

THE
PENNSYLVANIA
MAGAZINE
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME CXXXVI

January 2012

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THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (ISSN 0031-4587) is published each quarter in January, April, July, and October by THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. Periodicals postage paid at Philadelphia, PA and additional mailing offices. **Postmaster:** send address changes to PMHB, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. **Authorization for academic photocopying:** For permission to reuse material, please access www.copyright.com or contact the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. (CCC), 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, 978-750-8400. CCC is a nonprofit organization that provides licenses and registration for a variety of uses. **Submissions:** All communications should be addressed to the editor. E-mail may be sent to pmhb@hsp.org. Manuscripts should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Electronic submissions are welcome. For submission guidelines, visit the *PMHB* web page (<http://www.hsp.org>). The editor does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by the contributors.

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The full run of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is available in electronic format on JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). Information on both print and electronic subscriptions can be found at <http://shop.hsp.org/catalog/publications/pmhb/subscription>. Both sites can also be accessed from the journal's website at <http://www.hsp.org/node/2876>.

ERRATA: In the October 2011 issue, we left off Steve Hammond's name from the lengthy list of contributors. Steve Hammond, a graduate of Muhlenberg College, is currently researching the history of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.



*The Mason-Dixon and
Proclamation Lines: Land
Surveying and Native Americans in
Pennsylvania's Borderlands*

IN JANUARY 1765, Charles Mason visited Lancaster, Pennsylvania, during winter holiday from his work on the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary line. "What brought me here," wrote Mason, "was my curiosity to see the place where was perpetuated last Winter the Horrid and inhuman murder of 26 Indians, Men, Women and Children, leaving none alive to tell." The dead were Conestoga Indians who had "fled to the Gaol" in Lancaster in a vain effort to escape the Indian-hating vigilantes known as the Paxton Boys. The Paxton Boys broke into the jail and brutally executed and dismembered the Conestogas, peaceful dependents on the Pennsylvanian government and erstwhile neighbors of the Paxtons. "Strange it was that the Town though as large as most Market Towns in England, never offered to oppose them, . . . no honor to them!" The Paxtons, it seems, were not alone in their anti-Indian sentiments.¹

¹ Charles Mason, *The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, transcribed by A. Hughlett Mason (Philadelphia, 1969), 66. On the Paxton Boys, see Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York, 2009).

The astronomer Charles Mason and the land surveyor Jeremiah Dixon geodetically surveyed the long-disputed border between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania. This line would eventually become ingrained in the American consciousness as the symbolic boundary between North and South. Yet while Mason and Dixon were running their line, the geographical partition that most concerned British officials and colonials was that between East and West, whites and Indians. This division, the Royal Proclamation Line of 1763, was part of Britain's efforts to regulate commerce and settlement in North America following the territorial acquisitions of the Seven Years' War.² Keeping their Indian neighbors happy was central to British policy during the 1760s, and whites were thus forbidden to settle beyond the heads of rivers flowing into the Atlantic in hopes that "the Indians may be convinced of our . . . Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent."³ Although the Proclamation Line was initially intended to follow the Appalachian ridge, it was conceived from the start as a temporary boundary that would allow the British government to regulate westward expansion, not to prevent it altogether. However, even during the period from 1763 to 1768, the year when the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor moved the Indian boundary line further west, the Appalachian ridge was not a clear boundary. The region was a permeable borderland in which whites and Native Americans frequently interacted and engaged in a cycle of increasingly racialized violence.⁴

Mason and Dixon's survey also encompassed these same years—1763 to 1768—and, as Charles Mason's bleak observations on the Paxton Boys' massacre suggests, their survey took place amid the ongoing bloodshed and power struggles of the mid-Atlantic borderlands.⁵ Considering the

² On the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, see Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York, 2006); Jack M. Sosin, *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760–1775* (Lincoln, NE, 1961).

³ The Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, By The King, George R.

⁴ On Indian hating and the development of racialized thought among both whites and Indians in the mid-Atlantic backcountry, see Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003), 190–97; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 189–236.

⁵ On the violence and struggles for land, power, and empire in the eighteenth-century backcountry, see Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York, 2007); Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore, 2003); Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln, NE, 1992).

wealth of scholarship on the significance of maps and cartography to empire, it is surprising that most historians who have studied land surveying in colonial settings, including early North America, have generally done so with little reference to social, cultural, and political contexts.⁶ Furthermore, the literature on surveying as an on-site scientific practice has not been sufficiently integrated into histories of the contest for land and power in the backcountry of colonial North America.⁷

This article examines the events and context of the Mason-Dixon expedition during 1767, the year in which they crossed the Appalachian ridge to survey land in Indian territory.⁸ It was the contest for land and power between the Iroquois, Delawares, and the British—and not the visions of order and scientific precision that undergirded the Mason-Dixon and Proclamations Lines—that did the most to shape the plans, activities, and results of the western portion of the Mason-Dixon survey. This inter- and intraracial power struggle determined which individuals were chosen to participate in the 1767 expedition, their official orders, their actions during the survey, and where they decided to end the line.

The Mason-Dixon expedition highlights the extent to which surveyed lines in the borderlands of colonial North America were not just defined by colonial officials or the scientific activities of the surveyors themselves. Instead, surveyed boundaries in regions with locally powerful Native

⁶ Most histories of land surveying in colonial regions have focused on biographies of surveyors, their techniques, and their instruments. See Katherine Gordon, *Made to Measure: A History of Land Surveying in British Columbia* (Winlaw, BC, 2006); Silvio A. Bedini, *With Compass and Chain: Early American Surveyors and Their Instruments* (Frederick, MD, 2001); J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Survey of the Irish Land Surveyor and His Maps* (Belfast, Ire., 1985). There are some notable exceptions. Sarah S. Hughes examined the power struggles between elite white men in Virginia over the rights to survey, occupy, and sell land; Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, VA, 1979). Giselle Byrnes studied the context and conflicts surrounding surveying Maori lands in New Zealand and argues that the Maori learned to adapt to European systems of land delineation, stop unwanted surveys, and, in certain circumstances, even benefit from them; Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonization of New Zealand* (Wellington, NZ, 2001).

⁷ See Sara Stidstone Gronim, "Geography and Persuasion: Maps in British Colonial New York," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58 (2001): 373–401; Alan Taylor, "A Kind of Warr: The Contest for Land on the Northeastern Frontier, 1750–1820," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 46 (1989): 3–26; Gregory H. Nobles, "Straight Lines and Stability: Mapping the Political Order of the Anglo-American Frontier," *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 9–35; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York, 2006).

⁸ For a general overview of Mason's and Dixon's careers and their work on the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary, see Edwin Danson, *Drawing the Line: How Mason and Dixon Surveyed the Most Famous Border in America* (New York, 2001).

American groups were products of numerous on-site negotiations. These negotiations included exchanges between white officials and Indian leaders, semiformal conferences between Indian leaders from different groups, and internal debates among the members of the various groups involved in the survey. While surveying in the western borderlands, Mason and Dixon's party became a focal point around which Delaware, Iroquois, and British representatives negotiated regional power and the future shape of the region's borders through diplomacy, overtures to peace, and threats of violence.

* * *

In 1766, Mason and Dixon were forced to call a halt to their survey. Proceeding any further west would have taken them beyond the Appalachian ridge—the proposed site of the Proclamation Line—and into Indian country. Mason made a note in the expedition's journal when they reached Savage River near the western boundary of Maryland that this was “the most Westernmost Waters, that runs to the Eastward in these parts.” The Royal Proclamation of 1763 had stated that the headwaters of rivers draining into the Atlantic would serve, for a time, as the border between the colonies and Indian country, and Mason recognized the significance of the location and its nature as a temporary boundary. He wrote that “At present the Allegeny Mountains is the Boundary between the Natives and strangers; in these parts of his Britanic Majesties Collonies.”⁹ However, Mason probably understood enough about the violence that had characterized the mid-Atlantic backcountry in recent years to know that, even though the Proclamation Line was temporary and vaguely defined, it was not to be crossed lightly.

The extension of the Mason-Dixon Line into Indian territory did not contradict British officials' plans for regulating the territory to the west of the Proclamation Line. A clear boundary separating Pennsylvania from Maryland and Virginia would have enabled British officials to realize several of the Royal Proclamation's main goals. For one, the latitudinal Mason-Dixon survey would have established a baseline for accurately delineating the tracts of land that the British planned to purchase from Native American groups, part of the orderly vision of expansion described

⁹ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 129.

in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.¹⁰ The completion of the Mason-Dixon Line would have also served to forestall future territorial conflicts between Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia that proved to be a major impediment to British regulation of the backcountry during the 1760s and '70s.¹¹

Despite British pretensions that the Proclamation Line could bring order to the backcountry, Indians and whites continued to live on both sides of the boundary, and brutal acts of violence were all too common among these groups. Yet the overall failure of the Proclamation Line to stop trading abuses, land speculation, and Indian-white conflicts from 1763 to 1768 did not change the opinion of many Indians and British officials that a formal separation was the key to peaceful coexistence. When, in 1767, "One Stump and his Servant . . . in a very inhuman manner murdered ten Indians on Susquehanna," George Croghan, an Indian trader and British official, wrote that "it evidently shews the indispensable Necessity of the Indians being removed to a greater Distance from our Settlements, and which suffer me to say, can only be done, by fixing the Boundary with them. Nothing Else will do."¹²

Western Indian groups such as the Delawares were especially pleased with the prospect of formalizing the Proclamation Line because it promised to provide them with significant protection against the encroachments of white settlers and unwanted sale of their trans-Appalachian lands. The Delawares had settled in the Ohio Country during the early eighteenth century following a series of more or less fraudulent land deals in which the British and the Six Nations of the Iroquois enriched each other at the Delawares' expense.¹³ The Six Nations, a powerful Native American confederacy centered in what is now upstate New York, had long claimed authority over the Delawares, referring to them as "women,"

¹⁰ The Royal Proclamation only prevented private citizens from making settlements beyond the Proclamation Line or purchasing land from Native American groups. The proclamation gave the superintendents of Indian affairs authority over the purchase of Native American lands. Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763–1783* (New York, 1967), 11, 15.

¹¹ For examples of how boundary disputes between Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia contributed to trans-Appalachian unrest, see John Penn to Francis Fauquier, Nov. 15, 1766, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 9 ser., 120 vols. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1935), 4th ser., 3:327; Gen. Thomas Gage to William Johnson, Nov. 9, 1767, in James Sullivan et al., eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, NY, 1921–1965), 12:380.

¹² George Croghan to Benjamin Franklin, Feb. 12, 1768, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, digital edition, <http://franklinpapers.org>.

¹³ I use the terms Six Nations and Iroquois interchangeably in this article.

a subject people incapable of conducting independent land dealings.¹⁴ Colonial officials found it useful to recognize these claims as the Six Nations sold off large tracts of the Delawares' lands to whites. The Walking Purchase, a 1737 treaty in which the Six Nations and the Pennsylvania government deprived the Delawares of over a million acres of land, is the most notorious example of this arrangement. By the 1760s, the Delawares were also at risk of being dispossessed of their new lands in the Ohio Country. Not only were white migrants settling western lands at an alarming rate, but the Six Nations claimed ownership of nearly the entirety of the Ohio Country as well as authority over the Indians in it.¹⁵ Although the Six Nations had little real power in this region, the Delawares were well aware that leaders of the Six Nations might once more trade the Delawares' lands to the British for their own benefit.

Delawares and other trans-Appalachian Indian groups had reasons to cherish their Ohio Country lands that went well beyond geopolitical concerns. As Gregory Dowd has argued, the Seven Years' War and its aftermath engendered crises in both the secular and spiritual worlds of these groups, encouraging many Ohio Country Indians to embrace a new spirituality, particularly the teachings of nativist prophets such as Neolin. Although the teachings of these prophets defy easy summation, Delawares who embraced their spiritual message came to view the trans-Appalachian West as a religious and racial promised land, one that had to be purged of the corrupting influences of the British.¹⁶ In short, the Delawares had profound historical, spiritual, and practical reasons to protect their land from further incursions.

Leading officials in Maryland and Pennsylvania knew that running their colonial boundary into the Ohio Country was a delicate matter. Since they recognized Iroquois claims over the Ohio Country, colonial officials sought this group's permission before sending Mason and Dixon

¹⁴ Although there has been much scholarly debate on the meanings of the Delawares' title as women, it was a term that the Iroquois consistently employed to indicate that the Delawares did not have responsibility over the sale of their own land. See Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 2009), esp. chap. 5.

¹⁵ Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 2007), 111.

¹⁶ Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, 2002), 2–3. For more on Neolin and nativist spirituality, see Alfred A. Cave, "The Delaware Prophet Neolin: A Reappraisal," *Ethnohistory* 46 (1999): 265–90; Lee Irwin, *Coming down from Above: Prophecy, Resistance, and Renewal in Native American Religions* (Norman, OK, 2008).

across the Appalachian ridge. Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe thus asked Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies, to “endeavor to prevail on the [Iroquois] Indians to give their Consent that the [Mason-Dixon] Line may now be run” beyond the Appalachians.¹⁷ Sharpe was wise to ask for Johnson’s help. Not only did Johnson have more authority to negotiate with Native Americans than any other British official in the northern colonies, but he had a close and mutually beneficial relationship with the Iroquois that increased the regional power of the Six Nations and Britain alike.¹⁸ Indeed, Mason and Dixon relied so heavily on Johnson’s negotiations that they had to postpone the beginning of their expedition in 1767 until they received word of his success.¹⁹

On May 8, 1767, Johnson held a congress at the German Flats, New York, to gain the permission of the Six Nations to extend Mason and Dixon’s survey beyond the Proclamation Line. Johnson, though, was less interested in facilitating the Mason-Dixon survey than in the ongoing violence and atrocities that, many colonial officials feared, would soon lead to a full-scale Indian war.²⁰ He feared that the Indians in the Ohio Country would not believe British promises that the Mason-Dixon survey was merely a colonial border that would not threaten their territory. Johnson wrote that western Indians “may be apt to conceive very differently the meaning of the present Line” as an official encroachment into Indian territory—which, in effect, it was.²¹ He confided to a leading British official that he had called the German Flats congress only partially because it was “a necessary part of [his] duty for terminating these dis-

¹⁷ Horatio Sharpe to William Johnson, Dec. 28, 1766, in Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 12:230–31.

¹⁸ See Gail D. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire* (Philadelphia, 2011), esp. chap. 2.

¹⁹ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 171.

²⁰ For examples of newspapers from 1764 to 1769 that expressed the notion that a general Indian war was looming, see: “Charleston, South Carolina, Nov. 1,” *Boston Evening-Post*, Jan. 2, 1764; “Charles Town, South Carolina, Oct. 23,” *New-Hampshire Gazette, and Historical Chronicle*, Jan. 31, 1766; “Extract of a Letter from Pittsburg, Dated Octo. 10,” *Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*, Nov. 26, 1767; “A Message from the Governor to the Assembly,” *Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser*, Jan. 25–Feb. 1, 1768; “Extract of a Letter from Albany, Dated May 28,” *New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, June 5, 1769; “New-York, June 12,” *New-Hampshire Gazette, and Historical Chronicle*, June 23, 1769; “Philadelphia, August 17,” *Essex Gazette*, Aug.–29, 1769; “New-York, August 28,” *Providence Gazette; and Country Journal*, Aug.–Sept. 2, 1769.

²¹ William Johnson to John Penn, Jan. 15, 1767, in Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 12:256–57.

putes" between Maryland and Pennsylvania. His "more material motive [was] satisfying them [Native Americans] on the Subject of their Inquietudes of which I had the most . . . alarming acco[un]ts, and therefore no Time was to be lost."²² Still in its planning stages, the western expedition of the Mason-Dixon Line was already getting tangled up with the ongoing disputes between British officials, white settlers, the Six Nations, and the Indians of the Ohio Country.

Johnson knew as well as anyone that Mason and Dixon's survey threatened to upset whatever order existed in the Pennsylvania-Maryland backcountry. He therefore appointed two representatives that would accompany Mason and Dixon during the trans-Appalachian phase of the survey, both of whom were well known and, Johnson hoped, would command respect among Indians in the Ohio Country.²³ The first of these was a white man named Hugh Crawford, whom Charles Mason described as "our Interpreter, who has traversed these parts for 28 years, either as an Indian Trader or Commander in his Majesty's Service in the late Wars."²⁴ Since the end of the Seven Years' War, Crawford had served in Johnson's Department of Indian Affairs as chief assistant to George Croghan—Johnson's second in command—and in 1766 Crawford acted as special liaison to Pontiac, a key figure in the nativist wars against British rule in the Great Lakes region. One witness, describing Crawford's relations with Pontiac, told Johnson that "Mr. crawford keeps the Indians in the Best order I have Ever Seen any kept in and I hop his Ezal [zeal] for the Service will Recommend him to your notice."²⁵ Crawford's appointment to Mason and Dixon's expedition suggests that Johnson not only agreed with this recommendation, but that he thought the survey might need someone who could keep potentially hostile trans-Appalachian Indians in order. Also, like Johnson and Croghan, Crawford was an active land speculator who hoped to acquire tracts in the Ohio Country. He was a member of the Suffering Traders, a group of Indian traders that sought western land grants as restitution for losses during the

²² William Johnson to Lord Shelburne, May 30, 1767, in *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library* (Springfield, IL, 1916), 11:572–74 (British Series, vol. 2).

²³ On Indian-white go-betweens and the limits of their diplomacy, see James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999).

²⁴ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 175.

²⁵ Kenneth P. Bailey, ed., *The Ohio Company Papers, 1753–1817: Being Primarily Papers of the "Suffering Traders" of Pennsylvania* (Arcata, CA, 1947), 159; Robert Roger to William Johnson, June 28, 1766, in Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 12:120.

Seven Years' War, and may have hoped to use his place with Mason and Dixon to scout out western lands for himself and his associates.²⁶

A Mohawk chief named Hendrick was Johnson's second appointee, and, on July 16, he joined the surveyors with a contingent of Six Nations Indians that included ten other Mohawks and three Onondagas.²⁷ As the *New-York Gazette* reported in December 1767, "Sir William thought proper to send these Indians down [to the Pennsylvania-Maryland border], among whom are the famous Hendrick, and some other principle Headmen of the Mohawk Nation."²⁸ It is possible that the author of this article confused this "famous Hendrick" with the more famous Mohawk of the same name who was killed fighting alongside William Johnson during the Seven Years' War. It is unlikely, however, that this was a case of mistaken identity. That Hendrick (1692–1755) was perhaps the most well-known Mohawk of the mid-eighteenth century and his death was extensively covered in New York newspapers.²⁹ The Hendrick of Mason and Dixon's survey would have been well known—and perhaps even "famous"—in his own right. He was a leading Mohawk figure in the post-Seven Years' War era, was involved with William Johnson and land sales in the 1760s, and would act as a primary representative of the Lower Mohawks at the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768.³⁰

While the proprietors, Indians, and representatives attached to the Mason-Dixon survey were all significant figures in the Pennsylvania-Maryland backcountry, it is important to keep in mind that the survey

²⁶ Although Johnson acquired thousands of acres for himself through the Fort Stanwix Treaty, he did not purchase any for the Suffering Traders. See Bailey, *Ohio Company Papers*, 11, 159, 200, 223.

²⁷ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 178. It was no accident that this group consisted of Mohawks and Onondagas. The leader, Hendrick, and the majority of the expedition's Indian contingent were Mohawks, the Iroquois group with which William Johnson had the closest ties and that he had helped raise to prominence in the 1750s. The Onondagas, who had previously been the most influential of the Six Nations, may have been included in the party so as not to deprive them totally of their traditional hierarchical importance. See Richard L. Haan, "Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676–1760," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (Syracuse, NY, 1987), 56.

²⁸ "New York, December 17, 1767," *New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, Dec. 17, 1767.

²⁹ See, for example, "Boston, September 29," *New-York Mercury*, Oct. 6, 1755. Confusing things further, another famous Mohawk named Hendrick (ca. 1660–ca. 1735) had been an important ally to the British a half century earlier. Eric Hinderaker has clarified the history of these earlier two Hendricks in a recent book; the Mason-Dixon survey adds yet another Hendrick to colonial history. Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA, 2010).

³⁰ For two examples of Hendrick's involvement in land negotiations, in 1764 and 1768 respectively, see Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 11:359–60, 12:618.

itself was also impressive. This linear survey was one of the most large-scale and sophisticated scientific expeditions yet undertaken in the middle colonies of British America, and although it took place deep in the North American woods, the Mason-Dixon Line was a model of scientific precision.³¹ According to Nevil Maskelyne, British Astronomer Royal, Mason and Dixon produced “the straightest and most regular” lines ever run because the surveyors took astronomical sightings with a new kind of zenith sector, an instrument “so exact, that they found they could trace out a parallel of latitude by it, without erring above 15 or 20 yards.” In addition, Mason and Dixon used the boundary survey as an opportunity to conduct sophisticated experiments for the Royal Society, most notably measuring the length of a degree of latitude. To further ensure precision, measurements on the Mason-Dixon Line were conducted “two or three times” with both brass and fir rods whose minute variations were checked against “the height of the thermometer at the time.”³²

Turning European visions of science and order into reality in Pennsylvania’s borderlands was, however, a large and complex operation. Mason and Dixon’s astronomical measurements required cumbersome and fragile scientific instruments; dozens of axmen were needed to cut sight lines through the dense woods; assistant surveyors, horses, wagons, white and Indian guides, and a variety of helpers that might best be described as camp followers were also crucial to the progress and daily life of the expedition. Charles Mason’s journal has few logistical details, and he neglected to include specifics about the number of people involved in the 1767 expedition. He did, however, sketch the composition of the surveying party in June of 1764. Mason’s offhand entry noted that they “Engaged ax men, etc. The whole company including Steward, Tent keepers, Cooks, Chain carriers, etc. amounting to 39. Two Waggons, Eight Horses, etc.”³³ As the party of 1767 was probably larger than that

³¹ For information on the scientific instruments and techniques used to run the Mason-Dixon Line, see A. R. H., “Jeremiah Dixon’s Theodolite,” *Geographical Journal* 47 (1916): 1–3; Thomas D. Cope, “A Clock Sent Thither by the Royal Society,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 94 (1950): 260–68; Thomas D. Cope, “Degrees along the West Line, the Parallel between Maryland and Pennsylvania,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 94 (1949): 127–33; Thomas D. Cope and H. W. Robinson, “Charles Mason, Jeremiah Dixon and the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 9 (1951): 55–78.

³² Nevil Maskelyne, “Introduction to the Following Observations, Made by Messieurs Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon . . .,” and Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, “Observations for Determining the Length of a Degree of Latitude in the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in North America,” *Philosophical Transactions* 58 (1768): 271, 272, 275.

³³ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 58.

of 1764, we get some sense of the team that penetrated and set about delineating the trans-Appalachian Indian country. The addition of the fourteen Iroquois would have made this seem a large and threatening force to Delawares living in the line's path. Indeed, this may have been part of the point: the surveying party would have resembled a small army, a precaution that the proprietors may have hoped would make potentially aggressive Delawares think twice before harassing the surveyors.

Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe believed that the Iroquois in the party were crucial to the success of the expedition, and, like William Johnson, Sharpe was nervous about potential ruptures between whites and Indians. "[T]he public Peace," claimed Sharpe, "may greatly depend on the good Usage and kind Treatment of these Deputies." Sharpe thus enjoined Mason and Dixon "not only to use them well yourselves but to be careful that they receive no Abuse or ill treatment from the Men you may employ in carrying on the said Work, and to do your utmost to protect them from the Insults of all other persons whatsoever." Also in the interest of ensuring peaceful relations, Sharpe advised that the Iroquois be given liquor no more than three times a day, and that those rations should be watered down. He knew how high tensions had become between Indians and whites and hoped to make certain that a war would not start on account of a drunken quarrel between an Iroquois chief and a white frontiersman.³⁴

Far more threatening than these potential conflicts among members of Mason and Dixon's party, however, was the chance of meeting violent resistance from Delawares that resented the combined presence of surveyors and Iroquois in a land that the Delawares considered to be theirs by both political and spiritual right. The possibility of Delaware violence began to seem all too real when a delegation of Delaware warriors arrived at an observation station the surveyors had set up twenty miles east of the Cheat River. Mason recorded that "on the 17th of August we were paid a visit by 13 Delawares; one of them a Nephew of Captain Black-Jacobs, who was killed by General Armstrong at the Kittony Town. . . . This Nephew of Black Jacobs was the tallest man I ever saw."³⁵

Although Mason and Dixon's journal does not go into any detail on what transpired during the encounter with the thirteen Delawares, it

³⁴ Horatio Sharpe et al. to Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, June 18, 1767, in Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 177.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

seems that the Delawares frightened the whites and Iroquois so much that they began to desert the surveying party. Only a few days after meeting the Delawares, Mason noted in the margins of his astronomical observations that “Mr. John Green, one of the Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, and his Nephew left us, in order to return to their own Country.”³⁶ Despite the Iroquois’s claims to control the Ohio Country and the Indians who lived there, John Green’s departure suggests that at least some Iroquois recognized that trying to enforce this claim in the face of direct Delaware opposition was risky business. It was, therefore, no surprise that the twelve remaining Iroquois in the party felt relieved when, according to Mason, “Eight Warriors of the Seneca Nation fell in with us” and traveled with the surveying party for two days. “They are one of the Six Nations,” explained Mason, “which made the Indians with us, very glad to see them.”³⁷ Hendrick and the other Native Americans in the party no doubt felt more secure traveling through the Ohio Country with eight more well-armed Iroquois near at hand.

The nerve of the whites in Mason and Dixon’s party soon began to fail as well. For one, many of the whites probably recognized that the Delawares resented surveyors, and some of the Pennsylvanians in the party may have even recalled how Delaware warriors had used surveying tools to murder fourteen settlers near Penn’s Creek in 1755.³⁸ According to historian Jane T. Merritt, the Delawares’ choice to kill these settlers with chains and axes—the iconic tools of surveyors—was a means of “taking back disputed land by embedding their marks on white bodies.”³⁹ Such memories may have been looming large in the minds of the white assistants when, on September 29, the party reached the Monongahela River, and twenty-six of Mason and Dixon’s men deserted. Mason was quite clear as to why they chose to return east. He wrote that “they would not pass the River for fear of the Shawanes [Shawnees] and Delaware Indians.” Even the mere threat of violence, it seems, was an effective way for the Delawares to further their goal of maintaining control over this region’s borders. Although Mason and Dixon “prevailed upon 15 ax men to proceed” with them and even managed to recruit a few more assistants,

³⁶ Ibid., 182.

³⁷ Ibid., 175.

³⁸ Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 278.

³⁹ Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 184.

the survey would come to an unexpected end before the new men could be much help.⁴⁰

Although the group of thirteen Delaware warriors scared the whites and Indians in Mason and Dixon's party, the two other Delaware delegations that Mason considered worth mentioning seem to have been diplomatic in nature. A few days after the bulk of the white assistants departed and a few miles west of the Monongahela, the surveying team met a "Chief of the Delaware Nation" named Catfish, who approached the surveyors in the company of his wife and nephew. Catfish and his small retinue impressed Mason, who described them as "very well dressed nearly like Europeans."⁴¹ Although Mason did make some effort to record the meeting that followed, it seems that the details of Iroquois-Delaware discussions were beyond the astronomer's ken.

However, the few particulars of the encounter with Catfish that Mason did record demonstrate that the Delawares and Iroquois present at the meeting seem to have approached it with the pomp of a formal conference. Mason wrote that "our Chief [Hendrick] held a Council and made a Speech (and presented him with some strings of Wampom) to him; in which they acquainted them of our business there."⁴² The exchange of wampum was essential at backcountry meetings such as this, and strings of these beads were often used as a means of affirming the truth of something stated during a conference.⁴³ Indeed, Hendrick's presentation of wampum probably worked quite well to appease whatever concerns Catfish may have brought to the attention of the surveying party, for Mason noted that "He [Catfish] seemed to be very well satisfied, and promised to send the strings of Wampom to his Town."⁴⁴ As intercultural brokers, Hendrick, Hugh Crawford, and Catfish were all well aware of the significance of the delicate negotiations at this conference. Although Mason and Dixon were no fools, they lacked the years of experience needed to make sense of the complex on-site diplomacy that made their eponymous line possible beyond the Appalachian ridge.

Catfish promised that he would return to the surveying party in fifteen days, but he never came back. Yet the next Delaware dignitary to visit the party carried far more weight as a negotiator than Catfish, and may have

⁴⁰ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 187.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴³ Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 188.

⁴⁴ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 174.

been sent in his stead. Just as Horatio Sharpe and William Johnson had stocked the survey party with such respected negotiators as Hugh Crawford and Hendrick, the Delawares sent their own high-profile representative to meet the expedition's leaders. Among his memoranda of notable events during the trans-Appalachian phase of the expedition, Mason wrote that "At our last station, among many others came Prince Prisquetom, Brother to the King of the Delawares."⁴⁵ "Prisquetom" was how Mason identified Pisquetomen, the elder brother of such famous figures as Shingas, Delaware George, and Tamaqua, "King Beaver" of the Western Delawares.

The fact that Delaware leaders sent Pisquetomen to negotiate on their behalf suggests that they saw the survey as an important event and, perhaps, an opportunity. Pisquetomen was one of the most recognized go-betweens in land negotiations and had much experience representing the Delawares' interests at treaty conferences with the British and Six Nations.⁴⁶ As a young man, he had been part of the defrauded Delaware contingent at the Walking Purchase of 1737, an experience that made him forever wary of British plots to dispossess the Delawares of their land.⁴⁷ In 1755, Pisquetomen's suspicion turned to rage as he led a Delaware war party against white settlers near Penn's Creek.⁴⁸ After 1755, however, Pisquetomen and his brother Tamaqua became leading figures in the Delaware faction that advocated peace with the British. Most historians have believed that Pisquetomen died in 1762, yet Charles Mason's journal indicates that not only was Pisquetomen still very much alive in 1767 but that he remained active in his role as a negotiator with the British and the Iroquois.⁴⁹

Part of Pisquetomen's purpose in meeting with Mason and Dixon was probably to inspect the surveying party and keep watch on it as it proceeded westward. For Pisquetomen, Mason and Dixon's survey may have had ominous similarities with the Walking Purchase, where he had acted as a translator thirty years earlier. Much of the Walk's fraud had occurred

⁴⁵ Ibid., 175. Mason provided no hint as to the identity or intention of the "many other" visitors to the surveying party's observation station.

⁴⁶ For an example of one of Pisquetomen's experiences treating with the British, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 242–48.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 247.

⁴⁸ Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 112.

⁴⁹ Michael N. McConnell, "Pisquetomen and Tamaqua: Mediating Peace in the Ohio Country," in *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816*, ed. Robert S. Grumet (Amherst, MA, 1996), 286, 292.

during the survey itself when, as Pisquetomen later told Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post, “the young Proprietaries came and got it [the boundary] run by a straight Course by the Compass, and by that Means took in double the Quantity intended to be sold.”⁵⁰ Since Pisquetomen feared that another survey would deprive the Delawares of their lands in the Ohio Country just as the Walking Purchase had in Susquehanna, he may have considered it imperative to monitor Mason and Dixon’s doings.

Pisquetomen may have viewed Mason and Dixon’s expedition as the first step in a process he had witnessed before: a survey that enabled the Iroquois-approved sale of Delaware lands to whites. For one, the Mason-Dixon Line would provide an accurately surveyed baseline that would facilitate the survey and sale of private plots. Also, if allowed to continue to its western terminus, the Mason-Dixon Line would establish a clear boundary between the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania, two of the most powerful competitors for Ohio Country lands. Prior to the survey, the intersecting though undefined boundaries between, on the one hand, Indians and whites and, on the other, Pennsylvania and Virginia, had created a jurisdictionally vague borderland in which the Delawares could realize considerable local power and autonomy.

Perhaps Pisquetomen believed that the Mason-Dixon survey presented the Delawares with an opportunity for influencing the shape of the borders that would define the Ohio Country. At the time of Mason and Dixon’s 1767 expedition, many details about how and where the Indian boundary line would be implemented were still being negotiated. The Appalachian ridge boundary suggested in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 had not been fixed, and British and Indian leaders had spent the years since the proclamation debating where, in fact, the Indian boundary line would be run. The Indian boundary would not have a more definite form until the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, a conference at which Delawares were almost entirely excluded from negotiations while the Six Nations bartered away massive tracts of the Ohio Country.⁵¹ Although Pisquetomen was obviously unaware of this eventuality, he had enough experience negotiating with the British to realize that Delawares had to

⁵⁰ Christian Frederick Post, “Journal of Christian Frederick Post,” in *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, and into the Measures taken for recovering their Friendship* (London, 1759), 101.

⁵¹ Schutt, *People of the River Valleys*, 137.

seize any opportunity to define and defend their territory. Meeting with Mason and Dixon gave Pisquetomen a chance to negotiate directly with the men who were creating a major colonial boundary and the important Iroquois representatives that bolstered the survey's authority. The fact that this negotiation took place within the Delawares' Ohio Country lands instead of a colonial city or Iroquois town may have encouraged Pisquetomen's hopes as well.

Although Pisquetomen was known for his fiery rants and frequent swearing, he seems to have been quite civil in his talks with the surveyors.⁵² Mason wrote that Pisquetomen "spoke very good English; (and though his face is deeply furrowed with time, being 86) told me, his Brother [Tamaqua] and himself had a great mind to go and see the great King over the Waters [George III]; and make a perpetual Peace with him." While meeting with the surveyors gave Pisquetomen one occasion to state the Delawares' position without Iroquois interference, it seems that he wished to extend the scope of their independent negotiations with the British to the highest rungs of power. Yet despite his wish for a dialogue with King George, Pisquetomen made it clear that the Delawares still had little reason to trust the British. He told Mason and Dixon that although he hoped to treat directly with the king, he would not travel to England because he "was afraid he should not be sent back to his own Country."⁵³ Unfortunately, Mason only recorded his own conversations with Pisquetomen and provided no hint as to the negotiations that almost certainly took place between Pisquetomen, Hugh Crawford, and the Iroquois in the surveying party.

The meetings between Mason and Dixon's party and the Delaware delegations led by Catfish and Pisquetomen reveal that the running of the Mason-Dixon Line in Indian country was an ongoing process of negotiation. While colonial governors set the survey in motion and Mason and Dixon's scientific techniques and instruments made their line precise, conversations between Native Americans were what actually enabled the line to be run. Moreover, having no experience with the intricacies of such interactions, Mason and Dixon seem to have been only minor figures in these negotiations and, perhaps, may have been absent from many of them. The Delawares, for their part, could have stopped the survey by force at any point, but it seems that the diplomatic skills of Hendrick and

⁵² Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 242.

⁵³ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 175.

Hugh Crawford satisfied the Delawares enough that they did not directly prevent the survey from proceeding. There was also almost certainly a debate among the Delawares over what to do about the surveyors, but the details of this exchange are probably lost to history.

The extension of the Mason-Dixon Line ultimately relied on negotiations among the Iroquois in the surveying party. Some of these Iroquois simply voted with their feet, such as when John Green and his nephew chose to head home. Twenty days and twenty miles after John Green's departure, the survey reached the Cheat River where "two of the Mohawks made an objection against our passing the River." Mason was at a loss to explain why they chose this point to turn back, but the Mohawks' desire to desist was probably due to their increasing uneasiness as they pushed further into the Delawares' country. If Mason and Dixon made efforts of their own to convince the Iroquois to continue west, these pulled little weight. Instead, intra-Iroquois negotiations ensured that the survey could continue at least a little further. As Mason succinctly noted, "a Council being called, the Chiefs determined we should pass."⁵⁴

Almost a month later, the Iroquois in the surveying party reached a new consensus among themselves. They decided that the survey had gone far enough. On October 9, the expedition reached an Indian warpath at Dunkard Creek, 233 miles west of the Mason-Dixon Line's eastern origin. Mason wrote that "the Chief of the Indians which joined us on the 16th of July [Hendrick] informed us that the above mentioned War Path was the extent of his commission from the Chiefs of the Six Nations that he should go with us, with the Line; and that he would not proceed one step farther Westward."⁵⁵ Although Mason and Dixon were able to extend the line a few more miles with the assistance of their remaining white assistants, the Iroquois's refusal to continue effectively marked the western extent of the survey. Mason, Dixon, and, presumably, Hugh Crawford could not prevail upon the Iroquois guides to change their minds, so the entire expedition soon began its journey back east, with Mason and Dixon rechecking their measurements all the way. The Mason-Dixon Line was supposed to continue until it reached the fifth degree of longitude west of the Delaware River, about 80 miles west of the Appalachian ridge and 30 miles beyond where the Iroquois decided to stop.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

Mason and Dixon were not the only whites who were surprised by the survey's premature conclusion. The Mohawk and Onondaga guides had made no earlier mention that their "commission" ended at Dunkard's Creek, and it seems that Mason, Dixon, and the party's other whites treated these Iroquois well and paid them on schedule.⁵⁶ Contemporary newspapers simply claimed that the Iroquois quit because of the onset of winter.⁵⁷ William Johnson, always attuned to the political climate of the backcountry, believed that Hendrick and the other Iroquois refused to continue further west because of the "universal discontent prevailing amongst them." Johnson thought that this discontent stemmed from the constant atrocities committed by whites against Indians and the failure of the British to survey and enforce the Proclamation Line.⁵⁸

The immediate cause of the Iroquois's decision to end the expedition, however, was the party's arrival at the warpath near Dunkard Creek. It was, to use historian Nancy Shoemaker's terminology, an implicit boundary. That is, it was not a boundary settled in a treaty negotiation or on a map, but one developed through history and understood through local knowledge.⁵⁹ As Mason noted in his journal, "This Creek takes its name from a small town settled by the Dunchards . . . The Town was burnt, and most of the Inhabitants killed by the Indians in 1755."⁶⁰ For savvy observers like Hendrick, Dunkard Creek evoked the knowledge that this region was connected to the history and military potential of the Delawares. The creek was a visible reminder for the Iroquois that the Delawares, despite their label as women, were more than capable of annihilating the quickly dwindling party of Iroquois and whites. The Iroquois, and most likely the surveyors themselves, were afraid to proceed further into Delaware country, where they knew their purported authority would not protect them from a nation who had every reason to resent them and the line they were creating.

Mason and Dixon brought some of the world's most sophisticated scientific instruments and techniques across the Appalachian ridge. They planned to use astronomy as a basis for running their latitudinal line to a

⁵⁶ Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 5:737, 6:5–6, 6:71, 6:2, 12:367, 12:401.

⁵⁷ "New-York, December 17," *New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, Dec. 17, 1767; "New York, December 14," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1767.

⁵⁸ William Johnson to Richard Peters, Jan. 8, 1768, in Sullivan et al., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 6:71.

⁵⁹ Nancy Shoemaker, (New York, 2004), 27–28.

⁶⁰ Mason, *Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, 187.

spot predetermined by distant British and colonial officials. Instead, it was negotiated power on the ground that both enabled and eventually prevented the delineation of an important colonial boundary in the mid-Atlantic borderlands. Nearly all of the significant on-site negotiators during the western phase of the Mason-Dixon survey were Native Americans, most notably the Iroquois chiefs in the surveying party and the elite Delaware go-betweens with whom they discussed the fate of the boundary line. Since Mason and Dixon's survey relied on inter- and intra-national negotiations among these Native American groups, Native American conceptions of territorial limits, not those of scientifically minded Europeans, could dictate the western end of the expedition. It was, therefore, a warpath at Dunkard Creek, not intersecting lines of latitude and longitude, that marked the western limit of Pennsylvania's southern boundary for the rest of the colonial period.

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Free Health Care for the Poor: The Philadelphia Dispensary

SCHOLARS HAVE TRACED the American hospital's development from last-resort refuge for the poor and dying in the eighteenth century to the principal health care institution for people of all classes by the early twentieth century. With the exception of Charles Rosenberg, however, few have paid much attention to the dispensary, where far more of the urban poor received medical treatment than in hospitals during the same period.¹ This study of the Philadelphia Dispensary traces its history through three periods—the terms are mine: the short-lived “republican” dispensary founded in 1786, which tied health care to virtuous poverty, at least in theory;² the “democratic” dispensary, which by the 1820s, if not earlier, was treating anyone who showed up; and the “Gilded Age” dispensary, which came under attack as a “combination in restraint of trade” (much like the business corporations that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act attempted to regulate using that language in 1890) for dispensing health care to the detriment of doctors without institutional connections. The dispensary's history can teach us much about Philadelphians' attitudes

Versions of this paper were presented at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Association in October 2010, and at the Early American Seminar of the University of Virginia in March 2011. The author thanks the participants, especially Jeffrey Davis, Jack P. Greene, Peter Onuf, and Karol Weaver; Stacey Peeples, archivist at the Pennsylvania Hospital; and Alan Derickson, Susan Klepp, and the referees selected by the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for their invaluable assistance. For reasons of confidentiality, I was unable to look at any patient records. This essay is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Harry Rosenthal, Bushwick, New York, and to Dr. Kristen Grine, State College, Pennsylvania, and Dr. Harlan Kutscher and Carole Kutscher, RN, Reading, Pennsylvania, representatives of the medical profession at its best.

¹ Charles E. Rosenberg, “Social Class and Medical Care in Nineteenth-Century America: The Rise and Fall of the Dispensary,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 29 (1974): 32–54, reprinted in *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers, 3rd ed. (Madison, WI, 1997). See also Rosenberg, ed., *Caring for the Working Man: The Rise and Fall of the Dispensary: An Anthology of Sources* (New York, 1989).

² I use “republican” here to refer to the political ideology of the late nineteenth century. Later, I refer to the Jeffersonian Republicans as a political party that was actually becoming increasingly democratic.

toward the poor, health care, and the role of private philanthropy in ameliorating social problems over nearly a century and a half.

The Republican Dispensary

The Philadelphia Dispensary opened on April 12, 1786, the first of its kind in the United States. Designed for “the medical relief of the poor,” the dispensary offered various benefits. While most patients would go to the dispensary and receive medicines (hence the word “dispensary”) to treat their ailments, those who were too ill would “be attended and relieved in their own houses, without the pain and inconvenience of being separated from their families,” but “at a much less expence to the public than in a hospital.” Further, Philadelphians realized that “there are some diseases of such a nature, that the air of an hospital, crowded with patients, is injurious.” Psychological as well as physical considerations mattered. Home care would allow “the sick . . . [to] be relieved in a manner perfectly consistent with those noble feelings of the human heart, which are inseparable from virtuous poverty.” *Virtuous* poverty was the key: the 1786 *Plan of the Philadelphia Dispensary for the Medical Relief of the Poor* began by noting that “in all large cities there are many poor persons afflicted by diseases, whose former circumstances and habits of independence will not permit them to expose themselves as patients in a public hospital.”³

The dispensary thus differed from hospitals, the previously established health care institutions in Philadelphia, which were situated away from the general population not only for reasons of healthier air but to segregate undesirable elements. Although the Pennsylvania Hospital is sometimes considered the first hospital in the colonies, the Philadelphia Hospital, founded in 1731 in tandem with the Philadelphia Almshouse, came first. (A Friends’ Almshouse, exclusively for the few Quakers who required assistance, was erected in 1717.) Also in 1743, Pennsylvania erected a lazaretto on Fisher’s Island, south of Philadelphia where the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers met, to quarantine disease-bearing immigrants who previously had been placed in vacant houses in the city, from which they spread disease.⁴

³ *Plan of the Philadelphia Dispensary for the Medical Relief of the Poor* (Philadelphia, 1786).

⁴ Thomas G. Morton, *The History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751–1895* (Philadelphia, 1897), 1–8; *Anno Regni Georgii II. Regis, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae & Hiberniae, Vigesimo*

Two motives intertwined in the founding of the dispensary and its predecessors: humanitarianism and economic efficiency. Prevention of social disorder and cost savings were the major selling points the first subscribers to the Pennsylvania Hospital emphasized in asking the assembly to contribute £2,000 to match privately raised funds. They began by noting that the building would take “the number of Lunaticks” that “hath greatly encreased in this Province, . . . some of them going at large . . . a Terror to their Neighbours,” off the streets. The subscribers claimed that two-thirds of those who had entered London’s Bethlehem (more commonly known as Bedlam) Hospital were cured in a matter of weeks. The subscribers concluded by emphasizing “the Expense in the present manner of Nursing and Attending them [the poor] separately” and the hope that with effective care they would “be made in a few Weeks, useful members of the Community, able to provide for themselves and Families.” The hospital would transform the unworthy poor into productive inhabitants.⁵

Yet the magnificent building still standing between Eighth and Ninth and Spruce and Pine Streets in downtown Philadelphia belies the fact that obtaining public order on the cheap was the only reason the hospital was built. The assembly was reluctant to grant funds: only when the doctors agreed to serve free of charge for three years did it pass the appropriation. The most moving section of the subscribers’ petition, sandwiched between the issues of fear and economy, stated the institution hoped to aid those “whose Poverty is made more miserable by the additional Weight of a grievous Disease . . . languish[ing] out their Lives, tortur’d perhaps with the Stone, devour’d by the Cancer, deprived of Sight by Cataracts, or gradually decaying by loathsome Distempers.”⁶

Despite the high hopes of reform and the civic pride manifested in the hospital building, Pennsylvania Hospital was typical of the early variety of these institutions. Until the late nineteenth century, hospitals were, for the most part, places where “the depraved and miserable of our race” waited to die, as Presbyterian minister Ely Ezra Stiles wrote in 1810 of New York’s hospital, specifically calling attention to diseased prostitutes and beggars. Only between the 1870s and 1920s, when the number of hospitals in the

Quarto. *At a General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, Begun and Holden at Philadelphia, the Fourteenth Day of October, Anno Domini, 1750 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1751), 155; David Rosner, “Health Care for the ‘Truly Needy’: Nineteenth-Century Origins of the Concept,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 60 (1982): 357.

⁵ Morton, *Pennsylvania Hospital*, 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*

nation rose from 170 to over 4,500, did they become sites of medical care for the general population.⁷

The locations of Philadelphia's early health care institutions reflected their purpose. The Philadelphia Almshouse was located first between Third and Fourth and Spruce and Pine Streets, outside of the city's populated area in 1731, as was the Pennsylvania Hospital when it opened at its present site in 1752. Mikveh Israel, the city's small Jewish congregation, had placed its cemetery that far out of town, at Ninth and Spruce Streets, in the fruitless hope it would prevent vandalism. The almshouse moved further west in 1767 to between Tenth and Eleventh and Spruce and Pine Streets. In contrast, the dispensary's location, on Independence Square at Fourth and Chestnut Streets in the heart of the late eighteenth-century city, indicated that the "worthy" poor would bear no stigma when requesting free medical care and that the attractive building they entered would be a source of civic pride easily visible to inhabitants and visitors alike. The dispensary did, however, borrow from the hospital its modes of governance and method of staffing. Subscribers to both institutions voted for a board of managers. Both employed consulting (senior) and practicing (junior) physicians.⁸

The Philadelphia Dispensary was modeled closely on one founded in London in 1770. Both board of managers president William White and first subscriber Benjamin Franklin would have known about it, as they were in London at the time it was established, and the Earl of Dartmouth, a friend of Franklin and the colonies, was the first president of what the English institution called its board of governors. Borrowing a practice from the numerous hospitals set up in Britain, patients could only be referred by subscribers: in London, one guinea (a pound and a shilling) allowed them to send one patient at a time, while in Philadelphia they could send two. Ten guineas was the lifetime membership fee on either side of the Atlantic, which permitted members to send one (in England) or two (in America) patients at a time for the rest of their lives. As in

⁷ Quotation from Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (Baltimore, 1987), 15, an excellent account of the early hospital and its late nineteenth-century transformation into the modern institution that cared for people of all classes. For the nature of early hospitals, also see Morris Vogel, "Patrons, Practitioners, and Patients: The Voluntary Hospital in Mid-Victorian Boston," in Leavitt and Numbers, *Sickness and Health in America*, 323–33.

⁸ For locations, see Charles Lawrence, *History of the Philadelphia Almshouses and Hospitals from the Beginning of the Eighteenth to the Ending of the Nineteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1905), 20, 23, and William Pencak, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005), 189.

Philadelphia, the London doctors attended Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at eleven o'clock and donated their services—many were also subscribers who could thus choose their own patients.⁹

The London institution, like that in Philadelphia, insisted that its patrons would be aiding the *industrious* poor. In 1771, for instance, the London report stressed that “this Charity will be particularly serviceable to . . . poor labouring Families,” and the 1776 report noted that “the poor are a large, as well as useful part of the community; they supply both the necessary and ornamental articles of life; they have therefore a just claim to the protection of the rich.”¹⁰ The four London dispensaries built in the 1770s, plus a fifth added in 1801, were relieving fifty thousand people per year out of a population of about a million by that date. The Philadelphia Dispensary serviced about two thousand people a year in the first decade of the nineteenth century out of a population of fifty thousand, or a roughly comparable percentage: its successful example was followed by others in New York in 1790 and Boston in 1796.¹¹

Free care did not mean inferior care. Throughout the dispensary's history, it acted much like a teaching hospital or medical school, as did the almshouse and hospital where many of the same doctors started their careers and later consulted. Most of the attending physicians were young doctors who used the institution to gain experience and curry the favor of the patrons and the senior consulting physicians and thereby build their own practices. For over a half century they worked for free, whereas the apothecary, who was on duty full time, was paid one hundred pounds (later four hundred dollars) a year. The first doctor to be paid was Carter Berkeley, who received one hundred dollars in 1838, at a time when the turnover of physicians was increasing.¹²

Many notable American physicians were connected with the Philadelphia Dispensary. The first to serve included twenty-six-year-old

⁹ *An Account of the General Dispensary for Relief of the Poor. Instituted 1770* (London, 1771); and Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), 134–41, for British hospitals and dispensaries.

¹⁰ *Account of the General Dispensary for Relief of the Poor. Instituted 1770*, 4; *An Account of the General Dispensary for Relief of the Poor. Instituted in 1770, in Aldersgate Street 1770* (London, 1776), 3.

¹¹ William R. Lawrence, *A History of the Boston Dispensary* (Boston, 1859), 6–9.

¹² List of Physicians, Philadelphia Dispensary, 1786–1921, Dispensary Records, Pennsylvania Hospital Historic Collections, Philadelphia. For the almshouse, which became the Philadelphia General Hospital, see Charles E. Rosenberg, “From Almshouse to Hospital: The Shaping of the Philadelphia General Hospital,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 60 (1982): 108–54.

Caspar Wistar and twenty-eight-year-old Samuel Powel Griffiths, future professors at the University of Pennsylvania Medical College. They were also among the six attending physicians at the almshouse following a major reform of the city's welfare system in 1788.¹³ Both had studied in Edinburgh, the best medical school in the English-speaking world, following their courses at the University of Pennsylvania. Four of the leading doctors in Philadelphia—John Jones, Benjamin Rush, Adam Kuhn, and William Shippen Jr.—were the original consulting physicians. This practice continued, as Francis Sinkler noted in 1909: "In addition to the relief afforded to its large number of patients, many physicians have been trained in its service including most of the more eminent practitioners of the past and present time."¹⁴

If one family supported the dispensary more than any other, it was the Wistars and their relatives. The noted Dr. Caspar Wistar started his Philadelphia career at the dispensary in 1786, staying until 1793. As of 1806 the board of managers included not only Caspar but Charles Thomas Wistar and Samuel John Wistar. Other physicians at the dispensary included Caspar Morris Wistar, (1827–1829), Caspar Morris (1829–1830), and Caspar Wistar Pennock (1835–1836). Caspar Morris Wistar became the dispensary's secretary when he resigned as a physician in 1829, and he held that post until his death in 1867, when he was succeeded by Thomas Wistar, who remained in office until 1904. In 1856, Caspar Wistar Pennock and Caspar Wistar were life members, and Mifflin Wistar, Thomas Wistar, Wistar Morris, and Thomas Wistar Brown were among the institution's contributors. Life members as of 1916 included Thomas Wistar, Wistar Harvey, and Thomas Wistar Brown, a member of Haverford College's board of managers who served as president of the dispensary from 1891 to 1916.¹⁵

¹³ Lawrence, *History of the Philadelphia Almshouses and Hospitals*, 34–35, 393.

¹⁴ For biographies of these men and many of the other doctors associated with the dispensary, see William S. W. Ruschenberger, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia during a Hundred Years from January, 1787* (Philadelphia, 1887); Francis W. Sinkler, "The Philadelphia Dispensary," in *Founders Week Memorial Volume: Containing an Account of the Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the City of Philadelphia, and Histories of Its Principal Scientific Institutions, Medical Colleges, Hospitals, etc.*, ed. John V. Shoemaker and Charles K. Millis (Philadelphia, 1909), 750–51.

¹⁵ Philadelphia Dispensary, *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1806, 1836, 1856, 1916); List of Physicians; Sinkler, "Philadelphia Dispensary," 750. It is hard to ascertain exactly how the Wistars were related to one another, as the various branches of the family used the same names frequently throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Richard Wistar Davids, *Wistar Family: A Genealogy of the Descendants of Caspar Wistar, Emigrant in 1717* (Philadelphia, 1896).

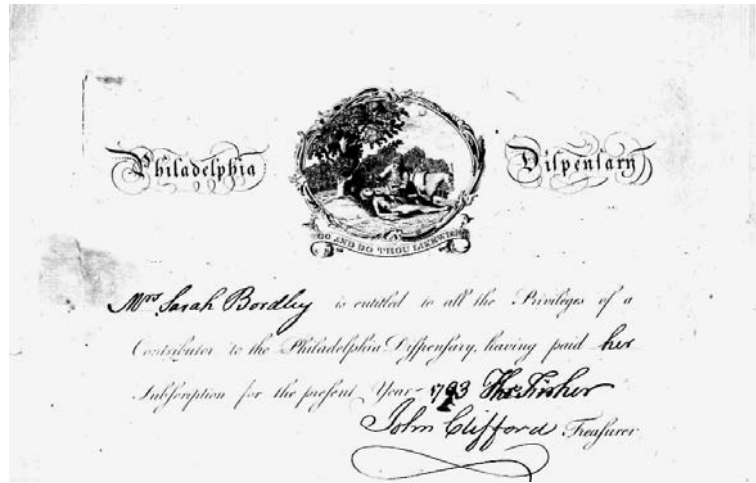
Few doctors stayed with the dispensary for long: John Carson was the first to leave on May 21, 1787, giving a reason that would become typical: because of the “very extensive business of this institution he could not discharge his duty to it without interfering too much with his private practice.” The 303 doctors associated with the dispensary between 1786 and 1921 served an average of three years, although a few—David Jones Davis (1814–1828), Charles Everett Cadwalader (1872–1891), Horace S. Lewars (1892–1912), W. C. Hammond (1896–1915), and Mary Wenzel (1898–1901; 1908–1921)—worked for extended periods. Described in her 1936 obituary as “one of the earliest practicing woman physicians” in Philadelphia, Wenzel had only one female colleague at the dispensary, Rebecca White Elder (1901–1902). Over seven thousand dollars out of twelve thousand spent in 1921, the year of the dispensary’s last annual report, went for salaries, indicating that by that time some doctors either preferred (or had no other opportunity except) to work for the dispensary for extended periods. Cadwalader, however, was only one of many wealthy men and distinguished physicians who donated their time.¹⁶

At least some of the consulting physicians devoted considerable time to the dispensary. In 1826, upon his death, Samuel Powel Griffitts’s contribution was praised by the board of managers. He had served as a consulting physician for over three decades after he “graduated” from being an attending one and had been present “almost daily” from the dispensary’s founding in 1786 until his death in 1826.¹⁷ Benjamin Rush—Philadelphia’s most persistent temperance, prison, antislavery, and medical reformer—can be considered the true architect of the dispensary. Rush reduced his paying practice by a fourth to devote time to the dispensary. The fledgling doctors he supervised also worked hard: he claimed that working at the dispensary, “a young man will see more practice in a month than with most private physicians in a year.”¹⁸

¹⁶ List of Physicians; Charles E. Cadwalader is noted in William B. Atkinson, ed., *The Physicians and Surgeons of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1878), 180; for Wenzel’s obituary, see *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1936, 23.

¹⁷ Managers’ Minutes, Mar. 24, 1826, Dispensary Records, Philadelphia Hospital Historic Collections; *Philadelphia in 1830* (Philadelphia, 1830), 47.

¹⁸ David Freeman Hawke, *Benjamin Rush: Revolutionary Gadfly* (Indianapolis, 1971), 320–21; Rush to Jeremy Belknap, Jan. 8, 1788, in *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1951), 2:477–82; Rush, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His “Travels through Life” Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789–1813* (Princeton, NJ, 1948), 159; Rush to Belknap, Oct. 4, 1791, in Butterfield, *Letters*, 2:610.



Philadelphia Dispensary Contributor's Certificate for Mrs. Sarah Bordley, 1793. Courtesy Pennsylvania Hospital Historic Collections, Philadelphia.

The first subscribers to the dispensary numbered 395, 52 of them women. Before the Revolution, no voluntary or civic association had accepted women as members.¹⁹ The list included some of the most prominent names in Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin (who in the manager's minutes was listed as the first to contribute), three other signers of the Declaration of Independence (Robert Morris, George Clymer, and Francis Hopkinson), four members of the Shippen family, four Pembertons, three Mifflins, and Mayor Samuel Powel. Someone contributed under the name of Anthony Benezet, Pennsylvania's staunchest abolitionist who had died in 1784.²⁰ As a courtesy, in the alphabetical list of names, women were listed first under each letter. Some women contributed separately from their husbands, such as Powel's wife, Elizabeth, and Morris's wife, Mary. Mary's brother, William White, consecrated that year as the first bishop of the Pennsylvania Episcopal Church, was chosen president of the twelve-man board of managers. Each member was permitted to vote for the managers, with women doing so by proxy. Other Philadelphians were invited to join them to support an institution to be housed temporarily in a rented building that opened in Strawberry Alley on April 12. A widely circulated

¹⁹ Jessica Choppin Roney, "'Effective Men' and Early Voluntary Associations in Philadelphia, 1725–1775," in *New Men: Manliness in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York, 2011), 155–58.

²⁰ See Maurice Jackson, *Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of American Abolitionism* (Philadelphia, 2009).

broadside encouraged the poor to visit to receive their free smallpox inoculations—no patron was needed for those who wished to better their chances at surviving this extremely contagious disease.²¹

The dispensary was only one of many charitable institutions that elite Philadelphians sponsored in the postrevolutionary era designed to alleviate social ills. As Benjamin Rush proclaimed when he introduced his plan for free schools: “The present is an era of public spirit—the Dispensary and the Humane Society [established to revive people who appeared to have drowned] will be lasting monuments of the humanity of the present citizens of Philadelphia.”²² Many of these featured Episcopal bishop William White, Rush’s next door neighbor at Third and Walnut Streets, as president. The only Anglican clergyman in Pennsylvania to support the Revolution, White was universally respected, even more so after he remained in the city through eight yellow fever epidemics from 1793 to 1805 (and, at the age of eighty-four in 1832, a cholera epidemic) to console the sick and bury the dead. He headed the governing boards of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, Christ Church Hospital, and three charity schools (one each for boys, girls, and African Americans) that appeared between 1786 and 1790. Later he would head the Magdalen Society (1800), which afforded relief to unwed mothers, and the city’s first institutions to educate the deaf (1820) and blind (1832). As historian Jessica Choppin Roney has shown, Philadelphians had been creating voluntary societies to a much greater extent than Boston or New York throughout the eighteenth century, but with a burst of energy in the years following the Revolution they added several charitable societies as well as banks, the Chamber of Commerce, an insurance society, a stock exchange, and the Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike Company to join the existing fire societies, educational institutions, and social clubs to improve their city.²³

White was no mere figurehead: as with the other associations he led for which records survive, he attended well over half of the dispensary’s board of managers meetings until the mid-1820s, when he was approach-

²¹ *Plan of the Philadelphia Dispensary for the Medical Relief of the Poor*.

²² Benjamin Rush to the Citizens of Philadelphia, Mar. 28, 1787, in Butterfield, *Letters*, 2:415.

²³ See Walter Herbert Stowe, ed., *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White* (New York, 1937), 107–8, 135–41. Jessica Choppin Roney, “‘First Movers in Every Useful Undertaking’: Formal Voluntary Associations in Philadelphia, 1725–1775” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2008), 352–78; for postrevolutionary associations, see William Pencak, “The Promise of Revolution, 1750–1800,” in *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*, ed. Randall Miller and William Pencak (University Park, PA, 2002), 118–19.

ing his eightieth year. On his death in 1836, the managers resolved: "We are deeply sensible of the loss which this institution and the public has sustained by the death of the Right Reverend William White who from the foundation of this charity for a period of fifty years presided over its council and greatly contributed by his aid and counsel to its advancement and welfare." He was only the second person, following Dr. Griffiths, to receive such a tribute in the minutes.²⁴

Why was the dispensary founded when it was? In 1788, Benjamin Rush wrote to Massachusetts minister and historian Jeremy Belknap that on account of "the late war" the hospital's "usefulness is of late much circumscribed." This health crisis "was in a great degree remedied by the establishment of a Dispensary." Neatly summarizing the humanitarian and economic arguments for the dispensary in one sentence, along with a scientific one analogous to that being advanced at that very moment for the US Constitution he had just signed ("that politics may be reduced to a science"), Rush added: "Thus have we applied the principles of mechanics to morals, for in what other way would so great a weight of evil have been removed by so small a force?"²⁵

The hospital's inability to care for many poor Philadelphians can be explained by the fact that in the 1780s Philadelphia was undergoing a major economic transition. Billy Smith has shown that whereas the household expenses of working Philadelphians increased significantly in the 1780s, their real wages substantially decreased.²⁶ Further, as Sharon Salinger has demonstrated, the nature of Philadelphia's working class was changing as well: apprentices, who were legally subject to the paternal care of their masters, were being replaced in the city's shops by wage workers, most of whom no longer resided with their employer and could be hired or fired as needed.²⁷ Much of the increase in the quantity of free labor and decline in its price occurred because of immigration, especially of Irishmen who came to the city in large numbers following the

²⁴ Managers' Minutes, July 19, 1836. As was the custom in appointing presidents to philanthropic organizations, Philadelphians chose White as the figurehead of the organization because of his popularity. In fact, however, until he was in his late seventies, White attended far more meetings than most directors not only of the dispensary but of the Prison Society, Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, and Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

²⁵ Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap, Jan. 8, 1788, Butterfield, *Letters*, 2:477–82.

²⁶ Billy G. Smith, *"The Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1990), tables on 101, 110, 114, 116, 121.

²⁷ Sharon V. Salinger, "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 40 (1983): 62–84.

Revolution.²⁸ Similarly, the freeing of most Philadelphia slaves—down from a population of 1,500 in 1767 to just over 500 in 1780 and 95 in 1800—meant that many African Americans joined the working poor, freeing their former masters from the requirement that they pay for their medical care.²⁹ The sort of ailments suffered by these mostly working, although sometimes unemployed, poor people meant they were too fit (and hence unfit) to be treated in a hospital. If unable to come to the dispensary, they could be treated in a place of residence, however humble.

The dispensary thus created a bond between the working poor and their employers or other people of means. The poor would call on the wealthy to serve as their patrons. To continue to receive care, patients had to return discharge forms to their patrons. The dispensary thus perpetuated a culture of social deference. Whether mutual good feeling prevailed between the classes is less clear: as Robert Gross has persuasively argued, deference is performative, a social ritual where people of different classes enact roles designed to preserve the social order whether they are happy about it or not.³⁰ In some measure, the dispensary retained or repaired the social ties fractured by the decline of apprenticeship and slavery.

The dispensary benefited the elite as well as the poor. Besides fulfilling a desire for and reputation of benevolence (lists of subscribers were published annually), for the payment of a small annual sum the dispensary provided medical care that it hoped would ensure a reasonably healthy workforce. One London pamphlet supporting the dispensary idea focused on the institutions' use in economically treating domestic servants, who "exert themselves so much in the discharge of their duty, as renders them liable to numerous ailments."³¹ In offering cheap health care, the dispensary may therefore be compared with the many hospitals established in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in the late nineteenth century by industrial employers or communities (frequently working together) that then

²⁸ For Irish immigration, see Maurice J. Bric, "Ireland, Irishmen, and the Broadening of the Late-Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Polity" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1991).

²⁹ Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation and Its Aftermath in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1991), 5, 8, 137–66.

³⁰ Robert A. Gross, "The Impudent Historian: Challenging Deference in Early America," *Journal of American History* 85 (1998): 95–97.

³¹ John Coakley Lettsom, "Hints Designed to Promote the Establishment of a Dispensary, for Extending Medical Relief to the Poor at Their Own Habitation," in Lettsom, *Hints Designed to Promote Beneficence, Temperance, and Medical Science* (London, 1801), 185–89, reprinted in Rosenberg, *Caring for the Working Man*, 1–16.

received state and local support.³² Moreover, it enabled a supposedly virtuous elite to serve as the gatekeepers, selecting the “virtuous” poor who could receive health care outside the stigmatized environments of the hospital or almshouse.

Yet, ironically, it was the Federalists, who most identified themselves with this elite, who used the dispensary in a politically partisan and not very public-spirited manner at the height of the alien and sedition crisis. In 1798, the managers removed Dr. James Reynolds, a United Irishman, refugee, friend of Wolfe Tone, and about as radical a Jeffersonian Republican as could be found in Philadelphia. Federalist patrons demanded his ouster upon pain of withdrawing their support for the dispensary. Reynolds had been arrested on February 9, 1798, at a political rally after he pulled a pistol on an official who came to break it up and pushed him in the process. Reynolds’s bail was set at four thousand dollars, but he was acquitted by a jury supervised by Judge Thomas McKean (soon-to-be Republican governor of Pennsylvania). The other five doctors resigned in protest at Reynolds’s removal and were replaced by others acceptable to the Federalists.³³

Two of the doctors who quit over Reynolds’s removal, Adam Seybert and John Porter, later became Jeffersonian Republican congressmen from Philadelphia; a third, William Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin (and husband of Catherine Wistar), was a close friend of Jefferson, who appointed him collector of the Port of Philadelphia. Michael Leib, another former dispensary doctor and first president of the Democratic Society founded in 1793, was another Jeffersonian congressman. Jeffersonian physicians were successful in obtaining civic appreciation for their medical work. Here they differed from black ministers Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, who received much criticism for claiming equal citizenship based on their services during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic, when most members of the Federalist elite fled the city. In contrast to Federalist patrons who made the dispensary an instrument of the democratic politics they theoretically deplored, early national Philadelphians believed that physicians who volunteered their services to the poor exhibited the true “republican virtue” requisite for public office.³⁴

³² Rosemary Stevens, “Sweet Charity: State Aid to Hospitals in Pennsylvania, 1870–1910,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (1984): 287–314, 474–95.

³³ Managers’ Minutes, May 30, 1798, June 6, 1798, June 21, 1798; John C. Miller, *Crisis of Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts* (Boston, 1951), 39–42; James Morton Smith, *Freedom’s Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (1956; Ithaca, NY, 1966), 279–81.

³⁴ *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>. For Bache see Jane Flaherty Wells, “Thomas Jefferson’s Neighbors: Hore Browse Trist of ‘Birdwood’ and

The Democratic Dispensary

Just as the American republic failed to establish a political order where a virtuous elite would guide an equally virtuous—that is, deferential—populace, the republican dispensary soon gave way to the democratic. In this instance, however, the elite itself willingly expanded the base of health care. Almost from the beginning, nearly anyone who was not fit to be placed in the almshouse or hospital could obtain a patron and obtain free medical care.

How many people did the dispensary care for? In the eight and a half months after it opened on April 12, 1786, it cared for 776 patients. The number varied between 1,200 and 1,900 annually from 1787 to 1793. While the board of managers did not meet while the yellow fever epidemic raged in 1793, it noted at the year's end that during "the late awful sickness, during which the business of the institution was completely, scrupulously, regularly performed, three of the Managers and numerous contributors were removed by death." The dispensary did not treat yellow fever victims, and the number of patients declined considerably during the epidemics. Because doctors believed the disease was transmitted by direct contact rather than by mosquitoes, doctors cared for victims in their homes or at an infirmary on Bush Hill established specifically for them. In fact, because the repeated occurrences of yellow fever reduced the population—especially of the poor who could not flee the city and of those who were sickly to begin with and may have been more susceptible to the disease—the number of dispensary patients declined to between 540 and 880 from 1794 to 1800 before climbing back to 1,312 in 1801. Between 1802 and 1808, 2,000 to 3,000 people sought the services of the dispensary annually, with over 3,000 patients doing so each year beginning in 1809. That number grew slowly until the 1830s, when between 4,000 and 5,000 people were seen each year. Patient numbers rose to over 10,000 annually by the late 1850s, about 15,000 from 1871 to 1876, 25,000 to 27,000 from the late 1870s to the mid-1890s, and between 30,000 and 35,000 each year from 1896 until 1916. The annual number of patients remained over 20,000 until the dispensary merged with the Philadelphia Hospital Out-Patient Clinic in 1922.³⁵

Dr. William Bache of 'Franklin,'" *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 47 (1989): 1–13. Thomas E. Will, "Liberalism, Republicanism, and Philadelphia's Black Elite in the Early Republic: The Social Thought of Absalom Jones and Richard Allen," *Pennsylvania History* 69 (2002): 558–76.

³⁵ Managers' Minutes, Jan. 1, 1794; figures for patients treated appear in the *Annual Report* and at the last (usually late December) Managers' Minutes for each year. For yellow fever, see J. H. Powell,

The dispensary records reported very few patients as “irregular”—that is, ineligible for further treatment because they failed to return thanks to their patrons, did not appear for required follow-up appointments, or (after some warnings) did not return vials filled with medicine after they were finished with them. Before 1836, the number of irregulars only once went (barely) over one hundred—or fewer than one out of forty—except in 1832 when over two hundred people failed to return to the dispensary following a cholera epidemic because of, the managers reported, “the sudden and lamented death by cholera of Dr. Maxwell Kenny—one of our most estimable and attentive physicians—some thought the Dispensary closed.”³⁶

Dispensary records list over 90 percent of patients as “cured” throughout its history. This success reflects the nature of the complaints. From the late 1780s until 1874, the most frequently treated ailments were throat problems, rheumatism, arthritis, and digestive problems, to judge by the few years (1786–1793,³⁷ part of 1803–1804,³⁸ and 1856–1874³⁹) in which

Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793 (1949; Philadelphia, 1993), and J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, eds., *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Canton, MA, 1997).

³⁶ Managers’ Minutes, Dec. 26, 1832.

³⁷ From December 1786 to November 1787, 51 people were treated for catarrh, 77 for cholera, 30 for colic, 67 for diarrhea, 34 for dysentery, 47 for dyspepsia, 136 for different sorts of fevers, 39 for gonorrhea, 23 for herpes, 41 for eye problems, 79 for pneumonia, 105 for rheumatism, 80 for syphilis, and 76 for ulcers. One hundred received smallpox inoculations. The doctors also set fractures (8), removed tumors (8), and lanced abscesses (3). Of all patients treated, 1,297 were cured, 69 died, 138 were relieved, 24 were irregular, 6 were sent to the hospital, and 120 were still under care as of December 1, 1787. *Transactions of the College of Physicians, of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1793), 3–45.

³⁸ In an article published in 1805, dispensary doctor John Redman Coxe (1773–1864), who two years earlier introduced Philadelphia to cowpox vaccination—a much less dangerous procedure than inoculation with a dose of human smallpox, as previously used—reported the principal diseases from December 1803 to March 1804: catarrh 33 (32 cured); diarrhea 13 (11 cured); all 11 cases of gonorrhea and 1 of herpes cured; 10 eye problems (9 cured); pneumonia (34; 26 cured; 1 died; 2 removed to hospital; 5 still under care); rheumatism (28; 24 cured, 4 relieved); syphilis (64; 59 cured, 1 relieved, 3 irregular, 1 under care); 18 vaccinations; and 18 ulcers (10 cured; 1 irregular, 5 under care). Of 512 patients seen over four months, 355 were cured, 120 were still under care, 14 died, 8 were relieved, 10 were removed to the hospital, and 5 (3 with syphilis) were irregular. “A Table: Of the Diseases in the Philadelphia Dispensary, for Four Months,” *Philadelphia Medical Museum, Conducted by John Redman Coxe, M.D.* (Jan. 1805): 91–92. For adoption of cowpox vaccination, see Managers’ Minutes, Apr. 25, 1803.

³⁹ Of about 6,100 patients treated in 1856 (an average of two visits per patient), the leading health problems were rheumatism (411), catarrh (383), bronchitis (953), diarrhea (343), and constipation (221). There were 63 cases of syphilis, and, in addition to the 6,100 general medical patients, about 4,000 people had teeth pulled, vision problems, or came for obstetric purposes. In 1866, with slightly different classifications and about 9,000 cases, the leading complaints were rheumatism (674), asthma (353), stomach problems (1,664), intestinal problems (1,064), and throat problems such as sore throats (2,021). *Annual Report*, 1856, 1866.

aggregate statistics were published. The overwhelming percentage of the dispensary's work was to dispense prescriptions. Most ailments were handled with liniments, ointments, pills, or liquid medicines, although the heroic remedies favored by Dr. Rush—enemas, bleeding, encouraging vomiting—were much in evidence in the early days.⁴⁰

To judge by the few deaths and patient or manager complaints, the dispensary's care was very good by the standards of the time. Those few complaints include a rebuke of apothecary William Foster, who left without giving notice in 1791. The same year, a young doctor, Benjamin Smith Barton, who later became a famous naturalist, was criticized for not writing all of his prescriptions, but the board found he was not culpable, for "very few passed without his inspection, and even such they are found chiefly written by a student of medicine graduated with reputation from the University of Pennsylvania." In 1792, the managers warned Barton to be "strictly attentive to the discharge of his duty as a dispensary physician, for they conceive that a neglect of patients recommended to the dispensary will be injurious, not only to the character of the attendant physician, but also to that of the Managers, and the interests and utility of the institution." Bishop White, famous for his gentle manner, was entrusted to convey the news to Barton, about whom there were no further complaints. The next complaint about medical care came thirty-seven years later, in 1829, when three doctors accused the "leecher" of hiring "ignorant persons" who sometimes postponed bleeding by one or two days and failed to drain half as much blood as required to do his job for him. The leecher was replaced.⁴¹

In 1831, the managers investigated why so few cases of childbirth were brought to the dispensary and concluded that the doctors were not interested in obstetrical care and left expectant women to any medical student who was available, which led the public to believe that the dispensary did not handle deliveries. To counter this perception, managers decided to advertise that "married" women would be welcome at the dispensaries (there were three by this time) for their lying-in. It was not only the misperception that kept women away, however. Benjamin Rush had noted four decades earlier that "female delicacy and the secrecy that is enjoined by the gospel in acts of charity" made women reluctant to go to the dis-

⁴⁰ See generally John Duffy, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL, 1993), chaps. 2–6.

⁴¹ Managers' Minutes, Apr. 7, 1791, Aug. 20, 1791, Aug. 26, 1791, Aug. 21, 1792, Aug. 25, 1792, June 16, 1829.

pensary for gynecological care. Communities of women and professional midwives were the recourse of many women well into the twentieth century.⁴²

A disproportional amount of the dispensary's health care was used by black Philadelphians. During its earliest years, African Americans could, at the very least, obtain patrons from the subscribers who were abolitionists, such as Benjamin Rush, Dr. Samuel Powel Griffiths, and the pseudonymous Anthony Benezet, not to mention the aged Franklin, who became president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1787. By the early 1820s, most of the dispensary's clients were black. Yet this fact was not advertised or mentioned in the annual reports, perhaps because it might have discouraged contributions. On July 7, 1821, the dispensary managers responded to a request from Roberts Vaux, president of the Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Extent of Pauperism and a manager himself. They noted that from Philadelphia north of Chestnut Street, three-fourths of the patients were white and one-fourth "people of color," whereas in the southern part of the city four-fifths of the patients were people of color.⁴³ While it is impossible to know exactly how many African Americans were treated by the dispensary at this time, it is clear that they visited the dispensary far more often, proportionally, than did whites. According to the 1820 federal census, the population of Philadelphia consisted of about 7,600 blacks and 56,000 whites. While African Americans were heavily concentrated in the southern part of the city (below Chestnut), which had a population of about 39,000 as opposed to 24,000 north of that street, they still comprised less than 20 percent of that area's residents, yet they received 80 percent of the free health care there.⁴⁴

Whether black or white, people seeking medical care could have found patrons easily. The 1815 *Annual Report* lists Richard Allen (for the African Methodist Episcopal Bethel Church) and the Friendly Society of

⁴² Managers' Minutes, Dec. 21, 1831; Benjamin Rush to Jeremy Belknap, July 15, 1788, Butterfield, *Letters*, 1:477–78; Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750 to 1950* (New York, 1986). Births at home assisted by local women were especially preferred by lower-class and immigrant women who were the dispensary's principal clients.

⁴³ Managers' Minutes, July 7, 1821.

⁴⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia, 1899), 47–48, is the source for population statistics (derived from the US Census) in this and the next paragraphs, which I have rounded. For the ward breakdown, see "Comparative Views of the Population of the City and County of Philadelphia," *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, July 30, 1832, 66–67. Du Bois notes that there were about 20,000 African Americans and 200,000 whites in the city and county of Philadelphia combined.

St. Thomas Church (the black Episcopal church)—representing the two principal black congregations in Philadelphia—as subscribers. In 1829, the managers also reported that “in addition to the number of Negroes who have partaken of the benefits of this charity, the Shelter for Colored Orphans, a benevolent institution of the city, has for several years past been furnished from this source”; that is, it received free medicines from the dispensary.⁴⁵ The poor of other ethnic groups could have appealed to their benevolent societies, which also belonged to the dispensary: the Jewish Society of Hebra Biken Choden and Gemilut Hasadim, the German Incorporated Society, the German Mutual Assistance Society, the Friendly Society of St. Tammany (for the Irish), or the Scots Thistle Society. The Grand (Masonic) Lodge of Pennsylvania was also a member. Of the 238 members by 1815, 8 were associations (and only 14 were women).

As time went on, the proportion of black patients declined, as did the percentage of Philadelphia’s black population, which fell from about 6 percent (20,000 individuals) in 1850; to just short of 4 percent (22,000 individuals) in 1860; to just over 3 percent (about 22,000 individuals) in 1870; and just short of 4 percent (about 31,000 individuals) in 1880. In 1856, however, the first year precise statistics became available from the dispensary, 291 “colored” patients were treated along with 5,787 whites (for a total of 10,747 visits), which placed their number between 4 and 5 percent of the dispensary’s patients, or slightly *less* than their proportion of the population. Irish patients, following a period of great immigration, dominated: only 1,980 “Americans” used the dispensary in 1856 compared to 3,649 Irish, with people of English (371), German (99), and other nationalities (53) following far behind. By 1866, however, the number of African Americans treated had risen sharply and was now more than double their percentage of the population. Of 18,346 visits (again, about 2 visits per patient) about 8 percent (or about 1,500 visits) were by “colored” patients. As more Irish either assimilated to or had children in the United States, they used the dispensary less often. In 1866 about 45 percent of dispensary patients were Irish, while 48 percent were “American” and 7 percent were members of other white ethnic groups. By 1876, the percentage of black visitors was about 9 percent (of 19,110 visits) or 1,500 cases, again more than double their proportion of the population. Fifty-four percent of patients were “American,” 36 percent Irish,

⁴⁵ *Annual Report*, 1815; Managers’ Minutes, Aug. 19, 1829.

and 10 percent other nationalities. In 1879, the last year for which racial percentages were recorded, nearly 14 percent of 21,343 total visits (about 2,800 visits or 1,400 patients) were by African Americans—over three times their percentage of the population—with 64 percent of visitors “American,” 28 percent Irish, and 8 percent other. Much of this increase can be accounted for by what scholar W. E. B. Du Bois termed “the influx of 1876,” although large-scale migration of African Americans to the city began in the early 1870s. Several thousand southern freedmen moved to Philadelphia, fleeing the consequences of the depression of 1873 as well as oppression by whites as Reconstruction came to an end and southern Democrats terrorized black Republican voters.⁴⁶

Yet despite the increase in clients and high treatment success rate, within a few years of its founding the number of Philadelphians choosing to support the dispensary drastically declined. In 1802, the managers requested funds not only for the dispensary’s operation but for a permanent, larger building as the demand for services increased in tandem with the city’s population. But the annual report counted only 187 subscribers, less than half the number in 1786, although the city’s population had nearly doubled. The number of women subscribers decreased to 9. As society became more democratic and inclusive for white men, as the Age of Federalism gave way to Jeffersonian Democracy, women’s role in the public sphere declined. Just 3 women—one of them Elizabeth Powel, widow of Samuel, one of the city’s wealthiest men—were among the 167 people who contributed to the new building.⁴⁷

Perhaps by the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia’s wealthy had become less willing to support an institution that catered so much to African Americans. After the 1780s, when the city was the center of American abolitionism, white racism grew in Philadelphia. Though no ban was placed on black voting in the state constitution of 1790, even a wealthy black man such as James Forten could not vote because of public sentiment, and in 1838 the new Pennsylvania constitution stripped him

⁴⁶ Philadelphia Dispensary *Annual Reports* for the years indicated; Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 39–45, 305.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of Anne Willing Bingham in Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham: 1752–1804* (Boston, 1969), and Sarah Fotherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA, 2008) for the Republican court and Federalist women; Susan Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2001) for political activity by women supporting the French Revolution; Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 2007), chap. 5.

of that legal right.⁴⁸ Protestant dislike of Roman Catholics and the Irish, who succeeded African Americans as the principal beneficiaries of the dispensary, might have also contributed to the decrease in subscribers. “Hamilton,” writing in Samuel Hazard’s *Register of Pennsylvania* for 1829, rebuked the inhabitants of Philadelphia for their stinginess:

In a wealthy city with a population of probably 130,000 people, embracing a large portion of the poorer classes of society, it might be reasonably supposed, that there would be at least a thousand contributors. . . . [But] the whole number of paying subscribers to the three dispensaries, is only about *one hundred and eighty!*⁴⁹

The large number of black and Irish patients may have been the principal reason for the decline of subscriptions. As scholar David Rosner has pointed out: “Whereas early in the [nineteenth] century the majority of the poor were native-born and English-speaking and considered ‘worthy’ of local help and charitable aid, by the end of the period the growing number of poor were perceived to be ‘alien’ intruders who were potential abusers of benevolence and charity.”⁵⁰ Things only became slightly better when hard times increased the need for the dispensary’s services. Secretary Thomas Wistar noted the sharp increase in patients in the mid-1870s as a result of the economic depression that began in 1873.

[It] furnishes another painful evidence of the stringency of the times, which has thrown those additional thousands of the working class of poor people upon charitable aid, whose industry, so long as they could find work, was equal to their self-respect, and whose laudable ambition to be independent had kept them, perhaps, too long, from seeking the assistance needed. With small exception such is the class to which we minister and to this class only in the hour of illness and distress.

Could Wistar have been trying to hide the fact that black patients accounted for much of the increase, especially by using the words “too

⁴⁸ For voting, see Julie Winch, *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten* (New York, 2002), 294; for the loss of the franchise, see Eric Ledell Smith, “The End of Black Voting Rights in Pennsylvania: African Americans and the Constitutional Convention of 1837–1838,” *Pennsylvania History* 65 (1998): 279–99. For the Irish, see Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (1973; Philadelphia, 1981), chaps. 3–4.

⁴⁹ “Public Charities,” *Register of Pennsylvania*, Jan. 24, 1829.

⁵⁰ Rosner, “Health Care for the ‘Truly Needy,’” 368.

long” to mask that many recipients of charity were recent arrivals in the city? In any event, subscriptions to the dispensary rose during the 1870s, although the number of contributors was still pitifully small in a city of a half million or more people; life members numbered eight in 1861, fifteen in 1874, and thirty-seven in 1876, with total subscribers fewer than two hundred.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the fact that African Americans and Irish immigrants, the targets of the harshest ethnic prejudice in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, could at different times be the principal recipients of care at the dispensary, even when it had few patrons, suggests that anyone who was not obnoxious to the patrons or the doctors could be treated. As early as January 9, 1789, the managers had four thousand blank forms of recommendation printed, more than the number of patients the dispensary saw in any two years in its first decade. The forms were kept at the dispensary where the poor as well as patrons could obtain them: poor people needing a doctor could locate a patron, as lists of subscribers were published. Thus, those treated at the dispensary were not necessarily previously known by their sponsors.⁵²

By 1832, in addition to those sent by contributors, anyone “making a proper appeal” to the dispensary would be treated, according to the annual report. A vote at the managers’ meeting on February 20, 1855, simplified the requirement to “all those eligible.” The declining numbers of patrons—there were only about sixty annually between 1845 and 1870—and increasing number of cases in this period—from about five thousand to over fifteen thousand per year—suggest open access for the poor, or something approaching it, as the handful of members sending two patients at a time could not have accounted for this number.⁵³ The first detailed description of the dispensary, dating from 1856, also shows that with or without sponsors, all sorts of people received treatment both within and outside the dispensary:

Many who obtained relief from the Dispensary belonged to the respectable working classes. Such, while in the enjoyment of health, may well provide for themselves and their families, but when protracted sickness comes upon them they are often left without the means of subsis-

⁵¹ Wistar is quoted in the *Annual Report* for 1878, 10–11; other figures from *Annual Report* for years noted.

⁵² Managers’ Minutes, Jan. 9, 1789.

⁵³ *Annual Report*, 1832; Managers’ Minutes, Feb. 20, 1855.

tence, and are totally unable to pay for the services of a doctor. But a large number were of a much more forlorn and suffering class, enduring, in addition to the miseries of disease and pain, all the calamities of the most abject poverty.

Our physicians have often found their patients in cold and cheerless rooms, without suitable food or sufficient clothing, sometimes with nothing better than the floor to lie upon, with no one to perform the commonest offices, or even so much as hand a cup of water to the sufferer.

To ascertain the character of applications for relief, one need but attend at the Dispensary a single day at the prescribing hour. He will find a very mixed company of people, of many nations, both sexes, all ages, and a great variety of conditions, all waiting to be relieved of their various maladies. Let him observe, the consumptive, his pale and emaciated countenance, his faltering step and his feverish hand. He appeals to the doctor to do something for him. Here is a woman with an infant. It is no wonder the child is pale and sickly, for the mother is sick. Her husband is a drunken wretch, and she has three children at home, and can scarcely get bread for them to eat. There is a young man with a fractured arm; and here a woman just coming forward to have an ulcer dressed; but is interrupted by a boy, who says that his mother is at the point of death, and urges the doctor to come immediately.

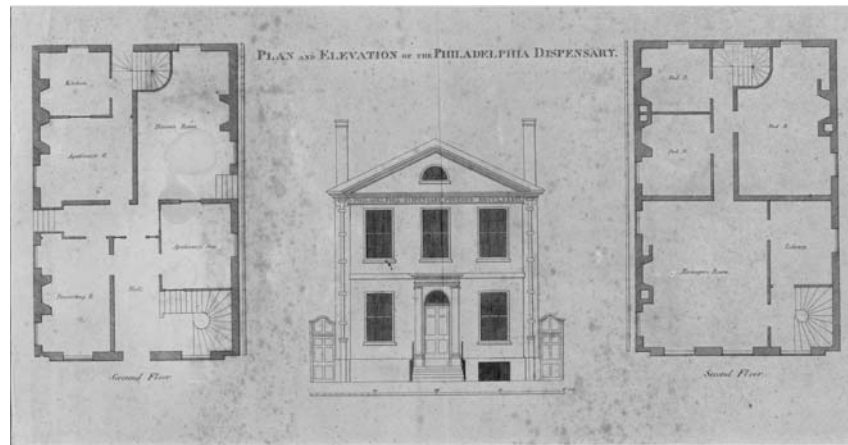
This is no exaggerated picture. It presents but a small portion of the scene at the prescribing hour. . . .

But the relief afforded has not been medicinal only. . . . The sick require proper nourishment as well as medicine. Sago, oatmeal, crackers and other articles of food, suitable for the sick, have been placed at the disposal of the physicians, and thus in a two-fold character have they alleviated the sufferings of many, and brought upon themselves the blessings of those who were ready to perish.⁵⁴

Fortunately for the poor, the dispensary did not need many subscribers by the 1830s: large gifts from individuals and prudent investments provided most of its funding. In 1829, the wealthy Pennsylvania German merchant Frederick Kohne, who left \$583,000 to various charities, included \$10,000 as a bequest to the dispensary.⁵⁵ Andrew Doz had left a legacy of £2,000 in 1789. In 1803, John Blakeley paid the institution's outstanding debt of £2,6667.67, and John Keble contributed more than \$7,000 in 1808 to do likewise. Dr. Gabriel Jones of Virginia bequeathed

⁵⁴ "Report of the Committee on the Dispensary," *Friends' Intelligencer*, July 7, 1855, 250–51.

⁵⁵ "Liberal Bequests: Extract of a Letter from Lebanon, Pennsylvania, Dated June 7, 1829," *Register of Pennsylvania*, June 13, 1829.



Plan and Elevation of the Philadelphia Dispensary

\$400 in 1804. In 1801 and 1802, £2,430 was raised for a permanent building on Independence Square to replace a rented space. It was made of brick with a white marble first floor, white stone walls, white marble steps, and white oak and pine floors. Public funds from the Guardians of the Poor and the Managers of the House of Employment became available in 1808 when they began to send patients to the dispensary rather than treat them within their institutions. In 1816, new dispensaries were added in Northern Liberties and Southwark to deal with the city's increasing population. By 1810, the managers could report they were "entirely free of debt despite a large and unexpected increase in the number of patients." In 1812 they began to buy stock with their endowment and receive dividends; by 1819 they could report that the dispensary could carry on "with comparative ease and satisfaction."⁵⁶

The Gilded Age Dispensary

The original Philadelphia Dispensary was such a success that dispensaries were added as the city's population grew from fifty thousand in 1800 to over a million and a half in 1900. The first new dispensaries were begun with loans from the original dispensary, which sought to alleviate its increasing patient load. The Northern (for the Northern Liberties) and

⁵⁶ Managers' Minutes, Sept. 2, 1789, Feb. 1, 1801, Dec. 12, 1802, Apr. 25, 1803, June 18, 1804, July 18, 1808, June 25, 1816, Dec. 28, 1819; *Annual Report*, 1810, 1812. See "Good Government" *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 9, 1814, 316 for conversion rate. One pound was worth four dollars.

Southern (for Southwark) Dispensaries opened in 1816. Joining them were the Lying-In Charity (1828) for obstetrics and Wills' Eye Hospital (1832) for vision problems. New dispensaries meant that by the late nineteenth century, the mother institution assumed less and less proportional responsibility for the care of poor Philadelphians, even though by the 1850s it operated six offices under its aegis.⁵⁷ As Francis Sinkler wrote in 1909, "much of the work which would formerly have been left to the Philadelphia Dispensary has been diverted to others. . . . In the 122 years of its existence the dispensary has gone about its work so quietly and unostentatiously that few outside of the poor know of its existence."⁵⁸ Because it performed routine care, the dispensary could not obtain the "international reputation for its clinical teaching and research" that Charles Rosenberg has ascribed to Philadelphia General Hospital (the former almshouse). Nor could it match the accomplishments of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which included the world's first stomach pump and cataract surgery invented by Philip Syng Physick and the more humane treatment of the insane developed by Thomas Story Kirkbride.⁵⁹ Many of the newer dispensaries were connected to hospitals—the Hahneman Medical College and Hospital (1846) for homeopathic medicine, St. Joseph's Hospital (1849), established by the Roman Catholic Church, the Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1851), the Howard Hospital and Infirmary for Incurables (1854), the German Hospital of Philadelphia (1860), the Germantown Dispensary and Hospital (1864), the Jewish Hospital Association (1865), the Presbyterian Hospital and Samaritan Hospital (both 1871), the Polyclinic Hospital (1873), the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania (1874), and the Jefferson Medical College Hospital (1877). By 1900, there were over twenty additional dispensaries, including the Philadelphia Eye and Ear Infirmary, founded in 1887 and largely supported by Dr. George Strawbridge, and the Union Missionary Dispensary, founded in 1888 by John B. Stetson primarily for the workers in his hat factory. Most of these were supported entirely by private donations or payments by patients who could afford it, but fifteen, or nearly half, received some state or city aid.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The six offices were noted on the inside cover of the *Annual Report* beginning in 1854.

⁵⁸ Sinkler, "Philadelphia Dispensary," 750.

⁵⁹ Rosenberg, "From Almshouse to Hospital," 108.

⁶⁰ Shoemaker and Millis, eds., *Founders' Week Memorial Volume*, 593–853. For state funding and private governance see Stevens, "Sweet Charity."

By the late nineteenth century, hospitals and the dispensaries attached to them began to take over the medical care of the general population. Morris Vogel attributes this to increasingly expensive equipment (such as oxygen and anesthesia) that could not conveniently be transported to people's houses, middle-class houses that became smaller and unsuited for operating, and an increase in the number of bachelors who lacked lodging suitable for medical care.⁶¹ Nevertheless, in 1909, a survey of Philadelphia medical institutions recorded about 370,000 visits per year to various free dispensaries, with each patient who came visiting an average of three times. Out of a population of about 1,550,000 in 1910, about 8 percent of all Philadelphians received free health care, although more were undoubtedly eligible, as not everyone who was eligible required or sought it. These figures are consistent, given the respective sizes of their populations, with those of New York City dispensaries, which treated just short of a million cases (or about 330,000 people at three visits per person) when that city's population was about 4,750,000.⁶²

The dispensaries' success is evidenced by the fact that Progressive reformers did not attack the medical care they provided. Reformers did criticize the lack of sanitation, contaminated food, and pollution of American cities, but not the quantity, quality, or price of medical care available to poor Americans, which improved greatly during this period, since the modern hospital and medical advances went hand in hand.⁶³

⁶¹ Morris J. Vogel, "The Transformation of the American Hospital, 1850–1920," in *Health Care in America: Essays in Social History*, ed. Susan Reverby and David Rosner (Philadelphia, 1979), 110–13. For specific examples, see Vogel, *The Invention of the Modern Hospital: Boston, 1870–1930* (Chicago, 1980), and David Rosner, *A Once Charitable Enterprise: Hospitals and Health Care in Brooklyn and New York, 1885–1915* (Cambridge, 1982). Also see Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, for a general treatment.

⁶² For number of visits per patient, see William H. Mahoney, "Benevolent Hospitals in Metropolitan Boston," *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 13 (1913): 442. The Philadelphia Dispensary averaged 2.5 visits per patient, with other dispensaries averaging between 3 and 4 and the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania dispensary seeing patients an average of 5.9 times, suggesting it was treating the more serious diseases at this time. For New York, see S. S. Goldwater, "Dispensary Ideals: With a Plan for Dispensary Reform Based upon the Adoption of the Principle of Restricted Numbers," *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 134 (1907), reprinted in Rosenberg, *Caring for the Working Man*, 254.

⁶³ Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967), 113–16, argues persuasively that doctors became heroes for their efforts in promoting public health, lowering infant mortality by two-thirds during this period, and developing cures for contagious diseases. For the entrance of universal health care into the debate, see Alan Derickson, *Health Security for All: Dreams of Universal Health Care in America* (Baltimore, 2005). John Duffy, "Social Impact of Disease in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 47 (1971): 797–811, emphasizes the great private, philanthropic efforts to improve health care while Gretchen

Only in 1912 did Theodore Roosevelt become the first prominent politician to suggest a plan for government health insurance for the impoverished, which was endorsed by the Pennsylvania State Medical Society in 1916 and the American Medical Association in 1917. These organizations quickly changed their stance when they realized that their members would lose money if doctors in private practice had to compete with the great increase in doctors who would be hired by insurance companies if the insurance went through. Beginning in 1911 and especially during World War I, some states required employers to cover workers' injuries, and doctors were not pleased at the decline in their private practices.⁶⁴

Like Standard Oil and US Steel, dispensaries and hospitals were too successful for their own good. Their critics, led by doctors who were not attached to them, considered them quasi-monopolies that depressed the salaries of independent practitioners. Ronald Numbers notes that as late as the 1920s, doctors in the United States earned on average less than two thousand dollars a year, less than bankers, manufacturers, and lawyers, although about twice as much as college professors.⁶⁵ Doctors had complained about this in England since the first hospitals were established in the eighteenth century,⁶⁶ but in Philadelphia, as elsewhere in the United States, it seems such criticisms only arose in the late nineteenth century. The fact that urban health care was so easy to come by led doctors not associated with well-funded dispensaries to complain that dispensaries encouraged people to abuse health care and become "pauperized"—contented yet undeserving objects of charity. The word "pauperize," which appeared in many of the criticisms of the dispensary, was a projection of independent doctors' fear that they, too, were on the verge of poverty. As early as 1871, Horatio C. Wood, in "The Abuse of Medical Charities," argued that "at least one-fourth of the persons thus applying

A. Condran, Henry Williams, and Rose A. Cheney, "The Decline of Mortality in Philadelphia from 1870 to 1930: The Role of Municipal Services," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 108 (1984): 153–77, stresses the critical role of the Philadelphia Department of Public Health in improving the supply of water and milk, especially to infants. Both reprinted in part in Leavitt and Numbers, *Sickness and Health in America*.

⁶⁴ Arguments for universal health insurance and reasons for its failure in the early twentieth century are discussed in Beatrix Hoffman, *The Wages of Sickness: The Politics of Health Insurance in Progressive America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), and Ronald L. Numbers, *Almost Persuaded: American Physicians and Compulsory Health Insurance, 1912–1920* (Baltimore, 1978).

⁶⁵ Ronald L. Numbers, "The Fall and Rise of the American Medical Profession," in Leavitt and Numbers, *Sickness and Health in America*, 231.

⁶⁶ Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, 138–39.

for relief are amply able to pay for advice as well as medicine.”⁶⁷

In 1909, Dr. M. O. Magid made the same point: “The present system of admission, especially in the dispensaries, is the cause of a great deal of abuse, and as a result, medical charity . . . is really a system of ‘cheap doctoring,’ with a tendency to pauperizing the recipients”:

No doubt all of you have seen the waiting room of the dispensaries filled with crowds of persons, who, although suffering only from slight ailments, that could be relieved by some home remedies, prefer, because of the cheapness of admission, to have a doctor look them over. Here they receive their prescription for a laxative or a liniment and their medicine besides,—all for ten cents. Why should they not go to the dispensary? The crowding however causes needless waiting and increases the discomfort and pain of those who are actually suffering from severe ailments. The real harm from indiscriminate admission to dispensaries is not that a few mendacious, mean-spirited rich imposters slip in and get free treatment, but that the whole wage-earning class,—including mechanics, salesmen, stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers, dressmakers, etc., nearly all of whom could afford to pay the physician privately—is gradually being taught that medical attendance is something that they should receive for nothing and that there is no disgrace when they pauperize themselves by begging for it.⁶⁸

In addition to lessening the self-respect of worthy citizens and encouraging them to become public charges, Magid lamented that the attending doctor was forced to become “the servant of such miserable societies, which position the doctor is compelled to occupy through his dire need,” as he could not otherwise find employment. Large health corporations, like large business corporations, stifled individual enterprise and reduced the earnings of skilled workers—in this case, physicians—whom they reduced to the status of employees. It was thus logical that some doctors—like lawyers and academics, who found that the modern law firm and university stifled rather than facilitated their careers—would join the movement for Progressive reform. Magid also criticized those unthinking

⁶⁷ Horatio Wood, “Editorial: The Abuse of Medical Charities,” *Medical Times and Register* 1 (1871): 438. For the two principal complaints about dispensaries—that they rewarded a few doctors at the expense of many and that they offered free health care to those who could afford it—see, for example, M. P. Hatfield and Roswell Park, “The Abuses of Medical Charities,” *Chicago Medical Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1880; Frederick Holme Wiggin, “The Abuse of Medical Charity,” *Medical News*, Oct. 23, 1897; and George W. Gay, “Abuse of Medical Charity,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Mar. 16, 1905, all reprinted in Rosenberg, *Caring for the Working Man*.

⁶⁸ M. O. Magid, “The Abuse of Medical Charity and a Remedy,” *American Medicine* 15 (1909): 16.

do-gooders who volunteered at dispensaries and hospitals: those “who work in them in various capacities, giving their valuable time and effort without compensation.” Good doctors were squeezed in a medical marketplace distorted on the one hand by overpaid physicians and on the other by those who worked without pay.⁶⁹

S. M. Lindsay, writing in 1896, blamed the proliferation of dispensaries on the comparable surplus of medical schools seeking patients to provide experience for their young practitioners. “The competition of rival medical schools, the growth in numbers of specialists in medicine and surgery, the increased number of medical students who desire practical training and experience, . . . have caused the dispensaries to seek for patients.” As a result, “many persons now able to pay are urged to go to the free dispensary,” which Lindsay termed an “abuse” that made the dispensary “a pauperizing agency.” Lindsay’s suggestion for reform, in keeping with the Progressive Era penchant for economy and efficiency, was more stringent regulation of the practice of medicine. But “however gross the abuses,” even he maintained “the free medical dispensary . . . [was] an absolutely necessary requirement of modern philanthropy; the thought of abolishing it altogether [could not] be entertained for one moment.”⁷⁰

The Philadelphia Dispensary was not abolished: it merged with the Out-Patient Clinic of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1922. By this date, dispensaries were working with hospitals, visiting nurses, and social workers to allocate care based on the nature of the ailment, asking: was the space and equipment of a hospital required, when was a doctor needed, and when could a nurse or social worker perform follow-up care? Nurses and social workers were undertaking preventive care as well, advising their clients at home, in dispensaries and clinics, and in settlement houses that some ailments could be cured or forestalled by changes in diet, improved sanitation, or psychological counseling. While paying patients in public hospitals had better accommodations than those in charity wards, they were treated in the same institution. However, these charity wards—along with charity hospitals—encountered the stigma that had become attached to people unable to pay for their own care.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibid., 16–17.

⁷⁰ S. M. Lindsay, *Civic Club Digest of the Educational and Charitable Institutions and Societies in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1895), cxi–cxv.

⁷¹ Richard C. Cabot, “Suggestions for the Reorganization of Hospital Out-Patient Departments, with Special Reference to the Improvement of Treatment,” *Maryland Medical Journal* (Mar. 1907): 81–91, reprinted in Rosenberg, *Caring for the Working Man*, 273–84.

Conclusion

In his ground-breaking article on the history of dispensaries in the United States, Charles Rosenberg rightly pointed out that the institution served America well throughout much of its history. In Philadelphia, at least, dispensaries provided free basic care to the poor for little money, satisfying the public penchant for frugality and efficiency along with charity.⁷² In some ways, they were comparable to the free clinics found throughout Mexico today, where many young doctors provide the free year of social service required of all college graduates. Defenders of the dispensary often emphasized how much health care could be delivered for little money: in 1921, its final year as an independent entity, the Philadelphia Dispensary treated 21,735 patients for \$11,770—a little over fifty cents each.⁷³ The expensive tests and machines that are only available in hospitals, along with drugs that require costly research are, in general, relatively new phenomena.⁷⁴ The nature of modern medicine has made it impossible for the dispensary's principal features to be resurrected: free services donated by doctors who did not have to pay for space, equipment, staff, and malpractice insurance. But for over half of our nation's history, the dispensary was able to provide effective, and in tandem with the hospital, universal, free health care for the poor of America's rapidly growing cities.

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⁷² Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*; Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1995), esp. 197–98.

⁷³ *Annual Report*, 1921.

⁷⁴ Stanley Joel Reiser, *Medicine and the Reign of Technology* (1978; Cambridge, 1981).

The Evolution of Leadership within the Puerto Rican Community of Philadelphia, 1950s–1970s

IN HIS ARTICLE “From Pan-Latino Enclaves to a Community: Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, 1910–2000,” Víctor Vázquez-Hernández describes an event in 1953 that signified the first public recognition of Philadelphia’s growing Puerto Rican population—a riot in the Spring Garden section of the city.¹ This incident prompted the city government, through the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations (PCHR), to conduct its first study of Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community. To facilitate this study, the city turned to prominent individuals within the Puerto Rican community to help lift the veil on this rapidly growing ethnic group. Among them was José DeCelis, perhaps Philadelphia’s most prominent Puerto Rican community organizer during World War II. Trained as a dentist, DeCelis was president of the locally organized Latin America Club, chairman of the Health and Welfare Council’s Committee of Puerto Rican Affairs, and the first Puerto Rican to graduate from Temple University.² Through his participation in the 1954 PCHR study, DeCelis helped mold policy decisions that would affect Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community in the years to come.

By the end of the 1970s, however, at least one member of this community observed, “There are too many people in the community who want to be chiefs, and not enough Indians.”³ Within a generation,

¹ Víctor Vázquez-Hernández, “From Pan-Latino Enclaves to a Community: Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, 1910–2000,” in *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Carmen Teresa Whalen and Víctor Vázquez-Hernández (Philadelphia, 2005), 101.

² Víctor Vázquez-Hernández, “Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: Origins of a Community 1910–1945” (PhD diss., Temple University, 2002).

³ “Phila. Hispanic Group Comes under Fire,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 26, 1978, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection, Urban Archives, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia. All *Bulletin* articles cited below can be found in this collection.

Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population transformed from what Vázquez-Hernández describes as a "previously invisible" community to one that was visible but politically fractured. This transformation reflected a process that took place in other marginalized racial groups in American cities: a generational shift from integrationist community leaders who attempted to forge alliances with city government to more radical, culturally nationalist leaders who utilized confrontational tactics to achieve their goals. While this shift in community leadership tactics echoed what happened in other parts of the country, the tactical choices made in Philadelphia were a response to specific local political, economic, and social factors.

Historians and social scientists looking at the development of ethnic communities in the United States often examine the structural problems encountered by these groups, such as housing, education, and issues related to the justice system and economic development. Though important, a focus on these areas alone gives a limited view of a community. The development of the leadership cadre among ethnic groups in urban America is just as important in shaping the fortunes of a given community. This article examines the relationship between leadership strategies and political culture in the Philadelphia Puerto Rican community, tracing continuity and change during the key period of Puerto Rican activism in the 1960s and 1970s. By looking at two distinct generations of Puerto Rican community leaders—an earlier generation that favored a few select brokers to facilitate cooperative contact between the Puerto Rican community and city government, and a later generation of radical grass-root community leaders who were not necessarily embraced by city hall or the established Puerto Rican power brokers—one can more thoroughly understand not only the differences in ideologies and methods, but their effectiveness in achieving their goals.

This article endeavors to elaborate upon the few scholarly studies describing Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community. Carmen Whalen focuses on the issue of labor in *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies* and in her articles. Víctor Vázquez-Hernández examines pre-World War II community development in "The Development of Pan-Latino Philadelphia, 1892–1945" and "From Pan-Latino Enclaves to a Community." Juan González's "The Turbulent Progress of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia" provides a brief look at the activism of left-leaning Puerto Rican organizations such as the

Young Lords.⁴ While these authors describe Puerto Rican community-based organizations in Philadelphia, a more elaborate discussion of the styles of leadership in the Puerto Rican community is needed, especially for the period of transition in the 1960s and 1970s. Evaluating the evolution of community leadership during this period is critical to understanding the lack of political progress for Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia at the end of the twentieth century. By analyzing the ways in which ethnic communities define their leadership, we can better comprehend how marginalized groups seek to participate more fully in the civic life of urban America.

Bienvenidos a Filadelfia

While the 1950s are generally thought of as years of political and social consensus, Thomas Sugrue points out that this period of American history was a time of great debate over the issues of civil rights for non-whites.⁵ The *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 gave African Americans and political liberals cause for celebration and those opposed to integration cause for concern. The Cold War and McCarthyism reflected a distrust of the foreign. Like other cities in the North, Philadelphia was trying to come to grips with its growing non-white population, including Puerto Ricans and African Americans. This climate of political and social intolerance shaped the ways in which civic organizations in Philadelphia engaged these new ethnic and racial populations. The priority for governmental and community-based organizations in Philadelphia was to assimilate such groups into the existing American culture, beginning with their language.

Several push factors led Puerto Ricans to migrate to Philadelphia in the late 1940s and 1950s. Puerto Ricans had established a presence in Philadelphia by the turn of the twentieth century, but the number of

⁴ See Carmen Teresa Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economics* (Philadelphia, 2001); Whalen, "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics: The Young Lords in Philadelphia," in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, ed. Andrés Torres and José E. Velázquez (Philadelphia, 1998), 107–23; Vázquez-Hernández, "From Pan-Latino Enclaves to a Community," 88–105; Vázquez, "The Development of Pan-Latino Philadelphia, 1892–1945," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128 (2004): 367–84; Juan D. González, "The Turbulent Progress of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," *Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños Bulletin* 2 (winter 1987/88).

⁵ Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2008), xxi.

Puerto Ricans living in the city steadily increased after the inception of Operation Bootstrap in 1947.⁶ This program was designed to boost the economic prosperity of Puerto Rico by bringing large-scale industrial employment opportunities to the island for the first time. Operation Bootstrap successfully industrialized the island but did not create a sufficient number of jobs to satisfy the demand for employment. The number of industrial jobs on the island increased, but the increase was not proportionate to the loss of jobs in the agricultural sector. This net job loss contributed to massive unemployment. Many Puerto Ricans turned to migration to the United States as an option to increase their chances at prosperity. Because they were US citizens, Puerto Ricans found emigration to the United States easier than most foreign groups.⁷

According to political scientist José E. Cruz, increased migration by Puerto Ricans to Philadelphia and other urban centers in the United States “coincided with the decline of machine politics and the emergence of government bureaucracies and community-based organizations as the leading providers to the poor.”⁸ During the early 1950s, Philadelphia’s municipal government was grappling with the transition from an openly corrupt Republican machine to Joseph S. Clark’s reform Democrat administration. The transition was not a smooth one. As soon as reform Democrats came to power in the city, they had to contend with ward politicians from their own political party who supported the age-old practice of patronage.⁹ Philadelphia was not alone in this regard. Heather Ann Thompson describes how Detroit’s New Deal political coalition was divided along progressive and conservative lines.¹⁰ This fragmentation would affect the ways in which each city government addressed changing racial demographics. In the case of Philadelphia, Puerto Ricans migrating to the city in the early 1950s found themselves in a political climate in which reform Democrats favored a policy of “restrained integrationism.”¹¹

One of the first studies conducted on the Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia was undertaken by the Institute for Research in Human

⁶ Arturo Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History* (New York, 1983), 269.

⁷ Puerto Ricans were granted US citizenship with the Jones Act of 1917.

⁸ José E. Cruz, “Unfulfilled Promises: Puerto Rican Politics and Poverty,” *Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños Bulletin* 15 (spring 2003): 166.

⁹ Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhood, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia, 1991), 126.

¹⁰ Heather Ann Thompson, *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City* (Ithaca, NY, 2001), 13–14.

¹¹ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 121.

Relations for the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations in 1954. This study came about as a reaction to the riot which broke out in the Spring Garden section of the city and involved seventy-five police officers and three hundred residents of the growing Puerto Rican community.¹² The commission's report indicated that Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population numbered approximately 7,300. For the most part, they had migrated to the city from farms in southern New Jersey.¹³ The report described residential patterns, the average income of Puerto Rican households, the average age of Puerto Rican migrants, and the obstacles that members of this community faced in Philadelphia. Significantly, the report was prompted "at the request of planning and social agencies" within the city and was the first attempt to define the Puerto Rican community in the city.¹⁴ It found that this growing community "rarely used civic agencies for help. When they needed advice, they consult[ed] Spanish-speaking people."¹⁵ The timing of this report was important—it was released about a month after the attack on the House of Representatives by three Puerto Rican nationalists. It was only when the public in cities such as Philadelphia saw the increased number of Puerto Ricans in their own cities as a potential problem that cities attempted to learn more about this new ethnic group.

Two articles about the PCHR report were published on May 23, 1954. Their respective accounts of the Puerto Rican experience in Philadelphia in the immediate post-World War II period would shape not only mainstream views of this new community but also the political climate in which leaders of the Puerto Rican community were created. The *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* titled its coverage "Puerto Ricans Here Consider Philadelphians Unfriendly," and the *New York Times* article was headlined "Puerto Rican Unit Faces 'Prejudice.'" The *New York Times* mentioned that the 1953 riot occurred after a group of Caucasians confronted members of the Puerto Rican community with hostility and violence; the *Bulletin's* article did not. The *Bulletin* made no mention of how Philadelphians were receiving their new neighbors, nor did it com-

¹² "Puerto Rican Unit Faces 'Prejudice,'" *New York Times*, May 23, 1954, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection.

¹³ Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 183–88.

¹⁴ "Puerto Ricans Here Consider Philadelphians Unfriendly," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 23, 1954.

¹⁵ Arthur I. Siegel, Harold Orlans, and Loyal Greer, *Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia: A Study of Their Demographic Characteristics, Problems and Attitudes* (Philadelphia, 1954), vi.

pare the experience of the Puerto Ricans to other foreign groups that settled in the United States. Neither article attempted to explain that the increasing number of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia was the result of economic dislocation, nor did either include any information about the cultural heritage of the Puerto Rican community. In downplaying the significance of racial and ethnic prejudice against Puerto Ricans, the *Bulletin* sent a signal to this growing community that its needs were unimportant to most Philadelphians.

As general awareness of the Puerto Rican community and its particular issues increased in the days after the Spring Garden riot, Philadelphia's civic institutions began an effort to more formally incorporate the burgeoning Puerto Rican population into the city's civic order. Mayor Richard Dilworth, a reform Democrat, continued many of the public housing initiatives of his predecessor, Joseph Clark. Dilworth's administration even approved a budget to hire two bilingual field agents to go into the Puerto Rican community and break down the social and linguistic barriers that separated this new ethnic community from the rest of Philadelphia.¹⁶ The Department of Licenses and Inspections began preparing pamphlets in Spanish "in an effort to orient Puerto Rican families to life in Philadelphia."¹⁷ City hall's response to the rapidly expanding Puerto Rican population was to overcome language as an obstacle to bringing this community into the fold.

Such nongovernmental groups as faith- and community-based organizations also participated in the effort to incorporate the growing Puerto Rican population into the larger American culture. The Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia began Casa del Carmen in 1954 to assist Puerto Ricans in their transition to the United States. By 1958, under the direction of Rev. Frederic Hickey, Casa del Carmen was able to offer a chapel, social facilities, and a medical clinic.¹⁸ High school students from Girl's High with a working knowledge of Spanish were asked by their principal to volunteer at Waring Elementary, a school in the Spring

¹⁶ "Mayor Proposes Hiring 2 To Help Puerto Ricans Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 17, 1958. In this particular article, Dr. Henry Wells, an associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, stated that the major obstacles for the field workers would be breaking down the language barrier and overcoming the natural inclination of Puerto Ricans to remain in their own community. He also noted that while the Puerto Ricans posed no problem at the current time, failure to integrate them into the community could create a problem in the future.

¹⁷ "City Housing Code Issued in Spanish," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 26, 1958.

¹⁸ "Groups Help Puerto Ricans to Life in Philadelphia Area," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 16, 1958.

Garden section of the city, in order to help these new Puerto Rican students learn English faster. This assistance was considered invaluable since, by 1958, 45 percent of the school's population was Puerto Rican and only three of the teachers knew Spanish.¹⁹

By 1958, the number of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia had risen to twenty thousand. Elements within Philadelphia's mainstream society sought to assist and incorporate the growing number of Puerto Rican migrants, fearing this new population would become a serious problem. PCHR report author Arthur Siegel noted that whites living near Puerto Ricans in Spring Garden found their language different and strange: "Difference, to almost all of the respondents meant some unfavorable characteristic."²⁰ As political scientist Maurilio E. Vigil observed, "the call for ethnic Americans to forget their ethnic or cultural origin as a way of becoming 'American' has been clear and consistent."²¹ Language would be the first bridge of many that Puerto Ricans would have to cross in order to assimilate into the political and social fabric of Philadelphia.

Puerto Ricans Try to Solve Their Own Problems

While issues revolving around civil rights were being addressed on a national level during the 1960s with such milestones as the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many of the key problems of the Puerto Rican community (such as discrimination, underemployment, poor housing, and police brutality) persisted. Individual community members who held positions with some degree of social clout (e.g., social workers, community organizers, heads of local organizations) were solicited for their opinions by city hall and the media. This group became the de facto leaders of this growing population. Unlike the cultural nationalists who dominated public attention in the mid-to-late 1960s, this generation of Puerto Rican leaders viewed culture as an obstacle to integration but also recognized its importance within their community. Their solution to the civil rights issues that Puerto Ricans faced was to work collaboratively with civic institutions so that both Puerto Ricans and their neighbors could live together harmoniously.

¹⁹ "High School Girls Teaching Puerto Rican Pupils English," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 2, 1958.

²⁰ Siegel, Orlans, and Greer, *Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia*, 53

²¹ Maurilio E. Vigil, *Hispanics in American Politics: The Search for Political Power* (Lanham, MD, 1987), 11.

James Tate, who served as the mayor of Philadelphia from 1962 to 1972, was a more old-style patronage politician than his reform-minded predecessors. The political fragmentation within the city's Democratic Party that began when it finally gained power in the 1950s did not abate during Tate's administration. Tate not only had to deal with internal party conflict (he had to battle with others in his party to secure the Democratic nomination) but with conflict on the streets of the city as well.²² Like other northern cities during the 1960s, Philadelphia experienced a debilitating race riot. The rise of militancy in the black community was becoming both a local and national concern. Thomas Sugrue has noted that the Department of Justice recorded 1,412 separate civil rights demonstrations throughout the country in 1963 alone.²³ President Lyndon B. Johnson responded to civic unrest and vast economic disparities in American society with the War on Poverty program. With federal funds streaming into Philadelphia to support antipoverty initiatives, Tate was able to use patronage to secure support from prominent individuals representing disenfranchised communities. It was in this context that emerging leaders in Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community collaborated with city hall.

While those outside of Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community were making efforts to understand and assimilate this new ethnic presence, Puerto Ricans were trying to cope with their new lives in their own ways. The Puerto Rican Civic Association was one of the first organizations created within the Puerto Rican community. Jose A. Fuentes, who founded the group and served as its president, performed a number of services within the community: tourist agent, public notary, wholesale grocer, president of a Puerto Rican merchants association, and correspondent for the island's largest newspaper, *El Imparcial*.²⁴ Fuentes felt that at the heart of the lack of understanding between Philadelphians and the recently arriving Puerto Ricans were the many problems his community faced despite the efforts of the reform-minded city government and community-based organizations that sought to incorporate the newly arriving Puerto Ricans into the fabric of American society.

Located at 631 Jefferson Street, the Puerto Rican Civic Association sponsored a school that provided English instruction and served as a

²² Adams et al., *Philadelphia*, 126.

²³ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 302.

²⁴ "Language Worst Bar, Sports Biggest Help in Assimilating Puerto Ricans Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 22, 1959.

meeting place between Philadelphia's civic institutions and the community. This organization received funds from both the city and the state to support its activities. Fuentes hoped that Puerto Ricans would become better acquainted with the customs of American society and, in turn, that institutions such as the Philadelphia police department would learn more about Puerto Rican culture. One of the specific issues that Fuentes hoped to address was police harassment of Puerto Ricans. Fuentes described the Puerto Rican community as poor but happy-go-lucky. He felt that Puerto Ricans' habit of congregating outside their homes to socialize was misinterpreted by law enforcement: "the police think these are gangs and they know that gangs brew trouble—so they break them up."²⁵ Fuentes believed that conflict could be avoided by educating both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans about each other's culture. This tactic was a far cry from the more militant civil rights demonstrations that were being covered in the media.

The efforts of individuals such as Fuentes to assist his community were important, but it became clear that culture was an obstacle that was not as easily overcome. An article from the *Bulletin*, titled "Puerto Rican Population Increases to 20,000 Here," stated that many Philadelphians found Puerto Ricans socially unacceptable because of their language difficulties and cultural background. Fuentes, however, insisted that the Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia were determined to maintain their culture and language.²⁶ The media coverage the Puerto Rican community received during the late 1950s and early 1960s was conceptualized in light of earlier media reports in which Puerto Ricans characterized people in Philadelphia as unfriendly. Indeed, in an earlier *Bulletin* article, Henry Darling wrote that "the stumbling block to complete harmony at this point is that Fuentes and many other Puerto Ricans do not want to integrate with their immediate neighbors."²⁷ Darling confused the desire to retain one's culture with hostility and maintained the belief that Puerto Ricans did not like whites. The negative portrayal of Puerto Ricans in the local media would serve as a message to future leaders of the Puerto Rican

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.; "Puerto Rican Population Increases to 20,000 Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 1, 1959. The June 1 article stated that Puerto Ricans must sacrifice their culture in order to become proper members of Philadelphia's social, political, and economic order. Fuentes disputed this point. In the March 22 article he stated, "We want to keep our own customs and traditions."

²⁷ "Language Worst Bar, Sports Biggest Help in Assimilating Puerto Ricans Here," Mar. 22, 1959.

community that the image of this growing community was shaped by its perceived failure to assimilate.

In the early 1960s, Puerto Ricans were viewed as a potential voting bloc by agencies such as the Puerto Rican Department of Labor and the Puerto Rican Voter's Association. Individuals within these agencies publicly encouraged members of their community to vote as they continued to develop community-based organizations to serve their growing needs.²⁸ While some register-to-vote campaigns were nonpartisan, others clearly sought the political allegiance of Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community. Hilda Arteaga, leader of the Puerto Rican Voter's Association and a Democratic Party committee member, was heavily involved during the early 1960s in registering Puerto Ricans to vote and securing their loyalty to the Democratic Party. Arteaga and others in the Democratic Party acknowledged that Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia were very aware of politics, were active in elections both in Puerto Rico and the United States, and were not easily influenced with respect to their vote. According to Arteaga and other Democratic committee members, the influx of Puerto Ricans helped to turn the tide in local elections and helped elect James W. Greenlee to the state legislature over a Republican candidate (the vote was 3,600 to 2,547). In addition, Francis Muldowney won his election in 1960 to the state legislature taking 69.2 percent of the 14,341 votes cast in his district.²⁹ Despite the problems of language and cultural discrimination, Puerto Ricans living in Philadelphia in the early 1960s took a more active role in civic life by voting and forming alliances with those inside the Democratic political machine. The prospect of a vibrant ethnic community wielding electoral power would spark city hall's interest in identifying individuals in the Puerto Rican community with whom it could collaborate.

The endeavor to participate as equals in Philadelphia's civic life was inspired by a sense of civic duty and the desire to combat growing social problems within the Puerto Rican community, such as substandard housing. In 1962, housing the rapidly growing Puerto Rican population was proving difficult. Emma Franceschi, a Puerto Rican community organizer for the Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council (PHWC), stated,

²⁸ "Look for Five New Voters, Each Puerto Rican Is Told," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 4, 1960, and "Puerto Ricans Hold a Fiesta to Push Voter Registration," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 28, 1963.

²⁹ "Spanish Frank Keeps Tabs on 15th Ward Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 4, 1961.

“Many of the homes and apartments in this area [Spring Garden] are in poor condition and the tenants [are] paying high rents.” Franceschi came to Philadelphia to work with the Friends Neighborhood Guild after being employed as a social worker in New York and Chicago. Her education (she earned degrees from both the University of Puerto Rico and the University of Pittsburgh) and her previous work allowed her to step into the PHWC in order to foster leadership in Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community. According to Franceschi, many of the landlords who owned property in the Spring Garden area wanted more responsible tenants who would take care of their investments. She sought out other Puerto Ricans who could be groomed as leaders to “help their neighbors develop a sense of responsibility and impress upon them the need to work together.”³⁰ Franceschi’s approach to solving the issue of urban blight in Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican neighborhoods was to teach community members to be responsible.

Though praiseworthy, this approach would have no effect on institutionalized disinvestment in neighborhoods experiencing rapidly changing racial demographics. As a Temple University study reported, “Although exact data from this period are not available, the absence of home mortgage loans in large sections of the city, especially in black and working-class communities, made it appear that bankers had adopted a conscious policy of pulling money out of the city.”³¹ Like African Americans migrating to Philadelphia, Puerto Ricans were moving into neighborhoods where housing opportunities were limited and available houses were in poor condition. Many were willing to pay high rents for housing in poor shape because housing opportunities were inadequate. Contrary to Franceschi’s assertions, personal accountability did not change the practice of racial and ethnic redlining of neighborhoods.

In a five-part special report for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Stephen Sansweet revealed that people within Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community were becoming impatient and frustrated with conditions in the city.³² The first PCHR report on the Puerto Rican community made it public knowledge that these problems had existed for some time and yet continued to be ignored by many in city hall. While the local government

³⁰ “Blight Foe Uses 2-Pronged Attack,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 5, 1962.

³¹ Adams et al., *Philadelphia*, 82.

³² “Big Gap Exists in Understanding with Fellow Americans,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 2, 1968, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection.

made token efforts to understand and incorporate this new ethnic presence, it was apparent that the needs of Philadelphia's Puerto Ricans were not deemed important enough to address. The challenge for Philadelphia's Puerto Rican leaders would be to address these issues and come to some level of understanding with the larger Philadelphia community.

Pascual Martinez moved to the United States in 1932 and became a member of the Democratic City Committee, serving as the chairman of its Spanish-speaking unit. He had close connections with city hall. Martinez sought to create an electoral bloc by registering at least twenty thousand Puerto Ricans. He hoped to legitimize and empower Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia by helping them flex their electoral muscles. While he acknowledged that his community faced discrimination, he urged reconciliation, recommending that members of his community meet with the PCHR. Described by his contemporaries as an asset to the Puerto Rican community, Martinez believed that any grievance could be handled by the mayor's office and the PCHR and frowned upon the kinds of civil rights demonstrations cropping up around the country, particularly in the American South.³³

Another individual named by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* as an outspoken "patron" of the Puerto Rican community was Moises Gonzalez, head of the Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations (Concilio), a conglomerate of smaller Puerto Rican groups and social clubs founded in 1962. Gonzalez sought to empower Puerto Ricans to solve their own problems. "We can do a lot for ourselves," he declared. "The politicians are only after the vote, and until they show more interest in the Puerto Rican community, I don't want anything to do with them."³⁴ While this rhetoric might seem antiestablishment, Gonzalez was not a political radical. As first president of Concilio, Gonzalez helped to establish the mission of this new umbrella organization. Concilio initiated programs in four areas: police/community relations, employment, housing, and social services. While Gonzalez differed from Martinez in rhetorical style, both men were members of a wave of community leaders who tried to work from within the system to help alleviate the social and economic obstacles that impacted the Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia.

³³ Carlos Morales, interview with author, 2002.

³⁴ "Patrons Seek Improved Conditions for Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 11, 1968, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection.

The hostility and misunderstanding that existed between racial and ethnic groups in the United States came to the forefront when racial tensions boiled over in the late 1960s with the assassination of Martin Luther King and the urban riots in Los Angeles and Detroit. In Philadelphia, emerging leaders such as Carlos Morales worked in the face of this kind of hostility to improve perceptions of the Puerto Rican community. Morales, a government accountant, became president of Concilio in 1968. In an attempt to gain access to federal funds under the War on Poverty program, he labored for a year to win federal approval for "Project Welcome," a program designed to "set up training classes in consumer education and develop leadership in el barrio."³⁵ Along with Gonzalez, Morales organized the Puerto Rican Day Parade in the early 1960s to present the positive aspects of Puerto Rican culture to the rest of Philadelphia. Today, Morales reflects on the level of police brutality and violations of civil rights as evidence that the Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia suffered from a poor reputation in the city: "During the 1960s our community was a victim of discriminatory practices by various city agencies. . . . Police brutality was the norm."³⁶

The issue of culture became highly politicized within the leadership of the Puerto Rican community by the late 1960s. In 1968, Pascual Martinez became the director of the Mayor's Office of Information and Complaints. While in this position, he pressed his fellow Puerto Ricans to adopt more "American" cultural practices. "We must assimilate and let people know we are Americans," he declared. Twenty-eight-year-old German Quiles, who won the Democratic nomination for state representative from the 180th House Legislative District earlier that year, challenged Mayor Tate's appointment of Martinez to the board of the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee. "Martinez personally works for you and is not representative of our people," he charged. In Quiles's view, Martinez's affiliation with Mayor Tate compromised his political currency and cultural authenticity.³⁷

While minor skirmishes were occurring between Puerto Rican leaders vying for power, community leaders agreed on the need to show Philadelphians that their growing numbers would not threaten the polit-

³⁵ "Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems, But Lacks Leadership," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 5, 1968, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection.

³⁶ Carlos Morales, interview with author, 2002.

³⁷ "Bickering of Leaders Hurts Effort to Raise Status of Community," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 6, 1968, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Newspaper Clipping Collection.

ical, social, and economic fabric of the city. By 1968, the Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia was estimated at 45,000, up from just 7,500 in 1954.³⁸ Quiles reassured, "We don't want to move into white neighborhoods. We just want to stay by ourselves and get what is coming to us."³⁹ Despite his reassurance, however, Puerto Ricans were moving into neighborhoods that were already occupied by whites and African Americans.

Puerto Ricans discovered just how difficult it was to become elected officials. Candelario Lamboy, a twenty-eight-year-old entrepreneur, ran for the state senate in the First Senate District but failed to win the seat. As journalist Stephen Sansweet reported in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "There are fewer than 9500 Puerto Ricans registered to vote . . . only about half bother to come out on election day." Pascual Martinez explained, "We don't have politics in the Puerto Rican community because people think it's corrupt."⁴⁰ This political apathy was a major reason why Lamboy, a self-identified leader of the Puerto Ricans and member of Concilio, failed to win in a district that was heavily populated by his own people. Lamboy never ran for office again.

The gulf between Puerto Rican professionals and unskilled laborers also hampered the effort to produce political unification among Puerto Ricans. As Braulio Lopez explained, "Too many white Puerto Ricans, when they make it, try to disassociate themselves from the community."⁴¹ The failure of more affluent and successful Puerto Ricans to engage with the more disenfranchised members of their own community revealed a certain degree of social apathy within the leadership itself. Dr. Carmen S. Garcia of the Nationalities Service Center acknowledged in a 1968 *Bulletin* article, "We professionals (including a fairly sizable group of Puerto Rican doctors) have a responsibility, but are not assuming our role in the community."⁴² Rafael Villafañe, then director of Aspira of

³⁸ Siegel, Orlans, and Greer, *Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia*, and "Drive Started to Develop Puerto Rican Leaders Here," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 21, 1968.

³⁹ "Bickering of Leaders Hurts Effort to Raise Status of Community," June 6, 1968.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Clara E. Rodríguez, "Puerto Ricans: Between Black and White," in *Historical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Survival in the United States*, ed. Clara E. Rodríguez and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Princeton, NJ, 1996), 26. It is important to note here that the reference to whiteness is not a comment on skin color, since Puerto Ricans are a racially mixed ethnicity, but to cultural association with mainstream American society and socioeconomic achievement.

⁴² "Bickering of Leaders Hurts Effort to Raise Status of Community," June 6, 1968.

Pennsylvania, lamented that “the lack of effective Puerto Rican leadership here has been a definitive handicap in curing the community’s economic and social ills.”⁴³ This lack of cohesion among Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican elite created a vacuum that Puerto Ricans born and raised within the city would have to fill, but their methods would come into conflict with the older generation’s *modus operandi*.

Discontent and internal strife among Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican leaders began to receive publicity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Headlines such as “Majority Seeks to Solve Own Problems, But Lacks Leadership” and “Bickering of Leadership Hurts Efforts to Raise Status of Community” began appearing in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1968. Maria Bonet of the Puerto Rican Fraternity organized a protest march from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* building to city hall to demand more representation in city government and to object to comments made by Maria Mendoza, a social worker with the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Committee who stated in a five-part series in the *Inquirer* that some Puerto Rican families in Philadelphia were so poor that they ate dog food.⁴⁴ The irony of this protest against Mendoza was that she tried to call attention to the plight of the Puerto Rican community by using a dire example of poverty. Bonet felt that Mendoza had impugned the dignity of the Puerto Rican community. The protest was tempered by a petition to Mayor Tate to remove Mendoza from office and expand municipal employment opportunities for other Puerto Ricans. This march not only reaffirmed the older Puerto Rican leadership’s commitment to the existing power structure in Philadelphia but highlighted the contested nature of political culture among Puerto Ricans in the city as well.

The older generation of Puerto Rican leaders began to seem inept and out of touch with the political, economic, and social realities of the situation in Philadelphia. In 1970, former state representative German Quiles pushed for a resolution in the city council to have Puerto Ricans officially labeled as “brown people.”⁴⁵ Quiles argued, “We find it hard to find jobs because we have no classification. If we are termed brown people, we’ll have equal opportunities.” Implementation of the Philadelphia Plan in late 1969 by the Nixon administration enhanced existing affirmative action legislation for programs and organizations that received federal

⁴³ “Drive Started to Develop Puerto Rican Leaders Here,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 21, 1969.

⁴⁴ “Puerto Ricans Picket Inquirer, City Hall,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 2, 1968.

⁴⁵ “Puerto Ricans Drive for ‘Brown People’ Label,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 27, 1970.

funds.⁴⁶ While Quiles may have felt, because of the racial dynamics of American society, that this plan warranted a new classification for Puerto Ricans, he failed to consider how the shift in Philadelphia's economy away from an industrial base was hurting his community.⁴⁷ And even if such a classification had been successful, it would not have changed the perception that whites had about the Puerto Rican community. Pointless political maneuvers such as this would contribute to the younger generation of Puerto Ricans' discontent with its own leadership.

Although such leaders as German Quiles, Jose Fuentes, Hilda Arteaga, Emma Franceschi, Pascual Martinez, Moises Gonzalez, Carlos Morales, and others were dissatisfied with the situation that most Puerto Ricans faced in the city, they were primarily concerned with bringing attention to the needs of their community in the hope that these issues would be addressed by the city. Their primary method of raising public awareness was communication with municipal agencies such as the PCHR and with the local media, as well as community development efforts such as voter registration drives and community education seminars. To ease growing racial tensions, the leaders of this generation felt that Puerto Ricans had to adopt more American practices and that non-Puerto Ricans needed to learn about Puerto Rican culture. They maintained these beliefs even as racial tensions around the nation were growing in many northern cities. Leadership within the community, however, was becoming increasingly complicated because of the growing number of individuals who spoke out on behalf of Puerto Ricans.

Rise of the Rebels

The change from integrationist attitudes toward cultural nationalism in the broader civil rights movement discouraged many whites from actively supporting expanded civil rights for racial and ethnic minorities. Nixon's "silent majority" emerged as many whites reacted to the race riots that occurred in several of the nation's cities. It was in this environment that a younger generation of Puerto Ricans, many of whom were born and raised in the United States, grew into political consciousness. This

⁴⁶ Jean V. Hardisty, "Affirming Racial Inequality: The Right's Attack on Affirmative Action," in *Mobilizing Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers*, ed. Jean V. Hardisty (Boston, 1999), online at http://www.jeanhardisty.com/essay_affirmingracialinequality.html.

⁴⁷ Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 206.

generation of emerging activists and radicals were profoundly influenced not only by the polarized civil rights movement in the United States but by the movement for independence in Puerto Rico. They saw no conflict in advocating on behalf of stateside Puerto Ricans as well as those on the island. The decade of the 1970s would alter the way in which Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia interacted with symbols of authority. Up until this point, Puerto Rican leaders were content to form alliances with city officials in an effort to bring more resources to the Puerto Rican community. Like their predecessors, these emerging leaders did not always work together to address the issues that concerned them, and they did not employ "radical" tactics. They were united, however, by a sense of distrust and contempt for the established Puerto Rican leadership and its connection to city hall.

These younger leaders were also united by a common political climate and nemesis. Tapped by Mayor Tate to be his successor, Frank Rizzo served as mayor of Philadelphia from 1972 to 1980. Like Tate, Rizzo was a patronage politician. Tate and Rizzo wanted to keep working-class whites still living in Philadelphia aligned with the Democratic Party rather than see those voters support the Republican machine.⁴⁸ Unlike many others in the local Democratic machine, Rizzo came out in strong support of Richard Nixon during his bid for reelection in 1972. According to Nixon, Rizzo was an exemplar of the silent majority. During his time as police commissioner in the 1960s, Rizzo saw that American cities were being divided by racial politics, and he was determined to use his power to stifle the efforts of groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He utilized his power as mayor in similar ways.⁴⁹

In 1970, a local branch of the Young Lords Party (YLP) was created in Philadelphia. The Young Lords began in the late 1950s as a street gang in Chicago that became politically radicalized after an encounter with Fred Hampton, the leader of the Chicago Black Panther Party.⁵⁰ After reading about the Black Panther's collaboration with other street-level groups, such as the Young Lords in Chicago, a small group of college students with Sociedad de Albizu Campos (named after the leader of Puerto

⁴⁸ Adams et al., *Philadelphia*, 127.

⁴⁹ S. A. Paolantonio, *Rizzo: The Last Big Man in Big City America* (Philadelphia, 1993), 84–85, 135, 147.

⁵⁰ Iris Morales, "¡Palante, Siempre Palante!" in Torres and Velázquez, *Puerto Rican Movement*, 212.

Rico's Nationalist Party) created a branch of the YLP in New York City. After the takeover of a Methodist church in Manhattan in 1970, the Young Lords gained some notoriety among young Puerto Ricans in other parts of the United States.⁵¹ The Philadelphia branch started when Juan Ramos and Wilfredo "Hawkeye" Rojas formed a group called the Young Revolutionaries for Independence. After the church takeover in New York, Ramos and Rojas formally affiliated with the New York branch of the YLP.⁵² Rather than seek alliances with municipal institutions, the Young Lords of Philadelphia, in words if not always in action, challenged city hall and the leaders of the city's Puerto Rican community.

The political consciousness of the Philadelphia branch of the Young Lords was affected locally by their experience in the church and their participation in community-based groups such as *Aspira*, and also by such larger movements as Black Nationalism in the United States, the legacy of Puerto Rican nationalism of Pedro Albizu Campos, and, to a lesser degree, the Cuban Revolution and the Chinese Cultural Revolution.⁵³ Using rhetoric similar to the Black Panthers and the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, the Young Lords supported armed self-determination for Puerto Ricans in the United States and on the island. Although the Young Lords admitted that they did not possess an arsenal, their militancy did not endear them to the generation of Puerto Ricans who had migrated here and struggled to find acceptance from Philadelphia's mainstream society.

Beyond radical left-wing rhetoric, the Young Lords actively engaged in developing a free breakfast program for Puerto Rican youth that combined practical social service with political education. Members of the Young Lords such as Ramos and Rojas educated themselves and others in Puerto Rican and Latin American history, organized local youths in high schools to distribute copies of the YLP newsletter, *Palante*, and addressed problems such as drug abuse in their community.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Pablo Guzmán, "La Vida Pura: A Lord of the Barrio," in Torres and Velázquez, *Puerto Rican Movement*, 156.

⁵² Whalen, "Bridging Homeland and Barrio Politics," 112.

⁵³ Roberto P. Rodríguez-Morazzani, "Political Cultures of the Puerto Rican Left in the United States," in Torres and Velázquez, *Puerto Rican Movement*, 33–40.

⁵⁴ Michael Kimmel, "¡You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!" *Philadelphia Magazine*, Oct. 1971, 91; "Young Lords Blamed for Unrest," "Unarmed Young Lords Seek to Boost Image of Puerto Ricans Here," and "Young Lords Declare War on Dope Pushers," all *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 13, 1970, Oct. 5, 1970, and Aug. 13, 1970.

Despite the fact that the Philadelphia branch of the Young Lords sought (according to Peter Binzen of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*) to boost the image of Puerto Ricans in the city, they often came under attack from forces inside and outside of their community. Rojas was extremely vocal in his belief that the Philadelphia Police Department was attempting to shut down the Young Lords. "I've seen too many pigs cruising by here. . . . I know they're gonna pull something," he warned.⁵⁵ This suspicion of the local authorities was caused by the attention the Young Lords received from the police because of a disturbance in 1970 around Fourth and Berks Streets when a local establishment, Pete's Bar, was fire-bombed after a Puerto Rican patron was ejected and beaten by white patrons of the bar.⁵⁶ In addition, the Young Lords, with the Black Panthers, were involved in a federal lawsuit against the Philadelphia Police Department for excessive police brutality against their respective communities.⁵⁷ Ramos identified Councilman Harry P. Jannotti of the Seventh Council District as one of the sources of the police harassment against the Young Lords. When asked about the targeting of the YLP, Jannotti stated, "We haven't harassed them at all. But we're going to go after them."⁵⁸ The Philadelphia Young Lords also contended with opposition from within the Puerto Rican community.

The local branch of the Young Lords consisted predominantly of young Puerto Ricans born and raised within the confines of Philadelphia. Most of those who identified themselves as Young Lords were between the ages of seventeen and nineteen and met either in Catholic school or in programs run by *Aspira*.⁵⁹ These younger members of the Puerto Rican community and the older leadership in the 1970s differed in their expression of their cultural identity and political ideology. Ideologically, the Young Lords supported socialism and the national liberation of Puerto Rico. These positions clashed with the ideas of established leaders in the Puerto Rican community such as Maria Lina Bonet of the Puerto Rican Fraternity. "[A]nd those posters! I don't mind the Puerto Rican patriots," Bonet said, "but no one's putting Castro and Guevara on those

⁵⁵ Kimmel, "You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!" 88.

⁵⁶ "Young Lords Blamed for Unrest," Aug. 13, 1970.

⁵⁷ "Unarmed Young Lords Seek to Boost Image of Puerto Ricans Here," Oct. 5, 1970.

⁵⁸ "Young Lords Blamed for Unrest," Aug. 13, 1970.

⁵⁹ "Unarmed Young Lords Seek to Boost Image of Puerto Ricans Here," Oct. 5, 1970.

walls If the Lords ever really hurt this community, that's the day I'll go after them."⁶⁰

The Young Lords represented a generational break from the ways in which the older Puerto Rican leadership engaged the municipal authority of Philadelphia. Their radical image and antiestablishment rhetoric put them at odds with city administration and those allied with it. According to political scientist José E. Cruz, writing about New York City, "Never before . . . had the suspicion of political elites and the rejection of political hierarchies been stronger than during this period of normative dissent. Emerging Puerto Rican leaders were not only shaped by this *zeitgeist* but, in addition, saw themselves as distinct and even alienated from the more traditional leadership within the community."⁶¹ Community-based organizations such as *Aspira* and *Concilio* were seen as too closely aligned with people like Frank Rizzo. Angel Ortiz, a lawyer with Community Legal Services and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), stated "[*Aspira* and *Concilio*] . . . were very much pro-Frank Rizzo at this point. They were beholden, he gave them a few anti-poverty grants and so on."⁶² The differences between the younger, emerging leaders and the older, established leaders in the Puerto Rican community reflected the ways in which Puerto Rican culture was being expressed in community politics in Philadelphia.

For many years, the objective of the established Puerto Rican leadership was to find acceptance by mitigating the cultural differences between Puerto Ricans and other Philadelphians. In stark contrast, the Young Lords utilized culture as a vehicle to galvanize their community against any threat. Father Craven, a Catholic priest who worked with Casa del Carmen, was one of a number of community members who supported the Young Lords and observed the differences in how generations of Puerto Ricans employed culture as a means of political mobilization. According to Craven, "Many older Puerto Ricans are distressingly docile . . . the Young Lords are trying to change that. They are eager to be proud of their

⁶⁰ Kimmel, "You've Come a Long Way, Bebé!" 168; Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 235.

⁶¹ José E. Cruz, "The Changing Socioeconomic and Political Fortunes of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1960–1990," in *Boricuas in Gotham: Puerto Ricans in the Making of Modern New York City*, ed. Gabriel Haslip-Viera, Angelo Falcón, and Félix Matos Rodríguez (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 42. While Cruz focuses on a different city and a slightly earlier period, the experience of the younger generations of Puerto Rican leaders with the older generation is similar enough in both New York and Philadelphia to warrant comparison.

⁶² Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 236.

heritage and they are extremely articulate in contrast to their parents.” Mary Rouse of the Kensington Council on Black Affairs remarked, “Among Puerto Ricans, the old heads want to be white. Many of the younger Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are proud of their [cultural] heritage.”⁶³ While some of the Young Lords had participated in such organizations as *Aspira* in their youth, simply learning about their cultural heritage was not enough.⁶⁴ The emerging leaders in the Puerto Rican community sought to carve out their own path rather than follow the model established by an older, more conciliatory generation of community leaders.

Other groups of Puerto Ricans were also battling for equal representation in grass-roots organizations that served their community. In 1971, Rafaela Colon, a supporter of the Young Lords, was one of five women who helped create a coalition of Puerto Rican organizations designed to put pressure on the Lighthouse to have “a voice in all phases of the Kensington agency.” The Lighthouse, a settlement house established in the Kensington section of Philadelphia that managed a number of different community programs, would eventually concede to these demands and expand its board of directors from twelve to sixteen “in order to provide a fair representation of the community.”⁶⁵ The political culture of the Puerto Rican community went through a metamorphosis in the early 1970s. While the old guard of Puerto Rican leaders was content to work quietly from within the system, this new generation of leaders was not content to simply wait for change to come but sought to be the catalyst for social change.

Other Puerto Ricans stood apart from both the old leadership and the younger generation of radicals and expressed their own brand of left-wing views about politics. Nelson Diaz, a graduate of Temple University’s law school who later became a member of its board of trustees, had a regular bilingual column in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* in the early 1970s,

⁶³ Kimmel, “¡You’ve Come a Long Way, Bebé!” 93, 179.

⁶⁴ “Drive Started to Develop Puerto Rican Leaders Here,” Nov. 21, 1969. The article noted, “Besides counseling students and making contacts with colleges and universities, the clubs teach Puerto Rican history in an attempt to stimulate the students’ pride in themselves.”

⁶⁵ Colon is identified as a supporter of the Young Lords in Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 232. See also “Puerto Ricans to Demand Full Voice at Lighthouse,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 20, 1971; Nikki A. Greene, “Let the Lower Lights Be Burning: The History of The Lighthouse, 1893–2003” (unpublished paper, 2002), in collections of the Lighthouse. Point six of the YLP Program stated: “We want community control of our institutions and land.” Quoted in Kimmel, “¡You’ve Come a Long Way, Bebé!” 92.

through which he was able to share his views concerning the status of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. Unlike the Young Lords, Diaz favored the tactic of working from within the system to affect change. In this way, Diaz was more akin to the first generation of Puerto Rican leaders.

The issue of equal access to the voting booth for Puerto Ricans living in Philadelphia as the community grew in number and potential political power was particularly important to Diaz. In 1973 he wrote in his *Bulletin* column “¡Ahora! ¡Ahora!”: “Puerto Ricans . . . frequently cannot vote because ballots are in English only. . . . Puerto Ricans are granted citizenship by law, but its privileges are often denied.”⁶⁶ While earlier media articles had touched upon this subject, Diaz’s column provided a perspective from within the Puerto Rican community, but not aligned with its established leadership. Awareness of the potential power Puerto Ricans could wield at the polls inspired Peggy Arroyo and Petra Gonzales to file a class action suit against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, claiming monolingual elections were an infringement of their civil rights. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its 1970 amendment supported their claim that Puerto Ricans were entitled to vote even though some had difficulty with the English language. In March 1974, the US District Court ordered that all districts where the population was more than 5 percent Spanish-speaking have all election materials available in both English and Spanish.⁶⁷ Opinion on Diaz was divided; while some such as Oscar Rosario expressed respect for Diaz, others distrusted him. “Diaz is seen as either a one-of-a-kind community resource or a shameless opportunist, depending on whom you talk to,” noted Rosario.⁶⁸ While Diaz could not be solely credited for this victory in the judiciary, mounting pressure from vocal young Puerto Ricans was beginning to have a significant impact on the dynamics of political culture within Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community.

By 1975 the Young Lords had collapsed as an organization, and the local branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) began to fill some of the void left in its wake. Jose Gonzales, Rafaela Colon, and Benjamin Ramos were all members of the PSP and had started meeting in Angel Ortiz’s house.⁶⁹ With political origins in the Puerto Rican political party

⁶⁶ “¡Ahora! ¡Ahora!” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 30, 1973.

⁶⁷ “Bilingual Vote Setup Ordered,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 27, 1974.

⁶⁸ Oscar Rosario, interview with author, 2002; “Caught between Two Worlds,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 14, 1980.

⁶⁹ Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 237.

MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia), the PSP was primarily concerned with the political independence of Puerto Rico and with addressing the political and social struggles faced by Puerto Ricans living in the United States. Pablo Guzman, a member of the New York chapter of the Young Lords, argues that there was a conflict in ideology and methods between these two groups in Philadelphia: while the YLP favored extra-legal methods, the PSP favored electoral methods to effect change for Puerto Ricans. Yet individuals such as Rafaela Colon were known supporters of both the Young Lords and the PSP. While there were political cleavages within the younger Puerto Rican leadership as there had been among the older leaders, the PSP and Young Lords shared similar attitudes regarding the situation of Puerto Ricans in the United States. The PSP in Philadelphia helped to organize a "Bicentennial without Colonies" event in 1976 to call attention to its displeasure with the relationship of Puerto Rico to the United States.⁷⁰ The PSP would continue to serve as a voice of radicalism in the Puerto Rican community.

As the rumblings of discontent grew louder within Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community, city and state government began to pay close attention. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's method of dealing with this radicalized generation of Puerto Ricans was to offer token assistance to the community. In 1972, the Pennsylvania State Committee on Civil Rights held a series of meetings to come to grips with the problems affecting the Puerto Rican community. The foci of these meetings were issues such as housing and education discrimination. Wilson Goode, then director of the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement, attacked institutions such as the Federal Housing Administration and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. "These agencies issue rules which prevent building houses for minorities, the people who really need housing," he complained.⁷¹ The collaboration between Puerto Rican leaders and Goode in these hearings marked one of the first instances of formal coalition building with those outside of the local political machine. As a result of this process, Governor Milton Shapp ordered state agencies to begin seeking bilingual employees as HUD administrators, and HUD admitted that not enough was being done to serve the Puerto Rican community. Hearings of this sort had been held

⁷⁰ Pablo Guzman, "Puerto Rican Barrio Politics in the United States," in Rodríguez and Korrol, *Historical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Survival*, 148.

⁷¹ "Philadelphia Housing Cited as Problem for Puerto Ricans," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 7, 1972.

in 1954 and 1964 by the Commission on Human Relations, and while the order from the governor and the admission by HUD were important, the long-term impact of these hearings was minimal—inadequate housing was a problem that persisted in the Puerto Rican community throughout the 1970s.

Philadelphia's municipal government dealt with the issues facing the city's Puerto Rican community in its own way. During the ninth annual Puerto Rican Day Parade in Philadelphia in 1972, Mayor Frank Rizzo let it be known that he had given the order to issue all civil service exams in both English and Spanish in order to combat underemployment and bring the Spanish-speaking community closer to city government. "The growth [of the Puerto Rican community] has been so rapid that many have not yet found their place in the mainstream of our city," Rizzo explained.⁷² Just what place Rizzo intended the Puerto Ricans to occupy in mainstream society was unclear. His statements did not please everyone at the parade that day—twenty youths marched and spoke out on behalf of a free and socialist Puerto Rico. Although Rizzo did not address or deal with these youths at the parade, many members of the Young Lords accused the Rizzo administration of police brutality.⁷³ In 1976, Mayor Rizzo asked for fifteen thousand troops to handle demonstrations occurring in Philadelphia (among these the Bicentennial without Colonies demonstration).⁷⁴

As a counterbalance to the alleged police repression of dissident Puerto Rican youth, city government celebrated young Puerto Ricans who were perceived as shining examples of how their generation could become part of the mainstream. Councilman Harry Jannotti (the same man who stated publicly that he would go after the Young Lords) and the Philadelphia Crime Commission honored six Puerto Rican youths for assisting Patrolman Barry Bergman as he was being assaulted by a suspect he was trying to arrest.⁷⁵ It was clear that the role that Rizzo and others in city hall envisioned for the Puerto Rican community was one of docile collaboration with authority.

⁷² "Rizzo Orders Job Tests for City in Spanish," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 25, 1972.

⁷³ Whalen, *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia*, 234–35.

⁷⁴ José E. Velázquez, "Coming Full Circle: The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, U.S. Branch," in Torres and Velázquez, *Puerto Rican Movement*, 57–58.

⁷⁵ "Council Praises 6 for Aiding Officer," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 19, 1972.

The Old Guard vivito y coliendo (Alive and Kicking)

Although by 1975 the old Puerto Rican leadership's authority was being contested by younger emerging leaders, members of this first generation remained active within the local political culture. In 1975, Carmen Bolden, then executive director of Concilio, joined forces with the executive directors of other community agencies such as Aspira and Casa del Carmen to create a task force designed to function as a think tank for the Puerto Rican community. This task force attempted to establish a community-run jobs program based upon the model of Operation SER (a job placement program designed to combat unemployment in Houston's Mexican American community). SER had yielded positive results for the Mexican American community in Texas for ten years. The task force's application to the city for funds under the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act met with little success. The *Bulletin* reported that "Hugh Ferguson, Philadelphia's manpower programs director, told the task force the program would be placed at low priority."⁷⁶ Despite organizations such as Concilio having always supported Rizzo and the city's administration, city hall viewed the needs of the Puerto Rican community as a "low priority." It was becoming clear to all that the older generation's methods of acquiring assistance and support for their endeavors were no longer effective.

The press continued to identify individuals connected with both city and state government bureaucracies as the leaders of the Puerto Rican community. While prestige still went hand-in-hand with position, the effectiveness of men like Oscar Rosario, director of the Mayor's Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-speaking, and Bolivar Rivera, director of the Governor's Council on Opportunities for the Spanish-speaking, was questionable. They began a highly publicized clash with the US Census Bureau over the true population of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. According to Rosario and Rivera, the Census Bureau undercounted the number of Puerto Ricans to prevent the community from fully participating in the electoral process. Rosario alleged, "Somebody is trying to stop us from being registered." Rivera added, "This is not an accident. This is planned."⁷⁷ It was ironic that two men so

⁷⁶ "Unemployment Rate Is Almost 44%," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 2, 1975.

⁷⁷ "Phila. Puerto Rican Leaders Clash with Census Bureau," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 10, 1975.

closely connected with municipal and state politics adopted the aggressive rhetoric of younger radicals in their effort to increase the Puerto Rican vote and thereby support the political mechanisms that had allowed them to acquire and maintain their positions.

Members of the old guard continued to curry favor with city administrators by working quietly with the political establishment. Candelario Lamboy of Concilio petitioned Mayor Rizzo to appoint a fellow Puerto Rican, Ramonita Rivera, as assistant to the mayor; to improve sanitation and lighting along the Puerto Rican shopping district on North Fifth Street; and to promote a number of Puerto Ricans allied with Concilio. Angel Ortiz characterized these demands as “bargain basement” and Concilio as “a discredited bunch of individuals” for their collaboration with a mayor whose civil rights record was suspect.⁷⁸ Oscar Rosario maintained during this period of publicized infighting that “The mayor has been the only mayor of this city who attempted to alleviate the needs of the Spanish-speaking population.”⁷⁹ While old guard leaders such as Lamboy and Rosario made requests to a mayor whom they perceived as being on their side, the mayor continued to deem the needs of the city’s Puerto Ricans a low priority. Promises from the mayor were exactly that—promises and nothing more. Ramonita Rivera discovered this after she did not receive the job promised by Rizzo.⁸⁰ When Rizzo attempted to change the law in Philadelphia that prevented mayors from serving three consecutive terms, the PSP united with white liberals and African Americans to block this effort. Rizzo had relied on his handpicked Puerto Rican leaders to deliver him votes in the past, but in this political battle more than 60 percent of the voters opposed this referendum.⁸¹ In this effort, the Puerto Rican community again demonstrated its ability to form alliances with other groups, this time with tangible results.

Conflict among the generational and ideological leadership camps in Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community began to boil over in 1978. Concilio, arguably the most well known of all community-based organizations in Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community, came under public attack from other Puerto Ricans. Along with Ervia Gonzalez of the Puerto Rican Fraternity, Carmen Bolden (who was fired from Concilio

⁷⁸ “Puerto Ricans Get Rizzo Pledge on Key Job,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 17, 1978.

⁷⁹ “‘Invisible’ Hispanics Fight for Recognition,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, June 12, 1977.

⁸⁰ “Lack of Interest Cuts Political Clout,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 26, 1979.

⁸¹ González, “Turbulent Progress of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia,” 38.

under charges of forgery and theft) began circulating a petition calling for an investigation into the policies and practices of the organization. The groups aligned against Concilio also opposed the political ties between Concilio and Frank Rizzo. Candelario Lamboy, for his part, scoffed at these allegations, stating that the complaints came from “a bunch of radicals.”⁸² Lamboy’s characterization of Bolden as radical is odd, since she was, in effect, a member of the old guard. The public criticism of Concilio from within the Puerto Rican community highlighted the rift between these leaders. While the camps ultimately had a similar agenda—the improvement of living conditions for Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia—they had different ideologies and methods to achieve this goal. Personal conflicts threatened to derail efforts to achieve political empowerment in Philadelphia.

The public infighting had a detrimental effect upon perceptions of Puerto Rican leaders from both inside and outside of the community. An article in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* by Stephen Franklin and Joe Sharkey titled “Lack of Interest Cuts Political Clout” described the growing apathy among the Puerto Rican electorate in Philadelphia. A desire to return to the island, a growing skepticism with public protest, and a distrust of Puerto Rican leaders were cited as the three primary causes of political apathy. Prominent members of the community publicly foreswore politics altogether. Nelson Diaz went on record saying, “In politics, I would be crucified every day. Who needs it?” while Ben Cuevas, the latest director of Concilio, said, “I stay as far away from politics as I can.”⁸³ The clash of generations, along with the ever-present obstacles of unemployment, poor housing, and ethnic discrimination, had begun to take its toll on both the old and new guard of Puerto Rican leaders.

Conclusion

By the 1980s, Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community experienced two distinct waves of community leadership. The first originated with the generation of the Great Migration. This old guard’s strategy was characterized by collaboration with the city’s political apparatus and with a repression of their own culture. The leaders of the second generation, who came to prominence at the start of the 1970s, were notorious for rampant

⁸² “Phila. Hispanic Group Comes under Fire,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 26, 1978.

⁸³ “Lack of Interest Cuts Political Clout,” Mar. 26, 1979.

cultural pride and for their challenge to the city's administration and to leaders of their own community. By the end of the 1970s, it was apparent that the generation of Puerto Rican leaders that emerged during this turbulent decade was beginning to exert its influence upon the political dynamics of the Puerto Rican community. After Rizzo's election, various members of this new leadership group came together to form the Puerto Rican Alliance. The PRA elected Juan Ramos as its first president and Juan D. Gonzalez as its vice president—both former Young Lords. The PRA tackled issues such as police brutality and lack of housing and supported its own candidates within the Democratic Party to run for political office in the city. While the PRA, like the Young Lords before it, went through "a process of internal divisions that eventually weakened and destroyed it," it created meaningful inroads into electoral politics for this second generation. The 1980s saw the creation of Pennsylvania House District 180, with a Hispanic population in excess of 40 percent. This district gave individuals such as Ralph Acosta and Benjamin Ramos the opportunity to win seats in the state legislature. In addition, Angel Ortiz won election to city council during the early 1980s.⁸⁴ While competition and internal criticism remained a legacy of the old guard's leadership, the second generation was able to make the shift from protest politics to electoral politics despite its militant ideology.

The generation of Puerto Ricans that came to Philadelphia immediately after World War II adapted to life within the United States and defined their own leadership. While their attitudes towards city hall and mainstream society were mixed, this generation of the Great Migration generally sought to create positive change in their community by calling attention to the problems of the community from within the system. The generation of Puerto Rican leaders that emerged in the 1970s had similar objectives but used vastly different means to achieve them. The proliferation of community-based organizations within the Puerto Rican community during the 1960s helped to establish a diffuse power base. This diffusion carried over into the 1970s, when Puerto Ricans on the political left sought new avenues to express their frustration with the living conditions of the Puerto Rican community. Diffusion and competition led to internal disputes within this generation of leaders. Just as the old guard had unresolved issues, the generation of leaders that developed during the 1970s failed to take steps to resolve internal problems. The YLP

⁸⁴ González, "Turbulent Progress of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia," 41.

gave way to the PSP, which in turn gave way to the PRA. While these groups all favored a confrontational style of civic engagement, they eventually dissolved due to internal pressures. The lingering apathy of registered voters in the Puerto Rican community, however, has frustrated the efforts of leaders of this community to wield enough political power to seriously challenge the municipal power structure and address the needs of their people. Whether its cause is the lack of political currency of the leadership with the rest of the Puerto Rican community or something else entirely, future generations of Puerto Ricans will need to address and change this pattern. The shift in the political culture from participation politics to protest politics and from a collaborative relationship with city government to a contested relationship has given succeeding generations of Puerto Ricans in the city a variety of tools with which to engage the municipal power structure. The question remains, however: Will there continue to be more chiefs than Indians?

Temple University

ARIEL ARNAU

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Newly Available and Processed Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

WHAT FOLLOWS ARE DESCRIPTIONS of some of the collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that have either been acquired within the past year or more fully processed and therefore are more available and accessible to researchers. Full finding aids for these processed collections, and many others, can be found online at <http://www.hsp.org/node/2044>.

Recently Processed Collections

Abraham H. Cassel Collection, 1680–1893

47 volumes

Collection 1610

Abraham Harley Cassel, a book collector and historian, acquired over fifty thousand books, pamphlets, and documents about early Pennsylvania history. He was born in 1820 to a family of German-speaking members of the Dunkard Brethren. His parents, desiring their children to remain “piously ignorant,” did not send him to school, but Abraham nonetheless became obsessed with books and reading. He fed his love of learning in secret by surreptitiously purchasing books, reading by candlelight after the rest of his family was asleep, and teaching himself English from a pocket dictionary. As an adult, he spent a great deal of his time and money collecting volumes and letters from all over the world, eventually amassing a collection large enough to require a separate library building. In 1852 Cassel began to write about the history of the Church of the Brethren and soon became known as an expert not only on Dunkard history but on the religious, political, and social history of Pennsylvania Germans. Historians wrote to him frequently for advice and information,

and many—including Oswald Seidensticker, Samuel W. Pennypacker, and Martin S. Brumbaugh—traveled to Lower Salford, Pennsylvania, in order to visit his library in person. Cassel died in 1908, but not before ensuring that his collection would be cared for after his death. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania purchased forty-seven volumes of printed material from his library (the remainder of his collection is divided between the Beeghly Library at Juniata College in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and the Bethany Theological Seminary in Chicago, Illinois); this assemblage includes hymn books, religious tracts and catechisms, diaries, letters, genealogical records, and examples of Pennsylvania German folk art and *fraktur*. Two German religious groups are especially well represented: the Seventh Day Baptist group at the Ephrata Cloister and the followers of Kaspar Schwenkfeld, who established what would become the Schwenkfelder Church in southeastern Pennsylvania. The collection also contains some materials relating to the wilderness hermitage community founded by Johannes Kelpius.

Francis Daniel Pastorius Papers, 1683–1719

10 volumes, 1 folder

Collection 457

Francis Daniel Pastorius founded the settlement of Germantown, which would eventually be incorporated into Philadelphia. Born 1651 in Sommerhausen, Germany, Pastorius was trained as a lawyer. In 1683 he purchased land in Pennsylvania on behalf of the Frankfort Company, which sent him across the Atlantic in order to oversee the fledgling settlement. Even after his tenure as the landowners' agent ended in 1700, Pastorius remained a central figure in Germantown political, social, and judicial affairs. He taught at the Friends School of Philadelphia from 1698 to 1700 and at the newly opened Germantown School from 1702 to 1716 and was elected to public office multiple times, serving as bailiff, clerk, court recorder, and rent collector. Germantown residents also sought after him in his capacities as scrivener and legal counselor, roles which exemplify his importance to the legitimizing of the early Germantown community. Pastorius is well known for his antislavery stance; he joined the Pennsylvania Quakers in signing a protest against slavery in 1688 (the first antislavery document written in the United

States). He died in Germantown sometime between December 26, 1719, and January 13, 1720. The Pastorius Papers date from 1683 through 1719 and consist of ten bound volumes and one folder of loose manuscripts containing Pastorius's personal papers. In the collection may be found Pastorius's autobiography, written in German; his writings on farming and beekeeping; legal documents pertaining to his role as the representative of the Frankfort Company; letter collections; poems; the beginnings of a German dictionary; a commonplace book begun by his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius; a book of medical ailments and remedies; and a volume of legal papers.

Belfield Papers, 1697–1977

235 boxes, 99 volumes

Collection 3158

In 1826, industrialist and entrepreneur William Logan Fisher (1781–1862) purchased “Belfield,” a large house in Germantown, Pennsylvania, from painter Charles Wilson Peale. He gave the house to his oldest daughter, Sarah Logan Fisher (1806–1806), and her husband, William Wister (1803–1891). Belfield remained home to their descendants until 1984, when it was sold to La Salle University. Collectively, the Belfield papers tell the story of several generations of a prominent family and provide glimpses into life in and around Philadelphia from the 1820s to the 1970s. As a result of the various family members' diverse professional and personal engagements, the collection contains materials on a wide range of topics. Particularly well documented are the activities of Sarah Logan Wister Starr (1873–1956), who served as president of the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania from 1921 to 1941. Among numerous positions of leadership in civic groups, she additionally served as state vice chairman of the National League for Women's Services during World War I, chairman of the Women's Committee of the Liberty Loan program for the Federal Reserve District, and president of the Colonial Dames of America. Also notable are materials pertaining to Sarah Logan Wister Starr's son-in-law, Dr. Daniel Blain, a practicing psychiatrist from the 1930s to the 1970s. These records offer general information about the practice of psychiatry during the mid-twentieth century. As a whole, this extensive collection offers researchers insight

into a wealth of topics, including nineteenth-century industry and legal practice, the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, the Colonial Dames of America, World War I Liberty Loan drives, Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial Exposition of 1926, stamp collecting, 1930s-era world travel, twentieth-century psychiatry, and the genealogy of the Logan, Fisher, and Wister families.

Charles A. Tracy Collection of Hardie Family Papers, 1777–1902

1 box

Collection 3155

This collection contains personal papers pertaining to several members of the Hardie family of Philadelphia; the bulk of the records, however, relate to David Hardie (1838–1889), who lived and worked in Philadelphia and served in the United States Navy during the Civil War. His papers, spanning the 1850s through the 1880s, include personal correspondence, petitions, letters from the United States Treasury and Navy departments, and printed circulars, bills, and orders. The letters from the US Navy Department, in particular, highlight David's appointments to various ships between 1862 and 1865. The collection also contains a folder of personal papers and photographs pertaining to David's father, Robert Hardie (1798–1881), who served on a privateer during the War of 1812 and who later became active in the Ancient York Masons. Additionally, one folder holds a few papers relating to David's great-grandfather Robert Hardie (1727–1795), who emigrated from Scotland to Bristol, Pennsylvania, in the 1740s, later moving to Philadelphia's Southwark district and serving as a captain in the Pennsylvania navy during the Revolutionary War. A few other family members are highlighted through photographs and clippings. There are also booklets and report cards from Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital dating from 1896 to 1902.

**Abraham Barker Collection on the Free Military School for Applicants
for the Command of Colored Regiments, ca. 1863–1895 (bulk
1863–1864)**

1 box, 1 volume, 2 flat files
Collection 1968

Abraham Barker, an ardent abolitionist and member of the Union League of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, served as chairman of the finance committee for the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Regiments. Barker compiled this collection mostly from the papers of Thomas Webster, chairman of the Free Military School for Applicants for the Command of Colored Regiments, which opened in December 1863 at 1210 Chestnut Street. The school was formed and supported by the Philadelphia Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Regiments, which issued solicitations to the local community of free African Americans to prove their equality as citizens by fighting for their nation. Students attended a variety of classes, from math and history to command tactics and army regulations; some attained additional experience at nearby Camp William Penn, the area's first training grounds for African American soldiers. Upon completing their training, students were sent before a Board of Examiners, and those who passed were granted commissions (for ranks ranging from captain to colonel) and sent into the field with African American regiments. The school remained open until late 1864; during its year of service, it helped raise eleven free African American regiments. This collection, consisting of a register of admission to the school, a disbound register, and a scrapbook, generally spans the period from 1863 to 1864. It contains correspondence, pamphlets, printed circulars, form letters, songs, registers, prints depicting and relating to African American soldiers, and a few clippings. Correspondents include chairman of the Free Military School Thomas Webster, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, Governor Andrew G. Curtin, and Congressman Henry Winter Davis of Maryland.

Wannemacher Family Papers, 1879–1957 (bulk 1880–1934)

1 box, 10 volumes

Collection 3324

The history and social and political lives of the Wannemacher family of Philadelphia and other young Philadelphians of the late 1800s and early 1900s are documented in this collection. In 1893, Edward H. Wannemacher married Mary A. Fairbairn at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia. The couple had at least one son, Edward H. Wannemacher ("Ed Jr."). The Wannemacher Family Papers briefly describe the history of the family. In the photo albums are records of their activities, from casual visits to local landmarks and travels throughout the mid-Atlantic states and New England to their involvement with the Socialist Sunday School and the Young People's Socialist League. Notable among the albums' contents are pictures of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Book Store at 1326 Arch Street, and scenes of Philadelphia on Armistice Day. Among the papers pasted into the albums is a letter from George W. Wanamaker of New York regarding a Christmas Day family reunion at the home of Charles Wannemacher Jr. There is also a letter of recommendation from John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, who is described as a "family friend." A box of loose papers contains poems and writings, 1879–1880; vital records; and a 1904 letter from John Wanamaker to the Metropolitan Soap Company.

Charles A. Quinn Family Albums, 1898–1919

2 volumes

Collection 3476

Charles Quinn was an unusually talented and meticulous amateur photographer as well as a competent painter. The photos contained in these family albums document his courtship of and marriage to Ann Weber and the growth from infancy into young adulthood of their daughters Viola and Hilda. There are numerous candid shots of leisure activities in Fairmount Park; Wildwood, New Jersey; and other Philadelphia-area locales. Quinn also decorated the albums' pages with hand-painted thematic images. These pictures provide an exceptionally rich look at the life of a Philadelphia family over the first decades of the twentieth century.

League of Women Voters of Philadelphia Records, 1920–1984

89 boxes

Collection 1940

The League of Women Voters of Philadelphia, still active as of 2012, was established as a local chapter of the national League of Women Voters (LWV) shortly after the organization's founding in 1919. In light of the impending ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted American women the right to vote, the LWV's mission was to educate women on the civic responsibilities of voting and to encourage women to take an active role in politics. Over the following fifty years, the LWV expanded its agenda to address issues affecting American society, taking positions on national concerns such as the right of women to run for public office or participate in legal contracts without the consent of their husbands, the institution of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan, the civil rights movement, the "War on Poverty," environmental initiatives, and the Equal Rights Amendment. The LWV of Philadelphia Records consist of administrative documents and organizational papers from the national, state, and local branches of the LWV from 1920 to 1984. In particular, there are financial records, membership lists, publications, program materials, meeting minutes, correspondence and memoranda, newspaper clipping scrapbooks, and audiovisual materials. The Philadelphia chapter communicated with national and state LWV branches, politicians and civic leaders, and other organizations, and the contents of the collection reflect these relationships. These records will be of interest to researchers of the history of women voters in the United States and to anyone more specifically interested the history of the League of Women Voters, especially the ways in which it functioned in an inner-city environment.

Morris Milgram Papers, 1923–1994

480 boxes, 1 flat file

Collection 2176

This collection documents the career of Morris Milgram, builder and developer of integrated housing. The bulk of the collection consists of Milgram's office files related to the funding and administration of his housing projects. Also included are records of his involvement with sev-

eral political and activist groups, correspondence between him, his wives, and several family members, and papers reflective of his relationship with poet, author, and civil rights advocate Pauli Murray. The part of the collection covering business records includes material on Milgram's early career as a developer of open housing, multiple office records generated by the different companies he founded with the purpose of establishing housing projects, detailed transaction records between Milgram and his investors and donors, and correspondence between Milgram and several political figures. The portion of the collection featuring personal papers includes material on Milgram's college years, letters to and from his spouses, documents about his activities in different political organizations, and correspondence from friends and relatives. Both personal and office records span from the early 1920s until the mid-1990s.

**Viri Viginti Club of Philadelphia Records, 1962–1999 (bulk
1980–1985)**

1 box, 1 flat file

Collection 3529

Viri Viginti, still active today, is believed to be Philadelphia's oldest African American social club. In 1914, a group of twenty African American men began meeting on a regular basis to discuss current events. Though these early meetings were very informal and purely social, the group eventually decided to call themselves the Viri Viginti Club ("viri viginti" being Latin for "twenty men"). By the 1960s, Viri Viginti met at least five times a year and held annual garden parties. Presidents of Viri Viginti have included Oliver Ramsey, Leon F. Martin, Benjamin Waters, and R. Allen Durrant. The bulk of the papers, which primarily document the club's activities during the 1980s, consist of minutes and reports, correspondence, and other administrative records from the 1970s to the 1980s. Minutes from four meetings in 1998 and 1999 are also included, which provide insight the club's workings and contain information on its annual garden party. This collection additionally boasts essays on the club's history, member photographs, and photocopies of a scrapbook created to commemorate the club's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1989, as well as corresponding commemorative certificates from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the City of Philadelphia.

**South Asian Immigrants in the Philadelphia Area Oral History Project,
1996**

6 boxes

Collection 3211

In the summer of 1996, staff members of the Balch Institute's South Asian Immigrants in the Philadelphia Area Oral History Project interviewed sixteen individuals from various countries and regions of South Asia. The goal of this project was to collect information about the immigrant experience, focusing on individuals who arrived in the United States in the 1960s and early 1970s from countries in South Asia, especially India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. The records of this collection consist of the audiocassette recordings of these sixteen interviews and eight text transcripts. The interviews provide a detailed and personal glimpse into the lives of first-generation South Asian immigrants, who discuss their families and lives in South Asia, their careers, adjustment to American culture, the process of becoming American citizens, and their impressions of the next generation's ethnic and cultural identity.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

RACHEL MOLOSHOK
AND HSP ARCHIVES STAFF

BOOK REVIEWS

Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts. By DANIEL K. RICHTER.
(Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011. 502 pp. Illustrations, notes, further reading, index. \$35.)

This is a big book in all the right ways—far too big for a short review to do its richly textured themes and its many stories full justice. Daniel Richter has stepped onto a field already plowed for many seasons, but he finds ways to restore its fertility. His six “cultural layers” of the past, which he terms “progenitors, conquistadors, traders, planters, imperialists, and Atlanteans” (4), provide a new organizing principle for early American history. This schema, while generally chronological, allows him to compare Europe and North America (two old worlds) and native and newcomer ways throughout the entire book.

One would expect a chronicle of so much history—two continents (not much on Africa or Africans here) over eight hundred years (from medieval America and medieval Europe to the eve of the American Revolution)—to be dominated by long jumps in time and space, but that is not the case. Instead, Richter loves stories, and the result is a patchwork of beautifully conceived and executed encounters. He does not plant these narratives as examples of this or that argument but rather treats each story as a whole, with a beginning and end—almost as a self-contained garden within the larger field. As someone who has attempted a survey of these same subjects, I can say that Richter’s achievement is nothing short of astonishing.

Most of the encounters Richter relates end badly. Indeed, if there is any overarching theme tying together the six layers, it is how “new, often brutal, cultural syntheses emerged” (12), including “telling markers of captivity and enslavement” (23) and “a nearly constant bloodshed” (41). Violence was “at the heart” of these worlds (50), and the struggle for control of land pit Indian and European in endless rounds of “astonishing brutality” (80). European pathogens accomplished what European arms could not: the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Indians in a “Great Dying” (144). To be sure, Indians were not passive victims; they too were warriors and joined in a violence increasingly motivated by “racial hatreds” (405). In the end, one way of possessing the land—one culture—defeated another, and the victim was peace and mutual understanding.

Before the Revolution is not a story for the squeamish or for those who would prefer to celebrate a new nation germinating “in the womb of time.” But better that we, seemingly engaged in an endless war with “terrorists,” should take seriously Richter’s closing warning about “the experience of gloomy and dark days, and the hatred between the now irreconcilable descendants of two medieval pro-

genitors" (414). It is a lesson that the twenty-first-century West and Middle East, both peopled by the descendants of the same religiously inspired conquistadors, must relearn if we are to avoid the escalating violence of our ancient past.

University of Georgia

PETER CHARLES HOFFER

The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534–1701. By JON PARMENTER. (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2010. xlix, 474 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

The Edge of the Woods argues that historians have made too much of the rooted fixity of local Haudenosaunee Iroquois agricultural communities. The emphasis instead should be on their people's "unsurpassed level of geographical knowledge of northeastern North America" and how that knowledge undergirded a flexible strategy to "link supposedly 'scattered' and 'fragmented' communities in a wide-ranging, often fluid, yet interconnected indigenous polity" (xi). Parmenter organizes his book around the major stages of the "Woods Edge" ceremony—an Iroquois ritual that mediates between the village and the forest, the fixed and the mobile, the peaceful and the warlike—and offers each stage of the rite as a metaphor for a distinct period of an Iroquois history lived in a constantly redefined geographic space.

The point about mobility is well taken, although it requires a curious lack of attention to the gendered ways in which *both* fixity and mobility are woven throughout Haudenosaunee history. In critiquing earlier scholarship, Parmenter assails mostly unnamed historians whose work "continues to anticipate the inevitable conquest of the continent's indigenous population by settler society" (xxviii–xxix). Yet apart from a few diehard technological determinists, one is hard pressed to find anyone writing since at least about 1980 who has argued that the European conquest was inevitable. Parmenter is particularly critical of those who rely on a technique that William N. Fenton called "upstreaming," the use of later ethnographic descriptions to interpret fragmentary earlier documentary and archaeological materials (xxxi–xxxiii). Yet Parmenter is hardly the first to point out that upstreaming tends to privilege historical paths that happened to lead to the present at the expense of patterns that did not endure. Again it is hard to find any recent historian who has not confronted these perils while emphasizing contingency and the need to read the past forward rather than backward. Except perhaps Parmenter himself, who seems untroubled by the fact that upstreaming is the only way to recover the ceremony that provides his book's title and narrative structure.

The Edge of the Woods comes with an impressive bulk of scholarly apparatus, including 101 tightly packed pages of notes. But a closer look sometimes

reveals citations to both primary and secondary sources only marginally related to the subject at hand (see, for one instance, n. 41, p. 302). Characterizations of previous work sometimes appear with no notes at all or in ways that twist the original meaning. Parmenter argues, for example, that large-scale adoption of war captives, “far from representing a ‘dilution’ of Iroquois ‘ethnic identity,’ . . . derived from the very assumptions constituting the core of Iroquois ethnic identity” (124). The implication is that the author of the quoted words, James W. Bradley, thinks otherwise, yet a reading context reveals the two to be in virtually complete agreement (*The Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500–1655* [1987], 186–87). Meanwhile, Parmenter’s narrative of events explores few new sources (or manuscript versions of century-old printed editions) and contains few surprises for readers who have kept up with recent literature on Haudenosaunee history in the seventeenth century.

University of Pennsylvania

DANIEL K. RICHTER

“The Good Education of Youth”: Worlds of Learning in the Age of Franklin.
 Edited by JOHN POLLACK. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009. 641 pp.
 Illustrations, drawings, maps. \$49.95.)

“The Good Education of Youth” is a remarkable collection that successfully combines scholarly articles, an exhibition catalogue, and a photographic essay within its covers. The book’s genesis came from the tercentenary celebration of Benjamin Franklin’s birth in 2006 and an exhibition created by the University of Pennsylvania Libraries in honor of Franklin’s contributions to education. According to editor John Pollack, “the essays and the exhibition offer . . . new insights into the educational history of the early middle Atlantic region and an incentive to researchers to explore it in further detail” (ix).

Pollack and the other contributors deliver on this claim by providing a rich array of essays that explore various facets of education from the 1680s through the 1820s. The starting point for many of these essays is Franklin’s famous 1749 publication, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*. Pollack’s introduction provides an excellent overview examining the implications of Franklin’s *Proposals* and the ways that his call for public support of education and the establishment of a new school in Philadelphia initiated a dialogue over learning that continues today. Pollack delves into historical debates over the significance of Franklin’s advancement of education: some scholars consider him to be a revolutionary figure, while others view him through more cynical lenses, claiming that he used education as a means to join the ranks of colonial elites.

The eight remaining essays discuss various aspects of learning in the age of Franklin, ranging from Michael Zukerman’s argument that Franklin was more

innovative in educational thought than Thomas Jefferson to George Boudreau's chapter outlining the accomplishments of Philadelphia's "forgotten William Smith" (169). While all the essays are commendable, several stand out for their unique contributions. John Van Horne, for example, explores African American education (for both slave and free) in Philadelphia. Thanks to the efforts of Anthony Benezet, Benjamin Franklin, and the Bray Associates (an Anglican organization that promoted black education in the colonies), several schools opened in Philadelphia to meet the needs of the African American population. Yet Van Horne emphasizes that it was not just whites who took responsibility for advancing black learning; by the end of the eighteenth century, African Americans like Richard Allen also contributed to the cause. Carla Mulford reminds us that Franklin's educational agenda included a place for women and girls. Although they would find learning in a traditional school setting difficult to come by, women's demand for education and place in society could not be denied. Patrick Erben's stellar chapter on German education in Pennsylvania emphasizes the importance of understanding colonial learning beyond an English context. He successfully corrects "Franklin's cultural and ethnic myopia" (123) by discussing the numerous contributions of German groups to education, including a vibrant print culture that enhanced the learning needs of Lutherans, Mennonites, Moravians, and other Pietist groups.

The exhibition catalog on education and the photographic essay on schoolhouses in the Delaware Valley comprise the last third of the book; both richly illustrate the worlds of learning that existed in early Pennsylvania. The images in the book reinforce the value of using material culture to understand the historical past, and they give life to the subjects discussed in the essays. Overall, this book is a "must have" for those interested in the educational, social, and cultural history of early America.

University of West Georgia

KEITH PACHOLL

Transoceanic Radical, William Duane: National Identity and Empire, 1760–1835. By NIGEL LITTLE. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007. Illustrations, notes, works cited, index. \$99.)

William Duane, the longtime editor of the *Philadelphia Aurora*, was one of the most polarizing political figures in the early American republic, and his place in the historiography of that era is equally contentious. Duane's defenders celebrate his passionate advocacy of political democratization, economic equity, and a free press, while his detractors depict him as a petty, self-absorbed troublemaker who used high-minded principle to cloak his narcissistic rage against anyone who disagreed with him. Among the many merits of Nigel Little's new biography of

Duane is the author's refusal to cast him as either the noble martyr or the unhinged radical.

This book's most important contribution is that it provides the fullest picture we have ever had of Duane's life before he came to the United States in 1796. Little's archival research unearthed a particularly fascinating trove of documents pertaining to Duane's experiences in India from 1787 through 1794. This new material locates Duane within a network of East India Company officers who both shared and informed his "Low Enlightenment" enthusiasm for political and social transformation. Duane went to India thinking he was participating in the expansion of Britain's Empire of Liberty. His political outlook had been formed during a time when Britons prided themselves on presiding over an expanding, benign empire that would spread prosperity, the rule of law, and a society dedicated to personal liberty across the globe. The imperial regime Duane experienced in India, however, gave the lie to all of those self-congratulatory notions. Duane quickly discovered that British rule had come to be about exploitation rather than civilization, raw military and personal power rather than the rule of law, and brutal repression rather than the expansion of liberty.

A key argument of the book is that Duane's long career should be read as one that straddled what historian P. J. Marshall has called the first and second British Empires. Having experienced that imperial transition in India in particularly brutal form, Duane came to the United States hoping desperately that this republic would emerge as the world's new and improved Empire of Liberty. In this way, Little demonstrates that Duane's embrace of the most radical elements of Jeffersonianism in the early nineteenth century was, in many ways, an extension of the British, Low Enlightenment vision that informed the eighteenth century's Atlantic revolutions.

The final third of the book, which focuses on Duane's career in America from 1796 onward, would have been stronger if it had explored the notion of "Empire of Liberty" even more fully. As Little shows, Duane and many of his fellow Democrats were avid supporters of the Monroe Doctrine and of westward expansion. Might we think of these two seemingly quintessentially American aspects of Jeffersonianism as extensions of a much earlier, British conception of benign empire? Such continuities are implied, but not fully explored. Another limitation of Little's analysis is that he offers few close readings of Duane's newspapers—the central focus of his political efforts in America. The book offers many long quotes from the *Aurora* but very little explication that will be new to readers familiar with the political history of the early republic. These criticisms aside, this book will stand as the fullest and best examination of William Duane's life before his arrival in America.

Willamette University

SETH COTLAR

The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies. By ALAN TAYLOR. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010. 620 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$35 cloth; \$18 paper.)

The eminent historian Alan Taylor, who is especially known for his Pulitzer and Bancroft Prize-winning books *The Divided Ground* (2006) and *William Cooper's Town* (1995), has written a magnificent and persuasive study of the War of 1812. While mentioning that this conflict between the British Empire and the American republic was waged, in some respects, over British violation of maritime rights and over her impressment of some American sailors, Taylor accentuates the thesis that America and Britain were engaged in a civil war for the control of Upper Canada. He argues that this struggle pitted Americans, Irish immigrants, and some Indian allies of America against Late Loyalists and Native Americans who backed the British Empire in lands between Montreal and Detroit. In this military, ethnic, and political study comprising sixteen chronologically and topically arranged chapters, Taylor maintains that this bloody borderlands conflagration resulted from American expansionist aims to take Upper Canadian provinces, where many Loyalist families located after the American Revolution. The War of 1812 therefore revolved around two salient and competing ideological visions: namely, the doctrines of American republicanism in opposition to those of British constitutional monarchism.

Taylor's book contains many detailed and vivid accounts, especially in the sections pertaining to the first years of the war. Following the inexplicable surrender of Detroit by the American general William Hull on August 16, 1812, America earned several key victories along the western front, first winning the Battle of Put-in-Bay—and thus securing control over Lake Erie—under Commodore Oliver H. Perry in September 1813. The next month, the Battle of the Thames proved to be a great American success, for the British-Indian coalition was defeated by General William Henry Harrison, and the eminent Shawnee chief Tecumseh was killed. Thereafter, the war's western front remained a stalemate. Neither side could claim victory either in the Niagara or Lake Ontario regions. The Anglo-Canadian force at Queenstown Heights in October 1813 lost its talented leader, General Isaac Brock, but won the battle; likewise, the British and their Indian allies that year occupied Fort George, a town ravaged by the Americans under General George McClure, but lost in 1814 to the American general Jacob Brown (a University of Pennsylvania graduate).

Taylor lucidly describes the social features of the war in the Niagara, emphasizing how burning, plundering, and scalping were prevalent at the Battles of Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie, and Buffalo. His assessment of the conflict in the region between Lakes Ontario and Champlain is incisive; despite the burning of York in 1813 and its naval victory at Lake Champlain the following year, America could not defeat her opponent, but managed to protect herself from a British

attack against New England. Taylor's last chapters illustrate the importance of the 1814 Ghent Treaty and suggest how its effects would become significant to American expansionist programs, to Canadian political culture, and to Britain's North American imperial policies.

The Civil War of 1812 is a fine and a fascinating study. The book, which briefly alludes to minority populations in Pennsylvania and to its congressmen, who voted overwhelmingly for the war in order to preserve unity in President Madison's party, is distinctive for devoting meticulous attention to American ethnic groups. This work, which contains extensive endnotes and a lengthy bibliography, is also a paragon for the study of borderlands history. Lastly, by stressing salient features of nation and empire building, Taylor's superbly written tome enhances our understanding of early nineteenth-century Atlantic history, surpassing the recent studies written about the 1812 war by Donald R. Hickey and by Jon Latimer.

Butler County Community College

R. WILLIAM WEISBERGER

Border War: Fighting over Slavery before the Civil War. By STANLEY HARROLD. (Chapel Hill,: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 312 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.)

With the sesquicentennial commemorations of the American Civil War well under way, enthusiasts will continue to debate the causes of the war, including the centrality of slavery to its commencement. Stanley Harrold's recent book emphasizes not only the political importance of slavery to increasing sectionalism but also the physical conflict it provoked along the margins between free and slave states. When one considers the many examples of violent confrontations between pro- and antislavery citizens along the border region, it seems surprising that a full-scale civil war did not break out much sooner. Harrold presents compelling evidence that these skirmishes caused Border South slaveowners to push for stronger federal protections of slave property while fueling the conspiracy theories of Deep South planters.

Most students of history are familiar with the major flare-ups along the border before the Civil War, such as John Brown's infamous raid, or the Margaret Garner case, which inspired Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*. But Harrold here unearths dozens of obscure or hitherto unknown instances in which tensions surrounding the institution of slavery escalated into violence. These clashes between proslavery advocates and abolitionists took place along the southern edges of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, which Harrold refers to collectively as the Lower North. These free states contained many citizens with strong anti-slavery sentiments influenced by politics, morality, or religion. In contrast, the Border South states of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and Kentucky were home

to slaveowners and their chattel; both groups knew that the Lower North provided for slaves the opportunity to escape to freedom. The real value of Harrold's work lies in the detailed attention it pays to escape attempts, pursuits, riots, and political confrontations that were previously known only to local historians.

Harrold describes a slow but steady increase in tensions between Lower North and Border South residents during the first half of the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1790s and continuing well into the early 1800s, slaveholders in Maryland complained to Pennsylvania authorities that abolitionists from that state were encouraging and even aiding the escape of Maryland slaves. There are also many examples of Border South citizens abducting black residents of the Lower North. Harrold reveals the existence of organized gangs of kidnappers who operated around Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati in the decades before the Civil War. Clearly, slaveholders were not the only border folk who were growing upset by their neighbors' actions. White and black residents of the Lower North used force to resist abduction attempts and to aid fugitive slaves—even encouraging runaways to arm themselves. Harrold shows that these conflicts only intensified as slavery threatened to spread west and as Border South slaveowners insisted on a stronger fugitive slave law.

Harrold clearly demonstrates the value of looking at the decades preceding the Civil War from the border perspective, examining a zone where people with extreme positions on slavery met every day and attempted to negotiate a middle ground between slavery and freedom. While professional historians will consider Harrold's research and interpretation of great interest, any reader intrigued by the causation of the war will find Harrold's writing fluid and enjoyable. *Border War* is a captivating read and will no doubt encourage further scholarship on the border region during and before the Civil War.

Virginia State University

STEPHEN ROCKENBACH

Lucretia Mott's Heresy: Abolition and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America. By CAROL FAULKNER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 288 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.)

When Sarah and Angelina Grimké began to include women's rights in their speeches, they caused tension within the antislavery movement, leading male immediatists to question their focus. When Lucretia Mott advocated women's rights, it caused no such trouble. According to Carol Faulkner, Mott was among the most radical of the Hicksites, an anti-Sabbatarian and staunch religious liberal, and a radical advocate for women's rights; and she managed to get away with her "heresy" in all cases. Indeed, while the Quakers would eventually disown the Grimkés, they found Mott's talents indispensable and never passed such a harsh

sanction against her. Even the male abolitionists who doubted the Grimké's would never question Mott.

In *Lucretia Mott's Heresy*, Faulkner sets out to explain just how Mott managed to defy so many conventions. She begins by pointing out that Mott embraced the immediate abolition movement well before William Lloyd Garrison and played an important role in helping the younger activist polish his speaking techniques. She also traces Mott's crucial role in building an interracial antislavery movement and in influencing and cultivating the next generation of abolitionists. Faulkner traces Mott's path to radical abolition through the Hicksite and Free Produce movements to support her thesis that Mott was among the most radical of American reformers. She challenges the notion of Mott as a Quaker quietist, focusing on her public life and centrality to both the abolition and women's rights movements. Describing Mott in several places as an "ideologue" (6), Faulkner admits that "her preference for principles over pragmatism had a real—and undoubtedly negative—impact on individual slaves" and that "her distaste for the moral compromises involved in party politics made her a poor strategist" (6). Faulkner points out that in the face of "challenges to moral purism" such as the woman question, the role of party politics, and the issue of moral suasion, Mott "chose principles over political pragmatism" (76). She embodied a rejection of ecclesiastical authority that "was deeply unsettling to many Americans" and a racial egalitarianism that "made her unusual even among fellow abolitionists" (218). While similar traits in Garrison alienated not just the general population but many reformers as well, Mott remained a revered figure to her contemporaries and historians alike. Similarly, while the Grimké's found themselves pulled between women's rights and abolition, often irritating male abolitionists by appearing to privilege the former over the latter, Mott maintained a "commitment to abolition and racial equality over women's suffrage" that "was unique among feminists" (218).

Through Faulkner's analysis, Mott comes across as stubborn yet admirable and even likeable—the matriarch of American reform. According to Faulkner, "her demure appearance as a Quaker matron enabled her to preach her radical message of individual liberty and racial equality to a wide variety of audiences, including those hostile to her views" (2). Just as important, the way she lived her day-to-day life served as a living testament to gender equality.

Faulkner's account is well written and thoroughly researched. While telling Mott's story, she takes the reader into the lives of Philadelphia reformers in a way that makes the community come to life. She also shows how it was possible for female reformers of the day to fight for their own rights through actions more than words, and the contrast between Mott and the Grimké's is interesting. This book is a must read for anyone interested in Quakerism, antislavery, women's rights, or American reform in general.

Wharton County Junior College

BEVERLY TOMEK

Tasting Freedom: Octavius Catto and the Battle for Equality in Civil War America. By DANIEL R. BIDDLE and MURRAY DUBIN. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010. 632 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$35.)

In March 2011, Philadelphia mayor Michael Nutter announced that the city would contribute five hundred thousand dollars toward a statue commemorating Octavius Catto, an African American activist who was murdered in the midst of election violence in 1871, at the age of thirty-two. It is no coincidence that the mayor's announcement came not long after the publication of this fine book written by two Philadelphia journalists, Daniel R. Biddle and Murray Dubin. The book is the culmination of the authors' efforts to bring public attention to this forgotten figure in the city's nineteenth-century history. In *Tasting Freedom*, Biddle and Murray seek not only to recover the life of the martyred Catto but also to tell the story of "the first civil rights movement" in the city of Philadelphia (1). Readers of this journal will no doubt already know that despite the gradual end of slavery in the state of Pennsylvania, this southernmost northern city was hardly friendly to either abolitionists or free African Americans. The first half of the book details the struggles of a fairly small group of white and black Philadelphians against slavery and in support of racial equality. At the same time, Biddle and Dubin follow the story of the Catto family, who moved to Philadelphia from Charleston, South Carolina. Even as this section focuses on local events and introduces a host of Philadelphia-based activists, including Octavius's father, William Catto, we also see the complicated interplay between national, state, and local politics during this era, as antislavery activists organized and struggled at all levels of government.

It is in the second half of the work, which focuses on the Civil War and the postbellum period, that Octavius Catto emerges as the central figure. Biddle and Dubin have done yeoman's work in recovering his story from a scattered evidentiary base and bringing it to life in vivid, and often moving, prose. The meat of the book covers Catto's political activism, especially his role in the fight against segregation in the city's streetcars and his efforts to secure for African Americans the right to vote in Pennsylvania. Most powerful of all is the authors' reconstruction of the 1871 Election Day riots during which a white political thug gunned down Catto in broad daylight.

For all *Tasting Freedom's* strengths, there exists a certain tension in its treatment of its central figure—a tension of which the authors are, I think, quite aware. The book opens and closes with a quote from a descendent of Catto, who insists that "there were a hundred O. V. Cattos" (1, 490). At times it appears that Biddle and Dubin want to use Catto as a lens through which to view the complex world of the "first civil rights movement"; at other times they seem to push Catto into a place of prominence that occasionally overstates his importance. Ultimately, though, it is clear why the authors find Catto so compelling; one of

the great achievements of their work is that it communicates to the modern reader what was obvious to Catto's contemporaries: the man's brilliance and charisma. This is a book that will reward both general and scholarly readers.

Towson University

ANDREW DIEMER

Remembering Chester County: Stories from Valley Forge to Coatesville. By SUSANNAH BRODY. (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010. 128 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$19.99.)

In *Remembering Chester County*, amateur historian and self-described "storyteller" Susannah Brody provides a unique blend of family anecdotes, folklore, legend, and both oral and recorded history. Spanning more than two hundred years, this slender volume contains nearly three dozen tales detailing the heroism, patriotism, and sacrifice of Chester County's residents; their involvement in our nation's long struggles with inequality, racism, and war; and their brushes with well-known historical figures. But Brody does not confine herself to narratives that showcase wisdom, bravery, and altruism; she also includes several that illustrate ignorance, cruelty, and selfishness. The result is a quaint and curious collection of yarns—with just a soupçon of boosterism—presented in breezy, vivid prose.

Brody groups her vignettes of Chester County's past into three sections, roughly covering the American Revolutionary period, the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century. Each era offers tales that run the gamut from the truly noteworthy to the utterly obscure. Brody tells us, for example, of Squire Cheyney's warning to George Washington; the Paoli Massacre; the activities of abolitionists and fugitive slaves on the Underground Railroad; the kidnapping of Rachel and Mary Elizabeth Parker, sisters who were suspected of being runaway slaves; and the lynching of Zachariah Walker. Readers also learn about the filming of the science fiction classic *The Blob* at Yellow Springs; Bayard Rustin's role in the civil rights movement; and the deaths of Irish immigrant laborers at Duffy's Cut—a topic explored through written history, ghost stories, and archeological evidence.

While the anecdotes that Brody offers are entertaining and in many cases enlightening, the author mixes some good history with some poor. She presents fictional conversations as direct quotations despite that fact that we don't know what words Squire Cheyney used when alerting George Washington or who said what when an angry mob of neighbors interrogated suspected witch Molly Otley. Brody asserts that some civil rights leaders had "concerns" about Bayard Rustin's "private life" (108), which is true, but today it should simply be stated that the man was gay. Brody also leaves some of her references unidentified, referring to

“miscellaneous data” from historical societies rather than to specific sources. And she claims that British soldiers in the county foraged, looted, and pillaged despite orders to the contrary and furthermore tells us that Revolutionary War artillery units were “elite,” but never explains why. This collection also contains significant historical gaps. Why are there no stories of Chester County residents in wars other than the Revolution and World War II, for example, and no accounts of events during the Great Depression?

From a historical perspective, the book would be richer and more useful had the author been a bit more rigorous in her scholarship and comprehensive in her selection of stories. The work could have also been improved had the author offered a general conclusion. What, on the whole, do these tales tell us about Chester County and its people through the ages? That said, Brody’s entertaining collection of forgotten tidbits of local lore reminds us that history is made up of the stories of real people and should inspire inquisitive readers to do their own research and additional reading.

West Chester University

STEVEN G. GIMBER

A Brief History of Scranton, Pennsylvania. By CHERYL A. KASHUBA. (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009. 144 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.99.)

Industrial Pioneers: Scranton, Pennsylvania, and the Transformation of America, 1840–1902. By PATRICK BROWN. (Archbald, PA: Tribute Books, 2010. 142 pp. Bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

A Brief History of Scranton, Pennsylvania, by freelance writer Cheryl A. Kashuba, is published by History Press, purveyor of local histories for popular consumption. This attractively designed book tells the story of the city from approximately 1700 to 2009—an ambitious task for such a short volume, as its author acknowledges. The work is not a narrative so much as a collection of vignettes. Seven chapters are subdivided into between four and ten short sections on various topics. The longest of those segments is four pages; most are less than a page. A chapter entitled “A City at Leisure,” for example, has a single leaf devoted to electric trolleys, followed by one on theaters, and then another on Luna Park. Between forty and fifty photographs supplement the text. Based on limited research and lacking an argument or thematic development, the book might not appeal to serious students of the area, but that is not its intention. Instead, Kashuba’s work offers a survey of Scranton’s industries, ethnic populations, buildings, educational institutions, and more. Readers may well find something within the volume’s covers that sparks a desire to learn more about the area.

A more satisfying book is Patrick Brown's *Industrial Pioneers: Scranton, Pennsylvania, and the Transformation of America, 1840–1902*. This study grew out of a senior paper the author, who is now a high school teacher, wrote as an undergraduate at Georgetown University. Focusing on the changing role of labor in industrializing America, Brown uses Scranton as a case study to illuminate how American society, once characterized by its “personal, egalitarian” nature, transformed in the early nineteenth century to become “the rigidly institutionalized society that endures today” (2). Scranton offers the perfect laboratory for such an examination because it grew from a sleepy, backwoods settlement into an industrial community of a hundred thousand residents in just sixty years.

In the first of four chapters, Brown briefly recounts the founding of Slocum Hollow and its eventual development into Scranton, named after the brothers who brought industry to the area in the form of an iron furnace. The development of iron manufacturing, the mining of anthracite coal, and the growth of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad contributed to the city's rapid growth, and immigrants flooded the area looking for work. With industrialization and immigration came labor disputes, the topic of the last three chapters. The riots of 1877 and the anthracite strike of 1902 loom large in Brown's narrative. He argues that the differing responses of capital and labor to those events demonstrate how the relationship between the two had deteriorated. By 1902, both had abandoned any sense of mutual support or cooperation. Workers strove for every advantage from capital; capitalists fought back, even moving their industries out of town in search of a better labor climate, as Walter Scranton did when he moved his steel company to Buffalo, New York.

Industrial Pioneers is grounded in substantial research and is generally well written, yet it suffers from its brevity and ambition. The topic requires, and deserves, more than a hundred pages. Nevertheless, many readers will find it a useful introduction to the labor movement in Scranton.

East Stroudsburg University

MARTIN W. WILSON

Snow Hill: In the Shadows of the Ephrata Cloister. By DENISE A. SEACHRIST. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2010. 167 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)

In the early 1990s, while Denise Seachrist studied the dwindling religious community of Seventh-Day German Baptists at Snow Hill, an offshoot of the better-known Ephrata Cloister, I trained under a series of scholars classified as ethnohistorians and historical anthropologists (labels meant to describe the use of anthropological methods in historical study). Seachrist's work—a combination of personal memoir and ethnography of the Snow Hill community—brought me

back to my first experiences exploring the dusty archives of religious communities to which I did not belong and to the analyses I employed in order to understand them.

Seachrist's training as an ethnomusicologist shines through her study, drawn primarily from her own "participant observation." Her decision to publish this book a decade into the twenty-first century, after the last vestiges of the Snow Hill community have disappeared and her lead informer has died, is the first hint of the complex personal narrative contained within its pages. I will confess to my unambiguous envy. George Wingert, the protagonist/informer with whom Seachrist shares her tale, seems to be a reincarnation of the Ephrata celibates I have struggled to understand through the limitations of the documentary record. Seachrist spent countless hours with Wingert, and she gained entrance to the concrete cabin in which he lived. Her description and photos of this dwelling evoke a structure similar to the mountain prayer hut built by Ezechiel Sangmeister in the Shenandoah more than two centuries before Seachrist arrived at Snow Hill. It is Seachrist's access to Wingert's world that makes for the book's most lasting impact on this reader.

As a consequence of Seachrist's methodology, we read as much about her experience of Snow Hill's decline as about what the community might have been like in its prime. Seachrist's concern that Wingert's interest in her may have gone beyond the avuncular takes over the latter half of the book's narrative at the cost of a deeper analysis of the means by which Snow Hill adapted Ephrata's theology and practice to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I came to the book under the mistaken impression that it would provide a view of Snow Hill similar to the perspective on Ephrata offered by Jeff Bach's historical ethnography *Voices of the Turtledoves* (2003). Seachrist's approach holds more in common with *Imagining the Past* (1989), T. H. Breen's examination of the meanings local histories bear, as captured through his own form of participant observation in East Hampton, New York.

Once you accept Snow Hill in this vein, you will be richly rewarded. Ethnomusicologists will make fruitful use of the reprinted hymns and will find the chapter on the community's music an invaluable entrée into the catalogue and collection Seachrist deposited with Juniata College at the conclusion of her work. I take this tale of one woman's attempt to mediate among the factions of a failing sect while simultaneously educating herself about its past as a lively lesson on the fraught affections between scholars and their subjects.

I do so wish I had been able to meet Mr. Wingert.

Northwestern University

ELIZABETH LEWIS PARDOE

The Library Company of Philadelphia
and
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Visiting Research Fellowships in Colonial and U.S. History
and Culture for 2012–2013

These two independent research libraries will jointly award approximately 25 one-month fellowships for research in residence in either or both collections from June 2012 through May 2013. Named one-month fellowships support research in certain areas:

- Two Barra Foundation International Fellowships (which carry a special stipend of \$2,500 plus a travel allowance) are reserved for citizens of other countries living outside the United States.
- The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR) sponsors two fellowships that support research in American history in the early national period.
- The William Reese Company supports a fellowship for research in American bibliography and the history of the book in the Americas.
- The William H. Helfand Fellowship for American Medicine, Science, and Society supports research in that subject area to 1900.
- LCP's Visual Culture Program Fellowship supports research focused on pictorial imagery in printed and graphic works from the colonial era to the early 20th century.
- The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS) sponsors a fellowship for research on projects related to the American 18th century.
- LCP's Program in Early American Economy and Society (PEAES) offers four short-term fellowships for research in that field.
- LCP's Program in African American History offers several Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Fellowships to support research in that field.
- HSP's McFarland Fellowship supports research on early New Sweden or African American history.
- Four HSP McNeil Fellowships support research in early American History.

THE DEADLINE FOR RECEIPT OF APPLICATIONS IS
MARCH 1, 2012, with a decision to be made by April 15.

To apply please complete the online cover sheet and submit one PDF containing a résumé and a 2–4 page description of the proposed research. One letter of recommendation should arrive under separate cover in PDF format as well. Please email materials to fellowships@librarycompany.org.

To fill out the online coversheet, visit
www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/american.htm

For other fellowships offered by the Library Company, please visit
www.librarycompany.org/fellowships

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Balch Institute Fellowships in Ethnic and/or
20th-Century History and
Albert M. Greenfield Fellowship in 20th-Century
History
2012–2013**

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania will award two one-month Balch Institute fellowships to enable research on topics related to the ethnic and immigrant experience in the United States and/or American cultural, social, political, or economic history post-1875 and one Albert M. Greenfield Fellowship for research in 20th-century history. The fellowships support one month of residency in Philadelphia during the 2012–2013 academic year. Past Balch fellows have done research on immigrant children, Italian American fascism, German Americans in the Civil War, Pan-Americanism, African American women's political activism, and much more. The Albert M. Greenfield Fellowship, supported by the Greenfield Foundation, is in its second year.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, enriched by the holdings of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, holds more than 19 million personal, organizational, and business manuscripts, as well 560,000 printed items and 312,000 graphic images that richly document the social, cultural, and economic history of a region central to many aspects of the nation's development from colonial times to the 20th century.

The stipend is \$2,000. Fellowships are tenable for any one-month period between June 2012 and May 2013. They support advanced, postdoctoral, and dissertation research. **Deadline for receipt of applications is March 1, 2012**, with a decision to be made by April 15.

For detailed information and application instructions visit <http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships>. For information on the Balch and Greenfield fellowships, contact Tamara Gaskell, (215) 732-6200 x208, e-mail tgaskell@hsp.org.

Call for Papers

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Special Issue: The Pennsylvania Backcountry (October 2012)

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is issuing a call for articles for a special issue of the magazine on the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania backcountry scheduled for an October 2012 publication.

The editors seek submissions for a special section on **Favorite Sources/Hidden Gems**.

The editors seek proposals for short articles (250–750 words) featuring favorite sources/hidden gems highlighting some aspect of Pennsylvania's eighteenth-century backcountry/borderlands, including all its political, social, intercultural, and military parameters. We invite articles focusing on both written and non-written sources, including but not limited to diaries, manuscript collections, novels, government documents, graphics, museum artifacts, and monuments. These items may or may not be found in the state, but all featured items will serve to illuminate some aspect of how Pennsylvanians, native and European, experienced the backcountry. Selections will be made based on the quality of the submission and with an eye toward representing the wide variety of source material available for understanding Pennsylvania's backcountry.

Submission details: Submissions should be addressed to Tamara Gaskell, Editor, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 or, by e-mail, to pmhb@hsp.org. Contributors are encouraged to consult for reference the October 2011 issue of *PMHB*, a special issue on the Civil War in Pennsylvania that contained a similar section.

Deadline for submissions: April 1, 2012.

Call for Papers
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
and
Pennsylvania History

Special Issue:
Teaching Pennsylvania History (fall 2014)

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and *Pennsylvania History* are planning a joint publication, scheduled for 2014, on teaching Pennsylvania history. We invite teachers who have a special interest in a topic such as women's history, African American history, political bosses, religious sects, a particular event (Coal Strike of 1902/03, Centennial Exhibition of 1876), etc. to prepare an article that describes their method, perhaps with illustrations, documents, and connection to websites, that would help others teach that subject in the context of Pennsylvania and US history at the college level (though articles that suggest how to adapt the presented materials for high school use are welcome). Articles should be about 15-20 pages, double spaced. Please indicate any documents or other resources you would like to include, either in print or online.

Submission details: Please send inquiries to either Tamara Gaskell (tgaskell@hsp.org) or Bill Pencak (wap1@psu.edu).

Deadline for submissions: January 1, 2013.