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*Saint-Dominguan Refugees of
African Descent and the Forging of
Ethnic Identity in Early National
Philadelphia*

BETWEEN 1791 AND 1804, free and enslaved migrants fleeing revolution in the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue made their way to Philadelphia. White Saint-Dominguans were drawn by the city's trade connections with the Caribbean and the presence of a large Francophone community. Roughly four thousand refugees resided in the Delaware River Valley between 1791 and 1810, including over seven hundred enslaved Saint-Dominguans and perhaps one hundred free people of color.¹ Existing gradual emancipation legislation in Pennsylvania allowed the majority of enslaved migrants to move from slavery to indentured servitude and, eventually, to freedom.

The first and second generations of migrants created a black Francophone community in Philadelphia that lasted at least into the

I would like to thank Peter Kolchin and the members of his dissertation group (Stephanie Camp, Tim Hack, Matt Hudock, Melissa Maestri, Jen Moses, Karen Ryder, and Tom Sheeler), Christine Sears, Tamara Gaskell, Eric Klinek, and the anonymous readers for their comments and constructive criticism on earlier drafts.

¹ Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 140–42; Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North: Black Saint Dominguans in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (special supplemental

1830s; it was built upon commonalities of language, religion, and the shared experience of revolutionary upheaval. These migrants kept French names, took up family vocations, married one another, and participated in the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. But not all migrants of African descent fully took part in this regeneration and maintenance of ethnic identity. Many left Philadelphia for Haiti. Some who remained in Philadelphia allied themselves with the Philadelphia's black elite and joined the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, became officers in black fraternal lodges, attended schools run by Protestant clergymen, or associated with the leading figures of this community. Some took a middle course and married black Philadelphians and established a social and economic presence in the larger community—as a result of economic opportunities and residential proximity—while they retained cultural connections such as religion. Others vanished from the historical record.

While varying patterns of assimilation must be acknowledged, for a significant number of these migrants ethnic identity was important. For some, that identity slowed assimilation into broader African American communities even as it aided in the creation of strong socioeconomic networks. Social class, language, and cultural practices influenced the speed with which black Saint-Domingans assimilated and the company they kept. Such factors reflected different interests among both black Saint-Domingans and black Philadelphians and suggest that speaking of an overarching black community oversimplifies the cultural and socioeconomic realities of the day.

* * *

Pennsylvania's gradual emancipation legislation required slave-owning Saint-Domingans living in the state longer than six months to free their slaves, although a large number of manumitted Saint-Domingans were then indentured to their former owners, as custom dictated, generally

issue, 1998): 51; Susan Branson, "St. Domingan Refugees in the Philadelphia Community in the 1790s," in *Amerindians/Africans/Americans: Three Papers in Caribbean History* (Mona, Jamaica, 1993), 71–72, 81n9. Over twenty-five thousand refugees arrived in American ports through 1810. For further analysis of the extent of Saint-Domingan emigration, see Ashli White, "A Flood of Impure Lava: Saint Domingan Refugees in the United States, 1791–1820" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003), 3; John Davies, "Class, Culture, and Color: Black Saint-Domingan Refugees and African-American Communities in the Early Republic" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 44, 148–54.

until they were twenty-eight years old.² Working and living conditions strained relations between Saint-Dominguan masters and servants. During the 1790s, enslaved and indentured Saint-Dominguans expressed their dissatisfaction with their conditions of service through disobedience and flight. This behavior often indicated a fraying of social ties with white Saint-Dominguan masters and mistresses and could have allowed for increasing contact with other Philadelphians, whether on the city's streets or in jail.³

Between 1793 and 1804, twenty-one black Saint-Dominguans (fifteen males and six females) resided for varying periods of time in Philadelphia's almshouse.⁴ This relatively small number may have reflected restrictive admission requirements and oppressive conditions inside the almshouse. For many black Saint-Dominguans, indentured servitude—in meeting basic needs for day-to-day survival—gave at least a minimal level of economic security and also provided vocational skills that would be useful after terms of indenture had been fulfilled. Just as for free African Americans, domestic service, where “shelter, food, and clothing were assured,” provided a means of avoiding public care, if at the cost of remaining tied to former masters.⁵ Domestic service also helped some Saint-Dominguans gain valuable work experience. In 1798, Saint-Dominguan planter Charles Laurent reported his employment of “two Negroes,” Sambou and Azor, in “making wooden Boxes, [and] making or mending Umbrellas.” Saint-Dominguan barbers, carpenters, cooks, hair-

²James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, comp., *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, vol. 10, 1779–1781 (Harrisburg, PA, 1904), 69–71, and vol. 13, 1787–1790 (Harrisburg, PA, 1908), 53; Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991); Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago, 1967), 136–37.

³Nash, “Reverberations of Haiti,” 56–57, 71nn54–58, 71nn60–62; Simon Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2003), 1–10, 43–45. For examples, see Prison Vagrant Docket, May 31, 1790–Dec. 29, 1797, Record Group 38.44, pp. 101–434, Philadelphia City Archives.

⁴Susan Branson and Leslie Patrick, “Étrangers dans un Pays Étrange: Saint-Domingan Refugees of Color in Philadelphia,” in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David P. Geggus (Charleston, SC, 2001), 197; Guardians of the Poor, Admissions, 1785–1805, Record Group 35.110, Philadelphia City Archives. The name “John Baptist” is recorded three times between February 1801 and March 1803.

⁵Branson and Patrick, “Étrangers dans un Pays Étrange,” 197. See also Billy G. Smith and Cynthia Shelton, “The Daily Occurrence Docket of the Philadelphia Almshouse, 1800,” *Pennsylvania History* 52 (1985): 87; Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 173.

dressers, and seamstresses listed in nineteenth-century city directories often gained those skills as personal servants or domestics.⁶

Saint-Dominguans of African descent who arrived free in Philadelphia did not have to worry about obligations to a master or mistress. Individually, however, the experiences of these refugees varied greatly, and there were several ways in which black Saint-Dominguans may have come into contact with both black and white Philadelphians. Writing in the 1820s, William McKoy, a long-time employee of the Bank of North America who used the pen name “Lang Syne,” reminisced on how, during the 1790s, “Mestizo Ladies, with complexions of the palest marble, jet black hair, and eyes of the gazelle, and of the most exquisite symmetry were to be seen, escorted along the pavement, by white French Gentlemen.” Yet other free Saint-Dominguans of color struggled to find shelter and subsistence.⁷

Though free Saint-Dominguans of color are not clearly identified among those seeking public relief through the almshouse, the minutes of charity organizations like the Society of Friends’ Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed note a few Saint-Dominguan aid recipients. A female Friend distributing charity in the late autumn of 1795 recorded giving two “[F]rench Mulattoes in great want of clothing 8 yards Coating, and 7/6 in Cash to the latter.”⁸ A small number of free people of color turned to crime to survive. Between 1794 and 1806, twenty-four clearly identifiable black Saint-Dominguans were convicted of crimes other than vagrancy in Philadelphia courts. Of these, all except one were convicted of larceny for either stealing or receiving stolen goods. At least

⁶ Laurent’s report may be found in Landing Reports of Aliens, 1798–1807, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, image 5, pp. 2–3, accessed online through Records Group 21, Archival Research Catalog, National Archives and Records Administration, <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/index.html> (accessed Dec. 15, 2006).

⁷ Lang Syne, “Our City,” *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia) (hereafter *Poulson’s*), Apr. 8, 1828; John K. Alexander, *Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760–1800* (Amherst, MA, 1980), 79; Leslie Patrick-Stamp, “Numbers that Are Not New: African Americans in the County’s First Prison, 1790–1835,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 119 (1995): 121–28. Gary B. Nash estimated that perhaps seventy free Saint-Dominguans of color came to Philadelphia during the 1790s. Nash, “Reverberations of Haiti,” 59.

⁸ *Gales’s Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia), Jan. 3, 1797; Minutes of the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed, 4; and “Extracts from the Minutes of the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed, Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor,” The Notebook of Catherine W. Norris, 1802, (quotation), both from Quaker Collection, Magill Library, Haverford College.

some of those convicted—perhaps as many as thirteen—were free people of color.⁹

At the other extreme, the Caribbean-born émigré Moreau de St. Méry noted, “the French colored women live in the most obnoxious luxury in Philadelphia, and since this luxury can only be provided by the French and by former French colonials, the contrast of their condition with the misery of the mass of their compatriots is revolting.”¹⁰ Moreau’s comment reflects attitudes and practices brought from the French Caribbean; a number of Saint-Dominguan women of color, some free, some enslaved, may have been prostitutes or mistresses of white French and Saint-Dominguan refugees.¹¹ Moreau singled out French men, yet sexual commerce may have brought black Saint-Dominguan women into contact with Anglo Philadelphians as well as an easing of sexual mores, including the begrudging acceptance of prostitution in Philadelphia during the 1790s.¹²

Intimate relationships, aid from private charity, or time spent in jail or the almshouse likely brought Saint-Dominguans of African descent, male and female, free, enslaved, and indentured, into contact with both black and white Americans and furthered their assimilation into life in

⁹ County Prison Sentence Dockets, vol. 1, 1794–1803, pp. 2, 19, 21, 23, 28, 54, 127, 174, 200, 205, 224, 226–27, 242–43, 247, 277; vol. 2, 1803–1810, p. 32, Record Group 38.36, Philadelphia City Archives. The name Figaro is listed (and counted here) twice, once for a felony charge, the other for receiving stolen goods. County Prison Sentence Dockets, vol. 1, pp. 127, 226. Some black Saint-Dominguans were charged with crimes but were not prosecuted or were acquitted. In the Mayor’s Court, twelve cases of larceny or related crimes were forfeited or dismissed between 1793 and 1804. Mayors Court Dockets, vol. 5, 1793–1796, pp. 357, 375, 389, 400, 402; vol. 6, 1796–1802, pp. 150, 175, 219, 250, 414, 554, 578; vol. 7, 1802–1804, p. 156, Record Group 130.1, Philadelphia City Archives.

¹⁰ Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, trans., eds., *Moreau de Saint-Méry’s American Journey, 1793–1798* (Garden City, NY, 1947), 309.

¹¹ David P. Geggus, “Slave and Free Colored Women in Saint Domingue,” in *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Bloomington, IN, 1996), 265, 270.

¹² Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), 193–96, 212. Of course, free Saint-Dominguan women of color filled a range of economic roles that did not commodify their sexuality, whether in the towns and cities of Saint-Domingue as retailers and marketers, or in the United States in similar retail roles, or as cooks, bakers, or dressmakers. Geggus, “Slave and Free Colored Women in Saint Domingue,” 270; *Register of Trades of Colored People in the City of Philadelphia and Districts* (Philadelphia, 1838), 3–8; Philadelphia African-American Census 1847 online database, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/paac1847/index.html> (accessed Nov. 6, 2008); Whittington B. Johnson, *Black Savannah: 1788–1864* (Fayetteville, AR, 1996), 68–70, 72–75. My thanks to Emma Lapsansky-Werner for directing me to the 1847 census database.

Philadelphia.¹³ Some migrants' movements through the city's jail and poorhouse could have led to identification with members of Philadelphia's underclass. The various duties of Saint-Dominguan domestics would have led them to associate with black and white Philadelphians, and the relative youth of so many migrants would have facilitated their learning English. These experiences, however, did not constitute assimilation into a "black community." As male and female migrants of African descent from rural Pennsylvania, the greater mid-Atlantic, the Upper South, and the Caribbean made their way to the city, socioeconomic distinctions limited notions of a cohesive community.

An elite quickly emerged among black Philadelphians, embodied by the leaders of the Free African Society (FAS), created in 1787, and of the fraternal African Lodge, which "functioned to define and strengthen the elite."¹⁴ Yet the membership of the FAS also reflected differences of wealth, status, and interests that suggest the existence of overlapping African American "communities" in the city. Even in Philadelphia's African American churches, which more fully engaged the concerns of ordinary black Philadelphians, social differences were evident, with elites tending to favor St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church over the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church.¹⁵ For their part, poor blacks migrating to Philadelphia had more in common with impoverished black Philadelphians. Together, both groups may have formed a "shadow community," one that interacted with poor whites more than with black elites and that rejected the latter's middling values.¹⁶

For black Saint-Dominguans, assimilation was strongest among the elite. By the early 1800s, a few free Saint-Dominguans of color intermingled with members of the African American elite in the formative institutions of black Philadelphia. After 1808, black Saint-Dominguans, such as John and Ann Appo and Thomas Depee, attended the African

¹³ For further treatment of the experiences of Saint-Dominguans of African descent in 1790s Philadelphia, see Davies, "Class, Culture, and Color," 44–80.

¹⁴ Julie Winch, *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787–1848* (Philadelphia, 1988), 4–9, quotation from 7.

¹⁵ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 98–104, 109–28. My thanks to Emma Lapsansky-Werner for pointing out class differences between the two churches. For social tensions within St. Thomas's, see Winch, *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten* (New York, 2002), 225–26.

¹⁶ In her work on Cincinnati's nineteenth-century black community, Nikki M. Taylor has written of a "shadow community" at the heart of post-Civil War black Cincinnati, one "that differed from the larger black community." Taylor argues that these "black shadow-dwellers used popular culture and crime to create identity and wage protest." Nikki M. Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community, 1802–1868* (Athens, OH, 2005), 186.

Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. By 1813, Depee was also a member and officer of Philadelphia's African Lodge, an elite fraternal organization where men like James Forten, Richard Allen, and Absalom Jones served as officers.¹⁷ Whether the Appos and Depee made a keen appraisal of the social and economic opportunities in black Philadelphia, where many movers and shakers worshipped as Protestants, or whether assimilation marked a conscious break from a French colonial identity and a move towards a newfound cultural autonomy cannot be determined from the existing evidence. But it marked one response to life in Philadelphia for black Saint-Dominguan migrants.

* * *

While evidence from the 1790s suggests movement toward assimilation by elite black Saint-Dominguans, others slowly began to develop an ethnic identity based on ties of kinship, language, and religion, albeit tempered by daily contact with white and black Philadelphians through work and places of residence. The location of political and cultural institutions was an important factor in the creation of such an identity. Many white refugees settled with other French-speaking exiles along Second, Third, and Fourth streets, from Front Street out to Eighth Street. They often lodged in boarding houses, which placed them in close proximity to the French consulate and Roman Catholic churches, such as St. Joseph's, on Willings Alley just off of Fourth Street, and St. Mary's, at Fourth between Locust and Spruce.¹⁸

If not living in white households, or once free from the obligations of indenture, black Saint-Dominguans, over time, began to move into other neighborhoods. For many, however, the Roman Catholic churches remained central to their lives.¹⁹ These churches were centers of social and economic networks formed by family and friends. Black Saint-

¹⁷ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 109–28; African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Register Records (Absalom Jones, Rector): Births and Baptisms, 100, 104–5, 109, 113, 120, 127, African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas archives, Philadelphia; Winch, *Gentleman of Color*, 134, 144–49; Minutes of the African Lodge, Philadelphia, 1797–1800, 1813–1815, in Records of the African Lodge at Boston, Part A, Letters and Sermons (microfilm), Library of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, Boston.

¹⁸ Frances Sergeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800: An American Chapter of the French Revolution* (Baltimore, 1940), 103–4, 110; Joseph G. Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1907), 87.

¹⁹ A Saint-Dominguan-descended family history noted the existence of a so-called “colored French Colonial Settlement” at Fourth and Spruce streets in the early nineteenth century. A search

Dominguan men and women married one another and baptized their children within the Catholic Church throughout the nineteenth century. Catholic Masses were not integrated, but there were few African American Catholics at that time.²⁰

At least 118 baptisms involving people of African descent from the French Caribbean took place between 1793 and 1810. Through the 1790s, many of those who were baptized—adults and children—had white Saint-Dominguan sponsors. By the early 1800s, these sponsors tended to be black Saint-Dominguans.²¹ This shift may be indicative of the fact that more migrants were completing their indentures after 1800.

Marriages involving black Saint-Dominguans increased only after 1813, with most Saint-Dominguans apparently marrying other Saint-Dominguans. Whether these marriages were between migrants who waited to be free of their indentures, those who arrived while very young, more recent arrivals, or second generation Saint-Dominguans is unclear. At least ninety-four marriages involving black Saint-Dominguans took place in the period between 1794 and 1830. The largest number of marriages, some fifty, took place between 1812 and 1818. Fourteen of the black Saint-Dominguans who married at St. Joseph's between 1800 and 1830 wed black Philadelphians rather than fellow Saint-Dominguans. The frequency of such marriages did not increase over time; it remained steady, with rarely more than one occurring per year. Even witnesses tended to be Saint-Dominguan, suggesting again the strong ties of family and friendship among these migrants.²²

of census records did not uncover evidence of this settlement. Typescript drafts of family history, box 18, folder 2, p. 8 and box 19, folder 1, p. 11, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers, 1913–1983, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. More research needs to be done on the residences of Saint-Dominguan domestics to determine whether they lived in the homes of those they served or in nearby dwellings.

²⁰ P. Aloysius Jordan, "Historical Narrative of St. Joseph's Church," *Woodstock Letters* 4 (1873): 104; Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti," 59; Branson and Patrick, "Étrangers dans un Pays Étrange," 202–3.

²¹ One hundred and five of those baptized were children. Relevant baptismal registers for St. Joseph's are found in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 16 (1905)–19 (1908). Evidence of assimilation may also be found in the registers with the 1802 baptism of John Louis Smith. While his parents were identified as "Protestant negroes," and do not appear to be Saint-Dominguan, his sponsors were. But this relationship seems to be an exception in ethnoreligious affiliations among Saint-Dominguans. *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 18 (1907): 237.

²² *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 20 (1909): 22–48, 122–92, 290–341. I am grateful for the efforts of Ms. Mary Jane Green and the late Ms. Bobbye Burke, of Old St. Joseph's Church Archives, in compiling a list of Saint-Dominguan baptisms and marriages at that church.

Demographic change complicated both cultural autonomy and assimilation. As many as five hundred black Saint-Dominguans resided in Philadelphia after 1810. Population losses through death and emigration, with some four hundred migrants returning to Haiti by 1805, were only partly offset by births and either new immigration or in-migration. Yet new arrivals had an impact beyond their numbers. Dozens of migrants, both families and individuals, continued to arrive in Philadelphia—whether from the Caribbean or elsewhere in the United States—throughout the early nineteenth century.²³ Limited socioeconomic opportunities, political tensions, and contact with friends or family may have drawn former refugees northward to Philadelphia.

While interaction with kin or with new arrivals may have strengthened ethnic identification in the short term, a lack of further immigration as well as expanding commercial ties with black and white Philadelphians would facilitate assimilation in the long run. The 1811 Philadelphia directory contains the names of at least sixty-five persons of African descent with French names.²⁴ They represented a number of trades and occupations, but their social status on arriving in Philadelphia is unknown.²⁵ Nearly a decade later, small clusters of black Saint-Dominguans could be found throughout the city, but with concentrations of black households in Cedar, New Market, and Locust wards, as well as Southwark. Like African American households of the period, the majority of black Saint-Dominguan households recorded in the 1820 federal census had neither large numbers of adults nor large numbers of extended family members living under one roof.²⁶

This information is taken from church registers and the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*. That list was also used in my research. For notes on the calculation of these numbers, see Davies, "Class, Culture, and Color," 87nn5–6.

²³ "Pencil Pusher Points," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Mar. 9, 1912; Transcript drafts of family history, box 18, folder 1, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers; Philadelphia, 1800–1850; Passenger and Immigration Lists, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed June 30, 2008). In 1804 and 1805, French officials claimed that black Saint-Dominguan refugees were returning to Haiti, with at least one ship carrying emigrants from Philadelphia. These officials feared that the emigrants meant to help defend the recently established state of Haiti; Haitian ruler Dessalines reportedly encouraged the return of black Saint-Dominguans by offering forty dollars per person. Rayford W. Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776–1891* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1941), 162–64, 173–74; Julie Winch, *American Free Blacks and Emigration to Haiti* (San Germán, Puerto Rico, 1988), 1–2; Davies, "Class, Culture, and Color," 108.

²⁴ Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti," 59–60.

²⁵ *Census Directory for 1811* (Philadelphia, 1811), 366–84.

²⁶ Emma Jones Lapsansky, *Neighborhoods in Transition: William Penn's Dream and Urban Reality* (New York, 1994), 74–78; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 166–67.

Black Saint-Dominguan households on Shippen Street (now Bainbridge) included laborers and sawyers. A variety of artisans, craftsmen, tradesmen, and other middling entrepreneurs, especially hairdressers, as well as a teacher, lived on Gaskill Street, Lombard Street, and on Fifth and Sixth streets near St. Joseph's, as well as on a number of alleys and smaller streets. In a few instances, more than one household resided at the same address, but more commonly a few households clustered close to one another on a given street. These households were interspersed with African American and, occasionally, white households, presenting opportunities for interaction, whether between neighbors or business owners and customers.²⁷

Among those migrants involved in business ventures were members of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families, who quickly established themselves in various crafts and trades. Pierre Augustin, who came to Philadelphia around 1816, established a successful catering business. Eugene Baptiste Sr., who most likely arrived in the United States as a boy by 1818, ran both a cabinetmaking shop and a catering business with his wife, Mathilda Grey, whom he had met in the United States. Pierre Eugene Dutrieuille, a shoemaker, and his wife, Mary Lambert, arrived in the city sometime before 1838, when one of their two sons, Pierre (also known as Peter) Albert Dutrieuille, was born. All of these families were most likely free Saint-Dominguans of color.²⁸

Other black Saint-Dominguans, male and female alike, met with at least some success as entrepreneurs and tradesmen into the 1830s. The 1838 *Register of Trades of Colored People*, commissioned by the

²⁷ Edward Whiteley, *The Philadelphia Directory and Register for 1820* (Philadelphia, 1820).

²⁸ "Pencil Pusher Points." While the "Pencil Pusher" and others marked them as Saint-Dominguans, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton described Augustin as being from Paris, France, and Peter Albert Dutrieuille's father, Pierre Eugene, as being originally from Bourdeaux, France. Yet elsewhere Shelton wrote that Augustin's daughter reported her father as being from the French Caribbean (Haiti is indicated as Augustin's country of birth in the 1880 census). It is possible that while originally from Saint-Domingue or elsewhere in the French Caribbean, they may have taken refuge in France before coming to the United States. Transcript drafts of family history, box 18, folder 1, 10/19/78, p. 25, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers; U.S. Census, 1880, Philadelphia, enumeration district 146, p. 26, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed July 25, 2009). Family tradition has Eugene Baptiste founding his cabinet-making business in 1818, but census information from four decades places his birth around 1811, the year he and his mother supposedly arrived in Philadelphia. Given that his children were all under the age of ten in the 1850 census, when Baptiste was listed as being thirty-eight years old, it seems likely that Baptiste was born in the early 1800s. The earliest reference to Baptiste appears to be in the 1838 *Register of Trades*, where he is listed as a cabinetmaker. U.S. Census, 1850, Philadelphia, Locust Ward, p. 128 (image 83), Ancestry.com, <http://ancestry.com>; *Register of Trades*, 4.

Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), lists at least sixteen black Saint-Dominguans, sharing eight names and involved in as many trades. Though most were men, women, such as dressmaker Delphine Alzier, were also listed.²⁹ The services these people provided, and the location of their places of business, suggest a traffic that would have included white and black Philadelphians as well as other French Caribbean migrants.

Many of these family names—Baptiste, Depee, and Duterte (spelled as Dutair in the 1837 census), for example—can also be found in the 1847 PAS census of black Philadelphians. Oysterman Dulique Grohege also appears in both the 1837 and 1847 censuses with (presumably) Mrs. Grohege, a seamstress. Stephen Cuyjet was listed as a dressmaker, although his name was misspelled as “Guyjet.”³⁰ The socioeconomic stability of these families suggests the formation of a viable community among black Saint-Dominguans in Philadelphia.

In the 1830s, as in the early 1800s, very few Saint-Dominguans played a role in black religious denominations, educational institutions, cultural endeavors, or fraternal organizations. Saint-Dominguans like Francis A. Duterte and John Dupee took part in African American social and political movements such as the Negro Convention movement and the American Moral Reform Society.³¹ Yet these men were exceptions. The relative lack of Saint-Dominguan participation in the cultural and social life of black Philadelphia suggests that, among middling and elite Saint-Dominguans, ethnic identification held particular strength during the first half of the nineteenth century. Even families like the Appos, whose sons were William and Joseph, did not completely sever contacts with Haiti. William Appo married in Port-au-Prince in March 1828. Joseph

²⁹ *Register of Trades*, 3–8. The *Register* cannot be taken as the last word on black tradesmen, as other materials collected for the *Register* list several other occupations not included in the published version. See Committee to Visit the Colored People Census Facts, 1838, series 4: Manumissions, Indentures, and Other Legal Papers, microfilm reel 26, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁰ Philadelphia African-American Census 1847 online database.

³¹ African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Register Records (Absalom Jones, Rector): Births and Baptisms; Whiteley, *Philadelphia Directory and Register for 1820*; Arthur Donaldson, “An Account,” *Juvenile Magazine* 3 (1813): 2–7, 10–15, 19–21; Minutes of the African Lodge, Philadelphia, 1813–1815 (microfilm); Winch, *Philadelphia’s Black Elite*, 128–29; Peter P. Hinks, ed., *Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia, Accounts 1854–1857*, Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 37, http://www.hsp.org/files/vigilancecommitteeofphiladelphia_master.pdf (accessed Dec. 18, 2007); “An Address,” *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, Nov. 23, 1855, in African American Newspapers, Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (accessed Dec. 17, 2007).

Appo died in Port-au-Prince in December 1829.³²

Many of those black Saint-Dominguans who worshipped as Roman Catholics and married one another, however, had little intention of venturing to Haiti. In fact, one development that would have seemed to join black Philadelphians and Saint-Dominguans in common cause was marked instead by the relative indifference of black Saint-Dominguans. The cause was African American emigration to Haiti in the 1820s. Beginning in 1824, through the efforts of the Haytien Emigration Society of Philadelphia, some five hundred African Americans sailed for Haiti.³³ While Joseph Cassey, a businessman of French West Indian origin, served as treasurer of the Emigration Society, it is not clear whether any former black Saint-Dominguans or Haitians were passengers on these ships.

Though departing passenger lists have not been found, it seems unlikely that they included any Saint-Dominguans. The example of the Appo family indicates that travel between the United States and Haiti by black Saint-Dominguans was not unheard of.³⁴ But Haitians or black Saint-Dominguans wishing to go to Haiti would not necessarily have done so through the Haytien Emigration Society. Richard Allen and James Forten were leaders of the society in Philadelphia, and they held organizational meetings in Allen's Bethel A.M.E. Church in the summer of 1824. While conceived as an enterprise to escape the political and social oppression of white racism in the United States, the movement also had evangelical overtones, as seen in Bethel's interest in sending missionaries to Haiti.³⁵ The lack of black Saint-Dominguan involvement with

³² Association de Généalogie d'Haiti, Archives d'Haiti database, <http://www.agh.qc.ca/indexen.html> (accessed Jan. 15, 2008).

³³ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 245, 337n95. See also the *National Gazette and Literary Register*, (hereafter *National Gazette*), Aug. 23, 1824; "Marine Register," Aug. 24, 1824; Sept. 20, 1824; "Hayti," Nov. 9, 1824; Feb. 1, 1825; and Feb. 24, 1825; and also "Emigration to Hayti" and "Extract of a letter from Harrison McKinley & Co.," *Poulson's*, Oct. 15, 1824 and Feb. 24, 1824.

³⁴ Sannet Legrane, a former slave, applied for almshouse relief in 1813 after her husband returned to Haiti. Charles Appo is listed in United States Customs records as arriving in Philadelphia from Haiti in June 1828; it is unclear if he was a member of the Philadelphia Appo family. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble*, 359; Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1825 through June 17, 1825, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Records Group 36, National Archives and Records Administration, Mid-Atlantic Region.

³⁵ Minutes and Trial Book, 1822–1835, entries for Nov. 3, 21, and 22, 1824, microfilm reel 8, Records of Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Richard S. Newman, *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008), 245–58; Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787–1863* (Urbana, IL, 1975), 77–78; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 244. See also Loring

the African Methodist Episcopal Church during the 1820s suggests one reason for disinterest in emigration. Those Saint-Dominguans still in Philadelphia would have had two decades to return to Haiti had they so desired. Memories of the violence and dislocation of the revolutionary period, and knowledge of ongoing political turmoil in Haiti, argued against return. Identification as a Saint-Dominguan did not necessarily mean that one felt kinship with the state of Haiti.³⁶

In Philadelphia, language, religion, and marriage were means of expressing Saint-Dominguan ethnicity. This development of an ethnic identity only after leaving their homeland parallels the experiences of later European immigrants to the United States; it is also similar to the experiences of Saint-Dominguans in nineteenth-century New Orleans.³⁷ But, more importantly, free and enslaved migrants of African descent arriving in Philadelphia, as well as their descendants, must have appreciated the opportunities for social and economic advancement that were not available elsewhere in the United States, or even in Haiti. A few Saint-Dominguan families took full advantage of these opportunities as the nineteenth century progressed.

By the 1850s and 1860s, second and third generation black Saint-Dominguans were assimilating much more fully than had their parents or grandparents. But such assimilation still consisted of a range of responses to mainstream culture and society. Family and economic concerns, and the relative importance of culture—or, more frequently, religion—continued to shape individual responses to life in Philadelphia. The significant roles of some French Caribbean elites as social, economic, and cultural leaders among black Philadelphians helped define the place of second- and third-

Daniel Dewey, *Correspondence Relative to the Emigration to Hayti, of the Free People of Colour, in the United States* (New York, 1824) and various July 1824 issues of the *National Gazette* and *Poulson's*. For a differing interpretation of evangelical motives among emigrants, one that argues that religion played less of a role in emigration, see Chris Dixon, *African America and Haiti: Emigration and Black Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, CT, 2000), 36–37.

³⁶ As it was, beginning in the spring and summer of 1825, many emigrants returned to the United States—perhaps as many as one-third by 1826. By 1860, an observer claimed that none of the remaining emigrants were living on the land granted them and that a “considerable number” had left Haiti entirely. Dixon, *African America and Haiti*, 40–41; Miller, *Search for a Black Nationality*, 81–82; Benjamin S. Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans: and on the Mulatto as a Race for the Tropics* (Philadelphia, 1860), 4–6, 12. See also Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1825 and 1826, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Records Group 36, National Archives and Records Administration, Mid-Atlantic Region.

³⁷ Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences* (Gainesville, FL, 2007), 54–56.

generation black Saint-Dominguans in the larger communities of Philadelphia.

By the 1850s, the so-called “guild of the caterers,” a subset of Philadelphia’s black elite, was prominent in black Philadelphia. African American restaurateurs and caterers wielded considerable social and economic influence in Philadelphia throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. This group’s rise resulted from economic competition among black Philadelphians and white natives and immigrants, who limited opportunities for blacks in a range of trades and crafts after 1820. One avenue for advancement lay in “[developing] certain lines of home service into a more independent and lucrative employment”; those black servants and waiters able to do so prospered after 1840.³⁸ Saint-Dominguans, like members of the Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families, were among these successful black entrepreneurs.

While many black Saint-Dominguans must have faced economic difficulties in the period following the Civil War, wealthier Saint-Dominguans continued to leave their mark in the historical record. By the 1860s, more members of this elite group were joining ranks with the larger black elite in Philadelphia. Unlike members of the Appo and Depee families in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, these new elites did not fully adopt the cultural and religious values of the majority. While second-generation Saint-Dominguans learned English, not all spoke it at home. Peter Albert Dutrieuille spoke French and often did so with relatives who did not or would not speak English. Yet Dutrieuille’s sister-in-law Clara Baptiste Augustin was reported as stating, “When my father [Eugene Baptiste] would start to speak to us in French, my mother would say, ‘No-no, Eujen! Speak in English. Our children are being reared in this country where they were born; they must speak correct English.’”³⁹ For his part, Peter Albert Dutrieuille spoke English with his children and grandchildren. Given the small number of Saint-Dominguans in Philadelphia, it must have seemed necessary.

³⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; repr., New York, 2007), 18–21. See also Roger Lane, *William Dorsey’s Philadelphia and Ours: On the Past and Future of the Black City in America* (New York, 1991), 112–13. Du Bois also noted the participation of caterers in political causes like abolition, although he mentioned no specific names. The only evidence of political activity by an Augustin, Baptiste, or Dutrieuille family member in the 1850s or 1860s involved P. Jerome Augustin (son of Pierre), who signed Frederick Douglass’s “Call to Arms,” an 1863 appeal for African American support of the Union cause. Lane, *William Dorsey’s Philadelphia and Ours*, 420–21.

³⁹ Transcript drafts of family history, box 19, folder 2, p. 6, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers.

The Catholic faith also remained a part of some Saint-Dominguans' cultural identity. By the 1870s, a historian of Old St. Joseph's Church noted, "most of [the] descendants [of the original refugees] have, through neglect, been seduced by the charms of a Methodist shout, and have been lost to the Catholic church." There may be some truth to this assertion; membership rolls of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church from the 1870s list at least ten people of possible black Saint-Dominguan descent.⁴⁰ Yet prominent French Caribbean families such as the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles remained communicants within the Catholic Church. The second and third generations of these families married and raised their children in the church, even as they worked against the indifference and hostility of many white Catholic clergy and parishioners.⁴¹

Identification with the Catholic Church set these elite families apart to a degree. So, too, did family and economic ties. The Augustin, Baptiste, and Dutrieuille families, for example, were part of the "guild of the caterers." Related through marriage, members of the three families were also leaders in this community. Peter Albert Dutrieuille, son of shoemaker Pierre Eugene Dutrieuille, learned what he could of the catering business as an apprentice to Eugene and Mathilda Baptiste. In November 1864, Peter Albert married Amelia Baptiste, Eugene and Mathilda's second daughter. Clara, Eugene and Mathilda's oldest daughter, married Pierre and Mary Augustin's son Theodore sometime between 1870 and 1880. With the marriage, Pierre Augustin retired from the catering business, handing it over to his son and daughter-in-law; the Augustin and Baptiste catering firm maintained the international reputation Pierre and Mary Augustin had established.⁴²

Through their family connections and Roman Catholic faith, the

⁴⁰ Jordan, "Historical Narrative of St. Joseph's Church," 104; Alphabetical Record of Members in Full Connection, microfilm reel 1, Records of Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church.

⁴¹ Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York, 1990), 132–36, 146–49; *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses* (1893; repr., New York, 1978), 22, 132; Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 242–43.

⁴² Marriage Registers, February 1835–May 1888, 132, Old St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Philadelphia; Transcript drafts of family history, box 18, folder 1, 10/19/78, p. 25, Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers. In the 1870 federal census, Clara Baptiste is listed as living in the household of her father; in the 1880 census she is married to Theodore. U.S. Census, 1870, Philadelphia, Ward 7, District 19, p. 394; U.S. Census, 1880, Philadelphia, Enumeration District 147, p. 451, both in Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed Aug. 28, 2008); Charles Frederick White, *Who's Who in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1912), 49–50.

Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles retained some elements of their French Caribbean cultural heritage, but they were also an integral part of African American social and economic networks and of the African American elite. Two branches of the Augustin family ran separate, profitable catering businesses in late nineteenth-century Philadelphia. P. Jerome Augustin's business, described as having "enjoyed a reputation as 'the Delmonico's of Philadelphia,'" was said to be worth fifty thousand dollars in 1879. The aforementioned Augustin and Baptiste catering business was estimated as being worth at least sixty thousand dollars some thirty years later. By 1873, Peter Albert Dutrieuille had launched his own catering business, one that he later handed down to his son, Albert Eugene; he would serve an "elite clientele, as well as the members of the Catholic hierarchy." While tastes in fine dining were changing by the end of the nineteenth century, leading to the decline of many African American catering houses, the French cuisine of the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles remained very fashionable.⁴³

Economic vitality translated into commercial and organizational connections. Peter Albert Dutrieuille helped organize the Caterers' Manufacturing and Supply Company and also served as president. He was also involved with the Philadelphia Caterers' Association. Caterers' Manufacturing and Supply Company, incorporated in 1895, purchased goods for resale to or rental by black caterers, while the members of the Philadelphia Caterers' Association banded together to compete with white businesses. Dutrieuille was also treasurer of the Pioneer Building and Loan Association and was involved in the Quaker City Beneficial Association. While savings and loans were relatively recent innovations, beneficial (or mutual aid) organizations that provided members with support in times of illness or death were as important a resource in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as they were in the antebellum period.⁴⁴

⁴³ Transcript drafts of family history, box 19, folder 1, 4/6/77 draft, pp. 10–13, 10/19/78, p. 25, and box 19, folder 2, p. 2 ("elite clientele" quotation), Bernice Dutrieuille Shelton Papers; Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 112–14, "Delmonico's" quotation in Lane, 112. Lane treated the monetary values given with skepticism, noting that it is difficult to translate nineteenth century prices, wages, and wealth into equivalent modern-day terms. Lane, 61–62.

⁴⁴ White, *Who's Who in Philadelphia*, 49–50; *Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania Passed at the Session of 1895* ([Harrisburg, PA?], 1895), a137; Vicki Howard, *Brides, Inc.: American Weddings and the Business of Tradition* (Philadelphia, 2006), 189; Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours*, 112–13; Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 130, 155, 157.

As members of Philadelphia's black elite, families like the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles distinguished themselves from the majority of black Philadelphians not only through the standard markers of status but also through family history, especially generational connections to Philadelphia. Philadelphia's late nineteenth-century black elite was made up of three groups, most of whose families were "Old Philadelphians" who had lived in the city since at least the first half of the nineteenth century: long-established natives like the Fortens; families from the French Caribbean, like the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles; and those from points south like the Mintons. According to historian Willard Gatewood, by placing greater emphasis on "birth and inheritance than . . . training," families like the "Fortens, Bustills, Mintons . . . secure in their lofty status, engaged in numerous efforts to 'uplift' the masses and to advance the cause of civil rights for blacks, but they and their social life remained far removed from 'ordinary Negroes.'" The Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles seem to fit Gatewood's description equally well.⁴⁵

This range of social, economic, and community activity illustrates that while religion may have distinguished these families, it did not isolate them. In the late eighteenth century, language and religion separated refugees from the French Caribbean from the majority of black Philadelphians and newcomers from the South. In the late nineteenth century, however, it was social and economic success, and the cachet of being an "Old Philadelphian," that separated a small number of second- and third-generation Saint-Dominguans from the majority of blacks, including fellow Saint-Dominguans.

* * *

In 1913, Henry Minton, a medical doctor and descendant of one of black Philadelphia's founding families, gave a talk on the "Early History of Negroes in Business in Philadelphia" to the American Negro Historical Society. Minton noted that many French Caribbean business owners would have been familiar to his audience. While Minton was speaking to a well-informed group, his references also indicate the long-lived influence that some migrants from the French Caribbean exerted on black Philadelphia.

⁴⁵ Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Bloomington, IN, 1990), 9-11, 97, 101. See also Davies, "Class, Culture, and Color," 117-18.

A number of patterns can be noted among these migrants during the first half of the nineteenth century. Religion was important to a significant minority and seemed to have served as a marker of cultural identity, as seen through marriage. A small number of black Saint-Dominguan families found a measure of socioeconomic success in Philadelphia as the nineteenth century progressed; a handful made their way into the city's "black elite." A few of these migrants also took leadership roles in cultural institutions and became politically active in Philadelphia-based abolitionist and moral reform efforts.

By the 1850s and 1860s, greater numbers of black Saint-Dominguans and, more significantly, their children and grandchildren were assimilating into the larger African American community. But again, such assimilation must be understood as embodying a range of responses to mainstream culture. Individual reactions to life in Philadelphia were shaped by family and economic concerns and by the relative importance of language, culture, or, more frequently, religion. Families like the Augustins, Baptistes, and Dutrieuilles, related to one another by marriage in the second half of the century, retained some elements of their French Caribbean cultural heritage. But they were also an integral part of African American social and economic networks and of the African American elite.

With the process of assimilation often taking a couple of generations, families from the French Caribbean gradually became part of larger African American communities in Philadelphia by the second half of the nineteenth century. This was true even for those who continued to worship as Roman Catholics, maintained their French names, and spoke French in their homes. Aware of the changing nature of social and economic networks in the nineteenth century, these families expanded and extended connections of kinship, work, and culture over the course of the 1800s.

The Language of “Blight” and Easton’s “Lebanese Town”: Understanding a Neighborhood’s Loss to Urban Renewal

WHEN ONE APPROACHES EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA, from the south on Route 611, the first views of the city are a McDonald’s restaurant and a small convenience store plaza to the north and the worn parking lot of a Quality Inn motel directly ahead. Adjacent to the motel are a now closed Perkins Restaurant and a movie theater with a large sign still announcing the films it was showing when it ceased operations in January 2006. Behind the Quality Inn are paved empty lots and two tall apartment buildings erected in the late 1960s that house senior citizens. There is no evidence that this was once the site of a thriving, close-knit multiethnic and multiracial neighborhood populated by Lebanese and Italian immigrants, their descendants, and African Americans. Aside from the nearby Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Catholic Church, built in 1986 after its predecessor was demolished in 1969, and a dead-end street named after a prominent Lebanese American resident, nothing remains of Easton’s “Lebanese Town,” which was razed in the early 1960s. And yet it lives on in the memories of its former residents. This article explores the loss of this neighborhood, whose demolition was the result of an urban renewal project that commenced in 1963.

Easton was following a national trend. Since the first half of the twentieth century, Americans who were worried about a perceived rampant

We would like to thank Deacon Anthony Koury, Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Catholic Church, Easton, for his enthusiastic support, and Becky Bradley, chief planner of the City of Easton, Carl Manges, city planner, and Jane Moyer of the Northampton County Genealogical and Historical Society, who made their respective archives available. We conducted additional archival research at the Northampton County Public Records Office, the local history room of the Easton Public Library, the David Bishop Skillman Library at Lafayette College, and the Northampton County Genealogical and Historical Society. The article was completed while Andrea Smith was a scholar in residence at the Obermann Center for Advanced Studies, The University of Iowa. We would like to thank center staff for their gracious assistance.

urban decline identified “blight” as the main enemy of the city.¹ By the 1930s, local leaders concerned with the economic health of their city centers cited the “same litany of ills—declining population, dilapidated neighborhoods, declining property values and declining revenues from commercial and industrial sites, snarled traffic.”² Across the country, urban planners, officials, and citizens determined that physical rejuvenation of the urban core would address these problems. Conflict emerged over how to proceed. Social workers and some urban leaders pushed for public housing, while real estate industry representatives promoted private enterprise. The federal government became a central actor in this process with the Housing Act of 1949, which historian Alexander von Hoffman has described as a failed compromise, the product of “seven years of bitter legislative stalemate and a shotgun wedding between enemy lobbying goals,” or even as a victory for real estate industry interests.³ Title 1 of the act provided one billion dollars in loans to eliminate slums and “blighted” areas through rebuilding. Localities received federal funds and the power of eminent domain to help them purchase and clear lands that would be earmarked for sale at a reduced cost to private developers, who, it was hoped, would be enticed to rebuild.

Over the next decade, cities of all sizes took advantage of this and its successor programs, altering urban America to a staggering degree. Yet projects often fell short of expectations. Local redevelopment organizations did not always comply with federal requirements to replace demolished housing with additional housing units, exacerbating existing housing shortages for lower-income families.⁴ Especially in the early years, cities practiced “bulldozer” renewal, eradicating whole neighborhoods. Programs sometimes eliminated not “slums,” but “low-rent” neighborhoods, as Herbert Gans has shown in his classic work on Boston’s West

¹ Mark Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933–1965* (New York, 1975), 11.

² Kevin Fox Gotham, “A City without Slums: Urban Renewal, Public Housing, and Downtown Revitalization in Kansas City, Missouri,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 60 (2001): 292. See also Jon C. Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985* (Baltimore, 1990).

³ Alexander von Hoffman, “A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949,” *Housing Policy Debate* 2 (2000): 299; Gotham, “City without Slums,” esp. 294. Gotham highlights the role played by the real estate industry spokespersons affiliated with the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and its research arm, the Urban Land Institute, which recommended that cities condemn the blighted areas near the Central Business District (CBD) and sell or lease the lands to private developers for rebuilding.

⁴ Von Hoffman, “Study in Contradictions,” 318; Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 208.

End. Again and again, racial minorities were disproportionately affected. Projects often proceeded despite civic outcry, and in city after city, cleared lands remained vacant. Mark Gelfand observed, "Throughout the country, wrecking crews leveled the homes and businesses of urban Americans, who then watched their former properties sprout weeds and remain fallow for years."⁵

Much of the scholarship on the politics and legacy of postwar urban renewal has highlighted the nation's larger cities, such as Atlanta, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City, New York, and Newark.⁶ Certainly these cities featured the most extensive and costly projects. It is sometimes forgotten that officials in smaller towns, such as Easton, Pennsylvania, with a population of approximately thirty-five thousand in the 1950s, also sought and secured the same federal funds. In fact, by 1961, almost 28 percent of cities of twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand inhabitants were participating in federally funded renewal projects.⁷ We have more to learn about how experiences in smaller towns compare and how their residents understand today the causes and consequences of the programs that, in many cases, permanently altered life in their cities. As David Schuyler writes, "how small and medium-sized communities . . . attempted to halt urban decline and attract downtown the new commercial developments that were spiraling outward from the center is an important though largely unexamined component of our recent history."⁸ This study, based on interviews with former residents and current and former city officials, newspaper coverage, and city planning department archives, shows how local elites exploited ambiguities in the federal legislation to benefit the few at the expense of the many.⁹ It also explores an

⁵ Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York, 1962); Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 212, 156.

⁶ Gans, *Urban Villagers*; Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*; Dennis R. Judd, *The Politics of Urban Planning: The East St. Louis Experience* (Urbana, IL, 1973); Harold Kaplan, *Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance in Newark* (New York, 1963); Kirk R. Petshek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973); Teaford, *Rough Road to Renaissance*; Peter H. Rossi, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (New York, 1961); Clarence N. Stone, *Economic Growth and Neighborhood Discontent: System Bias in the Urban Renewal Program of Atlanta* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1976).

⁷ Basil Zimmer, *Rebuilding Cities: The Effects of Displacement and Relocation on Small Businesses* (Chicago, 1964), 13.

⁸ David Schuyler, *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1940–1980* (University Park, PA, 2002), 7.

⁹ This project involved ethnographic research involving interviews, discussions, and participant observation complemented by archival research. Our study began in January 2006 and continued

understudied dimension of renewal—namely its lasting human legacy—by examining the attitudes of those who were impacted by renewal towards both the recent past and their city government.

Finally, the Easton example is notable because the neighborhood in question was unusually mixed, both racially and ethnically. The creation of the black ghetto in most northern cities dates to the early twentieth century.¹⁰ This was not the case in this part of Easton. This integrated neighborhood was home to upwardly mobile blacks, and it had several African American homeowners, some of whom purchased houses as early as 1930.¹¹ An exploration of Easton's "Lebanese Town," composed of almost equal proportions of "Americans," "Lebanese," Italian Americans, and African Americans, allows us to better understand the dynamics of renewal for one of the country's rare integrated northern neighborhoods.¹²

Easton's "Lebanese Town"

It's a muggy summer evening in the neighborhood that many call Lebanese Town. A group of men sits drinking Turkish coffee and talking "old country" politics in the smoke-filled Karam's Café at Lehigh and Bank streets. Outdoors on South Fourth and Lehigh streets, a few white-haired women in black dresses and black stockings sit on sagging front

through summer 2008. We conducted interviews and conversations with roughly forty-five people of Lebanese, Italian, and African American ancestry. We located former residents of Lebanese descent through their parish, which is housed in a new building in downtown Easton. We met many of the neighborhood's former black residents at a reunion held at St. John Lutheran Church. Most interviews were taped and transcribed.

¹⁰ Following a period of relatively tranquil late nineteenth-century residential integration, industrialization, the use of blacks as strikebreakers, and increased social segregation all conspired to start most northern cities on a path toward accelerating residential segregation in the early twentieth century. See Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 19–31. See also Arnold R. Hirsch, "'Containment' on the Home Front: Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War," *Journal of Urban History* 26 (2000): 158–89; Kaplan, *Urban Renewal Politics*; John H. Mollenkopf, *The Contested City* (Princeton, NJ, 1983); Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), 48–50.

¹¹ Black homeowners in 1930 included Walter Hall at 341 Lehigh Street and Aaron Good at 339 Lehigh Street.

¹² Only a few studies explore the impact of renewal on integrated neighborhoods. See Guian McKee, "Liberal Ends through Illiberal Means: Race, Urban Renewal, and Community in the Eastwick Section of Philadelphia, 1949–1990," *Journal of Urban History* 27 (2001): 547–83; and Wendell Pritchett, "Race and Community in Postwar Brooklyn: The Brownsville Neighborhood Council and the Politics of Urban Renewal," *Journal of Urban History* 27 (2001): 445–70.

stoops, gazing at the shouting children who dart among the dusky shadows on the street. . . . Nearby, adults and kids savor refreshing, homemade lemon ice from Thomas’ corner grocery store at the bottom of the Lehigh Street hill. On most warm days like this one, South Fourth and roughly a three block radius surrounding it pulsate with the sounds of voices speaking English and Arabic—often a lively combination of the two—while aromas of garlic and baking bread lace the air.¹³

Journalist Eileen Kenna described the Lebanese neighborhood in this way in 1983 as part of a series of articles marking the twentieth anniversary of the neighborhood’s demolition. “Lebanese Town” was in downtown Easton near the railroad station, west of the city center. It was bordered by the Lehigh River and Lehigh and Washington streets to the south, South Fifth Street to the west, South Fourth Street to the east, and Ferry Street on the north. A ninety-year-old, life-long Easton resident and local historian, Mrs. Godfrey, described it as a lively and racially mixed section at the city center with densely packed, two- and three-story houses inhabited by shopkeepers, factory workers, laborers, and their families.¹⁴ While to local Eastonians it was known as “Syrian Town,” and as “Lebanese Town” after World War II, and despite the marked Lebanese character of Kenna’s depiction, it was not exclusively Lebanese. In our calculations, based on the 1963 city directory for the streets concerned in the immediate renewal area, 20 percent of the households were “Lebanese,” 25 percent Italian and Italian American, 30 percent African American, with the remaining 25 percent Irish, Greek, Pennsylvania Dutch, or Anglo and other extractions described by our interviewees as “American.”¹⁵

The neighborhood underwent considerable ethnic succession. In the 1880s, its residents included “native”-born residents of German stock intermixed with immigrants from Wales, Ireland, England, and several Germanic states.¹⁶ They were succeeded by eastern European and

¹³ Eileen Kenna, “Lebanese Town’ Now a State of Mind,” *Easton Express*, Jan. 2, 1983, A1.

¹⁴ Mrs. Godfrey, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 13, 2007, Easton, PA. The names of interviewees are pseudonyms used to protect individuals’ identities, as is the standard practice in cultural anthropology.

¹⁵ Neighborhood data are compiled from *Polk’s Easton (Northampton County, Pa.) City Directory . . . 1963* (Boston, MA, 1963), from which we developed a house-by-house database of neighborhood residents prior to demolition. Once the businesses (14) and vacant apartments (14) were eliminated, 141 residences remained. Former residents themselves attributed ethnicities in focus-group settings; these ethnic labels were in turn checked against the individual census records.

¹⁶ These Germanic states included Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Hesse. See U.S. Census, 1880, for Easton, Northampton County, PA.

Russian Jews and immigrants from southern Italy, who arrived in the late nineteenth century.¹⁷ Easton's Lebanese began to arrive by the turn of the century.¹⁸ They were Maronites, virtually all from the village of Kfarsab in the Al Koura province of contemporary Lebanon. Their history parallels wider Lebanese migration patterns. Most worked as peddlers, apparently settling in Easton at the request of a New York supplier.¹⁹ New York City had become the center of this enterprise by the 1880s, and from there networks of suppliers and peddling circuits spread out into other regions of the country.²⁰ Easton's peddlers traveled by foot as far as ten miles away, selling such items as thread, needles, buttons, combs, or shoes to farmers in the rural areas. The ideal peddler career trajectory involved slow but steady savings, leading to the purchase of a wagon and, ultimately, an independent dry goods store. By the 1920s, this transition was already underway in Easton. Of the 112 people in the city identified in the 1920 census as "Assyrian" or from the "Syrian Arab Republic," 40 percent worked as peddlers, 28 percent were merchants selling dry goods or fruits, and a remaining 26 percent were laborers at local iron, steel, or hosiery mills.²¹ Households by this time often contained extended families and included second-generation Pennsylvania-born children along with additional relatives, such as the household heads' parents, siblings, or

¹⁷ The majority of Easton's late nineteenth-century Italian immigrants came from the provinces of Calabria and Sicily. There were 341 Italians in Northampton County in 1900, 1,582 in 1910, and 3,723 in 1920. They were attracted by opportunities in local quarries, construction, the Bethlehem Steel plant, or local silk mills. Richard Grifo and Anthony F. Noto, *A History of Italian Immigration to the Easton Area* (Easton, PA, 1964), 14, 10, 12.

¹⁸ "Syrian" immigration to the United States commenced sometime after 1860, peaked in the late nineteenth century, and continued until World War I. Immigration came to a virtual halt with the U.S. Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924, but it began anew at the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict and again during the Lebanese Civil War in the 1970s. This immigration was dominated by Maronite, Orthodox, and Melkite Christians of the eastern-rite sects and by residents of the autonomous Mount Lebanon district. By 1910, "Syrians" were found in all states, with populations concentrated in such cities as New York, Detroit, Boston, and Worcester, Massachusetts. When the U.S. Census Bureau first used a separate "Syrian" category in 1920, there were 51,900 people so identified. See Sarah Gualtieri, "Gendering the Chain Migration Thesis: Women and Syrian Transatlantic Migration, 1878–1924," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24 (2004): 67–78; Kemal Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860–1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17 (1985): 175–209; Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America* (1924; repr. Piscataway, NJ, 2005).

¹⁹ Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Catholic Church (Easton, PA), "History of the Easton Lebanese," <http://www.mountlebanon.org/histeast.html> (accessed Apr. 3, 2006).

²⁰ Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale, IL, 1985), 139.

²¹ Of the Easton residents listed as being of Syrian descent in the 1920 U.S. Census, 33 percent (35 individuals) were born in Pennsylvania, and all of these had birth dates after 1907.

cousins. The increasing concentration of outsiders from “Syria” raised some local alarm. An intracommunity conflict in 1916 led journalists to write of the “rioting” of “warring Assyrians” on Lehigh and South Bank streets and suggests that even the police were nervous.²² By the 1930s, however, most Lebanese immigrant families had transitioned from being tenants to homeowners.²³ This process accelerated after World War II, by which time most families of Russian Jewish, Italian, and Pennsylvania German descent had left for the surrounding suburbs and the city’s more exclusive neighborhoods, such as College Hill, leaving behind a neighborhood composed of remaining Italian- and Lebanese-origin immigrants, their descendants, and African Americans.

Easton’s black population was bimodal. A large contingent was recently transplanted from the South, participants in the Great Migration, as was typical for industrial regions of Pennsylvania.²⁴ The other source was a large extended family descended from free blacks who traced their ancestry to Aaron Hoff, who arrived in Easton in 1834.²⁵ Many members of this family joined the First Colored Lutheran Church, affiliated with the current St. John Lutheran Church and located to this day at Ferry and Fourth streets.²⁶ Both “southern” and longtime “local” blacks lived in the neighborhood known as “Lebanese Town.”

“We never used to lock our doors”

Easton’s “Lebanese Town” lives on in the memories of the former residents we interviewed for this study. When we met an interviewee for the first time, he or she often exclaimed, “We never used to lock our doors!” One woman told us that her aunt did not even own a key until renewal forced her out of her home. This frequent refrain indicated a sense of

²² Acting Street Sergeant Keller took ten other police officers with him to make arrests of a few individuals, suggesting that the authorities were preparing for the worst. *Easton Argus*, Nov. 29, 1916.

²³ Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Catholic Church, “History of Easton Lebanese”; U.S. Census, 1930, for Easton, Northampton County, PA.

²⁴ Alferdteen Harrison, *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson, MS, 1991).

²⁵ Aaron O. Hoff and his wife, Diana, were born in New Jersey around 1815 and 1820, respectively. See U.S. Census, 1850 and 1860, for Northampton County, PA. They had eight children. Their descendants lived in the neighborhood, and many of them are still members of the St. John Lutheran Church.

²⁶ This information came from interviewees. The church was built in 1843 as Christ’s Evangelical Church. See *History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1877), 188–89.

safety and familiarity with one's neighbors and implicitly contrasted practices found in his or her new neighborhood today. In the old neighborhood, the interviewees told us, people used to look after each other. We heard this from interviewees of all backgrounds. A woman descended from Easton's early free black population described it as a "real" neighborhood where "you were everybody's child." Because people worked different hours in the same locale and/or quite close by, someone was always on the street getting ready for work or coming home. "The streets were always alive," another woman explained. She said that she would return home from work at a nearby Lebanese tavern at two o'clock in the morning to find older men still on the stoops talking. Lights would soon shine from the home of the local baker.²⁷

Another common theme was the rich texture of urban life, a texture determined in large part by the close interpenetration of residences and industry. People worked and lived in the downtown area. They discussed at length the nearby factories and businesses that employed them or their family members; their neighbors ran a great variety of independent shops. Before we arrived to his home, Joseph had prepared a list, from memory, of forty businesses and religious institutions that were destroyed, and in our interview with him, he focused on these businesses and how they provided a vibrant social life for the youth growing up there.²⁸

But it was the emphasis our interviewees placed on the neighborhood's ethnic and racial diversity that most surprised us and led to the present study. Without prompting, all of our interviewees noted the neighborhood's unusual racial and ethnic diversity. Eighty-year-old Lebanese American Anne, when talking about her favorite dress shop, Grollman's, said, "When I was in Easton and I would see something that I really wanted, Grollman's would order it for me. They were one of the best—they were a wonderful family. See, I'm Lebanese—they were Jewish. In those days, the Lebanese, the Jews, the Italians, the Afro-Americans . . . all lived mixed, one right after the other." Anne regularly identified people as members of one of several distinct ethnic groups: "Afro-American,"

²⁷ Susan, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 27, 2007, Easton, PA; Sandra, interview by Andrea Smith, July 15, 2008, Easton, PA; Francine, focus group discussion led by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 21, 2007, Sammy's Place, Easton, PA.

²⁸ Joseph, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 27, 2007, Easton, PA. Joseph's list includes eight general stores, one bakery, one grade school, three churches, two gas stations, four restaurants, two cleaners, two butcher shops, two tailors, a shoemaker, a print shop, a flower shop, six barrooms, a club, an appliance store, a men's clothing store, a pharmacy, an ice cream parlor, and a state liquor store.

“Lebanese,” “Italian,” or “Jewish.” She explained, “They lived right next door, right across the street from us, around the corner on Fourth Street, DiMaggio. I don’t know whether he remembers anything or not—he was a small boy . . . but the Italians, the Afro-Americans, the Jewish—Sift, they had a bakery and they got to be famous—and the Goods! The Goods was Afro-American, and they had a home which was gorgeous.” In Anne’s view, diversity was a positive feature of the neighborhood, and she often likened the neighbors’ interactions to those of a large family. “Now, we went to each other’s funerals, we went to each other’s weddings, we were there for each other . . . and that is something that I will never

While neighborhood residents of all ethnicities cited the locale’s unusual racial and ethnic mix, we did identify some degree of microlevel segregation. Black former residents pointed out that blacks were concentrated along Maple, Shawde Court, Washington, and West streets. However, a glimpse at the families living on South Fourth Street at the time of renewal (1963) reveals a block-by-block mixture of peoples of all of these backgrounds (see table 1).

Interviewees also underscored the integrated nature of the neighborhood’s businesses. This was the first feature Mrs. Godfrey remembered when she suggested that we research this past. At length she described “taverns” run by Lebanese women that catered to the local African Americans as well as the Lebanese. Thus, while businesses were known to be “Lebanese,” “Italian,” or “Afro-American,” they attracted a pluralistic clientele. Anne noted, “There was an African American poolroom on Bank Street, South Bank Street—there was a poolroom there. And it was a hanging place for the Lebanese, Italians, the Afro-Americans and the Jewish—they all used to get together.”³⁰

“Redevelopment ruined Easton”

Many people we met seemed stunned by the dramatic change to the cityscape and still had difficulty comprehending what had happened over forty years later. The urban renewal that they experienced was so complete that many former residents continue to talk about it with a mixture of confusion and disbelief. Susan, an Italian American woman in her late sixties, met us in her home and brought us photocopied images of some of the vanished streets. While showing us a picture of the “Free” Bridge

²⁹ Anne, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 22, 2007, Easton, PA.

Table 1. Ethnicity of South Fourth Street Residents

Address	Name	Ethnicity	
111	South Fourth	Barkat Jos	Lebanese
111	South Fourth	Isaac Wakeem P	Lebanese
111	South Fourth	Manento Domenick	Italian
111	South Fourth	Sabo Rose Mrs	Lebanese
111	South Fourth	Symia Leonard J	Lebanese
113	South Fourth	Miner Robt H	Lebanese wife
113	South Fourth	Samia Nazah Mrs	Lebanese
113	South Fourth	Tine Bessie Mrs	
117	South Fourth	Hagerty Margt T Mrs	
119.5	South Fourth	Arner Emily S	
119.5	South Fourth	Kutz Margt A 2	
121	South Fourth	Fadero Jas	Italian
121	South Fourth	Lane Lillian	
121	South Fourth	Shumar Elias B	Lebanese
123	South Fourth	Avianantos John	Greek
129	South Fourth	Isaac Barry P	Lebanese
132	South Fourth	Loprete Wm D	Italian
134	South Fourth	Canone Wallace J	Lebanese
138	South Fourth	John Namie R	Lebanese
138	South Fourth	McClary Viola Mrs	African American
140	South Fourth	Good Russell	African American
140	South Fourth	Unger Frank	
144	South Fourth	Boulous Jos E	Lebanese
144	South Fourth	Canone Elliot J	Lebanese
144	South Fourth	D'Angelo Liboria C	Italian
148	South Fourth	Schooley Geo A	Italian
148	South Fourth	Transue Richd E	
149	South Fourth	Jabour Geo	Lebanese
149	South Fourth	Mansour Farhat	Lebanese
150	South Fourth	Burkot Mary Mrs	Lebanese
152	South Fourth	Jabbour Geo J	Lebanese
153	South Fourth	Badway Jas	Lebanese
154	South Fourth	Scalzo Rose M Mrs	Italian
154	South Fourth	Speer Lillian H Mrs	
155	South Fourth	Melhem Izzat	Lebanese
156	South Fourth	Isaac Jos P	Lebanese
157	South Fourth	Saad Harry A	Lebanese

158	South Fourth	Daniels Bessie A	Lebanese
159	South Fourth	Smith Fred J	
202	South Fourth	Staszewski Edw	Lebanese wife
202	South Fourth	Torres Getulio	Italian
204	South Fourth	Rose Esther G	African American
204	South Fourth	Rose Ruth M	African American
204	South Fourth	Winkey Eleanore H Mrs	African American
205	South Fourth	Melhem Jahjah	Lebanese
206	South Fourth	Shumar Rose Mrs	Lebanese
208	South Fourth	Hanni Anthony J	Lebanese
209	South Fourth	Hanni Jos	Lebanese
209	South Fourth	Merritt Edw F jr	
209	South Fourth	Rose Robt G	
211	South Fourth	Salin Sarkin	Lebanese
212	South Fourth	Karam Geo	Lebanese
212	South Fourth	Rizzo John	Italian
213	South Fourth	Hubei Elmer P	
214	South Fourth	Gioieni Chas J	Italian
215	South Fourth	Haddad Lewis	Lebanese
216	South Fourth	Joseph Jacob A	Lebanese
217	South Fourth	Jebeir Tannas	Lebanese
218	South Fourth	Lauer Mahlon H	Lebanese wife
219	South Fourth	Bentz Chas E	Lebanese wife/PA Dutch
220	South Fourth	Johnston Carl F	African American
221.5	South Fourth	McCullough Eva Mrs	African American
221.5	South Fourth	Stull Jean Mrs	
222	South Fourth	Joseph Jabour J	Lebanese
224	South Fourth	Essid Ferod	Lebanese
227	South Fourth	Oliver Geo E	Lebanese
231	South Fourth	Badway Jos	Lebanese
300	South Fourth	Thomas Helen Mrs	Lebanese
304	South Fourth	Koury Frank	Lebanese
308	South Fourth	Bachman Florence E	

Source: *Polk's Easton (Northampton County, Pa.) City Directory . . . 1963* (Boston, MA, 1963). Ethnicities were determined by former residents and census data. Blank ethnicity denotes "American" or unknown. Note that the Lehigh-Washington street demolition targeted the west side of the street (odd numbers). The east side was demolished in the Riverside Drive project.

with homes in the background, she added, “You can see here the amount of homes they tore down. I don’t know why they did that.” Mrs. Godfrey’s assessment that project backers were “radicals” was shared by Susan’s husband, Joseph, a retired high school teacher, who described the process as fevered. “They waved their hands and it was gone.” He felt that the area had not been in bad shape at all. “Some houses in the back alleys may not have been perfect, but even those were nice. But they just mowed them down.” The philosophy of the time contrasted with today’s “spot redevelopment,” he explained. “In those days, if you had one bad house, you took out the whole block.” He added, “Once you start leveling, where do you draw the line?”³¹

People often discuss the project in terms that suggest a murky notion of the process at work. When asked how the decision was made to demolish his store, one eighty-eight-year-old grocer said simply, “Redevelopment came and they didn’t care about you.” “Redevelopment” simply arrived in Easton. When asked who was in charge of urban renewal, another man replied, “I don’t know who it was—I’m sure it had to come out of Washington, then it trickled down into the locals. They used to call it Easton Redevelopment Authority, they had to do what they had to do because, you know, it was probably their job. It just happened, that’s all.” Sometimes people talked about “the City” as the principle actor. A “Lebanese” woman in her late seventies explained, “The City—the City had the say-so.”³²

For many, “redevelopment” was a villain. One woman told us, “Once the redevelopment came, it broke up the community.” Her friend concurred. She discussed life in the former neighborhood in rosy terms, concluding, “until the redevelopment came to improve Easton.” In most cases, people used “redevelopment” to refer to a general process, but sometimes it was unclear if they were also referring to the responsible local agency, the Easton Redevelopment Authority (ERA). Anne stated

³⁰ Mrs. Godfrey, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, February 7, 2007, Easton, PA; Anne, interview, June 22, 2007.

³¹ Susan and Joseph, interview by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 27, 2007, Easton, PA; Mrs. Godfrey, interview, June 13, 2007.

³² Oliver, focus group discussion led by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 28, 2007, Sammy’s Place, Easton, PA; John, interview by Rachel Scarpato, July 12, 2007, Easton, PA; Ellen, interview by Rachel Scarpato, July 5, 2007, Easton, PA. People we spoke with used simplified ethnic labels (“Lebanese” rather than “Lebanese American”) as a shorthand to identify themselves and others. We employ their labels here, but since the people they discussed were usually U.S. citizens, we place these labels in quotation marks.

outright in the first minutes of our conversation, "Now, who ruined Easton? You could put it in [your] paper: redevelopment ruined Easton!" These statements reflect real alienation from local government and the political process. In their narratives, "redevelopment" appears akin to a force of nature that arrived and then left, a process into which residents had little input or influence and one seemingly void of human actors.³³

Other interviewees saw redevelopment in Easton as only a microcosm of larger urban renewal efforts around the country. The realization that "redevelopment" was happening nationwide allowed our interviewees to feel that they were not suffering alone. When discussing redevelopment in Easton, a bartender in her late fifties asked her friends, "Didn't the same thing happen in Scranton?" That similar renewal processes occurred just seventy miles northeast of Easton illustrated the prevalence and extensiveness of "redevelopment." A "Lebanese" grocer in his eighties told us that "redevelopment was happening all over . . . the same thing happened to my mother's two sisters in Providence, Rhode Island."³⁴

Today, others blame specific individuals. When we met a group of former residents for the first time at a local tavern, one woman in her fifties was quite clear about who destroyed her neighborhood. "Mayor George Smith!" Francine shouted out to us between bites of hamburger. "They gave my parents \$5,300 for their house," she added. "They were the first to go." Joseph also mentioned Mayor Smith and added, laughing, "They named a bridge after the man who destroyed our city." Yet Smith, mayor when the project was conceived and carried out, was not the only person impugned. Other interviewees blamed former members of the Easton Redevelopment Authority, who they felt must have made money on the side. And yet no clear consensus emerged regarding who was behind the project and stood to gain from it. Thus, like people who discussed the process in vague terms, those who identified specific villains also were puzzled by the whole process. When we asked Joseph who had benefited from redevelopment, he replied "Who knows?! I wish I could tell you." He suggested that perhaps the owner of a small gas station benefited, adding, "Someone benefited, you know someone did. Money went into someone's pocket, I'm sure."³⁵

While they apparently did not know exactly who was running the

³³ Francine, focus group discussion, June 21, 2007; Anne, interview, June 22, 2007.

³⁴ Sally, focus group discussion, June 21, 2007, Sammy's Place, Easton, PA; Oliver, focus group discussion, June 28, 2007.

³⁵ Francine, focus group discussion, June 21, 2007; Joseph, interview, June 27, 2007.

renewal project, former residents did have a clear sense of the rationale city officials had given for it. These authorities, many said, thought their neighborhood was a great source of “blight,” an assessment they passionately contested. As Francine told us, “They said that the area was ‘blighted,’ but it really wasn’t. In the eyes of the mayor, the area was ‘blighted.’” Susan also stated emphatically, “Most of the homes they tore down were brick. Politicians at the time would tell you that they were crap, but they really weren’t.” Ellen explained, “They said that our houses were slums. Our houses were not slums. Hardwood floors? Every house had hardwood floors, oak, mahogany.” Former homeowners consistently defended the quality of their properties, often giving elaborate descriptions of their homes that had been razed. Anne, for instance, told us, “I had a finished-off cellar, I had a beautiful cellar, I had it all done over like an apartment. And my first floor, I had all hardwood floors. . . . I had paneling in every room. . . . I had a beautiful picture window. My home was . . . brought past up to date. It was beautiful.”³⁶

Another man contrasted the homes they were encouraged to move into with the quality of homes the city wanted to tear down:

They wanted us to move, they said “how about if we move you to Wilson Borough?” . . . Between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets there were townhouses, very small, one, two, three bedrooms—they wanted us to move there. The homes we used to live in, 149 South Fourth Street, where the windows were, they had marble . . . we had solid oak steps going up, three stories plus a full basement. They were built with double brick, they were fantastic buildings, large buildings, large rooms.

In his view, city officials labeled the homes as blighted so that they could tear them down. “That’s how they labeled them to rip them down, you know, by eminent domain.”³⁷

The Specter of the Suburbs and Urban Decline

Easton’s “Lebanese Town” was eradicated in stages by a series of renewal projects. The first, the “Lehigh-Washington Street” project, targeted the very heart of the Lebanese community and is our focus here.

³⁶ Francine, focus group discussion, June 21, 2007; Susan, interview, June 27, 2007; Ellen, interview, July 5, 2007; Anne, interview, June 22, 2007.

³⁷ John, interview, July 12, 2007.

Described as "one of the most drawn out and difficult urban renewal projects in the Lehigh Valley," this was the fourth redevelopment project undertaken by city officials, who were facing postwar deindustrialization and the development of the rural areas ringing the city.³⁸ Easton had been the region's premiere shopping center, but by the 1950s it was losing its allure to suburban malls, and its population was declining. A report on the Central Business District (CBD) noted, "The population of Easton declined by over 3,000 people between 1950 and 1960," representing a nearly 10 percent population loss.³⁹ The report went on to argue that population decline was not the entire story. Instead, Easton's share of consumer spending was "declining absolutely and relatively." Even though retail sales in the CBD continued to increase between 1954 and 1958, city leaders were worried because this increase was marginal and dwarfed by growth in the surrounding areas. Analysts argued that downtown businesses could not present an "atmosphere conducive to attracting shoppers"; they described building conditions as "generally poor" and parking as inadequate, and they lamented that the "mixed utilization of land fail[ed] to create an aesthetic appearance." The report noted the real risk of further erosion of the CBD, the city's most important sector of the tax base.⁴⁰ Reports such as this one convinced city officials that they needed to revitalize the commercial portion of downtown Easton to draw suburbanites back to the city's shopping district.

The timing of a natural disaster proved fortuitous for development interests. In the wake of flooding caused by Hurricane Diane in 1955, the City Planning Commission "seized the opportunity" to qualify 197 city acres along the Lehigh and Delaware rivers for redevelopment under the Federal Urban Renewal Program.⁴¹ Despite the fact that there was "no discernible loss of the historic structures that lined the waterfront," as Timothy Hare has written, the city's renewal efforts after the flood left an "unprecedented wake of architectural destruction."⁴² The Easton Redevelopment Authority commenced its first project, the Canal Street

³⁸ "Difficult' Renewal Job Coming to End in Easton," *Allentown Morning Call*, July 18, 1973.

³⁹ Joint Planning Commission Lehigh-Northampton Counties, "Easton Central Business District" (research report, typescript, n.d.), 1, Planning and Redevelopment Archives, City Hall, Easton, PA.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1958* (Easton, PA, 1959), 34.

⁴² Timothy Hare, "Governmental Role in the Decentralization of the Historic Area of Easton, PA from 1945 to 1960" (independent study project, Department of History, East Stroudsburg

project, one year after the hurricane (see figure 1). This project involved the demolition of 48 homes on the south side of the Lehigh River and preparation of the land for industrial use. Luring developers proved more difficult than planners had anticipated, however. The land was still vacant in 1963, and two years later the project was referred to as “the Canal Street fiasco.”⁴³ Two smaller projects, the Union Street and Jefferson Street renewal projects, followed. City officials later considered these projects more successful because the cleared lands were rebuilt with homes for low-rent and low-income public housing, nearly replacing the demolished housing units (112 new public-housing units replaced 133 demolished units). But they too had their critics.⁴⁴

Formal consideration of the Lehigh-Washington Street area began in the last three months of 1960. Officials intended the initial venture to involve thirty-eight acres and to be a “joint redevelopment and rehabilitation project” with the city’s housing authority, which would purchase some of the land to build high-rise housing for the elderly. The plan was pursued energetically. By the end of 1960, an inspection team was half finished with a “comprehensive substandard survey of every dwelling unit” in the “area bounded by 4th Street, 5th Street, Ferry Street, and the New Jersey Central Railroad,” the area that was eventually razed.⁴⁵ In January 1961, the City Planning Commission gave preliminary certification for a “Lehigh-Washington Street Urban Renewal area.”⁴⁶

Plans continued at a rapid pace; the federal government approved a planning grant on November 30, 1962, and by year’s end (a mere month later), the Easton Redevelopment Authority reported that it had completed “forty-five percent of the planning activities.” A few weeks later, the authority requested federal permission to initiate execution, or “acquisition, relocation and demolition.”⁴⁷ It was on January 24 that the Easton City Council and City Planning Commission first received a copy of the

University, Dec. 22, 1993, unpublished manuscript at Skillman Library, Lafayette College, Easton, PA), sec. 1, 55.

⁴³ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1963* (Easton, PA, 1964), 67; Community Planning Subcommittee of the Citizens Advisory Committee, “Report on the Advisability of Including the Moose Property in the L-W Street Project” (typescript, Mar. 23, 1965), Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

⁴⁴ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1964* (Easton, PA, 1965), 76.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1960* (Easton, PA, 1961), 45, 46.

⁴⁶ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1961* (Easton, PA, 1962), 67.

⁴⁷ *Annual Report of the City of Easton . . . 1962* (Easton, PA, 1963), 63. A reason given for the speed in clearing the land was the need for housing for the elderly.

plan, which had been prepared by Murray-Walker Associates, Inc., a Philadelphia-based firm hired by the Easton Redevelopment Authority. It is no wonder that some city officials expressed surprise, as the plan involved the demolition of the area’s 155 structures, including all of its residential ones. At that meeting, John Beiswanger, chair of the City

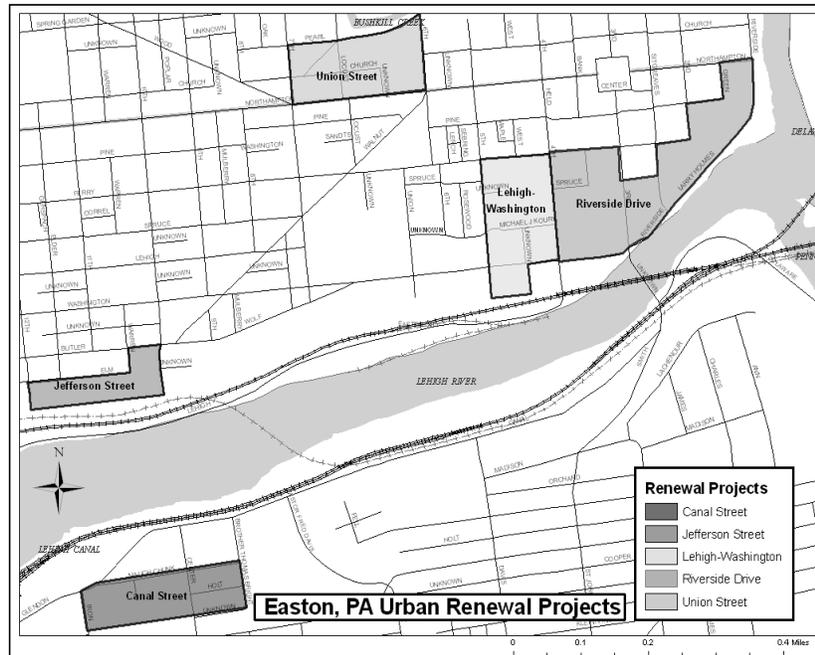


Fig. 1. Location of Easton Urban Renewal Projects. Courtesy of Pat Facciponti, Lafayette College.

Planning Commission, and commission member John Oldt questioned such an extensive clearing of properties. Joseph Dowell, coordinator of ERA, responded with the city planning philosophy then in vogue: complete clearance was necessary to promote “a sensible re-use pattern” and increase the site’s attractiveness to potential developers. It appears that the planners hoped to minimize public response to the project. Murray-Walker representative Michael Lonergan announced that just one public hearing would be held for the entire tract and that in the “consent area,” “acquisition of properties” would be speeded up roughly a year.⁴⁸

The outcry was immediate when these plans were made public. Protesters first targeted the proposed demolition of one building in particular: the headquarters of the Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society located at the intersection of Fourth and Ferry streets.⁴⁹ A thirteen-person delegation met with the Easton City Council a few days after the plans became public. Edward Schaible, president of the historical society, argued that the 1833 building provided a good example of the “late federal period style.”⁵⁰ A letter-writing campaign followed, with writers focusing on the soundness of the structure and the difficulty the historical society would face if forced to find a new location for its museum. After what the *Easton Express* described as a “veritable flood of letters to the editor” from “young and old,” “architects and engineers, political scientists, historians, business people and plain lay citizens” against the demolition of a “priceless community asset,” the redevelopment authority altered the plan in order to spare the building.⁵¹ As an editorial explained, there was a tension between “redevelopment as an imperative to economic regeneration” and “a proper desire to preserve the rich historical assets that are found only in the older communities.”⁵²

Somewhat lost in the fray, however, were protests regarding the other 150 structures slated for the wrecking ball. Mrs. Margaret Hagerty, a resident of South Fourth Street and a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee on the Workable Program, met with the city council along with the historical society protesters and argued that “all houses in the project area along Fourth Street between Ferry and Spruce should be retained, as all but one “are of brick construction, and, although old, are in good condition.” She added that they shouldn’t be demolished “just because we have someone who wants to do some fancy planning in Easton.”⁵³

Hagerty was not alone. The local Lebanese community opposed the project, and pastor Father Norman Peters of Our Lady of Lebanon Church took the lead. His protest group, The Lehigh-Washington

⁴⁸ “Council, Planners Due to Act by Wednesday on Redevelopment Job,” *Easton Express*, Jan. 25, 1963.

⁴⁹ “Letter Protests Plans to Tear Down Building,” *Easton Express*, Jan. 29, 1963.

⁵⁰ “Council Gets Protest on Plan to Demolish Historical Headquarters,” *Easton Express*, Jan. 30, 1963.

⁵¹ “Museum Question Solution?” *Easton Express*, Feb. 11, 1963; “Museum to Be Spared under Private Housing Plan Offered to City,” *Easton Express*, Feb. 11, 1963.

⁵² “Must Easton Lose Museum?” *Easton Express*, Jan. 31, 1963.

⁵³ “Council Gets Protest on Plan to Demolish Historical Headquarters.”

Citizens Home Preservation Committee, hired a local law firm for assistance, and it spent much of the next year protesting the project. It too built its argument around challenging the "blight" claims, and it pressed city leaders to explain how they came up with the data used to justify demolition.⁵⁴

There was only one public meeting to answer questions on the project. Held May 28, it attracted hundreds of people, and the sentiment at the meeting was largely in opposition to development. Hagerty presented a petition against the project that was signed by 386 people from across the city. Individuals spoke up to defend the quality of their homes. For instance, Mrs. Gloria Robinson (an African American woman living at 114 South Fifth Street) urged council members to retain houses on her street. She added that she had invested a great deal into her home, "and at 64 I don't think I could start all over again." Rose Salvero, also of South Fifth Street, made a similar plea, and a representative of Easton's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said that a statement on discrimination in Easton's public housing was forthcoming.⁵⁵

Peters's Citizens' Home Preservation Committee represented the largest opposition bloc, and he submitted a petition with over five hundred signatures. He also presented an alternative proposal that allowed preservation of "the standard solid structures" along Fourth Street, the south side of Ferry Street, on Lehigh Street, and on Washington Street from Fourth to West streets. He argued that these houses were "clean, safe, and sanitary, mostly owner-occupied." He added that all that was needed to preserve them was to "move your program back 100 feet." When asked what the project would do to the Lebanese parish he served, he responded, "It would destroy it." Attorney Coffin, hired by Peters's committee, pressed the city council and Murray-Walker employee Michael Lonergan for the data they were using to justify such widespread demolition. Lonergan replied that "he did not have data on the study with him," but he did concede that some of the buildings were "in good condition."⁵⁶

The local press assisted prodevelopment interests. Although it had ini-

⁵⁴ "Council Okays Lehigh-Washington Redevelopment. Vote Is Unanimous Despite Objections by Area Residents," *Easton Express*, June 27, 1963; "Owners Protest Prices Offered on Properties in L-W Project Area," *Easton Express*, Sept. 11, 1963.

⁵⁵ "Redevelopment Decision by Council May Not Be Reached for Month," *Easton Express*, May 29, 1963.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

tially expressed some trepidation, particularly regarding the demolition of the county historical society headquarters, and in February had published an editorial regarding the potential displacement of the city's black population, the *Easton Express* subsequently began publishing a series of prodevelopment editorials, especially in the days leading to the important city council meetings held in May and June.⁵⁷ It granted guest editorial spots to Joseph Dowell, ERA coordinator, and these were reinforced by articles penned by members of the paper's own editorial board ("Decline of Cities—Heavy Price of Progress," "Third of Easton's Housing Units Unfit," "D-Day for Easton's Renewal," "Can Council Face Renewal Challenge?" "Why City Renewal in L-W Sector?" "Attacks on Renewal Neglect the Truths," and "In Renewal, Piecemeal Approach Can't Work").⁵⁸ Editorials emphasized the widespread blight in the area, and the consultants predicted a dramatic increase in the tax base and the marketing of the entire project area within two years of acquisition.⁵⁹

Citizens had one last moment to address their concerns at the city council meeting on June 27. Peters's group submitted a ten-and-a-half-page letter that described the plan as being "in reckless disregard of the human rights of your citizens affected" and one that would pose risks in the loss of "present substantial tax revenues." While his letter outlined additional critiques, including the fact that contracts had yet to be issued for the use of the land, his committee emphasized concerns with the "standards employed in the study of blight." He pressed the city council for another hearing "at which evidence would be given on the actual condition of buildings in the area." Yet, when the city council voted unanimously to approve the project, it did so without holding additional public meetings or, as far as we can tell, ever providing the requested data to local citizens.⁶⁰ Despite Peters's continued efforts to block the project, negotiations with owners commenced on September 1, with the Easton

⁵⁷ "Major Challenge in Renewal," *Easton Express*, Feb. 12, 1963.

⁵⁸ Joseph C. Dowell, "Decline of Cities—Heavy Price of Progress," *Easton Express*, May 25, 1963; Dowell, "Third of Easton's Housing Units Unfit," *Easton Express*, May 27, 1963; "L-W Program's Value to the City," *Easton Express*, May 28, 1963; "D-Day for Easton's Renewal," *Easton Express*, May 31, 1963; Edward P. Kennedy, "Can Council Face Renewal Challenge?" *Easton Express*, June 1, 1963; Kennedy, "Why City Renewal in L-W Sector," *Easton Express*, June 8, 1963; Kennedy, "Attacks on Renewal Neglect the Truths," *Easton Express*, June 19, 1963; "A Display of Political Courage," *Easton Express*, June 23, 1963; Dowell, "In Renewal, Piecemeal Approach Can't Work," *Easton Express*, August 7, 1963.

⁵⁹ Kennedy, "Why City Renewal in L-W Sector."

⁶⁰ "Council Okays Lehigh-Washington Redevelopment."

Redevelopment Authority obtaining the "right to possession" by December 9, 1963.⁶¹ Demolition began the next year, and the area was cleared by the end of 1967.⁶²

The project was controversial even after its completion. The ERA encountered "seemingly endless difficulties finding buyers" for the land, which remained empty for years. In the end, the city redeveloped most of the area as a series of public-housing projects for the elderly, resulting in a decided loss of tax revenue (rather than the ten-fold increase that had been promised).⁶³

Justifying Demolition, Measuring "Blight": Official and Unofficial Languages of Blight

Our interviewees were certainly correct in their belief that the city used the language of "blight" to describe the former Lebanese neighborhood and justify its demolition. In city reports and in our discussions with former officials, concerns about the spread of "blight" were prominent. The Easton Redevelopment Authority's "Questions and Answers on Urban Renewal," a brochure distributed through the Citizens Advisory Committee in 1963, referred to "blight" as a "sickness that plagues," a condition where "a single dilapidated building . . . spread[s] the infection to the surrounding area." Conveying the need to "beautify" and "revitalize" Easton, city reports and brochures attempted to show the tremendous possibilities of urban renewal programs. These publications communicated a great sense of optimism, replete with images of a new, airy, utopian version of downtown Easton with modern, high-rise buildings. Artists' renditions of the "renewed" Easton were contrasted with illustrations of "dilapidated dwellings," "junk and weed infested yards," "bleak depressing environments," and the "absence of adequate sanitation," conditions that all contributed to Easton's "blighted" state.⁶⁴

It is not surprising that these reports emphasized "blight." Since a primary goal of Title 1 of the Housing Act of 1949 was to eliminate slums

⁶¹ "Owners Protest Prices Offered on Properties in L-W Project Area"; "Easton Groups Air Availability of Mortgage Funds for Residents Dislocated by Renewal Projects," *Easton Express*, Oct. 31, 1963.

⁶² *Annual Report . . . 1963*, 68.

⁶³ "Difficult' Renewal Job Coming to End in Easton," *Morning Call*, July 18, 1973.

⁶⁴ Easton Redevelopment Authority, "Questions and Answers on Urban Renewal" (typescript, Mar. 31, 1963), 6, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

and “blighted” areas through rebuilding, localities could obtain the federal funds only after demonstrating the existence of “blight.” However, the federal acts never clearly defined the terms “slum” and “blighted areas.” Even an official charged with formulating housing standards and measures stated in the 1950s that blight “refers to not one characteristic or condition. . . . Instead, it covers a fairly wide range of conditions and characteristics.” To qualify, a “blighted” area needed to have both building and environmental deficiencies: “At least 20 percent of the buildings in the area must contain one or more building deficiencies, and the area must contain at least two environmental deficiencies.” The list of qualifying “environmental deficiencies” was especially vague and subjective, and it included such characteristics as overcrowding; improper location of structures; excessive dwelling unit density; conversions to incompatible types of uses, such as rooming houses among family dwellings; obsolete building types; detrimental land uses or conditions, such as incompatible uses, structures in mixed use, or adverse influences from noise, smoke, or fumes; and unsafe, congested, poorly designed, or otherwise deficient streets.⁶⁵

As we have seen, most of the citizens who opposed the project underscored the neighborhood’s *physical structures* and interpreted “blight” to be a measure of building quality. Official reports, on the other hand, were highly variable. Private consulting firms invariably attempted to quantify the amounts of “blight” found across the city. The use of numbers and percentages, and phrases such as “intensity of blight,” added an air of scientific rationality to the city’s redevelopment efforts. And yet these very measures were extremely inconsistent across the different reports produced for city government, in part because “blight” was defined in different ways. The 1956 “Land Use Plan” stated that “Blight in the City is not widespread. In most cases it is confined to pockets throughout the City, except in Wards 5 [the location of the Lehigh-Washington project], 11 and 12 where the intensity of blight is over 35%.”⁶⁶

When the ERA first narrowed its sights on the Lehigh-Washington Street section of Ward 5, it contracted Morris Knowles, Inc., to conduct a “Substandard Dwelling Survey” in 1960. This survey revealed quite different figures. It recommended only 16 percent of the 149 dwellings surveyed (or 24 buildings) for “repair or demolition,” not the “over 35%”

⁶⁵ Carl Lindbloom and Morton Farrah, *The Citizen’s Guide to Urban Renewal*, rev. ed. (West Trenton, NJ, 1968), 26.

⁶⁶ 1956 plan quoted in Morris Knowles, Inc., “Easton. Report on Review and Updating of Land Use Plan” (typescript, 1962), 26–27, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

suggested in the 1956 plan.⁶⁷ This hardly seemed to justify the wholesale demolition of the entire neighborhood, and it is perhaps no surprise that the redevelopment proponents could not find the original survey during the single public hearing on the proposal. It never resurfaced publicly despite the fact that Pastor Peters's working group in particular continued to question the grounds on which the "blight" label had been based.

A mere two years later, neighborhood blight was apparently spreading. The 1962 *Annual Report* noted that "110 of the 152 buildings" (72.4 percent) in the Lehigh-Washington Street area contained "one or more deficiencies" warranting clearance.⁶⁸ But that same year, city consultants Morris Knowles, Inc. had argued in a report that blight in the area had reached 99.9 percent. In their 1962 "Land Use Plan," they suggested that this dramatic shift in the degree of blight was partly due to changing categories in the census between 1950 and 1960. According to Morris Knowles, Inc., the 1950 census "did not list a category to show where 'deterioration' was taking place." "Deterioration," the report noted, "is an important criterion under the new concepts of current Federal programs. As a result, only major areas of dilapidation could be pinpointed" in 1950.⁶⁹ The addition of the new category "deteriorating" or "housing in need of more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance" to the already existing categories "sound" and "dilapidated" had the effect of increasing the quantity of blighted structures.⁷⁰ According to these new criteria, Ward 5 had 239 deteriorating and 305 dilapidated homes, or 544 (or 99.9 percent) of the 547 total units.⁷¹ Looking more closely at the 1962 *Annual Report*, we find yet another explanation for the shifting measurements. While 72.4 percent of the buildings had "one or more deficiencies," the report noted that "the entire area contains envi-

⁶⁷ Morris Knowles, Inc., "Findings: Lehigh-Washington St. Substandard Survey" (typescript, [1960?]), Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

⁶⁸ *Annual Report . . . 1962*, 63.

⁶⁹ Morris Knowles, Inc., "Report on Review and Updating of Land Use Plan," 28.

⁷⁰ The 1960 *U.S. Census of Housing* provided examples of slight defects: "lack of paint; slight damage to porch or steps; small cracks in walls . . . cracked windows." Housing that is "deteriorating" needs "more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance" and is exemplified by "intermediate defects," such as "holes, open cracks, rotted, loose, or missing material over a small area of the foundation, walls, roof, floors or ceilings." Housing deemed "dilapidated" does not offer "safe and adequate shelter" and thus "endangers the health, safety, or well-being of the occupants." Such housing has at least one "critical" defect, or it has numerous "intermediate" defects that require the structure to be "extensively repaired, rebuilt, or torn down." 1960 *U.S. Census of Housing*, vol. 1, *States and Small Areas* (Washington, DC, 1963), xxxii-xxxiii.

⁷¹ Morris Knowles, Inc., "Report on Review and Updating of Land Use Plan," 28.

ronmental deficiencies, such as improper conversions, to a degree and extent that almost total clearance is necessary.”⁷²

City reports offered different measures of blight and thus different rationales for demolition from one year to the next. At times, demolition was justified by a quantification of the degree of deterioration and dilapidation of the neighborhood’s *structures*, while other reports argued that the *environmental* deficiencies were extensive enough to warrant complete clearance. Sometimes the same data could be spun in different directions according to official whims. An image of a portion of Lehigh Street appears in the Easton City Planning Commission’s 1957 “A Report on the Comprehensive General Plan of the City of Easton, PA,” as an example of “satisfactory” housing to contrast with the “blighted” housing on Jefferson Street slated for demolition (figure 2).⁷³ That same city street would be razed a few years later.

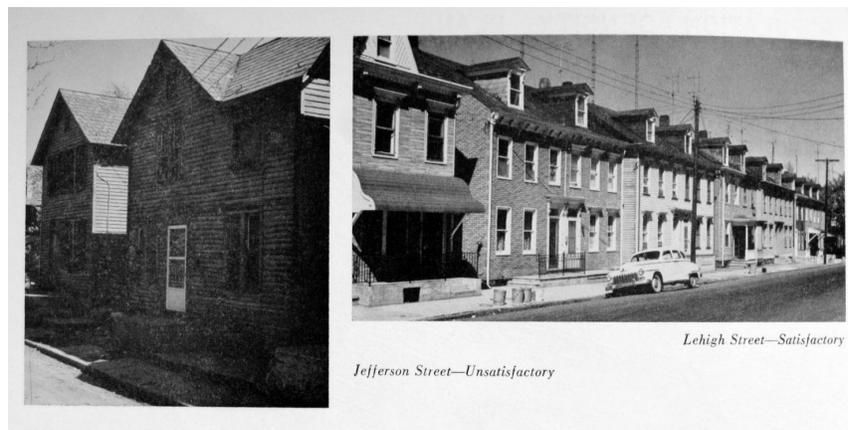


Fig. 2. Comparison of housing from “A Report on the Comprehensive General Plan of the City of Easton, PA—1957” (unpublished bound report, 1957), 20, Planning and Redevelopment Archives, City Hall, Easton, PA. Courtesy of the City of Easton, PA.

By the end of June 1963, city council members were unanimous in their condemnation of the neighborhood, and in the bill they signed, they cited deficiencies in “over 75 percent” of the structures:

⁷² *Annual Report . . . 1962*, 62–63.

⁷³ “A Report on the Comprehensive General Plan of the City of Easton, PA—1957” (unpublished bound report, 1957), 20, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

The Local Public Agency has made detailed studies of the location, physical condition of structures, land use environmental influence, and social, cultural, economic conditions of the Project areas and has determined that the area is a blighted area and that it is detrimental and a menace to the safety, health, and welfare of the inhabitants and users thereof and of the Locality at large.⁷⁴

And yet, as we have seen, the building-by-building survey conducted in 1960 had recommended demolishing only a fraction of the structures. The question remains: if the buildings were in fact in reasonable shape, what else about this section of the city attracted city leaders?

"An area like that": Race, Ethnicity, and Other "Deficiencies"

Rachel Scarpato (RS): . . . I am curious as to why specific areas of the city were chosen and not others . . .

Former Mayor (FM): They were slums! Abject slums! . . .

RS: What was wrong with them?

FM: What do you mean, what was wrong with them? They had a lot of crime, a lot of fires, they had a lot of problems, a lot of delinquency . . . of all kinds.

RS: Really. And the building structures were in bad physical condition as well?

FM: Absolutely. In effect, what you're doing is condemning the property.⁷⁵

Through our close reading of city reports and interviews with former residents, it became apparent that aspects of the neighborhood aside from its deteriorating physical structures may have drawn the attention of city leaders. Its very foreignness, its unusual integration of different races, sometimes in the same building, the mixing of generations in the Lebanese homes, and perhaps the custom of creating separate apartments for extended family members or lodgers all defied city norms. Some interviewees felt that city officials thought that it was the people themselves, not the properties, who were "blighted." A Lebanese woman in her fifties told us ardently, "They made us out to be dirt, but we're not!"⁷⁶ Although the Lebanese-origin interviewees did not remark on an anti-Lebanese prejudice, some African Americans felt that it had been fairly widespread.

⁷⁴ "Minutes of the Council of the City of Easton, Pa." (bound printed volume, 1963), June 27, 1963, 729, City Clerk's Office, City Hall, Easton, PA.

⁷⁵ Former Mayor, interview by Rachel Scarpato, July 11, 2007, Easton, PA.

⁷⁶ Francine, focus group discussion, June 21, 2007.

Some Lebanese Americans did indicate a nativist flavor to local politics, however. An elderly man explained it this way:

Urban renewal was a disaster, very much a disaster and it devastated our people, tore us apart. We were forced to move out. . . . What they wanted was to get rid of us, to integrate us into American society, but we were Americans anyway. . . . We went to school, you know, most of our people who graduated there became magistrates, lawyers, doctors. . . . All of the sudden you're supposed to lose your culture and your heritage because it's somebody's idea to knock this out?⁷⁷

A man in his eighties who still works for the city concurred:

At that time, they're foreigners and didn't belong in this country. A lot of people looked down on them because they're foreigners. In fact, they didn't call us Lebanese, they called us Syrians. . . . [laughs] If you see the relationship we have with Syrians, I mean, we're Christians. We're the only Christian country in the Middle East. We've always been picked on, we're a peace-loving people, always were . . .

Later on in the interview, he continued in the same vein:

They had no regard. . . . I'm not saying everybody . . . but the powers that be that were in power . . . they'd destroy any foreign neighborhood . . . they looked down on nationalities. . . . Now, believe me, they know who you are, what nationality you are . . . inside, a lot of them haven't gotten over that, you know what I'm talking about? They'll be nice to you and all that, but "he's a Syrian," and that happens to all nationalities. They think the Lebanese are all moonshine peddlers, some of them never get it out of their heads.⁷⁸

Did Easton officials target the Lehigh-Washington Street area due to its unusual ethnic (Lebanese) character? Despite the area's common designation as the "Lebanese" neighborhood (or "Syrian Town"), the documentary record is noticeably silent on its "Lebaneseness." Newspaper articles and official city reports on the project invariably referred to the area by its official designation, "the Lehigh-Washington Street" project (even though whole files in city archives are labeled with the shorthand

⁷⁷ John, interview, July 12, 2007.

⁷⁸ Anthony, interview by Rachel Scarpato, July 17, 2007, Easton, PA.

"Lebanese," and one African American woman in her seventies explained to us that "Lehigh-Washington" was a "code word" for Lebanese).⁷⁹ City consultants, however, had scrutinized the town's social make-up more generally. A "Population Characteristics" report advocated "[taking] physical, economic, social, and political aspects of society into consideration" when deciding to implement "community renewal objectives." This report would help systematically determine the existence of undesirable social elements in the city of Easton. Encouraging the city to assess qualities of citizens in making urban renewal decisions, the report introduced a "Ward Rating System." This rating system ranked Easton's twelve wards using first through fourth quartiles on ten different population features, including income, family size, education, and employment. The report deemed populations of more affluent wards more desirable than those in low-income wards. Ward 5, the ward of the former Lebanese neighborhood, ranked in the bottom quartiles of all but one population feature.⁸⁰

But nowhere were the ward's unique cultural features discussed. It sometimes appeared that report writers had actively silenced any discussion of ethnicity. For instance, the "Minorities Group" report asserted that the city's only visible minority group was "nonwhite." "While the population is 11 percent Italian origin, they are largely 2nd and 3rd generation, dispersed in the city, with concentrations in Wards 6 and 8," the report noted, although no ward's population exceeded 25 percent Italian origin. Because there were "no significant nationality groups in Easton for minority consideration," the report highlighted the city's "Negro" population, the "only significant minority group."⁸¹ And yet the city's "Housing Conditions" report, published that same year, noted a high concentration of *foreigners* in Ward 5. This emerged only indirectly in an explanation of the ward's unusual age composition, with a quarter of the population under age twelve and people over age forty-five comprising approximately 40 percent of the total. This unusual composition, the report stated, likely stemmed from the fact that "part of the population [could] be categorized as new arrivals. Families thus tend[ed] to be large and include both young

⁷⁹ Sandra, interview, July 15, 2008.

⁸⁰ "Population Characteristics" (typescript, Easton Community Renewal Program report no. 5, Dec. 1964), 1, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

⁸¹ "Minorities Group. A Research Report" (typescript report, Easton Community Renewal Program report no. 8, Aug. 1965), 2, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

children and grandparents.”⁸² These “new arrivals” were clearly recent immigrants from Lebanon and relatives of the existing community members. According to our research and that of others, the extended family household composition was typical in the homes of neighborhood Lebanese residents.⁸³ Thus, the Lebanese character of Ward 5 only appears in official reports in this masked fashion.

The neighborhood’s racial characteristics are another story altogether. Ample studies have shown that federal policies were not race neutral; the very development of Easton’s suburbs was facilitated by policies and practices of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which encouraged the Homeowners Loan Corporation’s (HOLC) notorious neighborhood rating system to determine the creditworthiness of its housing. This rating system was overtly racist, and it fostered white flight, disinvestment in urban centers, and residential segregation. FHA guidelines even instructed realtors and land developers that “if a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes.”⁸⁴

The new Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 only exacerbated existing housing discrimination, as several studies have documented.⁸⁵ Slum clearance became known as “Negro clearance,” for people of color were disproportionately displaced by highway and renewal efforts. Overall, two-thirds of the people uprooted by such projects were nonwhites.⁸⁶ Urban renewal presented a “triple threat” to people of color: it displaced them from desirable neighborhoods, reduced the supply of housing open to them, and forced the break-up of integrated neighborhoods.⁸⁷ Already by 1959, the Commission on Civil Rights reported that urban renewal was “accentuating patterns of clear-cut racial separation.”⁸⁸

⁸² “Housing Conditions” (typescript, Easton Community Renewal Program report no. 10, Aug. 1965), 18, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

⁸³ Gainne Mannion, “Lebanese Town: Biography of a Neighborhood” (unpublished paper by Lafayette College student, Dec. 20, 1980), Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

⁸⁴ The most highly rated neighborhood was new, racially homogenous, and all white. Older neighborhoods that included Jews and working-class whites were next, and neighborhoods adjacent to African American neighborhoods were rated third. The fourth- and bottom-ranked neighborhoods were all African American ones. See FHA 1936:233 in Gotham, “City without Slums,” 307.

⁸⁵ For a succinct historical overview, see Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, 19–31. See also Hirsch, “Containment’ on the Home Front,” 158–89; Kaplan, *Urban Renewal Politics*; Mollenkopf, *Contested City*; Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 48–50.

⁸⁶ Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 213.

⁸⁷ Robert C. Weaver, *The Negro Ghetto* (New York, 1948), 324.

⁸⁸ Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 213.

Was the Lehigh-Washington Street area targeted for its *racial* heterogeneity? We noted that the neighborhood's racial integration was a feature that stands out quite positively in popular accounts today. What public statements on the Lehigh-Washington Street project never mention, and what internal city reports note often, is the fact that the neighborhood had the city's highest concentration of people of color. The 1960 census showed an overall decline in the city's population by roughly 10 percent, from 35,632 to 31,955, and this decline was greatest in the central city wards. But consultants' reports also indicated that the city's population of "Negroes" was increasing, from 1.5 percent in 1950 to 4.0 percent in 1960.⁸⁹ These same reports also demonstrated that this was higher than the percentage of nonwhites in the nearby cities of Allentown or Bethlehem (which were .77 and 1.7 percent "Negro" in 1960). It should also be pointed out that the numbers of "nonwhites" in Easton were far greater than in adjacent suburban towns, such as Forks, Nazareth, or Palmer, which had grand totals of one, one, and zero nonwhite individuals in 1960, respectively.⁹⁰ What is more, the city's "Negro" population was not evenly distributed; rather, it was concentrated on the Lehigh River's south side in a few downtown wards, notably Ward 1, with 10.4 percent, Ward 6, with 4.0 percent, and Ward 5, the locus of the Lehigh-Washington Street project, with 27.1 percent of the residents being nonwhite (see table 2).⁹¹ Was this entirely coincidental?

Easton's branch of the NAACP did not think so, and it protested the project on these grounds. These protests were part of a much wider effort to oppose discrimination in the city's public housing. The NAACP targeted the membership of the Easton Redevelopment Authority. In early 1963, for instance, it opposed its appointment of Hugh Moore Jr.⁹² Moore was the founder and former chairman of the board of the Dixie Cup company, one of the area's most successful businesses. He was also an architect and local philanthropist who, on the day of his appointment to the ERA, had presented his final gift to the city of Easton in the form of land to create a recreational area along the Lehigh River (now known as "Hugh Moore Park").⁹³ Perhaps not unrelated is the fact that Moore was

⁸⁹ Morris Knowles, Inc., "Report on Review and Updating of Land Use Plan", 4, 7.

⁹⁰ *United States Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics* (Washington, DC, 1962), tables 21 and 25.

⁹¹ "Minorities Group," 3.

⁹² "NAACP Opposes Naming Moore to Authority Job," *Easton Express*, Jan. 8, 1963.

⁹³ "Moore Presents Final Part of Gift to Easton," *Easton Express*, Jan. 7, 1963.

Table 2. Racial Characteristics by Ward

WARD	WHITES	BLACKS	PERCENT BLACK
1	883	102	10.4
2	1100	0	0.0
3	5289	36	0.7
4	2788	39	1.4
5	1114	415	27.1
6	2977	124	4.0
7	2143	1	0.0
8	4484	5	0.1
9	3110	73	2.3
10	3451	186	5.1
11	1835	175	8.7
12	1512	76	4.9
TOTAL	30686	1232	3.9

Adapted from “Minorities Group. A Research Report” (typescript report, Easton Community Renewal Program report no. 8, Aug. 1965), table 1, p. 3, Planning and Redevelopment Archives, City Hall, Easton, PA. Courtesy of the City of Easton, PA.

also the designer of the award-winning Union Streets project, one highly lauded in city reports and one that NAACP president Thomas Bright later blamed for the eviction of a large concentration of black families.⁹⁴ The NAACP argued that it was time to have an African American on the authority board, and it raised the issue of the repeated relocations of the city’s black population:

All over the Nation, and here in Easton, Negro families have been pushed and shoved about to make room for redevelopment projects. We are not opposed to progress, but such progress too often has come about at very high cost and with great suffering to Negro families. . . . There is no reason why a Negro should not have been appointed to this board. Negro citizens have a greater stake in redevelopment plans than any other group in Easton, and they deserve an adequate voice in the decisions which are made.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ According to observer Turney T. Gratz, Easton Housing Authority’s executive director, Thomas Bright also complained that 80 percent of the residences in the North Union Street redevelopment housing site had been occupied by African Americans before the buildings were razed and that the subsequent Jefferson Street project also affected more blacks than whites. Incensed by these allegations, and especially an *Easton Express* editorial that repeated the figures, Gratz reported that the black presence in the Union Street area had been 21 percent, and that no blacks had lived on Jefferson Street. “High Rise Units to Be Known as ‘Walter House,’” *Easton Express*, Feb. 9, 1963.

⁹⁵ “NAACP Opposes Naming Moore to Authority Board.”

Moore made public his response to the NAACP. He noted that the Citizen Advisory Committee had been expanded to twenty members, including Bright. He added that “too often these advisory committees are ‘paper committees’ created to fulfill requirements of laws related to urban renewal. So long as I am on the authority, this will not be the case.”⁹⁶ It is unclear what power members of that committee held, if any.

Further concerns about the impact of the Lehigh-Washington renewal plan on the local black community were raised at an NAACP meeting the following month. An *Easton Express* editorial laid bare some of these concerns. In the renewal area, it reported, “80 white and 32 Negro families will have to be resettled.” With the community redevelopment program moving into “high gear,” the editorial continued, and with its “chief emphasis on supplanting ‘blight’ with income-generating and tax-producing land uses, the housing squeeze on the bottom-income groups . . . is bound to increase.” The editorial noted that the city’s black resident, “in displacement from private housing by renewal programs, does not have the freedom of movement available to dispossessed whites. He carries the burden of racial prejudice as well as the economic disadvantage.”⁹⁷

Thomas Bright continued to press city officials. He invited Joseph C. Dowell, executive director of the ERA, to an NAACP branch meeting to answer questions about the proposed project. Many African Americans, he pointed out, “give up homes under the authority redevelopment program and are unable to obtain homes in the better areas of Easton.” In response to a suggestion that “in many cases Negroes are unable to buy homes in the better sections because they often work at low paying jobs, and can’t obtain bank loans as a result,” Bright stated, “We are going to stop sugar-coating these issues and start presenting [them] as they actually are.”⁹⁸

The NAACP organized several rallies over the course of the summer to protest “poor housing opportunities” and alleged job discrimination in private business and city and county government.⁹⁹ They also picketed city hall. One of the signs displayed at the city hall rally stated, “Why Can’t I Live on College Hill?”¹⁰⁰ Housing was on the minds of local par-

⁹⁶ “Moore Replies to Objections by NAACP Here,” *Easton Express*, Jan. 12, 1963.

⁹⁷ “Major Challenge in Renewal,” *Easton Express*, Feb. 12, 1963.

⁹⁸ “NAACP Branch Views Film on Urban Renewal,” *Easton Express*, May 7, 1963.

⁹⁹ “Demonstration Here Planned by NAACP Unit,” *Easton Express*, June 11, 1963.

¹⁰⁰ “Negroes Demonstrate, Claim Job Bias Here,” *Easton Express*, June 15, 1963.

ticipants in the August 1963 march on Washington, DC, as well. The *Easton Express* quoted Bright as saying, "Easton needs to wake up. Jobs and housing for our Negroes are bad problems." Another participant in the march, Mrs. Robert Miller, a registered nurse, stated, "Does Easton have discrimination? Oh yes, right where it hurts the most—in housing, particularly."¹⁰¹

We have no clear evidence that the Easton Redevelopment Authority targeted the Lehigh-Washington Street area specifically to reduce the number of nonwhites living in the downtown business district. Nevertheless, this was the ultimate result. By 1965, before the Lehigh-Washington Street demolitions had been completed, that project and the preceding Union and Jefferson street projects had "accelerated the movement of the Negro to the South Side" (i.e. to the other side of the Lehigh River; see figure 1). A study found that due to the removals of populations induced by demolitions associated with the previous three redevelopment projects (Canal Street, Union Street, and Jefferson Street projects), "over half of the Negro population of Easton is now in the 4 wards south of the Lehigh River." Yet it is unclear from this report if this was viewed as a success or a failure. The report suggests that its authors found the presence of minority residents to be a detriment to an area. It concludes that there has been "a dispersal from a center city concentration" of nonwhites, a trend that continued "as a result of urban renewal." At the time of the report (1965), the authors found that the only areas of "severe concentration" of African Americans were in Ward 11.¹⁰²

City leaders rarely openly revealed their concerns about the ethnic and racial composition of the neighborhood they planned to obliterate. However, they often described the area as a "slum," as we see in the interview with a former city mayor, quoted above. Even the *Easton Express*, which consistently held pro-redevelopment positions, at one point noted that "blight" is just another euphemism for "slum" and a way to index indirectly the "Negro" parts of town.¹⁰³ Such a position seems to be confirmed by a statement a former redevelopment-era mayor made to us about the project. "The Lehigh-Washington Street project," he explained, "was quite controversial because that happened to be the area where most

¹⁰¹ "Easton Area Delegation Reaches Capital after Six-Hour Ride on Bus," *Easton Express*, Aug. 28, 1963.

¹⁰² "Minorities Group," 2, 9.

¹⁰³ The editorial states, "... slums—or 'blighted' areas, a fancy euphemism coined by planners and politicians to avoid ruffling feathers . . ." *Easton Express*, Feb. 12, 1963.

of the Lebanese immigrants lived. And many of them were well-to-do, and they did not have to live in the . . . you know, an area like that.”¹⁰⁴

Was it the neighborhood’s black population, or the mixture of peoples that city officials disliked? We may never know. In a letter to the paper following the three-hour-long public hearing on the project at the end of May 1963, though, Hugh Moore Jr., the member of the Easton Redevelopment Authority who had been condemned by the president of the NAACP, raised questions about the neighborhood’s integrated nature. He referred to the people to be displaced as “national, religious, racial or culturally motivated groups.” He continued, “although I feel that diversity of national origins, beliefs and cultures is an enrichment of American life, it hardly seems a healthy influence as it exists in the Lehigh-Washington Street section.” He added that he wanted to achieve “an attractive urban environment.”¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

In 1960s Easton, “blight” was a multivocal label that held different meanings to parties debating the Lehigh-Washington Street renewal project. In the popular understanding, “blight” indicated the physical decay of neighborhood structures. Neighborhood residents consistently based their protests on the grounds that the buildings were solid and well-maintained. This meaning was sometimes the intent in official usage as well, although reports using this more mainstream definition still found highly variable measurements of “blight” from one year to the next. Ultimately, however, city officials defended the demolition of the neighborhood on wholly different grounds—the existence of “environmental deficiencies,” such as “improper conversions” and “crowded conditions,” features that allowed them to claim that the targeted area was 99.9 percent “blighted.” But even this usage masked another key concern, namely the neighborhood’s social characteristics and, in particular, its ethnic and racial composition. Close scrutiny of city documents reveals that officials had tremendous interest in the racial composition of the neighborhood. This “elephant in the room” emerges in plain detail in internal reports, but it is never associated with the Lehigh-Washington Street project in forums or literature meant for the wider public.

¹⁰⁴ Former Mayor, interview, July 11, 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Hugh Moore Jr., “Letter to the Editor,” *Easton Express*, June 12, 1963.

It is ultimately in this gap between the popular (physical structure) and official (environmental deficiencies) languages of blight that real miscommunication occurred, creating the sense of betrayal that many of the town’s citizens still feel today. The fact that the city leaders never made public their 1960 building survey and did not hold additional public hearings suggests that officials had something to hide. They certainly could have clarified the grounds on which the neighborhood “blight” label was based or educated the public as to which environmental deficiencies were so alarming.

Easton officials were certainly not alone in their quest to search out and destroy “blight.” To obtain federal funds under Title 1 of the Housing Act of 1949, “Local Housing Authorities” (or LHAs) in towns of all sizes had to locate and demonstrate the presence of “blight.” As subsequent housing acts increased the proportion of costs borne by the federal government, these programs became very attractive to officials in smaller cities such as Easton. As *The Citizen’s Guide to Urban Renewal* reports, the Housing Act of 1961’s reduction of the local financial burden to just 25 percent of costs “made the program almost irresistible for any city that wishe[d] to face up to the problems of blight.”¹⁰⁶

Yet this “blight” was not the easily measured and quantifiable physical attribute that city reports suggest. Localities hired teams of engineers, social scientists, and other “experts” to help them identify how to best garner federal funds. But federal guidelines were so vague that the conclusions of ostensibly scientific studies—even those prepared in the same year—varied widely. As Mark Gelfand writes, “severe distortions were created in the slum clearance process. . . . Areas that could not objectively be called blighted were nonetheless demolished because their desirable locations made them ripe for ‘higher uses’ such as office buildings and civic centers.”¹⁰⁷ This was the case in Easton, as well as in Boston’s West and South Ends and San Francisco’s Western Addition, where city planners justified renewal by painting pictures of social decay. In doing so, they attacked well-working communities, much like the neighborhoods Gans and Mollenkopf describe as “urban villages” that were characterized by “intense ethnic community life” centered around churches, shops, and taverns.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Lindbloom and Farrah, *Citizen’s Guide*, 181.

¹⁰⁷ Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 208.

¹⁰⁸ Gans, *Urban Villagers*; Mollenkopf, *Contested City*, 173–74.

It is no wonder that the former residents we interviewed were confused and continue to defend the quality of their neighborhood's housing stock with passion forty years after the fact. Whether or not this was a "blighted" neighborhood was a pivotal and loaded question of vital import when the project was under consideration, and it remains one to many today. For among the lasting legacies of urban renewal projects are their social consequences, seen here in terms of our interviewees' frustration, disillusionment with city government, and sense of general disconnect from the political process. We also find it especially interesting that along with dense "social ties," what former residents seem to miss the most about their neighborhood was their ability to interact on a daily basis with people from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, something lacking in their lives today. Not unlike the progressive, future-minded "radicals" who dismantled the stable integrated community of Eastwick outside of Philadelphia, Easton's "radicals" attacked integration and accelerated processes of segregation.¹⁰⁹

Epilogue

By 1966, 146 buildings were destroyed on thirteen and a half acres in the Lehigh-Washington Street project, displacing eighty-three families and fourteen businesses.¹¹⁰ Most of the land was ultimately sold to the Easton Housing Authority and not to the builders of high-rise luxury apartments as planners had promised. Construction of two senior citizens' homes, a nursing home, offices for the Easton Chamber of Commerce, and privately owned subsidized senior citizen apartments followed.

Although this project attacked the center of the Lebanese neighborhood, it did not destroy it completely. Blocks of high ethnic Lebanese concentration remained, particularly on the other side of Lehigh, South Fifth, and South Fourth streets. These blocks were soon eradicated with the city's next large project, the Riverside Drive project (see figure 1). Undertaken between mid-1966 and 1971, this project involved the destruction of 173 buildings on twenty-two acres, including the spiritual

¹⁰⁹ See McKee, "Liberal Ends through Illiberal Means."

¹¹⁰ Steve Armstrong, "The Appearance of Easton Is Irreversibly Changed," *Express*, May 11, 1977.

centerpiece of the Lebanese community, its church.¹¹¹ In the process, seventy-nine businesses and 128 families were uprooted, some of whom had been dislocated just a few years earlier by the Lehigh-Washington Street project.¹¹² By 1977, the Easton Redevelopment Authority had paid over \$11.6 million for the acquisition of property in its five urban renewal projects, leveling over 870 homes in the process and leaving the city's appearance "irreversibly changed."¹¹³

While it is now scattered across the city and its satellite suburban townships, Easton's Lebanese community still survives, largely due to the parishioners' commitment to their church. Many interviewees of Lebanese origin noted that they may be better off financially now that they have settled in new homes (predominantly in surrounding suburbs). Looking back on the Lehigh-Washington Street project, however, they are still perplexed. One man laughed at how officials promised the city great financial benefits: "They got rid of hundreds of homes, and built what? A Quality Inn? I know you need to make reservations years in advance to stay there!" he sarcastically quipped. Other people were most upset that the cleared land stayed empty for so long. For a while, they told us, the area was used productively only when the circus came to town and its crew camped out there each year. Several people felt that the project itself caused Easton's decline, while another man had his own novel theory. He told us that former residents were so angry about their community's destruction that they decided to boycott downtown shops. This act in and of itself, he argued, caused the city's decline.¹¹⁴

Only a few years after the completion of the Lehigh-Washington Street project, city planners seem to have had second thoughts. Their annual report of 1969 commenced with a poem lamenting the ease and destructiveness of "bulldozer" renewal:

¹¹¹ The parishioners finally managed to secure some compensation from the Easton Redevelopment Authority and were granted a new building just opposite the boundary of the old Lehigh-Washington Street project, diagonally across from St. John Lutheran Church, which had been spared in the redevelopment.

¹¹² Armstrong, "Appearance of Easton."

¹¹³ See Armstrong, "Appearance of Easton." Hare, "Governmental Role in the Decentralization of the Historic Area of Easton," offers a thorough history of the city, including a detailed discussion of the city's early highway and redevelopment efforts.

¹¹⁴ Roger, focus group discussion led by Rachel Scarpato and Andrea Smith, June 21, 2007, Sammy's Place, Easton, PA. While the economic impacts of these projects on the city are beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting that other studies have found that the businesses least likely to survive displacement in such renewal projects were those that served local ethnic neighborhood markets. See Zimmer, *Rebuilding Cities*, 326.

I watched them tearing a building down,
A gang of men in a busy town.
With a ho heave ho and a lusty yell,
A steel ball swung and a side wall fell.
I said to the foreman, "Are these men skilled,
The kind you'd hire if you were going to build?"
With a great big laugh he said, "No indeed!
Common labor is all I need.
I can wreck in a day or two,
What builders have taken years to do."
I said to myself as I turned away,
"Which of these games have we tried to play?
Are we builders who work with loving care,
Measuring life with rule and square,
Or are we wreckers who roam the town,
Content with the work of tearing down."¹¹⁵

Lafayette College

ANDREA SMITH
RACHEL SCARPATO

¹¹⁵ Easton City Planning Commission's Annual Report for 1969 (typescript, Mar. 24, 1970), 1, Planning and Redevelopment Archives.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Blackbeard off Philadelphia: Documents Pertaining to the Campaign against the Pirates in 1717 and 1718

THE HISTORY OF PIRACY HAS ATTRACTED a very wide audience in recent years. Not only historians but also professional writers, moviemakers, TV-documentary producers, and museum curators have fed the public's appetite for gripping adventure stories from the past. Probably the most famous character of the so-called Golden Age of Piracy in the early eighteenth century was Edward Thatch, or Teach, better known as Blackbeard. Between the summer of 1717 and November 1718—interrupted only by a brief spell in the Caribbean—he was active off the North American coast, causing much stir, even though the booty he seized was comparatively meager.¹ After his death in a skirmish with a naval force, Blackbeard's reputation grew and evolved, incorporating a multitude of legends and folklore so that it is now difficult to distinguish between historical reality and fantasy.

Most modern accounts are based at least in part on *A General History of the Pyrates*, first published in 1724.² However, this book is not a reli-

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¹ Joel Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles* (Stroud, 2005), 168–83; Colin Woodard, *The Republic of Pirates: Being the True Account and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down* (Orlando, FL, 2007), 202–25; Tim Travers, *Pirates: A History* (Stroud, 2008), 181–88. Blackbeard is characterized as successful by Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston, 2004), 33; Peter T. Leeson, *The Invisible Hook: The Hidden Economics of Pirates* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), 120–23. However, the only significant prize appears to have been a French vessel captured in November 1717. See David D. Moore and Mike Daniel, “Blackbeard's Capture of the Nantaise Slave Ship *La Concorde*: A Brief Analysis of the Documentary Evidence,” *Tributaries* 11 (2001): 15–31.

² In addition to the literature in the previous note, see David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life among the Pirates* (New York, 1996), 13–14; Lindley S. Butler, *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), 29–32; Angus Konstam, *Blackbeard: America's Most Notorious Pirate* (Hoboken, NJ, 2006), 1–5; Dan Perry, *Blackbeard: The Real Pirate of the Caribbean* (New York, 2006), 12.

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able source. The chapter on Blackbeard is particularly riddled with exaggerations, misunderstandings, and factual errors.³ Thus it does not come as a surprise that readers often find the same misleading story retold. Consequently, all surviving primary sources deserve special attention as correctives. In the last twenty years or so historians have made extensive use of the administrative correspondence of the British colonies, which is to be found in The National Archives at Kew near London. Less known, however, are additional sources among the collections of merchants' correspondence in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A few of these manuscripts have been published already in three rare editions of John Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, but most reprints are abridged versions that omit these texts.⁴ Given the surge in interest in early modern piracy, it seems appropriate to allow the readership of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* to have access to a verbatim edition of these documents as well as some related material that sheds further light on their contents.

It is not entirely clear when and where Blackbeard was born, but a few sources indicate that he was from Jamaica.⁵ In the spring of 1716 he joined an expedition led by Benjamin Hornigold to loot a Spanish silver fleet that had wrecked on the east coast of Florida. At that time hundreds of treasure hunters from Jamaica and elsewhere made their way to the site in hopes of making a quick fortune. A few months later, when Hornigold and Thatch were on their way back to Jamaica, several crewmembers took off with the looted Spanish treasures.⁶ The remaining men decided to make up for their loss elsewhere. Indeed, most of the freebooters turned to piracy after their dreams of instant riches did not materialize, and they

³ David D. Moore, "Blackbeard the Pirate: Historical Background and the Beaufort Inlet Shipwrecks," *Tributaries* 7 (1997): 31–34; Michael T. Smith, "Blackbeard and the Meaning of Pirate Captaincy," *American Neptune* 61 (2002): 400–405. It should be noted that these important articles have been overlooked by nearly all subsequent authors.

⁴ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time: Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents . . .* (Philadelphia, 1844), 2:216–19. Only the three-volume editions of 1844, 1887, and 1891 have abridged reprints of these documents.

⁵ Charles Leslie, *A New History of Jamaica* (London, 1740), 275. Several wills of people with the family name Thache or Thachs from the eighteenth century survive in the Island Record Office in Spanish Town. See the genealogical records compiled by Hazel Hall in the National Library of Jamaica, Kingston, Ms. 300, vol. 3.

⁶ Deposition of Henry Timberlake, Dec. 17, 1716, 1B/5/3/8, fols. 212–13, Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town; examination of Jeremiah Higgins, July 12, 1717, Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Province of New York, entry 3, The National Archives at New York City.

began to prey on Spanish, French, and eventually British merchant shipping. In the spring of 1717 cohorts of marauders were reported to be sailing northward “in order to intercept some Vessells from Philadelphia and New York, bound with provisions to the West Indies.”⁷

In the summer of 1717 Blackbeard appeared off the mid-Atlantic coast, where he met Stede Bonnet, a plantation owner from Barbados who had fitted out a sloop to join the freebooters. Information pertaining to their activities can be found in letters written by Jonathan Dickinson and James Logan, prominent merchants, council members, and mayors of Philadelphia, then a modest town of some four thousand inhabitants.⁸ Logan’s and Dickinson’s letterbooks survive and are housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On October 21 Dickinson wrote:

My Son Jos[eph] went out of our Capes [the] 29th last mo[nth] at w[hi]ch time they where 3 Ships in Compa[ny] J[oh]n Annis for London Capt[ain] Wells for N[ew] York & Capt[ain] Torver for Maryland. The Latter was taken by a Pyratt before [the] others was out of Sight & Since have acco[oun]t of Six more of our Vessells by s[ai]d pyratt taken who is yet at our Capes Plundering all that Comes Cuting away their maist and Leting them Dive a Shoar. Save a Ship w[i]th Passeng[er]s he Spared & thus and thus is our River Blocked Up Untill he goes hence.⁹

Two days later Dickinson wrote to Joshua Crosby, a Quaker merchant from Kingston, Jamaica:

Thou mentons [the] pyrating trade w[i]th you, from the begining of this Mo[nth] untill w[i]thin this Week one Cap[tai]n Tatch all[ia]s Bla[ck]beard in a Sloope wh[i]ch they call [the] Revengers Revenge Aboute 130 Men, 12 or 14 Guns having layne of o[u]r Capes & taken six or seven Vessells Inw[ar]d & outw[ar]d bound
My Son Joseph w[en]t w[i]th J[oh]n Annis out of o[u]r Capes [the]

⁷ Information of Andrew Turbett, Apr. 17, 1717, CO 5/1318, fol. 63, The National Archives, London.

⁸ Jonathan Dickinson was born in Jamaica in 1663 and came to Philadelphia in 1697, where he soon established himself as a member of the business elite. He twice served as mayor of Philadelphia, in 1712–13 and 1717–19. James Logan was born in Ireland in 1674 and arrived in Philadelphia in 1699, where he worked as William Penn’s chief steward. He became mayor of Philadelphia in 1723 and was chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court from 1731 to 1739.

⁹ Jonathan Dickinson to [unknown], Oct. 21, 1717, LCP Jonathan Dickinson letterbook, pp. 158–59, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

29th [Septem]bri and [that] Day [the] pyratt tooke a Sloope to Southward of our Capes.¹⁰

To the pirates who were active in 1717 and 1718 Delaware Bay was a prime hunting ground. The swampy area with many deep inlets offered numerous places to hide and ambush shipping going to and from Philadelphia. One of the most influential local merchants was James Logan. On October 24, 1717, he noted this problem in his letter to Robert Hunter, governor of New York and New Jersey:

We have been very much disturbed this last week by the Pirates they have taken and plundered Six or Seven Vessels bound out or into this river Some they have destroyed Some they have taken to their own use & Some they have dismissed after Plunder. Is[*aac*] Flower will I believe be more particular.

Some of our people having been Several dayes on board them they had a great deal of free discourse w[*i*]th them, they say they are about 800 Strong at Providence & I know not how many at Cape near Carolina, where they are also making a Settlem[*en*]t Capt[*ain*] Jennings they Say is their Gov[*ernor*] in chiefe & heads them in their Settlem[*en*]t The Sloop that came on our Coast had about 130 Men all Stout Fellows all English without any mixture & double armed they waited they Said for their Consort a Ship of 26 Guns w[*i*]th whom when joined they designed to Visit Philad[*elph*]ia, Some of our Mast[*e*]r Say they knew almost every man aboard most of them having been lately in this River, their Comand[*e*]r is one Teach who was here a Mate from Jam[*ai*]ca about 2 y[*ear*]s agoe.¹¹

A few days later the *Boston News-Letter*, the first newspaper in North America, published a brief report from Philadelphia, dated October 24, which contained further information about Blackbeard:

We are informed that a Pirate Sloop of 12 Guns 150 Men, Capt[*ain*] Teach Commander took one Capt[*ain*] Codd from Liverpool, two Snows outward Bound Soford for Ireland, and Budger for Oporto, and Peters

¹⁰Jonathan Dickinson to Joshua Crosby, Oct. 23, 1717, LCP Jonathan Dickinson letterbook, p. 159. Like most of his correspondents Dickinson was a Quaker who drew on a far-reaching religious network. There is a partial transcript of this letter made in the mid-nineteenth century in Norris of Fairhill Ms. 3, p. 151, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹¹James Logan to Robert Hunter, Oct. 24, 1717, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 2, p. 167, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

21

To Col^d Hunter at N York 167

May it please the Govern^r

I have just now through many interruptions run over a few lines here inclosed in answer to the last part of thy favour My writing in that Language require, an Apology & I say but the chief reason I would advance for it is its simplicity.

This is I only Lucas I have believ^d that in y^e Copus Coelarum I designe to send for a better. Dr Goldson also sends what he promised if I did any thing also pray be pleas'd to hint it again to me.

We have been very much disturb'd this last week by the Pirates they have taken and plundered six or seven Vessels bound out or into this river some they have destroy'd some they have taken to their own use & some they have dismiss'd after plunder. If thou wilt I should be more particular.

Some of our people having been several days on board them they had a great deal of free discourse to them, they say they are about 800 strong at Crookedness & I know not how many at present near Carolina, where they are also making a little m^o of Penning they say is their Gov^r in chief & leads them in their sailon^t The Schoop that came on our Coast had about 130 Men all stout fellows all English without any mixture Doubtless they wanted they said for their comfort a ship of 26 Guns to whom when Joppes they designe to visit Chilledia, Some of our Mast stay they know almost every man aboard most of them having been lately in this River their Comand^r is one Teach who was here a while from Jam^a about 24 ago. Pray be pleas'd to think of this tho' I know so this reason the danger may be over and what may ensue in behalf of thy friends here among whom give me leave to acknowledge may self

Philad 24 8 1717

Thy most Obed^t & faithful S^v

James Logan to Robert Hunter, Oct. 24, 1717, in James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 2, p. 167.

from Madera, George from London, Farmer for New-York, a Sloop from Mader[a] for Virginia, all of which met with most Barbarous inhumane Treatment from them.¹²

It is interesting to note that the brutal treatment of victims is only mentioned—in similar words—in the newspaper accounts of Blackbeard. In fact, the image of Blackbeard as a fearsome and ruthless villain was created by the media of the day.¹³ Another article published in the *Boston News-Letter*, based on an account from Philadelphia of October 24, gives more details about the seizures:

Arrived Linsey from Antigua, Codd from Liverpool and Dublin with 150 Passengers, many whereof are Servants. He was taken about 12 days since off our Capes by a Pirate Sloop called the Revenge, of 12 Guns 150 Men, Commanded by one Teach, who formerly Sail'd Mate out of this Port: They have Arms to fire five rounds before load again. They threw all Codd's Cargo over board, excepting some small matters they fancied. One Merchant had a thousand Pounds Cargo on board, of which the greatest part went over board, he begg'd for Cloth to make him but one Suit of Cloth's, which they refus'd to grant him. The Pirate took Two Snows outward bound, Spofford loaden with Staves for Ireland and Budger of Bristol in the Sea Nymph loaden with Wheat for Oporto, which they threw over-board, and made a Pirate of the said Snow; And put all the Prisoners on board of Spofford, out of which they threw overboard about a Thousand Staves, and they very barberosly used Mr. Richardson Merchant of the Sea Nymph. They also took a Sloop Inwards Bound from Madera, Peter Peters Master out of which they took 27 Pipes of Wine, cut his Masts by the Board, after which She drove ashore and Stranded. They also took an other Sloop one Grigg Master, bound hither from London, with above 30 Servants, they took all out of her, cut away her Mast and left her at Anchor on the Sea. They also took another Sloop from Madera, bound to Virginia, out of which they took two Pipes of Wine, then Sunk her. It's also said they took a Sloop from Antigua, belonging to New-York, and put some of the London Servants and other things on board her. The Pirates told the Prisoners that th[e]y expected a Consort Ship of 30 Guns, and then they would go up into Philadelphia, others of them said they

¹² *Boston News-Letter*, Nov. 4, 1717. Captain Codd's seizure was also reported in the *Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer*, Dec. 21, 1717. It seems possible that this report and the previous letter were sent on the same ship to London.

¹³ Arne Bialuschewski, "Blackbeard: The Creation of a Legend," *Topic: The Washington and Jefferson College Review* 58 (2010), forthcoming.

were bound to the Capes of Virginia in hopes to meet with a good Ship there, which they much wanted. On board the Pirate Sloop is Major Bennet, but has no Command, he walks about in his Morning Gown, and then to the Books, of which he has a good Library on Board, he was not well of his wounds that he received by attacking a Spanish Man of War, who kill'd and wounded him 30 or 40 Men. After which putting into Providence, the place of Rendevouze for the Pirates, they put the aforesaid Capt[ain] Teach on board for this Cruise.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the disruption of overseas trade prompted the British government to launch a campaign against piracy. As a first step, the crown issued a proclamation offering a general amnesty for all pirates who surrendered to the colonial authorities and agreed to take an oath of allegiance.¹⁵ On November 12, 1717, shortly after news of the proclamation had reached Philadelphia, Governor William Keith proposed to supplement this measure by offering a “Suitable reward” for the discovery of any pirates who did not surrender to the authorities or those who “had any Intercourse by way of Concealing or Giving Assistance to the Pirates who have Lately Infested our Coast & Interrupted our Trade.”¹⁶ Keith probably understood that pirates needed access to markets if they wanted to trade their loot for supplies or portable forms of wealth. However, the fact that Blackbeard’s crew destroyed most bulky cargo found on the captured vessels seems to indicate that this was not the case when they ravaged shipping at the entrance of Delaware Bay.

A few days later James Logan wrote to John Ayscough, a prominent Quaker merchant in Jamaica.¹⁷ He stated:

I hope Annis is with you by this time the Pirates left [the] Capes just before he came on them, & between Virg[in]ia & our Capes took a Sloop the Same day he went out w[hi]ch was [the] first of their return we are told from New York he was chased but we know not the truth of it, We

¹⁴ *Boston News-Letter*, Nov. 11, 1717. Providence refers to New Providence in the Bahamas.

¹⁵ A Proclamation for Suppressing of Pyrates, Sept. 5, 1717, PC 2/86, fol. 21, The National Archives; *London Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1717.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Nov. 17, 1717, Record Group 21, book E, pp. 29–30, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg. It is not clear whether Keith’s additional provision ever came into effect.

¹⁷ John Ayscough, sometimes spelled Askew, was a merchant and Jamaica council member. Early in 1723 he became chief justice, and after the Duke of Portland’s death in July 1726 he served as acting governor until the arrival of Robert Hunter in January 1728.

have been intolerably pestered w[i]th them Since. I am now from home and uncertain what Ord[er]s were given for Insuring on [the] Adventure Capt[ain] Crawford Mast[e]r from Holland hither. If thou hast ord[er]s about it observe them if not then fail not to Insure for me 500~~£~~ on my ¼ of Ship and Cargo.¹⁸ She will be here I hope in Feb[rua]ry before any of those Rogues return they are all English and the Men of War about it (it Seems) think it not their business to concern themselves there is one at N[ew] York & 3 or 4 in Virg[in]ia. If no other measures are taken we Shall be in great danger next Sum[me]r even in our 'tis hoped some application will be made at home. they encrease daily in their Numbers & fortify themselves in Providence & near Cape Feare they are now busy about us to lay in their stores of Provisions for [the] Winter.¹⁹

Less than two weeks later, on November 27, Logan wrote to Henry Goldney, a Pennsylvania merchant, who presumably had been in London at that time:

We have of late been extremely Pester'd w[i]th Pirates who now Swarm in America and increase their numbers by almost every Vessel they take if speedy care be not taken they will become formidable being now at least 1500 Strong, they have very particularly talked of visiting this place many of them being well acquainted with it & some lived in it (for they are generally all English) & therefore know our Governm[en]t can make no defence.²⁰

On December 4 Captain Ellis Brand, commander of the guardship HMS *Lyme*, which was stationed in the Chesapeake to protect the tobacco shipments, wrote to the Admiralty in London:

Since my Arrivall in Virginia I have heard but of one pyrot sloop, that was run away with, from Barbadoes commanded by Maj[o]r Bonnett, but now is commanded by one Teach, Bonnet being suspended from his command, but is still on board, they have most infested the Capes of delaware and sometimes of Bermudas, never continuing forty eight hours in one place, he is now gone to the So[uth]ward.²¹

¹⁸ ~~£~~ later became £. It is uncertain whether Logan insured his share in the vessel and merchandise in Jamaica or London.

¹⁹ James Logan to John Ayscough, Nov. 14, 1717, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 4, pp. 70–71.

²⁰ James Logan to Henry Goldney, Nov. 27, 1717, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 4, pp. 76–78.

²¹ Ellis Brand to Admiralty, Dec. 4, 1717, ADM 1/1472, no. 11, The National Archives. The *Lyme* had arrived in Virginia in September 1717.

During the winter pirates generally avoided the coastal waters of the continental colonies. At the approach of fall, when storms endangered shipping in the North Atlantic, they sailed to the Caribbean. Blackbeard cruised off the Leeward Islands, Hispaniola, and the Yucatan Peninsula hoping to seize richly laden vessels that left Veracruz on their way to Spain.²² It is not known exactly how many vessels were plundered during this period, but it seems that there was no spectacular seizure. By the spring of 1718 Blackbeard's crew had returned to the North American coast.

In May 1718 Thatch and Bonnet appeared off Charleston, South Carolina, and blockaded the entrance of the port demanding a chest of medicines as ransom, presumably to treat some crew members for syphilis. They then sailed to Beaufort Inlet in North Carolina where Blackbeard grounded the *Queen Anne's Revenge* and abandoned most of his crew of about 140 men.²³ Thatch went with around twenty companions and a large part of the spoils to Bath Town, the chief port and capital of North Carolina, where he accepted the terms of the royal amnesty. However, it appears that Blackbeard never intended to give up his roving life. He soon returned to sea with a smaller crew, which probably consisted largely of locals.²⁴ North Carolina was likely the last of the mainland colonies where pirates and their loot were welcomed because it lacked a staple crop, a costly war against hostile natives had ruined the economy, and part of the administration was corrupt.²⁵ In the following weeks Blackbeard operated out of the shallow waters near Bath Town and continued to seize vessels off the American coast. On August 7, 1718, Logan wrote:

²² Deposition of Henry Bostock, Dec. 19, 1717, CO 152/12, fols. 219–20, and deposition of William Wade, May 15, 1718, ADM 1/1982, no. 4, The National Archives; *Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer*, Sept. 27, 1718. There are few surviving sources that contain information about pirate raids during this period.

²³ *The Tryals of Major Stede Bonnet, and Other Pirates* (London, 1719), 46. It appears that Blackbeard had learned his lesson from earlier experiences with the crew members that took off with the booty. There is some controversy that a wreck discovered in 1996 is the *Queen Anne's Revenge*. See Bradley A. Rodgers, Nathan Richards, and Wayne R. Lusardi, "Ruling Theories Linger: Questioning the Identity of the Beaufort Inlet Shipwreck," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 34 (2005): 34–37.

²⁴ Jane S. Bailey, Allen H. Norris, and John H. Oden III, "Legends of Black Beard and His Ties to Bath Town: A Study of Historical Events Using Genealogical Methodology," *North Carolina Genealogical Society Journal* 28 (2002): 273–85.

²⁵ Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (Columbia, SC, 2005), 44–47.

Two Pirate Sloops some say three have done us great Mischief within these 14 days having plundered 2 Ships bound for Bristol & destroyed all [that] Left by them carried off two Sloops loaden w[i]th flour plunderd another inward bound of her Money & several H[ogsheads] of Rum and as we believe have carried off Some other Sloops loaden with Provisions w[i]th whom they were Seen to fall in at Sea, but we have as yet no further Acco[un]t of them.²⁶

On the same day Logan sent a letter to John Falconer, a Quaker merchant based in London who mainly traded to Maryland and Virginia.²⁷ Logan wrote:

About 14 dayes agoe I wrote to thee by a Ship bound to Bristol w[hi]ch w[i]th a Consort for [the] same Port & divers others of our own Craft have lately faln in the Pirates hands who beleaguer our Capes and thereby lost all their Letters with some hund[red]s of pounds in Money & what also could easily be taken that was valuable This is the occasion of rep[e]ating this by a very doubtful opportunity, but we must use of all I would be more particular about [the] Pirates but I Doubt not but those Bristol Ships if they arrive safe will tell their story more fully in the publick News papers.²⁸

It did not take long until rumors of Blackbeard's assumed activities circulated in the colonies. On August 11, 1718, Governor Keith spoke to the Board:

Upon an Informacon that one Teach a Noted Pirate, who has Done the Greatest Mischeif of any to this Place, has been Lurking for some Days in & about this Town I have Granted a Provincial warrant for his being apprehended, if possible to be found, & Several other petty Informacons of Late gives me Cause to Suspect that many of the Pirates that have Lately Surrendered themselves & Obtained Certificates from this & the neighbouring Governments, do still keep a Correspondence with their Old Companions abroad. To Prevent the Evil Consequences, whereof I am of Opinion it will be Convenient on the Sixth Day of the Next Month

²⁶ James Logan to [Robert Hunter], Aug. 7, 1718, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 2, p. 181. For a similar account see the *Whitehall Evening-Post*, Dec. 30, 1718.

²⁷ See the obituaries in the *Daily Post*, Jan. 9, 1730; *Universal Spectator*, and *Weekly Journal*, Jan. 10, 1730.

²⁸ James Logan to John Falconer, Aug. 7, 1718, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 7, p. 33.

When his Majesties Act of Grace to the Pirates doth Expire, to publish a Proclamation here, Certifying a fresh the Encouragements which his Majesty has been pleased, by his Royal Proclamation, to Offer to Such as Shall Seize & apprehend any of the Pirates So as that they may be brought to Justice, & also the Rewards promised to Such of themselves as Shall bring in Any of their Captains or Leaders with a Clause Certifying also the penalties which the Law does Inflict upon Such persons as Shall presume to Lodge, harbour and Conceall any of these Robbers, whereby they will become Accessory to their Crimes.²⁹

There seems to be no evidence that Blackbeard really visited Philadelphia during this period. However, it is quite likely that the remainder of his original crew, now led by Stede Bonnet, operated for some time off Cape May.³⁰ Reports of a number of seizures worried the merchants, who demanded protection from the Royal Navy. On October 7, 1718, Logan wrote:

We are now sending down a small Vessel Sufficient we Suppose to Seize these Rogues if not Strengthned by [the] Addition of a greater Force from Sea But tho we should be able to give a good Acco[un]t of these, few fellows yet unless [the] Kings Ships take some Notice of us, we shall, if these Coasts Continue to be infested be exposed to manifest danger even at Phild[elph]ia for 'tis certain a couple of their Vessels well mann'd might doe with us what they pleased.

I have been Surprized to hear some sort of people alledge that as we are a Proprietary Gov[ern]m[en]t & not so immediately as some others under [the] Crown, we are not to expect [the] same Protection from the Kings Ships or that an equal regard will be had to us But as those Ships are Sent abroad in a great measure for [the] Protection of Trade from w[hi]ch Britain receives Such great Advantages, And our Trade is now [the] same our Consumption of British Commodities w[hi]ch is very considerable and [the] honest pay we make for them yields just [the] same Benefit to Britain that they would if we were under any other Administration, And as these Ships are at present design'd for [the] Suppression of Pyrates not only in New York Bay or Sandyhook but in his Majesties Plantations in America Considering all this I say it will be difficult I believe to Assign a reason why they should not visit us in a Cruize,

²⁹ Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Aug. 11, 1718, pp. 57–59.

³⁰ *Tryals of Major Stede Bonnet*, 46–47. It seems possible that there were also other pirates present, but the movements of Josiah Burgess, Olivier La Buse, Charles Vane, Palsgrave Williams, and others are poorly documented.

unless we should be expected in their Instructions w[hi]ch we are certainly not.³¹

The colonial merchants realized that they had to organize defenses against the pirate menace because the navy lacked the resources to effectively police the North American coastal waters.³² On October 16, 1718, Logan noted:

There went out no less than four Vessels in pursuit of these Rogues but all returned ne infecta the first from Kent County on [the] Bay saw them and pursued them till night gave them an opportunity of escaping [the] other three viz. one from Newcastle and two from this town Spent near a Week in quest of them to no purpose.³³

In a letter to John Ayscough, dated December 13, 1718, Logan criticized the employment of the few naval vessels stationed in North American ports to suppress piracy:

We have divers times last Summer as well as [the] former had our Coasts invested with Pirates The Kings Pardon giving them Opportunities of being more mischievous than before for [the] greater part of them having Accepted of that Pardon they accordingly obtained Certificates came in & disposed of their Effects amongst us, Settled a Correspondence every where, by leaving some of their Gangs & [the] rest took opportunities of Setting out again on various pretences, So that we became more exposed than ever. 'Tis true the Gov[ern]m[en]t here has Sent Ships enough to discourage them at least, if not to Suppress them, and we could not doubt but after [the] 5th of [Septemb]er last of [the] last of [the] term allowed them for Surrendering themselves, and when [the] Kings Ships were to receive no less than 20[£] for every common Sailor taken 100[£] for every Commander of [the] Pirates and for other Officers proportionably this would be a Strong Incitement to those Ships to exert themselves and do their Duty, but we are wholly disappointed, Not one of them Stirring out of their harbours that we have heard of Some of the Commanders of these Ships (the Men of War I mean) have been Strongly Solicited to it, but all in vain One of them in a Neighbouring Station being discoursed with on [the] Subject only bestowed some Curses on

³¹James Logan to [Robert Hunter], Oct. 7, 1718, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 2, pp. 192–93.

³²Peter Earle, *The Pirate Wars* (London, 2003), 183–94.

³³James Logan to [Robert Hunter], Oct. 16, 1718, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 2, p. 194. An abstract of this letter was published in the *Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's Post*, Dec. 17, 1718.

[the] Merch[an]ts as deserving no regard from them hinted as if it were not yet time, the Rogues would make themselves Fat and then they would be worth looking after, so that when [the] Rogues have sufficiently fatten'd themselves by [the] Spoils of [the] Merch[an]ts who are the only Support of [the] Trade and therefore of [the] Riches of [the] Nation, the honest Command[e]r in [the] Kings Pay, are next to enrich themselves by [the] Same Spoils at [the] Second hand. However we see no remedy, there are absolute here not being made Subject to [the] Ord[er]s of any Govern[o]r whatsoever tho their Instructions as 'tis Said is to advise to[war]d them. This is a matter of Such Importance that Sure some people there must think it worth while to Stir in it.³⁴

However, as early as November a naval force had killed Blackbeard in North Carolina, and a militia from South Carolina had chased down Stede Bonnet. Events had rendered all plans and provisions irrelevant, but communication in the colonies, particularly in the harsh winter of 1718–19, was slow.³⁵ On March 5 Dickinson sent a letter to Ezekiel Gomersall in Jamaica.³⁶ He wrote:

Wee have the Acco[un]t from Virginia, of two Small Sloops fitted out Thence and Maned by the Men of Warrs Men against Capt[ain] Teach alias Blackbeard. After a Bloody Battle the Men of Warrs Men Conquered the Pyratts and Carried Teachs head into Virginia. We have heard of Major Bonett and his Crew w[i]th another Crew [that] were hanged in South Carolina and of one Taylor and his Crew at Providence. But this Latter Whants Confermation. how these sort of Men have faired in other parts wee Waite to heare. For these two Summers past have Been Greatly disappointing to Trade in America.³⁷

Four days later Dickinson wrote to Joshua Crosby: “w[ha]t I have to Remark is [the] papers & Letters Taken in Bla[ck]beards posession will

³⁴ James Logan to John Ayscough, Dec. 13, 1718, James Logan Papers, misc. vol. 7, pp. 55–56.

³⁵ John Urnstone to David Humphreys, Dec. 18, 1718, Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, ser. A, vol. 13, pp. 194–96, Rhodes House Library, Oxford. On November 25, 1718, Governor Spotswood of Virginia issued a Proclamation Publishing the Rewards given for Apprehending or Killing of Pirates. On December 24, 1718, Governor Keith ordered that this proclamation be published in Pennsylvania as well. See the *Boston News-Letter*, Feb. 16, 1719.

³⁶ Gomersall was a merchant and a Jamaica council member from July 1717 to July 1728.

³⁷ Jonathan Dickinson to Ezekiel Gomersall, Mar. 5, 1719, LCP Jonathan Dickinson letterbook, pp. 234–35. For more detailed reports see the *Post-Boy*, Apr. 9, 1719; *Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's Post*, Apr. 11, 1719; *Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer*, Apr. 11 and 25, 1719.

Strongly Effect Some persons in [the] Govern[en]t of North Carolina.”³⁸ At the same time when the waters off the Carolinas were cleansed of pirates, the British government reestablished royal authority in the Bahamas, which had previously also served as base of operations for pirates. In a larger context, the events of the latter half of 1718 represent a turning point in the history of piracy in the New World. Without access to colonial markets and in the face of growing pressure from the naval forces, the pirates were marginalized and the hunters gradually became the hunted.³⁹

During the peak years of pirate activity off the North American coast in the summer and fall of 1717 and 1718, several vessels from Philadelphia were captured by Blackbeard and Bonnet’s marauding gang. However, the surviving evidence makes it easy to overestimate the losses. The number of vessels lost to pirate attacks, either through theft or destruction of a prize, appears rather small. More important was the fact that local shipowners were frightened by Blackbeard and his fellow pirates. It seems quite likely that the merchants grew increasingly cautious in their trading ventures, and it is certainly no coincidence that an Office of Publick Insurance on Vessels, Goods and Merchandizes was established in Philadelphia around this time.⁴⁰ Naval protection was only provided to strategic locations in the colonies such as the tobacco-exporting Chesapeake. The Philadelphia merchants realized that they had to protect themselves from the depredations of the robbers.

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³⁸Jonathan Dickinson to Joshua Crosby, Mar. 9, 1719, LCP Jonathan Dickinson letterbook, pp. 237–39. See also Thomas Pollock to [unknown], Dec. 8, 1718, Thomas Pollock letterbook, p. 23, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

³⁹Arne Bialuschewski, “Between Newfoundland and the Malacca Strait: A Survey of the Golden Age of Piracy, 1695–1725,” *Mariner’s Mirror* 90 (2004): 175–76.

⁴⁰*American Weekly Mercury*, May 25, 1721.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667–1783. By DAVID L. PRESTON. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. 408 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)

With the recent publication of several Native American-European back-country studies that emphasize empire, global and Atlantic perspectives, and, especially, settler-Indian violence, it is easy to lose sight of the small-scale interactions at ground level that better typified social life in colonial frontier settlements. Through exhaustive research in state, local, and institutional archives, David Preston challenges the depiction of northeastern frontiers merely as European-dominated zones of friction, fighting, and eventual Indian defeat. Studying the texture of daily life in both Indian and European settler communities, he shows that Iroquois and other native groups had no intention of surrendering their carefully maintained borderlands to European interlopers until the era of the American Revolution. Iroquois settlers, along with Delawares, Shawnees, and others acting under Iroquois auspices, moved into zones of Indian-white interaction and preserved them as Indian places. The result was not always, or even usually, violence. On the frontiers of Iroquoia, many Native American and European settlers found ways to coexist, resisting waves of land speculation, colonization, ethnic hatred, and imperial warfare that threatened constantly to implant violence throughout Indian Country.

Preston's lively and very well-researched book adds a complexity to Iroquois studies that may surprise even those familiar with the abundant recent literature on Iroquois culture. Iroquois settlers in the reserves of the St. Lawrence Valley moved seamlessly between Indian, French, and British worlds, visiting ribbon farms and enjoying Montreal pub crawls with friendly habitants; they were still free to trade for more desired British goods in Albany when they so chose. Mohawks in New York exhibited similar autonomy, living in near harmony with Palatine German settlers near their Mohawk Valley "castles" of Canajoharie, Schoharie, and Tiononderoge. Mohawks even collected rents from white settlers, further establishing their status and mastery of the Iroquoian frontier. Delawares enjoyed amicable relations with frontier squatters in Pennsylvania's Susquehanna Valley until the illegal settlers became too numerous in the mid-eighteenth century. Delaware and Iroquois complaints about them gave land-hungry provincial proprietors and land speculators the opening they needed to evict squatters (temporarily) and induce large Indian land cessions, effectively dispossessing Delawares of whole regions and turning amity into conflict.

When war did break out in Pennsylvania in 1755, it was interpreted as a series of betrayals by suddenly belligerent Indian and white neighbors. Ethnic hatred and total war ensued. Hostility between former neighbors carried on for years in Pennsylvania, but the same pattern did not hold for the Mohawk Valley. There, despite similar tensions, German, Mohawk, and Oneida neighbors chose cooperation instead of conflict and maintained the region's neutrality during the Seven Years' War. This is hardly surprising, Preston shows, given the incredible degree to which British, German, and Iroquois neighbors were connected through proximity, trade, intermarriage, religion, and the mediation of their influential neighbor and Indian superintendent Sir William Johnson.

No such cooperation existed in the much more violent Ohio Country of the 1760s. Legal white settlers and illegal squatters flooded across the Appalachians after 1763, led by the British army, which facilitated white expansion through "military colonization," rather than slowing it as ordered in the 1763 Proclamation. After creating the Ohio mess, the army turned tail and left in 1773, leaving behind fearful and vengeful Indian and white settlers to battle in increasingly bloody confrontations. Finally, the American Revolution pushed even relatively harmonious Mohawk Valley neighbors into contentious land and loyalty conflicts; more betrayals would eventually cause thousands of Iroquois loyalists to be exiled to Canada.

Some may accuse Preston of picking his evidence too injudiciously in locating so much intercultural cooperation and friendliness. Those critics should have their own research in order before making that charge. Preston's investigation is exhaustive, and he relies on underused and obscure local archives. Students of Iroquois culture and backcountry history will be surprised and challenged by this book, which shows in a new way that conflict was never inevitable in the backcountry. Even on the eve of the Revolution, there was still the possibility of Indian-European amity in the Iroquoian borderlands.

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DANIEL INGRAM

Bodies of Belief: Baptist Community in Early America. By JANET MOORE LINDMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 272 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Bodies of Belief examines Baptist communities in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia from their founding to their partial assimilation into the mainstream denominations and American culture. Two hundred congregations make up Lindman's extensive sample that includes records from the seventeenth century through 1830. Lindman provides a corrective to histories that focus on the persecution of Baptists in New England and Virginia,

either as heroic radicals or—if the study focuses on the nineteenth century—as compromising churchmen who accepted the status quo. She explains how the network created by leaders of the Philadelphia Baptist Association (PBA) in 1707 strengthened small and scattered congregations ranging from the Carolinas to New England and how, through its traveling messengers and circular letters, the PBA functioned as the organizational center of Baptists in America. Lindman analyzes dozens of stories to argue that Baptists were always socially conservative even while advocating egalitarian practices and beliefs in regard to conversion, worship, baptism, and separation of church and state.

While explaining the development of the PBA in a transatlantic context of strong leadership, which disproportionately consisted of Welsh immigrants, Lindman focuses on local congregations. Local church records, carefully read, quoted, and explained by the author, support her argument that Baptists were radical in their religious beliefs but conservative in working to purge “disorderly” practices from their congregations. By including colonies where Baptists enjoyed religious liberty (and were never jailed, beaten, or fined for their practices), Lindman demonstrates that Baptist emphasis on the actual body of the believer, as well as the congregation as a body of believers, challenged the religious establishment in most colonies. She complicates our views of Baptists by also showing that these troublesome radicals accepted most conventional notions of gender, race, and class.

In making this argument, Lindman provides a more nuanced and national vision of Baptists than is provided in previous studies, where the central drama is Baptist radicals challenging the establishment in New England or Virginia. In *Bodies of Belief*, the drama is within congregations and concerns worship and preaching styles. African Americans and women, for example, may have pressed successfully for the more emotional style of preaching and worship fostered by itinerant preacher George Whitfield (27–28), but it was white males who were the acknowledged leaders. Lindman corrects those who depict early Baptists as growing more conservative over time, largely in order to gain acceptance. Rather, they were conservative from the start; women or African Americans could participate and influence congregations, but they could not rise to leadership positions.

Helpful for those readers perplexed by the range of “conservative” and “radical” practices attributed to various kinds of American Baptists today, Lindman’s monograph suggests why analysts might wonder how early Baptists turned from their roots as radical counterculture rebels to a people overly concerned with conforming to majority culture, especially in regard to race, class, and gender. The author is to be commended for countless hours of close reading of difficult-to-decipher church records, for clear and often elegant writing, and for framing her topic in a way that is relevant to scholars interested in early America and the broader study of religion.

Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America. By KATHERINE CARTÉ ENGEL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

In *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America*, readers set sail through challenging waters as Katherine Carté Engel explores the “intertwining of religious and economic concerns” (2) of Moravians in America, reflected primarily through their main American town, Bethlehem. Engel traces how trading ties could lead to converts and how religious networks could aid financial networks in the Atlantic world. The journey spans the Moravian Atlantic world, from Herrnhut in eastern Germany, to England, the Caribbean, and the British colonies, especially Pennsylvania. German sectarians, Anglo-American business and church leaders, African slaves and former slaves, and indigenous people of Pennsylvania populate this tale.

At its center, Engel provides a nuanced account of the dramatic religious and economic shift in Bethlehem at the end of its communitarian economy in 1760 after the death of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the Renewed Moravian Church. As a result, “individual responsibility and individual conscience became the hallmarks of Moravian economic life, in the place of shared religious outreach” (197). Engel describes the chaotic context for this change during the Seven Years’ War, in the wake of Zinzendorf’s crippling debts on behalf of the church, and following the decision by Moravian leaders in Germany to take tighter control of church affairs. She also portrays the harsher economic consequences for single women in Bethlehem.

Engel relied on an impressive amount of sources, many of which are in German manuscript form, ranging from account books from Bethlehem and Indian settlements, minutes from conferences, women’s and men’s memoirs and correspondence, community diaries, and reports of the loss of the Moravian ship *Irene* to privateers of the Caribbean. Engel deftly acquaints readers with the unique language, beliefs and rituals, and social organization of the Moravians in the context of rising international evangelicalism in the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century. She reflects current scholarship about this broad renewal movement and one specific manifestation, German Pietism.

A few topics might have garnered a little more exploration. Given the significance of Africans in the trans-Atlantic economy, and in the Moravian mission to St. Thomas (1732), more attention could have been given to Africans, notwithstanding the fine account of Josua, the slave of Timothy Horsfield, a British Moravian who moved to Bethlehem but did not live in the economy. On another topic, one wonders if Moravian workers acting contrary to Moravian values after the economic change in Bethlehem were more symptomatic of the privatization underway, or if their disruptions hastened the changes underway. The author might have better explored whether the turn “inward” after the privatiz-

ing of Bethlehem's economy was perhaps always a latent possibility in light of the subjective faith of the Moravians.

These small points, however, do not detract from the book's fine achievements. Engel has successfully marshaled complex sources for an excellent, textured, and nuanced tale awash in the tides of war, racial tension, and internal religious differences to examine the dynamic interplay of religion and profit among Moravians in the Atlantic world.

Elizabethtown College

JEFF BACH

Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies: Outbuildings and the Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic. By MICHAEL OLMERT. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 304 pp. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$27.95.)

Michael Olmert takes readers on a journey to places as diverse as William Hogarth's London, Palazzo Medici, and prehistoric Ohioan earthworks in his examination of the uses and design of eighteenth-century outbuildings in the Chesapeake region. His book is divided into eight well-illustrated chapters that chronicle the most common extant types: kitchens, laundries, smokehouses, dairies, privies, offices, dovecotes, and icehouses. Two appendices, written in the same narrative style as the preceding chapters, explore the use of octagonal and hexagonal forms in construction. While the title of the book suggests a treatment of the mid-Atlantic region as a whole, Olmert's focus is tidewater Maryland and Virginia. His work is especially strong in its analysis of the buildings at Colonial Williamsburg, both those that have survived from the eighteenth century and those that have been reconstructed.

Olmert writes in a conversational style, which is both accessible and knowledgeable. His conclusions are informed by the architectural historians and museum professionals who have worked in and around the buildings he examines. Using what he refers to as "archaeology by experiment," he presents the experiences of interpreters at Colonial Williamsburg and other historic sites to better understand the workings of buildings such as kitchens, where cooking was done on the hearth and in a bake oven. Olmert also draws heavily from literary accounts. His chapters are punctuated with quotations from sources as varied as William Shakespeare, Charles Darwin, and Robert Beverly, as well as local newspapers, vestry books, and memoirs. At the end of each chapter, a section entitled "Notes & Further Reading" replaces traditional citations, providing a readable account of sources, methodology, and acknowledgments.

What Olmert's broad research allows is an understanding of outbuildings not only as structures but as spaces where work was done by real people. He tells the

story of individuals who lived in the past and fills in details with anecdotal information from those who experience outbuildings today as owners, interpreters, or students of architecture. The book is packed with evidence provided by archaeological investigations, painted and printed images, and traditional written sources like diaries. Olmert effectively uses all this material to tie together topics as distinct as baptismal rituals, practices for dry cleaning wool clothing, and folk beliefs about pigeon feathers to tell a fundamentally human history.

As Olmert notes, "It's fine to recognize the good taste of the past, but that must never blind us to the inequities that flourished there" (69). Olmert points out that many of the outbuildings that survive today served as showpieces for their owners and represent the upper end of the spectrum in terms of size, materials, and modish design elements. Where possible, he uses other types of sources to discuss the broader range of outbuildings that once existed. His text makes clear the divisions that existed in eighteenth-century tidewater society based on class, gender, and race. Laundries and dairies, for example, were spaces used predominantly by women; offices, on the other hand, were part of the male domain. Perhaps most importantly, Olmert emphasizes the effect that slave labor had on the built environment. Detached kitchens, he explains, "had little to do with the threat of fire, and everything to do with slavery" (47). In telling the story of the small working buildings that surrounded eighteenth-century houses, Olmert adds to our understanding of not only architectural history but the everyday experience of masters and slaves, husbands and wives, and the rich and powerful and the disenfranchised. Given the broad scope of his work, two minor disappointments are that the index does not capture all the subject matter and some period images are discussed in the text but not pictured.

SUNY Oneonta

CYNTHIA G. FALK

Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment. By KEVIN KENNY. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 304 pp. Illustrations, appendix, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The slow, tragic decline of William Penn's vision for Pennsylvania as a place where European settlers and native peoples could live in peaceful coexistence has long provided historians with an overarching narrative within which to situate their studies of cultural interaction and racial antagonism on the colonial mid-Atlantic frontier. This narrative framework, for example, recently resulted in an impressive collection of essays edited by William Pencak and Daniel Richter entitled *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the*

Racial Construction of Pennsylvania (2004). It is also the organizing theme in the work here under review, Kevin Kenny's *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment*. Like Pencak and Richter, Kenny asserts that the gradual breakdown of respectful relations between Native Americans and European settlers in western Pennsylvania accelerated the emergence of racial paradigms that, in turn, led to a Euro-American consensus that accepted the violent dispossession and extermination of Indians. What sets Kenny's work apart is the impressive degree of detail with which he investigates and contextualizes "Pennsylvania's most aggressive colonialists" (3): the notorious Paxton Boys.

Kenny claims that the provincial authorities' inability to persecute and punish the Paxton Boys for the brutal murder of twenty innocent Conestoga Indians in Lancaster in the winter of 1763 was a lesson "not lost on other western settlers" (205); they learned that they too could seize Indian land by violent means without fear of reprisal. In short, the example of the Paxton Boys led to the final revulsion of Penn's "holy experiment." This argument is not new and many scholars—not least Peter Silver in *Our Savage Neighbors* (2007)—working on the legacy of the Paxton Boys have reached similar conclusions. But unlike other recent studies on the topic, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost* focuses on the continued participation of the Paxton Boys' leaders in the development of racist justifications for western expansion in the decade after the Conestoga massacres. Kenny shows, perhaps better than any scholar since Alden T. Vaughan wrote on the subject twenty-five years ago, that many men involved in the murders of 1763, such as Lazurus Stuart and Matthew Smith, later endorsed and committed similar atrocities in defiance of eastern officials they deemed corrupt. This fact does more than sustain the narrative in the final chapters of the book; it concretely illustrates the durability of the link between the hatred of Indians and "patriotism" on the eve of the American Revolution. Kenny further demonstrates that Thomas Penn and other provincial leaders, frustrated by their inability to rein in unruly settlers after 1764, were aware of the symbolic importance of the Conestoga massacres. Throughout the late 1760s, they continually asserted that the government's authority in the West could be reestablished if prominent Paxton Boys were successfully prosecuted.

Kevin Kenny has laid out a smooth and engaging narrative alongside an impressively researched analysis of the secondary historical debates surrounding the Paxton Boys. *Peaceable Kingdom Lost* is also the most detailed treatment of the subject to emerge in a generation, and it is an indispensable introduction to one of the most troubling and transformative episodes in the history of colonial Pennsylvania.

King's College London

BENJAMIN BANKHURST

The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820. By MARK HÄBERLEIN. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. 288 pp. Bibliography, index. \$79.)

In ground-breaking studies a generation ago, Dietmar Rothermund, Wayne Bockleman, and Owen Ireland explored the ethnic and religious fissures that underlay Pennsylvania politics in the second half of the eighteenth century. While appeals to the conflicting interests of Presbyterians, Mennonites, Quakers, and Anglicans may have influenced voting behavior in county elections, Mark Häberlein, a professor at the University of Bamberg, has made a convincing argument in his thoroughly researched study of Lancaster that denominational rivalry did not enter into the daily life of the community. His intensive examination of one community is an important contribution to American religious history.

In the 1740s, Moravian efforts to supply Lutheran and Reformed pulpits split congregations and sometimes led to violent attempts to oust a pastor or retain a church building; but this was the exception. Church leaders and their most active members learned to live and work together on friendly terms. Lancaster pluralism was not the result of widespread indifference to religion or the diminishing influence of the churches. By comparing tax records with local church records, Häberlein demonstrates that 65.2 percent of Lancaster taxpayers in 1751 and 72.5 percent of those named on the 1773 tax list “repeatedly appear in church records.” Lancaster was a largely German-speaking community. Roughly a third of Lancastrians rented pews in the Lutheran church in 1773, and Häberlein calculates that in that year Lutherans comprised 40 percent of the town’s population, Reformed were 20 percent, and Moravians constituted 10 percent. The smaller Catholic congregation and the Jewish community were also mainly German-speaking. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Quakers made up only some 12 percent of the inhabitants on the eve of the Revolution. This left 15 percent unaffiliated with any religious group (8–9). Laura Becker documented a similar pattern in Reading in 1773 (153).

Häberlein devotes chapters to studying Lancaster’s Protestant churches in comparative perspective, finding a common quest for stability and order, and tracing interactions among their congregants. He does not neglect Lancaster’s Catholics and Jews, but he acknowledges that they “did not alter its predominantly Protestant character” (180). Lancaster provides ample evidence for the role of laypeople in shaping congregational life from the beginning.

Pluralism was the rule among Germans in rural Pennsylvania, where Lutherans, Reformed, and Mennonites commonly shared a meetinghouse and schoolhouse. Lancaster’s German churches kept extensive records, enabling Häberlein to identify transfers of church membership and marriages across

denominational lines. Extended families might well include Lutheran, Reformed, Catholic, and Mennonite kinfolk, making the practice of pluralism personal. Far less common was marriage or church membership across ethnic lines. Language was the least permeable boundary. English-speaking Lancastrians demonstrated a similar ease with one another. Anglican minister Thomas Barton reported in 1764 that “The Presbyterians and such of the Germans as understand English attend also occasionally when they happen to have no service of their own” (139). Anglican vestryman Edward Shippen rented a pew in both the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, attending each on alternate Sundays.

During the four decades after the Revolutionary War the religious makeup of Lancaster changed only slightly. The small Quaker and Jewish communities disappeared and a small Methodist congregation was organized. Order and continuity characterized Lancaster churches in the new republic, with interdenominational cooperation in charitable and educational efforts. The practice of pluralism made Lancaster “a laboratory of diversity” in which confessional boundaries were negotiated and adjusted (244).

University of Florida

RICHARD K. MACMASTER

The Other Loyalists: Ordinary People, Royalism, and the Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1763–1787. Edited by JOSEPH S. TIEDEMANN, EUGENE R. FINGERHUT, and ROBERT W. VENABLES (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009. x, 210 pp. Figures, index. \$70.)

This slender volume aims to fill significant gaps in our understanding of the American Revolution by focusing on loyalism among “ordinary people” in the middle colonies. Its seven essays are organized into three sections entitled “Places,” “Groups,” and “People.” In part 1, the most effective section of the book, two essays stress how the particular circumstances of place shaped loyalism in the Delmarva Peninsula and in eastern New Jersey, and their mutual consideration of loyalist violence engagingly connects them with one another. Wayne Bodle imaginatively reconstructs the small but explosive resistance of China Clow to patriot authority near the Maryland border of Kent County, Delaware, in April 1778, and how it remained a source of local controversy into the 1790s. “The Ghost of Clow” proved hard to put to rest even though it produced just a handful of direct primary sources with which Bodle could work. David J. Fowler’s detailed assessment of loyalist insurgents who moved effectively from the outposts of garrisoned New York City into varied parts of eastern New Jersey builds on impressive research and convincingly explains the “crescendo of retributive violence” (65) in the area that is well exemplified by Loyalists’ execution of cap-

tured Patriot Joshua Huddy.

The three essays in part 2 examine disparate groups. A. Glenn Crothers's innovative assessment of Quakers in Fairfax and Hopewell Monthly Meetings shows that, despite being in northern Virginia, they belonged to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; he thus usefully conceptualizes the mid-Atlantic in an expansive way. Michael E. Groth's essay on black revolutionary experience in Dutchess and Ulster County, New York, is a well-crafted synthetic piece based largely on secondary sources. It considers general questions of African American allegiance more than black loyalism itself. Robert W. Venables's overview of Haudenosaunee allies (not subjects) of the British is an important addition and uses the lens of "frontier war" to examine key events from the Battle of Oriskany to the British abandonment of their native allies in the 1783 peace treaty. Venables offers a clear account of Iroquois persistence in spite of major internal disagreements, and his approach complements the discussion of insurgencies in part 1 as well as the examination of frontier land speculation in the following essay.

Two short biographical essays in part 3 tell engaging individual tales but fail to bring the volume to a satisfying close. Doug MacGregor effectively uses John Connolly's published narrative to recount his extraordinary efforts to command property and political influence in the Ohio Country and Kentucky, which led him from Fort Pitt to Williamsburg as well as to New York City, London, and Canada. His pursuit of wealth presents a very self-interested Loyalist. Eugene R. Fingerhut recounts Herman Zedtwitz's tragic decline from Continental officer in 1775 to imprisonment for treason and mental instability highlighted by detailed petitions complaining of torture in prison with an electric shock machine. Neither of these individuals convincingly reveals much about ordinary people's loyalism in the mid-Atlantic. Since the latter essay closes by seeing Zedtwitz as paying "a high price for treason" (191), one is reminded that balanced and sympathetic assessments of loyalism remain elusive.

The collection would have benefited from a stronger interpretive framework, as the editors' brief introduction and conclusion do not sufficiently connect the essays nor explain what we learn from the loyalist, mid-Atlantic, and nonelite approach pursued here. Readers of this journal will be disappointed that there is no sustained discussion of the mid-Atlantic as a region or of how loyalism was distinctive there. The point that "Middle Colonies Loyalists, for the most part, were disorganized" and that "dependence [on government officials] was their great weakness" falls short of being an engaging argument, as does the observation that the reasons for loyalism are "varied and complex" (10). While the editors properly note that "self-interest and idealism often informed one another" for both Patriots and Loyalists, the main conclusion here is that those "who sided with Britain saw the Revolution as a means to an end" (195). *The Other Loyalists* addresses subjects that deserve more attention, and scholars interested

in its main themes will want to read these essays. Readers, however, will probably wish that they had a clearer collective message.

University of Maine

LIAM RIORDAN

The State as a Work of Art: The Cultural Origins of the Constitution. By ERIC SLAUTER. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 392 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.)

Ambitious titles both describe and proclaim. Such is certainly the case here. While the title of this book immediately recalls Jacob Burkhardt's study of art, culture, and politics of the Renaissance, Slauter draws his title from Rousseau, who had in turn observed the union of the political and the cultural in the very word "constitution." The subtitle is no less ambitious. It recalls a century of scholarship stretching back to Charles Beard, whose economic interpretation of the Constitution inspired Bernard Bailyn's landmark study of its "ideological origins" and Forrest McDonald's queries into its "intellectual origins." While notable scholars (Robert A. Ferguson, Jay Fliegelman, and Carol Smith-Rosenberg, e.g.) have conducted studies of the cultural context of constitution making, this book suggests a comprehensive methodological approach that may well set the tone for the field. That, certainly, is Eric Slauter's intent.

The book takes as its central problem that of achieving consensus for a national constitution. Given that eighteenth-century political theory concerned itself with discovering how a "people" might be matched with their "natural" government, the obvious diversity of climate, economic relationships, and culture in the thirteen states posed a problem. To overcome it, the founders engaged in "fantasies of unanimity" that either diminished differences or pointed to other cultural means of reconciling the irreconcilable. Chapter 1 examines the construction of the Constitution, paying close attention to the architectural metaphors deployed in its support. Chapter 2 explores the relationship between constitutionalism and philosophical aesthetics. The question of whether taste was a matter of universal principles or individual opinion was of great significance, especially when Noah Webster and other federalists explained the Constitution's worth in terms of its comprehensive beauty rather than as merely a sum of its individual clauses. Chapter 3 looks at a different metaphor—that of a "miniature" or a "transcription" to describe representation. Here Slauter argues that by probing contemporary understandings of these metaphors, while at the same time critically examining our contemporary privileging of Madison's notes of the convention, we get a more complex view of representation that reveals not agreements among the founders, but rather disagreements and differences. These chapters comprise the book's first part, which explains the state as a "work of art."

Part 2 turns to the culture of natural rights, focusing once again on the inherent contradictions of otherwise elegant Enlightenment theory: the place of slavery in natural law, being alone in an age of social contract, and creating a godless Constitution to protect the sacred rights of man. His arguments offer genuine insights into otherwise tired debates. For instance, the notion of a “godless” Constitution, or at least one in which God had no explicit mention, attracted controversy in 1787 just as it does today. A common argument about the Constitution is that it represents the high-water mark of secularization in political thought. Slauter’s research (qualitative and quantitative) finds instead that an association between “natural right” and “God” in American pamphlets led both concepts to take off in the period between the Revolutionary War and the Constitution’s drafting.

Doing Slauter’s book critical justice is impossible in so short a review. Suffice it to say that this imaginative interpretation will delight many and irritate more than a few. But it will provoke us all to think more deeply about the Constitution’s multiple meanings, and it deserves serious treatment from a wide audience.

Georgia State University

H. ROBERT BAKER

Slavery’s Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification. By DAVID WALDSTREICHER. New York: Hill and Wang, 2009. x, 195 pp. Note on sources, notes, index. \$25.)

It is not difficult to identify the obviously proslavery clauses of the United States Constitution: the “three-fifths” clause (art. 1, sec. 2, cl. 3) counting only three-fifths of a state’s slaves for purposes of congressional representation; the “fugitive slave” clause (art. 4, sec. 2) providing for the return of slaves who escaped from one state to another; and the “slave trade” clause (art. 1, sec. 9, cl. 1) preventing any elimination of the importation of slaves prior to 1808. Some scholars, such as David Waldstreicher, a Temple University history professor, place slavery at the very heart of the Constitution.

In three brief chapters, Waldstreicher aims for “freshness . . . in the telling as much as in [his] conclusion that slavery was as important to the making of the Constitution as the Constitution was to the survival of slavery.” His mission is to provide “a solution to the interpretive problem of slavery and the Constitution that draws on both the republican and the progressive schools” of Bernard Bailyn and Charles Beard; the former celebrated American virtue while ignoring slavery, while the latter characterized the Constitution as a product of struggling economic interests and remained silent on slavery. The overarching point of the book is that “Slavery, in part because of the U.S. Constitution’s manner of dealing with

it, became central to American national politics in the nineteenth century" (17). None of this will surprise scholars (most was addressed more clearly in Paul Finkelman's *Slavery and the Founders* [1996] or Akhil Amar's *America's Constitution* [2005], both mentioned in the excellent historiographical essay at the back of this book), and Waldstreicher's haste may well frustrate readers.

The first chapter suggests that American slavery was the creature of British empire. Due to England's most famous slavery decision, *Somerset v. Stewart* (1772), which found slavery "so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law," it became "impossible to deal with key constitutional questions without engaging in the politics of slavery" (41), not least because colonial slaveholders viewed the decision as an assault on their property rights.

It is many pages into the second chapter, "The Great Compromises of the Constitutional Convention," before Waldstreicher focuses on the "three-fifths" and "slave trade" clauses. Curiously, this is done without even once referencing the article, section, or clause of the document in which those compromises are located. Odder still, there is scant consideration of the Constitution's other major "compromise," the "fugitive slave" clause, the very clause produced by the *Somerset* case. This whole chapter seems rushed. The Virginia, New Jersey, and Connecticut plans are not clearly defined, important matters such as the work of the Committee on Detail, or the "Yankee-Carolina alliance" (96) are fleetingly addressed, and, despite passing observations about the people involved (as when inexplicably tagging Oliver Ellsworth as "unctuous"), there is almost no character development. The chapter concludes that the Constitution clothed slavery in "vagueness" (101), which undermines the book's primary claim that it is "Slavery's Constitution."

Waldstreicher's final (and finest) chapter provides a delightful canvas of the ratification debates, manifesting that they have "as much to tell us as the convention does about the place of slavery" in early American politics (107). Several writers from the era, Federalists and anti-Federalists alike, illustrate both the early satisfaction of southern planters with the Constitution, as well as the extreme hesitation of northern antislavery anti-Federalists. Waldstreicher evidences "just how potent a threat the discussion of slavery posed to ratification" (141).

There is much here of real value, and the writing is often quite engaging. Yet, there are also minor inaccuracies (calling Virginia and New York "the biggest states," for example, when the 1790 census ranked New York after both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania) and a number of probable proslavery clauses that go unexamined. Together they suggest that Waldstreicher may not have the last word on slavery in the Constitution.

Music, Women, and Pianos in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: The Moravian Young Ladies' Seminary. By JEWEL A. SMITH. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008. 215 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.)

As any scholar of Moravian history can attest, along with their Christian faith, Moravians have also historically placed high value on education and music. Passionately dedicated to the study and performance of music as a form of religious devotion, and to education as a means of enabling women and men to most fully develop their talents in the service of the greater good, Moravians have long emphasized the centrality of scholarship and music within both their lives and their faith. In her insightful monograph about the Moravian Young Ladies' Seminary, its students, and its teachers during the antebellum era, Jewel A. Smith provides a useful new perspective on what education and music have meant to American Moravians by focusing on the lives and experiences of young women in this one specific community.

Smith's volume begins by offering readers a concise overview of philosophies concerning female education in the nineteenth-century United States. Moravians at once shared profound similarities with their non-Moravian counterparts and possessed radically different ideas about the significance and nature of female education. Like many Americans in the antebellum era, Moravians assumed that the primary purpose of educating young women was to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers. Moravians, however, were much more profoundly committed to providing rigorous educations for their daughters (of a quality comparable to that received by their sons) than many Americans. Assuming that most Moravian girls would grow up to marry and have children, Moravian parents also wanted to prepare their daughters for useful, independent spinsterhood should they choose not to (or not have the opportunity to) marry.

As Smith details, regardless of young women's future paths in life, parents, teachers, and students alike felt that music would constitute a vital part of it. Drawing on a rich collection of teachers' records, parents' letters, and students' diaries, Smith demonstrates that the achievement of musical proficiency was extremely important for students, teachers, and parents alike. The seminary's managers prided themselves on hiring music teachers of great talent and renown, and these teachers themselves upheld a very rigorous, exacting standard of musicianship for their female students. In their diaries, students castigated themselves for their musical missteps and failures, and parents wrote to both their daughters and their daughters' teachers expressing anxieties about their progress and the amount of time which they were (or, more troublingly, were not) devoting to their musical study.

One of the most significant aspects of Smith's book is her discussion of the musical educations of young Moravian women and young Moravian men.

Comparing curricula of the seminary and Nazareth Hall (a local school for Moravian boys), Smith locates both intriguing differences and similarities. Both expected to study music diligently and to display their musical skills publicly, but Smith demonstrates that the musical curriculum that young women followed was actually far more technically demanding and difficult. Young men, after all, were preparing for professional careers and did not have the same time to devote to musical study that young women (who were not studying to be lawyers, doctors, or ministers) did. Young women thus often mastered more challenging musical works than young men did and attained greater levels of technical proficiency.

Music, Women, and Pianos is a thoughtful, thoroughly researched study of the Moravian Young Ladies' Seminary and its status as a site for the musical education of young women in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Smith provides interesting analyses of the types of music that young women performed, the kinds of instruments that they had at their disposal, and the motivations, ideals, hopes, and anxieties of the schools' founders, managers, teachers, and students. Although some of Smith's discussions about the more technical aspects of music and performance, and her most thorough discussions of the types and qualities of the musical instruments available to students at the academy, will likely be most appreciated by music historians, her monograph nonetheless constitutes an important study of the nature, meaning, and significance of a musical education for young women in the antebellum United States.

Lehigh University

HOLLY M. KENT

Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front. By JUDITH GIESBERG. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. 248 pp. Illustrations, figures, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

In *Army at Home*, Judith Giesberg provides a fascinating and moving account of the experiences of working-class, immigrant, and African American women who lived and labored in the North during the Civil War. Responding to a tendency to marginalize these women in Civil War scholarship, Giesberg puts them back in the picture, telling of their struggles to hold onto farms, to secure work in wartime industries, to protest racial injustice, and to gain relief for the unimagined difficulties the war inflicted on them.

Giesberg has an eye for compelling stories, and she tells those stories well. Among the tales she relates is that of Lydia Bixby, famous for receiving one of history's most celebrated condolence letters from Abraham Lincoln. But, as Giesberg explains, she apparently destroyed the letter, as it could not provide the real support—emotional or financial—that Bixby needed. Giesberg, too, tells the story of Charlotte Brown, whose suit against the segregation policies of a San

Francisco rail company found its way into the wartime civil rights agenda of Senator Charles Sumner. In this way, she reveals how women took central places on the national political stage. Indeed, Giesberg's chapter on African American women's wartime protests is among the book's best.

Giesberg writes with a clear appreciation for her subjects. Yet *Army at Home* would benefit from a stronger framework for analyzing those subjects and their stories. Giesberg rightly seeks to move beyond writing a narrative account of Northern women's "liberation." However, the narrative she presents in its place remains undeveloped. As the book makes clear, these women's actions exposed the fictions about separate spheres and "free labor nationalism." But certainly that fiction had already been exposed when antebellum women sought employment in textile mills or exhibited unruly behavior on city streets. One wonders, then, if wartime disruptions prompted a significant adjustment, either ideological or political, in the wartime or postwar North. Was there a relationship between women's actions and the new and more powerful nation-state that emerged? Or were there other ways—ways that distinguished these women from white middle-class women—in which their movements affected the wartime and postwar scene?

Giesberg also urges us to challenge the sectionalizing of Civil War scholarship and seek out the similarities between Northern and Southern women's experiences. She reminds us how women endured hardships regardless of geography and how—everywhere—they forced themselves onto the political landscape. But her account tends to minimize the distinctive nature of the Union and the Confederate enterprise and its effect on women. True, both Northern and Southern women were displaced and on the move. But certainly we must consider the different political implications when those involved were white and black Northerners, as well as black Southerners, who often moved with the objective of claiming the support promised by federal authorities. This was often opposed to those women—generally white and Southern—whose movements took them in precisely the opposite direction.

Despite these limitations, Giesberg has given us a fine, well-written account that significantly enlarges our perspective of the often hidden, but no less dramatic, impact of the Civil War on Northern women.

Boston University

NINA SILBER

Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity. By ALAN C. BRADDOCK. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

Alan Braddock's book stands out among recent Eakins scholarship for its original and extended analysis of Eakins's oeuvre, which is based on contempo-

rary philosophical and literary sources and Eakins's own writings. The title, *Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity*, is something of a misnomer, as Braddock's main line of argument is that Eakins's work existed firmly within a premodern epistemological framework, displaying human difference in terms of the Arnoldian social-evolutionary thinking that dominated his era as well as Tainean naturalist theories. Eakins painted, drew, and photographed cultural difference in a way that only unwittingly, never intentionally, contributed to the emergence of the modern, Boasian understanding of the relativity of cultures, which emerged early in the twentieth century.

Braddock begins with a lengthy introduction that reads like a full chapter. Here, the author provides an analysis of Eakins's *The Dancing Lesson* (1878) that establishes his method throughout the book. He posits that, rather than expressing sympathy with his subjects, a popular recent interpretation, Eakins instead offered a social-evolutionary comparison between American whites and blacks, producing a representation of plantation nostalgia for the privileged consumer. Braddock introduces the themes of human diffusion, artistic nationalism, and bourgeois cosmopolitanism that recur in the following chapters.

Braddock follows the introduction with three chapters, each focusing on a different period in Eakins's career. First, he explores Eakins's years in Europe. There, Eakins encountered foreign people and customs, and he participated in the circulation of goods that accompanied modern life. However, in paintings such as *Female Model (A Negress)* (c. 1867–69) and *A Street Scene in Seville* (1870), Eakins maintained a premodern conception of people as specimens of racial groups and national types as he strove to develop his own aesthetic and advance his career. Braddock then turns to Eakins's Philadelphia years, focusing on his scenes along the Philadelphia waterways. Braddock makes a slight detour from the book's general direction to discuss environmental conditions in Philadelphia. He returns deftly to his point with a refreshing analysis of Eakins's *Swimming* as an aesthetic vision of suburban retreat that struggled to accommodate competing aesthetic theories of realism and classicism, or Tainean naturalism and Arnoldian Hellenism. The final chapter addresses Eakins's journey to the American West and his portraits of seven individuals associated with the University of Pennsylvania's Free Museum of Science and Art. Braddock effectively describes the portraits as "the visual epitaph to an obsolescent paradigm" of understanding human difference (154). With his discussion of Eakins's portrait of anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing, Braddock truly drives home the point that Eakins and some of his sitters were "unwittingly," "accidentally," and "unintentionally" (199–200) on the threshold of the modern culture concept.

Braddock's book has some flaws, such as a heavy dependence on Tainean theory in relation to Eakins's work without an explicit connection between the two; a very belated discussion of some contemporary criticism of Eakins's work that aligns with Braddock's own reading of it; and a somewhat incongruous plea for including

the opinions of the Zuni people in the historical interpretation of images of their ancestors. Nonetheless, *Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity* is a valuable contribution to Eakins scholarship and a gratifying and thought-provoking read.

National Gallery of Art

SARAH A. GORDON

The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley, 1869–1931. Edited by KATHRYN KISH SKLAR and BEVERLY WILSON PALMER. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009. 640 pp. Illustrations, biographical dictionary, bibliography, index. \$65.)

Progressive reformer Florence Kelley was born in Pennsylvania into an accomplished Philadelphia family in 1859 and died in 1931 in Germantown, where her mother was raised and she herself had played with her grandparents as a child. Kelley's mother, Caroline Bonsall Kelley, came from a Pennsylvania-based activist Quaker-Unitarian tradition, while her father, Judge William Darrah ("Pig Iron") Kelley, served for almost thirty years as a representative of Pennsylvania in the U.S. Congress. The future champion of protective labor legislation and child labor laws was educated in Philadelphia private schools and by reading in her father's library. After graduating from Cornell University, she co-founded in Philadelphia the New Century Working Women's Guild, a mutual aid society for wage-earning women. Rejected by the University of Pennsylvania, she went abroad to study social justice philosophy and political economy at the University of Zürich. There she prepared the first English-language translation of Frederick Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844. Its publication was financed by Rachel Foster of Philadelphia, corresponding secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association and a patron of Susan B. Anthony's. Kelley promised Anthony in an 1884 letter that when her studies were complete, "I shall give myself to work for the best interests of the working women of America," much as her father had dedicated himself to service through politics (19). Her word was her bond. Back in the United States in 1888, she attended the annual meeting in Philadelphia of Richard T. Ely's American Economic Association, and, hence, set forth on a path of social advocacy.

In 1891, with her marriage to a fellow student in shambles due to domestic abuse, Kelley left New York for Chicago with her three young children. There she turned to action on the causes to which she devoted the rest of her life: the rights of low-income working women and mothers, children who labored in industries, and the safety of workers and consumers of manufactured goods. She found ready compatriots in her social concerns in the avid circle of educated reformers at Jane Addams's Hull-House settlement, with whom she conducted social-scientific investigations of nearby tenement houses and factories. She was appointed chief factory inspector for the state of Illinois and earned a law degree at Northwestern

to better conduct legal battles with legislators and corporate and city attorneys. In 1899, she returned to New York as secretary of the National Consumers' League (NCL). Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement provided the home and progressive support she needed. Over the next two decades, she directed the NCL in coalition with other social-change organizations to effect social and legal reform on key issues, from minimum wages to racial rights and suffrage for women.

This one-volume collection features letters Kelley wrote throughout her life. Editors Kathryn Kish Sklar and Beverly Wilson Palmer have skillfully gathered, selected, and introduced them. They transcribed, researched, annotated, and edited the 275 letters with the assistance of students at SUNY Binghamton and Pomona College in Claremont, California. Penned to family and contemporaries both little known and famous, they are drawn from over fifty archival collections located in twenty-seven different repositories in the United States. What results is an impressive window into the life, relationships, and motivations of Florence Kelley, a woman who should be a household name.

Library of Congress

BARBARA BAIR

Louis I. Kahn's Jewish Architecture: Mikveh Israel and the Midcentury American Synagogue. By SUSAN G. SOLOMON. (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2009. xi, 215 pp. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$45.)

In the two generations since Kahn's death, most scholars have placed him within the international circle of giants who reshaped modern architecture and created a richer and more expressive vocabulary. Susan Solomon returns Kahn to the Philadelphia in which he actually lived, one that was separated along class, ethnic, and racial lines. It is his upward mobility from his West Philadelphia roots to a global figure that makes Kahn's achievements all the more remarkable.

Kahn grew up in the Jewish community, but his academic achievements led him to Philadelphia's Central High School and then to the University of Pennsylvania, where he absorbed the elite architectural practice of the 1920s. As is the case for many young architects, most of his early independent commissions were from his associational circle. After World War II, Philadelphia's social conservatism was broken down by new civic patrons, such as city planner Edmund Bacon, G. Holmes Perkins, the new dean at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Fine Arts, and corporate leaders whose wartime duties had exposed them to a wider world. Kahn's talents were recognized in this new environment in part because of his connections to elite institutions. Through George Howe, dean at Yale, and Perkins of the University of Pennsylvania, Kahn received critical commissions and teaching experience that

gave him international celebrity status.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish architects began to claim important synagogue commissions that earlier had gone to architects such as William Strickland and Frank Furness. Early twentieth-century projects were often in the *Beaux Arts* mode, a style that had fewer overtly Christian characteristics and retained a civic character. *Ahavath Israel*, Kahn's 1935 project in West Oak Lane, in contrast, took a powerfully modern stance by employing an overhanging, nearly blank box above the entrance. It reflected the outsider status of urban Jews whose memories included generations of forced removals to other sites. Its closed façade powerfully represented the notion of a synagogue as a sanctuary in an uncertain world.

Philadelphia's various Jewish communities thrived in the 1950s. Some acquired and converted earlier Christian churches, while others commissioned new buildings in prominent sites. The best known is Frank Lloyd Wright's oddly Victorian *Beth Sholom* in Elkins Park (1953–55); it was quickly followed by Harry Sternfeld's *Germantown Jewish Center* and Pietro Belluschi's *Adath Israel's* building in the suburb of Merion (1958). Together these buildings made it clear that twentieth-century Judaism would find its forms for new synagogues in modern architecture. These forms were divided into two main groups, those focusing on ahistorical form and those whose prime design element was light. Kahn would merge these ideas into a building that was about both form and light.

Solomon ably builds this story by studying postwar synagogues around the nation. Kahn was of course a part of this narrative, and his unbuilt design for *Mikveh Israel* became its great multiact tragedy. Unlike commercial offices that threw off designs at a high rate of speed, Kahn's office followed an older, elite gentleman-architect's model of extraordinary exploration and detail in which money was no object and the client was almost peripheral to the problem. The story ends in the type of narrative that historians love: misunderstood genius loses commission when philistine clients take the easy way out and go with the inferior design.

The story of the rise and fall is well told but misses some major themes that would help explain Jewish architectural commissions. For instance, *Mikveh Israel's* architectural design not only called upon the best architects of the city, but it was always in the most fashionable contemporary style—suggesting that to be an elite urban Jew was also to be connected to lines of thinking beyond the immediate region. This was in fact the point of John McArthur's synagogue for the congregation, an early Philadelphia manifestation of a style that had only recently come ashore and was connected with contemporary synagogues in New York. The use of a New York firm for the next synagogue and then the internationally famed Kahn in the 1960s is part of a major narrative that places *Mikveh Israel* in the setting of major modern commissions. The fact that Solomon does

not develop this theme is but one frustration. The academic press chose a paper and a printing process that flattens and diminishes the photographs and, unfortunately, did not provide enough images to explain the story. These are minor quibbles, however. More importantly, Kahn is finally situated in the Philadelphia where he actually lived and that shaped his work as an exponent of the nineteenth-century industrial culture in which form had meaning.

University of Pennsylvania

GEORGE E. THOMAS

Daniel J. Flood, A Biography: The Congressional Career of an Economic Savior and Cold War Nationalist. By SHELDON SPEAR. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008. 190 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$44.50.)

Daniel J. Flood (1903–94) represented Pennsylvania's Eleventh Congressional District for sixteen terms between 1944 and 1980 (he lost reelection twice during this period). In his balanced biography of Flood, Sheldon Spear recognizes that the congressman had a reputation as a consummate pork-barrel politician, an unbending commitment to his district and the working class, and a dramatic flair that was witnessed in show-stopping speeches and a wardrobe of capes, top hats, and canes similar to that of a vaudeville actor. Indeed, in a previous career, Flood had been a stage actor, and he carried those skills with him to Congress.

Flood was born into a modest family in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and rose to chair the Labor, Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee and served as vice-chair of the powerful Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Combined, these subcommittees controlled three hundred billion dollars in federal spending during the 1970s. Moreover, Flood was a vocal advocate for and sponsor of important federal legislation, including the 1961 Area Redevelopment Act, which led to massive spending in Appalachia and, by the late 1960s, the Appalachian Regional Commission. He also cosponsored Medicare, Medicaid, and other social welfare programs. Perhaps his most important piece of legislation was the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act that, for the first time, mandated mine safety standards and compensated mineworkers afflicted with the dreaded Black Lung disease. To sway congressional votes in support of this law, Flood gave a very dramatic speech on the House floor that Speaker Tip O'Neill said was one of the two or three most persuasive speeches he had ever heard.

Spear provides an overview of U.S. Department of Justice and House Ethics Committee investigations of Flood for allegedly accepting sixty-five thousand dollars in bribes for his influence in swaying bids for federal contracts and steering money to favorite projects. One interpretation is that Flood allowed too

much leeway to his key aid, Stephen Elko, and that it was he who accepted bribes and peddled influence. Flood resigned in 1980. He was then tried, though the jury couldn't reach a unanimous decision; it ended in a mistrial. A few jurors reported that they could not bring themselves to convict the aging congressman who had dedicated a good part of his career in service to others. The extent of Flood's involvement remains unknown.

Spear reveals other questionable matters in Flood's background. For example, Flood claimed to have earned a masters degree from Syracuse University, but Spear's investigation reveals that no records exist to verify the claim. Moreover, he often accepted free vacation flights from Colonial Airlines. Dan Flood was revered, nevertheless, and his constituents considered him nearly omnipotent. Indeed by the late 1970s, the Republican Party would seldom run opposition candidates, and, if they did, they knew that loss was inevitable. In fact, following indictment in 1978, Flood was reelected by a landslide.

Sheldon Spear makes a significant contribution to American and Pennsylvania political history by focusing on the power of an important congressman in an era of tremendous growth in the federal government and its spending. Spear's greatest contribution, besides his thorough historical research, is balance in interpretation. Though he cared a great deal for the underprivileged, Flood was not godlike. Perhaps the only criticism that is appropriate is that the book is too brief.

Students, scholars, public officials, and the general public can benefit from the work of Dr. Spears, a scholar who has contributed a great deal to our knowledge of the history of Pennsylvania's anthracite region.

*Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission*

KENNETH C. WOLENSKY

The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics since 1960: Two-Party Competition in a Battleground State. By RENÉE M. LAMIS. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. 432 pp. Figures, tables, appendix, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$65.)

In her book, *The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics since 1960*, Renée M. Lamis charts the partisan shift that has occurred in a state that was one of the most solidly Republican in the nation. To illustrate, prior to the Great Depression, Pennsylvania's entire thirty-six-member congressional delegation was composed of Republicans. Even after the economic catastrophe, the Keystone State was the only one in the nation outside of New England that Herbert Hoover managed to carry against Franklin D. Roosevelt. However, much has changed in the years since, and now the Democrats are able to claim

majority-party status. Its healthy registration advantage has allowed the Democrat Party to carry Pennsylvania in the last five successive presidential elections.

Lamis cites two critical events that have driven this transformation. One, of course, was the New Deal itself, the aftermath of which finally brought a semblance of two-party competition to Pennsylvania's political system. The other, and the primary emphasis of this book, is what Lamis defines as the culture-war realignment.

This culture-war realignment was sparked by the turbulent events which engulfed the nation around the time of the 1968 election. Interestingly, the Republican Party was the primary beneficiary initially, winning five of the next six presidential contests that followed. The capstone election to this phase, Lamis writes, was George H. W. Bush's 1988 victory over Michael Dukakis. In 1992, however, a different type of Democratic candidate emerged with Bill Clinton. Declaring himself a New Democrat, the Arkansas governor "went to great lengths to distance himself from what he viewed as the losing Democratic stances of the culture-war realignment" (15). Subsequently, this culture-war realignment has been responsible for driving cultural liberals to the Democratic Party and cultural conservatives to the Republican Party. The net result is a more stable political system at the national level based upon each state's cultural characteristics (the so-called "red" v. "blue" states).

Lamis posits that these recent gains by the Democrats in Pennsylvania are aftershocks from the culture-war battles ignited back in 1968. Similar aftershocks were felt following the New Deal realignment as well. For instance, the Democratic Party didn't truly reach parity with the GOP statewide until it finally managed to capture Philadelphia's city hall with Joe Clark's mayoral victory in 1951. Lamis's data illustrates that while Democratic support has slipped somewhat in what once was its political base, the more culturally conservative western portion of the state, the party has been more than compensated by the political turnaround that has occurred in the southeast—in particular, the culturally more liberal Philadelphia suburbs.

Dr. Lamis's statistical approach is to use county-by-county coefficients in evaluating the twenty-seven major statewide elections held since 1960. These illustrate how the Pennsylvania GOP has been able to remain competitive politically in the state by effectively distancing itself from its national presidential candidates. Though there is some redundancy in the presentation of statistical information, Lamis does provide revealing measures, such as county-by-county scattergrams detailing the vote for various elections. Overall, while political junkies may find themselves wishing the author had gone into greater narrative detail at times, there is still much to enjoy in Lamis's book.

West Chester University

JOHN J. KENNEDY

NEW from NORTH CAROLINA

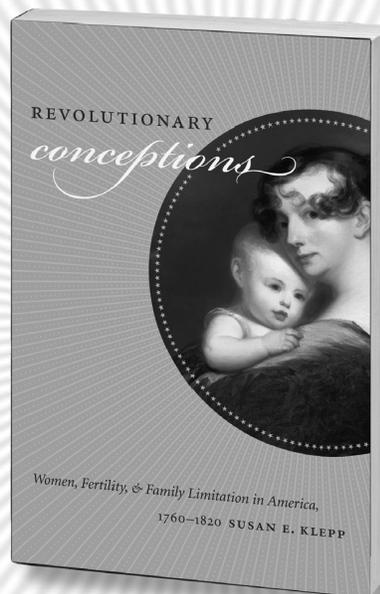
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