical examples of generosity that went beyond supplying visitors with provisions, which was expected of everyone. In Pennsylvania's native societies, where material goods and abstract favors were deemed to exist in a constant state of reciprocal redis-

[14] Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 137–43; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 51; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1964), 129. For Zeisberger, see his *History of Northern American Indians*, ed. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze (Columbus, OH, 1910), 116, 120, 129. For Heckewelder, see his *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (1819, 1876; repr., New York, 1971), 148–49. For hospitable attitudes toward native ambassadors, see Zeisberger, *History of Northern American Indians*, 93; Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, 181–82.

tribution, exchanged presents served as concrete examples of love, alliance, and peaceful intentions. These obligations were especially important in times of great danger, such as when help in battle was requested and given. Indian notions of generosity, hospitality, and reciprocal exchange influenced dealings among native groups and between Indians and Europeans. Favors were not to be refused among friends. Presents and hospitable treatment were the glue that held friends together in the face of natural challenges and human belligerence. Pennsylvania's Delaware and Iroquoian allies, especially those who risked life and limb by acting as go-betweens in the province's Indian-white conflicts, had every reason to expect hospitable treatment at Fort Allen.[15]

Fort Allen's strategic location made it a familiar locale for travelers. Indians visiting the fort did not have to worry about interactions with local white settlers, as most resided south of Blue Mountain. Indeed, Fort Allen's location was a major source of contention with the white population of Northampton County; settlers preferred that the line of forts be located south of the ridge and among their homes and farms. Perhaps because of the fort's location, its frequent Indian visitors, or its relatively short existence, no white settlement or garrison community emerged near the fort. This was also a welcome development for native visitors, who detested the growth of white settlements much more than the establishment of forts. Instead of settlers' farms, temporary Indian shelters surrounded the fort. There is little indication that Fort Allen played host to female camp followers or white families, as was the case at larger British forts like Ligonier and Pitt, at least in its first three years of service. Traders probably did not operate close to the fort before 1758, a likely result of the ongoing threat of native violence in the backcountry during the Delaware uprising. But with Bethlehem and Easton only a day or two's journey away, provisions and supplies were easy to obtain when needed. Provincial troops were probably never crowded in the small fort because there were few times when the entire garrison was present; troops were usually away escorting travelers, protecting farmers' homesteads, or ranging the countryside. In many ways, Fort Allen was the kind of out-

[15] For gift giving, see David Murray, *Indian Giving: Economies of Power in Indian-White Exchanges* (Amherst, MA, 2000), esp. 31–38 for Indian generosity and the ambiguities of native notions of reciprocity. See also Axtell, *European and the Indian*, 136, 348n8. For the "redistributive" reciprocal nature of Indian exchange, especially among the Iroquois, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992), 21–22, 47.

post that visiting Indians liked best: it provided provisions and presents without the threat of permanent settler farms or overwhelming troop strength.[16]

If traveling Indians expected hospitable treatment at Fort Allen, their expectations were doubled for the upcoming Easton conference, where the presence of important provincial officials and hundreds of Indian delegates would ensure their safety and comfort. The provincial government and their Iroquois allies had called for the Easton conference as a way to stop Delaware attacks and discover the sources of their animosities. As the date of the conference approached, Morris decided to concentrate as many displaced friendly Indians in the county seat as possible. He ordered that all Indian refugees and visitors be moved to Easton from Bethlehem to relieve crowding in the Moravian town and to allow the province to aid the displaced natives. It devolved upon Parsons, as Easton's chief magistrate and the region's military commander, to prepare the town for their arrival. Easton must have been quite a sight during such treaty conferences. The Penns' idyllic, neatly surveyed county seat was near to bursting with townspeople, traders, white and Indian refugees, native ambassadors and their retinues, and even a group of armed New Jersey vigilantes who had moved into Easton to prevent any native incursions into their own province. Morris asked Parsons to post plenty of guards to ensure that the Indians remained safe "from the Insults of the People," but also to watch the Indians themselves, "in case they should not be so Friendly as they pretend." In addition to those worries, Parsons needed to maintain order among the guards themselves. Easton's tavern keepers loved new customers and sold rum to Indians, townsfolk, and soldiers alike. With Indians, civilians, and soldiers "being all drunk," Parsons complained, the town would be "in the Utmost Confusion and Danger" during the conference.[17]

[16] For settler complaints about the location of the fort line, see Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 214–15. The forts on the Blue Mountain ranging line must have had social cultures that were very different from the larger forts in western Pennyslvania, which featured garrison communities, responsibilities for civil authority, and especially numerous women, whose presence brought eastern social customs that both meshed with and complicated the forts' military cultures. See Mayer, "From Forts to Families." White women may have lived at or near the fort during its post-1758 existence as a trading post; the Fort Allen daybook lists many English female given names as customers, though these could be converted Indians or women from settlements south of Blue Mountain. Fort Allen Daybook, Indian Affairs, Simon Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[17] Robert H. Morris to William Parsons, July 11, 1756, and Morris to Timothy Horsfield, July 14, 1756, Horsfield Papers. On the belligerent "Jersey Men," see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 269–70, 420n60.

On July 18, the guest of honor arrived. Teedyuscung, a Munsee headman living at Tioga whom the English sometimes called "King of the Delawares," had led a few violent forays against white settlements during the preceding months. His influence throughout the Susquehanna country, much of it a result of his own aggressive self-promotion, made his participation vital to securing peace. After carefully weighing the benefits that might accrue from alliances with France and Britain, Teedyuscung had decided that a British alliance was the best way for Pennsylvania Delawares to retain enough power to survive the complicated international contest for control of the region. However, Teedyuscung's reputation in the region as a drinker and reveler was as well-known as his status as a diplomat and headman. When he arrived in Easton, he lost no time in taking advantage of the hospitality commonly offered at peace conferences. No traders had traveled up the Susquehanna for some time, and Teedyuscung hoped that he would find plenty of provisions and rum at the conference. He told Parsons that his journey from Tioga was a long way to go without any rum, and he continued hinting at his desires until Parsons supplied him with two small bottles. The merriment continued as the conference wore on, frustrating the conference's organizers but providing rare wartime entertainment for the native delegates. Morris's secretary, Richard Peters, reported that Teedyuscung and his "wild Company" started the conference off "perpetually Drunk, very much on the Gascoon [bragging], and at times abusive to the Inhabitants" of Easton. Peters found the "King of the Delawares" to be a formidable figure. He described the Munsee chief as a "lusty rawboned Man, haughty and very desirous of Respect and Command" who could supposedly "drink three Quarts or a Gallon of Rum a Day without being Drunk."[18]

[18] George Reynolds to William Edwards, July 14, 1756, and William Parsons to Timothy Horsfield, July 18, 1756, Horsfield Papers. After fifty years, Wallace's *King of the Delawares* remains the best study of Teedyuscung, certainly one of the most colorful, complicated, and intriguing figures in eighteenth-century North America. See pages 83–86 for details of his participation in the uprising. For an explanation of Teedyuscung's approach to diplomacy, which involved positioning the Delawares in rewarding alliances with the English and native groups, see Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 115–16. For an amusing and informative description of how treaty conference organizers worried about attendees' revelry, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 262–64. Weiser spent prodigious energy keeping visiting diplomats from engaging in alcohol-fueled violence. For example, in one instance he mediated a dispute between Teedyuscung and Kanuksusy, who feared that the Munsee chief meant to kill him with witchcraft. Parsons's Diary of a Council Held at Easton, July 24–27, 1756, in *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, gen. ed. Alden T. Vaughan, vol. 3, *Pennsylvania Treaties, 1756–1775*, ed. Alison Duncan Hirsch (Washington, DC., 1979), 106–9. Indians' recreational use of alcohol is stressed in this article because of the focus on hospitality, but it should not be overemphasized; Indians had many uses for liquor. For native uses of

The July 1756 Easton conference was only a preliminary meeting, designed to lay the groundwork for more substantive talks later that fall. In the meantime, native diplomats clearly intended to take advantage of all the customary accoutrements of friendly diplomacy while they lasted. Morris began to wonder if Easton, with its taverns and temperamental residents, might not be a poor place to conduct Indian diplomacy. But when the governor suggested moving the proceedings to Bethlehem or some other more placid location, Teedyuscung was indignant. He was having a good time in Easton and did not wish to be shuttled "from place to place like a Child." Morris relented and continued the conference at Easton. In the end, Teedyuscung and Kanuksusy agreed to convince other influential Delawares to meet again at Easton later in the year. But the summer conference's completion did not mean the end of the delegates' appetite for revelry. By then, Easton's townsfolk were ready for some peace and quiet, and Bethlehem still stretched at the seams with refugees. Luckily for Teedyuscung's retinue, another familiar, entertaining location lay just across the Blue Mountains.[19]

By early August, Teedyuscung had concluded his talks with Morris and had started his journey back to Wyoming and Tioga to convince belligerent Delawares to make peace with the province. On the way he stopped at Fort Allen to wait for his baggage train to catch up and enjoyed the garrison's hospitality so much that he settled in for a short stay. Teedyuscung was no stranger to the location; indeed, he was a past resident. From 1750 to 1754, he had lived (unhappily) as a Moravian convert at Gnadenhütten under the Christian name Gideon. Richard Peters was alarmed at news of Teedyuscung's "loitering" at the fort and insisted that the chief be sent on his way in order to convince Tioga's delegates to come to Easton before winter. Teedyuscung apologized and agreed to send two men to Tioga in his place, implying that he was comfortable where he was. He promised that when the men returned he would "make all Dispatch" in bringing the talks to a successful conclusion. Morris was surprised that Teedyuscung kept "loitering at a fort in so shameful a man-

alcohol in rituals, diplomatic encounters, and as a consumer commodity, see Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, NY, 1995). For an influential article on the importance of alcohol and giftgiving in establishing intercultural relationships between whites and Indians, especially in the western fur trade, see Bruce M. White, "'Give Us a Little Milk': The Social and Cultural Meaning of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade," in *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*, ed. Thomas C. Buckley (St. Paul, MN, 1984), 185–97.

[19] Reply of Teedyuscung to Robert H. Morris, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:721–22.

ner when he knows the necessity there is of his speedy Return to his People." He sent Parsons a string of wampum for the chief to urge him on his way. "Remind him how much he has to do and how little a time it is before the Winter will set in," Morris prodded Parsons impatiently. But trouble was brewing at Fort Allen. When Morris referred to Teedyuscung's "shameful" manner, Parsons thought he was referring to the chief's tardiness. He would soon find that the matter was more complicated.[20]

Teedyuscung stayed at Fort Allen because of the availability of liquor there and because of the corrupt conduct of the fort's temporary commandant, Lieutenant Miller. According to Teedyuscung's interpreter, Ben, the "villainous" lieutenant, made good profits selling liquor to Indians and whites alike. "As long as the Indians had money," Ben told Parsons, "the Lieutenant sold them Rum, so that they were almost always drunk." Miller had also cheated the drunken Teedyuscung out of some deerskins, which had been intended as a present for Morris. The prospect of a provincial officer cheating and delaying an important Indian delegate at such a critical point in peace negotiations was bad enough, but Parsons learned soon that the context of Teedyuscung's loitering was even more troubling. When Captain Reynolds returned to Fort Allen, he wrote to Parsons and reported having had some trouble with the visiting Indians. "I am resolved to let no more of them into ye fort for ye are So unruly that there is no Liveing with them," he reported. He added perfunctorily that while he was away in Philadelphia, some of the soldiers "got a little mery with the Liquor." Reynolds was gifted at understatement. That merriness was actually a full-fledged mutiny, prompted by a corporal, Christian Weyrick, and the ready availability of liquor.[21]

On August 5, Teedyuscung brought three women into the fort. While he "kept one as his own," according to Reynolds, the other two joked and

[20] Timothy Horsfield to William Parsons, Aug. 9, 1756; Horsfield to Parsons, Aug. 9, 1756; Teedyuscung to Horsfield and Parsons, Aug. 9, 1756; Richard Peters to Parsons, Aug. 11, 1756; Horsfield to Teedyuscung, Aug. 12, 1756; Robert H. Morris to Horsfield, Aug. 13, 1756, all in Horsfield Papers. For Teedyuscung's earlier attempts to convert to Christianity at Gnadenhütten, see Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 39–53.

[21] William Parsons to Robert H. Morris, Aug. 8, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:745–46; George Reynolds to Parsons, Aug. 12, 1756, Horsfield Papers. Discipline was a major problem among provincial forces during the Seven Years' War for a variety of reasons, including a lack of capable officers, inability or unwillingness of officers to inflict the full brunt of military punishment, and the socioeconomic backgrounds of the troops themselves. This was especially true in Pennsylvania, where most troops were day laborers or artisans and were not used to harsh discipline and unwilling to change their ways. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 107–21.

cavorted with Miller and his sergeants. Jealous of the officers, the drunken Weyrick tried to have the women ejected from the fort. When Miller refused, the corporal assaulted him. Weyrick and two other men proceeded to behave "very undecently" with the women, washing their genitals with rum afterwards to prevent "Getting Sum Distemper of ye Squas." The mutineers then went on a full-fledged alcohol-fueled rampage, firing guns into the fort's walls and encouraging their comrades to take over the post and kill several Reading militiamen who had sided with Miller. After hearing about the uprising, Parsons sent Captain Jacob Wetterhold to Fort Allen to arrest Weyrick for inciting the mutiny and Miller for not doing enough to suppress it. Upon his arrival, Wetterhold reported that the fort's ensign, who had also been absent, had already returned and brought the situation under control.[22]

Wetterhold confirmed that liquor was the probable catalyst of the dispute. Parsons responded by ordering the Indians' rum allowance lowered to one-quarter of a pint per day, and he restricted them to shelters built outside the fort. He immediately informed Morris that the fort's officers had apparently "turn'd ye Fort to a Dram Shop." Horsfield confirmed Parsons's report. He told Parsons, "I've been told that Capt. Reynolds has had one hogshed of rum after another and sold it to his Men and Doubly to ye Indians and Every one that would give Money for it." Fort Allen had gone from providing rum as Indian gifts and militia provisions to selling it as a commodity. From the provincial perspective, the danger to Pennsylvania's defensive and military imperatives was obvious. From Teedyuscung's cultural vantage, it was unacceptable to be barred from the fort and have his liquor restricted as if the mutiny had been his fault. He stormed away from Fort Allen in a huff. His role in the episode should not be romanticized; he had "loitered" at the fort partially because liquor could be had there, apparently at affordable prices and in good supply. Still, he considered himself an ambassador on official provincial business and expected politeness and hospitality from the fort's commandant. Teedyuscung needed no correction or punishment, as Horsfield knew well. The fort's garrison and officers had failed in their mission to guard

[22] George Reynolds to Conrad Weiser, Aug. 11, 1756, in *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, by Hunter, 241; William Parsons to Jacob Wetterhold and Wetterhold to Parsons, Aug. 12, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:741, 754–55. See Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 116–18 for a full description of the mutiny and its causes. Wallace claims that Teedyuscung "struck the match" that sparked the mutiny by bringing women into the fort, but that seems an unfair burden to place upon Teedyuscung, and especially upon the women, who were possibly raped by drunken soldiers.

the province and support its diplomatic efforts. Teedyuscung needed to be hurried upon his way, but Horsfield also understood that the situation required tact and understanding of the Munsee headman's point of view.[23]

Unrest at Fort Allen threatened to upset the province's peace plans, and Pennsylvania's assembly acted quickly to clean up the mess. The Provincial Council recommended that Conrad Weiser and Parsons be sent to Fort Allen to punish Lieutenant Miller, reestablish order, and urge Teedyuscung on his way. Morris, no longer governor but still in attendance at the council (he had been succeeded by William Denny in the interim), suggested that Kanuksusy be sent to the Six Nations to ask what their leaders thought of Teedyuscung's loitering and rumored acts of sedition. Denny immediately ordered Weiser to look into the affair and to make any inquiries and arrests he deemed necessary. After spending over sixty thousand pounds on frontier defenses, Pennsylvania's government could not allow one of its own forts to endanger the peace of the region it had been charged to protect.[24]

As the governor and council tried to minimize the diplomatic damage caused by the mutiny, Horsfield arrived at Fort Allen and set about placating an ill-tempered Teedyuscung. He caught up with the chief (who had angrily left the fort) and apologized for the misunderstanding, promised to punish Miller, and agreed to forward the controversial deerskins to Morris. Teedyuscung appreciated Horsfield's efforts and agreed to accompany him back to the fort and then to hurry on with his mission to Wyoming. When they arrived at Fort Allen, they found that Reynolds and his ensign had abandoned the fort (again) and that the post was under the temporary command of the "sober and prudent" Lieutenant Geiger of Wetterhold's company. By then Horsfield had confirmed that Reynolds and Miller had "made a Tippeling House of the Fort," writing to Morris that "Several of the Men after a Deduction of all their pay remain 14 or 15 [pounds] indebted to their Capt. for Liquor." Horsfield promised to restrict all rum and punch sales indefinitely, hoping that this

[23] William Parsons to Richard Peters, Aug. 15, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:747; Parsons to Robert H. Morris, Aug. 15, 1756, and Timothy Horsfield to Parsons, Aug. 15, 1756, Horsfield Papers; Parsons to Morris, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:749; Horsfield to Parsons, Aug. 19, 1756, Horsfield Papers.

[24] Pennsylvania Council, Aug. 21, 1756, and William Denny to Sir Charles Hardy, Aug. 21, 1756, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:222–23, 223–25; Denny to Conrad Weiser, Aug. 21, 1756, Horsfield Papers. On sedition: Earlier in August, rumors spread that Teedyuscung had been encouraging English-allied Indians to leave the region or be killed along with their white friends. Timothy Horsfield to William Parsons, Aug. 19, 1756, Horsfield Papers.

would correct the discipline problems. Weiser and Parsons decided to go further; apparently, the officers' malfeasance had sunk too deeply into the garrison's structure. They determined that Fort Allen's entire complement of troops must be removed to alleviate the stain of corruption. Their solution was to switch garrisons with one of the nearby forts. Reynolds and his whole garrison ended up at nearby Fort Norris, and that fort's complement, led by Captain Jacob Orndt, arrived at Fort Allen just in time to host Teedyuscung and his retinue one last time before the King's return to the north.[25]

Teedyuscung wasted little time in finishing his business at Tioga and Wyoming. On October 9, he sent word to Orndt and Reynolds that he was waiting at Wyoming and that he would soon deliver several white prisoners to comply with treaty obligations. But Teedyuscung had heard rumors that if he brought a large party to Fort Allen or Easton, the English would kill them all. He thought it prudent to send one Indian with one prisoner to Fort Allen to make sure his people would be safe. Orndt expected a large number of Delawares and Iroquois to pass by his fort on their way to the autumn Easton conference and wanted no repeat of the summer's events. He ordered a shelter built well away from the fort for Teedyuscung's band and awaited his arrival. Three weeks passed with no sign of Teedyuscung, but plenty of other Delawares soon made themselves comfortable at Fort Allen. Over one hundred Minisinks set up camps near the fort, reportedly planning to seek a separate treaty with the province. Denny was at a loss as to how to deal with them; Sir William Johnson had just been appointed Indian superintendent for the entire Northern District, and the provincial government did not yet know how much of their diplomatic responsibility he was to assume. The council advised Denny to offer the Minisinks supplies, gifts, and friendship, but also to inform them that Pennsylvania could not make a separate peace with Indians who might continue to attack neighboring colonies. News of the Minisinks' arrival came amid new reports of violence in the region—several settlers had been attacked near Forts Lebanon and Northkill, farther south on the defensive line. Fort Lebanon's commander admitted that the outposts were "too weak to be of any Service to the Frontier" in the face of a large-scale Indian attack or siege. A force of over

[25] William Parsons to Robert H. Morris, Aug. 21, 1756, and Jacob Orndt to Conrad Weiser, Aug. 24, 1756, Horsfield Papers. Captain Reynolds and Lieutenant Miller did face charges for turning Fort Allen into a virtual pub and allowing a mutiny to occur, but they defended themselves successfully and avoided a court martial. Reynolds to Weiser, Aug. 26, 1756, Horsfield Papers.

one hundred Minisinks could easily overcome tiny Fort Allen and threaten to disrupt the Easton conference if the Indians decided to pursue conflict instead of diplomacy.[26]

It was not any nefarious intent, but rather Teedyuscung's strategy and promises of hospitality, that caused the Minisinks to wait out the Easton conference near Fort Allen. By November 6, Teedysucung had arrived at Easton, but rumors swirled about a possible Minisink attack on the conference. To combat the rumors, Denny and Teedyuscung sent out Delaware headman Tatamy to meet with the Minisink bands and invite them to the conference. The Minisinks politely refused, saying they preferred the area around Fort Allen and had already arranged with Teedyuscung to remain there. As for the treaty talks, they assured Tatamy that they would agree to any terms that Teedyuscung could secure. Back at the conference, Teedyuscung confirmed that the Minisinks had originally agreed to travel "no further than a certain Place" and to allow him to negotiate in their stead. At first glance, the Minisink presence seemed to be a powerful bargaining chip for the Munsee chief. With 140 armed Delawares ready to attack the most vital fort on the frontier line, and with Easton filled to capacity with Delaware and Iroquois delegates, Denny might have felt obliged to give Teedyuscung excellent terms. However, Weiser soon began to wonder if the Minisinks' choice of Fort Allen was not based more on their preference for the location rather than on a desire to supply Teedyuscung with negotiating power.[27]

By this time, Fort Allen had become a principal gateway through the Blue Mountains and into Northampton County for Susquehanna-region Delawares. Rum remained available near the fort, despite orders to limit its sale in the area during the conference. Weiser and his troops could not realistically be expected to enforce liquor regulations, as they spent most

[26] Jacob Orndt and George Reynolds to William Parsons, Oct. 9, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:5–6; Timothy Horsfield to William Denny, Oct. 27, 1756, Horsfield Papers; Council to Denny, Oct. 29, 1756, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 7:6–7; Jacob Morgan to Denny, Nov. 4, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:30–31. More serious rumors soon emerged; the band of Minisinks was larger than previously supposed (140 or more), and the Indians intended to fall upon either Easton or Bethlehem, making themselves "Masters of the whole Country." Conrad Weiser remained skeptical; such rumors were common in the Pennsylvania backcountry. "Extract of Conrad Weiser's Journal," Nov. 5, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:32–33. For an excellent and influential account of how rumors affected backcountry events, albeit in Cherokee country, see Gregory Evans Dowd, "The Panic of 1751: The Significance of Rumors on the South Carolina-Cherokee Frontier," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 53 (1996): 527–60.

[27] Conrad Weiser and William Parsons to William Denny, Nov. 6, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:35; "Council Held at Easton," *Pennsylvania Treaties*, ed. Hirsch, 144–45.

of their time escorting Indians back and forth between Fort Allen and Easton. To ensure good conduct among the encamped Minisinks, Weiser sent Teedyuscung to act as a liaison between Fort Allen and the Minisink bands. To Weiser's dismay, Teedyuscung spent most of his time trying to acquire rum so that he might "have a Frolick with his Company" at the fort. Weiser offered liquor to Teedyuscung and the Minisinks on the condition that they consume it only in the Indian camp outside the fort, and he warned that if any Indians tried to enter the fort, "they must take what follows." That the threat was an empty one became clear when one of Teedyuscung's drinking companions tried to climb the palisade one night and shouted curses to the effect of "Damn you all I value you not!" after Weiser made him jump down. Fort Allen's garrison spent a few anxious weeks surrounded by the Minisinks, many of whom spent their time enjoying the availability of liquor in the fort's neighborhood.[28]

To the province's great relief, the autumn Easton conference ended without any serious trouble near Fort Allen. By December, most of the attendees had been escorted back across Blue Mountain and into the Susquehanna country. The province had much work to do. Teedyuscung and other delegates had surprised everyone by claiming that the province's fraudulent Walking Purchase land grab of 1737 was the basis for their war with Pennsylvania, and he demanded that the province assuage Delaware chiefs on that matter before they would agree to a final treaty. Events of 1756 had been instructive to visiting Delawares. From a purely social perspective, they had found that Pennsylvanians would protect them while they were in Easton and other towns and not kill them as backcountry rumors continued to assert. They also learned that Fort Allen offered them little in the way of intimidation. Indeed, the small fort tucked on the north side of the Blue Mountains was quickly becoming a favorite Indian place.[29]

[28] "Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser with the Indians, to Fort Allen, by his Honour the Governours Order," Nov. 18, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:66–68.

[29] The Walking Purchase was a colonial land acquisition in which Pennsylvania's proprietors intentionally used ambiguities concerning Delaware and English notions of land tenure and measurement to acquire much more property than the Delawares had intended to sell. The area of the Walking Purchase acquisition contained much of Northampton County south of Blue Mountain. With the support of influential Quakers who were political opponents of the proprietors and Pennsylvania government, Teedyuscung demanded that the province revisit and rectify the specious land deal. This surprise tactic pushed the proprietors into a defensive posture and delayed indefinitely hopes for an immediate peace treaty. Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 130–36; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 225–26. For Delaware-Pennsylvania land issues and disputes, see Steven C. Harper, "Delawares and Pennsylvanians after the Walking Purchase," and David L. Preston, "Squatters,

Ongoing treaty deliberations throughout 1757 continued to make Fort Allen a desirable stopping point for Delaware and Iroquois delegates and their retinues. Before the winter had passed, more of Teedyuscung's people began to filter into the fort. First came seven women and three children from Tioga, who arrived in mid-February in advance of Teedyuscung's main company. While Orndt was happy to provision the small party, Parsons suggested that they might be better off under the Moravians' care in Bethlehem. Orndt and Parsons probably wished to avoid a replay of the 1756 mutiny and felt that seven unaccompanied Delaware women might provoke too many distractions among the fort's anxious and frequently disgruntled garrison. Parsons also believed that the women and children might be more comfortable with other Indians until their own party arrived, and Bethlehem still hosted numerous Indian refugees. With a much larger party scheduled to arrive the following month, the province could ill-afford any untoward incidences with Teedyuscung's people.[30]

Teedyuscung's main party arrived at Fort Allen at the end of March 1757, albeit without the "King" himself. The fifty men, women, and children, led by Teedyuscung's two sons and his brother, Captain Harris, proceeded to make themselves at home. "They behave very civil here," reported a relieved Orndt. "They have made Cabbins about 60 perches from the Fort, where they live, and intend to tarry here till the King comes." Even though the visiting Indians maintained their own shelters, Orndt still had trouble preventing rum-induced problems. His orders forbad liquor sales at the fort, but visiting Indians still found ways to procure it, especially when visiting Easton on official business. On one occasion, when Orndt sent Indian emissaries to Easton with a military escort, the emissaries found and purchased so much rum that some of them "stay'd all Night in the Woods, and the remainder went . . . to Bethlehem," where Orndt feared "there might easily happen any Misbehaviour."[31]

Indians, Proprietary Government, and Land in the Susquehanna Valley," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, eds. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA, 2004), 167–79, 180–200. For a recent overview of the Walking Purchase, including an excellent new map of the area in question, see Steven Craig Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of the Delawares, 1600–1763* (Bethlehem, PA, 2006).

[30] Jacob Orndt to William Parsons, Feb. 18, 1757, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:429; Parsons to Timothy Horsfield, Feb. 20, 1757, Horsfield Papers.

[31] Jacob Orndt to William Parsons, Mar. 31, 1757, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:474; Parsons to Richard Peters, Apr. 3, 1757, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:104; Orndt to Parsons, Apr. 5, 1757, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:474–75.

In the middle of April, Teedyuscung sent word from Tioga. He requested that provisions for his journey be sent to Fort Allen, where his people could then bring them to Tioga on horseback. Denny could not turn him down easily. Fort Allen had become more than a comfortable place for Indian wayfarers. Teedyuscung viewed it as a temporary way station between his country and the English settlements, and keeping an important Indian presence there cemented the fort's role as an Indian-English outpost of importance. Besides, Denny believed it was better that the Munsees await Teedyuscung's arrival at Fort Allen than at Easton, where they were "always in the Way of strong Liquor & in Danger" from intolerant residents. Fort Allen's position had become complicated: in order to protect Indians with whom the province had to make peace, the fort had to endure the presence of large groups of them before (and maybe after) that peace had been achieved. This required the fort to maintain a constant state of alertness, at least until Teedyuscung arrived and removed his waiting entourage. Parsons told Horsfield to be ready for Teedyuscung and to have dozens of wagons available to take the King and his baggage to Philadelphia. A few days later the problem took care of itself. The large band encamped near the fort grew tired of waiting for Teedyuscung and left their temporary lodgings, possibly to return home in time to plant corn.[32]

In early July, Teedyuscung arrived at Fort Allen. His large band of delegates and followers strained the entire region's provisions. Teedyuscung brought along 200 men, women, and children and expected to stay at the fort for six to seven days. During that time he expected to meet 100 Senecas at Fort Allen, and then the whole mass of people would have to be shuttled to Easton, where Denny had agreed to meet with them once again. Throughout the month, Orndt and his soldiers transferred Indians back and forth between Fort Allen and Easton, a job made more difficult by apprehensive settlers and wary Indian emissaries. During the July conference, 285 Indians traveled to Easton by way of Fort Allen (112 men, 67 women, and 106 children), though during this period Indians constantly shuttled back and forth between Easton and the fort; there were also Indians encamped near the fort. Satisfied by an interim peace arrangement with Denny, Teedyuscung and his party arrived back at Fort

[32] William Denny to William Parsons, Apr. 12, 1757, and Teedyuscung to Parsons, Apr. 13, 1757, *Colonial Records of Pennsyvania*, 7:476–77, 477–78; Denny to Timothy Horsfield and Denny to [unknown], Apr. 26, 1757, and Parsons to Horsfield, Apr. 28, 1757, Horsfield Papers; William Trent to Denny, May 2, 1757, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:149–50.

Allen on August 13. He and his band took advantage of the fort's hospitality for several more days before departing, "very glad and joyful," on August 17. Several "sick" families stayed on at Fort Allen. September found Teedyuscung still in the region, lingering in overcrowded Bethlehem while awaiting his son's return from a diplomatic trip to the Ohio Country. By late 1757, the Fort Allen-Bethlehem corridor had become a familiar, friendly place for Susquehanna natives. Eager to avoid anything that might "give Disgust" to Delawares and threaten the ongoing peace process, Denny tacitly allowed an almost constant native presence at Fort Allen and in the nearby region.[33]

By demanding the continued presence of forts and garrisons, Pennsylvania's settlers unintentionally encouraged this fretful brand of hospitality to the Indians. Settlers in Northampton and Berks counties petitioned Denny in May 1757 to protect them from reported Ohio Indian incursions. With peace efforts ongoing, settlers justifiably feared that troops would soon entirely abandon the sparsely garrisoned forts and blockhouses. Fort Franklin had never been tenable, and the British abandoned it in November 1756. Forts Norris and Hamilton were still garrisoned, but both would be empty within a few months. As violence continued in the Pennsylvania backcountry, petitioners asked that more men be sent to the frontiers and that Fort Allen and other forts be maintained. They either did not know or not care that the forts' roles as diplomatic posts could encourage a persistent Indian presence in the region. In September, Benjamin Franklin defended the expense of maintaining the several forts and blockhouses and over 1,100 men on the frontier, claiming that this policy kept settlers from abandoning their homes altogether. But with peace negotiations nearly completed, any forts that remained in the Pennsylvania backcountry would serve mainly to meet Indian needs rather than to allay settlers' fears.[34]

[33] Jacob Orndt to Conrad Weiser, July 5, 1757; Orndt to William Denny, July 8, 1757; "Report of Indians that Came to Easton by Way of Fort Allen," Aug. 1, 1757, all in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:207, 209–10, 210; Orndt to Denny, Aug. 19, 1757, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 7:723–24; Denny to Timothy Horsfield, Sept. 5, 1757, Horsfield Papers. The biggest threat to peace during this period occurred when a fifteen-year-old "foolish white boy" shot and wounded William Dattamy, an unaccompanied Indian on his way to Bethlehem. Orndt was forced to remain in Easton with some of his men to prevent Indian-white animosities from flaring up as a result of the incident, despite the fact that fifty or more Indians remained encamped around Fort Allen.

[34] Timothy Horsfield to William Parsons, Apr. 27, 1757; "Petition from Northampton County"; "Petition from the Frontiers," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:142–43, 151–52, 153–54. Conrad Weiser had reported the untenable state of Fort Franklin in November 1756 and ordered Jacob Wetterhold and his men to evacuate the fort and proceed to Lynn Township, Northampton County,

Fort Allen's diplomatic role was prioritized over defense by 1758, and, as such, the fort had only a small military complement. In February, Jacob Orndt's garrison consisted of 78 men, though later in the year as few as 50 men occupied the fort. Even the complement of 78 was small compared with that of Fort Augusta (362 men) and smaller forts Henry (105) and Littleton (110). In addition to being undermanned, the fort was badly in need of repairs that the province was hesitant to fund. Because of its diminished military role and poor condition, rumors of Fort Allen's imminent closing spread in the region throughout 1758, prompting more petitions from fearful local settlers. They need not have worried, though. Despite its dilapidated state and small garrison, Fort Allen would remain a necessary Indian way station as long as native diplomats and their parties continued to travel through the Blue Mountains. As early as April 1758, Fort Allen had achieved the status of an official diplomatic checkpoint, "the Place where the Susquehannah Indians are by Treaty obliged first to come to, when they arrive on Our Frontiers," according to Denny. With its small garrison and ramshackle condition, Fort Allen remained an important stopover for natives even as threats posed by Delaware hostilities began to subside.[35]

Indians visiting Fort Allen and living nearby often assisted English authorities in ranging the woods for enemies. In doing so, they furthered the peace process while helping to maintain the fort's status as a welcome haven for traveling Delawares. Orndt had always employed Indians, usually Christian converts from Bethlehem, to patrol the countryside around

where they remained in May 1757. "Journal of the Proceeedings of Conrad Weiser with the Indians, to Fort Allen, by His Honour the Governour's Order," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:66–68. Morale continued to be a problem at the outposts. In March 1757, another near mutiny took place at Fort Norris when a soldier, Hieronymous Faxtor, was discharged for insubordination. He fired his gun at the fort upon leaving and then attacked a passing settler, making it even more curious that the local inhabitants would want a military presence maintained. Ensign Jacob Snider to William Parsons, Mar. 3, 1757, Horsfield Papers. By April 1757, Denny had decided that only three forts, Allen, Henry, and Hamilton, would be maintained on the frontier and garrisoned with one hundred men each. William Denny to Proprietors, Apr. 10, 1757, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser, 3:119–20. Benjamin Franklin to the Printer of *The Citizen*, in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 7:261–62; Jacob Wetterhold to Parsons, July 7, 1757, and Weiser to Denny, July 7, 1757, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:211, 218.

[35] "Position of Troops in Northampton County, 1758"; "Return of the Stations of Nine Companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment"; "Number of Forces"; "Exact State of the Forces between Susquehanna and the Delaware"; "Number of Forces in the Pay of the Province"; "Journal of James Burd, 1758"; "Petition from Northampton County"; James Burd to Jacob Orndt, Mar. 7, 1758; Orndt to Burd, Mar. 29, 1758, all in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:325, 339, 34, 340–41, 355, 359–60, 351, 367; William Denny to James Abercrombie, Apr. 7, 1758, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, NY, 1921–65), 2:814.

the fort. But by April 1758, it had become more difficult for him to find reliable Indian rangers, mainly because of the availability of alcohol. Despite his attempts to limit liquor sales at the fort, Orndt complained that the Indian rangers were "continually drunk," having bought "whole Casks of Rum" in Easton. Even when Indians could not purchase liquor near the fort, they still expected to be provisioned as full British allies. "There is dayly Indians Passing and Repassing, and they want Suplys from us," a frustrated John Bull, Orndt's successor as Fort Allen's commander, reported in the summer of 1758. Reduced funding for frontier defenses made such provisioning difficult, but Fort Allen's position as a diplomatic station made it a necessity, at least for the moment.[36]

By 1758, traders near Fort Allen were responding to consumer demand by supplying visiting Indians with liquor. There was little the fort's small number of troops could do to battle the traders, who openly defied provincial restrictions on alcohol sales. For example, in June 1758, Bull learned that Hans Bowman, a trader who operated five miles from the fort, had "given" five gallons of whiskey to Gabriel Loquus, a visiting Delaware. Outraged, Bull sent a few soldiers to remind Bowman that selling liquor to the Indians was prohibited and could cause civil unrest and violence. The trader replied that the liquor was merely a present for Loquus, that he would give gifts to whomever he pleased, and that not even Fort Allen's troops could stop him. Bull could do little but ignore the incident; arresting Bowman would only offend native vistitors and local white settlers. Because of their constant escort responsibilities, the fort's troops could not effectively control consumer affairs throughout the Northampton County backcountry.[37]

Throughout the summer of 1758, hundreds of Indians moved through the Lehigh water gap, many enjoying lengthy stays at the fort. On June 29, Teedyuscung and fifty Delawares and Iroquois arrived at Fort Allen, hoping to meet with Governor Denny at Germantown a few days later. Bull sent the entire party on to Bethlehem under escort, ordering his men to hand them over to Horsfield and return. With Indians lingering near the fort in search of trade and alcohol, Bull could hardly afford to weaken

[36] Robert Strettell to Timothy Horsfield, Apr. 14, 1758, Horsfield Papers; John Edwin to [unknown], Apr. 23, 1758, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 8:98–99. Jacob Orndt had been promoted to major and given command of the Blue Mountain region. John Bull to Richard Peters, June 14, 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:423.

[37] "Report of Charles Thomson and F. Post, of a Journey in 1758," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:412–22.

his force by giving up men for escort duty. Orndt had already lost a detachment of men to Brigadier General John Forbes's 1758 expedition against Fort Duquesne, and Bull's garrison at Fort Allen had been reduced to only thirty men. Pennsylvania had begun to devalue what was left of the defensive chain of forts in favor of more proactive measures against the French and their Indian allies. Teedyuscung returned to the fort in July and settled in for another stay. He sought to position himself strategically to influence British and native diplomatic and military initiatives. He also tried to coerce Denny into sending regular supplies of arms and powder to the fort for his Indian allies. Many could be expected to visit, especially with more treaty talks scheduled at Easton for late 1758. On September 12, Orndt informed Denny that 128 Indians had arrived at Fort Allen "and intended to stay there." From then on, Fort Allen would host many more Indians than white Pennsylvanians.[38]

With the date of the new treaty conference fast approaching, Denny targeted the hospitable drinking culture near the fort and, even more importantly, at the conference locations. In the summer of 1758, Denny had already posted a prohibition threatening imprisonment for anyone who sold liquor to Teedyuscung and his party during their summer visits. But as more Indians poured into Northampton County in August and September, individual traders and tavern keepers continued to supply Indians with liquor, using their nonofficial status as "private persons" to skirt regulations. Denny knew perfectly well that profit was not always the motive and that some native and Pennsylvanian parties could gain much by the "Prejudice and Hindrance of the Business" at important treaty conferences that liquor could provide. To prevent such disruptions at Easton, Denny forbade liquor gifts and sales "upon any Pretence whatsoever," except by authorized Indian agents. But many Indians came to the conferences expecting entertainment, liquor, and gifts, and Denny could not hope to prohibit them entirely. The province could, however, change Fort Allen's role from a purely defensive outpost and diplomatic transfer point into a place that took better advantage of a steady supply of native consumers.[39]

[38] Jacob Orndt to William Denny, Sept. 12, 1758, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 8:167; Lieutenant Samuel Price to Denny, June 29, 1758, and Timothy Horsfield to Denny, July 4, 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:429, 436; Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 252–53; "Journal of Frederick Post, 1758," and Orndt to Denny, July 24, 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:521, 490–91.

[39] "Advertisement against Selling Rum to Indians," and "Proclamation against Selling Rum to the Indians," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:437, 519.

During the Easton Conference of October 1758, Denny surprised the several Indians present by announcing that Fort Allen would soon become a trading post. In April 1758, the province had passed an act enabling a board of Indian commissioners to establish trading posts where they deemed it most appropriate. Placed at or near manned forts and overseen by Indian agents, they would prevent "Abuses in the Indian Trade" by traders like Hans Bowman; they would also supply "Indians, Friends and Allies of Great Britain" with "Goods at more easy Rates." Hopefully, this would help strengthen the favorable Indian-white relations established at Easton. Fort Augusta at Shamokin had already opened a trading post in May 1758, and in October, Denny announced to Teedyuscung and many conference attendees that Shamokin was open for business. "The Indians may be Supplied at the most reasonable Rates with any goods they may want," he stated. "And the best Prices will be given to you for such Skins, Furs, and Peltry as you shall bring them." Another trading post would soon be opened at Fort Allen, where Indian consumers could "depend upon it" that Indian agents would ensure the "Strictest Justice" in all dealings there. Robert Tuckness became Fort Allen's first Indian agent on December 11; by December 21, "Quantities of Indian Goods" had arrived at the post, which Denny hoped would please the Susquehanna people and align them firmly with British interests. It was also hoped that an authorized post at Fort Allen would reduce the influence of unscrupulous traders in the region and transform Indian traffic at the post from a financial drain into a profitable enterprise. Far from its original purpose of providing safety for Blue Mountain settlers, the Fort Allen trading post actually became dependent on a regular Indian presence.[40]

Fort Allen enjoyed a relatively robust business during its short tenure as a trading post. From December 1758 through May 1760, the Pennsylvania Commissioners for Indian Affairs recorded sales amounting to just over £2,333. According to entries in the Fort Allen daybook for the period of October 1759 through April 1760, the trading post offered a wide variety of goods for settlers and Indians alike. But economics dictated that the store's existence was likely to be short. However much trading posts might have contributed to easing tensions between the province and Pennsylvania's Indians and in meeting visiting natives' material needs, the

[40] Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 254–55; "Conference with the Indians Held at Easton," *Pennsylvania Treaties*, ed. Hirsch, 451; William Denny to Assembly, Dec. 21, 1758, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 8:238.

economic returns never balanced the costs of goods, shipping, and maintaining enough soldiers in the field to protect the trade. At the same time, Fort Allen's diplomatic role diminished in favor of its new economic pursuits. Sir William Johnson's Indian Department had taken over most Indian diplomacy by 1758, and Easton would host only one more major Indian conference, in 1761. By January 1760, the province had further reduced Fort Allen's complement to two officers, two sergeants, and twenty-one privates. Fort Allen even proved unable to serve as an effective outpost for equipping Indian diplomatic expeditions. By the summer of 1760, inexperienced leaders, desertions, and mismanagement of stores had made Fort Allen nearly unsustainable.[41]

By late 1760, the province began to consider closing Fort Allen. There was certainly no shortage of Indians near the fort; in fact, a hundred of them arrived there on August 6 on their way to Philadelphia. The fort's commandant, Lieutenant Andrew Wackerberg, kept native travelers supplied with provisions and rum, despite orders to the contrary. But Fort Allen had outlived its usefulness, and the assembly refused to fund it beyond January 1761. Peters ordered Horsfield to pay off and discharge Fort Allen's garrison and take custody of the arms, ammunition, and stores left at the post. On April 27, Horsfield declared the fort closed and returned the land to the Moravian Brethren. In a final humiliation, Indians attending the Easton conference in August 1761 raided Fort Allen, hoping to loot its remaining stores. They found nothing there but a few squatters, one of whom was Lieutenant Wackerberg.[42]

[41] The figure of £2,333 actually exceeded the £2,313 brought in at Fort Augusta for the same period, though both of the smaller forts paled in comparison with the new post at Fort Pitt, the center of western Pennsylvania trade. From December 1758 through May 1760, Fort Pitt recorded returns of over £10,166. "Indian Trade at Fort Augusta, Pitsberg, and Fort Allen," Cash Book, Commissioners for Indian Affairs, Apr. 28, 1758–Apr. 19, 1763, Simon Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Items sold at Fort Allen were typical of trading posts throughout the Northeast and show the depth to which European trade had infiltrated native material culture. European clothing and textiles, both utilitarian (shirts and strouds) and fancy ("nonesopretties") are well represented in the daybook accounts. Tools, construction materials, cooking implements, guns, ammunition, decorations, animal tack, locks, and even mouse traps were all traded and sold at the post. In return, the traders took cash and every kind of peltry available, mainly deer and beaver, but also mink, martin, and panther. Fort Allen Daybook, Indian Affairs, Simon Gratz Collection. For the lack of profitability of Pennsylvania trading posts, see Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 241–42. For some of the problems besetting Fort Allen near the end of its tenure, see Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 255–56.

[42] Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 257; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 8:514; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 6:586–87; Richard Peters to Timothy Horsfield, Jan. 17, 1761, Horsfield Papers. Not much was left to salvage from Fort Allen after the garrison had plundered the stores in 1760. Some of the few remaining guns were broken, as were several of the tools. Timothy

Fort Allen's ignominious end was not unusual. Hundreds of forts, stockades, and blockhouses emerged in the colonial backcountry during the Seven Years' War, only to crumble and return to the earth or be scavenged for materials after they had served their purpose. Nor was it unusual that intercultural contact and negotiation helped redefine the outpost's mission. Colonial militias and the British army built forts for military purposes, but they almost always saw those reasons augmented and complicated by Indians, settlers (both men and women), colonial politicians and diplomats, and economic concerns. That native cultures helped determine the identities of remote outposts should surprise no one. Soldiers and settlers built forts in Indian country, out of the raw materials found there, and were bound almost as much by the cultural customs that prevailed among Native Americans as by the colonial motivations the fort builders brought with them. This often produced surprising and frustrating results. Hospitality and diplomacy defined Fort Allen's primary role in Indian-white relations and infused its mission with anxiety and confusion. The builders designed the fort to protect against an invasion by Indians, but instead it became a welcome resting place for them. It never experienced an attack, except by some of its own garrison. Missionaries, not military planners, determined its location. For a brief period, Fort Allen even served as an illegal tavern of sorts. But its use by native visitors made it a link in the chain of Indian-white reciprocal relations. Instead of a military post for keeping Indians and Europeans apart, it became a diplomatic post that brought them together. In this respect, Fort Allen was not unique. Throughout North America, military outposts that were meant to introduce European culture, resolve, and domination into Indian country had their identities reshaped by the complexities of Indian-European politics and intercultural contact. Fort Allen became an example of how tiny, short-lived backcountry contact points could, in their own small ways, redefine Indian-European contact and coexistence.

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Horsfield sold the utilitarian goods for just over nine pounds and sent the guns and ammunition to Philadelphia. "Account of Ammunition Stores &ca in Fort Allen, Taken the 21st Sept. 1761," and Horsfield to James Hamilton, Sept. 3, 1761, Horsfield Papers. For an account of the fort's final days, see Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741–1892: With Some Account of Its Founders and Their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem, PA, 1903), 370.

A Common Law of Membership: Expulsion, Regulation, and Civil Society in the Early Republic

IN 1813, WILLIAM STEWART FOUND HIMSELF estranged and expelled from the Philanthropic Society of the City and County of Philadelphia, one of countless mutual aid organizations that had formed in the young American republic to allow contributing members to draw upon the society's funds in time of need. Stewart informed the society of an illness and, in accordance with the institution's regulations, had presented a physician's bill for forty dollars, which he claimed to have paid. Stewart asked for compensation. When it became evident that the doctor's bill had, in fact, been for four dollars and that Stewart had added a zero in an attempt to defraud his fellow members, the society denied his request and promptly terminated his membership. The society's constitution permitted the expulsion of those "concerned in scandalous or improper proceedings which might injure the reputation of the society."[1]

Shamelessly, Stewart went to court. The Philanthropic Society had been formally incorporated by special charter, as had many similar organizations in Pennsylvania. Many other organizations were incorporated under one of the first general incorporation acts in history. Passed in 1791, the Pennsylvania law permitted the speedy incorporation of literary, charitable, and religious associations. Thus, Stewart could call for a writ of mandamus to compel the society, which was, in a formal sense, a creation of the state, to restore him to "the standing and rights of a member

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[1] *Commonwealth v. Philanthropic Society*, 5 Binn. (Pa.) 486 (1813); *Constitution of the Philanthropic Society, Established at Philadelphia, May 6th, 1793: Incorporated the Seventh Day of January, 1799* (Philadelphia, 1808).

of the Philanthropic Society." He asserted that the question of whether his conduct had, indeed, injured the society's reputation had not been formally noted in the minutes of his expulsion proceedings. Chief Justice William Tilghman would have none of it, noting that "a society that would not be injured by such a proceeding as this, on the part of one of its members, must be a society without reputation." He denied mandamus.[2]

The episode itself reveals a great deal about how Americans conceived of voluntary membership and the regulation of private associations in the decades following the Revolution. Stewart knew where to turn if he was unhappy with an organization's decisions regarding his "rights" as a member, and he couched his claim in terms of proper procedure and legalistic formality. The society, too, in its affidavit, invoked specific constitutional articles and terms of agreement in justifying, to a panel of judges, its decision to expel Stewart. Even in these early years of the Republic, as some of the very first contests over the limits of the authority of voluntary groups over their members played out in the courts, the participants, including Tilghman, seemed to know their roles. But what is remarkable about the Stewart case is just how anomalous the outcome—the sustained expulsion of a member of a private society—actually was.

Writing in 1864, another chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, George Washington Woodward, attempted to chronicle the long history of English and American law cases regarding expulsions and the contested rights of membership. He found in Stewart's case something "very rare in the authorities, an instance of expulsion that was sustained." In reported appellate cases, courts often compelled an organization to readmit a member they believed had been wronged, even when no property was at stake. To understand what voluntary membership meant in the early American republic, it is clear that we must know what happened when the relationship between society and member broke down.[3]

Historians have yet to explore in any detail the legal consequences of voluntary membership in the early years of the United States. As the

[2] *Commonwealth v. Philanthropic Society*, 5 Binn. (Pa.) 486 (1813); William Miner to Jacob Beck, Apr. 1, 1817, folder 7, Mandamus and Quo Warranto Proceedings, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, RG-33, Pennsylvania State Archives.

[3] George W. Woodward, writing at nisi prius, Mar. 11, 1864, quoted in *Evans v. Philadelphia Club*, 50 Pa. 107 (1865). The distinction between actions at law, which were applicable in cases of expulsion only when property was at stake, and petitions for readmission by mandamus is well described in *Fuller v. Trustees of the Academic School in Plainfield*, 6 Conn. 532 (1827).

numbers and varieties of voluntary organizations, as well as the numbers of members, increased in the postrevolutionary decades, there was a perceived and often explicitly expressed need to define what, precisely, such membership entailed. Largely because so many associations had been formed in Philadelphia and the surrounding areas by the turn of the nineteenth century, Pennsylvanians played a leading role in shaping both popular perceptions and legal definitions of voluntary membership. According to Philadelphia economist Samuel Blodget, by creating formally organized, rule-bound, and wholly voluntary associations, Americans were forming "minor republics." Similar notions of associational activity have prompted historians of democratic civil society to question how Americans came to terms with the unanticipated prevalence of such entities *within* a republic, particularly one that the founding generation had hoped would never become so fragmented.[4] Scholars have more recently turned to a second question, one derived from the work of Jürgen Habermas, that asks what role these voluntary societies played in the formation of a public sphere—one integral to the success of the whole republican experiment—between the state and its people.[5]

[4] [Samuel Blodget], *Economica: A Statistical Manual for the United States of America* (1806; repr., New York, 1964), 12, 19, 199–200; Johann N. Neem, *Creating a Nation of Joiners: Democracy and Civil Society in Early National Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA, 2008); Johann N. Neem, "Freedom of Association in the Early Republic: The Republican Party, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the Philadelphia and New York Cordwainers' Cases," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128 (2003): 259–90; Pauline Maier, "The Revolutionary Origins of the American Corporation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (1993): 51–84; Oscar Handlin and Mary Flug Handlin, *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774–1861*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1969).

[5] The central work, of course, is Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989). For recent work influenced by Habermas, see Albrecht Koschnik, "The Democratic Societies of Philadelphia and the Limits of the American Public Sphere, circa 1793–1795," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58 (2001): 615–36; Albrecht Koschnik, *"Let a Common Interest Bind Us Together": Associations, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007); Neem, *Creating a Nation of Joiners*; John L. Brooke, "Ancient Lodges and Self-Created Societies: Voluntary Association and the Public Sphere in the Early Republic," in *Launching the "Extended Republic": The Federalist Era*, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville, VA, 1996), 273–377; Joanna Brooks, "The Early American Public Sphere and the Emergence of a Black Print Counterpublic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 62 (2005): 67–92. For an incisive examination of the relevant historiography, see John L. Brooke, "Reason and Passion in the Public Sphere: Habermas and the Cultural Historians," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1998): 43–67; John L. Brooke, "Consent, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere in the Age of Revolution and the Early American Republic," in *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*, ed. Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), 207–50.

The act of joining virtually any formally organized group created rights and duties that had not existed before, ranging from the frivolous to the vitally important, but we know very little about what they were and, more importantly, what happened when they went unprotected or unfulfilled. Historians have begun to move beyond simple applications of Habermasian theory to their subject matter. Indeed, they are beginning to question the relevance of Habermas's work for understanding the political culture of the early United States. And, yet, the emphasis of Habermas and other critical theorists on communication, deliberation, and a civic associational life sheltered from the state has, thus far, led scholars to neglect many of the internal matters to which men and women of the postrevolutionary period devoted a great deal of attention. Setting those affairs into the relevant historical context can help us to see the ways that cultural, legal, and political conceptions of the nature of voluntary membership itself—what people thought it meant to become a member—shaped civil society, both macroscopically and in how it was experienced by the organizers and joiners themselves. Furthermore, conflicts over associational benefits and obligations can help better delineate Americans' changing notions of personal rights and duties in other contexts, including citizenship. In the formative decades of American associational life, disputes over the meanings and limits of voluntary membership reveal citizens, both in their individual experiences and in the discourses and institutions of law and politics, attempting to identify a conception of voluntary belonging suitable for a republic committed to ideals of both popular and personal sovereignty—two quite different meanings of the term *self-government*.

Just as the astonishing growth in the numbers and varieties of voluntary associations in the first several decades of the new nation has been treated as a historical event that requires explanation and interpretation, the forms those associations took, the allocation of authority within them, and the modes of interpersonal relationships created by formal concerted action need to be understood historically as well. A bitter conflict in 1807 between two Philadelphia printers provides an opportunity to explore those themes further. The controversy began when William Duane had John Binns expelled from the St. Patrick Benevolent Society, which had been incorporated by the state of Pennsylvania, and from four other unchartered associations. Binns took none of those expulsions lying down, complaining of the tyrannies and injustices in each and every

instance. In the case of the chartered Irishmen's society, he won a court-ordered readmission to the club in 1810. How these particular events played out within the clubs, in the court of public opinion, and in one expulsion's ultimate adjudication at law reveal people working to define the nature of voluntary membership. In the process, Americans laid a substructure for the development of a new civil society grounded in the common law and shaped by postrevolutionary conceptions of personal rights.[6]

The consequences of the jurisprudential efforts to define and delimit the power of voluntary associations over their members are striking. In this case, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania acted decisively to place early American voluntary associations on an unquestionably liberal foundation. By emphasizing the legal origins of associational authority as opposed to a rival, affective vision of concerted action that saw the powers of voluntary associations as deriving from the mutual agreement and camaraderie of their members, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court proved willing to bring the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society within the embrace of a larger framework of civil rights.

That development, and the broader trend it reflects as to how Americans were beginning to conceive of authority and belonging in any social relationship, suggests a new possibility for understanding the formation of a liberalism peculiar to American political culture. It was a liberalism founded not on a sharp division between legal authority and a private realm of association, but rather on a newfound, postrevolutionary commitment to the principle that civil rights and fair procedure should be brought to bear in increasingly diverse areas of social activity. Even as scholars have become better aware of the active hand of governments in

[6] The literature on the American proclivity for associating begins with Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," *American Historical Review* 50 (1944): 1–25. The work of Richard Brown, particularly, brought a new depth to the field of study. See Richard D. Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760–1820," *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 29–51; and his "Emergence of Voluntary Associations in Massachusetts, 1760–1830," *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 2 (1973): 64–73. The literature has become too vast in the last three decades to summarize here. It has swelled in recent years, owing to the influence of social capital theorists, students of American political development, and interest in the early American public sphere, e.g., Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840–1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 511–57; Jason Mazzone, "Organizing the Republic: Civic Associations and American Constitutionalism, 1780–1830" (JSD diss., Yale Law School, 2004); Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (Norman, OK, 2003); John L. Brooke, "Cultures of Nationalism, Movements of Reform, and the Composite-Federal Polity: From Revolutionary Settlement to Antebellum Crisis," *Journal of the Early Republic* 29 (2009): 1–33, in addition to the work cited in the preceding two notes.

shaping early American civil society, our understanding of an emerging law of membership remains unclear. The government and organizations codified legal and political rights in charters and articulated a common law of membership. These rights ultimately defined the nature of American civil society, developed in practice more than in theory, and were tested in the organization of new societies and in moments of conflict between members and associations. An extraordinarily influential and revealing moment occurred when a friendship between William Duane and John Binns came to a sudden end.[7]

* * *

John Binns emigrated from Dublin to London to Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he arrived in 1801 and renewed an acquaintance with William Duane, whom he had come to know in the radical movement in London in the 1790s. Soon Binns was publishing the *Northumberland Republican Argus* and was deeply involved in Pennsylvania politics as a Republican at a time when, owing to the weakened Federalist Party, Republicanism in Pennsylvania was increasingly factious. In 1807, Binns went to Philadelphia to set up a newspaper that was intended to aid William Duane's *Aurora* in its political efforts. Initially supportive, Duane invited Binns into the clubs at the core of the city's party organization, including the Tammany Society—at which Binns even gave the Long Talk in May 1807—private militia units, such as the Republican Greens, and the St. Patrick Benevolent Society, a group seeking "the relief of distressed Irishmen emigrating to these United States." As recent scholarship has shown, his use of membership in these clubs as a gateway into local politics should come as no surprise.[8]

[7] One common feature in descriptions of a liberal political philosophy, namely a clear separation between the public and the private, has come under fire not only by political theorists but also by literary critics, e.g., Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, *The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and the Literary Public Sphere* (Stanford, CA, 2004). Attention to the internal allocations of authority within early national voluntary societies and, particularly, the jurisprudence regarding membership and association extends these critiques from a new vantage by coupling such theoretical critiques with recent insights regarding the role of the state in early American society. For a review of this literature, see William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *American Historical Review* 113 (2008): 752–72.

[8] Koschnik, *"Let a Common Interest Bind Us Together"*; Andrew Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania* (Lawrence, KS, 2004), 92–94, 173–74; Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800–1816* (Harrisburg, PA, 1952), 136–39; Kim Tousley

As a result of that year's elections and the always tenuous relationship between the urban radicals (whom Duane spoke for) and Simon Snyder's rural democrats (for whom Binns printed the party line), the two men very soon had a falling out. Duane had Binns expelled from the Tammany Society, a club that, according to a moderate Republican newspaper, Duane, his son, and Michael Leib ran with a tyranny "unexampled in the most despotic governments of the world." At about the same time, Binns was also expelled from another political organization called the Society of Friends of the People, from two private militia corps, and from the St. Patrick Benevolent Society.[9]

The conflict began in late August 1807, when Binns began running a series of letters signed "Veritas" in which he attacked Michael Leib's political practices. In an angry letter on September 2, "Veritas" discussed Leib's tactics as president of the Society of Friends of the People. He questioned, "Will you permit me sir, to ask, with what propriety did you as chairman of a public society, refuse to give the health of Simon Snyder when it was regularly drawn up and handed by one of the company? How did it happen that after reading it over, you put it in your pocket without taking any public notice of it?" Duane responded, and it did not take long for two men with nearly identical political views, who had struggled together for democracy on both sides of the Atlantic for more than a decade, to become bitter rivals. Two days later, Binns ran a piece entitled "Aurora vs. Democratic Press," though he tried to hold the high ground as long as he could. On September 25, he called Duane "a man of talents, who has rendered important services to the democratic cause," but who was simply far too attached to the conniving Leib.[10]

Phillips, "William Duane, Revolutionary Editor" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1968), 228–34; Kim T. Phillips, "William Duane, Philadelphia's Democratic Republicans, and the Origins of Modern Politics," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 365–87; Richard J. Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790–1820* (New York, 1989), 24–29, 54–56, 68–69, 108–11; Jeffrey L. Pasley, *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville, VA, 2001), 314–19; Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Letters of William Duane," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., 20 (1907): 257–394; *The Constitution of the St. Patrick Benevolent Society* (Philadelphia, 1804), 1; James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia* (1811; repr., New York, 1970), 287.

[9] *Freeman's Journal*, Apr. 10, 1805, quoted in Francis von A. Cabeen, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 27 (1903): 29–48.

[10] *Aurora*, Oct. 20, 1807, quoted in David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 73; *Democratic Press*, Aug. 26, Sept. 2, Sept. 4, Sept. 25, 1807.

That same edition of Binns's *Democratic Press* began telling the saga of his expulsion from those clubs he had joined upon arriving in Philadelphia. The night before, at a meeting of the Society of Friends of the People, Duane had denounced Binns. Binns described Duane's attack as "in substance the same as his denunciation of this paper, but particularly distinguished by vulgar epithets and indecent allusions." When Binns and others had left the room after their committee had reported, and "under the impression that no other business would then be submitted," Duane acted. "A motion was made that John Binns be expelled [from] the society, without a hearing; which motion was carried!!!" The next day, Binns published the report of John Jennings, who had remained in the room and recalled that he "sat just before Dr. *Leib*," who held the chair, "and loudly said *no*." Many others, too, "spoke against the injustice of condemning without hearing." But, Jennings recounted, "the minority saw it was folly to contend against *the train*[ed] *bands*, and they silently gave up the business to be done as best suited the instigators, in the belief that such proceeding would have a different effect upon the public mind, from what was intended." Binns made sure of it.[11]

In early October, a month before the St. Patrick Benevolent Society would meet and vote to expel Binns, Duane's *Aurora* announced that Binns had been expelled from four organizations. Those dismissals were evidence that he "must be considered . . . a *public disturber*." Binns used his own newspaper to respond point by point. As far as the militia companies were concerned, Duane was factually wrong: Binns remained a member of one and never had been a member of the other. Regarding the Society of Friends of the People, from which he was expelled "*without a hearing*," he asked the public, "Is such a proceeding as this, more a reproach to the society, to the cowardly prevaricator, who was the cause of it, or to me?" On October 9, just a few days before the state election, Binns printed a letter, signed "No Body," that observed that such an expulsion ran "contrary not only to the fundamental principles of democracy, but even contrary to the laws and statutes of monarchical and aristocratic governments. John Binns is the fourth person expelled in this anti-democratic manner, by the Friends of the People." Though "No Body" is not at all explicit about what he thought those "fundamental principles of democracy" were, his declaration that the procedural unfairness experienced by Binns was decidedly undemocratic is telling. It is also

[11] *Democratic Press*, Sept. 25, 1807.

indicative of the broader push in the early nineteenth century to envelop nongovernmental institutions within a broader framework of personal rights and interpersonal duties. Indeed, the parallel was made explicit when the writer, probably Binns, asked, "What Laws would be enacted if the rulers of that Society, held the reins of government?" Any man's authority over other citizens, either in public office or in private clubs, was to be exercised fairly, justly, and democratically.[12]

Binns made a similar, but distinct, critique of his expulsion from the Tammany Society. There, Binns noted, Duane's offense was not just against legitimate and fair procedure (although in Tammany, too, Binns had had no hearing before he was expelled), but, in a move especially dishonorable, Duane's tactic ran contrary to the society's own constitution and its prohibition that "the accusation and vote both take place at the same stated meeting" whenever a member was brought up for expulsion. Not having an opportunity to be heard only compounded the greater offense, the violation of "the provisions of the constitution, and the solemn manner in which the members have pledged *their most sacred honor to support it*." Binns, quite pointedly, used such arguments to turn the tables on Duane. "After such a proceeding as this, Wm. Duane has the unblushing effrontery to publish it *as a reproach* to me," Binns wrote. Indeed, the affair did not reflect well on Duane. Perhaps it even played some role in his humiliating loss in the state senate race and the narrow reelection of Leib in a safe district on October 13.[13]

Before that election, Binns cited each expulsion as evidence of the despotism and oppression Pennsylvanians would face if Duane or Leib ever held elective office. Duane, too, had continued his assault, telling the world that Binns was a man "without any thing but arrogance, vanity, egotism, and impudence to sustain him." Their rivalry would continue past that election and into later years. In his famous 1809 "tyranny of printers" letter, Alexander Dallas wrote that the only issue left to be decided in Philadelphia was "the question whether Binns or Duane shall be the dictator."[14]

In the St. Patrick Benevolent Society, however, there was no question. When Duane sought Binns's expulsion, he got it, with seventy votes out

[12] *Aurora*, Oct. 3, 1807; *Democratic Press*, Oct. 5, Oct. 9, 1807.

[13] *Democratic Press*, Oct. 5, Oct. 8, 1807; Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy*, 179–80.

[14] *Aurora*, Oct. 3, 1807; Alexander J. Dallas to Caesar A. Rodney, Feb. 6, 1809, Caesar A. Rodney Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy*, 181.

of seventy-one. The charges brought against him in November 1807 were that he had broken a bylaw that, according to Duane, made "villifying any of its members" a "crime against the society." Duane, as president, ensured this time that the proper procedures were followed, and with seven days' notice and a hearing, Binns was expelled. Five weeks after that expulsion, Binns, through his attorney, Walter Franklin, approached the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and told them the society had "deprived him of the rights of Membership in which this Deponent has a beneficial interest—and that this Deponent has not to the best of his knowledge and belief any adequate and specific mode of redress or Relief in the premises other than by Mandamus" to "restore him to his right of Membership." A few days later, Binns entered into evidence a pamphlet copy of the club's constitution with the relevant passages underlined.[15]

Binns seized upon the fact that the society held a state charter as a way that he might legally hold them to the standards to which, it was clear, he believed all voluntary associations should adhere. The court listened and on New Year's Eve 1807 ordered William Duane, as organization president, either to readmit Binns or show cause for his expulsion. Duane chose the latter course—no one expected him to do otherwise—and described for the court how Binns had printed allegations about Duane's improper conduct toward the widow of a man who died in the Irish cause. Such accusations, "besides having no foundation or any shape in truth, had no relation to American politics." For insulting the reputation of a fellow member, the association charged Binns with "violating his obligation to the said Society." He could not be restored to membership.[16]

Binns's argument in court began with the fact that the St. Patrick Benevolent Society had been incorporated in 1804 under the 1791 general incorporation statute. The attorney for the commonwealth—a writ of mandamus had the state prosecuting the society in the name of John Binns—insisted that Binns's case began there: for a bylaw to be valid, it must "assist the charitable design." This bylaw, however, was "merely political." It did nothing for the "good government" of the group, but rather "controls the external conduct of members to each other, and might

[15] Binns's vote may have been the solitary dissent, but no records exist to confirm this. John Binns, petition for mandamus, Dec. 24, 1807, and deposition, Dec. 29, 1807, Mandamus and Quo Warranto Proceedings, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, RG-33, Pennsylvania State Archives.

[16] William Duane, return to mandamus, undated, ibid. Binns would later recall that he was certain his expulsion "was in itself absolutely null and void as it was contrary to the Constitution and Laws of the State, and the article of incorporation." *Democratic Press*, Apr. 2, 1810.

by the same principle regulate their behavior to the rest of the world." Last, the state's attorney cited *Rex v. Richardson*, for the first time in an American courtroom, which held that the power to expel was indeed an incidental power of all corporations, but that it was reviewable and was valid only in certain, clearly defined situations. Four points stand out in Binns's effort to regain his membership: his emphasis on what he called "the right of membership" as something of value; close attention to the charter-derived powers of the society; fear that excessive associational authority could "regulate [members'] behavior to the rest of the world" and thus infringe on the personal independence requisite in any model of republican citizenship; and a turn to the common law for solution.[17]

Duane's attorney's first words were "This is the case of a private charitable institution." Thus, he contended, the society was not to be ruled by the sort of laws that governed incorporated municipalities. Rather, a club like this depended "for its existence upon the admission of new members, and upon the contribution of such as voluntarily continue to be members." He made the point bluntly: "It lives by union and co-operation. Whatever destroys these, goes to the destruction of the corporation," and thus a bylaw prohibiting the vilification of fellow members—and he was sure to note that the rule "does not interfere with the intercourse between members and strangers"—is absolutely "needful" to prevent the society's demise. Duane's emphasis on society, on a union of sentiment, as giving vitality to the association stands in contrast to the prosecution's argument resting on the act of the General Assembly, the charter, and the common law. Duane's view, which emphasized the association's need for affection and mutuality as evidence that a bylaw against besmirching a fellow member's reputation was perfectly legitimate, fell flat. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court would invoke principles derived from the common law, not notions of affinity or sociability, as it sought to define the rights and obligations of association members. To do otherwise, as the "No Body" essayist had argued, would be "anti-democratic," suggesting that it was

[17] An Act to Confer on Certain Associations of the Citizens of this Commonwealth the Power and Immunities of Corporations, or Bodies Politic in Law (Apr. 6, 1791), *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 18 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1896–1915), 14:50–53; *Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*, 2 Binn. (Pa.) 441, 443–45 (1810). For an interpretation of the act of 1791, see *Case of the Medical College of Philadelphia*, 3 Wharton 445 (1838). For incorporations in Pennsylvania, see "Communication of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Constitutional Convention, June 29, 1837, listing all acts of incorporation since 1776," in *Journal of the Convention*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1837–38), 1:339–496; J. Alton Burdine, "Governmental Regulation of Industry in Pennsylvania, 1776–1860" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1939).

not simply common-law notions of corporators' rights that were at issue. Rather, those legalistic conceptions were being understood in a way very much influenced by the recent republican revolution.[18]

One obvious question, however, remains to be addressed: why did Binns petition for reinstatement? As Judith Shklar has observed, pluralism is a safeguard against the injury of permanent exclusion, and Binns had no shortage of other groups he could and did join. In 1809, he became a member of the Hibernian Society, an older and relatively conservative Philadelphia club for Irishmen, and he joined and even helped organize other political associations. And it was not as if Duane had bested him in the newspaper wars; between the 1807 expulsion and the 1810 reinstatement, Binns's candidate won the governorship, and Binns was able to announce to his readers that, owing to greater printing demands, he would be taking up new quarters at what had formerly been Duane's offices. But, for John Binns, all that was quite beside the point. He saw an injustice—and an opportunity to attack a political opponent, albeit one who held no office, for being a despot—and he acted. And where the other expulsions from the unincorporated Society of Friends of the People and from the Tammany Society merely symbolized his estrangement from a school of political thought (one he had already walked away from), the loss of membership in the St. Patrick society represented an attempt to separate Binns from Philadelphia's Irish community, a threat to his Irishness. Regardless of Binns's motives, the chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, the Federalist William Tilghman, sided with him. A peremptory mandamus was issued to restore Binns to "the right of membership," which was "valuable, and not to be taken away without an authority fairly derived either from the charter, or the nature of corporate bodies."[19]

Binns had insisted—with the weight of Anglo-American jurisprudence behind him—that anything the St. Patrick Benevolent Society did was legitimately reviewable by the commonwealth. As Mary Sarah Bilder has recently argued, compellingly, the doctrine of judicial review grew out

[18] *Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*, 2 Binn. (Pa.) 441, 445–47 (1810).

[19] Judith N. Shklar, *Ordinary Vices* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 101, 136; John H. Campbell, *History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Immigrants from Ireland, March 17, 1771–March 17, 1892* (Philadelphia, 1892), 177–78, 349–50; Higginbotham, *Keystone in the Democratic Arch*, 214–16; Margaret H. McAleer, "In Defense of Civil Society: Irish Radicals in Philadelphia during the 1790s," *Early American Studies* 1 (2003): 176–97.

of the English practice of voiding corporate bylaws "repugnant" to the laws of the land, which "subsequently became a transatlantic constitution binding American colonial law by a similar standard." "Over a century later," she writes, "this practice gained a new name: judicial review." But the significance of that area of jurisprudence is even greater. It created a means by which much associational activity, which foreign-born observers like Alexis de Tocqueville and Francis Lieber considered a defining feature of American society, could be superintended by legal and political institutions whose authority rested on popular sovereignty.[20]

But there is more at issue here than the concession theory of corporate existence, or the idea that any and all corporate powers are derived from the charter because the corporation is a creature of the state. Broader concerns about the nature of membership and of voluntary, informed affiliation were expressed in the ways Americans treated their incorporated, as well as their unchartered, organizations. In disputes between stockholders and business corporations, particularly the mass of adjudications regarding assessments of shareholders before the fully paid share was common, judges and juries found themselves constantly evaluating what individuals had consented to—and upon what information—and closely construing the corporation's statutory origins. Cases involving churches, business corporations, mutual insurance societies, and professional societies, to name a few, all provide similar stories of people attempting to understand precisely what voluntary membership was and what rights and duties accompanied it. Such jurisprudence reflects broader trends in American voluntary associations, even when there was no existing corporate charter (making it less likely that courts would involve themselves directly, though not entirely so).[21] It also played a formative role as

[20] Mary Sarah Bilder, "The Corporate Origins of Judicial Review," *Yale Law Journal* 116 (2006): 502–66, quotation on 504; Philip Hamburger, "Law and Judicial Duty," *George Washington Law Review* 72 (2003–4): 1–41; William J. Novak, "The American Law of Association: The Legal-Political Construction of Civil Society," *Studies in American Political Development* 15 (2001): 163–88; William J. Novak, "The Legal Transformation of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, ed. Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer (Princeton, NJ, 2003), 85–119; Theda Skocpol, "The Tocqueville Problem: Civic Engagement in American Democracy," *Social Science History* 21 (1997): 455–79; Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000): 527–46.

[21] For examples, see Scott Gregory Lien, "Contested Solidarities: Philanthropy, Justice, and the Reconstitution of Public Authority in the United States, 1790–1860" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006); Carol Weisbrod, *The Boundaries of Utopia* (New York,1980); *Babb v. Reed*, 5 Rawle

Americans came, with increasing precision and forthrightness, to declare what the rights and obligations of membership were and what they ought to be.

Such views greatly influenced broader developments in American corporate law. Indeed, in the same year that Binns and Duane were battling in Philadelphia, an American court for the first time made clear that membership in a business corporation could rest only on voluntary consent. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that William Marshall's refusal to agree expressly to membership in the Front Street Corporation in Boston freed him from liability for corporate assessments; he could not be compelled to join. And the same generation was beginning to better understand how and when a majority could bind a minority, in both incorporated and unincorporated societies. In an unchartered association, no change was permissible without unreserved and unanimous consent. Some special agreement could be made at the outset defining a mode of amendment as to how, exactly, a majority may bind the minority. "[B]ut such a power must be clearly shown and established," as the complainant in one such case successfully argued before New York's chancellor in 1820, "for it is in derogation of the legal and natural rights of the minority." The authority of courts of equity to prevent by injunction, upon the application of a minority no matter how small, an unincorporated joint-stock company or partnership from using its funds to pursue a business outside the scope of its articles of agreement was well established in the early nineteenth century.[22]

This was true both in legal and equitable terms as well as in the broader cultural perceptions of the concept of collective agreements. As the influential social theorist Francis Wayland noted in the 1830s, once people join together, specifying both their objectives and the means to be employed in pursuit of them, nothing can "properly be changed in any essential particular, without unanimous consent." This makes such an association "from the nature of the case, essentially unalterable." James

(Pa.) 151 (1835); *Duke v. Fuller*, 9 N.H. 536 (1838). The most articulate case on the incorporated/unincorporated distinction is *Hess v. Werts*, 4 Serg. and Rawle (Pa.) 356 (1818).

[22] *Ellis v. Marshall*, 2 Mass. 269 (1807); William E. Nelson, *Americanization of the Common Law: The Impact of Legal Change on Massachusetts Society, 1760–1830* (1975; Athens, GA, 1994), 134; Dale A. Oesterle, "The Formative Contributions to American Corporate Law by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court from 1806 to 1810," in *The History of the Law in Massachusetts: The Supreme Judicial Court, 1692–1992*, ed. Russell K. Osgood (Boston, 1992), 137–39; Handlin and Handlin, *Commonwealth*, 21–22; *Livingston v. Lynch*, 4 Johns. (N.Y.) 573, 582 (1820).

Willard Hurst has also argued that the extension of such a principle to corporate law, namely the requirement of unanimous consent to amend the charter, would have hindered the sort of "flexible continuity" that was appealing in the increasingly unpredictable American marketplace of the early nineteenth century. And though legislators and jurists worked diligently to facilitate corporations' ability to change, they also worked to ensure that those powers to evolve remained within reasonable bounds. There was a perceptible danger that allowing a private corporation to make fundamental changes in its purposes, its organization, or even its modes of operation might leave a minority shareholder legally bound to participate in a venture to which he or she had never assented.[23]

Such ideas shaped how Americans understood and adjudicated cases regarding expulsion and the rights of membership in private associations. The oversight of private groups by democratically legitimated institutions was central, a point made expressly in *Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*. In America's first corporate law treatise, published in 1832, Tilghman's opinion ordering that Binns be readmitted is discussed at length. The authors describe the case as having imported into the American common law the principle that it is "a tacit condition annexed to the franchise of a member, that he will not oppose or injure the interests of the corporate body." But the member's expulsion can be evaluated on the merits based on the court's judgment of "the nature of the corporation."[24]

The court's reasoning merits examination, for in his opinion Chief Justice Tilghman directly addressed and, somewhat surprisingly, found a way to balance the rival visions of association offered by the two printers. Tilghman emphasized "the benevolent purposes of this society, and many others which have been lately incorporated on similar principles." This truth gave him "a mind strongly disposed to give a liberal construction" to the society's powers. Duane's attorney had emphasized the importance of

[23] Francis Wayland, *The Limitations of Human Responsibility* (Boston, 1838), 110; James Willard Hurst, *The Legitimacy of the Business Corporation in the Law of the United States, 1780–1970* (Charlottesville, VA, 1970), 25. Of course, any corporate charter or contract can be amended, provided every single person involved agrees to the change. This was the rule at common law for good reason: with unanimous consent, there is no one left with either cause or standing to protest. On the unamendability of partnership agreements without unanimous consent of partners, see *Natusch v. Irving*, (1824), reported in Niel Gow, *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Partnership*, 2nd American ed. (Philadelphia, 1830), app. 2, 576–95.

[24] Joseph K. Angell and Samuel Ames, *A Treatise on the Law of Private Corporations, Aggregate* (Boston, 1832), 239–43.

a union of sentiment in the society, claiming that "the instant that personal abuse and vilification of the members are permitted, that instant the society decays." It was an affective—as opposed to legalistic or contractual—understanding of the St. Patrick Benevolent Society, in which common feeling, not contracts or charters, held the association together. That perception of the whole affair was reaffirmed in the weeks leading up to the court's mandamus hearing. Duane's *Aurora* published the society's proceedings on May 17, 1810, which included the announcement that "The Members of the St. Patrick Benevolent Society have proven their virtue by expelling from their confidence the reputed betrayer of Quigley, and proven apostate of moral principle." The allegation that Binns, in 1798, had betrayed a fellow Irish nationalist, who was then hanged, was invoked in their expulsion of Binns, not only from the club, but from the confidence of its members. No court order, Duane appeared to be suggesting, could alter that.[25]

Tilghman, however, took such assertions—that sentimental bonds were the basis for effective association—to help craft a liberal principle around which to organize civil society in the early United States; it became an influential legal precedent. "Taking cognizance of such offenses" like vilifying a fellow member will, he said, "have the pernicious effect of introducing private feuds into the bosom of the society, and interrupting the transaction of business." In a postrevolutionary age that increasingly saw association as an effective means to improve the human condition, that was not to be allowed. And it was not an isolated position, relevant only to Binns and Duane. Rather, Tilghman noted, it was a decision on which American private governing power was to be founded: "I consider it as a point of very great importance, in which thousands of persons are, or very soon will be interested; for the members of these corporations are increasing rapidly and daily."[26] The Pennsylvania judiciary and jurists around the country seized on this principle, as evidenced by the number of times the case was cited in subsequent cases and treatises. As Justice John Bannister Gibson noted in 1822, the commonwealth's courts had come to stand as a "superintending power" over all the "inferior associa-

[25] *Aurora*, Mar. 20, 1810. On the betrayal of James O'Coigley, see Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 73–74; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966), 169–74; [John Binns], *Trial of Edward Lyon, (of Northumberland) for Subornation of False Swearing . . .* (Philadelphia, 1816).

[26] *Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*, 2 Binn. (Pa.) 441, 450 (1810).

tions" of American civic life.[27]

John Binns's court-ordered membership in the Irish benevolent society reflected both broader postrevolutionary notions of legitimate associational activity and jurists' willingness to bring common-law principles of members' rights and duties to bear in internal operations. This liberal conception influenced the jurisprudence regarding early national voluntary associations. According to political theorist Nancy Rosenblum, liberalism "asks men and women to ignore all the other things they are in order to treat one another fairly in certain contexts and for certain purposes." Here, the court declared that John Binns, a rude club member who received only one vote in his favor out of seventy-one votes cast, was a man improperly stripped by "the uncertain will of a majority of the members" of "the right of membership."[28]

The struggles within an Irishmen's society demonstrate some of the ways in which anxieties about partisanship and ethnic division were partially determinative of the shape of civil society. Though scholars have recently made us aware of the role formally organized associations—ranging from militias to banking companies—played as structures around which American partisanship could develop, the opposite was also true: as some groups embodied the excesses of factionalism (challenging notions of popular sovereignty) and of overly strong or corrupt private government (challenging newly forming liberal notions of personal sov-

[27] *Case of the Corporation of St. Mary's Church*, 7 Serg. and Rawle (Pa.) 517, 544 (1822); *Commonwealth ex rel. Clements v. Arrison*, 15 Serg. and Rawle (Pa.) 127, 132 (1827). On the direct and indirect influence of *Commonwealth v. St. Patrick Benevolent Society*, see Angell and Ames, *Treatise on the Law of Private Corporations*, 239–43; *Vivar v. Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias*, 52 N.J.L. 455, 461 (1890); *Otto v. Journeyman Tailors' Protective and Benevolent Union*, Note, *American State Reports* 7 (1889): 160–70; *Baird v. Wells*, 44 Ch.D. 861 (1890); *McGuiness v. Court Elm City, No. 1*, Note, *American and English Annotated Cases* 3 (1906): 211–17; *Del Ponte v. Societa Italiana*, Note, *American State Reports* 114 (1907): 24–30; *Tarbell v. Gifford*, Note, *American and English Annotated Cases* 17 (1910): 1145–46; *Boston Club v. Potter*, Note, *American Annotated Cases* (1913C): 398–401; "Expulsion of Member of Club," *Solicitors' Journal and Weekly Reporter* 70 (July 24, 1926): 828–29; *Robinson v. Templar Lodge*, Note, 117 Cal. 377 (1897); Seymour D. Thompson, "Expulsion of Members of Corporations and Societies," *American Law Review* 24 (1890): 537–58.

[28] Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Another Liberalism: Romanticism and the Reconstruction of Liberal Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), 162. The pioneering work on notions of private governing power is Grant McConnell's *Private Power and American Democracy* (New York, 1966); McConnell, "The Spirit of Private Government," *American Political Science Review* 52 (1958): 754–70; J. David Greenstone, "The Public, the Private, and American Democracy: Reflections on Grant McConnell's Political Science" and "The Transient and the Permanent in American Politics: Standards, Interests, and the Concept of 'Public,'" in *Public Values and Private Power in American Politics*, ed. J. David Greenstone (Chicago, 1982), ix–xiv, 3–33.

ereignty), Americans responded. Citizens called upon political and legal institutions in ways that helped give American civil society a recognizably liberal cast. This tendency was also apparent quite early in unchartered associations, in the form and content of their constitutions and rules, and in the ways many members doggedly adhered to them and to broader principles of justice and procedural fairness.[29]

In the early American republic, numerous associations faced accusations of private tyranny. In 1806, the Philadelphia judge in the first American labor case described a cordwainers' union as violating both the law and "the spirit of '76" when this "new legislature composed of journeymen shoemakers" told members what wages they could and could not earn. It thereby bound them to a rule other than "the [state] constitution, and laws adopted by it or enacted by the legislature in conformity to it." How such challenges were addressed in the republic's formative years offers new perspective on the theoretical division between civil society and government. Americans of this period were not only aware of concerns about private authority, but they were becoming increasingly confident that procedural formality, law, and representative government were the media through which such concerns should be channeled and resolved.[30]

All this does not mean that contemporary social theorists' insights about civil society are of no use to historians of the early republic. Habermas himself has been attentive to how the "repressive and exclusionary effects of unequally distributed social power" are more likely to arise in the comparatively anarchic public sphere than in political institutions. But he and other theorists who adhere to his analytical model tend to oppose legalistic constraints on associations as part of their instinctive resistance to the domination of that sphere by state power of any sort. Such scholars have emphasized the communicative autonomy of individ-

[29] For the role of associations as points around which a party system developed, see Brian Phillips Murphy, "'A Very Convenient Instrument': The Manhattan Company, Aaron Burr, and the Election of 1800," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 65 (2008): 233–66; and the works by Brooke, Koschnik, and Neem cited above.

[30] *The Trial of the Boot and Shoemakers of Philadelphia . . .* (Philadelphia, 1806), 148; Christopher L. Tomlins, *Law, Labor, and Ideology in the Early American Republic* (New York, 1993); Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991). Steinfeld extends the time line on the changes he charts further into the nineteenth century in "Changing Legal Conceptions of Free Labor," in *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman (Stanford, CA, 1999), 137–67.

uals who sought to unite in order to amplify their voices in the public sphere; the personal autonomy of those men and women has been of secondary interest, at best. Where scholars have paid attention to the issue of internal allocations of authority, it has tended to come from those writing from a non-Habermasian perspective. Many feminist scholars, in particular, have supported a legalism and independent court supervision of associational life in ways that other political theorists have abjured. According to Anne Phillips, private groups can be "much more coercive and less protective of individual equalities and freedoms than the much-despised institutions of the state."[31]

As helpful as Habermasian ideas have been for our understanding of the early republic, then, an emphasis on communicative autonomy has obscured something important about the postrevolutionary moment. The liberating effects of the American Revolution are evident *within* Americans' self-created societies, as American associational life came to evince a clear commitment to a prescriptive ideal of the self-governed individual whose rights in any and all social relationships were to be protected. And such prescription led to, among other things, the proscription of unjustifiable expulsions. In unchartered associations, no less than in chartered ones, there was a tendency to evoke discourses of rights and fair procedure, arising both from within the societies and from without. In chartered groups, courts would act directly to secure those rights and duties that the members had voluntarily assumed. By the early nineteenth century, there was something definitively liberal about the manner in which members organized, entered and exited, and superintended voluntary associations.

In one sense, this focus on the meanings and rights attached to membership in private associations accords perfectly both with the "common-

[31] Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 307–8; Michael Walzer, "The Civil Society Argument," in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, ed. Chantal Mouffe (London and New York, 1992), 104; Anne Phillips, "Does Feminism Need a Conception of Civil Society?" in *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society*, ed. Simone Chambers and Will Kymlicka (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 71–89, quotation on 81; Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family* (New York, 1989); Carol C. Gould, *Rethinking Democracy: Freedom and Social Cooperation in Politics, Economy, and Society* (New York, 1988), 293–94. The work of the liberal theorist Nancy Rosenblum has been extremely helpful in my understanding of feminist contributions to the civil society literature. See her "Feminist Perspectives on Civil Society and Government," in *Civil Society and Government*, ed. Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 151–78, and her contributions to Rosenblum, ed., *Obligations of Citizenship and Demands of Faith: Religious Accommodation in Pluralist Democracies* (Princeton, NJ, 2000).

wealth school" of historical work (Oscar and Mary Handlin, particularly, and their emphasis on the active hand of government in what formerly had been considered a private sphere of corporate activity) and with recent work on police and regulation in the early nineteenth-century United States. In both schools, there is an emphasis on the close relationship of state authority and so-called "private" institutions like corporations. But the Handlins and other "commonwealth" historians were far more attuned to the relationship of these associations to the broader body politic than they were to concerns about internal group relationships. And William Novak, who has addressed the issue directly, is certain that the jurisgenerative capacity of such societies (the power to pass laws, to act upon their members) operated largely unchecked. He argues that a person's "bundle of rights and duties" could be determined by "a very complicated and varied tally of the rules, regulations, and bylaws of the host of differentiated associations to which he belonged." Such a view is jurisdictional rather than jurisprudential, and Novak finds nothing to "trump or limit the power of these majoritarian organizations." But the Binns-Duane affair helps to uncover just how notions of personal self-government and of a society's political self-government, in practice, gave shape to American civil society in the immediate postrevolutionary era. These ideas determined not only how people perceived, but also how courts policed, the rights and duties of membership.[32]

This perspective on developing notions of voluntary association reveals a long-neglected aspect of one state's regulatory power over many of its private groups, but it is regulation of a distinct sort. The state was not so much pursuing its own agenda as it was being called upon by the people to enforce prevailing, prescriptive standards of membership and association. Concerns about the effects of factionalism (in this case, the ethnopolitical solidarity of an Irishmen's association) and of private governing power in a youthful republic amplified the trend toward a legalistic understanding of voluntary membership that favored individuals' rights. And such efforts to prevent internal injustices and to better define voluntary engagement produced new and consequential views on personal rights.

[32] Handlin and Handlin, *Commonwealth*; Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (1948; repr., Chicago, 1968); Harry N. Scheiber, "Private Rights and Public Power: American Law, Capitalism, and the Republican Polity in Nineteenth-Century America," *Yale Law Journal* 107 (1997): 823–61; Novak, "American Law of Associations"; Novak, "Legal Transformation of Citizenship," 101–2.

Those ideas helped to shape, and set limits to, the assumptions of private authority. They also strengthened a growing certainty that express consent—precise, direct, and informed—was required to create the sorts of interpersonal bonds that made association, if not always affective, at least effective.[33]

Washington University in St. Louis KEVIN BUTTERFIELD

[33] Consent in the early national period has been the subject of two brilliant studies in recent years: François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York, 2006); and Holly Brewer, *By Birth or Consent: Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005).

EXHIBIT REVIEW

A Common Canvas: Pennsylvania's New Deal Post Office Murals. The State Museum of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, PA, November 22, 2008–May 17, 2009. Curated by DAVID LEMBECK and CURTIS MINER.

IN THE DEPTHS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, the Roosevelt administration initiated an ambitious and unprecedented public art program, indicating a major shift in the U.S. government's traditional relationship to artists, art, and cultural production. Between 1933 and 1943, the federal government hired or commissioned over ten thousand artists to produce literally hundreds of thousands of paintings, sculptures, prints, photographs, murals, posters, models, and stage sets—all manner of visual material—for the edification and education of the American public.

Roosevelt's "New Deal" encompassed several art initiatives. The largest and best known is the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project, which provided employment for artists already on government relief. A less well-known, but longer-lived, project was the Section of Fine Arts of the U.S. Treasury Department (known as "the Section"), which commissioned artwork for installation in new federal buildings. In the nine years of its existence, the Section awarded fourteen hundred commissions, many for the decoration of the eleven hundred new post offices that were being constructed in cities and towns—from the largest urban centers to the smallest and most remote hamlets—throughout the country.

The exhibition A Common Canvas: Pennsylvania's New Deal Post Office Murals opened in November 2008 to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the New Deal.[1] It celebrated an especially rich strand in the history of this "golden age" of public visual culture—the art created for post office buildings in the state of Pennsylvania, which, with eighty-

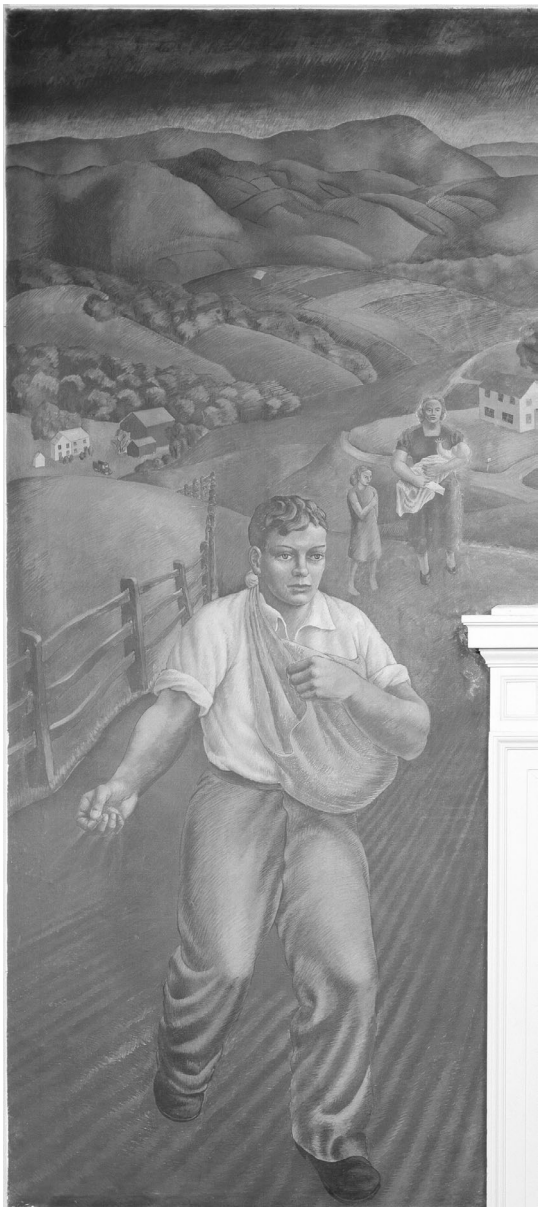
[1] The exhibit is intended to travel, though venues and dates have yet to be confirmed. Readers may consult the link http://www.statemuseumpa.org/common-canvas.html to learn more about the exhibit, including future travel dates. This site also contains a link to an interactive map that visitors can use to locate extant murals in Pennsylvania. Another link offers a video tour conducted by David Lembeck and Curtis Miner.

eight commissions, was second only to New York in the number and diversity of installations. Curated by independent scholar David Lembeck and the State Museum of Pennsylvania's senior curator, Curtis Miner, the exhibition is organized around Lembeck's voluminous research and documentation of Pennsylvania post office art; it is also made possible by Michael Mutmansky's beautiful large-scale color photographs of the extant murals, most of which are still in their original locations throughout the state. In addition to the photographs of murals, the exhibition includes sculptures and reliefs, artifacts, documents, models, and original works of art that offers a comprehensive portrait of the New Deal's groundbreaking, though never repeated, experiment in government patronage of the visual arts.

The exhibition features color images and original art from nearly half of the eighty-eight Treasury Department commissions awarded to Pennsylvania. To organize this large body of work, the curators have grouped the material according to five themes, or subjects, that captured both the diversity and specific character of social and cultural life in the state: Agriculture, Coal and Steel, History, Town and Country, and Industry. Given the unique and special status of family farming in the state's history, it was appropriate that the first major work that visitors encounter is George Rickey's brilliantly colored tempera scene of sowing and plowing for the Selinsgrove post office. Commissioned in 1938, the mural was designed to wrap around the top half of the postmaster's door, which is reproduced at actual scale in the show in order to give the viewer a feeling for how the work actually appeared in its original setting.

Wall text offers insight into the kind of collaboration fostered between an artist and the public, both in terms of the choice of subject matter and even in style. In the case of the Selinsgrove mural, we learn of Rickey's willingness to tighten his draftsmanship and revise his composition in order to ensure that the iconographic details were clear and convincing to the local residents. In an early sketch, he drew a plough turning a furrow to the right, and not to the left, which was the norm in the region. He changed it after the anomaly was pointed out, noting, "Details like that, though trivial from the point of view of composition, can rankle in the minds of those who have to look at the painting every day, and I thought I might as well get my facts straight."

Because it embodies the ideal of a close and reciprocal relationship between artist and audience, Rickey's Selinsgrove mural is an ideal start-



Detail of George Rickey's *Susquehanna Trail* (1939), Selinsgrove, PA, post office. Photograph by and courtesy of Michael Mutmansky.

ing point for the exhibition in that it is emblematic of both the artist's interest in accommodating local sensibilities and the accessible style and popular aesthetic that the Treasury murals, as well as other government-commissioned work of the period, encouraged. In most art history texts, and in the materials accompanying the exhibition, this style is associated with the "American Scene" painting of Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, and Grant Wood, and many of the murals are stylistically indebted to their work. However, the roots of the style used in New Deal commissions, and even the conception of a federally sponsored program of public mural art, may not be as "American" as it might seem.

Rickey, who was a European-trained artist, studied with the French painter André Lhote, a close colleague of Diego Rivera's in Paris in the late teens and early twenties—a period when both artists were breaking with the cubist movement and returning to the figure and representational styles. Following Lhote, Rivera, and other "defectors" from analytic and synthetic cubism, Rickey and the other New Deal muralists, many of whom had European art training, achieved a distinctly "modern" outcome by working in a representational, but not "realist," mode. The simplification of forms and anatomy, all-over composition, exuberant colors, planar flattening of perspective, and the manipulation of scale to serve symbolic or narrative ends are all hallmarks of postimpressionist and early cubist painting. Yet, the artists adapted these techniques to the iconographic demands of the "American Scene" and the local citizens' preference for recognizable subjects that reflected their everyday existence.

This careful attention to local sensibilities and historical or geographic detail is characteristic of all the murals, and the exhibition serves as a reminder of the important role that Pennsylvania's cities and towns played in the history and economic development of the United States. Altoona, founded in the 1850s, was the site of the first railroad shops in the United States. Lorin Thompson's *Growth of the Road*, painted for the Altoona post office in 1938, provides a montage of the transportation history of the state, from the Conestoga wagon, to the network of canals, to the advent of the rail system that displaced them both after the Civil War. Farther to the north in Renovo, Harold Lehman took a completely contemporary and documentary approach to representing the town's reemergence as an important site of railroad repair work during World War II. Carefully rendered details, such as a portrait of the actual foreman holding a widely recognized wartime production poster and union buttons on

the workers' caps, help to contextualize the image. Furthermore, the curators provide material from the artist's family that reveal how Thompson used a sketch from the foreman—whose photograph is included with the archival material—to ensure that he depicted the union buttons accurately. Normally, a reference to labor unions would have been a breach of Section policy, but in the small color study submitted for approval, the buttons appear to be mere flecks of paint and were overlooked.

Detail of Harold Lehman's *Locomotive Repair Operation* (1943), Renovo, PA, post office. Photograph by and courtesy of Michael Mutmansky.

The Renovo mural provides an example of how artists managed to work around and subvert the Treasury Department's insistence that commissions avoid subject matter that might spark controversy. In addition to politics and religion, nudity was forbidden. Jared French's mural for the Plymouth post office, *Meal Time with the Early Coal Miners*, however, pushed the envelope with its composition of four muscular and thinly clad male figures. A small standing figure in the distance, piloting a boat, is completely unclothed, a detail that was overlooked by Treasury Department censors because, once again, the figure was undetectable in the eight-by-ten photos submitted for approval.

While the vast majority of Pennsylvania's New Deal murals remain intact today, there are a few notable exceptions. One, Niles Spencer's mural for the Aliquippa post office, was irrevocably damaged during a 1960s renovation. Through black-and-white photographic studies and a Spencer oil of a similar subject borrowed from the Rhode Island School of Design, the curators manage to give viewers a clear idea of the lost artwork's power and quality.

Murals represented only one of the mediums that artists used to decorate federal buildings. Fully half of the Pennsylvania commissions were for sculptural work, mostly reliefs and friezes. Many of these were executed by women artists, including Alice Decker, Mildred Jerome, Concetta Maria Scaravaglione, Janet de Coux, and (Marguerite) Bennett Kassler. Kassler's four-panel plaster relief for the Mifflinburg post office deserves special mention as one of the few works created on site and not completed remotely and then installed. This situation led to an unusually close and approving relationship between the artist and the local community. Its subject matter is the gendered division of labor in preindustrial America—men hunting and farming on the left, women spinning and preparing food on the right. Stylistically, the frieze is reminiscent of the famous tile work of Henry Chapman Mercer in the Pennsylvania State Capitol Building, and wall text notes that Kassler lived very close to Mercer's Moravian Tile Works.

The importance of women artists to the New Deal's cultural agenda is dramatically showcased in a surprising and very welcome addendum to the post office art. The exhibit includes a wonderful selection of artifacts and archival material from the Pennsylvania Museum Extension Project (MEP), which was administered by the Women and Professional Work division of the WPA. The MEP employed model makers, photographers, carpenters, illustrators, researchers, and educators to produce high-quality instructional material for use in schools, museums, and historical societies. The material on display consists of an astonishing range of visual aids, including plaster models of important local monuments and historic building types, marionettes and puppets, scripts that were used to teach everything from history to hygiene, workbooks, plaster models of food for nutrition classes, geological relief maps, and quilt pattern books. Together with the post office artwork, the MEP materials are evidence of the New Deal's comprehensive approach to the deployment of visual materials in support of civic and cultural education. They also reveal an impressive commitment to the idea that the "arts" included all manner of cultural production and were, indeed, for everyone.

The exhibition narrative makes clear that the idea of commissioning artists to decorate federal buildings came from the Philadelphia artist George Biddle, who was a Groton classmate of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He also spent a month living with Diego Rivera in Mexico, where he became well acquainted with the national mural program. In a 1933 let-

ter to FDR, Biddle explicitly cited Rivera and the Mexican mural movement as a model for a government art program in the United States that would express publicly the social ideals, civic values, and cultural aspirations of Roosevelt's New Deal.

While A Common Canvas only touches on the radical subtext of the New Deal's art projects, this conceptual and stylistic connection to what was an explicitly socialist art movement aimed at advancing the ideals and values of a national revolution is an important clue to the broader philosophical and cultural commitments of the key organizers and administrators of the federally sponsored art projects; it also demonstrates their keen interest in promoting "vital national expression." As the national director of the WPA Federal Arts Project, Holger Cahill, noted in 1938, the other great intellectual influence shaping the New Deal's art programs was not Karl Marx, but the American pragmatist John Dewey. Dewey's insistence that both the production and consumption of art were explicitly social processes, and that art was foremost a form of communication and not merely "self-expression," authorized and encouraged the explicit collaboration between artists and the public, a process that was mandated by the New Deal arts projects.

While the goals of the exhibition are explicitly historical—to celebrate the cultural legacy of the New Deal—and not aesthetic or art historical, A Common Canvas makes a strong case for the artistic value of material that has long been marginalized in the canon of American "high art." The art history literature on the New Deal has made much of the ostensibly inevitable tension that develops when one attempts to democratize the relationship between artists and the public, or when the autonomy and independence of the art-making endeavor is restrained by the demands of public taste. Karal Ann Marling, who wrote the definitive study of New Deal post office murals, goes so far as to say that because representational styles were mandated, and the driving force of art production was social and civic, rather than purely aesthetic, the Section was not an art program, but "a social program that employed artists."[2] We should remember, however, that in the 1930s the issue of whether the most advanced modern art would be explicitly representational (as was Surrealism or Social Realism) or abstract was still an open question, and the modernist orthodoxy of "art for art's sake" advanced by Clement Greenberg, which

[2] Karal Ann Marling, *Wall to Wall America: Post Office Murals in the Great Depression* (Minneapolis, MN, 1982), 25.

completely dominated art history and criticism for most of the postwar era, was yet to be formulated.

While the artists who received federal building commissions were hardly committed avant-gardists, they were indubitably gifted modern artists and clearly energized and engaged in the vital national project of making art relevant to the everyday existence of the American people. It is also important to note that many of the best and most important modernist painters—including the future "New York School" arists Jackson Pollock (who is represented by a jaunty lithograph of rural haymaking from 1934), Arshile Gorky, Willem DeKooning, Mark Rothko, and Adoph Gottleib—were nurtured and financially sustained by New Deal art programs early in their careers. They may owe their later greatness to the fact that the government cared enough about the cultural health of the nation to keep artists working, and to make their work available to millions, through troubled economic times. It is difficult not to be nostalgic for what was a "golden age" of visual culture in America and to be proud of Pennsylvania's contribution to that noble enterprise.[3]

The Phillips Museum of Art
at Franklin & Marshall College ELIZA JANE REILLY

[3] Suggested further readings include George Biddle, *An American Artist's Story* (Boston, 1939); Francis V. O'Connor, ed., *Art for the Millions* (Boston, 1973); and Marling, *Wall to Wall America*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense, and War in the Delaware Valley, 1621–1815. By JEFFERY M. DORWART. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008. 250 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $46.50.)

We have heard repeatedly that 9/11 "changed everything." In response to this assertion, *Invasion and Insurrection* suggests that the American concern over safety and defense, today what we call homeland security, in fact has deep historical roots. Instead of starting with the National Security Act of 1947, Jeffery Dorwart takes his readers to the Delaware Valley in the seventeenth century, where Dutch, Swedish, and eventually English immigrants sought to protect their settlements and trade from imperial and Indian enemies. Although the book considers the entire mid-Atlantic region, it largely focuses on Pennsylvania. This makes sense, of course, since the militia debate between pacifist Quakers in Philadelphia and the settlers on the frontier meant that security and defense were perennial concerns. Dorwart is not trying to prove any particular thesis, but rather he seeks to "examine the original meaning, development, and organization of home security, defense, and war in American history" (13). The chapters that follow are largely narrative, tracing the attempts to ensure security and defense, from the establishment of English power and military institutions in the Delaware Valley through to the end of the War of 1812.

Dorwart is concerned with how Americans dealt with both internal and external threats and how the "fear of invasion often led to attempts to suppress dissent and insurrection" (13). Since the Delaware Valley was subjected to many invasions during the colonial period and home to several riots and insurrections both before and after the Revolution (the Paxton Riots and the Whiskey Rebellion being the most prominent), Dorwart's particular geographical focus is logical. By the end of the War of 1812, however, he argues that "region no longer held a prominent position in the search for an American way of security, defense, and war organization" (205). Washington, DC, was now the capital, and the region would not face another major insurrection or invasion until the Civil War.

Dorwart's study is the "first full study of the original meaning, initial organization, and earliest development of ideas and institutions for security, defense, and war in U.S. history" (16). The book covers a lot of ground in its two hundred pages and suggests links and connections that warrant further exploration in future studies. Dorwart ignores how ideas of security and defense shaped state constitution making in the wake of the Declaration of Independence. This certainly deserves further study since the 1776 Pennsylvania constitution was instituted for the "security and protection of the community," and the 1777 New York

constitution sought to secure the people "against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of our enemies." Also, in light of the recent *Heller* case, more could be said about rights and responsibilities in the new republic, particularly as they pertained to bearing arms and providing defense. Dorwart contends that those who came to the Delaware Valley believed in the natural right of self-defense, but this idea is never traced through to the federal constitution or the relationship between article 1, section 8 and the Second Amendment.

Lastly, Dorwart wrote *Invasion and Insurrection* in response to questions his own students had about the concept of homeland security. I hope that the fairly steep price of $46.50 will not keep them and others from finding out the answers.

Nipissing University NATHAN KOZUSKANICH

Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750. By ROSALIND BEILER. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008. 224 pp. Illustrations, maps, figures, tables, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. $55.)

Rosalind Beiler's new work is one of the latest editions to the Max Kade Institute German-American Research Series, published by the Pennsylvania State University Press. It traces the background and story of Caspar Wistar, who came from the German Pfalz and arrived in Philadelphia in 1717. Like many other biographical works on eighteenth-century German settlers, this one focuses on an individual who ended up doing very well for himself financially. Beiler's chronicle stands out from others, however, for two main reasons: it is a more secular story of German American life in the colonies; and, secondly, it is about one of the earliest German immigrants in Pennsylvania.

The author does a remarkable job of covering both the origin and the destination sides of the story. Beiler uses a wide variety of sources, including personal letters, church documents, and court records spread across various archives and libraries in Germany and in the United States. On the German side, we not only learn about the personal and professional challenges Wistar faced while trying to make a career as a forester but also about the past struggles of his parents and grandparents. These family experiences may have influenced Wistar's decision to emigrate and his later business and family plans in Pennsylvania. As Beiler notes, "Like his father and grandfather before him, the young man set out to build professional and social connections through religious affiliation, political patronage, and family networks" (89).

Once in Philadelphia, Wistar first worked as a wage laborer and then as an apprentice to a button maker, after which he set himself up as an independent artisan and "entered the career path of prominent Philadelphia merchants" (108).

These positions brought him into daily contact with English colonialists and helped him to learn English. By 1721, just four years after arriving, he had already bought his first piece of real estate and converted to the Quaker religion, presumably because he recognized that Quakers were very influential in business and politics. Five years later he was married to a woman from a prominent Quaker family. He gradually established himself as an important Pennsylvania businessman and entrepreneur, and, consequently, button making became of secondary importance and new activities rose to prominence: his roles as a property investor and a business mediator between English colonists and new German settlers became paramount. Here his language skills in both English and German were invaluable. In addition, he ran an export and import business between Pennsylvania and the Pfalz and founded a glass-making factory in New Jersey.

Wistar had the enormous good luck to settle and invest in a region and economy that was on the verge of taking off. Still, he used this happenstance to his best advantage and, through careful decisions and strategizing, he became somewhat of a mid-eighteenth-century version of a regional Warren Buffet. With his various businesses and personal connections, he increased his access to financial capital in a cash-poor economy and was one of the few businessmen in Philadelphia who could buy large pieces of land from the Penn family. He helped other immigrants acquire land by using mortgages and bonds to sell portions of his holdings. For Wistar, obtaining land early was more important than having a clear title, and he was willing to assume the legal risk of an uncertain title. He became one of the largest Pennsylvania land owners besides the Penn family and eventually made enormous profits by selling parcels to new German settlers. Most of his efforts in land speculation paid off handsomely.

Caspar Wistar was an extremely active businessman. With all his numerous transactions and negotiations, he carefully sought out trustworthy partners and relationships. In this regard, the author does a superb job as a detective in tracking down the complicated web of Wistar's business and personal relationships. This is one of the most fascinating aspects of this monograph, and, at the end, the reader is convinced that Wistar clearly understood the importance of social capital and personal networks and that he worked to cultivate and strengthen these over time. Perhaps this work should be mandatory reading for MBA students.

At the time of his death in 1752, Wistar left behind an enormous estate and a reputation in the colony as a crucial patron, adviser, merchant, master, honest broker, and upstanding citizen. With *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, Rosalind Beiler has provided an engrossing account of a man who had a significant influence on the development of the Pennsylvania economy and society.

College of Staten Island & Graduate Center,
City University of New York SIMONE A. WEGGE

Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary. By PRISCILLA H. ROBERTS and RICHARD S. ROBERTS. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008. 408 pp., Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $62.50.)

Surprised that few Americans had heard of Thomas Barclay, Priscilla H. Roberts and Richard S. Roberts embarked on a campaign to acquaint readers with Barclay's role in eighteenth-century American business and international relations. Their task proved difficult. Relatively few of Barclay's papers survived and those that did are widely dispersed. However, they left no stone unturned, pursuing archival research in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Richmond, Bordeaux, Lorient, London, and Amsterdam.

In the resulting biography, the Robertses detail Barclay's life, a life at once ordinary and exceptional. Like other immigrants, Barclay often associated with men from his home country. Born in Ulster, Ireland, Barclay moved to Philadelphia in the 1760s to facilitate the family business—exporting American flaxseed to Ireland and importing Irish linen to British North American colonies. He joined Irishmen Hugh Davey and Samuel Carson, his uncle, and set up shop with William Mitchell, originally of Ulster. In 1771, Barclay and other Philadelphia Irishmen organized the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, a social club that included brother-in-law James Mease and honorary members John Dickinson and Robert Morris. Social clubs such as the Sons of St. Patrick and the Jockey Club, to which Barclay also belonged, were important sites for establishing and maintaining business and political connections.

Like other North American colonials, Barclay's business throve until the 1760s, when British regulations, and later war, interrupted trade. He threw his support behind the insurgents, serving on several committees, such as the Philadelphia Tea Committee and Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence. By 1778, Barclay was investing in privateers and supplying the Continental army. Appointed vice consul to France in 1780, he was charged with securing army supplies and supporting American naval affairs. Success garnered him the position of commissioner of public accounts in Europe by 1783.

When Moroccans seized an American ship in 1784, Thomas Jefferson recommended that Barclay be sent to parley with the Moroccan sultan; John Adams agreed. The "selfless" Barclay consequently travelled to Morocco in 1786, where he arranged a treaty that, surprisingly, did not require the United States to pay tribute (164). The authors hint that the favorable treaty was due not only to Barclay's diplomatic skill, but also to Sultan Muhammad's desire to increase trade with other nations. After several more years of service in France and a return to Philadelphia, Barclay was set to return to Morocco in 1792 to finalize a new treaty with the new sultan. Sadly, he died in transit and was buried in Lisbon, the "first American diplomat to die in a foreign country in the service of the United

States" (264).

The Robertses set out to write about Barclay's "life and times." In delineating the "supporting role" Barclay played to the founding fathers, they succeed in returning a previously lesser-known, and yet important, Philadelphian to the context of his times (19). Along the way, readers see the complex and dangerous "ins" and "outs" of eighteenth-century business and international affairs. Those interested in Barclay, early diplomacy, and business practices will find this work a useful monograph.

University of Alabama in Hunstville CHRISTINE E. SEARS

The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin. By LORRAINE SMITH PANGLE. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 278 pp. Notes, recommended readings, index. $20.95.)

In *The Political Philosophy of Benjamin Franklin*, Lorraine Smith Pangle returns to the preoccupations of her earlier work. Her first book (with Thomas L. Pangle), *The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders* (1993), spoke to the classical foundations of American educational ideals and described the educational goals of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, and others. According to the Pangles, the founders' beliefs, formulated around classical educational models along with John Locke's theories of learning, centered upon creating an enlightened self-interest in students that would lead to virtuous action. Smith Pangle returned to the theme of self-interested virtue, in *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (2002), by focusing on moral choice and the positive function of self-interest in friendship.

This most recent contribution on Benjamin Franklin revises some of the more engaging aspects of the earlier work. Smith Pangle examines Franklin's views and his educational program on behalf of the cultivation of morality, civic virtue (including the ideal of political liberty), and the intellectual life of social beings. While offering a synoptic view of some of the more tangled aspects of Franklin's thinking and his career, Pangle (frequently labeling as "ambiguities" any conflicts in his expressions) places Franklin in the stream of classical learning and of nineteenth- and twentieth-century tendencies to link Franklin with bourgeois capitalist notions. She concludes that "If our quarrel is with modernity and the soulless, humorless spirit of capitalism, we cannot lay the fault at Franklin's door. . . . He represents the best of America and a human type that the world would have been much poorer never to have seen" (223).

Smith Pangle begins with the astounding assessment—especially for a book purporting to be on Franklin's political philosophy—that "Franklin never wrote

a political treatise or even devised an important political doctrine"(2). Most of us who study Franklin and his political life and times will disagree with such an assertion. Smith Pangle does not take up Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres* (1764), and she merely mentions (rather than spending sustained time with) Franklin's *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751; mentioned pp. 38, 136) and his *Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to Her Colonies* (1760; mentioned p. 158). But Smith Pangle's project is weighted more toward philosophy and the classical foundations of modern liberal philosophy than it is toward deeply situated historical inquiry. The book is admirably knowledgeable in its placement of Franklin in the stream of Western traditions in philosophy, morality, and civic duty. It is less deeply invested in placing Franklin squarely in his intellectual milieu, despite the wide citation of Franklin's writings and reference to others in his many different circles.

This is to say that Smith Pangle's goals regarding political philosophy don't address Franklin's political thinking as situated in his own day, amid the most important political, moral, and natural philosophers he knew, such as David Hume, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, Adam Smith, and Voltaire. Although the book does spend a few pages on the physiocrats (32, 34, 168) and even mentions the problem of slavery in a putatively free society, Smith Pangle is much more concerned with political philosophy in its more general and comparative sense—more as philosophical axiology, which in most ways empties the word "political" of any local, contemporaneous meaning. Smith Pangle is much more in her element when making assessments across centuries, comparing Franklin to Aristotle or Socrates, and when discussing older commentaries on Franklin, such as those by Max Weber, D. H. Lawrence, or Carl Becker.

Smith Pangle's strengths lie in her erudite and sweeping breadth of knowledge of different philosophical trends across time. She brings an impressive knowledge of philosophy and Western intellectual traditions to bear on the project, employing Franklin's autobiography as a touchstone in many chapters, such as those on liberty, virtue, and civil associations; she includes commentary that ranges from a comparison of Franklin and Tocqueville to brief comparisons of Franklin with Ralph Waldo Emerson or Jonathan Edwards. Later chapters take up the larger philosophical concerns, such as Franklin's views on reason and Christianity, the virtues of leaders in a democracy, and the civic benefits of religious practice. Those who study philosophy will appreciate the sheer learnedness Smith Pangle brings to the study—rightly called an "introduction" (1). Those of us searching for a more deeply situated analysis of Franklin's political thought in his own contemporary situation will find the frequent recourse to the term "ambiguity" an unsatisfactory way to talk about the complicated audiences and problems Franklin faced in his own day.

Pennsylvania State University CARLA MULFORD

Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement. By ALAN HOUSTON. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. 336 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, glossary of names, index. $35.)

In his youth, Benjamin Franklin drafted the epitaph for his imagined tombstone: "The Body of B. Franklin, Printer; Like the Cover of an Old Book, Its Contents torn out, And stripped of its Lettering and Gilding, Lies here, Food for Worms. But the Work shall not be wholly lost: For it will, as he believed, appear once more, In a new and more perfect Edition, Corrected and Amended By the Author " (70). Alan Houston's new book on Franklin captures the wit and wisdom of this American founder, writer, printer, statesman, and scientist by exploring "five areas" of his thought: "political economy, associational life, population growth, political union, and slavery" (221).

Houston's thesis is that Franklin's ideas concerning these five matters gravitate around a central theme of improvement. Whether in his project to cultivate virtue, the discussion club for mutual advantage (or Junto), the Library Company, the Union Fire Company, or the Association for the defense of Pennsylvania, Franklin was committed to initiating public-spirited activity that improved both the quality of his own and his fellow citizens' lives. However, collective improvement is not without its challenges. Deftly bringing contemporary theory into conversation with historical facts, Houston notes that Franklin's project to organize the colonies as a political union in the Albany Plan confronted a collective action problem. If any of the colonies suspected that the others would defect, then all would quickly opt out, and the plan would fail (150–51).

On the topic of population growth, Houston connects Franklin's thoughts to the theories of two later thinkers: Thomas Robert Malthus and Charles Darwin. The relationship between population growth and subsistence, which Franklin revealed in his treatise *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.* (1751), became the basis for Malthus's famous theory in *Essays on the Principle of Population* (1798). Malthus posited that population will eventually outstrip subsistence demands given the wide gap between the ratios of population growth and increase of food supply. Historians suspect that Charles Darwin crafted his theory of natural selection, which would become the centerpiece of *The Origin of Species* (1872), while reading Malthus's *Essay*. Consequently, subsistence for Darwin was another limit on the ability of species to reproduce and adapt through the natural selection of random genetic mutations. "We need note only that one of Malthus's readers—Charles Darwin—took him seriously," Houston writes, "and precisely on the issues over which Franklin had exercised such influence" (143).

Failure to treat Franklin's ideas on their own terms, that is without the filters of Lockean liberalism, classic republicanism, and Protestantism, has limited the appreciation for their distinctive place in the annals of modern political and eco-

nomic thought. Although his witticisms are widely known and repeated (e.g., "A penny saved is a penny earned"), his insights about politics and economics, in Houston's words, remain "virtually invisible" and "obscured" (219–20). This book sheds light on these underappreciated ideas. Although not a comprehensive biography, it is nevertheless a meticulously researched theoretical-historical work that selectively examines Franklin's views on political economy, public associations, slavery, and population. Overall, Houston's *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement* contributes significantly to the growing literature on the life and writings of an extraordinary American founder who we could only wish would reappear "[i]n a new and more perfect Edition" (70).

Pennsylvania State University-Hazleton SHANE RALSTON

Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America. By MEREDITH MASON BROWN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008. 424 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. $34.95.)

Few men from the American past have captivated historians as much as Daniel Boone. Explorer, Indian fighter, Indian lover, scout, expert woodsman, revolutionary, pioneering long hunter—Boone's protean character seems the perfect embodiment of the restless, ambitious American temperament.

While recent notable Boone biographers, such as John Mack Faragher and Robert Morgan, have deftly deciphered the elusive, legendary image of Boone the American icon, Meredith Mason Brown focuses on a more prosaic, practical Boone, an historical figure who helped transform the precarious world of the Kentucky frontier. Indeed, Brown's Boone, though a conflicted man with sometimes divided loyalties between native and white, served as an important agent of change to the American west. Boone's example, we are told, propelled massive migration in Kentucky and Missouri, a movement of people that not only decimated game and weakened Indian power in the area, but one that also spurred the growth of slavery and contributed significantly to the growing sense of American national identity.

Generally well-researched and carried by an often vivid narrative, *Frontiersman* offers good, evocative details of life on the frontier, from discussions of over-killing of game in Kentucky to the filth and squalor of settlers "forted up" in crowded places like Forts Boonesborough and Harrodsburg. A descendant of one of Boone's fellow long hunters, Brown is at his best when detailing the drama and excitement of the many violent conflicts and skirmishes in which Boone often found himself. The book effectively explores the close-range fighting with tomahawks, knives, and clubbed rifles that uniquely characterized frontier warfare during the American Revolution. And Brown knows how to convey a

colorful anecdote: particularly memorable is the story about British lieutenant governor Henry Hamilton, who commanded the Detroit garrison, and the scalp-buying allegation that prompted American settlers to refer to him as "Hair-Buyer" Hamilton (96). Brown also offers a lucid explanation for the three-cornered battleground, filled with conflicted aims and disparate groups that characterized the Americans, Indians, and British in the Ohio Valley of the 1760s and 1770s. A marvelously detailed chapter on the siege of Boonesborough—and Boone's notorious court martial for apparent disloyalty—stands as one of the book's highlights.

Amid all the bloodshed and fighting, Boone sometimes gets lost in the details, as Brown occasionally closes a chapter devoted mainly to frontier clashes by simply reasserting—without truly developing—his theme that "Boone played a key role in the fighting in Kentucky" (103). Much of Brown's story about the wide mix of settlers and conflicting goals on the frontier cries out for deeper treatment of class and ethnic conflict in the middle ground of frontier Kentucky, but the narrative rarely stops to examine such issues. In a largely carefully researched biography, a few missteps stand out: drawing on outdated notions of historical demography, Brown mistakenly suggests that Boone's very youthful marriage and large family were, in fact, the norm among British colonists. The narrative occasionally lapses into odd, folksy language—"there were weddings aplenty," he tells us, in Boone's Yadkin Valley neighborhood (21). More troublesome is Brown's tendency to see Boone as pivotal for nearly every critical theme in the trans-Appalachian West: "the entire way of life in Kentucky and Missouri" was undergoing fundamental change, and Boone, he asserts, was at the center of it. There's more than a little overreach in some of these claims—Boone's pivotal role in these movements is largely asserted rather than proven—but readers will still profit from this lively new take on Daniel Boone.

University of Kentucky, Emeritus DANIEL BLAKE SMITH

Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia. By SARAH FATHERLY. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008. 244 pp. Notes, selected bibliography, index. $47.50.)

In an article published in this very journal in 2004, Sarah Fatherly introduced us to the learned women of eighteenth-century Philadelphia. "'The Sweet Recourse of Reason': Elite Women's Education in Colonial Philadelphia" identified a British model of schooling adopted by the city's privileged families. Daughters in these families accumulated the cultural capital encoded in history, natural philosophy, literature, and the classics. They took lessons from British prescriptive literature, which circulated widely in colonial America. *The Female*

Spectator, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed* advised them on the cultivation of taste, another form of cultural capital that distinguished them from the lower sorts. Rehearsing this newly acquired knowledge in letters, in journals, and in conversation, they sharpened their reasoning and rhetorical faculties, both of which were also markers of privilege. As an anonymous reviewer, I remember thinking that the larger project from which the article was drawn might well make a signal intervention in the scholarship on class formation in British America. *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies* does exactly that.

Focusing on Philadelphia's leading merchant families, Fatherly highlights the degree to which these urban elites modeled themselves and their strategies for social distinction on London's gentry. Not only did they adorn themselves and their homes with luxury goods, but they also emulated the social mechanisms—including dancing assemblies, subscription concerts, and learned institutions—of their transatlantic counterparts. They added to their imitative practices a provincial version of British town and country leisure life. Most strikingly, Fatherly brings to the fore the critical role played by elite women in this process of class formation. With only a few exceptions, historians have argued that gender was the primary determinant in colonial women's experiences and identities. Fatherly shows us that class imperatives were at least as important for Philadelphia's women of means. And, as she argues, the city's ladies acted on those imperatives, crafting, performing, and capitalizing on the markers of elite status.

As prominent families sought to consolidate their status in the 1720s and 1730s, women led the way in defining the boundaries of their circle. Their strategies were two-fold—initiating dynastic marriages and consuming luxuries. Through these "alliances and adornments," as Fatherly aptly labels them, women empowered themselves. Carefully orchestrated marriage patterns among selected families and households filled with Windsor chairs, mahogany tea chests, china and silver sets, and costly textiles testified to their success in marking social distinction. In deciding among suitors, women privileged mutual affection and companionability over economic considerations and, in acting on deeply felt sentiments, demonstrated that emotion's force, amply documented in Nicole Eustace's *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (2008), had a decisive impact on the most intimate of decisions.

Engagement with an expansive course of study, which required that they read widely in the arts and sciences and apply their knowledge to the social and natural worlds, proved still more empowering. Told by prescriptive writers that the "Fair Sex are as capable as men of the Liberal Sciences," elite women took to their studies and emerged with an enhanced sense of confidence. Commanding reason and rationality, taste and refinement, they were ready to take the next step—participation in local, provincial, and imperial politics. The Seven Years' War height-

ened their political consciousness, and the Revolution moved them to action. "Daughters of Liberty," as Hannah Griffitts hailed them, they answered her call to boycott British goods and turned instead to homespun production. The Revolution itself and the political divides within their own social rank threatened the entire project of elite consolidation. Like their male counterparts, women of means took positions that ranged across the spectrum from patriot to loyalist. However, as Fatherly shows, the rising power of the middling and lower sorts trumped sharply edged partisanship.

Acting together in the 1770s, elite women continued to pursue two markers of exclusivity—sociability and advanced education. In the next two decades, they successfully revived the social and cultural practices that had set them apart. Fatherly's telling conclusion reminds us that as much as these women labored on behalf of elite status, they also "reaped the benefits of being gentlewomen and learned ladies in a society that was profoundly predicated on social inequality" (184).

University of Michigan MARY KELLEY

Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women. By MARION RUST. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 328 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95.)

Novelist, playwright, actress, poet, author of textbooks, and proprietress of a well-regarded female academy, Susannah Haswell Rowson was quite the public figure in postrevolutionary America. In this world that lauded public men but equated public women with prostitutes, she and other like-minded women carefully scripted their public personas to maintain their respectability. Many of them contributed to public life without directly challenging the fundamental tenets of a republican order that denied them most basic civil, political, and economic rights.

Rowson is known today mainly as the author of *Charlotte Temple* (1791), the hugely popular tale of an innocent young woman who was seduced and impregnated by a seemingly honorable man, only to be abandoned to die penniless, disgraced, and alone. In *Prodigal Daughters*, Marion Rust argues persuasively that Rowson's most famous creation is not representative of her larger body of work and that Charlotte, the passive victim, was atypical among her female protagonists. Rust encourages readers "to attend to the activist dimensions of early American gender practice via a thorough investigation of Rowson's multifaceted narrative and wide-ranging life experience" (23). She contends that "Rowson's project was to qualify white middle-class women for the influence and tolerance accorded to those whose own corporeal profile—also white, but male, and with a

grasp on its own parcel of earth and/or goods—was seen to free them from bias altogether and hence entitle them to true self-governance at both the individual and national level" (29).

These issues are important, but—as the above quotations show—Rust's needlessly complicated writing can be seriously off-putting. Her lengthy analyses of Rowson's novels, plays, and poems are often tough going, but they are nonetheless valuable for their thoroughness and their attention to lesser-known works. Rust's discussion of these texts, however, focuses almost entirely on authorial intent rather than audience reception, aside from a detailed assessment of the views of some famous male commentators—including Rowson's champion Mathew Carey and her chief critic William Cobbett, neither of whom recognized her as the consummate professional she clearly was.

In five chapters, Rust traces the evolution of Rowson's public statements and stature through her published work, interweaving themes of feminine sacrifice, independence, and sexuality. Careful readers will discern several key points, the most important of which involves the seemingly dramatic contrast between Rowson's early warning against female passivity and lack of agency in her first novel, *Charlotte Temple*, and her far more assertive prescription that women be educated for independence and self-governance in *Lucy Temple* (1828), her last book; *Lucy Temple* tells the story of Charlotte's daughter, who lived chastely, self-sufficiently, respectably, and happily as a teacher and mentor to young women.

This evolution, Rust suggests, makes Rowson a consequential literary figure whose work connected eighteenth-century ideals of genteel womanhood to notions of virtuous femininity that animated women's benevolence and reform movements by the antebellum era. *Prodigal Daughters* certainly demonstrates Rowson's significance. Her life and work, however, still await a monograph that is as accessible and engaging as its extraordinary subject.

George Mason University CYNTHIA A. KIERNER

Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship. By CATHERINE O'DONNELL KAPLAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 256 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95.)

In the last decade, historians have begun revising our understanding of Federalists. Whereas Jefferson's opponents have often been depicted as out-of-touch cranks incapable of adapting to postrevolutionary society, now they appear in the literature as clever innovators who were intentionally engaged in the civic process. Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan contributes to this historiographical development with a sparkling account of various "men of letters."

After an illuminating chapter on the cultural work of sensibility in colonial and revolutionary American society, the author delves into the operations of the Friendly Club and Elihu Hubbard Smith's magazine, the *Medical Repository*. According to Kaplan, the former served as a nonpartisan forum for discussing an array of philosophical and practical issues, while the latter afforded Smith "a tool for promoting moral and physical health" (99). Particularly striking in this regard is the contention that Federalists believed wholeheartedly in social progress, and the author goes so far as to suggest strong similarities between conservative legal scholar James Kent and the oft-cited Democratic Republican Tunis Wortman. While that linkage may be ever so slightly overdrawn, it nonetheless underscores Kaplan's larger point that numerous Federalists frequently maintained a vision of a world transformed. So invested was Smith in this vision that he actually penned a lengthy discussion of an imaginary western state called "Utopia."

Kaplan next turns to Joseph Dennie and his efforts as a newspaper and magazine editor and writer. According to the author, Dennie participated in Federalist partisanship not because he aspired to higher office or defined himself in terms of politics but because he believed he could use political commentary to advance his own goals as a literary entrepreneur. As a result, the anti-Jeffersonian diatribes appearing in the columns of Dennie's *Farmer's Weekly Museum* and the *Port Folio* ironically betray a "pointed insistence that something other than politics still mattered" (179). Dennie's conflicted relationship to partisanship in turn informed his adoption of neo-Augustan irony, wit, and mischief. Indeed, rather than carrying water for a particular party platform, the *Farmer's Weekly Museum* and the *Port Folio* sought to create a space wherein truly independent minds could simultaneously distance themselves from and engage the public events of the day.

The creators of the Boston Athenaeum and the *Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review* also occupy Kaplan's attention. In particular, the author shows how men like William Shaw Smith and Joseph Stevens Buckminster sought to create a "virtuous, harmonious community" through the instruments of "secular high culture" (190). Retreats into the world of literature were, in that sense, anything but ends in themselves. Rather, men of letters would "indirectly refine the nation" by applying to the American polity the literary lessons of sympathy and good taste (189).

This short review by no means does justice to the treasure trove of remarkable insights found in this book. Suffice it to say that Kaplan's brilliant work deserves a wide readership for the way in which it reveals how various Federalists invented a version of citizenship predicated on social and cultural rather than political bonds.

Goucher College MATTHEW HALE

Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823. By KENNETH HALTMAN. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008, xxiii, 278 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $60.)

In this handsomely produced book, Kenneth Haltman takes the reader into the psyches of Samuel Seymour and Titian Ramsay Peale to show how each artist reacted to the landscape that surrounded him and to the Indians and the wildlife encountered on the Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains of 1819–20. Haltman's book is divided into two parts that give each artist full treatment. It is a scholarly work that may be of more interest to the art historian than to the layman.

Haltman states that after 1810, new modes of representation emerged to replace the portraiture and history painting that had dominated eighteenth-century art. The artists diligently followed Secretary of War John C. Calhoun's instructions to the expedition members: "to acquire as thorough and accurate knowledge as may be practicable" of the unknown country they were to cross. Though the Enlightenment had called for paying close attention to facts and detail, the new Romanticism encouraged imagination. The images Seymour and Peale executed, according to the author, could be termed a hybrid of scientific illustration and fine art.

Samuel Seymour came to Philadelphia from England in the 1790s and was employed by William Russell Birch to engrave plates for Birch's *The City of Philadelphia* (1800). He was soon allied with the city's prominent painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers. Especially interested in landscape, it was said that he accompanied Thomas Birch on sketching tours along the Schuylkill River and Thomas Sully on various country excursions.

Haltman begins his chapters on Seymour with a discussion of the artist's triple portrait: *Kaskaia, Shienne Chief, Arrappaho*, ca. 1820–22. In the *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (1823), compiled after the men returned in 1820, the zoologist and ethnologist Thomas Say described the central figure in the picture, the Shienne Chief, as "endowed with a spirit of unconquerable ferocity." Seymour, however, revealing his feelings of empathy, depicts the chief half clad in a blanket without any of his warlike accouterments and with a deeply sad expression, as if anticipating the vanishing way of life that was soon to come for his people.

Perhaps looking too close and seeing too far, Haltman superimposes a Freudian interpretation on Seymour's *View of the Chasm through which the Platte Issues from the Rocky Mountains* (1823) by comparing its topography to Gustave Courbet's graphic nude female, *L'origine du monde* (1866). Although associating topographical features such as rounded mountains with female anatomy can be traced back to the Greeks, the comparison here seems over determined.

As Thomas Jefferson said, "The moment a person forms a theory, his imagination sees in every object only the traits that favor that idea."

Titian Peale, the youngest son of the renowned Philadelphia painter and naturalist, Charles Willson Peale, was born only a year after the death of his eighteen-year-old half brother and namesake. The first Titian had great promise as an artist-naturalist and was apparently his father's favorite, a fact that hovered over the second Titian and adversely affected his filial relationship; he felt constrained under parental authority, an influence which Haltman deftly uncovers in Peale's art.

There is excellent integration of Haltman's descriptions with the illustrations. In an otherwise fascinating and in-depth look at two important early artists of the American West, two errors stand out. William Bartram, a bachelor, was Say's great uncle, not his grandfather; and in the *Account*, Say, as Haltman incorrectly and surprisingly asserts, did not inspect "one native woman's 'clitoris and labia.'" Instead, in a footnote in the Philadelphia edition, Say quotes a written source concerning ethnographic practices among certain tribes.

Wayne, PA PATRICIA TYSON STROUD

Race to the Polar Sea: The Heroic Adventures of Elisha Kent Kane. By KEN MCGOOGAN. (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press, 2008. 320 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $26.)

It is good to be Kane, at least if historians are to be believed. The eldest son of a well-connected antebellum Philadelphia family, Elisha Kent Kane sought, and attained, national prominence on his own adventurous terms. Today, that fame has been rekindled. Among other recent writers, David Chapin, Mark Sawin, and Matthew Grow have drawn upon the Kanes to probe into Victorian American culture, and with his fast-paced, well-written new book, *Race to the Polar Sea*, Ken McGoogan takes a narrative look at Kane's biography and, particularly, his remarkable arctic career.

This flowering of the Kanes may be one of the most interesting legacies of their lives, a product of their extraordinary efforts to create and control their public image. With the aid of his brothers and their father, Elisha, in particular, might be considered an early exemplar of celebrity in the modern mode, marketing a vision of American manhood to the antebellum nation. McGoogan's Kane is nothing if not a marketer: clever and calculating, living a life of greatness on Victorian terms. Perhaps in compensation for a sickly childhood and an overbearing father, Kane became a driven young man, spending his brief life in exotic travel and public service, roaming from Caleb Cushing's diplomatic mission to China to a daring descent into the active caldera of a Philippine volcano, from a

naval cruise off the West African coast to gallant service in the Mexican War.

Kane's signal fame, however, rests upon his arctic expeditions of 1850–51 and 1853–55, when he traveled north in search of Sir John Franklin's lost crew and, at the same time, the Open Polar Sea, a supposed ice-free passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. A prolific author of arctic narratives, McGoogan provides a gripping account of these arduous journeys, doing an admirable job of extracting the drama out of long dark months spent ice bound between frigid decks, warmed only by the heat of conflict among the crew. The real strength of *Race to the Polar Sea* lies here, in the rolling narrative that runs at the pace of Kane's life: brisk, breathless, and always engaging. Navigating the rigors of early arctic exploration, delivering a clear exposition of the complex geography—fictional and real—and the equally complex geography of relations between Americans, English, Inuit, and Greenlanders, McGoogan does credit to Kane's perseverance and resourcefulness in the face of extraordinary odds.

Yet, like Kane's expeditions, there is room for dissent. Many biographers seem either to love their subjects or despise them, and there is little doubt as to where McGoogan stands. Throughout his account of the trouble-filled second arctic expedition, in particular, McGoogan comes across as a partisan, arguing in favor of Kane's interpretation of events. His depiction of Kane's relationship with the Spiritualist medium Margaret Fox comes across as even more one-sided and can be thin and biased when one considers the equally efflorescent literature on the Fox sisters. More problematic, McGoogan does too little to interpret Kane within the rich context of antebellum American culture, an approach pioneered with particular success by Sawin and Chapin and that helps to explain Kane's motivations and attitudes toward everything from his crew to his grand hopes for the ice-bound north.

Cavils aside, the narrative sweep and intrinsic power of McGoogan's Kane saga make it an essential introduction to one of the most arduous antebellum exploring expeditions.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst ROBERT S. COX

Abolitionists Remember: Antislavery Autobiographies and the Unfinished Work of Emancipation. By JULIE ROY JEFFREY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

Over the decades, historians have produced a rich literature full of shifting interpretations that have assessed antebellum abolitionists, their activism, and their role in moving the nation toward Civil War and emancipation. Julie Roy Jeffrey takes the study of abolitionists in a new direction by concentrating on

their autobiographical writings in the several decades after emancipation. In doing so, she demonstrates that most abolitionists remained deeply concerned about the freed people, the nation's collective memory of slavery, and the growing popular image of themselves as misguided and irrelevant fanatics.

Moving chronologically from Samuel J. May's 1869 *Some Personal Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict* through Thomas Wentworth Higginson's 1905 *Cheerful Yesterdays*, Jeffrey analyzes the writings of a wide range of former abolitionists—black, white, men, women, easterners, midwesterners, politicos, Garrisonians, and underground railroad conductors. Some prominent figures include William Still, Jane Swisshelm, Levi Coffin, Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Laura Haviland, George Julian, and Henry Stanton. In addition to published autobiographies, Jeffrey also discusses more abbreviated reminiscences from newspapers and magazines, as well as what she terms "ritual remembrances"—gatherings of former abolitionists to disband antislavery societies and later meetings to commemorate key events like the 1875 centennial of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society or the 1883 semicentennial of the American Anti-Slavery Society (8).

Particularly interesting are Jeffrey's observations contrasting the autobiographers' material and approach. While Coffin, Haviland, and Still all wrote about underground railroad activities, Still emphasized the courage and travails of the fugitives, whereas Coffin and Haviland, while presenting black fugitives in a positive light, tended to place themselves at center stage. These narratives all contrasted with May's work, which focused solely on the Garrisonians, implying that they were the driving force behind a unified movement. Julian, on the other hand, organized his story around slavery's impact on American politics and on the emergence of political abolitionism.

But they also shared common ground. Jeffrey demonstrates that virtually all the abolitionist autobiographers expressed the need to continue their work. Despite emancipation and the constitutional guarantees protecting black citizenship rights, the abolitionists recognized the realities of continuing racial prejudice and oppression. The dissolution of their formal organizations by the early 1870s left them without any organized means to address contemporary issues or even to publicize their views. At least part of their motivation to publish their memoirs was to call attention to the need for continued activism. The task was difficult, as popular magazines projected demeaning caricatures of blacks, nostalgia for the good old plantation days, and characterizations of abolitionists as either wild-eyed troublemakers or inconsequential moralizers.

In their writings, abolitionists critiqued the dominant reconciliationist narrative in American cultural memory by emphasizing the horrors of slavery, its causative role in the Civil War, and the sober commitment and courage of antebellum abolitionists. This effort to refocus the nation's memory of slavery, abolitionism, and war was futile. Popular interest in abolitionists faded rapidly, and

publishing houses simply did not see a market for their reminiscences. Most autobiographies that did make it into print sold poorly.

Some readers may get bogged down in the detailed treatment of each autobiographer, but Jeffrey's analysis adds significantly to our understanding of abolitionists and their postbellum commitment to their antebellum ideals. She offers insightful commentary on the nature of late nineteenth-century publishing, the writing of autobiography, and the largely frustrated attempts of the abolitionists to shape American historical memory between the 1860s and the turn of the twentieth century.

Western Michigan University MITCH KACHUN

Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields. By RONALD L. LEWIS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 408 pp. Illustrations, tables, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95.)

In most respects this is an excellent book; it is beautifully written, deeply researched, and shows all of the other qualities that have made Ronald Lewis the dean of scholars of the history and culture of America's coal miners. Essentially, Lewis does for the Welsh immigrant miners in Pennsylvania and the Midwest what Rowland Berthoff, Mildred Beik, Anthony Wallace, myself, and others have done for the other skilled, Anglo-Saxon pick miners who provided the labor force for the U.S. coal industry between 1850 and 1890. Proud men whose prior subordination to English mine owners in South Wales made them politically liberal as well as eager to enjoy higher wages on this side of the Atlantic, these Welsh miners moved up easily in the social hierarchy to become mine managers, mine inspectors, and civic leaders in their respective communities. Like other immigrant groups, the Welsh at first cherished their own churches and institutions like the *Eisteddfodau*, which were cultural festivals conducted in their own language. But because their numbers were relatively small compared to the number of English, Scottish, and Irish miners in the coalfields, and because their Methodism and desire for respectability fitted in easily with American values, the Welsh lost their separate language and culture more quickly than most other immigrant groups.

Lewis analyzes this acculturation process with authority and skill, devoting the right amount of space to social, cultural, and political developments. Like other immigrant miners during this period, the Welsh had to struggle against powerful coal and railroad bosses, and they made a major contribution to the founding and development of the Workmen's Benevolent Association in Pennsylvania and later of the United Mine Workers of America (1890). Some of the Welsh fought pitched battles with the Irish immigrants in the mining camps

when the Catholic faith and riotous behavior of the Irish conflicted with the middle-class values and support for temperance that the Welsh upheld. The author also describes the experiences of enough individuals to give us a better understanding of their lives. Mary Thomas, for example, was a Welsh miner's wife whose militancy and tenacity brought her west through the Colorado coalfields, where she lived through the Ludlow massacre of 1914, and on out to California, where she opened a sportswear shop on—of all places—Hollywood Boulevard. Lewis also provides us with a brief vignette of President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America, who inherited a number of Welsh characteristics, including the Celtic preacher's rhetorical skills.

If this book has a weakness, it is that the author devotes too little space to the influences that led the Welsh miners—like their other skilled, Anglo-Saxon comrades—to leave the industry in the years after 1890. He refers, rightly, to the dislike that many British miners felt for the poor, unskilled, Slavic immigrants from eastern Europe who were brought in to replace them at the turn of the century. But more could have been said about the critical role that the invention of the automatic mining machine played in rendering the pick-mining skills of the Welsh miners obsolete and the extent to which it prompted their departure. Since this is a book about acculturation, it would also have been beneficial to learn more about where the Welsh went and what they did after leaving the eastern pits. Did they, like many of their Scottish and English counterparts, move farther west to take managerial posts in the coal mines of Colorado, Washington, and New Mexico? Or did most of them stay put and become middle-class professionals in and around the coal towns where they had originally settled? But these are minor blemishes in what is otherwise a first-rate piece of scholarship.

University of California, Los Angeles,
Emeritus JOHN H. M. LASLETT

Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh. By EDWARD SLAVISHAK. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 354 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

This imaginative study examines the male worker's body in industrial Pittsburgh between 1880 and 1915 as contested civic symbol. In a city and region whose iron and steel, glassblowing, and bituminous coal-mining industries were being transformed by mechanization and immigration, boosters and reformers alike manipulated images of the worker's body for decidedly different and competing ends. In the process, the body was "both text and spectacle at the turn of the century, used alternately to offer instruction and pleasure, polemic and horror to the city's residents, visitors, and observers" (265).

Through pageantry, an industrial exhibition, and public art, boosters celebrated and displayed an idealized workingman—skilled, creative, muscular, shirtless, white, and Anglo-Saxon. His bodily representation, the author persuasively argues, symbolized social harmony, progress, and mental-cultural aspiration and achievement while simultaneously masking the mechanization and immigration from southern and eastern Europe that were transforming industrial work in Pittsburgh. This celebratory imagery was in stark and deliberate contrast to the "dark image" of the violent Homestead strike of 1892, which Slavishak freshly approaches as "the first sustained media focus on the bodies of Pittsburgh workers" in the industrial era (89). For Pittsburgh's business elite, he provocatively and astutely contends that the "true threat of Homestead was not a working-class horde run amok, but the image of such disorder reproduced in cities throughout the United States by journalists and labor critics" (89).

In the new century, boosters had to contend with Progressive reformers whose "Pittsburgh Survey" offered not optimistic work imagery but "broken, exhausted bodies" to expose and indict "industrial negligence" (177). Yet for all their contrasting imagery, boosters and reformers both focused on male workers' bodies, thereby similarly marginalizing working women in their otherwise polar opposite discourses on work and the body. Moreover, in his book's fascinating last chapter, Slavishak contends that the survey did not supplant celebratory imagery of Pittsburgh's working body. Instead, in its "aftermath" the ameliorative efforts of "safety engineers, lawmakers, and limb makers," among others, generated "new celebratory narratives of tenacious working figures while concealing that which was disturbing and unsolvable" (225).

Slavishak points out that all this scrutiny of the worker's body reduced workers' lives to work alone. Perhaps inevitably, given its subject, his own study does as well. This, together with the preponderance of elite voices, may disappoint some readers. But it is precisely the author's appreciation and richly textured analysis of the power of elites and reformers to shape public narratives (both textual and visual) of work and the body that is his most valuable contribution.

Amply illustrated, this interdisciplinary work fruitfully blends visual studies with labor, cultural, and gender history. It both incorporates scholarship on American working-class masculinity and, following the recent prompt of scholars like Ava Baron, enriches it by focusing on the embodiment of male workers. Most important, it compellingly illuminates how, in one of the nation's leading industrial cities at the turn of the twentieth century, workers' bodies became bodies of work, with all that it entailed.

Gustavus Adolphus College GREGORY L. KASTER

Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America. By KENNETH WARREN. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. 334 pp. Illustrations, figures and tables, notes, bibliography, index. $45.)

Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America is the definitive historical analysis of the late Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Written by Kenneth Warren, a noted scholar of the American steel industry, this volume traces the origins, rise, decline, and eventual fall of one of this nation's iconic business organizations.

The origins of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation can be traced back to the Bethlehem Iron Company, which was founded in 1857. At that time, the Lehigh Valley region of Pennsylvania was the center of America's iron industry, and the Bethlehem Iron Company became one of the eighteen large anthracite-fueled blast furnace complexes in this area. The Bethlehem Iron Company was founded by the leaders of the Lehigh Valley Railroad to serve as a source of high-quality wrought-iron rails. Designed and managed by John Fritz, who was one of America's most innovative ironmasters, the Bethlehem Iron Company was able to pioneer or adopt new technologies, which played a vital role in its continuing survival and progress. Due to the resources of the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the inventive genius of John Fritz, the Bethlehem Iron Company was able to begin steel production in 1873. None of the other Lehigh Valley iron makers was able to adapt to changing market conditions, and they had all ceased to operate by the 1920s.

When the Bethlehem Iron Company was unable to compete with the rapidly growing rail mills in western Pennsylvania and the Great Lakes region, it successfully built a super heavy steel forging plant that was well suited to manufacture the ordnance, armor plate, and steam-propulsion machinery for the United States Navy. The warships that were built with these Bethlehem Iron Company products played a crucial role in the American victories at Manila Bay in the Philippines and at Santiago, Cuba, in 1898. These victories were the key to the American triumph in the Spanish-American War and the subsequent recognition of the United States as a world power with an overseas empire.

In 1899, the Bethlehem Iron Company was reorganized as the Bethlehem Steel Company, and in 1901 its founders sold it to Charles M. Schwab, the president of the newly organized United States Steel Corporation. Schwab was a flamboyant, energetic, and innovative executive and industrial empire builder. After his resignation from the United States Steel Corporation, he was able to devote all of his considerable energies to Bethlehem Steel. In 1904, he organized the company and combined it with remnants of the United States Shipbuilding Company to form the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

According to Kenneth Warren, it was the policies adopted by Charles M. Schwab that would make Bethlehem Steel one of the world's greatest corporations but at the same time plant the seeds of its eventual demise. During 1907

and 1908, Schwab took a huge gamble by authorizing the installation of the "Grey," or Universal, Mill at the Bethlehem plant. This rolling line could efficiently produce wide-flange steel structural beams that were both cheaper and stronger than other structural shapes. Products of the "Grey Mill" became the structural framework for many of the twentieth century's most notable skyscrapers and long-span bridges.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 brought unprecedented prosperity to Bethlehem Steel. It solidified and expanded its position as the world's second largest manufacturer of ordnance and armor plate. With the bloated profits from this war work, Schwab was able to lead an acquisition program that, within a decade, had the Bethlehem Steel Corporation acquire plants and shipyards at Steelton, Johnstown, and Lebanon, Pennsylvania; Sparrows Point, Maryland; and Quincy, Massachusetts. By 1925, Bethlehem Steel had grown to become the largest steel manufacturer in America.

The policies and corporate leadership that Schwab instituted at Bethlehem Steel sustained and shaped the company as it weathered the Great Depression, confronted violent labor organization activities, and once again served as an arsenal of democracy during World War II. However, during the 1950s, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation began to lose its way. In 1959, an extended strike opened the American market to the products of foreign steelmakers, which utilized advanced technology and cheaper labor to manufacture lower-cost steel. Bethlehem Steel also faced increased competition from American "mini-mills," which used nonunion labor, electric-arc furnaces, and continuous casters to undercut Bethlehem's market share. Equally as important, Bethlehem Steel failed to diversify, unlike its great rival U.S. Steel, and instead attempted to concentrate on its basic products. The result was a sustained period of decline, cutbacks, layoffs, and plant closures. Finally, Bethlehem Steel's inability to finance its pensions brought about the end of its corporate existence in 2003.

Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America is both well written and superbly researched. Because of his earlier works on the rise of the American steel industry and the history of U.S. Steel, Kenneth Warren is able to set the rise and decline of Bethlehem Steel within the larger context of the evolution and dissolution of America's once-dominant steel industry.

Professor Warren ends his study with the admonition that corporate success can be fleeting and that flexibility and the ability of business leaders to recast their companies radically are vital to survival.

National Canal Museum LANCE METZ

Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia. By ROGER W. MOSS, photographs by TOM CRANE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 338 pp. Illustrations, bibliography and sources, index. $34.95.)

Historic Landmarks of Philadelphia is the third publication in Roger Moss and Tom Crane's epic series on Philadelphia's architectural masterpieces that began in 1999 with *Philadelphia's Historic Houses* and was followed in 2005 by *Philadelphia's Sacred Places*. Together these volumes fill a gap in the literature on Philadelphia's architecture. Though numerous works have been published on the subject, Moss and Crane produced coffee table books that contained beautiful photographs and would appeal to a wider audience than the usual dense architectural tome.

Moss's background in early American studies is evident in his architectural selections, which focus on the relatively few surviving pre–Civil War buildings at the expense of the far more numerous late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century structures. Perhaps, as a result, several of the buildings selected are of minor architectural interest. For example, the Philadelphia Club was built as a house, while the much-altered state of the houselike office of the Philadelphia Contributionship, designed by Thomas U. Walter, makes it a questionable choice as well. Missing are such remarkable buildings as Frank Furness's Gravers Lane Station, among the most assertively expressive buildings of the late 1800s, and Ralph Bencker's art deco, sculpted N.W. Ayer office tower. The inclusion of the INA offices offers tame colonial, instead of driven commercial, flamboyance and leaves Howe and Lescaze's PSFS more culturally isolated than it really was. And what in the world is the Racquet Club doing in this survey, unless it is to authenticate the view of Philadelphia as a city of old gentlemen and few ideas as depicted in the popular cinema of the 1940s and 1950s—especially in films like *Kitty Foyle* and *Philadelphia Story*?

Using many of the same buildings, an alternate case can be made that Philadelphia was actually a center of cultural innovation. It began with William Penn's vision of an open and diverse society, which is reflected in the varied churches of a truly open city, and continued with Benjamin Franklin's choice of the present and the future as the model for his university. Then came Frank Furness's industrial-centered designs, Joseph Wilson's remarkable knowledge of metal that led to his pioneering modern structures, George Howe's PSFS, and Louis Kahn and Robert Venturi. Or, on another level, it was home to the nation's first fast-food chain, which found its architectural expression in Bencker's modern designs for the Horn and Hardart automats. And, in 1946, it was the location of the development of the miniaturized architecture of the computer at the University of Pennsylvania's Moore School, which has transformed the modern world in a way that buildings rarely do. Because Moss uses the standard historical measure of fifty years to limit the survey, recent buildings are ignored—but

even that barrier would not have excluded such masterpieces as Louis Kahn's Richards Medical Research Laboratories at the University of Pennsylvania (1956), arguably the most influential building by a Philadelphia architect after World War II.

These are minor quibbles, of course, when considered in light of Tom Crane's beautiful photographs and Moss's meticulous research and enjoyable text. There will always be debate as to what other buildings should have been included and which should have been left out. In part this comes down to temperament. Roger Moss has been a champion of Philadelphia's heritage and is comfortable looking backward, while my research has concentrated on the architects who broke with the past and looked forward—Frank Furness, Joseph Wilson, William Price, Ralph Bencker, Louis Kahn, and Robert Venturi. Both "Philadelphias" exist, and Roger Moss has elegantly captured the historic city of the nation's past.

University of Pennsylvania GEORGE E. THOMAS

Sports in Pennsylvania. By KAREN GUENTHER. (Mansfield, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2007. 108 pp. Illustrations, notes, suggested further reading. $12.95.)

Pennsylvania has a rich sports history that rivals that of any state in the country. That history dates back to the early 1700s, when settlers as well as Native Americans participated in various forms of athletic events, particularly horse and foot races. Eventually, other sports surfaced in Pennsylvania, most notably skating, boxing, archery, and cricket. In the 1830s, yet another sport appeared, and it would be an instant success.

That sport, of course, was baseball. Although many of the rules—indeed, even the name of the game—differed somewhat from those of today, the sport quickly became the most popular one in the state. Initially, club teams were formed, then African American, professional, and, ultimately, college teams abounded. With their success, a foundation was built for a game that still flourishes some 180 years later.

Football, golf, tennis, and basketball made their appearances later in the nineteenth century. These, too, developed into popular activities for the sports-minded person, and as the twentieth century progressed, they became major components of the state's athletic lineup.

The evolution of all these and many other sports are chronicled in the book *Sports in Pennsylvania*, by Karen Guenther. It is a book that covers sports in the state through all the different eras leading up to the early years of the twenty-first century. Guenther gives particular emphasis to the "major" sports. The strength of the book lies in its coverage of sports in the eighteenth and nineteenth cen-

turies, periods about which scant information exists. A review of these early sports provides a fascinating glimpse of the ways in which people demonstrated their athletic prowess. Of particular interest is a section that briefly discusses a game related to baseball that was played during the Revolutionary War.

Guenther also examines the twentieth-century rise of both men's and women's college and professional sports in Pennsylvania, and she provides a considerable amount of interesting information in those chapters. Penn State football deservedly gets special attention. In addition, there is mention of movies, museums, and exhibits that relate to the state's vast sports heritage.

Although its content is generally interesting, the book has some critical errors, which I am best equipped to comment on from a Philadelphia perspective. For instance, the statement that manager Gene Mauch used only pitchers Jim Bunning and Chris Short in the Phillies' ten-game losing streak in 1964 is mistaken (Art Mahaffey and Dennis Bennett each started two games). The contentions that Al Reach played for the Athletics in 1862, that the Phillies did not sign black players before 1957, that Shibe Park was renamed Connie Mack Stadium in 1941, and that Rube Oldring was a pitcher with the Athletics are also incorrect.

Certainly, it is not possible to write a complete history of a state's sports in a 108-page book. Nevertheless, there are some glaring omissions. There is no mention of Dick Sisler's famous home run in 1950, the 1955–56 NBA championship Warriors team, or the 1960 Eagles NFL champions. Many important names—Steve VanBuren, Paul Arizin, Mike Schmidt, Man 'o War, Ralph Kiner, Pie Traynor, and Willie Stargell, to name just a few—are omitted. Also overlooked are the Palestra, the IVB Golf Classic, and Langhorne Speedway. Such omissions, coupled with the factual errors, serve as unfortunate distractions in what is otherwise an interesting little book.

Springfield, PA RICH WESTCOTT

The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia. By GUIAN A. MCKEE. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 400 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, index. $39.)

For "most Americans," asserts Guian A. McKee, "liberalism . . . in the postwar years actually wore a local face. It was in communities across the country that people interacted with their government on a daily basis and that liberalism took on concrete meaning" (11). This startling assertion revises the "end of reform" thesis, which maintains that "the New Deal, and by extension postwar liberalism, abandoned any serious effort to address problems of economic structure" (8). It also qualifies the "bitter narrative" that traces the decline of urban social move-

ments and reform, along with the "rapid growth of segregated suburbs," to racial conflict and urban working-class violence (9).

In place of these oft-told stories, McKee shows that in Philadelphia a home-grown variety of liberalism tried to counteract deindustrialization and ameliorate the employment problems of the city's African American poor. This local liberalism had two branches. One was industrial policy, represented by the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), which offered assistance with site purchase and facility construction in an attempt to stem the flight of manufacturing from the city. The other branch was employment policy, represented notably by the Reverend Leon Sullivan's remarkable Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), copied in cities in both the United States and other countries.

Activities within each branch met with considerable success. PIDC mitigated and slowed the exit of manufacturing industries to the South and overseas to low-wage countries. OIC provided vocational training and created jobs for African Americans excluded from the labor market by poor education and the exodus of employment opportunities from the city. Both PIDC and OIC relied on financial support from the federal government, either in the form of tax policy or grants. Neither could have survived solely on local government and private-sector funding. The two branches of urban liberalism, McKee laments, failed to merge. The racial politics that separated them prevented the emergence of a coordinated industrial-employment strategy that would have been more powerful and effective than either PIDC or OIC operating alone. Had this bifurcation of industrial and employment policy been avoided, McKee implies, the city's future might have taken a different path.

Philadelphia enjoyed an era of progressive city government during the mayoralties of Joseph Clark (1952–56) and Richardson Dilworth (1956–62). But the era that followed, the mayoralties of James Tate and Frank Rizzo, subordinated public interest to political patronage and the politics of race. As a consequence, the city largely squandered the limited opportunities offered by the War on Poverty, which, in McKee's view, was undercut by a failure to focus on job creation and an ineffective, divisive political model. By contrast, the Model Cities Program promised to direct federal dollars to pressing urban problems, including job creation. Undercut by grossly inadequate funding and vitiated by local politics, Model Cities generally failed to meet its objectives. Nonetheless, in Philadelphia, the Model Cities administration joined for a short period with PIDC to merge industrial and employment policy. The results, though too little, too late, showed what might have been had PIDC and OIC been able to join forces earlier. The hollowing out of American cities' industrial cores, McKee suggests, was not inevitable.

Based on extensive archival research, clearly written, and vigorously and persuasively argued, *The Problem of Jobs* offers an original interpretation of

post–World War II liberal reform and late twentieth-century urban history. In the process, it excavates a local liberalism whose fascinating history remains largely buried. The story narrated in this exceptionally important book is both tragic and inspiring. The tragedy lies in the urban consequences of the nation's inability to conquer its historic politics of race. The inspiration comes from the refusal of local liberalism to die despite decades of assault and its vision of an alternative path that American cities might have followed. The story McKee tells so well is as provocative for thinking about the present and future of American cities as it is for revising the narrative of their past.

University of Pennsylvania MICHAEL B. KATZ

Call for Papers

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
Special Issue: Civil War in Pennsylvania (October 2011)

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is issuing a call for articles for a special issue of the magazine on the Civil War in Pennsylvania scheduled for an October 2011 publication.

The editors seek submissions of the following two sorts.

Scholarly Articles: The editors seek proposals for scholarly articles (25–35 pages, double spaced) featuring new research on the Civil War in Pennsylvania. Articles can focus on military, political, or civilian topics. Selections will be made based on the quality of the submission and with an eye toward representing the diversity of current Civil War research.

Favorite Sources/Hidden Gems: The editors seek proposals for short articles (250–750 words) featuring favorite sources/hidden gems highlighting some aspect of the Civil War in Pennsylvania. We invite articles focusing on both written and nonwritten sources, including but not limited to diaries, manuscript collections, novels, government documents, photographs, museum artifacts, and monuments. These items may or may not be found in the state, but all featured items will serve to illuminate some aspect of how Pennsylvanians experienced the war. Selections will be made based on the quality of the submission and with an eye toward representing the wide variety of source material available for understanding the Civil War in Pennsylvania.

Submission details: Submissions should be addressed to Tamara Gaskell, Editor, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 or, by e-mail, to pmhb@hsp.org.

Guest editors: Potential contributors are encouraged to consult with one of the two guest editors for this issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Matt Gallman at the University of Florida can be reached at gallmanm@history.ufl.edu. Judy Giesberg at Villanova University can be reached at judith.giesberg@villanova.edu.

Deadline for submissions: January 8, 2010.