

THE
PENNSYLVANIA
MAGAZINE
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME CXXXIX

April 2015

NO. 2

“THIS SCOURGE OF CONFINEMENT”: JAMES MORTON’S
EXPERIENCES OF INCARCERATION IN THE ANTEBELLUM
UNITED STATES

Jonathan Nash 109

EXPERT VISION: J. HORACE MCFARLAND IN THE WOODS

Edward Slavishak 135

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS:

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF TILLMAN VALENTINE,
THIRD US COLORED TROOPS

Jonathan W. White, Katie Fisher, and Elizabeth Wall 171

NEWLY AVAILABLE AND PROCESSED COLLECTIONS AT
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Rachel Moloshok and HSP Archives Staff 189

REVIEW ESSAY:

GETTING HISTORY’S WORDS RIGHT: DIARIES OF
EMILIE DAVIS

Ann D. Gordon 197

BOOK REVIEWS

217

BOOK REVIEWS

RICHTER, <i>Trade Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America</i> , by Daniel P. Barr	217
THOMPSON, <i>The Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century</i> , by Jason R. Sellers	218
DAVID, <i>Dunmore's New World: The Extraordinary Life of a Royal Governor in Revolutionary America, with Jacobites, Counterfeiters, Land Schemes, Shipwrecks, Scalping, Indian Politics, Runaway Slaves, and Two Illegal Royal Weddings</i> , by R. William Weisberger	219
MILLER, <i>Dangerous Guests: Enemy Captives and Revolutionary Communities during the War for Independence</i> , by Richard K. MacMaster	221
ABRAMS, <i>Revolutionary Medicine: The Founding Fathers and Mothers in Sickness and in Health</i> , by Marcia D. Nichols	222
MYRSIADES, <i>Law and Medicine in Revolutionary America: Dissecting the "Rush v. Cobbett" Trial, 1799</i> , by Marcia D. Nichols	223
MARTIN, <i>Government by Dissent: Protest, Resistance, and Radical Democratic Thought in the Early American Republic</i> , by Michael J. Faber	225
WELLENREUTHER, <i>Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadships and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830</i> , by Simone A. Wegge	226
KAPSCH, <i>Over the Alleghenies: Early Canals and Railroads of Pennsylvania</i> , by Will B. Mackintosh	228
GIESBERG, <i>Keystone State in Crisis: The Civil War in Pennsylvania</i> , by Matthew Pinsker	229
HOOVER, <i>Philadelphia Spiritualism: The Curious Case of Katie King</i> , by Timothy W. Kneeland	230
KAHAN, <i>The Homestead Strike: Labor, Violence, and American Industry</i> , by David Huyssen	231
MURRAY, <i>On a Great Battlefield: The Making, Management, and Memory of the Gettysburg National Military Park, 1933–2013</i> , by Peter C. Vermilyea	233
PERKISS, <i>Making Good Neighbors: Civil Rights, Liberalism, and Integration in Postwar Philadelphia</i> , by Charles Hardy III	234
CONLOGUE, <i>Here and There: Reading Pennsylvania's Working Landscapes</i> , by C. Elizabeth Raymond	235

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Tillman Valentine, in Masonic dress, Jacksonville, Florida, Apr. 15, 1882. Tillman Valentine, from West Chester, Pennsylvania, served in the US Colored Troops during the Civil War. Image courtesy of eBay.

Editorial Advisory Committee

DANIEL P. BARR <i>Robert Morris University</i>	SALLY MCMURRY <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
PETER CONN <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	RANDALL MILLER <i>St. Joseph's University</i>
CAROL FAULKNER <i>Syracuse University</i>	EDWARD MULLER <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>
JOHN FEA <i>Messiah College</i>	LESLIE PATRICK <i>Bucknell University</i>
JUDITH GIESBERG <i>Villanova University</i>	ERIK RAU <i>Hagley Museum and Library</i>
ANN N. GREENE <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	JUDITH RIDNER <i>Mississippi State University</i>
BERNARD L. HERMAN <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>	FRANCIS RYAN <i>Rutgers University</i>
LISA LEVENSTEIN <i>University of North Carolina, Greensboro</i>	ANDREW SHANKMAN <i>Rutgers University, Camden</i>
WALTER LICHT <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	ROGER SIMON <i>Lehigh University</i>

Editor

TAMARA GASKELL

Assistant Editor

RACHEL MOLOSHOK

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (ISSN 0031-4587, print; ISSN 2169-8546, online) is published each quarter in January, April, July, and October by THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-5699. 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 <http://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://hsp.org/publications/pennsylvania-magazine-of-history-biography>). The editor does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by the contributors.

Contributors

ANN D. GORDON, a retired historian, edited historical documents for thirty-five years, concluding with the six-volume *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (1997–2013). She is the author of *The College of Philadelphia, 1749–1779: Impact of an Institution* (1989) and chief editor of the collection *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965* (1997).

KATIE FISHER is a double major in American Studies and History at Christopher Newport University, an intern at the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia, and a Ferguson Fellow for the Hampton Road Oral History Project.

JONATHAN NASH is an assistant professor of history at the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University. He teaches courses on the history of early America, the Atlantic world, and the early United States.

EDWARD SLAVISHAK teaches US history at Susquehanna University. He is the author of *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh* (2008) and articles about work and embodiment, artificial limbs, eugenics, and hiking in the Smoky Mountains. His current research projects consider travel and expertise in the Appalachian Mountains and "depressions great and small" in central Pennsylvania.

ELIZABETH WALL is a double major in American Studies and History at Christopher Newport University and an intern at Colonial Williamsburg.

JONATHAN W. WHITE is assistant professor of American Studies at Christopher Newport University. His most recent book, *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln* (2014), won the Abraham Lincoln Institute's 2015 book prize, was named a Best Book of 2014 by *Civil War Monitor*, and was a finalist for both the Lincoln Prize and the Jefferson Davis Prize.

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/pmh/b/subscription>. Both sites can also be accessed from the journal's website at <http://hsp.org/publications/pennsylvania-magazine-of-history-biography>.



*“This Scourge Of Confinement”:
James Morton’s Experiences of
Incarceration in the Antebellum
United States*

ANTEBELLUM PRISONERS WERE OBSCURE men and women. They appeared in historical records when they encountered the law that convicted them and the penitentiary that confined them. Official records stripped prisoners of their individuality by reducing them to a bundle of abstractions: name, age, sex, complexion, crime, length of sentence, place of conviction, distinguishing characteristics, and inmate number. Prisoners also appeared in annual reports presented by prison officials to state legislatures, wardens’ daily journals, cellblock logs, punishment logs, and the meeting minutes of reform societies such as the Pennsylvania Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. Through writing diaries, letters, poetry, and memoirs, prisoners reclaimed their individuality by presenting their own experiences in their own words. Viewing ante-

The author thanks Tamara Gaskell and the anonymous readers for their comments and suggestions. He would also like to thank the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Philadelphia, whose funding assisted in the research and preparation of this article.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
Vol. CXXXIX No. 2 (April 2015)

bellum penitentiaries through prisoners' eyes makes clear how prisoners shaped life inside the nation's penitentiaries, interpreted incarceration, and were affected by the experience of incarceration.

The prison diary of James Morton, a prisoner at the Eastern State Penitentiary from 1846 to 1853, provides historians with a valuable window into the world of criminals inside and outside antebellum state penitentiaries. Morton was a confidence man who also served sentences at the Walnut Street Prison, Sing Sing Prison, and Vermont's Windsor State Prison. He forged checks and identities to exploit the cracks of the antebellum United States' "multifarious monetary system." He hoped to strike it rich to become a self-made man. He succeeded occasionally, but failed in the end. Although he achieved some notoriety during his own lifetime, few people know of his existence today. He would have passed into oblivion if his 1852–53 diary, written during his seventh and final year of confinement at the Eastern State Penitentiary, had not survived the ravages of time.¹

Morton's unpublished diary is a valuable historical source. It is the only known surviving diary written by a prisoner confined at the Eastern State Penitentiary before the Civil War. It illuminates how he interpreted his life and how he thought incarceration had transformed his mind, body, and identity. Jennifer Lawrence Janofsky is the only historian who has written about Morton. After describing the diary and its contents, Janofsky suggests that Morton "likely structured his narrative to manipulate officials into relaxing his solitude." In Janofsky's reading, Morton's vacillation between "lucid and confusing moments" was a literary construct designed to "manipulate" penitentiary officials. Although Morton addressed a "reader," existing records make it impossible to determine if anyone besides Morton read the diary or if he expected anyone to read it at the time of its creation, though he may have realized that prison officials might read his writings. Morton's reference to a reader may have been an attempt by a man who had spent the last six years in solitary confinement to convince himself that he was not completely alone while inside his "grave-like" cell.²

Morton claimed that he did not write to manipulate an actual or imaginary reader. He wrote "to avoid that dreadful step" toward "insanity" that

¹ Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 3.

² Jennifer Lawrence Janofsky, "'There is no hope for the likes of me': Eastern State Penitentiary, 1829–1856" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2004), 243–44; James B. Morton, *Writings, 1852–1853*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

he feared. He wrote to remember who he was and to convince himself that he was alive. Jack Henry Abbott, writing of his experiences in state and federal prisons during the 1960s and 1970s, claimed, "Memory is arrested in the hole [solitary confinement]. I think about each remembered thing, study it in detail, over and over." Drawing upon philosopher and theologian Abraham Joshua Heschel, Abbott observed, "*being is memory*." Morton wrote to remember in hope of understanding his life, retaining his sense of self, contextualizing his confinement, and maintaining his sanity. These goals were at odds with the penitentiary's regimen of solitary confinement, which attempted to reform prisoners through reflection and penitence but annihilated them by isolating them, stripping them of their identities, and plunging them into an abyss of anonymity. While reflecting upon and writing about his plight, Morton came to see himself as a victim of a conspiracy perpetrated by the police, former criminal associates, and the Eastern State Penitentiary.³

Historians have begun to account for the actions and perspectives of antebellum prisoners. They have followed Walter Benjamin's maxim to "brush history against the grain" while reading official reports and prison reformers' writings to illuminate how prisoners contested discipline within antebellum penitentiaries. Scholars have analyzed prisoners' contributions to antebellum print culture—published memoirs and poetry—to illustrate how inmates attempted to shape public perceptions of the world hidden behind the penitentiary's walls. As historian Leslie Patrick observes, "putting the experiences of inmates at the center allows us to see beneath the self-interested pieties of reform and nationhood to the heavy toll that confinement enacted on the minds and bodies of its subjects." This essay's focus on Morton, his writings, his experiences, and his interpretations contributes to this historiography's efforts to place "the perspectives of those confined at its center." Morton and his unpublished diary demonstrate how prisoners contested penitentiary discipline, shaped life inside antebellum penitentiaries, interpreted their incarceration, and were affected by confinement. Morton's diary also illuminates how and why one white male inmate, during his final year of solitary confinement at the Eastern State Penitentiary, saw himself as a victim of a nefarious conspiracy that

³ Morton, Writings; Jack Henry Abbott, *In the Belly of the Beast: Letters from Prison* (1981; New York, 1991), 46; Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Israel as Memory," in *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity*, ed. Susannah Heschel (New York, 1996), 40.

destroyed his life and threatened to extinguish all antebellum citizens' liberty.⁴

Morton's first known encounter with incarceration was at Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison during the late 1810s and early 1820s. In 1790, Pennsylvanian politicians authorized the conversion of Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail into the Walnut Street Prison. Until 1835, the prison confined convicted felons from throughout the state whom judges had sentenced to incarceration at hard labor. The prison employed a congregate model of incarceration in which prisoners, separated by sex, worked and slept in groups. While confined at Walnut Street, Morton labored alongside male inmates during the day at one of the prison's industries: shoemaking, nail production, or sawing and polishing marble. At night, he shared a room called an "apartment" with at least eight other men. Inside the apartment, Morton could conspire with other inmates to create and maintain a culture of opposition that challenged prison officials' goals.⁵

Guards were the prison's primary defense against convicts' conspiracies. Prison officials portrayed guards as upstanding citizens who provided prisoners with virtuous examples to emulate. Morton respected some guards at Walnut Street. He recalled more than thirty years later that Jacob

⁴Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), 257; Leslie Patrick, afterword to *Buried Lives: Incarcerated in Early America*, ed. Michele Lise Tarter and Richard Bell (Athens, GA, 2012), 284; Michelle Lise Tarter and Richard Bell, introduction to *Buried Lives*, 5. See also, Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996); Larry Goldsmith, "History from the Inside Out: Prison Life in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History* 31 (1997): 109–25; Goldsmith, "'To Profit By His Skill and to Traffic on His Crime': Prison Labor in Early 19th-Century Massachusetts," *Labor History* 40 (1999): 439–57; Leslie Patrick, "Ann Hinson: A Little Known Woman in the Country's Premier Prison, Eastern State Penitentiary, 1831," *Pennsylvania History* 67 (2000): 361–75; Myra C. Glenn, "Troubled Manhood in the Early Republic: The Life and Autobiography of Sailor Horace Lane," *Journal of the Early Republic* 26 (2006): 59–93; Rebecca M. McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941* (New York, 2008); Caleb Smith, *The Prison and the American Imagination* (New Haven, CT, 2009); Jennifer Graber, "Engaging the Trope of Redemptive Suffering: Inmate Voices in the Antebellum Prison Debates," *Pennsylvania History* 79 (2012): 209–23; Erica Hayden, "'She keeps the place in Continual Excitement': Female Inmates' Reactions to Incarceration in Antebellum Pennsylvania's Prisons," *Pennsylvania History* 80 (2013): 51–84; and the essays in *Buried Lives*.

⁵Negley K. Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773–1835* (Philadelphia, 1955), 45–47; Thomas L. Dumm, *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States* (Madison, WI, 1987), 102–5; Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue*, 176–84; Franklin Bache, *Observations and Reflections on the Penitentiary System: A Letter from Franklin Bache, M.D., to Roberts Vaux* (Philadelphia, 1829), 6–7.

Halloway, the head keeper, was "a man of much humanity—sound capability—excellent principles." Morton claimed that "the subordinate keepers were all of the same stamp" as Halloway. He argued that compared with other prisons in the United States at the time, Walnut Street was "the least bad." Despite its valiant guards, Morton alleged that members of the prison's board of inspectors, particularly Thomas Bradford Jr., were villains who conspired to destroy Walnut Street—that they intended to "Sap its foundations—prove it to be a nuisance—Conduct it loosely—let it shake its self to pieces." Morton asserted that these men "voted it beneath the notice of an Inspector to hold any sort of familiarity with prisoners, and also that it was efficient to keep up among them a Jealousy and enmity toward each other—under the pretense that such government prevents conspiracy against the prison."⁶

During the 1810s and 1820s, prison officials struggled to maintain order. Violence occurred daily. Prisoners assaulted guards and one another. They attempted to escape frequently. With ample opportunities to conspire with one another, prisoners were on the verge of taking over the prison. In hope of dividing inmates, inspectors bestowed privileges upon a handful of trusted prisoners who served as "runners," or messengers. One of these convicts was Harry Powell, a black man who had saved the life of a guard during an 1819 uprising at the prison. Perhaps as a reward for his actions, prison officials designated Powell the "head runner." According to Morton, Powell was given "a big-butcher-knife and authority to wear it suspended by a chain round his neck—and to use it in self defense against any prisoner who dares to lay hands against him right or wrong." Morton characterized the inspectors' tactic of dividing and conquering prisoners as a scheme that aimed not to instill order, but to foment disorder.⁷

Powell played his part and enjoyed his privileges. Morton described him as "the most saucy raskel that ever walked a Prison yard." Powell, whom Morton called, derisively, "My Lord-Negro," often insulted white prisoners by calling them "bold-faced convicts." Just as race divided Philadelphians, race divided prisoners. Morton seemed especially irritated by Powell's proud demeanor. "He strutted up and down the yard amongst

⁶ Morton, Writings.

⁷ Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue*, 222; Teeters, *Cradle of the Penitentiary*, 100–103; Thompson Westcott, *A History of Philadelphia, from the Time of the First Settlements on the Delaware to the Consolidation of the City and Districts in 1854*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia, 1886), 860; Morton, Writings.

some six or seven hundred men, like a Cock-Turkey with his tail up—nor dare any thing in the shape of convict touch one of his feathers.”⁸

Powell’s strutting apparently irritated other prisoners too. On March 27, 1820, a fight occurred between Powell and a white convict named Peter Hedgman. Although the details are murky, it appears that Hedgman and Powell had an argument that turned violent. Hedgman attacked Powell. Powell defended himself, using “his lawful side arm” to stab and kill Hedgman. Morton viewed the argument and its aftermath as the trigger of the “greatest revolt and tragic end that ever took place in any Prison in our Country.”⁹

The next morning, an uprising began just after guards released prisoners from their apartments, where they may have conspired during the night. They searched for Powell, who sought protection from the guards. Rebellious prisoners outnumbered Powell’s protectors. They “dragged” Powell from the guards and pummeled him to “death before their very eyes.” He was no match for convicts armed with “clubs and iron bars.” White inmate Bill McIlhenney stabbed Powell in the head. With Powell dead, convicts rushed toward the exterior walls in hope of escaping. Guards fired on the prisoners, killing one and wounding two. Prisoners responded by throwing “stones and brickbats” at guards. Chanting “Liberty or Death!” they surged toward the gate that separated them from freedom. “A large bolt” thwarted their escape. Residents from the surrounding neighborhood began to shoot at the prisoners. A few hours later, guards, with the help of residents and the city’s militia, regained control of the prison.¹⁰

Prisoners’ successful takeover of the Walnut Street Prison pushed Pennsylvanians to consider abandoning the institution. A year later, the Pennsylvania legislature allocated money to build a new prison: the Eastern State Penitentiary. According to Morton, this was exactly what Bradford and his coconspirators on the board of inspectors wished. By “keeping up strife and bickering contention among Prisoners,” inspectors had destroyed the “good order” of the prison. Although Morton’s allega-

⁸ Morton, Writings; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995), 42–51; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (1991; London, 2007), 105–6.

⁹ Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue*, 217–8; Morton, Writings.

¹⁰ Morton, Writings; Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 860; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 44; Teeters, *Cradle of the Penitentiary*, 101–2; Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue*, 218–19; *Philadelphia National Gazette and Literary Register*, Apr. 5, 1820.

tion of a conspiracy may be far-fetched, the unrest that occurred at Walnut Street also occurred at other early national penitentiaries. At the first New York State Prison, commonly called Newgate, which was modeled upon the Walnut Street Prison, prisoners too formed a separate culture, rebelled, attempted to escape, and took over the prison. Just as Pennsylvanians responded to prisoners' actions by building new penitentiaries, so did New Yorkers. At practically the same time that Pennsylvania legislators authorized the construction of the Eastern State Penitentiary, New York legislators authorized the construction of two new state penitentiaries: Auburn and Sing Sing.¹¹

Morton moved to New York City after his release from Walnut Street in the mid-1820s, where he continued to perpetrate forgeries. His schemes led to at least one sentence inside New York's Sing Sing Prison. Convicts from New York's Auburn State Penitentiary began building Sing Sing in 1825. They excavated marble from quarries along the west bank of the Hudson River, about thirty-five miles north of New York City. After three years of relentless labor, prisoners finished the penitentiary's initial four-story building, containing eight hundred cells. Each cell had walls three feet thick and was seven feet deep, seven feet tall, and three feet six inches wide. British parliamentarian William Crawford, who visited the penitentiary in the early 1830s, claimed that cells were "deficient in ventilation: they had a close and offensive smell." Cells were "damp in wet weather" too. At Sing Sing, Morton experienced what contemporaries called the Auburn or congregate system: prisoners labored together in silence under the threat of violence inside large workshops during the day and were confined inside individual cells during the night.¹²

Although it is unclear when Morton arrived at Sing Sing, it was probably during the mid-1830s. Upon arrival, guards would have ordered Morton to strip his clothes, bathe, and put on "the uniform of the prison." A convict barber cut his hair and, if necessary, shaved his face. This ordeal was potentially humiliating and traumatic. Former inmate Levi S. Burr, who also was incarcerated at Sing Sing during the early 1830s, claimed,

¹¹ Morton, Writings; Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue*, 247; W. David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796–1848* (1965; Ithaca, NY, 2009), 56, 52.

¹² *Philadelphia Pennsylvania Inquirer and National Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1846; Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora*, 136–40; William Crawford, *Report on the Penitentiaries of the United States* (1835; Montclair, NJ, 1969), 29.

“the barber pleases his keeper best, when he makes the subject appear the worst; consequently his head is often so much disfigured by clips and gashes in his hair, that he would hardly be known by an acquaintance.” After receiving a humbling haircut, guards would have recorded Morton’s biographical information in the inmate register. He would then hear the warden explain the penitentiary’s rules and regulations, and the consequences for violating them.¹³

During the 1830s and 1840s, the disciplinary regimen at Sing Sing made it a violent, stressful, and scary place. Reading, writing, and religion may have helped Morton survive. Although Morton wrote little about his incarceration at Sing Sing, it was perhaps here that he began to read and study the Bible for support, encouragement, and guidance. Many convicts turned toward the Bible while confined at Sing Sing. For instance, penitentiary chaplain John Luckey observed an inmate who “suspended” his Bible “by cords, from the top of his cell, in such a manner as to be constantly open; so that, when in his cell, he had nothing to do but cast his eyes upon its sacred pages, in order to peruse it.”¹⁴

Morton surely communicated with other convicts. He could whisper with convicts confined in neighboring cells. He could also use chalk or pencil to write messages to other inmates. In 1846, investigators from the New York Prison Association learned from “an adroit rogue in the Sing Sing Prison, that he could at all times send a message to an acquaintance and get an answer in twelve hours; and that to an entire stranger, whom he had never seen, and who had just been committed, he could do the same thing in three days.” Clever inmates who communicated with one another transcended what French visitors and prison reformers Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville described as “the weakness of isolation,” forged links of solidarity, and subverted what Michel Foucault called “the primary objective of carceral action: coercive individualization, by the termination of any relation that is not supervised by authority or

¹³ Levi S. Burr, *A Voice from Sing-Sing, Giving a General Description of the State Prison: A Short and Comprehensive Geological History of the Quality of the Stone of the Quarries; and a Synopsis of the Horrid Treatment of the Convicts in that Prison* (Albany, NY, 1833), 19. The register for the years of Morton’s confinement, mid-1830s to early 1840s, no longer survives. Crawford, *Report on the Penitentiaries*, 20.

¹⁴ Jennifer Graber, *The Furnace of Affliction: Prisons and Religion in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), 115; John Luckey, *Life in Sing Sing State Prison, as Seen in a Twelve Years’ Chaplaincy* (New York, 1860), 58.

arranged according to hierarchy." Convicts caught communicating faced brutal punishment.¹⁵

Violence compelled obedience from some prisoners; it frustrated, traumatized, and angered others. Burr depicted guards as cruel despots who ruled Sing Sing as "a *Cat-ocracy* and *Cudgel-ocracy*." Since guards acted with impunity and little oversight, Burr denounced them as vicious "Autocrats." Convicts suffered inside the penitentiary because "there is no eye to pity, no tongue to tell, no heart to feel, or will or power to oppose." He watched in helpless horror as a guard whipped one convict 133 times. "While the afflicted subject was begging upon his knees, and crying and withering under lacerations, that tore his skin to pieces from his back, the deputy keeper [Robert Wiltse] approached, and gave him a blow across the mouth with his cane, that caused the blood to flow profusely." Former prisoner James R. Brice described whipped inmates whose lacerated bodies were "as raw as a piece of beef." Ex-convict Horace Lane remembered, "There were so many heads cut open, and so many bloody faces." Morton declared that Sing Sing's guards "embodied the ferocity and brutality of the Barbary Pirate." He alleged that guards had "treated [him] like a dog." Convicts' bodies, "lacerated backs—broken heads and limbs," served as evidence of the brutality of Sing Sing Penitentiary.¹⁶

In April 1843, a physically and psychologically wounded Morton emerged from Sing Sing and returned to Philadelphia. Evidence from newspapers suggested that he continued to work as a forger. In early September 1843, he was arrested in Baltimore for allegedly committing "forgeries on several banks of Philadelphia; and in sums varying from \$800 to \$1600." According to the *Pennsylvania Inquirer and National Gazette*, Morton worked with a team of accomplices. "His mode of operations," the newspaper reported, "was by sometimes sending a boy, at others a man to

¹⁵ Prison Association of New York, *Third Report of the Prison Association of New York* (New York, 1847), 60; Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France* (1833; Carbondale, IL, 1964), 60; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1979), 239.

¹⁶ Burr, *Voice from Sing-Sing*, 16–17; James R. Brice, *Secrets of the Mount-Pleasant State Prison, Revealed and Exposed* (Albany, NY, 1839), 52; Horace Lane, *Five Years in State's Prison; or, Interesting Truths, Showing the Manner of Discipline in the State Prison at Sing Sing and Auburn, Exhibiting the Great Contrast Between the Two Institutions, in the Treatment of the Unhappy Inmates; Represented in a Dialogue Between Sing Sing and Auburn* (New York, 1835), 12–13; Morton, *Writings*. For further analysis of Lane and his writings, see Glenn, "Troubled Manhood in the Early Republic," 59–93.

get the checks cashed, while he waited in the vicinity to receive the funds.” He apparently escaped conviction.¹⁷

Morton resurfaced almost two years later, when in January 1845 he was charged again with forgery. He allegedly cashed a forged \$500 check at the Manufacturers and Mechanics Bank. Supposedly, he gave the \$500 note he received to a woman who was arrested for attempting to exchange it at the Pennsylvania Bank. In December of the same year, he was arrested again for forgery. Two weeks later, police arrested an alleged accomplice, Asa R. Tomer, “on the charge of conspiring with James Morton, to defraud the Commercial bank of this city, by a forged check, offered at the counter of that Institution a few weeks since.” In late January 1846, a jury of Philadelphians convicted Morton of forgery and Tomer of conspiracy to defraud.¹⁸

The published record revealed why a jury convicted and judges sentenced Morton to the Eastern State Penitentiary: he was a notorious forger who, along with his accomplices, repeatedly passed forged checks and counterfeit notes at the banks and businesses of Philadelphia. Morton, however, penned a counter-narrative in his diary: he portrayed himself as a victim of the police and criminals he encountered while confined at Walnut Street or Sing Sing. He explained how he struggled against the intrigues, plots, and conspiracies his enemies hatched in hope of ensnaring him. Although he did not say how, he claimed that during the three years after his release from Sing Sing, he “lived in at least comfortable style if not elegance.” “This comfort,” he claimed, “created envy and malice among some of the police and other thieves—They demanded heavy tribute on penalty of the Solitary cells of the Penitentiary.”¹⁹

As Morton explained things, he could not reinvent himself without paying the bribes his extorters demanded. In time, he found it more difficult to satisfy his enemies’ demands. He stopped making payments. His extorters “growled and threatened.” They convinced “the banks” that “it would be to their advantage to put me out of the way.” Morton’s extorters used his reputation as a prolific forger and former felon against him. Despite serving sentences for his past crimes and living an honest life,

¹⁷ *Pennsylvania Inquirer and National Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1843.

¹⁸ *Philadelphia North American and Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 11, 1845. *Philadelphia North American*, Dec. 25, 1845, and Jan. 14, 1846.

¹⁹ Morton, Writings.

Morton averred, he could not escape his past. His experience of imprisonment haunted his present and limited his future aspirations.²⁰

Morton alleged that police officer William Buckley obtained "a secret promise of a reward of one thousand dollars for my conviction." Despite the price on his head, Morton declared, he "still supported the dignity and claimed the rights of an honest citizen"; he "depended on the laws of [his] country and took up [his] role of conduct accordingly." Morton recalled that during this trying time, his "friends [grew] cold" and enemies "[grew] fierce." He was arrested "several times" and "sent to jail." During the arrests, he complained, "several hundred dollars each time [was] extorted from me." When Morton could no longer pay, he maintained, his enemies went after his property. Buckley enlisted the aid of Joseph H. Johnson, whom Morton described as "a common well known thief and passer of spurious money," who "was at that time a fugitive from justice and wanted by the Sheriff of his own native county (Birwick)." Johnson, whom Morton referred to as "the tool," attempted to pass a forged check at the Commercial Bank of Philadelphia. When questioned about the check, Johnson claimed that he received it from Morton. Acting upon this information, the police arrested Morton, and, in his words, "the tragic farce commenced."²¹

Morton recalled his arrest with indignation, insisting that he had been caught in the web his extorters had spun. "Reader," he exclaimed, "this was done (not in Rome) but in Pennsylvania! Where was Torquemada?" At his preliminary hearing, Johnson was the prosecution's only witness. As he had done previously, Johnson stated that he had received the check "from the hand of Jim Morton." Under cross-examination by Morton's attorney, Johnson testified that he was an "honest man" who had never engaged in "criminal conduct" until he knowingly attempted to pass the forged check he claimed to have received from Morton. According to Morton, Johnson lied. Despite his attorney's efforts, Morton recollected that the judge "fully committed me, under five thousand dollars bail."²²

Johnson's testimony led to a "bill of indictment" and Morton stood trial for forgery. Morton referred to his trial as "the first act of the second tragic farce in the play of Dirty Work." He considered the trial to be a mere formality and believed his fate to have been predetermined: "But mockery

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. Morton perhaps was referring to the town of Berwick in Columbia County, PA.

²² Ibid.

all! The die was cast, my doom was fix'd, My sentence past [*sic*]—Through base corruption—false report.” Morton claimed that Johnson continued to lie about the forged check during the trial. Morton’s memory of the trial and its outcome was seared into his mind. It was a significant turning point in his life. By the time he committed the experience to the pages of his diary, he had spent the last six years recalling it repeatedly.

The veracity of Morton’s claims does not matter. As literary critic Peter Brooks suggests, “we constitute ourselves as human subjects in part through our fictions.” What matters is that Morton claimed to believe he was innocent. In his diary, he saw and presented himself as a persecuted man, unjustly convicted, caught in a web of conspiracy spun by police and former criminal associates. He interpreted his confinement at the Eastern State Penitentiary through this conspiratorial prism.²³

When Morton arrived at the Eastern State Penitentiary in January 1846, the institution was seventeen years old. It was an architectural marvel and one of the largest public works projects in the antebellum United States. It took six years and approximately \$432,000 to build. “The design and execution” of the enormous granite, gothic-style penitentiary, wrote prison reformer George Washington Smith, “impart a grave, severe, and awful character to the external aspect of this building. The effect on the imagination of every passing spectator, is peculiarly impressive, solemn, and instructive.” While the penitentiary’s exterior evidently impressed Smith, it enraged Morton. He denounced it “as the highest wall on the Continent, upon whose four towers, are the mighty monuments of power, feudal towers, frowning down upon the sons of freedom as they pass.” While Smith saw the penitentiary as a republican institution that protected citizens’ liberty, Morton viewed it as part of an aristocratic conspiracy that threatened citizens’ liberty.²⁴

Morton would have found the penitentiary’s intake ceremony familiar. Guards interviewed him and a clerk recorded his history and a description of his body into the inmate register. According to the register, Morton was born approximately forty-nine years earlier in South Carolina. Although he claimed to have once worked as a locksmith, his tattoos—an anchor on his right arm and a crucifix on his left—suggested that he once worked as

²³ Ibid; Peter Brooks, “The Idea of a Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism,” *Critical Inquiry* 13 (1987): 341.

²⁴ George W. Smith, *A View and Description of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1830), 1; Morton, Writings.

a sailor. The crucifix may have served as a testament to his own sense of persecution and unjust suffering. The tattoos were visible reminders of his stormy life, past and present. A local newspaper claimed that this was his fourth incarceration, but Morton stated in his diary that this was his third time in prison, although his first time at Eastern State. The clerk recorded that Morton was literate, a "Moderate Drinker," and married. The clerk assigned Morton a new identity for the next seven years: prisoner 2073.²⁵

The penitentiary's 1846 intake statistics put Morton into context. The institution had confined 2,176 men and women since it opened in 1829. Unlike Morton, most prisoners were single men in their twenties. More than half of the men and women sentenced to the penitentiary were under the age of thirty. Nearly 60 percent of male inmates were unmarried at the time of their convictions. Almost 48 percent of inmates were born in Pennsylvania. Only eight prisoners, including Morton, were born in South Carolina. Many prisoners were incarcerated for property crimes. Forgery, however, accounted for only 4 percent of total convictions. Larceny was the most common crime, responsible for 51 percent of all sentences. Judges sentenced black men to the penitentiary at a higher rate relative to their population in the state than white men; but white men comprised nearly 65 percent of all felons sentenced to the penitentiary. Approximately 62 percent of convicts allegedly "Drank to Intoxication." Officials classified 22 percent of prisoners, including Morton, as "Moderate Drinkers." As far as officials could tell, based upon the testimony of prisoners alone, nearly 72 percent of inmates were serving their first sentence at the Eastern State Penitentiary, or at any penitentiary for that matter. Men such as Morton, who claimed to have been imprisoned twice previously but at Eastern State for the first time, comprised less than 1 percent of the total prisoners sentenced. About half of all prisoners could read and write, but significantly, 23 percent could read only and 26 percent could neither read nor write. Although these statistics indicate Morton's uniqueness, they also suggest that Eastern State's convicts resembled the convicts he encountered while confined previously at Walnut Street and Sing Sing.²⁶

²⁵ Descriptive Registers, 1829–1903, ser. 15.57, microfilm roll 400, Records of the Department of Justice, RG-15, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA; Simon P. Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2003), 119; *Pennsylvania Inquirer and National Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1846; Janofsky, "There is no hope for the likes of me," 244.

²⁶ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1847), 41–45.

If Morton's experience was typical, after guards interviewed him, the clerk recorded his information into the inmate register, and the penitentiary physician evaluated his physical and mental health, Morton changed into the winter convict uniform of a "coarse woollen" shirt and trousers. In the summer, he would receive a "coarse linen" outfit. Guards then blindfolded him by placing a hood over his head. The penitentiary's first warden, Samuel R. Wood, believed that the hood had a "subduing effect" on prisoners. Although officials described the hood as a security measure, Morton probably found it terrifying. It prevented him from seeing other convicts, guards, the interior of the penitentiary, and from knowing exactly where his cell was located. It taught him, as guards guided him to his cell, that he was dependent entirely upon penitentiary officials and, in British novelist Charles Dickens's words, was fundamentally "alone in the world" for the next seven years. Dickens, who visited the Eastern State Penitentiary in 1842, described solitary confinement as being "buried alive; to be dug out in the slow round of years; and in the mean time dead to everything but torturing anxieties and horrible despair." Morton concurred; "there is a Sting in grave-like Solitary confinement which pierces with the most venomous thrust," he wrote.²⁷

Once alone in his cell, Morton surely began to explore his surroundings. He would first notice the size of his twelve-by-eighteen-foot cell with walls eighteen inches thick. It was much larger than the cell he inhabited at Sing Sing. Eastern State's cells were larger than the ones at antebellum New York's penitentiaries because inmates labored inside them instead of inside workshops. From one of the cell walls hung a "simple bed" that Morton could stow during the day to provide more space to work at his assigned task. At a time when few American buildings had indoor plumbing, Morton's cell contained a sink and toilet. At the center of the cell's ten-foot barreled ceiling was an eight-inch convex window called a "dead eye." Penitentiary architect John Haviland claimed that the dead eye "would be found to give ample light to the cells." Morton complained that it allowed only a few rays of sunlight to penetrate his "damp and cheerless" cell. Attached to the rear of the cell, Morton had his own exercise yard enclosed by a wall ten feet high. The cell had double doors, the outer of

²⁷ Warden's Daily Journals, 1829–1961, Oct. 5, 1835, ser. 15.50, microfilm roll 7016, Records of the Department of Justice; Smith, *View and Description of the Eastern Penitentiary*, 7; Dumm, *Democracy and Punishment*, 111; Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842; New York, 1985), 148; Morton, Writings.

oak and the inner of grated steel, which connected it to the block's hallway. Along the wall that adjoined the hallway, Morton would receive his meals through a six-by-sixteen-inch slot. When opened by a guard, Haviland explained, the slot "closes the aperture behind, and consequently prevents the prisoner seeing the superintendent, or receiving anything but what is intended for him." Although Morton could not see penitentiary officials without their permission, they could peep into his cell through "a hollow cone of cast iron" whenever they wished to "command a view of the cell unobserved by the prisoner."²⁸

Morton may not have seen another inmate while incarcerated at Eastern State. Isolation formed the foundation of the penitentiary's regimen, which contemporaries called the Pennsylvania, or Separate, System. Instead of asking guards to enforce isolation through the crack of the whip as at Sing Sing, Eastern State's officials hoped that the penitentiary's architecture would do the trick. Officials believed that solitary confinement would "break down" a prisoner's "obdurate spirit," allowing "the principles of this Institution" to "operate" on his "broken spirit and contrite heart." Officials asserted that the penitentiary's principles were ultimately benevolent and instructive. They taught a convict to acknowledge past errors and atone for them while making him susceptible to "religious reflection" and "industrious occupation" that not only "comfort and support his mental powers," but also prepared him for a law-abiding life after prison. The alchemy of religion and labor would "divest his solitary cell of all its horrors and his punishment of much of its severity." Officials argued that the experience of solitary confinement would allow an inmate to "acquire a new character" and metamorphose into a man who "may earn his livelihood by honest industry."²⁹

Morton's perspective on solitary confinement differed from prison officials. He agreed that solitary confinement had transformative effects. He interpreted this transformation negatively. "In the gloomy Solitude, of a sullen Cell," he maintained, "there is not one . . . redeeming principle—The mind labors under despondency, and the imagination being left entirely to its own workings increases the horrors, which thoughts under

²⁸ John Haviland, *A Description of Haviland's Design for the New Penitentiary, Now Erecting Near Philadelphia: Accompanied with a Bird's-Eye View* (Philadelphia, 1824), 4–6; Morton, Writings; Dickens, *American Notes*, 148.

²⁹ *First and Second Annual Reports of the Inspectors of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1831), 10.

such circumstances must unavoidably inspire.” He claimed that officials misinterpreted the negative psychological effects of solitary confinement as the “compunctious visitings of a guilty mind.” From Morton’s perspective, the principles of solitary confinement did not lead toward reformation. Solitary confinement debilitated him by pushing him to the brink of “insanity.”³⁰

To relieve the pain of isolation, Morton may have spent considerable time reading inside his cell. The contents of his diary suggest that he read a wide range of books. In addition to his own plight, Morton chronicled the history of the Christian church from Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden to Martin Luther in the age of the Protestant Reformation. Although it is not possible to determine his reading habits with precision, he would have had a significant number of texts at his disposal. In 1855, two years after his release, officials boasted that the penitentiary’s library contained “about 2000 volumes of English and German books,” primarily religious, historical, biographical, educational, and moral texts. Some convicts used these books for more than reading; they wrote notes to one another in the pages of the texts that they acquired. Penitentiary moral instructor Thomas Larcombe and teacher George Veff reported that “many of the books have been so much defaced, that they have been compelled to go over each book, and examine every page, carefully so as to detect any injury done to them in the future.”³¹

It is possible that Morton wrote notes to other inmates in the pages of the books that he acquired from the penitentiary’s library. He may have also communicated with prisoners in neighboring cells. Prisoners talked through water and sewer pipes by tapping codes. They attempted to chisel through cell walls in hope of seeing and communicating with neighboring inmates. Some prisoners climbed the walls of their exercise yards to speak with other convicts. Although it is not possible to determine if Morton engaged in these activities, he claimed to have had some knowledge of other prisoners’ activities. In a section of his diary addressed to penitentiary physician David W. Lassiter, Morton asserted, “In a solitary cell, some chew tobacco—some smoke—some eat opium—all of which either stimulates or stupefies! And perhaps both!” Other inmates “sing—some whistle,

³⁰ Morton, Writings.

³¹ “Report, Moral Instructor & Teacher,” Jan. 31, 1855, box 2, folder 1, ser. 15.50, Records of the Department of Justice.

some dance, all of which do but derange more or less the health and vigour of the mind because they are performed and not produced by natural inclination." Still other convicts "sink under grief, and sit sullen, mute, and dumb. All of these I deprecate." After stating the actual or imagined actions of other prisoners, Morton shared his survival strategy: "I do as all others, who do the best they can—Noe more than this, Angels can."³²

Reading and writing seemed to have been major components of Morton's survival strategy. His writing on the history of Christianity and its decay at the hands of popery helped him to contextualize and interpret his suffering. Morton alleged that Catholicism was "the greatest scourge to the human family, that ever disgraced the world." In his mind, the Roman Catholic Church, with the creation of the papacy, had strayed from "the true Roman Church." He identified with religious reformers who faced persecution for challenging the church and its teachings. He praised Peter Waldo, whom he called "Peter Waldus," for being "the most zealous successful reformer of the age." The medieval church persecuted Waldo and his followers, the Waldensians, as heretics. Morton admired the Waldensians' courage in the pursuit of religious truth and freedom of thought despite "the most furious persecutions, or the murders committed on them." Although persecuted in their own age, many of the Waldensians' "doctrines," he wrote, were later "adopted" by Protestants. He praised the Waldensians specifically because "they rejected all the Penitentiaries, and their absurd prescriptions."³³

Morton even connected the creation of solitary confinement with the Inquisition. "Papal despotic power," he argued, had created the "Solitary System." The Inquisition was "the mother Institution of the Solitary Prison and from which that of Pennsylvania is a verbatim copy." He thought it "strange" that Pennsylvanians, and more particularly Quakers, had "follow[ed] the dictates of the agents of popery, and [lent] themselves to the wiles of Jesuitry in thus building prisons and establishing other Pontifical Institutions." He portrayed the penitentiary's supporters as deluded dupes

³²There are numerous examples of prisoners attempting to communicate with one another. See, for example, Warden's Daily Journal, Feb. 2, 1834, Aug. 6, 1834, Jan. 27, 1835, May 14, 1837, Jan. 5, 1840, Apr. 12, 1841, Oct. 9, 1852, microfilm roll 1, ser. 15.50, Records of the Department of Justice. See also Reports, Overseers, 1829–1853, Apr. 7, 1838, box 1, and Reports, Board of Inspectors, 1843–1848, box 2, ser. 15.50, Records of the Department of Justice; and William Parker Foulke Papers, ca. 1840–1865, Jan. 18, 1846, box 7, folder titled "notebooks concerning prisons & prisoners," American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA; Morton, Writings.

³³Morton, Writings.

who were ignorant of the history of solitary confinement, its connection with the Inquisition, and the myriad evils it produced. "Is it not time for the Quakers to open their eyes?" Speaking on behalf of the penitentiary that confined him, he wrote sarcastically, "I am at best the Ghost of the Inquisition—the Bastille of France—and the Austrian dungeons combined—lit up—Newfangled and dubbed Penitentiary." In a section of the diary addressed to penitentiary moral instructor Thomas Larcombe, Morton wrote simply, "the cornerstone of this Prison was laid by the Pope of Rome, in proxy, and its religious instruction has been subservient to the designs of his papal holiness."³⁴

Although Morton's depiction of the Eastern State Penitentiary as the product of a Jesuitical conspiracy or a pontifical plot was unique, he was not the only Philadelphian who expressed anti-Catholic sentiments at the time. With increasing numbers of Catholic immigrants arriving in the antebellum United States, it did not take long for allegations of transatlantic Catholic conspiracies to circulate. In the 1830s, three of the most popular books published in the United States were nativist, anti-Catholic texts: Lyman Beecher's *A Plea for the West* (1835), Samuel F. B. Morse's *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (1835), and Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (1836). In May and July 1844, nativist, anti-Catholic violence ripped through Philadelphia's Kensington and Southwark districts, which Morton mentioned in passing, comparing it with the 1820 uprising at the Walnut Street Prison. In the summer of 1849, nativist and Irish fire companies battled one another in Moyamensing. In 1854, the year after Morton's release, nativist candidate Robert T. Conrad defeated Richard Vaux to become the mayor of Philadelphia. Vaux was a prominent lawyer, freemason, and politician who served on the Eastern State Penitentiary's Board of Inspectors.³⁵

Just as Morton saw the destruction of the Walnut Street Prison, his conviction, and the construction of the Eastern State Penitentiary as products of conspiracies, he believed that a conspiracy threatened the United States. The conspiracy contained "four pillars" of "aristocracy": the Bank of the United States, public and Sunday schools, the abolition of slavery, and solitary confinement. As numerous historians have noted, conspiracy

³⁴ Morton, Writings.

³⁵ Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, Nov. 1964, 80–81; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 150–56; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York, 1992), 52–55.

theories circulated widely throughout the Anglo-American Atlantic world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Conspiratorial analysis helped some Americans to comprehend abstract social, cultural, economic, and political forces that reshaped and transformed the antebellum United States. Instead of thinking of conspiracy theories as "ideology" or denigrating them as a "paranoid style" of mind, literary historian Ed White suggests that they provide "a model of structural analysis from within that assesses and creatively directs innovations within ensembles, always attuned to the ways in which developing early citizens and noncitizens sensed the shakiness or restrictiveness, or potentialities of emergent social structures." In other words, "the conspiratorial project maps structures in order to determine the flow and texture of culture." In the case of Morton, a convicted and incarcerated felon who surely hatched his own conspiratorial plots when attempting forgeries, conspiracy theories illuminated his interpretation of his confinement and his explanations of social, cultural, economic, and political changes that occurred in the antebellum United States.³⁶

Morton claimed that agents of aristocracy established both the first and second United States banks. He repeated the familiar arguments of opponents of the First Bank of the United States: that it "was designed, to sap the foundations of all other Banks, and bring all money'd Institutions within the grasp of Aristocracy!" As historian Gordon S. Wood notes, Pennsylvania "Senator William Maclay regarded the Bank as 'an Aristocratic engine' that could easily become 'a Machine for the Mischievous purposes of bad Ministers.'" At the time of the bank's charter, many Americans were "anxious about the dangers of monarchy and the kind of aristocratic society that accompanied it." Morton articulated similar concerns about the establishment of the Second Bank of the United States. He asserted that the Second Bank and its investors worked "to entangle us with, Pope, and Crowned heads, by the influence of Foreign Capitalists, as to give them a strong hold upon our Institutions. Religious—Moral, and Political, and eventually to sap the foundation of our constitution and overturn our Government." Morton's tirade echoed Andrew Jackson's arguments in his veto of the renewal of the bank's char-

³⁶ Morton, Writings; Ed White, "The Value of Conspiracy Theory," *American Literary History* 14 (2002): 26, 22. For an overview of historians' engagement with conspiracy theories, see White, "Value of Conspiracy Theory," 2–7.

ter in 1832. “Thanks to the Second greatest man that ever lived in our country (Andrew Jackson), it fell,” wrote Morton, “and none too soon.”³⁷

Morton identified public and Sunday schools as the second pillar of the aristocratic conspiracy. Although he claimed that “Public Schools” were once “excellent Institution[s],” they had “been made subservient to the designs of the enemies of freedom.” He offered little evidence to substantiate his allegation. Promoted by voluntary associations and Whig educational reformers such as Horace Mann, common schools flourished throughout the antebellum North. According to historian Daniel Walker Howe, “the ideology of the American common schools included patriotic virtue, responsible character, and democratic participation, all to be developed through intellectual discipline and the nurture of the moral qualities.” The curriculum of most common schools also included “common religious instruction” rooted in Protestant beliefs. Many members of the Catholic minority in cities such as New York and Philadelphia objected to Bible reading and religious instruction in public common schools, leading them to create their own schools. Perhaps it was to these new schools or proposed changes in curriculum that Morton referred implicitly when he feared that education might soon transform liberty in the eyes of American pupils: “put a crown upon her head. A Truncheon in her hand—A Tiara on her Clergy—and chains upon her people.”³⁸

According to Morton, another pillar of the aristocratic conspiracy was “the (humbug) Abolition of Slavery.” Despite admitting that the “Abolition of Slavery is indeed a humane and laudable Institution,” he argued that it had been “perverted, and brought into play against the common interest—peace and dignity of our country.” Therefore, “it deserves the contempt of each and every friend, of our country and should be spurned, as a monster who would give freedom to the negroes, in order to enslave the whites! And in the end, again enslave both.” Morton’s fears of conspiracy surrounding slavery were not exceptional. Abolitionists warned of a southern conspiracy to extend slavery to the West. Slaveholders feared an abolitionist conspiracy to destroy slavery and incite slave rebellions. It is probably fair to argue that abolitionists, enslaved people, and slaveholders engaged in conspiratorial actions to promote their own interests.³⁹

³⁷ Morton, Writings; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York, 2009), 144, 146; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York, 2007), 379–82.

³⁸ Morton, Writings; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 453–55.

³⁹ Morton, Writings; White, “Value of Conspiracy Theory,” 8–9.

There are a few explanations for Morton's thoughts on abolition. Morton's identity as a white man from South Carolina might suggest why he believed that abolition threatened the liberty of white men. Likewise, his denigrating description of Harry Powell suggested his anger when a black man stepped out of his perceived social place. While imprisoned at Walnut Street and Sing Sing, Morton encountered many men from the working class. These men may have shared their concerns of being reduced to "wage slavery" or "white slavery." Working-class men often articulated a "desire *not* to be considered anything like an African-American." As historian David R. Roediger observes, "the very structure of the argument against white slavery typically carried proslavery implications." Like many southerners, Morton believed that abolitionist "fire brands" aimed to foment "unlawful" slave rebellions. Morton's fears of transatlantic conspiracies may have led him to agree with the arguments of men such as James Kirke Paulding, who suggested that abolitionists were "not only stimulated by foreign influence, but by foreign money." Morton believed, again like many southern slaveholders, that abolitionism threatened the "rights—property and life of honest respectable Citizens of the South." In Morton's view, then, abolition was "not only treason against the Constitution—and Robbery according to the laws of the United States, but it is also Murder."⁴⁰

Morton believed that individual slaveholders should decide whether to emancipate their human property. He argued that if abolitionists had not been so bold and forthcoming in their challenges to enslavement, "the melioration of the Slave's condition would follow, through the kindly feeling of the master, and in proportion as the Spirit of Philanthropy increased, so would the emancipation of Slaves." Morton favored states' rights; "Give to Southern States their rights—their whole rights—and no more than their rights," he wrote. He suggested admitting all future states into the nation as slave states and endorsed popular sovereignty. "Leave the question entirely to the Legislature of such state to admit or prohibit Slavery within its bounds," he argued, "as other States have done, this is no more than fair, however much slavery is to be abhorred, and deprecated." He thought that his plan would stop the "bickering contention" and conflict over slavery's expansion and future, which he claimed was ultimately the result of

⁴⁰ Morton, *Writings*; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 68, 76; James Kirke Paulding, *Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1836), 135.

a Jesuitical conspiracy that aimed “to split the union—beat out the Stars, and die the Stripes in blood.”⁴¹

Lastly, Morton identified “Solitary Prisons, and their appendages,” such as jails and houses of refuge, as another pillar of aristocracy. He claimed that penitentiaries were “designed to perform the same part, in the school of tyranny and subjection of liberty; that the Inquisition, and Bastille and Austrian dungeons did in their respective spheres of operation.” Unlike schools and abolition, “this pillar has not one redeeming trait, it is intrinsically bad.” Morton asserted that “Solitary Prisons” inflicted “ruinous effects upon the body—mind, and Soul of [their] victims.”⁴²

Who better to know the despotic tendencies of antebellum penitentiaries than a prisoner? Incarceration regimens isolated the many—inmates—to allow the few—guards—to rule tyrannically. Penitentiary regimens stripped inmates of their individuality by dressing them all in the same uniform, by serving them all the same food, and by assigning them numbers for names. According to Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, who toured US prisons during the early 1830s, “all the convicts of a prison are treated in the same way. There is even more equality in the prison than in society.” Morton would have agreed with Tocqueville and Beaumont’s assessment that the “penitentiary system in America is severe” and “offer[s] the spectacle of the most complete despotism.” He had experienced multiple versions of the penitentiary authoritarianism that the Frenchmen observed. No wonder he feared that if the agents of aristocracy prevailed, the same regimens that he endured inside antebellum penitentiaries would spread beyond their walls to “sap the foundation and overturn the Government of the United States, and bury beneath its ruins Liberty from the face of the Earth.”⁴³

Morton’s experiences at Eastern State Penitentiary led him to reflect, but not to repent. His reflections helped him to identify nefarious conspiracies: the destruction of Walnut Street Prison, his own conviction, the creation of Eastern State Penitentiary, and aristocracy’s threat to Americans’

⁴¹ Morton, Writings.

⁴² Morton, Writings.

⁴³ Beaumont and Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System*, 66, 79. For analyses of the links that Tocqueville made between the antebellum penitentiary and despotism, see Roger Boesche, “The Prison: Tocqueville’s Model for Despotism,” *Western Political Quarterly* 33 (1980): 550–63; and Richard Avramenko and Robert Gingerich, “Democratic Dystopia: Tocqueville and the American Penitentiary System,” *Polity* 46 (2014): 56–80.

liberties. Explaining and analyzing conspiracies allowed Morton to think that he could control events beyond his control. After all, during his seven years of solitary confinement, he controlled practically nothing about his existence, except the thoughts that he preserved in the pages of his diary.

His reliance on conspiracy theories to interpret his experiences could have been a consequence of long-term solitary confinement at Eastern State Penitentiary. Psychologists have documented numerous negative psychological consequences of solitary confinement. Individuals held in long-term isolation suffer from loss of appetite, sleep disturbances, anxiety, panic, rage, paranoia, hallucinations, and self-mutilation. They experience aggression, hopelessness, loss of control, and suicidal behavior. Psychologist Craig Haney asserts that "many of the negative effects of solitary confinement are analogous to the acute reflections suffered by torture and trauma victims, including post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD and the kind of psychiatric sequelae that plague victims of what are called 'deprivation and constraint' torture techniques." A cursory glance at the warden's daily journals and penitentiary physicians' notebooks indicate that Eastern State's inmates exhibited the symptoms that Haney describes.⁴⁴

Morton struggled just as the prisoners Haney analyzes did. He described experiencing "the Spell of sullen Solitude, whose grave-like gloom throws over the senses, a Sable pall, and conjures up to the imagination, sights, and sound whose monotonous chain requires no common share of fortitude and strength of mind to break." He observed "that the Sullen chain of monotony can be broken only at intervals, which when compared with that monotony, are but as flashes of light, amidst perpetual dreary darkness. I think! and think! and think again—But thought, and thought, and thoughts are vain! If there be a Spot on the face of the Earth where thinking is greater waste of thought, than in this prison, then I confess, that spot is unknown to me." Struggling against the psychological effects of solitary confinement and nursing feelings of hopelessness had "shattered" his "nervous system" and created a "nerveless state of mind." This was, he believed, the penitentiary's and its officials' aim. Morton thought that the penitentiary aimed to annihilate, not to reform, inmates.

⁴⁴ Craig Haney, "Mental Health Issues in Long-Term Solitary and 'Supermax' Confinement," *Crime & Delinquency* 49 (2003): 130–32. See also Stuart Grassian, "Psychiatric Effects of Solitary Confinement," *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 22 (2006): 325–83; and Grassian, "Neuropsychiatric Effects of Solitary Confinement," in *The Trauma of Psychological Torture*, ed. Almerindo E. Ojeda (Westport, CT, 2008), 113–26.

Its officials, he argued, desired to brainwash its prisoners, to instill in them: "It is our wish—our aim, and end, that you think only as we think."⁴⁵

Morton became angrier as his release date inched closer. He mocked members of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons as hypocrites. "There is much said about Philanthropy—about Religion—about Morality—about kindness—Sympathy—humanity toward dumb brutes—and Prisoners," he wrote, "but talk is one thing and practice quite another." He castigated the Eastern State Penitentiary: "Your base is untenable!—Your whole is incompatible.—Your operation in the retrograde—Your production is more evil than good." "Where," he wondered, "could the Shafts of vengeance be thrust into the heart—and Soul of man, with greater venom than here?"⁴⁶

Morton's increasing anger and frustration may have been signs of what Haney calls "prisonization." Haney defines prisonization as "the shorthand expression of the negative psychological effects of imprisonment. . . . the process of prisonization involves the incorporation of the norms of prison life into one's habits of thinking, feeling, and acting."⁴⁷ After seven years of isolation, Morton depended upon the institutional structure and its officials for making his choices, supplying his food, and organizing his daily routine. Seven years of solitary confinement increased Morton's suspicion and distrust of others. To survive, Morton had to curtail and control his emotions. These experiences decreased Morton's sense of self-worth and self-esteem. He likely departed Eastern State Penitentiary with psychological problems such as PTSD that made the transition from incarceration to freedom challenging.

No wonder Morton viewed his pending release with apprehension. He feared that he would be "turned out far behind the age, a mark of the wicked rabble and scoffers of the world to gaze on." He worried that his poor health and "feeble condition render[ed him] unfit for the necessary qualification of shifting for [him]self." He feared that liberty would be short lived for an ex-convict like him who would "be in some measure

⁴⁵ Morton, Writings. For an analysis of solitary confinement and behavior modification regimens in twentieth-century US penitentiaries, see Lisa Guenther, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives* (Minneapolis, MN, 2013), 65–99.

⁴⁶ Morton, Writings.

⁴⁷ Craig Haney, "The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment" (paper presented at the From Prison to Home: The Effect of Incarceration on Children, Families, and Communities conference, organized by the US Department of Health and Human Services, Jan. 31, 2002), accessed July 7, 2014, <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/prison2home02/haney.htm>.

forced into the commission of crime, and sometimes without crime when he is remanded to Prison, where he is pronounced incurrible by those who had riveted the fetters."⁴⁸

Morton's post-incarceration vision came true. After departing the penitentiary on January 31, 1853, he remained in the Philadelphia area. Less than six months later he was charged along with a man named John Brown, who was "well known to the police," for attempting to pass two forged checks at the Burlington Bank in New Jersey, across the Delaware River and about twenty miles northeast of Philadelphia. In October of the same year, Morton, whom the *North American and United States Gazette* called "an old convict," was arrested for "obtaining goods under false pretenses." He apparently obtained fourteen cases of boots and shoes on credit. He allegedly pawned the footwear and attempted to perpetrate the same scheme upon another firm. After these incidents, he fled to the Vermont-Canadian borderlands, which were known as a counterfeiting hotspot, where under the alias of "M. Matthews," an identity he had used previously, he was charged, along with two accomplices, for attempting to pass a forged check at the Rutland Bank. Morton and one of his accomplices, John Gill, alias Samuel Bercroft, attempted to escape to Canada. Although the men crossed the border, they could not outrun the law. In February 1855, a jury again convicted Morton of forgery and a judge again sentenced him to seven years confinement, this time at Vermont's Windsor State Prison, where he died two years later on September 9, 1857.⁴⁹

Morton's incarceration experiences did not push him to repent or reform. Despite his stint at Philadelphia's Walnut Street Prison, he found himself imprisoned at New York's Sing Sing Prison, Pennsylvania's Eastern State Penitentiary, and later Vermont's Windsor State Prison. Even after seven years of solitary confinement at Eastern State, he maintained his innocence. Solitary confinement embittered Morton. He denounced his enemies, the perpetrators of an aristocratic conspiracy, and the penitentiary during his final year of incarceration. He wrote to maintain his identity, understand his predicament, and preserve his sanity. His writings allow historians to see the consequences of incarceration from the perspective of

⁴⁸ Morton, Writings.

⁴⁹ *Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette*, July 15 and Oct. 24, 1853; Mihm, *Nation of Counterfeiters*, 45–48. Entry for James Morton in Description Book One of Windsor State Prison, Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, Montpelier, VT. Thanks to Archivist Mariessa Dobrick for providing scanned pages from the prison's register.

a man who knew them best: a prisoner. From Morton's perspective, and surely from the perspectives of other prisoners, the celebrated penitentiaries of the antebellum United States appeared as despotic institutions. They rarely fulfilled their founders' promises of "reforming" convicted criminals or deterring crime. Indeed, according to Morton, that was not the goal. Penitentiaries were part of a nefarious, aristocratic conspiracy that aimed to destroy the United States. Penitentiaries were signs of a creeping despotism that threatened to extinguish the cherished liberty of all citizens.

The history of Morton, and by extension the histories of prisoners in the antebellum United States, highlight how prisoners shaped life inside penitentiaries, interpreted their confinement, and were affected by incarceration. Although Morton thought about sharing his vision of "an entire new System for reforming not only the Criminal, but the Morals of Society throughout," he did not. He knew that despite the penitentiary's failures, it "had always been offered as its own remedy." He also knew that Americans were reluctant to listen to actual prisoners, particularly those who warned of an aristocratic conspiracy. They preferred the abstract prisoners of their imaginations: silent, obedient, invisible. Consequently, antebellum Americans remained incarcerated by their penitentiaries that "tickle and gratify the few, and cause them to feel a power that they do not really possess."⁵⁰

*College of Saint Benedict
Saint John's University*

JONATHAN NASH

⁵⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 268; Morton, Writings.

Expert Vision: J. Horace McFarland in the Woods

*And then the "Nature" fiend, with high-brow talk
Of "aerial perspective" and of "luminous shadows."
Seeing a photographic masterpiece
In every winding country-road.¹*

WHEN HE LECTURED BEFORE public audiences in the 1910s, American Civic Association (ACA) president J. Horace McFarland liked to talk about a recurring scene from his professional life. In the scene, McFarland sat at his office desk in Harrisburg, drafting memos to fellow City Beautiful reformers, reading legislative reports concerning scenic preservation, and meeting with his many visitors. All the while, his eyes flitted to the photographs on his office walls, images of wild scenery that he had taken on trips into the mountains of northern Pennsylvania. The noise and motion of the city dropped away when he looked at the trees, streams, and distant ridges. The sudden stillness of the office and the crispness of the photos carried him out of the capital and into the wild. No, he could not make the trip just yet. He was needed in the city, and so the woods must wait.

This compromise became a defining vision for McFarland in the first three decades of the twentieth century, despite the fact that he was hardly a prisoner in Harrisburg. He enjoyed the company of an active circle of friends and colleagues. He found places of great natural beauty in the city's parks, in the renovated riverfront, and in his own garden filled with roses

The author thanks Tamara Gaskell and the anonymous readers for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* who helped focus the article; colleagues who commented on an earlier draft at the Pennsylvania Historical Association conference in October 2013; and Cymone Fourshey, David Imhoof, Lisong Liu, Linda McMillin, María Muñoz, and Karol Weaver for their helpful critiques.

¹ Michael Gross, "The Seven Stages of a Photo-Fan," *Photo-Era: The American Journal of Photography* 43 (1919): 312.

and peonies. Yet it served his interests to present himself as biding his time while gazing at framed mountain scenes. The idea of an urban professional pursuing his life's work, while constantly hemmed in by the white-collar world, was central to his script. Yes, he found ways to break out. As he reminded those assembled at a forestry conference in 1929, state highways allowed him to work in the morning, eat lunch at home, and still savor the "solemn shade" of the wild before dinner. Likewise, when he relocated for weeks of leisure in the mountain resort of Eagles Mere, in Sullivan County, McFarland knew that he could return quickly to Harrisburg if need be. Sequestering oneself in the mountains was a delight, yet a man like McFarland could not simply abandon professional duties. He encouraged businessmen to take their families, noting that patriarchs could work in New York or Philadelphia in the week and steal away on the weekend. He needed the city, he loved the city, and yet he spoke often about fleeing from it.²

McFarland's rhetorical sleight-of-hand was part of his effort over several decades to convince others that he had the credentials to guide them in thinking about nature. Although he became quite well known during this period, he was a rather unremarkable scenery advocate. His pronouncements on preservation and aesthetics echoed the insights of contemporaries who wrote for the popular press or coordinated their energies through local clubs. His boosterism was on par with that of a slew of individuals who promoted various resort destinations and getaway spots. He was an exemplary elite man of his era, right down to his disdain for hot dog stands. In terms of his public life, McFarland's defining characteristic was his drive to be a tastemaker and someone recognized as in the know. McFarland's career is a case study in the invention of expertise—an expertise wielded in the name of reserving places like Eagles Mere for aesthetic uses. The back-and-forth between the mountains and the city was the heart of his outdoor knowledge. For an audience of city and town residents linked by the era's religious, civic, and commercial institutions, McFarland offered a vision of nature that was always mediated by technologies of perspective and access. To him, cars were a functional way to reach the mountains and the platforms from which city dwellers made the transition into

²J. Horace McFarland (hereafter JHM), "Bringing the Folks to the Forest," Feb. 1, 1929, New England Forestry Congress, J. Horace McFarland Papers, MG 85, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA (hereafter McFarland Papers); JHM, "Eagles Mere This Summer," ca. 1910, McFarland Papers.

wild settings. Cameras were both a useful means of recording scenes for later recollection and devices to train aesthetic experiences. Through these technologies he translated the mountain woods for an urban, middle-class audience.

Historians have studied turn-of-the-century outdoor promotion closely, and they have generally concluded that the elitism endemic to these efforts mark the preservation and conservation movements as two more examples of the Progressive quest for control over the world. Comfortable city dwellers felt authenticity slipping from their lives, so they reached out to undeveloped hinterlands or distant forests to capture a sense of purpose. This process, scholars stress, created a strict dichotomy between the natural and the unnatural. It has been almost two decades since William Cronon pointed out the harm of this lingering valorization of distant, human-free wilderness at the expense of the everyday coupling of people and their environments. Expending time and effort to save the pristine mountain peak with its virgin forest runs the risk of neglecting the urbanized and commercialized, yet still natural, worlds in which many environmentalists live. There is wildness all around us, Cronon cautioned, “if we only have eyes to see it.”³

McFarland's example suggests that the creation of a wilderness aesthetic was not just a power play used to control mountain forests but also a strategic move within the handful of professions that collided to form environmental advocacy campaigns. He was a public relations strategist before such a position formally existed. In their study of PR efforts in the decades before the organized profession emerged, Margot Lamme and Karen Russell found that social reformers, religious leaders, and government officials all used the techniques that would eventually become the bedrock of corporate PR departments. Across time and place, note Lamme and Russell, the motivation behind such work was either to make money, to recruit members, to establish legitimacy, to rally voters or consumers against something, or to advocate *for* something. Much of the history of environmental reform in the United States has understood advocacy as the prime motivation for outreach, while paying little attention to Lamme

³ William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York, 1996), 86. Among the many studies that portray the urban elite's role in wilderness protection and promotion are David Stradling, *Making Mountains: New York City and the Catskills* (Seattle, WA, 2007); Kevin T. Dann, *Across the Great Border Fault: The Naturalist Myth in America* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2000); and Daniel S. Pierce, *The Great Smokies: From Natural Habitat to National Park* (Knoxville, TN, 2000).

and Russell's third function: PR's effect of vouching for the expertise of those involved. McFarland was often an overt activist, but even when he was not endorsing a specific policy or appropriation, he relied on others adopting his way of seeing. His authority was not a given, especially within the specialist circles of botany, photography, and forestry—he had to earn it slowly, adapting his experience in the publishing and promotion trade to the business of telling others how to experience the outdoors.⁴

My focus on the means of McFarland's authority complements the history of the environmental movement. Since Cronon's call for a more explicit recognition of the politics of wilderness, historians have attempted to show evidence of both the wild in the city and the city in the wild. Some have called for recognition of a continuum of outdoor promotion and reform movements, in which nature and culture were always present but in varying degrees. Examining McFarland's cultivation of expertise can help us see the hybridity at play in the outdoor promotion work that occupied much of his professional life between 1900 and 1925. If he was a star of the cultural elite, he was a nervous star; he did not assume that he had an automatic audience willing to listen. Instead, he relied on a type of expertise that stressed practical experience in the woods. The self-styling of expertise was certainly a manifestation of cultural elitism, but the techniques with which McFarland tried to secure his expert status are worthy of close attention.⁵

⁴Margot Opdycke Lamme and Karen Miller Russell, "Removing the Spin: Toward a New Theory of Public Relations History," *Journalism and Communication Monographs* 11 (2009): 338–41. See also Lamme's "The 'Public Sentiment Building Society,'" *Journalism History* 29 (2003): 123–32; and Scott Cutlip, *Public Relations History: From the 17th to the 20th Century, the Antecedents* (Hillsdale, NJ, 1995).

⁵Ellen Stroud, *Nature Next Door: Cities and Trees in the American Northeast* (Seattle, WA, 2013), 23. Among the works that focus closely on nature/city hybrids are Shen Hou, *The City Natural: "Garden and Forest" Magazine and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Pittsburgh, 2013); Kelly Enright, *The Maximum of Wilderness: The Jungle in the American Imagination* (Charlottesville, VA, 2012); Kevin C. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America's Conservation Ethic* (Lawrence, KS, 2009); and Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minneapolis, MN, 2006). Paul S. Sutter, in *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle, WA, 2002), 23, contextualizes the 1930s environmental movement within the rise of car ownership and road building after 1910, revealing that scenic beauty lovers built a nostalgic lust for a wildness that seemed to have been "banished" from their lives. Although it was this push for wide-reaching roads that spawned the Depression-era wilderness movement, the experience of the wild beyond the windshield became the epitome of consumer liberation. The first "gasoline carriages" attracted city dwellers who wanted to "fly on outstretched wings" into the countryside. See Christopher Wells, "The Road to the Model T: Culture, Road Conditions, and Innovation at the Dawn of the American Motor Age," *Technology and Culture* 48 (2007): 506, 515.

McFarland legitimized his views of the wild by adapting a series of skills that he first used in the city. First, he applied techniques of spatial reform and beautification to structure experiences for city dwellers who were unaccustomed to the highlands. He took the serious business of landscape (and social) engineering and bent it to the recreation needs of urbanites. Second, he recast his lifelong zeal for automotive and photographic technology, creating a way for amateurs to experience the mediated wild. He seized these tools of leisure to develop a system of contemplating the outdoors. McFarland worked to establish his expertise in both aesthetic appreciation of nature and technical mastery of the newest means of engaging with it. All the while, he staked a claim to these forms of expertise through tales of his excursions on wheels and on foot several hours north of the capital.

The Lobbyist

McFarland was born in the central Pennsylvania town of McAlisterville in 1859. His father, a nursery owner and printer, published what McFarland later called a “belligerent temperance weekly.” The economics of the printing business caught the youth’s attention early, and by the age of twenty he combined his father’s pursuits, becoming a printer “for nurserymen, florists, and seedsmen.” His business, Mt. Pleasant Press, was lucrative enough to fund his passions for travel and photography and incorporate him into the capital’s cross-pollinating civic, commercial, and cultural elite. McFarland studied plants avidly, having joined Pennsylvania’s horticulture society in 1881. He published his first wave of articles on horticulture at the turn of the century, becoming *Outlook* magazine’s plant and tree writer. His contributions to *Outlook* led to the publication of *Getting Acquainted with the Trees* in 1904. In the same year, he began a three-year stint writing the monthly “Beautiful America” column for the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. He was a popularizer in print and a schmoozer in person, meeting as many people as he could. His knowledge of the printing industry led him into both business partnerships that spanned the nation and into regular speaking engagements. He referred to his various publishing interests as “constructors of catalogues and builders of business.” In 1911, he taught students in Harvard Business School’s Technique of Printing course. His glowing endorsements of printing devices and instructional guides appeared often

in the trade press. By the time he was fifty, he had established himself as a reliable authority in multiple facets of life.⁶

McFarland was a major player in a fairly small circle of beauty advocates in central Pennsylvania, and it would have surprised few of his friends and acquaintances that he took a leading role in the Harrisburg beautification campaign that emerged in late 1900. When the political effort made great local strides, McFarland wrote about its victories for a national readership eager to apply his model. His highly visible position in the movement allowed him to climb the swelling ranks of city reformers. To accompany his high standing in the printing industry, he made his second professional name as the president of the ACA, a position that he attained in 1904 and held for the next two decades. His leadership of the ACA marked him as the most visible of what historian William Wilson labeled the “organized, dedicated, and informed laymen” who drove the City Beautiful movement. McFarland was the consummate publicist, speaking before audiences big and small and writing columns in any magazine, journal, or newsletter that would have him. By the time of his death in 1948, he was best known for his campaign to save the scenery of Niagara Falls from industrial development, and for his lifelong promotion of roses.⁷

McFarland’s presidency of the ACA made him a national leader of the aesthetic wing of the conservation movement, steeped in what historian Jon Peterson considered its “genteel aestheticism and its sublime faith in the all-knowing expert.” His emphasis on aesthetics drew criticism from self-described utilitarian conservationists. Yet, when he argued for scenic preservation in the early twentieth century, he did so in ways that were absolutely pragmatic and unquestionably strategic. McFarland embodied what historian Kevin Armitage has called the “multitudinous cultural complexities of the conservation movement.” He worked both the halls of government and the crowds at civic clubs. He used his position in the

⁶ JHM, ed., *Floral Designs* (Harrisburg, PA, 1888); “J. Horace McFarland,” *Inland Printer* 48 (1911): 436; Ernest Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty* (Harrisburg, PA, 1995), 29, 57, 98; Jan Knight, “The Environmentalism of Edward Bok: The *Ladies’ Home Journal*, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, and the Environment, 1901–09,” *Journalism History* 29 (2004): 159; *National Nurseryman* 16 (1908): 185–46; “Harvard’s Course in Printing,” *Inland Printer* 47 (1911): 913 (This article identifies the course as the “Technic of Printing,” though Harvard publications call it the “Technique of Printing”).

⁷ William H. Wilson, “J. Horace McFarland and the City Beautiful Movement,” *Journal of Urban History* 7 (1981): 315. Wilson notes that McFarland delivered his motivational “Crusade Against Ugliness” speech at least 250 times in the decade after the Harrisburg campaign, typically charging fifty or seventy-five dollars per appearance. On the Harrisburg reform community, see Susan Rimby, *Mira Lloyd Dock and the Progressive Era Conservation Movement* (University Park, PA, 2012).

ACA to speak to municipal officials and business groups about conservation on their terms and positioned himself as their ally. When he campaigned against the aesthetic blight of hot dog stands along city streets, he encouraged thoughtful simplicity in the design of the shacks. More appealing stands would not only harmonize with their surroundings but also bring in more customers. Instead of advocating for the abolition of billboards, “a sort of fungus on the body politic,” he pushed for the establishment of dedicated commercial corridors with a lower speed limit. The landscape and the “signscape” could coexist, he reasoned, as long as advertisers realized the damage they did to sales. If they limited their exposure, they would turn more heads and make more money. Everyone would win.⁸

In other words, McFarland was an adept lobbyist, always considering what he wanted to gain in light of what people in power wanted to hear. He was not alone in these talents; the geographer Terence Young observed that when the ACA focused on a given issue, its “well-positioned members, who knew how to effect change, quickly sought out and organized local support.” McFarland told anyone who would listen that if only government officials viewed outdoor scenery as a “productive resource,” the United States might compete with Europe for the “millions of beauty travel.” He likewise targeted middle-class audiences by turning spatial reform into a prescription to save cities and stave off class conflict. His column in the *Ladies' Home Journal* was a frequent source of prodding; he encouraged readers to do everything from cleaning up their backyards and planting flowers to joining local reform clubs. He promoted the “direct economic effect of suggestion and environment” as a way to keep urban mobs in check. If white-collar urbanites refused to bankroll the repair of their cities to deflect crowding and labor conflict, they risked losing their privilege to a class war. “Parks are cheaper than policemen,” he observed, and he saw adding green spaces to cities as a first step in reform. But it would be a first step only. The public was well intentioned, he reasoned, but it needed to be mobilized. His favorite tools were flattery and an overwhelming amount of supportive detail. He applauded Harrisburg's beautification campaign

⁸ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), 194–95; Jon A. Peterson, “The Birth of Organized City Planning in the United States, 1909–1910,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75 (2009): 127; Kevin C. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America's Conservation Ethic* (Lawrence, KS, 2009), 10; JHM, “Why Billboard Advertising as at Present Conducted Is Doomed,” *Chautauquan*, June 1908, 20; JHM, “Bringing the Folks to the Forest”; JHM, “Pennsylvania's Scenic Supremacy,” radio address on WBAK Harrisburg, Nov. 26, 1928, McFarland Papers.

in 1901 and 1902 as a masterful use of local media. When the campaign started, he wrote in the *World's Work*, "each of the three daily papers in the city was supplied with carefully prepared matter to inform the voters, in a cumulative fashion." High school boys carried map- and diagram-laden pamphlets door-to-door twice a week.⁹

McFarland knew that a great many of the people answering those doors or reading his articles were women. He worked closely in the Harrisburg campaign with women such as Mira Lloyd Dock, who had studied botany at the University of Michigan and was a staple of the central Pennsylvania lecture circuit. McFarland presented himself to women as an ally—a wise counselor who knew how the world worked and believed that women had a significant role to play in it. He was a firm supporter of the municipal housekeeping brand of activism on the part of women, and it was through civic clubs, he hoped, that such housekeeping would take root. When experts like McFarland exercised social and political power in the early twentieth century, it was because they exhibited types of experience that were persuasive to the inexperienced (what the historian Peter Dear calls "culturally sanctioned" experience). Experts might stand alone as *the* voices to which others should listen, but their claims to expertise are always formed within a social context and tested among peers who judge their merits and help them build their reputations. For McFarland, the "force of accuracy and the grace of clear statement" convinced others that they were

⁹ Terence Young, "Social Reform through Parks: The American Civic Association's Program for a Better America," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996): 461; JHM, "Shall We Have Ugly Conservation?" *Outlook* 91 (1909): 596; Knight, "Environmentalism of Edward Bok," 159; JHM, "The Wrong Education" (Mar. 1906 draft of "Education in Ugliness"), McFarland Papers; JHM, "Twenty Years of Scenery-Saving in America," *Landscape Architecture* 20 (1930): 306–7; JHM, "Shall We Make a Coal-Pile of Niagara?" *Ladies Home Journal*, Sept. 1905, 19; JHM, "Are National Parks Worth While?" *Proceedings of the National Parks Session of the American Civic Association, Held Wednesday Evening, December 13, 1911, in the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., as Part of Its Seventh Annual Convention* (Washington, DC, 1911), 10; JHM, abstract of an illustrated address on "Crusade Against Ugliness," McFarland Papers; JHM, "The Awakening of a City," *World's Work*, Apr. 1902, 1931. McFarland appealed to politicians by emphasizing the things that would keep them in office. He promoted a national park bureau to President Taft in 1911 by arguing that urban park systems improved "community values" and raised tax revenues along their borders. Taft could win himself influential friends wherever he promoted parks. In 1918 McFarland buttonholed Felix Frankfurter, the head of the War Labor Policies Board, on behalf of the Commission on Living Conditions of War Workers. If Frankfurter wanted to improve workers' "stability" and utility, McFarland urged, then the "amenities of life need[ed] to be considered in connection with the efficiencies of life." If war workers were immersed in pleasant workplaces and housing, they would meet any quotas asked of them. See JHM, "Are National Parks Worth While?" 12; Felix Frankfurter to JHM, Nov. 10, 1918, and JHM to Felix Frankfurter, Oct. 12, 1918, McFarland Papers.

in the presence of an expert. One of the peer groups that mattered most to his status was reform-minded women with organizational clout.¹⁰

His efforts on a local scale convinced McFarland that the public was a force that could be shaped by expert hands. "Public opinion in America is dominant," he wrote in 1908, "and when aroused, restless." The "cumulative" approach adopted in Harrisburg was something that McFarland carried with him; he assumed that his readers were following along. And yet he found a pervasive political disengagement everywhere he looked. He diagnosed it as a problem inherent in a consumer society. McFarland's goal was to mobilize professionals and use them as an "unconscious combination of militant citizens." The historian William Wilson found that McFarland and his fellow sponsors of the Harrisburg clean-up plan were middle-aged, educated, economic elites with a firm sense of class duties. McFarland's politics were elitist; he was committed to preserving a power structure that doled out incentives to the masses. The urban professional class would be the force he used to make his ideas stick, and his rhetorical power over them would build through explorations of places they had never experienced.¹¹

Getting Acquainted

It was within this context that McFarland worked to establish himself as an expert. Both of his audiences—the decision makers and their constituents—might embrace policy proposals that promised tangible benefits and carried the weight of experience. As McFarland noted privately in 1915, he believed that he had the "welfare of the community and the nation at heart." This was a simple way of describing the national goal that the ACA secretary Richard Watrous had announced three years ear-

¹⁰ Rimby, *Mira Lloyd Dock*, 24, 42; Peter Dear, "Mysteries of State, Mysteries of Nature: Authority, Knowledge, and Expertise in the Seventeenth Century," in *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and Social Order*, ed. Shelia Jasanoff (London, 2004), 207; JHM, "Statement in Regard to the Lecture on Color Photography," *Journal of the Engineers Society of Pennsylvania* 1 (1909): 259.

¹¹ JHM, "Why Billboard Advertising as at Present Conducted Is Doomed," 37; JHM, "Militant Citizenship," baccalaureate address to Christian Association of Lebanon Valley College, Annville, PA, June 9, 1907, McFarland Papers; JHM, "The Ignorance of 'Good' Citizens," *Outlook* 82 (1906): 273; Joseph M. Phillippi, "At the Men's Convention in Harrisburg, Pa.," *Religious Telescope*, Nov. 18, 1908, 8; Nico Stehr and Reiner Grundmann, *Experts: The Knowledge and Power of Expertise* (London, 2011), 35; JHM, synopsis of address, "See Pennsylvania First," Engineers' Club of Central Pennsylvania, Apr. 16, 1915, McFarland Papers; JHM, "Shall We Make a Desert of America?" Apr. 1908, McFarland Papers; William H. Wilson, "Harrisburg's Successful City Beautiful Movement, 1900–1915," *Pennsylvania History* 47 (1980): 216–17; Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland*, 70–71.

lier: an “atmosphere that makes for health, happiness, good citizenship, and material prosperity.” McFarland had forged his reputation in the Harrisburg beautification campaign. As he attempted to connect the city and the wild in the public imagination, however, his leisure time beyond the city increased in rhetorical significance. The raw material of those efforts was McFarland’s time on the roads and trails of Pennsylvania’s wild spots. And so his project became the translation of one man’s private enjoyment of the outdoors into a widespread appreciation of nature.¹²

Class and gender privilege were vital to the assumed translatability of his vision; they allowed him to avoid too much scrutiny and to escape the question of why he, of all people, should be heeded. His professional life was launched from business connections within the Harrisburg Board of Trade, and he recognized the concerns of industrialists and other employers. The language he used in print and in person assumed the authoritative tone of a man who dined regularly with powerful men. He was a leisurely motorist, an ambitious photographer, and a studied woods Rambler, a combination that depended on affluence and male privilege. The money bought him access and his choice of paraphernalia. His involvement in enthusiast clubs—fraternities of technical ingenuity and gendered gate-keeping—reinforced the claim that men could distinguish themselves from women by adopting a serious, regimented recreation style. The mysterious aura of legitimacy suggests how the printer from McAlisterville became the president of the American Civic Association. Dear argues that experts rely in part on an “unanalyzable residue of brute credibility” that can be maintained only through a collective willingness not to ask too many questions. Cross-examining experts to find the limits of their experience ends up weakening their overall claim to expertise. McFarland worked himself into positions in which he determined the path and focus for others. He was used to having the last word.¹³

The gravity that he needed to speak to Board of Trade members joined with the conversational, yet omniscient, manner of the advice columnist to produce McFarland’s rhetorical approach. As he understood it, what was “good for America” was a mixture of commercial success and spiri-

¹² JHM to Daniel Beard, Nov. 13, 1915, McFarland Papers; Richard B. Watrous, “Civic Art and Country Life,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 40 (1912): 191. See the related description of McFarland as a “lay advocate” in Julian C. Chambliss, “Perfecting Space: J. Horace McFarland and the American Civic Association,” *Pennsylvania History* 77 (2010): 487.

¹³ Dear, “Mysteries of State, Mysteries of Nature,” 209, 222. For a discussion of expertise as it emerged in the realms of horticulture and landscape architecture, see Hou, *City Natural*, 55–57.

tual sustenance. When he titled his 1904 book *Getting Acquainted with the Trees*, “acquaintance” was an apt description of his goal. Visitors to the outdoors—read as middle-class men and women with enough aesthetic training to grasp his insights—would not develop a dependence on, nor even necessarily a close friendship with, the wilderness, but could get just enough of an experience to want more. A reviewer in St. Louis remarked that McFarland “chatted” his way through the book, and to welcome effect. “In lieu of getting acquainted with the trees themselves,” the reviewer noted, “getting acquainted with Mr. McFarland’s book is fairly pleasant.”¹⁴

Acquaintances came in many forms, but scenic roads and mountain enclaves were the two venues through which McFarland encouraged budding outdoors enthusiasts to become more familiar with nature. First, his plan was to shape the way in which motorists experienced the wild by easing them into it; rural roads that were maintained by the state could feature carefully managed flora to frame the road scenically. As the physical link from the city to the wild, scenic roads prepared urbanites for their experience of the woods. If designed correctly, roads could educate through the power of what he called “sightliness.” McFarland’s ideal was a natural area that looked natural, a place that had experienced human intervention but hid it well. He liked to quote the author and photographer Wallace Nutting, who praised the Pennsylvania countryside as “never wild or terrible,” but consistently pleasant. The steady motion of automobile travel allowed the state’s rolling landscape to reveal itself, and McFarland believed that planned roadside nature was just as vital as the proverbial untouched forest.¹⁵

¹⁴ JHM, “Shall We Have Ugly Conservation?”; Benjamin Johnson, “Wilderness Parks and Their Discontents,” in *American Wilderness: A New History*, ed. Michael Lewis (New York, 2007): 113–14; Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 145; “Review of Recent Publications,” *St. Louis Republic*, Apr. 30, 1904, 8. Cutting down trees and creating scenery were parts of a whole. McFarland claimed that forests had been “provided by the Creator for the resting of tired brains and the healing of ruffled spirits, as well as for utility.” National forests should be cultivated with calculated efficiency, producing marketable timber quickly by following “purely economic” principles. The economics of national parks, on the other hand, related to their effects on the people who visited them; park guests were so invigorated by natural wonders that they returned to their lives with renewed drive and productivity. See JHM, *Getting Acquainted with the Trees* (New York, 1904), v; JHM, synopsis of “See Pennsylvania First”; and JHM, “Shall We Make a Desert of America?” See Thomas R. Dunlap, *Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest* (Seattle, WA, 2004) for a discussion of spiritual traditions in American environmental thought.

¹⁵ JHM, abstract of an illustrated address on “Crusade Against Ugliness”; JHM, “Wrong Education”; JHM, “Pennsylvania’s Scenic Supremacy.”

At his most evangelical, McFarland used the concept of the road as a “well-ordered” museum that could educate the traveler about the worlds beyond the treeline. Outdoor attractions in the eastern highlands were, for him, the “great vistas . . . waterfalls . . . [and] picturesque roads,” all of which made it “worthwhile to go into the woods.” As important pieces of the experience of nature, roads had to meet certain aesthetic standards. He wanted to use state funds to line highways with plant life that “belonged” in the vicinity. In a *Country Calendar* article he criticized road maintenance officials for clearing the “more delicate and beautiful” plants and leaving behind “vigorous but really unpleasant weeds.” The notion of engineering naturalness along highways fit his predilection for a thin layer of human order superimposed on areas that seemed otherwise untouched. He insisted that country roads needed footpaths built next to them as a way for the enlightened, enthusiastic public to travel “between farm and farm, or suburbs and open country, or even from town to town.” His plan was ambitious, to say the least; he predicted that state funding for footpaths would be repaid by mass use, yet he surely knew that the audience for long-distance trails was quite small in the 1920s. The footpaths he imagined would wind their way along the natural contours of the land at a slight remove from the road, offering the walker an experience of the forest without the intrusion of close auto traffic. Such a plan would help offset the “penalty on legs” issued by the automobile boom of the post-World War I era. For a car lover like McFarland, this was a way to find a happy medium.¹⁶

His work on zoning boards encouraged him to apply emerging planning principles to country highways. “Public orderliness” in cities could be applied readily to the sparsely populated areas beyond. Like all other attempts to sculpt the environment in a democracy, McFarland explained to Harrisburg’s Rotary Club, zoning was necessary to allow experts to teach the public what was in their best interest. In order to keep the “pig out of the parlor,” he sought advice from people who were committed to a new era of thoroughfares. In 1920, McFarland consulted Philip Buttrick, a forester at the Michigan Agricultural College. Buttrick, who trained in the Yale Forest School a decade earlier, published an article in *American City* that echoed McFarland’s emphasis on using “enlightened

¹⁶JHM to Allen Chamberlain, Dec. 23, 1914, McFarland Papers; JHM, “Bringing the Folks to the Forest”; JHM, “Shall Our Country Roads Be Beautiful or Ugly?” *Country Calendar*, Aug. 1905, 369; JHM, “What about the Country Highway?” *National Municipal Review* 10 (1921): 221, 225.

public sentiment” to pressure governments into investing in road beautification. Tree-lined ways, Buttrick believed, could transform Americans’ experience of movement through and between cities. McFarland pushed Buttrick to consider how the cosmetic improvement of highways fit into a more ambitious project to reengineer the nation’s transportation system. At a time when car registrations were increasing and the national railroad system had lost whatever effectiveness it once had, McFarland predicted that roads would become the crucial element of American social and commercial life.¹⁷

McFarland’s other medium for outdoor promotion was the place at which he spent the most time when not in Harrisburg: the mountain-top borough of Eagles Mere. The history of the site as a resort began in the 1880s, when the land—a lake surrounded by dense forests—was purchased by a group of bankers and industrialists known as the Eagles Mere Syndicate. They built hotels, a bathing beach, docks, streets, and private cottages around the lake while marketing the site vigorously as a destination. McFarland arrived on the scene in the summer of 1897 and traveled there most summers after that. The Chautauqua movement passed through Eagles Mere at the turn of the century, spurring further growth. The years around 1910 marked the time of greatest change, when the syndicate demolished the structures around the beach and moved them farther into the woods, to make an afternoon near the lake seem like time in deep wilderness. McFarland cited “world-traveled observers” who praised the lake’s border of “unspoiled primeval forest growth.” Eventually, McFarland hoped, the sunbather would see water, trees, and glimpses of a “dainty little tea-house toward the west, and just the tips of the other necessary buildings.” While the rest of the state had devolved into “ugliness and wickedness by the sins of neglect and of greed,” the resort was engineered to recede into the past.¹⁸

¹⁷“Extracts relating to the zoning address to the Harrisburg Rotary Club, Monday, 26 January (1931),” McFarland Papers; JHM to Mira Lloyd Dock, May 28, 1903, McFarland Papers; Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland*, 73; “Dr. J. Horace McFarland,” *Recreation* 42 (1949): 559; JHM to Philip Laurance Buttrick, July 19, 1920, McFarland Papers; Buttrick, “Tree-Planting Plans for Michigan’s Highways,” *American City*, July 1920, 11–12.

¹⁸JHM, *Eagles Mere and the Sullivan Highlands* (Harrisburg, PA, 1944), 17; JHM, “A New Eagles Mere: Some Letters That Might Be Written,” Mar. 24, 1910, McFarland Papers; JHM, “Pennsylvania’s Scenic Supremacy”; JHM, “How Can the Association become a More Vital Factor in the Physical Life of the Community?” Feb. 21, 1908, speech to state YMCA at Connellsville, McFarland Papers; JHM, “A Summer Lake Carnival,” *Suburban Life*, July 1909, 9; JHM, “The Highest Development of the Summer Camp,” *Suburban Life*, July 1908, 20.

He gushed over the three road approaches to his mountain perch, viewing them as a key part of the aesthetic experience of a stay. From the east, travelers enjoyed a trip “reminiscent of Alpine journeys.” From the west, the trip from Williamsport featured the idyllic valley of Muncy Creek and a road surrounded by native flora. The approach from the northwest presented the motorist with mountain views “not excelled anywhere in America.” He gestured toward advertising the resort to the fifteen million people he located within an overnight trip, yet he certainly did not want crowds to ascend to the mountaintop. Eagles Mere was a one-thousand-acre site that comfortably fit several hundred people at the height of the summer season. McFarland knew that a self-selection process would apply; only certain types of people read his articles or attended his talks, and only some of them were likely to visit. Who would appreciate Eagles Mere? People who were “not in love with noise and smoke and roar and racket.” This was elite signaling at its best, conveyed to people who mostly lived in noisy, smoky cities and understood a temporary escape from them as a matter of taste. Whereas the masses had their play-worlds on the coast or in the cities, discerning men and women took to the trees. As McFarland tried his hand at landscape architecture, zoning, botany, and boosterism between 1900 and 1925, he honed a voice to make people listen.¹⁹

Cars and Cameras

McFarland wanted people to mimic the aesthetic choices he made when he went to the woods. His reach for expertise relied upon his audience's faith that he knew what he was doing, especially when it came to operating in the wild. Cars and cameras became crucial to teaching people how to see well outdoors. The machine in the garden did not seem the least bit incongruous to him. He pitched his command of technology as a general command of aesthetic ambience on the roads and in the woods of northern Pennsylvania. Both popular technologies required an attention to detail, which McFarland hinted was also the foundation of a way to appreciate the wild outdoors. His extraordinary focus, he showed, had been trained over a lifetime of travel, and cars and cameras offered tangible proof of his experience.²⁰

¹⁹ JHM, *Eagles Mere and the Sullivan Highlands*, 18; JHM, “Summer Lake Carnival,” 9; JHM, “Eagles Mere This Summer”; JHM, “New Eagles Mere”; JHM, synopsis of “See Pennsylvania First.”

²⁰ On the social authority and “mediator status” derived from stories of travel, see Ninna Nyberg Sørensen and Finn Stepputat, “Narrations of Authority and Mobility,” *Identities* 8 (2001): 313–42.

McFarland was an avid motorist, keeping meticulous records of his operating costs and distances traveled. He represented the first generation of popular motorists, people who learned that driving required technical know-how and statistical precision. He liked to display his auto knowledge, telling a federal official in 1924 that he would save the government 5.3 cents per mile if he took a train to Washington instead of driving. This kind of obsessive attention to detail carried into his presentation of nature. His talks were filled with references to exact mileages and driving directions. He believed that central Pennsylvania's "scenic supremacy" came from its diverse collection of river valleys and mountain ridges. The valleys, gaps, passes, and headlands made the state unique, and it was from cars that most people would experience them. By 1920, as he reached his sixties, he was content to view nature from a distance, with a chauffeur to drive him around the state and a camera next to him. This seems the epitome of the systematized, "motorized recapturing of nature by the city-dweller," yet the logic of the daring man behind the wheel remained. The roads between Harrisburg and Eagles Mere might have been improved by the turn of the century, but there was still enough adventure on those paths to mark the drive to the mountains as a gendered domain of mastery.²¹

McFarland epitomized the male touring photographer who was mythologized by camera manufacturers in the early part of the century. These were the wealthy professionals who worked relentlessly in daily life and then broke away in fits of leisure. Eastman Kodak Company specifically targeted men "who own cars and have money in chunks." The combination of car and camera made both the journeys and the images produced during them the prize of the privileged few. Eastman Kodak's 1910 catalog of portable cameras featured fourteen pictures of people in automobiles, and in all of them, men drove the cars while women, if present, rode as

²¹ JHM to John Gries, Nov. 5, 1924, McFarland Papers; Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland*, 241; JHM, "Pennsylvania's Scenic Supremacy"; Gijs Mom, "Civilized Adventure as a Remedy for Nervous Times: Early Automobility and *Fin-de-siècle* Culture," *History of Technology* 23 (2001): 163. John Urry argues that car culture "coerces people into an intense flexibility." The division of lives into work, domestic, consumer, and recreation spaces, all separated by great distances, forced motorists to manage time and space in new ways. Cars made possible a desire for individual flexibility in travel that soon became fraught with social pressures. Examples of those pressures were the new aesthetic rules that automobility fostered. Mimi Sheller examines the lived experience of car use, particularly the ways in which driving elicits "aesthetic, emotional, and sensory responses." She posits that when it comes to cars, cultural rules about how one should sense the world in motion also become fundamental rules about feeling. John Urry, "The 'System' of Automobility," in *Automobilities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Nigel Thrift, and John Urry (London, 2005), 28; Mimi Sheller, "Automotive Emotions," in *Automobilities*, 222, 226.

passengers. The company used the fantasy of men eternally behind the wheel to encourage purchases. It presumed that men would control the post-trip narration of the photographs as well. Eastman Kodak stressed the parallels between operating a car in the wild and learning the photographic process. In some of the promotional photos, men conferred while fixing a tire or navigated their machines through difficult stream crossings. The catalog's writer opened with the promise of the accelerated sublime, rooted in manly control:

In front of you, a long white ribbon of road. Behind you, a white cloud of dust. On either side, fields, mountains, a river, a valley—the country passing by. Beneath your feet, an engine purring and gurgling, the hum of exhaust droning a low note of comfort. As the throttle creeps forward and the spark slowly advances, the hum rises an octave to the middle register; it sings of the pleasures of swift motion, the joy of the bouncing springs and the exhilaration of the soft air on your face. And then, as the engine picks up, the song skies to the upper register, higher and higher, until as the air meets your face in a wayward rush that beats at the eyes and all but pulls the breath from your body, it becomes a single screaming note.

This portrayal of physical sensation checked by sensible control featured prominently in McFarland's thinking about technology in the outdoors.²²

McFarland believed in the lasting power of scenic mobility. He narrated specific trips along roads that lingered in his mind. In speeches and columns, he tried to convey his memories of special roads, like the “easy mountain road” beside railroad tracks that cut through viburnum “particularly characteristic” of an area. The experience of driving along a road through rhododendrons, pines, and hemlocks that “belonged there” struck him as a profound education. It was a tactile type of learning that made everything *feel* as if it was in its right place. The visual harmony of the moving scene had to be evident to his audience, but relatively few people would have been able to identify indigenous plants. That left experts like McFarland to make judgments on the right and wrong place for particular flora, and he was quick to declare only certain trees and shrubs as “worthwhile.” A kind of drive-through nature study could be had, as the speed afforded by modern cars and roads harmonized with the spectacle of engi-

²² Eastman Kodak Co., *Motoring with a Kodak* (Rochester, NY, 1910), 3, 6. On the sensations of speed and danger in recreation, see Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, CT, 2002).

neered wildness. McFarland trained viewers in seeing more than they ever expected on the way to their destinations.²³

McFarland considered often how natural scenes opened themselves up to viewers. Although he believed in the power of photographs to drive interest in beautiful places, he knew, too, that they could not capture the experience of being *in* a landscape. Popular images of the Alps and the Rockies, for instance, had convinced northeasterners that those mountain ranges defined majestic scenery. Not so fast, McFarland cautioned: “the impression of majestic height relates mostly to the position from which one sees the hills and mountains.” The Alps or Rockies might be high, but travelers who wanted to appreciate them found themselves too embedded in the landscape to perceive that elevation. Pennsylvanian mountains, on the other hand, were situated in ways that placed the majesty of the landscape on an ever-approaching horizon for the motorist. “There are points in Pennsylvania,” he noted, “looking from which the eye may rest upon true Alpine conditions, lacking only in summer the snow-covered summits.” When men pulled over at a wayside to let their passengers enjoy the view, they mimicked the production of scenery that McFarland modeled. Roadside vistas were gifts that cars gave to drivers and that drivers gave to their fellow travelers. Swift motion along narrow roads, too, created sensory experiences that passengers felt as much as saw. Cars, writes one historian of motoring, “gave back the foreground that had been lost by the train.” Even so, cameras could do only so much to capture the experience of trees flying by and the wind in one’s hair.²⁴

The evolution of camera technology at the turn of the century meant that photographers with even meager experience could create more images in conditions that had previously made photography an ordeal. For those photographers who were not professionals, yet were also not rank amateurs, new vistas opened up. Photography was not yet ubiquitous in the early twentieth century; cameras were still expensive, and developing images required a specialist’s skills, or money to pay a specialist. The cameras that emerged around the turn of the century, however, allowed people like McFarland to produce more images with less concern about cost and effort. In his twenties and thirties, McFarland joined the swelling ranks of American amateurs who first gravitated to the smaller cameras with

²³JHM, “Bringing the Folks to the Forest.”

²⁴JHM, “Pennsylvania’s Scenic Supremacy”; Mom, “Civilized Adventure,” 166.

dry gelatin plates of the 1880s and later to the more portable offerings of Eastman Kodak. Writers in *Outing* magazine praised the “beautifully light apparatus” for affording greater access to the outdoors, but they also criticized 90 percent of amateur snapshots as “simply worthless rubbish” because the photographers knew little. McFarland built his photographic know-how slowly to counteract the haste that he saw in too many fellow enthusiasts. His advice marked him as what John Stilgoe might label a “popular” photographer who knew the language of “serious” photographers. He was conversant with many techniques and understood how to use them to build relationships with viewers, but he did not rely on image making for his income or delve deeply into the chemistry of developing negatives. He referred to himself in 1909 as a “camera fiend,” and in the same year, *Hampton's Magazine* listed photography as his leading hobby.²⁵

By the turn of the century, McFarland *thought* through his cameras. He illustrated the view of photography as a “promiscuous way of seeing,” with the mobile technology propelling users to seek out and briefly fixate on sights that they might otherwise ignore. In this mode, journeys become shaped by the obligations introduced by the camera—there are sights that simply must be captured. McFarland pressured himself to deliver scenes to his audience of prospective travelers. His approach to image making echoed the methods of the pioneering landscape photographers of a generation before who had used pictures of western mountains to entice the public and index the outdoors. William Henry Jackson's emphasis on capturing Yellowstone scenes that seemingly “demanded” to be photographed—and his recognition that he was the first person to have captured them in that way—was similar to the motivation that McFarland found along the roads and in the woods.²⁶

McFarland was a devotee of the stereopticon, a projection device used in illustrated lectures. In 1898 he discussed plans to buy a \$250 stereopticon for a Harrisburg Sunday school that would be used for public lectures during the week. Images could educate, he told Mira Lloyd Dock, and his goal was to “keep on increasing the information and intelligence of our people by the use of the lantern.” From that point on, he trained himself to

²⁵ Reese V. Jenkins, *Images and Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839 to 1925* (Baltimore, 1975), 112; “Hand Cameras,” *Outing*, Oct. 1899, 100; John R. Stilgoe, *Landscape and Images* (Charlottesville, VA, 2005), 299; JHM, “Summer Lake Carnival,” 37; “He Helped Save Niagara,” *Hampton's Magazine*, June 1909, 865.

²⁶ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London, 2002), 128; Bob Blair, ed., *William Henry Jackson's “The Pioneer Photographer”* (Santa Fe, NM, 2005), 57, 73, 75.

create lantern slides. His widely traveled lectures from the 1910s and 1920s rotated through hundreds of his Eagles Mere slides alone. The slideshows were meant to test the limits of photography. When natural scenes were the focus of a photographer's work, there was always the threat that they would underwhelm the viewer. In terms of size, color, flatness, and degree of detail, prints struggled against limitations that negated the deep, expansive sensations one felt within a forest. The experience of nature was elusive; many who wrote about the outdoors at that time noted that their sensations were difficult to translate for those not present. The naturalist John Muir faced this when he wrote about the mountains of the American West. He strained to convert the sublimity of his experiences into the beauty that magazine and newspaper readers seemed to want. Camera manufacturers made this difficulty part of their sales strategy and tried to convince consumers that pictures could become their *personal* memories, pleasant to others, perhaps, but never truly shared.²⁷

Slide shows could retrieve some of the outdoor spectacle through enlargement, coloring, and, of course, expert narration. There was an art to these shows, as well as a commercial aspect. Lecture bureaus in cities across the United States rented slides and scripts to consumers who wanted to put up shows for guests in their own homes. An excellent illustrated lecture aimed to transport the audience to the site, a feat that could be hard to accomplish due to the hardware at the venues in which McFarland spoke. *Photo-Era* editors spoke directly to people like McFarland in 1911 when they offered a litany of complaints from the viewpoint of the lecture audience: cracked slides created prism effects, poorly focused stereopticons made viewers squint, slides that were too big jammed in the carriage, unevenly lit screens produced unwanted shadows, and finger prints on slides ruined the illusion of being in a landscape.²⁸

McFarland was encouraged in his presentation efforts by his Eagles Mere neighbor William Simon, a chemist from Baltimore. By the time of his death in 1916, Simon had mastered the technical side of color pho-

²⁷ JHM to Mira Lloyd Dock, Sept. 24, 1898, McFarland Papers; JHM, "See Pennsylvania First"; Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989), 78; Michael P. Cohen, *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness* (Madison, WI, 1986), 241. Eastman Kodak counseled, "You cannot get up any great enthusiasm over the little pictures of mountain scenery—unless you have been in the same place; but let us see you go over your own collection after you have made it and see if you haven't a rhapsody or so to get off about the beauty of some sunset or the magnificence of some view." See Eastman Kodak Co., *Motoring with a Kodak*, 9.

²⁸ C. H. Claudy, "The Lantern at Home," *Photo-Era* 26 (1911): 64; "Abuse of the Optical Lantern," *Photo-Era* 26 (1911): 26.

tography and was recognized as one of the leading American practitioners of the innovative Lumière process. Using special plates coated in potato starch, the Lumière “autochrome” produced images that were impressive renditions of landscape scenes. Simon introduced the technique to the Engineers’ Club of Central Pennsylvania in 1908 as a seismic shift for photography. He was remembered by the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* as the only man of his time who had photographed a rainbow accurately. Ads for McFarland’s printing company boasted that his staff had been the first Americans to produce autochromes in November 1907 and that the results were “simply astonishing.” He slowly found that they were of variable use in lectures. Although McFarland called autochromes “perfect color memoranda” in 1909, after a decade of using them he knew that the intensity of light needed to project the color images was hard to come by.²⁹

When McFarland summarized his expert vision in the woods as advice for novices, he presented two related principles. First, he argued that true understanding came when viewers controlled their ambitions. They should not try to take in too much at once, he counseled, but limit their view to discrete elements in their turn. How did amateur woods walkers know what to look at or what to take a picture of? Their focus should stay on specific items—the “jewels of nature” as McFarland presented them over the decades. Visitors to the woods should attend to a lone hemlock casting its shadow on a hill or a single bluebell working its way out of the underbrush. Even visitors at overlooks must concentrate on one aspect of the scene. They should focus, McFarland advised, on the foreground at the expense of the background. When taking photographs, this meant “subduing the importance” of the background with lenses that produced a pleasant haze surrounding the object. This generally went against the advice of professionals, who recommended that photographers allow elements of the natural background to “assert themselves,” instead of making them soft, unfocused canvases. Not for McFarland; when taking pictures or simply walking, he meant to maintain control. A stroll through the woods brought with it a strong sense of duty.³⁰

²⁹ *National Nurseryman*, June 1908, 184; JHM, “Statement in Regard to the Lecture on Color Photography,” 260; “Simon, William,” *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 17 (New York, 1920), 218; JHM, “Horticultural Photography,” *Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture* (New York, 1919), 2600; JHM, “The Romance of Color Photography,” *Suburban Life*, Dec. 1909, 298, 337.

³⁰ JHM, *Photographing Flowers and Trees and the Use of Natural Forms in Decorative Photography* (New York, 1911), 40, 42; “Outdoor Backgrounds,” *Photo-Era* 43 (1919): 145.

Second, he voiced one of the most calculated explanations of the picturesque mode of viewing landscape in his accompanying rule. When instructing how to take a good photo of a tree, McFarland urged readers to treat everything in the scene that was not the tree itself as a “landscape accessory.” Scenes could be composed in a photograph or assembled in one’s mind by mixing and matching these accessories, walking around to include some in the frame and exclude others. Everything was a surface to McFarland, and so the difference between good images and bad images was not determined by how they commented on nature, but by how they reflected beauty. Thinking of nature as a series of landscape accessories was symptomatic of a “masculinist” tradition in geographic and environmental thought that emphasized indexing and altering the outdoors. In this tradition, nature existed for human benefit, and reworking it to get one’s desired result was the most appropriate form of engagement with it. In addition to patience, what the woods walker needed was “intelligent, and not arbitrary or didactic art training.” If travelers allowed someone like McFarland to teach them about visual forms, they could manipulate landscape accessories at will. If we hold McFarland to his own rules about framing the natural world—following along as he tried to create lasting pictures instead of what he dismissed as “mere photographs”—we can glimpse expertise in the making. Each of the following images built his repertoire of experiences offered to his audiences of “militant citizens.” Each told people what to expect and what was expected of them.³¹

Many of McFarland’s photos showed scenic views from roadways, with the road as a key part of the composition. These images encouraged audience members to imagine themselves on a motor tour and simulated his assumed stance of a city dweller. An image from August 1916 captured this style (Fig. 1). Taken five miles north of Eagles Mere on a dirt road above Loyalsock Creek, the autochrome shows three men touring the highlands with an automobile. One of the men sits in the car, while the other two have gotten out to look at the town of Forksville in the distance. One of the standing men holds his hands to his face, suggesting that he is looking at the scene through viewing glasses. The town sits in the creek valley, and three overlapping mountains lead the viewer’s gaze into the distance.

³¹ JHM, *Photographing Flowers and Trees*, 51–52. On masculinism in turn-of-the-century geography, see Karen Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity: A New Historical Geography of the Nineteenth-Century American West* (Syracuse, NY, 2008); Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits to Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis, MN, 1993); and Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1975).



Fig. 1. *Loyalsock Road*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

Conventional picturesque landscape scenes placed an observer at a vista in the immediate foreground, allowing the viewer of the image to share in the perspective of the person at the site. To take this photograph, McFarland moved far enough away from the trio that the resulting image was as much about them embedded in the landscape as it was about the view that they took in. The situation he sought was this encounter between attentive tourists and the pleasant country. Locating the car in the middle distance allowed McFarland to highlight the vegetation lining the road as well as the trees and fields in the valley below. This image would have worked well as a part of his scenic preservation lectures; it encouraged viewers to imagine not only the scenery of such a drive, but also the thrill of the journey. McFarland rated the Loyalsock corridor's views as some of the best in the nation.

The photo from the road outside Forksville performed further alterations to picturesque standards. Art critics and naturalists alike had traditionally treated the picturesque as a means through which women engaged with nature. In a hierarchy of sensibilities and artistic styles, photographic tastemakers considered the interpretation of nature as pleasant and orderly



Fig. 2. *Road from Laporte*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

to be less intellectually demanding than treatments that highlighted the natural world's indifferent power, overwhelming size, and routine violence. The "higher" levels of outdoor perception, especially versions of the natural sublime, were the domain of men. When McFarland took such a picture, then, he literally illustrated his attempt to get more Pennsylvanians thinking about the prettiness of their state as an asset. This included a professional class of city-dwelling men. The men above Forksville illustrated a movement that fascinated McFarland: shifting back and forth from the wild abandon of cars to the solemnity of the roadside. A. H. Beardsley, the editor of *Photo-Era's* "Crucible" department for savvy technicians, observed in late 1919, "It is astonishing to note the number of amateur photographers who fail to use automobile-trips to photographic advantage." Beardsley shared with McFarland a consumer's mentality, through which any drive became a chance to "obtain much valuable picture-material." He warned readers that if they were passengers, and not behind the wheel, they would contend with the driver's zeal to complete the trip as quickly as possible. McFarland recognized "picture-material" when he saw it. He subdued the background of the image by making the men, the

car, and the brush surrounding them the most defined part of the scene; everything beyond them was softened.³²

A second McFarland slide, when placed alongside the view above Forksville, highlights the gender conventions at play in roadside viewing. McFarland took this image on the same motor tour in August 1916, several miles to the southeast of Eagles Mere (Fig. 2). The photograph shows a view of the Muncy Creek valley toward the southwest, with North Mountain cutting in from the left of the frame and a series of rolling hills and ridges receding into a white haze. This second autochrome relied on a fair amount of “printing in” clouds during development to give the sky an attractive depth. The site, known locally as Fiester’s View, was named for the Fiester family, who lived in the farmhouse shown in the middle distance. To the right of the house, in the shade of a stand of trees, sits an automobile with two almost imperceptible male figures standing by it. Closer to the camera, along the dirt road that drops down the hill toward Sonestown, another man stands and looks toward the view. Apart from the panorama itself, the other focal point of the photograph is the trio of women in the foreground, backs to the camera, surveying the scene before them. It is likely that the car that brought them there was behind McFarland, at a makeshift parking area already worn in by motorists.³³

The most noticeable difference between McFarland’s techniques in the two images is his positioning of the surrogate viewers. The men above Forksville and the women at Fiester’s View stood in for the audience members who viewed the images during McFarland’s illustrated presentations. The women’s status in the image diverges from the men’s in terms of their relative inaction. McFarland clearly posed the women in a way that was not evident in the first image. They stand several yards away from the road, in a spot that gained them no scenic advantage but that allowed McFarland to adopt his favorite “over the shoulder” effect. The women are positioned in the foreground, whereas the men in the previous image are far enough away from the viewer to make their activities part of the composition. The absence of the car from the second image contributes to this effect, naturalizing the presence of the women in a way that the pre-

³² Susan Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence, KS, 2005), 42; A. H. Beardsley, “The Automobile and the Beginner,” *Photo-Era* 43 (1919): 264–65.

³³ *Williamsport Sun-Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1937. The vista was officially renamed “Wright’s View” in 1929, after the state’s highway commissioner Paul Wright ordered the road paved so that more tourists could access the view. See *Altoona Mirror*, July 10, 1929.

vious image did not. Though their dress does not inscribe them with rural status, the women look like landscape accessories. Audiences were meant to imagine the men in the first photograph dismounting from the automobile, grabbing their field glasses, examining details in the landscape, and then continuing on their way. The women at Fiester's View, on the other hand, are mere models for the art of looking.

With persistence and hardy tires, travelers on the roads near Forksville or Sonestown eventually came to Eagles Mere. In addition to the lake, the clean air, and the genteel company, McFarland argued that the woods surrounding the resort were the prime attraction. An image that McFarland captioned *Woods View* (Fig. 3) demonstrated his vision of nature as a source of psychic rejuvenation. He took the photo in the woods around Eagles Mere in 1907. The hemlocks surrounding the lake, he wrote the following summer, gave a "good forest color." In his association of trees with the spectacle that they afforded the observer, McFarland joined a long aesthetic tradition that valued the orderly and delightful visual field. Order emerged in black and white slides through the rendering of light and shadow. McFarland likely shot this image from the Laurel Path, a walking trail that had circled the lake since the previous decade. Turning to the side and shooting low through the trees, McFarland captured the dense underbrush of mountain laurel and ferns that covered much of the northern Appalachian highlands. Though the photo was not a traditional picturesque scene with a distant horizon, it contained a central picturesque element. McFarland framed the scene with tree trunks that formed a doorway into the forest. These trunks provide a sense of depth to a photo that consists almost entirely of foreground. Viewers' eyes likely moved to the space between the trunks, imagining a trail among the brush that was not actually there.³⁴

Walking trails around the lake and into the woods helped foster a sensation of timelessness. On new trails that McFarland helped build in 1909 and 1910, guests could commune with scenery without needing the "mountain legs and mountain lungs" of the "hardy man." The Arrow Paths, groomed, blazed with arrows, and posted with regular signs, opened up the woods to women and anyone else who sought "safety, convenience, and beauty." McFarland touted the individual sites reachable via these routes, such as the unusual Eagle Rocks or Moosehead Passage, as the "best of

³⁴ JHM, "Highest Development of the Summer Camp," 20.

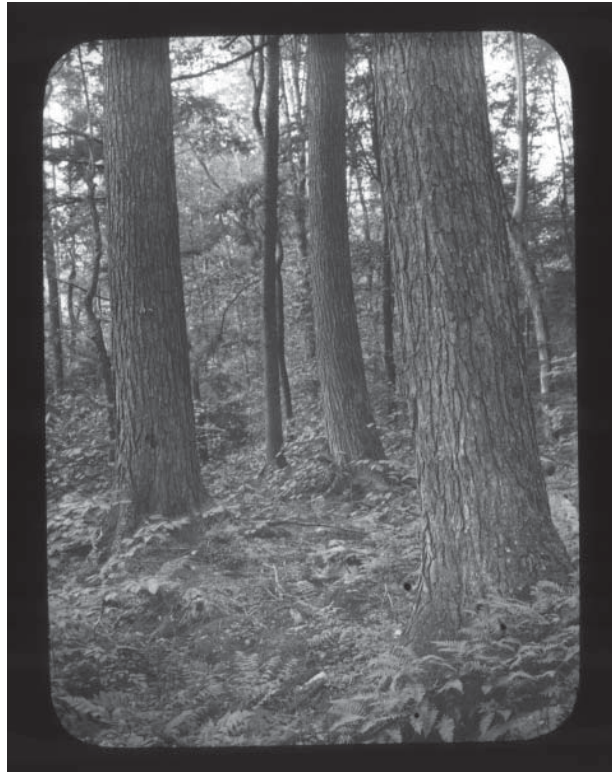


Fig. 3. *Woods View*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides Courtesy. of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

the virgin forest.” He liked to think of the resort as “shut in” by trees that had survived since the age of Columbus. The gently graded foot paths allowed even casual travelers to see these sights, but as of the 1920s, few people had actually visited Eagles Mere. *Woods View* depicted the pleasant emptiness that McFarland used as part of his claim to expertise. The solitary trip into the wilderness was a powerful motif for him, despite his tendency after 1900 to visit Eagles Mere with family, friends, or his chauffeur. While the crowds splashed on the beach or dawdled on the dock, McFarland knew, the individual could break away to play at isolation. The blunt caption suggested the type of narrow focus that the walker adopted when even mid-distance views were obscured. Thinking of the landscape as a collection of accessories, McFarland found an angle that combined old trees, young trees, ferns, and broken sightlines extending into the forest. In

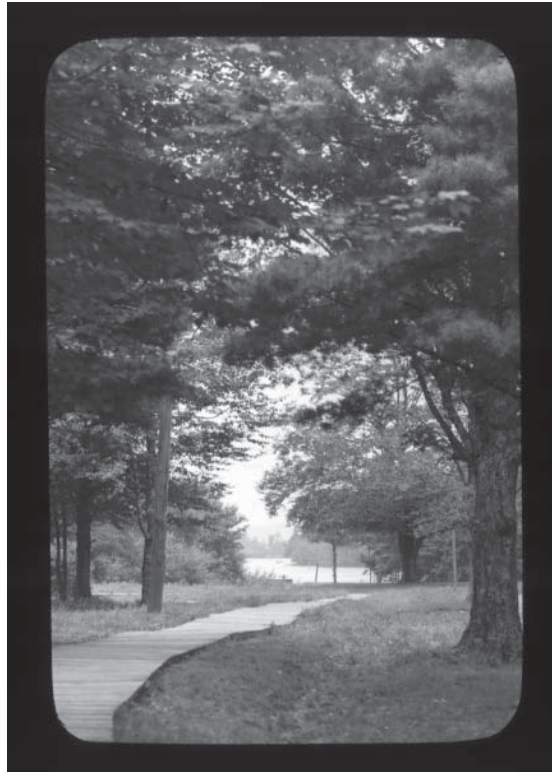


Fig. 4. *Lake View*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

a 1906 article in *Outlook* magazine, he called this process “hunting in the May woods.”³⁵

Woods View functioned as the “before” shot to the “after” image provided by another Eagles Mere photograph. To capture *Lake View*, McFarland stood on the boardwalk that led to the north end of the lake and aimed his camera south, toward the shoreline (Fig. 4). This was his own corner of Eagles Mere, where he owned a cottage (“Bide-a-Wee”) and spent most of his time while on site. McFarland followed the advice of photography magazines in displacing the path in the frame, drawing the viewer’s eye along it instead of allowing it to cut the scene in half. The middle ground of the image was most in focus here, with the foreground trees blurry and

³⁵JHM, “Eagles Mere This Summer”; JHM, “New Eagles Mere”; JHM, “Summer Lake Carnival,” 9; JHM, “Hunting in the May Woods,” *Outlook* 83 (1906): 190.

the distant lake indistinct in the summer light. Light and shadow mattered more than natural detail in a composition like this.³⁶

The boardwalk in *Lake View* fulfills a similar function to the pathless space between the trees in *Woods View*; both beckon the viewer forward. The journey in *Lake View*, however, would have offered none of the adventure that waited in the mountain forests. The boardwalk was part of what McFarland praised as sensible construction at the resort. It represented the “simple best of civilization” that made life easy—but not too easy—at Eagles Mere. A humble walkway accentuated the aesthetics of the site, whereas the “boardwalky stuff” at popular spots such as Coney Island or Atlantic City obliterated their respective scenes. In this photograph, McFarland hoped to show off the boardwalk, to boast of the “New Eagles Mere” that was built after 1910. However, he did not caption the image with an eye toward the walkway, but instead stressed what the visitor saw from the walkway. Whereas *Woods View* is almost nothing but the woods, the lake is hardly visible in *Lake View*. It is “subdued” as part of the background. Here was an approximation of the photographer’s daily routine, walking from his house each morning to see the lake, chat to fellow residents, and figure out what to do with his day. The photo allowed McFarland to bring his audience further into his world, to recreate the experiences that made an eye trained for the outdoors.

Indeed, more often than he created views conveying pristine nature, McFarland attempted to model visitors’ interaction with the mountain woodland. These were his most tourist-friendly images, ones that converted the forests of Sullivan County into the specific scenic spots that became part of the “Sullivan Highlands” in semipopular parlance. *Shanersburg View*, an autochrome taken in 1911 (Fig. 5) exhibits this mode of imagery. In this picture, a young girl stands with her back to the camera at the edge of a dense stand of shrubs and trees that mark the slope of a hill. She looks over them, toward the eastern horizon. In the distance sits a hazy forest punctuated by Shanersburg Run. The girl lifts a hand to her face, shading her eyes from the day’s brightness or perhaps holding field glasses. The slide contrasts the girl’s white dress with varying shades of green and gray. McFarland’s technical mastery of outdoor photography is on display here. He avoided the most common mistake made when photographing from vistas; by using the appropriate light filter, he achieved a pleasant contrast

³⁶“Print Criticism,” *Photo-Era* 26 (1911): 37.



Fig. 5. *Shanersburg View*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

between the sky and foreground, so that neither of them dominate the other.³⁷

An image like this reveals McFarland's true colors as a scenery enthusiast. His fellow outdoors promoters tended to present the woods as a living interconnected system rather than an array of ornaments. McFarland was in it for the individual sights that he could photograph, figuratively crossing them off of his master list. He recognized his "heresy" in using wide-angle lenses when photographing landscape, but he defended his choice as a painter might. In his photography guidebook from 1911, he was careful to distinguish his style of image making from that of other photographers who happened to be outdoors. His work, he stressed, was "decorative photography," a catchall phrase for imagery that emphasized form and composition over the workings of the natural world. A wide-angle lens allowed him to get more background in the frame, but he never meant the background to be anything but a hazy set in front of which his

³⁷ John Nichol, "Lantern Slides," *Outing* 35 (1899): 100.

subjects sat. Those foreground subjects—flowering trees, beds of laurel, girls in white dresses—could be presented to lay audiences as examples of the highlights of a drive or walk.³⁸

By contrast, the men who wrote to photography magazines seemed intent on patrolling the border between serious photographs and pretty pictures. The former were made with expert ability and mechanical precision before the shutter opened, whereas the latter were doctored after the exposure had been made. One writer to *Photo-Era* complained that too many images that were celebrated by art galleries displayed a “lack of technical knowledge or power of execution by photographic means.” They were pleasant, yes, but they were also “half-breed paintings.” The argument was mirrored in the magazine’s monthly features for two distinct sets of readers. The male-edited “Crucible” column provided a “monthly digest of facts for practical workers,” such as the chemistry behind photography and mechanical processes. “The Round Robin Guild,” on the other hand, was edited by women during the same period and was presented to an amateur audience assumed to have a good number of women within it. This column considered the effects of the seasons on photography, the basics of developing prints, and tips for winning photo competitions. Many writers in the national photography press followed the example of W. S. Lee, who masculinized the technical side of photography when he wrote in 1919 that “some shoot well and others shoot often, but most fail to shoot hard enough to make a sure killing.”³⁹

Although McFarland used his share of hunting metaphors when writing about outdoor photography, he had no qualms about embellishing images to generate the desired effect. He criticized “fake color reproductions,” but he knew how to use the autochrome development process to highlight selected elements and diminish others. Of the images discussed so far, *Shanersburg View* conforms most to the ideals of the picturesque. In it, McFarland places viewers over the shoulder of a surrogate, omits evidence of how she arrived at the spot, and directs the image’s perspective through a window framed by trees and bushes. The scene aided McFarland’s praise of Eagles Mere as a tasteful family resort, thus the picturesque elements of a tinted sky and a natural “window” onto the horizon were certainly worth

³⁸ Raymond Torrey, Frank Place Jr., and Robert Dickinson, *New York Walk Book* (New York, 1923), xiii; Dann, *Across the Great Border Fault*, 30; JHM, *Photographing Flowers and Trees*, 4.

³⁹ “Photographic Pictorialism,” *Photo-Era* 26 (1911): 97; W. S. Lee, “Snapshots,” *Photo-Era* 43 (1919): 254.

stressing. The image also models the type of reverence before nature that he preached throughout his career of scenic preservation. To reach this remote spot on the trail required effort, and the girl's reverent demeanor suggests that she recognized the beauty before her to be worth the trip. McFarland posed her in the same overt style that he used in the photo of Fiester's View. Standing on a rock in the middle of nowhere, the girl is a pupil in a veritable outdoor aesthetics lesson taught by the man with the camera. The artist's implicit claim is that the girl could receive the aesthetic message that the scene offered—presumably because of her company at the overlook. In naming the image *Shanersburg View*, McFarland heralded the process by which a nondescript spot to the east of Eagles Mere became part of a constellation of branded, signed, and mapped sites in an elite tourist landscape. McFarland named many similar vistas between 1900 and 1920, using specific names to entice his peers onto trails and direct their experience once they were lured in.⁴⁰

A final image from McFarland's collection suggests the type of immersion in the landscape that the young girl could not hope to achieve. Captioned *Primeval Forest*, the image showed what it was like to be in the general vicinity of the previous photo, but down in the depths of Shanersburg Run, instead of viewing it from above (Fig. 6). In this composition, three men stand in the bed of the creek, with bags and canteens slung around their necks and walking sticks in hand. One of them leans against a fallen tree that serves as a focusing device for McFarland. The composition is one of his standard types: rocks and branches in the foreground give way to diagonals of terrain in the middle distance, receding to a lighter background that is more suggested than depicted. The trees, bending their way upward from the steep slope, are McFarland's joy, the "primeval forest" that he drove for hours and lugged camera equipment to capture. A working lumber camp was located within a mile of this spot, but the image portrays an untouched wilderness. Only the presence of the men and the impression of a walking path leading from the bottom-right corner of the frame interrupt the scene. The "interior" quality of the picture, with its greens, browns, and grays, reinforces McFarland's observation that there are no "pure" colors in nature. The autochrome comes close to depicting what the eye would have perceived: the muted, shady atmosphere at the bottom of Shanersburg Run.⁴¹

⁴⁰ JHM, "Romance of Color Photography," 337.

⁴¹ Ibid., 336.



Fig. 6. *Primeval Forest*. Manuscript Group 85, J. Horace McFarland Papers Lantern Slides. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania State Archives.

Primeval Forest shows men at ease within a landscape instead of beholding it from afar. They have gotten to the bottom of things, as it were, and for a while there are no more spectacles to appraise. The photographer makes their pause in the creek bed a subject of interest, and the discrepancy in size between the men and their surroundings conveys the scale of the woods and the possibility of quiet moments in every dip. The forest does not appear large enough, however, to evoke the God-fearing emotions usually associated with the sublime. This is the “woodsy” forest, a term McFarland used to define city dwellers’ estimation of a forested area that *looked right*. It plays the part of stately backdrop for men’s actions. They had gotten themselves there, and they would soon hike back out, reaching the comforts of the resort well before dinner was served at the Forest Inn. McFarland, too, had shouldered his equipment down the trail to this site. The logistical ordeal of photography did not dictate a purely functional style, but rather contributed to a tendency of “probing, analyzing, and active observing” in the outdoors. McFarland portrayed himself as a master of this trinity, using patient contemplation to build a visual vocabulary. In this, he was in line with the photography columnists who

encouraged woods walkers to stop and study their surroundings, to avoid the tug of the trail before them and stay in one spot for as long as it took to make an excellent image. The figures in the image certainly could have been women; McFarland wrote of taking female companions deep into the woods to see sights. But the logic of the picture worked better with men playing the roles of explorers. They had worked hard to reach a special spot, and they deserved a rest.⁴²

Club-like, Yet Democratic: McFarland and Expertise

If McFarland liked to talk often about the photographs hanging on his office walls, there was another detail of his mountain experience that he shared frequently with readers and listeners. When he stayed at Eagles Mere for days or weeks on end, he lived in a cozy cabin whose front door had a sturdy lock on it. He never used the key, however, for his time in the mountains was an idyll that would never be broken by such things as burglary. Likewise, when he used the bathhouse on Lake Eagles Mere, he never secured his valuables before launching his boat into the water or lazing on the beach. One did not need to consider such things. When he searched for terms to describe the social atmosphere at Eagles Mere, as he did in an article for *Suburban Life* in 1908, he settled on “club-like, yet democratic.”⁴³ The people who frequented the resort were of a type—the type with wealth and decorum.

McFarland exhibited the inherent elitism of wilderness advocacy in the early twentieth century. His definitions and appreciation of wild areas was predicated on the availability of solitude, which required limiting devices to keep the masses out of the woods. The most common limiting devices were cost and accessibility. McFarland wrote about Eagles Mere for people who could afford Eagles Mere. His carefree trust in his fellow visitors would have collapsed if the site had become truly popular. He complained in a 1928 radio address about the “ravages” of “piratical tourists.” Likewise, when he promoted footpaths along country roads as a democratic device, engineered for “citizens and taxpayers” who were unable to “travel on the wings of an explosion motor,” he never explained the logistics of the dream. He must have recognized that long-distance trips on foot by signif-

⁴² JHM, “New Eagles Mere”; Orvell, *Real Thing*, 99–100. For examples of such photographic advice, see Beardsley, “Automobile and the Beginner,” 264–65; and Parker Field, “The Appalachian Mountain Club,” *Photo-Era* 52 (1924): 190.

⁴³ JHM, “Highest Development of the Summer Camp,” 20.

icant numbers of people were a fanciful vision, yet it did not stop him from speaking about new road and trail systems as if their value was indisputable. The result of this way of thinking was that if the wild *was* preserved, then it was preserved for the very type of people who relied professionally and economically on the commercial metropolis. The mountains became a getaway for white-collar urbanites.⁴⁴

There was another aspect to the “club-like, yet democratic” descriptor. McFarland wrote in 1908 that the woods around Eagles Mere were always there, “ready to make [him] over.” The rejuvenation that he thought possible from walking through the woods was a scenic therapy for people who lived out of touch with the natural world. In his hundreds of illustrated lectures, McFarland presented the eastern highlands as a setting, an outdoor stage on which outsiders performed in prescribed ways. The setting was both natural and man-made, yet McFarland, like many outdoor popularizers, imagined that the mountains were empty. There were no locals there, no one to offer competing interpretations of wild landscapes. And so the Appalachian setting was a place for outsiders to put their commercialized lives in context by encountering scenic beauty. McFarland imagined that people who followed his advice would find the mountains “so perfectly natural and ‘woody.’” Whereas foresters or botanists would have scoffed at an uncritical conception of “woodiness” (or his related notion of “sightliness”), McFarland embraced it. His favorite spots represented not wilderness, but rather wilderness imprinted with roads, cars, cameras, cabins, paths, and expert advice on how to use them all correctly.⁴⁵

McFarland’s direct influence on his audiences is difficult to measure. His professional reputation as an expert on scenery survived well into the 1920s, when he adopted a less demanding work schedule and devoted himself to his home garden in Harrisburg. By this point, the City Beautiful impulse had come and gone. The ACA may have paid a price for

⁴⁴ Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 83; JHM, “Highest Development of the Summer Camp,” 18, 20; JHM, “Pennsylvania’s Scenic Supremacy”; JHM, “What about the Country Highway?” 225. Ronald Foresta makes a similar point about the development of the Appalachian Trail in Ronald Foresta, “Transformation of the Appalachian Trail,” *Geographical Review* 77 (1987): 78.

⁴⁵ JHM, “Highest Development of the Summer Camp,” 18; Morrison, *J. Horace McFarland*, 29; JHM, “New Eagles Mere”; JHM, “Summer Lake Carnival,” 37; JHM, “Shall We Have Ugly Conservation?”; Johnson, “Wilderness Parks and Their Discontents,” 122. Johnson notes that conservationists of the era tended to see inhabited woodland as inefficiently managed and thus tried to minimize reminders of human habitation. See the related discussion about New England tourism in Richard Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 226–28.

McFarland's commandeering of the spotlight. Throughout his presidency, the group had a skeleton staff and a modest membership, and the thousands of small civic groups throughout the nation found it easy to engage or disengage with the ACA at will. The result was an "ephemeral, indistinct air" to the ACA, which was not helped by the professionalization of city planning in the 1910s. Planners soon worked directly with municipal governments, cutting out cultured, connected elites who excelled at working as middlemen. The type of physical access and mobility that McFarland relied on to project expertise became simultaneously more attainable by middle-class Americans and less compelling as a source of authority.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, for at least a decade, McFarland was in the driver's seat of the scenic preservation movement in the United States. He knew enough about horticulture to grow roses and identify plants and trees. He knew enough about aesthetics to speak to civic groups about what was pleasant in the world. Yet, his expertise was not in either of those fields, but in the translation of them to a middle-class public and the fostering of a democratic feel to a decidedly club-like set of preoccupations. The perceived purity and incompleteness of remote places such as Eagles Mere was the key to this claim of expertise. For McFarland, it was not a matter of Cronon's "bipolar moral scales," which judge the tree in the wilderness more favorably than the tree in the city park. Nor was it an escape from history, for McFarland believed that what had been made by humans could be remade. In his mobile logic, Eagles Mere needed the city as much as the city needed Eagles Mere—and everyone needed him, because he had the trained eye. His audiences might put themselves in his shoes, so to speak, as he walked in the woods. Marginal places like the northern tier of Pennsylvania, when viewed from Harrisburg, were useful to experts such as McFarland because of their marginality. Elite preservationists conveyed a perception of the woods as a hypothetical destination worth guarding. The people *might* pursue it because they were convinced by men like McFarland, but they might also never make the trip, secure in the knowledge that someone had already gone there for them.⁴⁷

Susquehanna University

EDWARD SLAVISHAK

⁴⁶ Wilson, *J. Horace McFarland*, 326–27.

⁴⁷ Denis Cosgrove and Veronica della Dora, eds., *High Places: Cultural Geographies of Mountains, Ice, and Science* (London, 2008), 223; Cronon, "Trouble with Wilderness," 80, 89.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Civil War Letters of Tillman Valentine, Third US Colored Troops

TILLMAN VALENTINE WAS TWENTY-SEVEN years old when he enlisted with the Third US Colored Infantry on June 30, 1863. Standing five feet four inches tall, with black hair, gray eyes, and a yellow complexion, the mulatto laborer from Chester County, Pennsylvania, bade farewell to his wife of seven years, Annie, and his children, Elijah (born February 13, 1858), Clara (born February 4, 1860), and Ida (born August 11, 1861). Tillman gave Annie “an affectionate good bye” that morning, as one longtime family friend remembered. The couple did not know it yet, but Annie was pregnant with their fourth child, Samuel, who would be born on March 3, 1864.¹

Valentine’s enlistment was part of a wave of recruitment of black soldiers in Pennsylvania during the summer of 1863. Prominent public figures such as Pennsylvania’s Republican governor Andrew G. Curtin, abolitionists Lucretia Mott and Anna Dickinson, and Congressman William D. Kelley all made broad appeals to the black men of the Keystone State to enlist. On July 6, 1863, Frederick Douglass proclaimed: “Young men of Philadelphia, you are without excuse. The hour has arrived, and your place is in the Union Army. Remember that the musket—the United States

We thank the editor and reviewers for their helpful comments; Sean A. Scott of Christopher Newport University for his assistance in deciphering a few very difficult words; and Valentine descendant Linda Rodolico for filling in a few gaps in the family history.

¹ Regimental Descriptive Book, Third USCT, Company B, vol. 1 of 7, RG 94 (Records of the Adjutant General’s Office), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter NARA); Deposition A (Annie E. Valentine), Sept. 24, 1896, and Deposition E (Elizabeth Timm), Sept. 26, 1896, both in Tillman Valentine’s pension file, NARA (unless otherwise noted, all affidavits, depositions, postwar correspondence, and other pension records cited below come from Valentine’s pension file); James Elton Johnson, “A History of Camp William Penn and Its Black Troops in the Civil War, 1863–1865” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 78.



Cabinet card of Tillman Valentine in Grand Army of the Republic dress. Image courtesy of eBay.

musket with its bayonet of steel—is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty.”²

To accommodate the influx of new recruits, the federal government established Camp William Penn, the first and largest federal training ground for black soldiers in the North, about ten miles north of downtown Philadelphia. In naming the camp after the founder of Pennsylvania, Maj. George L. Stearns quipped, “The Quakers wince, but I tell them it is established on peace principles; that is, to conquer a lasting peace.”³

Eleven regiments of United States Colored Troops (USCT) trained at Camp William Penn between 1863 and 1865. Not all Philadelphians

² David I. Harrower and Thomas J. Wiecekowsky, eds., *A Spectacle for Men and Angels: A Documentary Narrative of Camp William Penn and the Raising of Colored Regiments in Pennsylvania* (West Conshohocken, PA, 2013), 152. For further information on the black recruitment drives in Philadelphia, see J. Matthew Gallman, “In Your Hands That Musket Means Liberty: African American Soldiers and the Battle of Olustee,” in Gallman, *Northerners at War: Reflections on the Civil War Home Front* (Kent, OH, 2010), 237–47; and Timothy J. Orr, “Cities at War: Union Army Mobilization in the Urban Northeast, 1861–1865” (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2010), 416–19, 462–67, 557–58.

³ George L. Stearns to Mary Elizabeth Preston Stearns, July 12, 1863, quoted in Harrower and Wiecekowsky, *Spectacle for Men and Angels*, 154.

were pleased with the project. Two days after Douglass's rousing speech in July 1863, Sidney George Fisher recorded in his diary, "The orators claim equality for the Negro race, the right of suffrage, &c. All this is as absurd as it is dangerous."⁴

The Third USCT was the first regiment to train at Camp William Penn. Most of the recruits were free blacks and former slaves from Pennsylvania and other nearby states. Local newspapers tracked their progress, but the regiment made national news when it was not permitted to parade through the streets of Philadelphia on its way to the front, as all white regiments had done. In Boston, William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* reprinted an article from the leading black newspaper in Philadelphia, the *Christian Recorder*. "This has been a source of grievous disappointment to a great many, both colored and white," wrote the editors. "There has been no reason given as yet for this outrage upon the feelings of our people, many of whom would thus have seen their relatives and friends probably for the last time in this world. Truly there is fearful responsibility resting somewhere." Of course, all knew the reason that the soldiers had not been permitted to parade through the city. Col. Louis Wagner, the commander of the camp, vowed that such a slight would not happen again to other regiments that trained under his supervision.⁵

In late August 1863, the Third reached Morris Island, South Carolina, where it performed manual labor during the siege against Fort Wagner. During this siege, the regiment lost six men who were killed and another twelve who were wounded. Among these casualties was Tillman Valentine, who suffered an injury to his left leg, which was crushed when, in Valentine's words, "a solled [solid] shot from fort matery [Moultrie] struck and dismounted" a cannon he was mounting. He later recalled, "Every thing were sumwhat confused and not thinking I caught holde of a Lever that were prop[p]ing another Big Gun and jerked it away the Gun turned over on my Left Leg Crushing it in to the soft sand which prevented it from being broken but it was badly crushed [and] I were taken to my tent and excused from duty."⁶

⁴ Sidney George Fisher, diary entry for July 8, 1863, in *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Civil War Diary of Sidney George Fisher*, ed. Jonathan W. White (New York, 2007), 198.

⁵ Harrower and Wieckowski, *Spectacle for Men and Angels*, 196–98; John F. Fannin, "The Jacksonville Mutiny of 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88 (2010): 370; *Christian Recorder*, Aug. 8, 1863; *Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1863.

⁶ Declaration for an Original Invalid Pension, Feb. 23, 1889; Tillman Valentine to James Tanner, May 23, 1889. The records provided by the War Department to the pension office stated that the "records of this office furnish no evidence of disability." See statement of June 22, 1889.

The men of the Third dug trenches closer and closer to the enemy works—all while under fire—until the Confederates finally abandoned Forts Wagner and Gregg on September 6. Cpl. Henry Harmon of Company B described the harrowing work his regiment had accomplished in a letter to the *Christian Recorder*. The Third, along with two other black regiments, had “with spades and shovels dug up to the very parapet of the rebel fort under a heavy fire of grape and canister shell.” For Harmon, this grueling manual labor was as important and as honorable as actual fighting in combat. “In those trenches our men distinguished themselves for bravery and coolness, which required more nerve than the exciting bayonet charge,” he wrote. “And, sir,” he continued, “I am proud to say that I am a member of the 3d United States Colored Troops, and I hope that I am not considered boasting when I say so.” Harmon reminded his readers that many black soldiers had suffered and died in the effort: “When you hear of a white family that has lost father, husband, or brother, you can say of the colored man, we too have borne our share of the burden. We too have suffered and died in defense of that starry banner which floats only over free men.”⁷

Following the capture of Fort Wagner, the men of the Third spent less time “as diggers and sappers and miners,” to quote Corporal Harmon, and more time drilling and honing their martial skills. In February 1864, the regiment was sent further south to Florida, where it garrisoned forts near Jacksonville, Fernandina, and along the St. Johns River. The men participated in expeditions throughout the area in search of contrabands to set free and rebel property to destroy. On one such occasion in March 1865, a group of soldiers from the Third, seven black civilians, and one white member of the 107th Ohio Infantry conducted an expedition up the St. Johns River, “rowing by night, and hiding in the swamps by day.” Under the command of Sgt. Maj. Henry James of the Third, this small force “rescued 91 negroes from slavery, captured 4 white prisoners, 2 wagons, and 24 horses and mules; destroyed a sugar mill and a distillery, which were used by the rebel Government, together with their stocks of sugar and liquor, and burned the bridge over the Oclawaha River.”⁸

⁷ Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York, 1992), 34–36; Fannin, “Jacksonville Mutiny,” 372.

⁸ Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 36–37; Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–5*, vol. 5 (Harrisburg, 1871), 925–26; William A. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops, 1862–1867* (Washington, DC, 2011), 62–64, 83–85, 87; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the War of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 47, part 3 (Washington, DC, 1895), 190.

While returning to Jacksonville, the expeditionary force was attacked by a band of Confederate cavalry that numbered more than fifty. After “a brisk fight” they drove off the attacking rebels, suffering six casualties: two dead and four wounded. The colonel of the Third, Benjamin C. Tilghman, praised the actions of his men: “I think that this expedition, planned and executed by colored Soldiers and civilians, reflects great credit upon the parties engaged in it,” he wrote, “and I respectfully suggest that some public recognition of it, would have a good effect upon the troops.” Maj. Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore agreed, declaring, “This expedition, planned and executed by colored men under the command of a colored non-commissioned officer, reflects great credit upon the brave participants and their leader. The major general commanding thanks these courageous soldiers and scouts, and holds up their conduct to their comrades in arms as an example worthy of emulation.” One African American man was similarly proud of his regiment’s achievements, claiming that the raid was “proof” that “a colored man with proper training can command among his fellows and succeed where others have failed.”⁹

Following the close of the war, the Third remained on duty in Florida throughout the summer and fall of 1865, in large measure to protect the freedmen and freedwomen who were congregating in Jacksonville. Occupation duty was difficult for the black troops for several reasons. First, resentful former Confederates abhorred the presence of black soldiers. On one occasion, a white Floridian at a train station near Olustee remarked that “all the niggers should be in [hell].” Twenty men from the regiment immediately pointed their guns at the offending civilian and one fired, “grazing the speaker’s cheek.”¹⁰ Second, the men of the Third had to contend with a strict new commanding officer and a set of commissioned officers who were inclined to use harsh corporal punishments for minor offenses. Finally, the enlisted men had to deal with the knowledge that many of their white officers were carousing with local black women. “We have a set of officers here,” reported one black soldier to the *Christian Recorder*, “who apparently think that their commissions are licenses to debauch and mingle with deluded freedwomen, under cover of darkness.”

⁹ Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 5:926; Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword*, 87; Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship during the Civil War Era* (Ithaca, NY, 2009), 64.

¹⁰ Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990), 217; *Christian Recorder*, July 8, 1865; Fannin, “Jacksonville Mutiny,” 380–81.

Such conduct, this soldier concluded, “is loathsome in the extreme.” The relationship between the enlisted men and officers of the Third became increasingly antagonistic. To help pass the time and deal with their frustrations, many of the black soldiers turned to alcohol. The situation quickly became a powder keg.¹¹

On October 29, 1865, one of the most violent mutinies of the Civil War era erupted at Jacksonville. The spark was the harsh punishment of a black soldier who had stolen molasses from the unit kitchen. The culprit was stripped down to his waist and tied by the thumbs so that he could barely stand on his toes. Seeing this man being treated like a slave caused a furor among the men of the Third. A crowd of angry soldiers gathered, vowing to free the prisoner. One man shouted, “I never saw anything of this sort in Philadelphia. . . . Let’s take him down. We are not going to have any more tying men up by the thumbs.” Lt. Col. John L. Brower, the strict new regimental commander, fired three shots into the crowd, wounding an enlisted man. At that point a firefight broke out between the black men and their white officers.

After the dust had settled, fifteen men were arrested for mutiny; court-martial proceedings began two days later. Fourteen men went to trial, and within two weeks, thirteen had been convicted. Six of the men were executed, and several others received long sentences of imprisonment at hard labor (although all were released by January 1867).¹² This tragic incident took place two days before the regiment was scheduled to muster out.

After mustering out, the Third and several other black regiments paraded through the streets of Harrisburg on November 14, 1865, in an event hosted by the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League. One banner at the parade declared, “He Who Defends Freedom Is Worthy of All Its Franchises.”¹³ Several members of the Third, however, opted to remain in Florida. Former Virginia slave Josiah T. Walls, who mustered out as a sergeant, became a prominent figure in Florida politics, serving as a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1868, a member of the state senate, and a member of Congress from 1871 to 1876.¹⁴ Tillman

¹¹ Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 92; Fannin, “Jacksonville Mutiny,” 376–77, 383–85.

¹² Fannin, “Jacksonville Mutiny,” 380–96; B. Kevin Bennett, “The Jacksonville Mutiny,” *Civil War History* 38 (1992): 39–50; Samito, *Becoming American under Fire*, 99–101.

¹³ Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 5:926; Samito, *Becoming American under Fire*, 141.

¹⁴ Daniel L. Schafer, *Thunder on the River: The Civil War in Northeast Florida* (Gainesville, FL, 2010), 275–78; Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida’s Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, FL, 1976).

Valentine also chose to stay in Florida. In the postwar years, he served as a county register, found work as a carpenter and contractor in Jacksonville, and became involved in veterans and fraternal organizations, such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the Freemasons.¹⁵ Valentine remarried three times in Florida without ever divorcing his first wife, Annie, who remained back in Pennsylvania.

On November 30, 1865, Valentine married Mary Ann Francis.¹⁶ It is unknown when or how this marriage terminated; however, court records indicate that Mary Ann was still living in Florida in the 1870s. On October 6, 1870, Valentine married Mary Susan Alford, who was about eighteen years old at the time. The couple had four children together before Mary died on November 24, 1880. About a year later, on October 27, 1881, Valentine took a fourth wife, Edith Keys (also referred to as Edith H. James in the pension records). No children resulted from this union. Tillman and Annie saw one another several times in Pennsylvania in the 1870s and 1880s, but by 1884, Annie said, the two “treated one another as strange[r]s.” Tillman died of pneumonia on March 12, 1895. Edith passed away a few months later, on June 13.¹⁷

Tillman’s death was announced in the West Chester newspapers, and his first wife, Annie, applied for his widow’s pension. By 1895, Annie had fallen on hard times. She had been earning only \$2.50 per week as a domestic servant, but, being “in extremely poor health” (one friend described her as “all crippled up with rheumatism”), she had become “unable to work.” As a result, she was “actually suffering for the necessities of life.”¹⁸

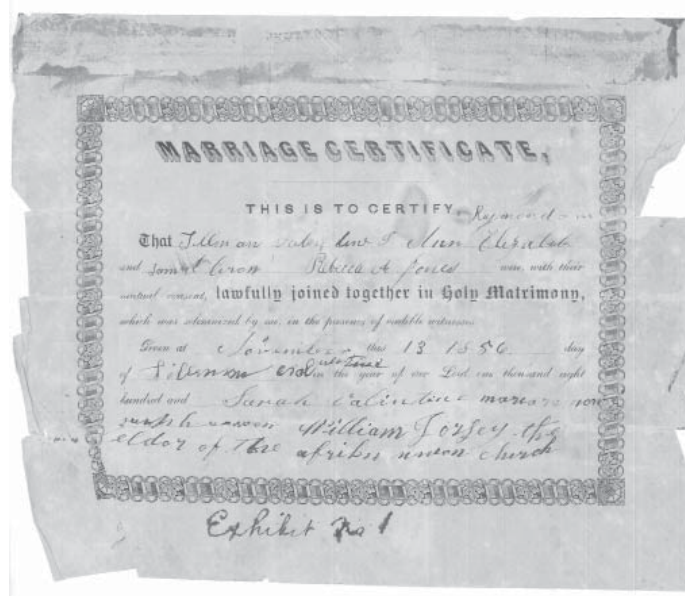
Edith, too, claimed a widow’s pension, but her request was denied on September 9, 1896, more than a year after her death. Edith’s death was a factor in the pension office’s decision to deny, but so too was its determi-

¹⁵ Tillman Valentine to James Tanner, May 23, 1889. On integration in the G.A.R., see Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011).

¹⁶ A scan of the original county record book containing a record of their marriage is available at the Alachua County Clerk of Court’s Marriage Records portal, <http://www.alachuaclerk.org/archive/Ancientj/FrontPage.cfm?BID=238&PID=071&SN=&GN=> (accessed Mar. 18, 2015).

¹⁷ Edith H. (James) Valentine, Declaration for Widow’s Pension, Apr. 3, 1895; Deposition A (Annie E. Valentine), Sept. 24, 1896; Deposition B (Arthur W. Smith), Nov. 9, 1896. Mary was twenty-eight years old in the 1880 census.

¹⁸ *West Chester Daily Local News*, Mar. 13, 1895 (we thank Diane Rofini of the Chester County Historical Society for providing us with a copy of this article); General Affidavits of Annie E. Valentine, Aug. 12, 1895, and July 30, 1896; Deposition B (George R. Scott), Sept. 24, 1896. Annie died at the age of seventy on Dec. 3, 1912. A scan of her death certificate is available on Ancestry.com.



Marriage certificate of Tillman Valentine and Ann Elizabeth Raymond, Nov. 13, 1856. Valentine Tillman pension file, NARA.

nation that she was not Valentine's legal widow. In conducting its investigation, the pension office concluded that if Edith had been "married to the soldier the marriage was null and void, the soldier having a wife Annie E. living at the date of alleged marriage."¹⁹

The pension office instituted a special investigation into Annie's claim for Tillman's pension benefits. In support of her claim, Annie produced a marriage certificate from 1856 and affidavits from friends who testified that she and Tillman had "loved & cohabited as husband & wife" before he left for Camp William Penn in 1863. Moreover, the affidavits claimed that Tillman and Annie had never been divorced. As further evidence, Annie submitted three letters that Tillman had sent her during the war in which he addressed her as his wife and discussed his intentions to come home.

The letters that follow are the three letters that Annie submitted to the pension office in support of her claim. They remain in Tillman's pension file at the National Archives, along with Valentine and Annie's marriage

¹⁹Widow's pension claim, Sept. 9, 1896.

certificate and other supporting documentation. Private correspondence from an African American soldier to his wife is extraordinarily rare, in large measure because literacy rates among black soldiers were low. One white officer at Camp William Penn noted in 1864 that “very few” of the black recruits “can read or write hardly enough to” allow promotion to corporal or sergeant.²⁰ Valentine was one of those few who was literate enough to be promoted. A few days after he left his family, Valentine was appointed sergeant in Company B of the Third USCT, on July 4, 1863.²¹ His letters survive only because of the battle that arose between his two competing widows in 1895.

Valentine’s letters differ from those of other black soldiers that are often cited by historians. A number of black soldiers corresponded with hometown newspapers during the Civil War. These published letters typically offered polished accounts of troops’ movements and well-conceived statements of black soldiers’ sentiments on important political or social issues. Their content has been invaluable to historians, yet they must be read with the understanding that they were written for public consumption.²² Valentine’s letters, by contrast, offer an intimate, uncensored, often difficult to follow, and far less linear portrait of a black soldier’s wartime experiences. Valentine occasionally commented on the war, but more frequently he wrote about family dynamics and personal concerns.

Such private correspondence offers new insights into the experiences of black soldiers and their families during the Civil War.²³ For example, Valentine’s letters reveal a complex understanding of what “manhood” meant to black soldiers. Scholars who explore this topic often emphasize

²⁰ Arthur P. Morey to Cousin, Feb. 4, 1864, in *A War of the People: Vermont Civil War Letters*, ed. Jeffrey D. Marshall (Hanover, NH, 1999), 206. On literacy rates among black soldiers, see Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 72, 101, 178, 227–28; and Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 2, *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982), 613.

²¹ On the role of black noncommissioned officers, see Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom’s Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (New York, 1998), 41–42.

²² For several examples, see Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*; and Eric L. Smith, ed., “The Civil War Letters of Quartermaster Sergeant John C. Brock, 43rd Regiment, United States Colored Troops,” in *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania’s Civil War*, ed. William A. Blair and William Pencak (University Park, PA, 2001), 141–63.

²³ Other examples of personal letters between spouses can be found in the various volumes of the Freedmen and Southern Society Project at the University of Maryland, as well as in Budge Weidman, “‘Dear Husband, Please Come Home’: Civil War Letters to Black Soldiers,” *Prologue* 35, no. 4 (2003): 60–67. Some of the correspondence in these collections might give a sense of what Annie’s letters to Tillman might have been like.

manhood's political and social meanings—that black men saw themselves as fighting for equality and the rights of citizenship, and that they desired to prove their masculinity. In his letters to the New Bedford *Mercury*, for example, James Henry Gooding of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry connected black soldiers' manhood to the issue of equal pay (black soldiers were initially paid three dollars less than white soldiers).²⁴ For Valentine, however, manhood entailed not only courage on the battlefield but also giving up bad habits, loving his wife, educating his family, and being financially responsible.

In transcribing Valentine's letters we have kept the text as close to the originals as possible. Valentine's spelling was generally phonetic but often inconsistent. We have retained his idiosyncrasies but on a few occasions have silently corrected his spelling for the sake of clarity. These corrections almost invariably involve his use of the letters "m," "n," and "r." In cursive, Valentine occasionally wrote an "r" when he clearly intended an "n," and an "n" when he clearly intended an "m." A few times he wrote a "d" when he intended a "g," or a "g" when he intended a "j" or a "y," all of which we also silently corrected. In other instances we have inserted words in brackets to ensure that readers understand his meaning. Words that could not be deciphered are either noted as illegible or followed by a bracketed question mark or a bracketed guess with a question mark.

Valentine's punctuation was virtually nonexistent. In the place of missing periods, we have inserted five blank spaces to denote where we believe there should be a break between sentences; three blank spaces denote where a comma should have been placed. Finally, a corner of the first and second pages of the second letter has been ripped off. We have inserted missing letters and words in brackets and italics when we were certain of the missing word or letters; in other cases, we have signified where words are missing with bracketed annotations.

²⁴ Virginia M. Adams, ed., *On the Altar of Freedom: A Black Soldier's Civil War Letters from the Front* (Amherst, MA, 1991), 48–49, 82–83.

Letters from Tillman Valentine to Annie Elizabeth Valentine

Morises island south Carolina

3 us col ard trupes Co B

December the 26 1863

my dear wife

i am very glad and thankful to god that i enjoy this opertunity of wrighting to you to let you know that i am very well and and i hope these few lians [lines] may find you the same i hope clara is better by this time you must not let her go out of dorse untill she is purfectly well i received your letter and it give me joy to think you are in good sparets [spirits] and more over that you have plenty to eate for sum times when i am away out on picket the furthest post out and the rebels is not far frum me i look up at the stars and ask god to bless you and take care of you i do not walk a poste but i am sirgent of the gard and have to go at the hed of my men or be called a coward so i will not give them a chance to call me that for in the grates [greatest] of danger i walk bold ly [boldly] at the hed of my men knowing that god is able and willen to to ancer [answer] my prayers which is for him to spear [spare] me to see my famly agane so my dear wife you must keepe in good sparets for the war will be over soon i think for the rebes is disurting every day and a coming over to our people yester day christmus morning there was a raped [rapid] firing aboute 10 miles from us and it is reported that the rebels was after four hundred prisners that got away frum them that morning and come to us but we cante tell how true it is yet but we hope it is so i want to see you and the little ones so bad that i donte know to wate little [illegible word] o may must kiss oh ho kiss & kiss little girl²⁵ well you must give my love to father and mother and mary ann and joseph and tell them that nelson²⁶ is well and is big as

²⁵ Perhaps this is a song lyric. The illegible word in this sentence looks like it might be "peace." The "o" after the illegible word might be an "a."

²⁶ Nelson Hercules enlisted in Company B on June 30, 1863, and mustered out with the company on Oct. 31, 1865. The 1850 census shows Nelson living with his parents, Joseph and Mary Ann Hercules, in Pennsbury Township in Chester County; the 1860 census shows him living with a different family and working as a farm laborer in Pocopson Township, Chester County. In some records his name is spelled "Herkless" or "Hurcules." Unless otherwise noted, all enlistment information in the notes comes from Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 5.

vince anderson²⁷ and he wears a greate tall hat that sum of the soldiers give him and is hard and hearty as a stone and a good soldier he never was in the gard house but once and that was for going to fight with a felow that throwed a bay net [bayonet] at him he run and nelce [nelson] after him and i lafed [laughed] at nelce for his eyes was so big the felow run in to the captins tent and nelce in after him the lieutenant cot [caught] them and put them in the garde house for a little time and took nelson out and kept the other one in a good while john barnes²⁸ is funey as ever his legs is [illegible word] as thick as ides [ɪ]²⁹ and he wears 3 shirts and 2 coats with out his overcote well lizy³⁰ would you like to see me i am as purty [pretty] as ever and way [weigh] just as much as i ever did i would like to see you and kiss you tell saley ritchson that hir [her] brother³¹ is here and well and i will tell him to wright to hir we canot tell how soon we will get payed off but we think it will come on next month our ful pay and then i will sende you sum money are you a going to sende me that potry [poetry] soon i want to see it i would like to see elijah does he talk about me and laff as much as ever well the lord knowes what is best but i think i will get saftely back they say ann mareah Elbert³² has a little one and tanson johnson³³ to is it so dear wife i must close i think mebey [maybe] i will [get] to [come] home on furlow sum time next sumer if i live the wether is very colde here know [now] we had all Christmust for a holaw day [holiday] we played ball and run races and whealed wheal barows blinde folded and had a heepe of fun to it is a quear [queer] place here the water is all a round us and we can see the

²⁷ Probably Vincent Anderson, listed in the 1870 census as a sixty-five-year-old mulatto in West Chester, Pennsylvania, who had been born in Virginia and worked at a quarry.

²⁸ John Barnes of Company B mustered in on June 30, 1863, and was absent as a result of illness when the regiment mustered out. According to papers in Barnes's pension record, he had married Tillman's sister, Esther, in 1852.

²⁹ The word we have rendered here as "ides" looks similar to the word we interpreted as "ide" in the following letter. It may be that this word is the possessive form of the same name that appears in that later letter.

³⁰ Annie's middle name was Elizabeth.

³¹ Probably the sister of John Richson (sometimes Richardson), who enlisted as a private in Company B on June 30, 1863, and mustered out on Oct. 31, 1865.

³² This is possibly Anna M. Elbert, who, according to the 1860 census, was fifteen years old and lived in Kennett Township, Chester County. According to the 1870 census mortality schedule, she died of inflammation of the bowels in July 1869 at the age of twenty-four.

³³ The 1870 census lists a Tamsan Johnson, wife of Louis Johnson, living in Philadelphia with four children, including a seven-year-old boy named Benjamin—probably the child alluded to here. An 1875 Philadelphia city directory spells her name Tanson. Valentine appears to have originally written "tamson" but then crossed out part of the "m" to make it an "n." Louis and Tamsan Johnson were white.

rebs at work i think misses taylor is very clever to you and she is a good friend tell john that he shant loose nothing by what he does for you father does not seam to be much of a friend to you does he have you got that watch or the meet tell joseph that i think a little harde of him not wrighting to me for he can wright and i think he might have you herde any thing of milt litley [lately?] how is moth [mother?] give my love to all the people and all of it but a thimble full for yourself kiss the children for me no more god bless you all your loving husband

Sirgen Tillman Valentine

keep your sparets up i think we will be hapy sum day

learn the children to read³⁴

§

Jackson ville Florida

April the 25/64

[my] ever-dear wife

[with] the gratest of plesure and loving [gra]titude i received your very welcom letter [of] the 10th and was very glad to here that [yo]u were moaved [moved] and getting along so well [i] received your presant the little brest pin [a]nd also elijas the buten [button] you donte know how i prise them when i go in battle they shall go with me and if you here of me being ded you may know that they are buried with me with out sum one strips me and takes them off of me for i love any little thing from home that peace of coluco [calico] ida sent me i lost it sum wheres and the childrens hair to i lost in my pocket book with one dolar but that is not much money i red the letter mary ann sent to nelson and i did not like it much because it had so much black garde in it he got henry jones³⁵

³⁴These two lines were written perpendicularly at the top of the first page of the letter but were clearly a postscript.

³⁵Probably Henry James, who enlisted as a private on June 30, 1863, and was promoted to sergeant major on July 12, 1863. James mustered out with the regiment on Oct. 31, 1865.

to reade it first and he had no buisness to just tell mary elbert³⁶ for me she neade not be so po ticlar [particular] about the letter stampes for when i wright again the letter will be stamped they did sende me sum stampes and i for got to put one on the letter however i will not trouble them any more just tell them to excuse me for not wrighting put ing stampes on the ones i did sende and if they [illegible word]³⁷ i can sende the stampes to the[m] agane dear wife you aske a very hearde [hard] thing when you aske for us to come home on forlow for we can not come it is in posable [impossible] your mother shall have her 4 dolars of corse tell her that i simpathi[z]e very much with her that well dear wife i must thin[k] of sum thing elce this paying of colard trupes is no³⁸ [missing word] they have concluded to give us our full pay [missing word] first of january but our friends wantes us to [missing words] our enlistment so they are trying to fix it to satesfaction[n] [missing word] the pay master is here at this time and is a going [missing word] i have not sined the pay role yet but i will sine it in [missing word] of an hour for i feal as you want money and cante do with [missing word] it is only 7 dolars per month and that we donte get clear [missing word] to this time but be in good hearte we will get it sune i will sende you 30 \$ in the next mail we will get payed on tomorrow i expect tell me if that will get you a new black dress and a bonet and pay 4 dolars rent i of times study about you and the children when i go to eate my ruff alonces [allowences] whether you have any thing or no or whether the little ones is looking up in your face asking for bred and you got none to give them elija uste to tell me sum times when i come home that you had nothing to eate you donte know how it hurt me but i trust your heardest [hardest] times is over you must tende the poste of ace [office] untill you get the money in 4 months we will get payed up all i expect i will be very car ful [careful] of my money and not spende one cent unnesurly [unnecessarily] so for i wante if i ever live to get home to live like a man and give over all low and mean habets this war has caused me to think in terly [entirely] diferent from what i did i feal my self a man and is if i ought to be a man and as if i ought to act as a man and the moste of all i wante you to teach the children good maners

³⁶ According to the 1860 census, Mary Elbert, thirty-six years old, lived in Kennett Township, Chester County.

³⁷ Possibly some form of "require" or "request."

³⁸ The end of this word is missing. It is probably either "not" or "now."

and try to im prove yourself and elevate your minde i know that [y]ou are a good wife for you have proved it and you have prayed for me to become diferent no one ever tolde me you had but i know you have for i feal as if you have so use all exsurtion [exertion] to [too] to teach the children to reade and wright and take the gratest pains with them you know how donte forget this but think of it always my dear wife you must tr[y] to make the best of your money you know how be very saving and if i live to get home we will live diferent for i am detir mand [determined] to elevate my minde you may pay your mother for the watch if you think you can spear [spare] it and if not you may tell her i will sende it to you for her sune for i will make it of of them sum how tell me if you get your mony that is your monthly pay yet and if you get any thing more for the babey tell me how joseph has that watch if he give you half of the pay [?]³⁹ or no or if he only keepes it for the 52 cts [cents] that is on it i want it for i want you to have one when i come home to father thought hearde [hard] of cutting you [your?] wood did he well if you have any thing to pay him let him have it for he is quear any how samuel⁴⁰ has gone from here their reige ment [regiment] left the state and i donte know where it went yet sum sayes they went to morises island agane tell ide [?]⁴¹ to be a good boy tell chaly [?] to be a good girl tell murey [?] to be good to you did not say any thing about little sam in your letter so i cant tell where he is give my love to joseph and mary ann and tell them that i will see to sending them nelsons money he sayed that he would sende them 25 or 30 dolars so you must tende the mail post tell them that nelson is living with me in my tente at this time and we have got the best tent in the company so my dear i must close take care of yourself and the children donte you think i am empruving in wrighting i have a copy that i wright in i will wright one lian good as i can

³⁹This word is unclear; it might be “pay,” “pig,” “peg,” or “fig” (short for figure?).

⁴⁰Tillman's younger brother, Samuel, enlisted as a private in Company B of the famous Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry on Mar. 3, 1863. He was promoted to corporal a week after enlisting and to sergeant on Dec. 6, 1863. Muster-out roll for the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, Company B, Feb. 28, 1865, NARA microfilm M1659 (Records of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment [Colored], 1863–1865), available through Fold3.com. For a letter by Samuel, see Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 66–67.

⁴¹We do not think this word refers to his daughter, Ida, since he wants this person “to be a good boy.” See also note 29 above.

is this lian good or is it not this is not as well as i wright sumtimes but i
think i have em proved sam hearty⁴² is very well jim is not very well
they are calling fall in so i must go

i am back and have bin payed of [off] so i will sende it in this letter that
will save me wrighting so much take care of it donte luse it well i must
close by saying no more at presant but still remain your true husband

Sirg Tillman Valentine

god bless you good by

wright sune and tell me if this money came safe

Your aged father is gont to rest
~~w~~e his face weal no mor see
but when we meete in hevens streetes
O we shall hapy be

his body is low beneath the sod
his solde [soul] is floen [floating] on hye
disturbe him not but but let him rest
let every tear be drye

by thy husband Sirg T Valentine

⁴² Samuel Hardy of Company H enlisted on July 18, 1863, and mustered out with the regiment on Oct. 31, 1865.

§

Jackson ville Florida

Co B 3USCT

June the 14/64

Dear wife

with greate plesure i take this oper tunity of wrighting you a few lians to let you know that i am very well at this time i re ceived yor letter on the 13 and was very glad to here from you all and i am so glad to here all ways that the little ones are all well i am very lone sum at this time for i am not with the company know [now] i am at the ingearnear of ace [engineer office]⁴³ i have got 75 [?]⁴⁴ men under me that is i am acting as sirgent of the Line near cove [?]⁴⁵ away from my company in tarly [entirely] but let me be where i am thy god that i as able to save is able to save me give my love to mary ann and joseph tell them nelson is better but he has had a bad spell well dear anne you neade not think that i have any galls [girls] here for i have not any⁴⁶ all the boys has girsl [girls] but me amoste [almost] but i think to much of my little Children for that you asked me for sum more money of corse i will sende it to you as sune as i get pay ed a gane [paid again] they say we are a going to get our wright pay but i cante tell i do not spende it for any foolishness the calvery is wriding fast⁴⁷ this evening they say the rebels is coming with 1000 men to atact us dear wife donte forget to pray for me for nothing but the mursies of god can save me there is hundreds and thosands of men getting killed every day is dave moldon⁴⁸ in the arney or no they say he is gal

⁴³ According to his compiled military service record, Valentine went on detached service with the engineer corps on June 11, 1864.

⁴⁴ Possibly "15."

⁴⁵ This word may refer to a cove near Jacksonville, or it might be "core" for "corps."

⁴⁶ One of Valentine's comrades, William Walker of Company D, testified later during the pension dispute that Valentine "never appeared to have any woman while in [the] service. . . . He never spoke of leaving Annie, nor of their having any quarrel." See Deposition C (William Walker), Sept. 26, 1896.

⁴⁷ Possibly "past."

⁴⁸ According to the 1860 census, David Mouldin, thirty-five years old, was a farm laborer in Westtown, Chester County. He was a native of Pennsylvania.

[you?] has not ritten to me since i rote to you last did you get my ring i
sente to you you must excuse all mistakes and bad wrighting i remem-
ber all them things you tolde me i wante to see you all bad but there is
not worth while talking aboute it fore 2 years more i will be at home kiss
all the children for me and sende me their likeness as sune as you can for i
wante to see them very bad my love to pap and mama to my sisters and
all give my love to all people that aske for me i know not i aske not
the gilte of that heart i only know that i love the [thee] wherever thou
art⁴⁹ kiss little penney [?] for me well i must close no more at this
time your afectant [affectionate] husband

Sirg Tillman Valentine

Christopher Newport University

JONATHAN W. WHITE, KATIE
FISHER, AND ELIZABETH WALL

⁴⁹ Here Valentine is quoting the poem "Come, Rest in This Bosom" by Thomas Moore.

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 made more available and accessible to researchers. Full finding aids and catalog records for these processed collections, and many others, can be found online at <http://hsp.org/collections/catalogs-research-tools/finding-aids> and <http://discover.hsp.org>.

John Cadwalader Estate Volume, 1786–1796

1 volume
Collection 3831

John Cadwalader (1742–86) worked as a merchant before establishing for himself a successful military career. During the Revolutionary War he organized eighty-four men into the volunteer “Greens,” or “Silk Stocking Company,” which trained at his house in Philadelphia. After news of the Battle of Lexington in April 1775, he became colonel of the Third Battalion of the Philadelphia Association of Volunteers. He was at the head of his battalion for the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in the State House yard on July 8, 1776. John participated in the December 1776 Battle of Trenton and crossed the Delaware River, but was unable to unload his artillery onto the ice in Burlington, New Jersey. After the war, he moved to Shrewsbury, Maryland, where he eventually served three terms in Maryland’s House of Delegates. He married Williamina “Willy” Bond (1753–1837), and the couple had three sons. The ledger documenting the administration of John Cadwalader’s estate is maintained in two dos-à-dos sections, one containing memoranda, inventories, and miscellaneous transactions from March 1786 and the second consisting of memoranda and receipts by the estate from November 1790. Both deal largely with the

administration of Shrewsbury Farm, with references to other Cadwalader holdings. The volume contains details on the family's slave holdings. In addition to general inventories of the men, women, and children that were owned by the estate, there are, for some individuals, agreements concerning their disposition after Cadwalader's death. These agreements contain names, dates, and promises of humane treatment and "warm and comfortable lodgings." The ledger also contains significant details on items owned by the family, including furniture, housewares, and livestock, especially horses. There are several pages of receipts showing mares and stallions that were sold by the estate.

Addition to Chew Family Papers, 1659–1986

1 item

Collection 2050

A letter from Benjamin Chew to Robert Owen, November 27, 1824, has been added to this large collection. Robert Owen, born in Wales, United Kingdom, was one of the founders of utopian socialism. He came to the United States in 1824 in search of a place to establish a utopian community, and he later did so in New Harmony, Indiana. In this lengthy letter, Benjamin Chew (1793–1844), of Philadelphia's Chew family, wrote to Owen attempting to convince him to establish his utopian community in western Pennsylvania.

United Methodist Church Eastern Pennsylvania Congregations Records, 1832–2002

4 volumes

Collection 3854

The Historical Society of the Eastern Pennsylvania Conference (EPC) of the United Methodist Church was founded in the 1860s. This voluntary organization is open to all members of the EPC, and it works in conjunction with EPA Commission on Archives and History members. The collection, which was gathered by the historical society, includes records of a wide swath of churches of the EPC, most of which are located in south-

eastern Pennsylvania. Minutes in volumes comprise the vast majority of the records, which date from the 1830s to early 2002, with the bulk of the records dating from the mid 1800s to the mid 1900s. In addition to minutes, some of the volumes contain primarily financial documentation, and there are also folders of loose papers, newsletters, scattered photographs, copper plates, VHS tapes, reel-to-reel audio, and a reel of film.

**Grim-McFarland-Woodbridge Family History Collection, circa
1905–2007, undated**
7 boxes, 2 flat files
Collection 3706

This family history collection documents several members of the Grim, McFarland, and Woodbridge families over several generations. The Grim and McFarland families came together with the eighteen-month marriage of Joseph McFarland (1833–67) and Susan Elmira Grim (1842–1927), beginning in August 1866. Shortly after Joseph McFarland married Susan Grim in 1866, the couple learned he was dying from tuberculosis. At the time, they were living in the crowded home of Joseph McFarland's parents at 1653 N. Eighth Street in Philadelphia. However, her father, Jacob Grim (1819–96), had just built a new, spacious house, and the young couple moved into what would later be called "The Historic Grim Home" at 1314 Franklin Street, Philadelphia. Approximately one half of the collection documents family history and genealogy, while the remaining material centers on the life and work of Katherine Adele McFarland-Gerken, a granddaughter of Joseph and Susan McFarland, who served abroad as a Red Cross nurse in the 1920s. Much of the material records her nursing and travel experiences from 1921 to 1925. The collection includes family correspondence, memoirs, photographs, travel souvenirs, genealogical charts, and other items. There are several Civil War letters addressed to Susan Grim McFarland from her cousin Nicholas Grim, who served with the 28th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers and the 147th Regiment, which participated in General Sherman's 1864 march.

Big Brothers Big Sisters of America Records, 1902–2009

74 boxes

Collection 3823

Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA) is a national network of local agencies that administer the Big Brothers Big Sisters mentoring model. In this program, a child facing adversity is matched with an adult volunteer in a relationship supported by professional staff. The mentorships are intended to help children succeed in school, avoid risky behaviors such as fighting and alcohol or drug use, and improve self-confidence. Organized Big Brothers and Big Sisters mentoring began in New York City in or around 1904, and similar programs were formed in dozens of cities over the following years. The Big Brothers Big Sisters Federation was incorporated in 1921 but struggled during the Great Depression and dissolved in 1937. However, local mentoring programs continued, and new national organizations were later formed: Big Brothers of America, founded in 1946 and headquartered in Philadelphia, and Big Sisters International, founded in 1970 and headquartered first in Washington, DC, then Chattanooga, Tennessee, then Philadelphia. The two organizations merged in 1977 to form BBBSA, with headquarters in Philadelphia and 357 affiliated agencies. In 2013, BBBSA moved its headquarters to Irving, Texas. The Big Brothers Big Sisters of America records span the life of the organization from its founding to recent times through internal administrative files and external press materials, such as promotional ads and video recordings. As extensive as the administrative records are, there are few, if any, financial documents. Making up the bulk of the collection is records of policies and procedures of BBBSA, board minutes, conference materials (including recordings on cassette tapes), constitutions and bylaws, lists of board members and of affiliated agencies, manuals, reports, brochures, and press kits. There are also clippings, some correspondence, newsletters, framed items, and artifacts such as plaques, trophies, and embossing stamps. Audio-visual items make up a good third of the collection and include audiocassettes, VHS tapes, U-Matic tapes, reel-to-reel audio and video, and a few unknown videocassette formats.

Charles H. Sykes Papers, 1836–1942 (bulk 1909–1942)

5 boxes, 1 flat file

Collection 3656

Charles H. “Bill” Sykes was a political cartoonist for Philadelphia’s *Evening Public Ledger* newspaper from the 1910s to 1942. Born in Alabama in 1882, he received a degree from the Drexel Institute and worked for many prominent publications, including *Life* magazine. This collection features a group of original political cartoons for the *Evening Public Ledger* drawn in crayon, pencil, and India ink. Most of the original artwork depicts the build-up to World War II and the early months of US involvement in the war. The collection also includes numerous newspaper clippings of his political cartoons, some personal correspondence, ephemera, and miscellaneous drawings, including several patriotic drawings for Philco.

Addition to Borie Family Papers, 1832–2011

1 flat file

Collection 1602

These additions to the Borie Family Papers include two roughly equal groupings: Borie family history papers and the papers of Lysbeth Knickerbocker Boyd Borie. The Borie family of Philadelphia originated from French émigré John Joseph Borie (1776–1834). Early members of the American family worked as merchants. Through marriage, the Bories became linked to many other local families, including the McKeans, Leaches, Norrises, Sewells, and Rushes. Papers in the family history section, which take up about half the collection, consist of photocopies of vital records, obituaries, and pages from publications on the family or from family members; web print-outs of genealogical information; loose and framed photographs and photo albums, correspondence, personal financial volumes; published books and yearbooks; clippings and ephemera, and other items. The other half of the donation consists of the papers of Lysbeth Knickerbocker Boyd Borie, daughter of D. Knickerbocker Boyd and Elizabeth H. Mifflin, who married Henry P. Borie. Lysbeth graduated from the Agnes Irwin School and Bryn Mawr College (class of 1925) and was a poet, author of several children’s books, and freelance advertising copywriter. She was

director of public relations at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1957–67; president of the Junior League of Philadelphia, 1930–32; and active in the Independence Hall Association, Friends of Independence National Historical Park, and several other civic organizations. She died in 1990 at age eighty-seven. Borie's personal papers document the bulk of her life, from high school until her death. Materials include correspondence; poems, short stories, radio scripts, and other writings; photos and a photo album; clippings, books, and other printed material; ephemera; student materials; awards; a stamp collection; 16mm film; a VHS videocassette; artifacts; and other items.

Stuart F. Feldman Papers, 1937–2011

88 boxes, 2 volumes

Collection 3741

Stuart F. Feldman (1937–2010) was a lawyer, author, consultant, and independent advocate who was active in a wide variety of civic and cultural programs and projects. Initiatives that he proposed and successfully spearheaded included creation of the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia; legislation that made billions of dollars available to Vietnam veterans for education, counseling, and jobs; and the Martin Luther King Memorial in Washington, DC. Mr. Feldman worked for the Securities and Exchange Commission (1961–63), Appalachian Regional Commission (1965–67), Department of Transportation (1967–69), US Conference of Mayors (1969–79), and as senior vice president of the National Constitution Center (1994–97), among other positions. Born in Philadelphia, he graduated from Cheltenham High School and received a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Pennsylvania, 1958, and a doctoral degree from Penn's Law School, 1961. The Stuart F. Feldman Papers include subject files, correspondence, minutes, typed and handwritten notes, reports, clippings, pamphlets, and other items. The papers provide substantial documentation of Feldman's ideas and work, both public and behind the scenes, across a wide variety of topics and over several decades. Most of the material concerns Feldman's professional activities, but there are also a few typed journal entries and scattered letters that discuss his personal life.

Balch Institute Political Ephemera Collection, 1941–1974, undated

4 boxes, 3 flat files

Collection 3472

This collection of material that was collected by the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies contains a variety of publications and other printed matter generally related to elections, political matters, and political parties. The vast majority of the collection dates to the 1970s; however, there are a few folders of papers from the 1940s and 1960s. The collection covers, though not widely, national and regional politics, and especially centers on the 1972 presidential election. The collection is roughly arranged into four groups. The first group contains publications, flyers, advertisements, pamphlets, and other ephemera related to the 1972 president election involving Democratic candidates George McGovern (president) and Sargent Shriver (vice president) and Republican incumbents President Richard Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew. Highlights include an array of pamphlets describing each party's platform, a folder of pins and bumper stickers from Nixon's campaign, and a copy of Nixon's acceptance speech that he gave at the Republican National Convention in Miami, Florida. There is also a single folder of material from the campaigns of third-party candidates, including Ed Muskie and Hubert Humphrey. The second group consists of street lists of registered voters from 1971 for Philadelphia's Tenth, Eleventh, Fifty-Fourth, and Sixtieth Wards and from 1972 for the Second through Seventh and Tenth to Eleventh Wards in Chester, Delaware County. The third group contains documentation produced by the Republican Party generally (including mailing lists and an informational guide to the Republican National Convention), as well as by related organizations, such as young Republican clubs in New York and Florida. The remaining materials in the collection are comprised of scant and miscellaneous publications and ephemera from different political parties, such as the Prohibition Party, the Socialist Party, and the Constitution Party, as well as advertisements, pamphlets, and other items produced by local and state politicians for various elections. A miscellaneous folder contains a few interesting groups of items, such as a press release pertaining to and pictures of Bella Abzug, a United States representative from New York, and a letter and pamphlets from the War Resisters' League. Remaining with this collection, though not necessarily related to its contents, are a

commemorative medal from United Nation World Youth Assembly and a souvenir pen bearing Spiro Agnew's signature, as well as a group of newsletters and photographs of astronauts from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Girls' Coalition of Southeastern Pennsylvania Records, 1976–1998

3 boxes

Collection 3743

The Girls' Coalition of Southeastern Pennsylvania was an advocacy group for girls and women that was active in the Philadelphia area from 1980 to 2001. The organization worked to promote the self-esteem and visibility of young girls as leaders through hosting conferences and forums covering various issues that included the education of girls, mother-daughter relationships, and girls in sports. Reports of these conferences were published and distributed nationally, impacting the advocacy and study of girls. The coalition also established the annual Estey Award, named after one of the founding members, which recognized the achievements of girls and programs in the community that promoted the self-esteem and leadership of girls. The collection consists mainly of the records of the board of directors as well as materials pertaining to the conferences and Estey Awards sponsored by the coalition. This collection provides valuable information relating to feminism and women's advocacy in late twentieth-century America.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

RACHEL MOLOSHOK
AND HSP ARCHIVES STAFF

REVIEW ESSAY

Getting History's Words Right: Diaries of Emilie Davis

Memorable Days: The Emilie Davis Diaries, <http://davisdiaries.villanova.edu>.
Transcribed and annotated by the MEMORABLE DAYS PROJECT, directed
by JUDITH GIESBERG. (Villanova University, 2012. Free website.)

*Emilie Davis's Civil War: The Diaries of a Free Black Woman in Philadelphia,
1863–1865*. Edited by JUDITH GIESBERG, transcribed and annotated by
the MEMORABLE DAYS PROJECT EDITORIAL TEAM. (University Park:
Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. 240 pp. Illustrations, notes,
bibliography, index. Cloth, \$59.95; paper, \$16.65.)

*Notes from a Colored Girl: The Civil War Pocket Diaries of Emilie Frances
Davis*. By KARSONYA WISE WHITEHEAD. (Columbia: University of
South Carolina Press, 2014. 280 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography,
index. \$39.95.)

A REMARKABLE HISTORICAL SOURCE came to light in 1999, when the Historical Society of Pennsylvania acquired pocket diaries for 1863, 1864, and 1865, kept by a young African American woman in Philadelphia. These are small, preprinted books, three dates to a page, that Emilie Davis filled with notes about herself, friends and family, the preachers, teachers, and doctors in her community, the lectures and concerts she attended, and the Civil War. Although it is rare for someone to be such a faithful diarist for just three years, and despite evidence in the diary that Davis also wrote countless letters to friends and family, so far the three wartime diaries are all that we have of Davis. Their survival is highly unusual; that they open a new door into Philadelphia's midcentury African American community makes them invaluable; and that they give voice to a

young, literate woman who, in many respects, owns the city streets makes them extraordinary.¹

With good reason, Emilie Davis's diaries attracted attention as a source that would find a wide audience, and now, readers have her daily notes available in three versions. Two handsome print editions of the diaries are on the market. Karsonya Wise Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl: The Civil War Pocket Diaries of Emilie Frances Davis*, intersperses years of the diary among chapters about Emilie's life.² Judith Giesberg and the Memorable Days Project, *Emilie Davis's Civil War: The Diaries of a Free Black Woman in Philadelphia, 1863–1865*, delivers the diary's text with minimal explanatory notes.³ In addition, and free of charge, anyone with Internet access can visit *Memorable Days: The Emilie Davis Diaries*, a site by the same people who prepared *Emilie Davis's Civil War* that presents images of the original handwritten pages alongside transcribed and annotated text.⁴

It is unusual to have multiple editions of one historical document published at the same time; to transcribe a handwritten source in order to render it accurately in modern type is painstaking work. Many people may ask, why do it twice? It is more unusual still to have editors simultaneously publish distinctly different texts from the same source. Here is Emilie Davis's entry for January 2, 1865, as it appears in the three publications:

Variant A: lovely day home all morning very busy i wrote to brother and sister yesterday and tomy to night comes off the long gatherd of Celebration by the [...] it was very grand (*Memorable Days* site)

Variant B: lovely day home all morning very busy i wrote to brother and sister yesterday and tomy to night comes off the long talked of Celebration by the banneker institute it was very grand (*Emilie Davis's Civil War*)

¹No one has revealed yet the record of the diaries' ownership over the last century and a quarter.

²Karsonya Wise Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl: The Civil War Pocket Diaries of Emilie Frances Davis* (Columbia, SC, 2014). For this book, Whitehead, who also publishes with the given name Kaye, won the 2014 Letitia Woods Brown Book Award for Best Edited Book in African American history from the Association of Black Women Historians.

³Judith Giesberg and the Memorable Days Project Editorial Team, *Emilie Davis's Civil War: The Diaries of a Free Black Woman in Philadelphia, 1863–1865* (University Park, PA, 2014).

⁴*Memorable Days: The Emilie Davis Diaries*, <http://davisdiaries.villanova.edu>. In most citations to the diaries, I provide the date of an entry rather than its page number in order to facilitate comparisons among the versions.

Variant C: Lovely day. Home all morning. Very busy, I wrote to Father and Sister yesterday and Tomy. Tonight it comes off, the long awaited Celebration by the Banneker Institute. It was very grand. (*Notes from a Colored Girl*)

Woe is she who finds occasion to quote that passage. The editors did not see the same things on the page. Did Emilie write to her brother or her father? Did she think the celebration was “long gathered,” “long talked of,” or “long awaited”? Adding confusion are disagreements between the editors about basic data. They differ as to the name of Emilie’s father, and that is just the beginning.⁵

These divergent results are unsettling. Is history usually this wobbly? Are words on historical pages this uncertain as a rule? These are not the differences of interpretation and viewpoint that historians embrace as intellectual exercise and self-improvement. In this case, the raw elements of history, its primary sources, have gone through competing refineries with inconsistent output. How does this happen? Davis’s diaries are dense and difficult texts that put historical craftsmanship to the test. By looking at the source itself and at choices made by the editors, aspects of historical research and the customs of editing historical texts come into focus.

At the start, no one knew about the diarist except as a name she inscribed in her books.⁶ The Historical Society’s finding aid to its collection 3030, *Emilie Davis Diaries*, preserves that initial puzzlement in the processing note:

City directories, census, and church records were researched, but no record of Emilie Davis was found. She wrote of going to church and mentioned some churches by name, but never stated the name of the church she attended. An investigation of a likely church (using the name of her minister) revealed that pre-1870 records had been destroyed in a fire.⁷

Historians and genealogists alike will recognize the path that the society’s volunteer followed into historical lists; many a quest to solve mysteries

⁵ Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis’s Civil War*, xix, identifies Emilie’s father as Isaac Davis. Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 221, identifies him as Charles Davis.

⁶ It is unclear at what stage of acquisition and by what means the author’s race became evident. Davis rarely refers to her race.

⁷ *Emilie Davis Diaries* (Collection 3030), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, finding aid, http://hsp.org/sites/default/files/legacy_files/migrated/findingaid3030davis.pdf.

about race, residence, occupation, neighbors, and beliefs begins in those records. At a dead end there, the search for Emilie Davis turned back on itself to scour her diaries for more clues to their author. A later paragraph in the society's guide, under the heading "Background," is built of such self-referential information:

Little is known about Emilie Davis. She was born on February 18 in an unknown year and was most likely in her late teens or early twenties when she began her diary in 1863. She seems to have lived alone but occasionally stayed with the family for whom she was working. She was educated, enjoyed reading, and also attended night school. She enjoyed spending time with her friends, attended church regularly, and occasionally went to lectures and concerts. Davis enjoyed music and singing, and eventually learned to play the guitar.⁸

Every element in that passage is available in the diaries, and nothing in that passage is gleaned from other sources—with the possible exception of the guess about her age. Anyone over thirty-five would, no doubt, recognize Emilie's age. To have time for friends and be among them is vital to her happiness.

In her diary, Emilie Davis perfected vagueness as if it were an art. Consider her entries for the first month, January 1863. Faithful in showing up for a class each Monday night, she omits to say what she studies. As noted in the Historical Society's guide, Emilie never identifies the church she attended each week. The lay of the land is mysterious. Emilie occupies unidentified space: she is "here" and friends come "up" to call on her. In another direction, "home," where her father lives, is "down"; she goes down home to see him. School is also down. She visits a few other homes, hears a lecture, and attends church, all without tipping anyone off about distances, streets, or even up and down. Nothing in the entries of January points to a city or neighborhood or street.

No one else living "here" enters the story this month; Emilie is alone, away from her family, with no hint at an explanation. At "here" Emilie receives callers nearly every day and once mentions serving tea to a guest (January 26). That cup of tea is the only food or drink she notes in the entire month. In fact, she rarely discusses the dailiness of life—food, sleep, bathing, grooming—at all. She names at least thirty people (the Marys

⁸Ibid.

are difficult to differentiate) in the pages for January, most of them by given name only. Nowhere in the diary can readers discover an identity for Emilie's best friend, Nellie, who appears, according to the calculations of Kaye Whitehead, 504 times in its pages.⁹ Emilie has dressmaking skills. On Saturdays in that January she keeps busy sewing on a dress for herself; one Thursday, she helps Nellie buy dress fabric and then cuts out the parts for her friend to sew. In this month, nothing suggests that she earned money by sewing or other work. Students of diaries sometimes state that diaries tend to record the unexpected moments in life, not the dishwashing or diapers. With that hypothesis, one might decide that Emilie's job is the predictable background noise that merits no mention. But if her schedule for January is plotted, she has almost no time left for a job.

The document is also difficult because its daily entries, crammed three to a page in a small book, are hard to decipher. Reading the diaries, as someone evidently did to prepare the Historical Society's finding aid, is one thing; transcribing them is another. A reader can extract some meaning when a number of words come together, regardless of imaginative spelling, slips of the pen, or letters rubbed away. A transcriber must see every detail in order to represent the author's work. When an author writes in a standard style, some of the scribbles on a page can be translated on the basis of a dictionary and/or what is known about the person's vocabulary and customary syntax. But idiosyncratic writing is a different animal: the author may try out variant spellings, create her own shorthand, write phonetically, mimic local accents, and more. Until patterns are evident, the transcriber cannot guess that noun and verb will agree, for example; that routine decision must be made in every instance.

Emilie Davis wrote in cursive script, most of the time with pen and ink. Her spelling was not standard, but her misspellings had some consistency—a single letter “p” in “stoped” and “shoped,” for example, and needless vowels in “buisey” or “buisy.” She obviously believed that hers were “pleasent” or “plesent” days. She exhibited the very common quirk in handwriting that her letters “o” and “a” are now indistinguishable. For some reason she rarely capitalized the first person singular “I” but always took the time to dot her preferred “i.” And in another challenge familiar to editors, her capital letters are often hard to distinguish from lowercase and rather erratically deployed. Punctuation held no interest for her at all,

⁹ Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, xvi.

and she treated margins of the page as of no moment: if she wrote “w-a-n-t-e” and reached the edge of her page, she started the next line with the uprooted letter “d.” Similarly, if she had more to say than was allotted by the diary for that day, she concluded in the next space. This combination of writing practices produces entries like this one for January 3, 1863, here in the variant from *Emilie Davis’s Civil War*:

all there very Pleasent this morning buisey all day reading and his were her
to service i went down home to see if father had begun and was coming
away when

Emilie Davis made it very difficult to extract the narrative and cast of characters in her life.

Why bother to edit this difficult text? Why would multiple scholars set out to read and transcribe the diary, render it legible for others, and contextualize its story? One perfectly good answer is, because it’s there—or, put another way, because one “encounters documents that are simply too good to leave hidden in an archive.”¹⁰ American historians have edited and published significant texts since the eighteenth century both to preserve and to share historical evidence. The diary of a free black woman in Philadelphia would not have met eighteenth-century measures of value, but that transaction of editing texts to put them in circulation survives as one mode of historical scholarship. Sources that merit an edition and publication today, particularly those that are not a “long-lost letter of Thomas Jefferson” or its equivalent, are likely to be multifaceted, even kaleidoscopic texts to which readers and researchers are drawn for all sorts of reasons. Editors sense possibilities in the text and open the door to the historical evidence. They anticipate their readers. Emilie Davis’s diaries might be plumbed for details of city life, domestic service, or religious practice that are not evidenced elsewhere. Perhaps they will be searched for one woman’s rarely documented perspective on familiar institutions, wartime events, or work. One reader will pick up the diaries to look at details about how friends and family kept in touch and recognize its evidence of an informal postal system that carried Emilie’s letters around the city (September 7, 17, 30, 1863). Someone will want to quote Emilie’s realization that a seamstress at a sewing machine tired very quickly of sitting

¹⁰ Michael E. Stevens and Steven B. Burg, *Editing Historical Documents: A Handbook of Practice* (Walnut Creek, CA, 1997), 18.

(July 19, 1864). Another reader will form ideas about what impels Emilie and her circle to visit a doctor (October 19, 1863). Someone else will delve into patterns of work that have white families hiring black servants like Emilie just for the summers. The best editing prepares for them all.

At work on *Notes from a Colored Girl*, first as her dissertation, Kaye Whitehead was captivated by the diary's power to reveal a black woman situated among family and friends in a city and engaged with the institutions of Philadelphia's African Americans. Emilie's ordinary life, Whitehead writes, "has been rendered extraordinary simply because it has survived"; by keeping a diary, Emilie Davis "moved from invisibility to visibility" and inserted herself into modern quests to understand the lives of "everyday, working-class free black American women."¹¹ She treats Emilie, on the one hand, as an individual who squabbles with friends, endures physical pain, worries about her father's health, and occasionally resents her employer, and, on the other hand, as a means to explore Davis's world and the subjectivity of a person in her social situation.¹² *Notes from a Colored Girl* incorporates the text of the diaries, a year at a time, and surrounds Emilie's words with Whitehead's chapters for which they are inspiration and evidence. She picks up the diaries as artifacts and explores the history of pocket diaries, pens, ink, and pencils, making the point, among others, that there were costs associated with keeping these books. She notices Emilie's use of "up" and "down" to describe the horizontal plane of city streets and thinks about them as possible indicators of location. She works especially hard to assign surnames to Emilie's friends and then, where possible, extend her research to learn something of them. Given Davis's frequent references to dressmaking, Whitehead explores the craft, its terms of art, and its occupational hierarchies. Not a customary edition that makes the primary source the main attraction, Whitehead's exploration of the world of Emilie Davis as revealed in her diaries is a lively look at a time and place as well as an individual.

¹¹ Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 1.

¹² Although it is Judith Giesberg who evokes the historian and writer Jill Lepore as her project's muse, the distinctions Lepore draws between microhistory and biography are more pertinent to Kaye Whitehead's use of the diaries "as a means to exploring the culture," in Lepore's words. Something larger than the individual is, in Whitehead's practice, revealed by the diary itself, in the everyday experience of Emilie Davis. See Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 129–44, quotation p. 141; and Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, xxiv.

When Judith Giesberg began work on the diary in 2012, Kaye Whitehead had completed her dissertation and was revising it for publication.¹³ As a historian of the era and a teacher, Giesberg designed an imaginative classroom collaboration for graduate students in the Department of History at Villanova University to edit and present the diaries, initially on the *Memorable Days* website. The title page of *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, the book to come of the same collaboration, tags Giesberg the editor, while the Memorable Days Project Editorial Team, made up of herself and five students, takes credit for transcribing and annotating the text. This Villanova team took a narrow view of the diaries' evidentiary value. In the introduction signed by Giesberg, Davis's diaries are described as records of the Civil War, to be "mine[d] . . . for events we deem *newsworthy* about the Civil War" (italics in original).¹⁴ Or, in another formulation, it is the entries about the war that "make the diary and its author worth a closer look."¹⁵ She even anticipates that her readers might grow "impatient for war news."¹⁶ In this view, Emilie Davis's individuality and identity are beside the point, her work and friends of little moment. Moreover, sticking to the Civil War is an easier path for editors. Events are known by other means, and the diary reflects a familiar structure consisting of moments "we deem *newsworthy*," in Giesberg's phrase. Even Emilie Davis's artistic vagueness cannot obscure such milestones as the Emancipation Proclamation, the penetration of Confederate troops into Pennsylvania, the founding of the United States Colored Troops, or Lincoln's assassination.

With two books and a website devoted to her, Emilie Davis is still kind of hazy and unknown, with basic identifiers such as occupation and residence uncertain. But enough about a real person emerged from the editors' work to situate her diaries in a recognizable time and place, a context, that shaped her experiences and her observations. The editors recognized that in official records her name was often given as Emily, and with that

¹³The date comes from Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, xiii. For Whitehead's visibility as a scholar then at work on the diaries, see Kaye Wise Whitehead, "Reconstructing the Life of a Colored Woman: The Pocket Diaries of Emilie F. Davis," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 135 (2011): 561–64.

¹⁴Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, 3.

¹⁵Ibid., 3. Giesberg made similar points about the project in an article, "The Civil War at 150," for the online journal *Common-Place. The Interactive Journal of Early American Life*, <http://www.common-place.org/vol-14/no-02/giesberg/>. Davis's diary "would make it possible to tell a new story about the Civil War . . . We saw the Civil War through her eyes."

¹⁶Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, 5.

adjustment, the federal census of 1860 yielded up a likely candidate for the author: a mulatto servant, age twenty-one, living in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward with other Davises whose given names pop up in the diary. Military records matched Emilie's references to her brothers in the Union navy. The lectures she mentions could be linked to events publicized at the Banneker Institute. In the rare instances where she supplies a surname for her friends and associates, she signals acquaintance with some of the best-known and leading members of Philadelphia's African American community. Deaths and marriages among her acquaintances were sometimes found in city records, and eventually researchers turned up what looks to be Emilie's own wedding, a year after the diaries end.

Context expands what readers can understand about Emilie Davis's situation and also informs the transcription of her text. Her regular but unspecified lessons at Mr. Lively's house (mentioned first at November 22, 1864) tell more about what matters to her once research revealed him to be Addison W. Lively, "colored" music teacher, vocal conductor, and political activist, whose documented deeds include leading the Shiloh Baptist Church Sabbath School choir and providing entertainment at a Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League gala.¹⁷ Context also shapes how well the editors read this difficult text. Between posting a transcript of Davis's entry for January 2, 1865 (above), on the *Memorable Days* site and sending *Emilie Davis's Civil War* to print sometime later, research improved the text; [...], indicating illegible words, became "Banneker Institute." With knowledge of Emilie's community and its institutions, the difficult shapes of her words came into focus.

Context can be friends and family. Readers begin to feel that they know Emilie's friends, but nearly every identification is educated guesswork, made more difficult by women's smaller presence in the public record and habit of changing their names upon marriage. Kaye Whitehead takes many more risks than the *Memorable Days* team to identify people around Davis. Bigger risks lead to bigger errors. The crowd of women named Mary among Emilie's acquaintances occasionally requires even Emilie to distinguish them by adding an initial. Whitehead's transcription of January 13,

¹⁷ See Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 225. Also see *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 7, 1865, where Lively is billed as the "Vocal Conductor" for an upcoming event of the State Equal Rights League. Whitehead believes that Lively taught Davis to play the guitar, but Lively could be teaching her singing, his specialty. Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, 90, adds a note to say that Davis "does not mention specifically what kind of lessons she was taking."

1863, reads in part, “Mary G, and her son were here. How glad I was to see them, he is a fine boy.” She is so sure she sees the letter “G” and then so sure she knows Mary’s identity that she expands the initial to “G(rew)” in this entry and simply uses “Grew” for all subsequent occurrences of the initial. This Mary reappears several times, most notably on November 4, 1863: “Very busy all day cleaning up the house, Mary Grew and I,” after the death of Emilie’s sister-in-law. Whitehead identifies Mary Grew simply as a member of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.¹⁸ This is an unlikely identification. That Mary Grew (perhaps there were others) was a fifty-year-old, white, single woman without any children. A distinguished abolitionist in an interracial antislavery society, she nonetheless seems an improbable prospect for helping Emilie to clean her sister’s house. The Memorable Days team read Mary’s initial as a “J” and left her unidentified.

A surprising weakness in both books is the absence of customary indicators about how the editors know something or think they know something. The aforementioned difference over the name of Emilie’s father is a case in point: nothing in the books guides the reader to grasp how the editors reached different conclusions or what steps the next researcher might take to settle the matter. In another example, Davis spent four months of 1864 in Germantown, working for a Mrs. Wister, in a job she disliked. The cautious Memorable Days team suggests that she may have worked for Owen and Sarah Butler Wister. Whitehead asserts it as fact: Emilie worked for Sarah.¹⁹ Both editors leave readers to guess on what basis this is suspected or known. Historians do not usually hide their evidence and clues. That record of research is offered in part as witness to their own good intentions: you may check my work, if you desire. But in such a complex case as these diaries, it also maps out the research already undertaken so that further work need not repeat. Since neither editor indicates whether she consulted the Historical Society of Pennsylvania’s extensive Wister and Butler Families Papers to learn if Davis’s employer could be confirmed by any intersection of events, the next historian might risk repeating a fruitless search.

The Memorable Days team spelled out its standards for providing context through annotation to Emilie’s text in their “Note on Method”: “We

¹⁸ Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 20, 224.

¹⁹ Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis’s Civil War*, 100, and Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 159–60.

generally chose to annotate when we thought readers would benefit from the context or when we hoped an annotation would help them make a connection that would have been clear to Emilie or her contemporaries.”²⁰ The restraint speaks to a model very different from Kaye Whitehead’s idea of encasing the diary in a book about the lives in it; it is more akin to what usually guides historical editors, except that the plan presumes that the diaries are valuable for their occasional observations about the Civil War. It is also a little vague. Sometimes the context that readers need becomes evident from close attention to the text itself. One of Davis’s complaints about life with Mrs. Wister is her isolation, not only from her friends in the city but also from new friends in Germantown. These are months filled with emotions, adjustments, and puzzling pieces of information. Suddenly, on July 8, 1864, there appears a cryptic entry after a talk with her employer: “I see i will not be able to spend the sumer in germantown.” In what follows, there is nothing about a new job, a relocation of the family, or packing to move; there may be change, however, in her ability to see her home friends, as if she were now closer to them. If Emilie worked for Mrs. Wister the entire summer, did she stay in Germantown to do so? Could the Wisters have moved into a different house? This is context at the heart of Emilie’s story that would benefit readers. Maybe the next person inspired to learn about Emilie Davis’s working life will try to answer those questions.

An editor’s own interest in a text sometimes works against his attention to context, even to context that is reasonably accessible. Emilie Davis’s activities over three wartime years very often involve transportation other than walking, and the editors ignore the subject. Emilie and her friends make frequent trips between Center City and Germantown, for example. How did one make that trip in the 1860s? What did it cost? The editors notice her use of the term “the cars” (May 1–2, 1863, June 7, 1864, January 26, 1865, August 12–13, 14, 1865), usually reserved for trolleys, and because streetcars in Philadelphia were restricted by race and the site of intense civil rights agitation to desegregate them, that mode of transport has received historical attention and acquired a bibliography.²¹ But what cars are these? Many routes are known, historic transportation is a popular subject, and maps are treasured; this context could have been provided. A train takes her to Harrisburg, or so one deduces from her use of the

²⁰ Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis’s Civil War*, xxiv.

²¹ Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 8–9, offers some thoughts about streetcars as affordable transportation and how they opened up the city to connect neighborhoods, but there are no details specific to Davis’s stories.

term “depot” (December 25, 1865). How long a trip was that by train in 1865 and what did it cost? The uncredited indexer of *Emilie Davis’s Civil War* thought the topic was important, but he or she had little to point to. Entries for “travel, by train,” refer readers to several entries such as Emilie’s return from Harrisburg on that Christmas Day, when Vincent met her at “the Depot.” There’s nothing more there about Emilie’s trip, not even the word “train.”

Context expresses what the editor thinks is important. A case can be made that what matters most—where editorial energy should be concentrated, in these diaries or any other rich historical source—is precisely that which is new and surprising. The missed opportunities in these editions are the insights and hints about domestic service that Emilie Davis provides and invites readers to explore. Davis’s experience as a working woman does not alter how readers understand the Civil War. Furthermore, to research one domestic servant through multiple employing families would be a herculean task. Few diaries of free black women exist, it is true, but they likely outnumber the diaries of mid-nineteenth-century servants of any race. For two months in 1863, Emilie lived with a Mr. and Mrs. Harris, presumably as a domestic servant and not the family’s only servant. She makes no reference to children and notes very little about her duties: dusting on August 27, sewing on September 3, washing windows on October 1. Who is this family and where do they live? As usual, Emilie offers only the slimmest clues. She is in the country, relatively speaking, and she can walk to the Falls. Editors of both books chose the entry for August 14 to add a note explaining that Emilie’s employer lived at East Falls on the Schuylkill River, though Emilie never says so.²² Neither editor pushes beyond the scant hints about this job, yet this is a rich section of the diary that merits more attention. The weeks near the Falls offer rare examples of Emilie Davis observing unfamiliar surroundings and people. The neighborhood is so white that she is prompted to refer to her own color (August 23). Away from her own church, she experiments with different denominations, including a stop at the Schuylkill Falls Methodist Episcopal Church one Sunday (September 27). Though living in, Emilie is hardly less confined than when she resides alone in Center City. Her employer seems to

²²Whitehead reproduces several times an error that must be one of copyediting, not research, when she states that the Harris family lived in Harrisburg. She contradicts herself, even on a single page. At August 13, she reads the entry to say that Emilie set off for Harrisburg, and at August 14, she states that her new employer lived at East Falls. See Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, 45.

live in a whole neighborhood of families employing servants. She quickly acquires a new set of friends with whom she goes for ice cream and takes walks, downhill to the Falls and uphill toward Germantown. After she joined friends on one visit, she remarks, "we had a good bit of fun but i think it is the last time i will climb that hill" (September 9). Perhaps the strongest reason to learn more about this job is how much Emilie Davis seems to like Mr. and Mrs. Harris. As her work draws to an end, she pays her employer a revealing compliment: "mrs harris Treated me like a lady she said she was sorry she had to Part with me" (October 6).²³

Even to try situating this story in context is difficult, and it may fail, but to ignore the task diminishes this historical source. If Philadelphia's city directory for 1863 is reliable, only one Harris family lived on the fringes of the city. That was the family of George Harris, a manufacturer, residing on Ridge Avenue in Roxborough. Geographically, that identification works: a neighborhood, the Falls, the hill, and the Methodist Episcopal church are put into place. It is unlikely that certainty could ever be achieved, unless someone in George Harris's family also kept a diary that echoed Emilie's. But a hypothesis is useful, and with his name and address in hand, there are further steps to take. Can his business be learned? Who lives in this household—or who did in 1860 and 1870, when the census was taken? Especially, one might ask about the population of servants in the Harris household. Then, what other evidence about this family, their residence, and the neighborhood can be found? What price is too high to pay in order to learn who are these people that employ Emilie Davis and treat her like a lady?

Central to the purpose of the Emilie Davis books and website is translating the diary's text from rough manuscript to printed page. Styles of transcription range along a spectrum from a conservative, literal practice to an interventionist, standardized representation. Editors generally strive to balance, on one side of the scale, protecting the evidence inscribed on the page—haste, phonetic spelling, ambiguous sentence breaks; and on the opposite side, achieving readability because sharing the valued evidence requires it. Even those editors working with texts by well-educated spelling champions make hundreds of choices about how to render in print what they see in manuscript. Diaries pose extra challenges because it is assumed that their authors wrote for no one but themselves, without paying

²³The quoted passages in this paragraph are from my own transcription of the text.

attention to a putative other who might need to read their entries. Textual scholars for whom a diary is just one type of surviving record, distinguishable from correspondence, manuscript essays, or drafts of books, advise that the text of diaries be reproduced in as literal a manner as possible: “Informal in nature and private in intent, diaries lose rather than gain by any attempt to impose excessive conventions of print publication.”²⁴ Rarely is such a rigid stance effective, however, with texts that break the rules of grammar, spelling, and punctuation. Editors of the Freedom Project, who transcribed letters by freed slaves written at the close of the Civil War and published an enviable edition of nonstandard texts, concluded, “The many documents entirely bereft of punctuation require some editorial intervention for the sake of readability.”²⁵ They demonstrated that a dash and a pinch of punctuation does not destroy a text’s authenticity.

The styles of transcription chosen by the editors of Emilie Davis’s diary are illustrated in their representations of the entries for June 4 and 5, 1863 (the spaces for days here separated by an extra line):

Variants A & B: very pleasent Nellie and i went out it has bin a long time
sin we went shoping togert i went out to germantown about 6 o had a very
plea time vincent

came out for me wich was the pleasent part of the evening Nellie has not
bin up here to day i taken sues corset to harrises (*Memorable Days* site and
Emilie Davis’s Civil War)

Variant C: Very pleasant day. Nellie and I went out. It has been a long time
sin(ce) we went shopping toge(ther). I went out to Germantown about
6’o, had a very pleasant time. Vincent came out for me, which was the
pleasantis part of the evening.

Nellie has not bin up here to day. I taken Sues skirts off to furnes (furnish).
(*Notes from a Colored Girl*)

Putting aside the comical confusion about the final words, the variants record similar experiences—good weather, encounters with friends, a trip out to Germantown, a bit of shopping, and what sounds like courtship

²⁴ Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1988), 127.

²⁵ *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, vol. 1, *The Destruction of Slavery*, ed. Ira Berlin et al. (Cambridge, 1985), xxvi.

on Vincent's part. Sometimes the editors preserve the same misspellings and nonstandard elements. Most obviously, the second style introduces the symbols—punctuation and capital letters—that shape the prose into sentences.

In their statement of method, the Memorable Days team (Variants A and B) committed themselves “to preserve as much of the original form of the entries as we thought possible” and therefore “added no punctuation and made very few spelling interventions.”²⁶ Reproducing another person's misspelled words requires a light touch and impeccable consistency. Once the Memorable Days team established that Emilie Davis knew the correct spelling of “Germantown,” and knowing, as it also did, that her “a” and her “o” are basically indistinguishable, what was the point of bouncing back and forth between “germontown” and “germantown”? And if the team is certain that Emilie flip-flopped between “a” and “o” in that word, why are friends named “Mary” never rendered in print as the equally likely “Mory”? Editors should honor the likelihood that the author got it right. Heavy-handed interpretations of Davis's spelling can make a deeper dent in the story than the spelling of Germantown. One disconnection between the two editions concerns whether Emilie Davis worked for or knew a family named Hazard. Whitehead is quite sure she did; Giesberg and the Memorable Days team never consider the matter. Readers can see why by using the index in *Notes from a Colored Girl* to locate pages and dates where the name Hazard purportedly appears and then reading entries for those dates in *Emilie Davis's Civil War* and on the *Memorable Days* site. Very roundabout but necessary. The family's name recurs (or not) in entries written in the summer of 1863 and returns at least once later. There is no doubt that Emilie's handwriting in this instance is challenging, but it is consistent. Seeing the same shapes on July 30, August 1, and August 4, the Memorable Days team translated them as “buzards” on the first date, “hazards” on the next, and “hazerds” on the last. Nearly a year later, on May 28, 1864, the shape returns and becomes “hayards.” Why would anyone imagine an employer in those random syllables?

Conceding nothing to the reader about the start and end of sentences or the start and end of each day's entry, the Memorable Days team promises a literal representation of the handwritten text. Other editors might question that choice, preferring to encourage and help people to read Davis's

²⁶ Giesberg et al., *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, xxiii.

story. But in executing their chosen style the team, in fact, intervenes in significant ways that move the text away from literal. If the team meant to “preserve . . . the original form,” why not preserve Davis’s line breaks, on the chance that readers could find syntax or other meaning in that detail? Instead, they yielded to the customary design of a book page and lines of a standard length (though that cannot explain why they ignored line breaks on their website). The entries of June 4 and 5 illustrate some differences that line breaks can make. The words causing the greatest difficulty to transcribers and appearing incomplete are those squashed against the right margin.

very pleasent Nellie
 and i went out it
 has bin a long time sin
 we went shoping togert
 i went out to german
 town about 6 o had
 a very plea time vincent
 came out for me wich
 was the pleasent part
 of the evening Nellie
 has not bin up here to day
 i taken sues cor
 set to harrises

The team also broke up the dense script on each page of Davis’s diary by introducing a horizontal space between her entries. That airy look, that makes for handsome printed pages, undercuts a key element of the team’s literal style. When Davis wrote June 4 news into the space allotted for June 5, as she did in the example above, the team tried to replicate that practice in print. But on the printed page and on the website, what flowed from the previous entry in the original appears in print as separated by that space between entries. The editors’ attempt at literal representation confuses readers in ways that the manuscript as written never did.

Kaye Whitehead (Variant C, above) took advice from historical editors and experienced teachers of editing before leaning toward a readable text, presenting “a reader-friendly version while still preserving [Emilie’s] intent and style.”²⁷ She designed an attractive and familiar style to invite

²⁷ Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, xiii.

readers. In practice, she preserved spelling, “removed random capital letters, and . . . added capitals at the beginning of proper names and places, and at the beginning of what I felt were sentences.”²⁸ There is admirable honesty in that phrase, “what I felt were sentences.” This is an art full of subjectivity. Adding punctuation to this string of words at the end of the entry for January 4, 1865, poses another kind of risk: “called to see me this evening Vincent stopped in.” To which portion do the words “this evening” belong? Is that when someone called on her or when Vincent came by? The editor doesn’t know. Whitehead is willing, in effect, to copyedit Emilie Davis’s punctuation and capitalization. It is risky work. Every time the editor indicates where one entry ends and the next begins, she guesses. Whitehead did learn an important lesson from the editors she consulted: explain what informs that guesswork. Once she noticed that Emilie began most entries with a word or two about the weather, Whitehead used weather as the indicator of a new day and new entry. In the example above, this provides a guide for June 4 but not for June 5, where the entry probably begins with the reference to visitors while the weather gets no mention at all. Whitehead calls upon us to trust her instincts about Davis’s missing syntax.

All the attention to syntax and spelling and sentence structure is pointless if the editors fail to execute a first-rate scheme of proofreading. As one handbook of textual practice notes, “Documentary editing requires consistent and careful execution that offers the reader confidence in the reliability of the printed text.”²⁹ In proofreading, the text is verified by the people most familiar with the author’s idiosyncrasies and with the style set for the edition. Although methods can differ, the general practice is to read aloud from the manuscript, spelling out the nonstandard variants of words and speaking each capital letter and mark of punctuation, while a second person follows the typescript. The reader of the manuscript is, ideally, so familiar with the handwriting that he can respond consistently to that “a” vs. “o” problem in the spelling of Germantown and to all the other ambiguous inscriptions. *Emilie Davis’s Civil War* reads as if the team lacked a consistent eye to set a standard about whether, on May 29, 1864, that is a capital “C” on “Church” in Emilie’s hand or to notice that a transcriber mistakenly lowered the “p” on “Pleasant” in her entry of June 4, 1863. Most of the Memorable Days team’s errors are of this sort, not

²⁸ Ibid., xv.

²⁹ Stevens and Burg, *Editing Historical Documents*, 18.

matters of decoding Davis's scrawl. On February 4, 1863, Davis wrote very clearly that she had been "sewing all the evening"; the team sent that entry to print transcribed as "sewing all this evening." Careful to capture Davis's misplacement of vowels in "patiently" on September 19, 1864, the team published her word as "paitenty," when Davis never mislaid the "l." The entry for September 4, 1863, reads in the original:

very Plesent day no letter from Nellie what the matter be to day we had a grand romp out on the lawn rachel Jonston cam over in the afternoon and ephriam and the rest in [spills into next entry] the evening

On the website and in *Emilie Davis's Civil War*, the entry is published as:

very Pleasant day no letter from Nellie what can the matter be today we had a grand romp out on the town rachel Jonston came over in the afternoon and ephriam will the res in [spills into next entry] the evening

Careful proofreading catches those mistakes.

What is gained by publishing quite imperfect and wildly divergent editions of these diaries? Indubitably, the publications draw attention to a rich historical source, its companionable author, and the many revelations and insights about nineteenth-century life that she provides. But after all this attention, if a student or scholar or curious person wants to quote from the diary or be certain what Emilie Davis wrote about her days, he or she must still go to the manuscript and read the diaries afresh. The reader cannot have "confidence in the reliability of the printed text" in any of the three works.

The *Memorable Days* website is the oddest of the versions. Its transcription of the diaries memorializes an early phase of the team's work like an abandoned draft of history. A few weeks after the site went public at the start of 2013, a reader used the space for comments to suggest that a word deemed illegible by the team in the entry for January 2, 1863, "seems to be 'reading.'" A year later, another reader remarked of the entry for January 12, 1863, "I think 'Hather' is Father." Not all comments deliver usable suggestions, but in these cases and others, the Memorable Days team agreed and incorporated the new readings into their book while they left the website's transcription unchanged. In other words, Judith Giesberg and her (now) former students know that the website's rendering of the

diary is, in some respects, incorrect and that it is incomplete. Visitors to the site do not know that.

Under ideal circumstances, the *Memorable Days* website would provide readers with the best and most complete rendering of the diaries' text and also offer a model for editing such a difficult text. It already provides readers with images of the diaries—digital photographs of each manuscript page—that can be read from anywhere in the world. Readers can click back and forth between image and the imperfect transcription or use the images to make their own version. Whitehead referred her readers to those images so that her work could be checked, as a kind of backup to her copy-editing of the text.³⁰ If someone still minded the website, its transcription of Emilie Davis's diaries could by now have improved on the published versions. Correcting a digital publication is quick, and the improvement helps readers immediately. Rather than picking random moments when the effort to make sense of Davis's diaries stops, reimagine the site's rough transcript as a work in progress and invite collaborators to keep inching along toward a reliable variant. Reorienting the editor could be more difficult. In the usual course of a scholarly life, when a book is done, the author and the book part company. This kind of web-based collaboration could linger for years, like boomerang children. Furthermore, regardless of the editor's willingness to assume long-term care of an evolving digital publication, any website depends on the goodwill and generosity of its host. It remains to be seen for how long Villanova University will underwrite the *Memorable Days* site, keep it in repair, update software, and manage transitions to new hardware. The three editions of the diaries of Emilie Davis promote the possibility of a turning point in historical publication. The urgency to pronounce one's work at its end and to produce a bound book, no matter how imperfect its contents, here collides with a more fluid and collaborative model of scholarship that would have served Emilie Davis well.

Emilie Davis's story depends entirely on the text she left. Most of the lost or difficult words that matter are evidence about her social identity and private life. Without some degree of confidence that those words are read correctly, Emilie Davis is less herself than a creation of different readers of her text. On September 19, 1864, Emilie Davis seems to be back among her friends in the city after spending the summer as a live-in domestic

³⁰Whitehead, *Notes from a Colored Girl*, xiii.

in Germantown. Kaye Whitehead read Davis as saying that day, "Lovely morning. I am waiting patiently for my parcel come from Germantown." The Memorable Days team read: "lovely morning i am waiting Paitenty for my freedom from germontown." To quibble about spelling "patiently" or whether Emilie inscribed "germon" or "german" is nothing at all, but to learn who is believable when it comes to knowing what Emilie awaited matters. A "parcel" could be clothes or sewing tools or anything else that she took to her summer job. If she awaits "freedom," the whole story grows more complicated: that is the language of indentured servitude, not wage labor. The writing is so bad on that word, the truth may never be known, but two incorrect answers take readers no closer to knowing Emilie Davis or her world.

Rutgers University, Emerita

ANN D. GORDON

BOOK REVIEWS

Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America. By DANIEL K. RICHTER.
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. 384 pp. Illustrations,
notes, index. \$45.)

In *Trade, Land, Power*, distinguished colonial historian Daniel Richter brings together eleven essays focused on the relationship between native peoples and European colonists in the mid-Atlantic region. Most have been published previously, but Richter argues that combining the essays into a single volume allows readers to better grasp the complexity of several interconnected themes at work in colonial-era cross-cultural encounters: trade, land, and power. While Richter acknowledges that we may never fully understand the intricacies of native-European interactions, he “is more convinced than ever that we need to probe those mysteries, to trace the roles of trade, land, and power in the conquest of North America” (10).

The book is organized into two parts. The first, “Native Power and European Trade,” focuses primarily on Indian conceptions of trade, land, and power. The six essays in this section take the reader on a seventeenth-century tour of the mid-Atlantic from Virginia to New Netherland. They illustrate native peoples’ understanding of the relationship between trade and political power, where native alliance systems, based in part on the control of goods and resources, depended upon trade for the maintenance of power. In part 2, “European Power and Native Land,” Richter analyzes how European constructions of trade, land, and power ultimately came to center upon the appropriation of native lands as an extension of European power. These five essays bring the reader forward into the eighteenth century, where the focus narrows slightly as most of the discussions center on Pennsylvania. Here Richter demonstrates that European desire for native lands, both as a commodity and as an extension of European political and economic power, increasingly stressed native polities and gave rise to a militant Indian resistance, one that ultimately brought disastrous consequences for Indian communities during the Seven Years’ War and the American Revolution. Throughout the book Richter skillfully demonstrates that native peoples were active participants in these encounters, engaging in trade with Europeans to further their own designs and goals, and not passive victims of European manipulation (despite at times coming out on the short end of exchanges or land deals). Engaging native peoples as participants in their own history is a hallmark of his scholarship, and an analytical framework that he has succeeded at bringing to the fore of early American historiography as well as anyone, perhaps to a greater

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
Vol. CXXXIX, No. 2 (April 2015)

extent than even the remarkable Francis Jennings (who Richter acknowledges often as a powerful influence).

Given that eight of the eleven essays in this book have been previously published, followers of Richter's work will not necessarily find an abundance of new insights here. He admits that he has "resisted the urge to update references to secondary sources or to revise the substance of arguments in light of more recent scholarship" (251n2). However, there is still much of value within these pages, even for specialists in the field. The previously unpublished critique of William Penn's altruism regarding native lands is a fine example; the insightful overview of the fate of native peoples in the mid-Atlantic after 1760, which fills the volume's final chapters, is another. Regardless, Richter certainly has earned the right to repackage his work into a single format that allows a new generation of scholars easy access to his careful insights, compelling prose, and abundant wit. They will no doubt benefit greatly from the opportunity.

Robert Morris University

DANIEL P. BARR

The Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century. By MARK L. THOMPSON. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013. 288 pp. Maps, notes, index. \$48.)

When William Penn arrived in the Delaware Valley in 1682, he found a population with diverse national origins, the legacy of a seventy-year contest among colonizing powers to control the valley. Those disputes had rested on the shared assumption that everyone belonged to nations, cultural and political collectivities formed of sovereign and subjects. But with Sweden, the Netherlands, and England all claiming ownership of the Delaware Valley, settlers with different backgrounds fought, traded, and transferred their loyalties to a succession of political regimes. Thompson argues that those "cosmopolitan forms of interaction and communication coexisted with, and indeed reinforced, national identities" (13).

The Englishman Henry Hudson's 1609 explorations while under Dutch employ initiated this contest, as the Netherlands and England each claimed Hudson and, by extension, the lands he had explored. Later seventeenth-century colonial ventures also operated under national auspices while assuming a cosmopolitan character. Lacking funds and familiarity with North America, Swedish officials combined their patronage with Dutch capital and experience, dismissing English and Dutch claims to the Delaware Valley and appointing Peter Minuit, a former director of New Netherland, to purchase native lands and establish New Sweden in 1638.

Undermanned and poorly supplied, New Sweden could no more control the valley than could Dutch and English claimants, especially as Lenape and Minquas-

Susquehannock groups encouraged competition by fostering non-Swedish outposts and trade. The national rivalry along the Delaware prompted Swedish officials to reimagine the colony as purely patriotic, and in 1643 they finally installed a native Swede as governor, tasking Johan Printz with upholding Swedish laws and customs. But the fickle loyalties of New Sweden's inhabitants were clear when they abandoned the colony, mutinied against Printz, and declined to defend the river against New Netherland's invasion fleet.

When the Dutch conquered New Sweden in 1655, then gave way to the English in 1664, new officials trying to secure the region established their authority "through consent and co-optation" (176). To incorporate inhabitants of disparate national origins, new regimes confirmed property rights, allowed the free practice of religion, and exempted subject populations from military service against their former sovereigns. Each time, inhabitants collectively negotiated their subjection, the "national" privileges they obtained coming to define ethnic solidarity. With British sovereignty settled by 1682 through a series of conquests and treaties, Penn developed the "old model of political subjugation" to support a pluralistic ideal that acknowledged the national cultures of the valley's two thousand Dutch, English, Finnish, and Swedish settlers, as well as Lenapes, while also subsuming them as part of a larger British community unified by its common allegiance.

Thompson's detailed, complex narrative at times obscures his exploration of national identities, a discussion that emerges mainly at moments of political crisis. And while Thompson rightly assigns New Sweden a central role in the contest for the Delaware Valley, his focus on the interplay between cosmopolitanism and patriotism casts that contest as primarily a European affair. He notes that Native Americans used national distinctions to foster the competition, but never affords them equal weight as contestants trying to control the valley. Nonetheless, Thompson's compelling account demonstrates that national affiliations shaped local events and identities in the European contest for the Delaware Valley.

University of Mary Washington

JASON R. SELLERS

Dunmore's New World: The Extraordinary Life of a Royal Governor in Revolutionary America, with Jacobites, Counterfeiters, Land Schemes, Shipwrecks, Scalping, Indian Politics, Runaway Slaves, and Two Illegal Royal Weddings. By JAMES CORBETT DAVID. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013. 280 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This stimulating biography reveals much about an obscure yet powerful leader in eighteenth-century British colonial America. James Corbett David has meticulously researched the exciting career of the fourth Earl of Dunmore, the intriguing

Scottish noble John Murray, whose wife was Charlotte Stewart, a daughter of the Earl of Galloway. Chronologically and topically arranged, this highly readable biography consists of an introduction, five major chapters, and a conclusion. David vividly enumerates Dunmore's paradoxical involvements with power brokers, with the oppressed, and with radicals as he strove to achieve wealth, land, and status as governor of numerous British colonies.

Dunmore served as governor of New York between 1770 and 1771 and of Virginia for the next five years. As this colony's executive, he pursued an aggressive westward land movement and became involved with Pennsylvania in a war that helped to shape the development of British western colonial land policies. Dunmore's War was not the start of the American Revolution, but it certainly produced an envisaging impact on the later conflict. Dunmore's War can be attributed to Pennsylvania's withdrawal from Fort Pitt, to the expansionist aims of George Washington and those of other Virginia landowners in western Pennsylvania, and to members of the Grand Ohio Land Company, who wished to terminate the 1763 Land Proclamation that prevented them from seizing Native American lands west of the Ohio River.

Dunmore proved to be quite shrewd in the conduct of this war. First, he secured support from the Virginia gentry for engaging in a short war in 1774 that would benefit Virginia in its western designs. He went to Fort Pitt in April, appointing Dr. John Connolly as chief executive of Virginia's West Augusta district. Connolly assumed control of the courts in western Pennsylvania and began surveying lands in this region, thus antagonizing Arthur St. Clair and other large Pennsylvania landowners. Moreover, after the Daniel Greathouse raid of the Shawnees at Yellow Creek that month, the Shawnees and the Senecas sought to revenge the massacre near Steubenville, Ohio.

After the Virginian army under Colonel Andrew Lewis won at Point Pleasant on October 10, Dunmore negotiated with Shawnee leaders and constrained the tribe to live in northern Ohio regions. Thereafter, Virginians and Pennsylvanians, who had settled their western differences during the Articles of Confederation era, could acquire former Indian lands in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In 1775, Dunmore, after issuing a black emancipation decree, was opposed by republican Virginia landowners and dismissed as the revolutionary state's governor.

The last chapters accentuate several major facets of Dunmore's career. In 1775 he established a "Floating Town" of blacks, Native Americans, and members of groups who supported loyalism that traveled throughout Virginia to oppose the revolutionaries. Between 1787 and 1796, Dunmore served as governor of the Bahamas, deriving profits from his businesses and lands and welcoming loyalists to the island. Prior to his death, he even tried to establish a loyalist colony between western Florida and Louisiana, but his efforts culminated in failure.

This biography is a fine read; it reveals the complexities and uncertainties of a man involved with many significant matters. It also contextualizes the conten-

tious problems in British colonial Pennsylvania. *Dunmore's New World* also boasts a massive bibliography that hints at the importance of minor individuals who were entrusted with power in eighteenth-century Atlantic history. This biography is recommended for graduate students and scholars.

Butler County Community College

R. WILLIAM WEISBERGER

Dangerous Guests: Enemy Captives and Revolutionary Communities during the War for Independence. By KEN MILLER. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014. 260 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$35.)

British and Hessian prisoners of war were confined in Reading, Lebanon, Lancaster, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Frederick, Maryland; and Winchester, Virginia. Lancaster was the primary detention site, entertaining these “dangerous guests” almost continuously from 1775 through 1783. Ken Miller’s case study of interaction between prisoners and their reluctant Lancaster hosts is set within a thoroughly researched social history of the community and of the changes outside events—from the French and Indian War through the Revolution—brought to Lancaster.

The emergence of a revolutionary community is a persistent theme of Miller’s book, although the supposed consensus was seriously frayed by the 1776 Pennsylvania Constitution, and the ardor of many German Lancastrians had cooled by 1777. Miller acknowledges the deep divide, dating back at least to the 1750s, between Mennonites and Quakers and Presbyterians that came to a head in the aftermath of the Paxton Boys’ murders. He draws on Owen Ireland and Wayne Brockleman’s work on ethnic and religious divisions in Pennsylvania politics, but he could have given more attention to this aspect of the study. His assertion that “the Revolution politicized local identities, rupturing the community and splitting patriots and loyalists into mutually antagonistic camps,” clearly does not tell the whole story (135). The prisoners themselves were more pawns than agents in changing loyalties.

The first prisoners to arrive were British regulars, the garrisons of forts captured on Montgomery’s march to Quebec in 1775, who came with their wives and children. The Lancaster Committee of Safety was obliged to provide food and winter clothing for the dependents when Continental authorities demurred. Curiously, this is Miller’s only mention of women and children, who were part of every eighteenth-century army and, notably, of the Convention Army surrendered at Saratoga.

Officers were released on their word as gentlemen and allowed to lodge where they chose and to roam the town at will. Privates were confined in the barracks on the north side of Lancaster, built to house British soldiers during the French

and Indian War. They were able to hire themselves out as artisans or farm labor, so they, too, enjoyed considerable freedom. British prisoners had a propensity to escape to rejoin their comrades; Hessians were more inclined to remain where they were, even marching themselves to a new prison camp in Winchester, Virginia. They were also far more likely to stay in America after the peace.

Miller mentions in passing that American authorities routinely violated surrender agreements: "By 1779, frustrated by Congress' failure to liberate the Convention prisoners [taken at Saratoga] in accordance with the terms of their capitulation, the British command actively encouraged escapes" (171). Escaping British prisoners had a well-established route to New York, and, for a few months in 1777–78, to Philadelphia. Quakers and other pacifists often sheltered and guided them, and in the last years of the war were entrapped by Continental soldiers pretending to be fugitives.

In marshaling his extensive research to make a coherent argument about the impact of prisoners on their host communities, Miller has added an important chapter to the Pennsylvania story.

University of Florida

RICHARD K. MACMASTER

Revolutionary Medicine: The Founding Fathers and Mothers in Sickness and in Health. By JEANNE E. ABRAMS. (New York: New York University Press, 2013. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.)

Yellow fever, smallpox, cholera, malaria, influenza, and countless other diseases swept through eighteenth-century North America with frightening regularity. As Jeanne E. Abrams makes clear, no one, not even the elite families of the founding fathers, was immune from the ravages of disease. Abrams provides an eminently readable account of the illnesses and health of the "founding fathers and mothers" that focuses on the Franklins, the Adamses, the Washingtons, and the Jeffersons. Piecing together letters, diaries, and other sources, Abrams recounts in vivid detail the founding families' frequent encounters with illness and death, arguing that these personal experiences directly influenced the development of early public health policies; however, the policy history frequently gets lost in the welter of personal history.

Asserting that "America's founders were among the small group of medical visionaries," Abrams tries to demonstrate that their "dramatic and often tragic personal encounters with disease and epidemics" made them typical of their era, if exceptional in their response (31, 7). In this book, which focuses primarily on the practice of domestic medicine, very few medical professionals make more than cameo appearances. In fact, professional medicine becomes a sort of bogeyman, exemplified by the heroic practices of Rush and his followers. In contrast, the

milder domestic practices of, primarily, the founding mothers shine. Abrams is at some pains to unsuccessfully explain away the many less than enlightened practices and beliefs of the founding parents themselves, including the frequent espousal of Rush's methods. For instance, Abrams pits Jefferson's "astute and forward thinking" against Rush's "frequent use of violent bleeding and purging," yet fails to account for the fact that the only medicine Jefferson sent with the Louis and Clark expedition was Rush's thunderbolts (Rush's patent laxative, a bolus made from jalap and mercury) (170, 174).

On the public health side, Abrams primarily focuses on two innovations: smallpox vaccination and the promotion of public hospitals and medical education. These founding families were all early advocates of smallpox inoculation, as evidenced by Franklin's early print promotions, Washington's command that all the troops receive inoculation during the Revolutionary War, and Jefferson's early advocacy of the Jenner method of cowpox vaccination. In addition, Franklin and Jefferson were both instrumental in promoting medical education in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Abrams makes the case that each founding father's personal experience with disease impacted his administration, but the evidence is largely circumstantial and diffuse. She addresses each family's encounter with the 1793 yellow fever epidemic, but other than the Seaman's Act (1798) and the expansion of quarantine, the impact on public policy is lost in the private experiences. One wishes she had focused more on the public health practices and policies and less on baroque personal detail.

Revolutionary Medicine offers fascinating insight into the personal histories of the founding families as they struggled to maintain health in the constant onslaught of epidemic disease, child mortality, and ineffective medical practices. Although the public health focus gets somewhat lost and the text borders on hagiography, Abrams's account is an engaging read that pieces together an intimate history of America's founding elite.

University of Minnesota Rochester

MARCIA D. NICHOLS

Law and Medicine in Revolutionary America: Dissecting the "Rush v. Cobbett" Trial, 1799. By LINDA MYRSIADES. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press; Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012. 282 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$80.)

In 1797, Benjamin Rush sued William Cobbett for libel. Rush's decision to address in the courtroom the biting criticism "Porcupine" had leveled at "Sangrado" during the 1797 yellow fever epidemic was a highly risky strategy that ultimately proved a pyrrhic victory for the doctor. In 1798, the Alien and Sedition Acts made it possible for Rush's Republican legal team to turn the tables

on the Federalists by using their law to punish one of their own journalists. Linda Myrsiades “anatomizes” the Rush-Cobbett trial of 1799 as a case study that captures the interrelationship among early party politics, the medical marketplace, debates over freedom of the press, and an emerging uniquely American jurisprudence (3). By contextualizing a rare, published trial transcript, Myrsiades offers a highly compelling reading of *Rush v. Cobbett* as a “crucible for testing critical issues of the times” that explores the mutually constituting narratives of medicine and politics, fever and religion, individual and nation (2).

Before the mid-nineteenth century, it was nearly impossible to bring suit against a medical practitioner for malpractice because malpractice law required plaintiffs to prove not only that the physician had been neglectful but also that the patient had not acted irresponsibly. Therefore, most claims of malpractice were tried in the press, where unhappy patients or critical colleagues would air their grievances; often, medical practitioners would answer in kind. Myrsiades contextualizes Cobbett’s attacks on Rush within this tradition as well as within the rancorous doctors’ wars of the yellow fever epidemics, in which Rush was a lead participant. By establishing that Rush was no stranger to animadversion in print, Myrsiades highlights how extraordinary it was for Rush to sue Cobbett for slander.

Myrsiades examines Cobbett and the state of the scurrilous press in light of Federalist attempts to limit press freedom. “Porcupine” comes alive as Myrsiades recounts his acid pen, his frequent brushes with the law, and his gloating defiance of Chief Justice John Mitchel McKean, who, unfortunately for Cobbett, became governor of Pennsylvania before Rush’s libel suit came to trial. The new chief justice, Edward Shippen, would prove equally hostile to Cobbett, managing the trial and instructing the jury in highly prejudicial ways.

Myrsiades traces the brilliant, if disjointed, legal strategy of Rush’s team, who linked the trial’s outcome to the fate of the nation. Employing the secular jeremiad to great effect, they apparently convinced a jury that finding Cobbett guilty was necessary to preserve America’s freedom. Cobbett’s team, in contrast, was lukewarm in its defense, failing to utilize the truth defense, as the absent Cobbett wanted. With the deck stacked against the defendant, “the jury took only two hours to convict . . . and assign an unprecedented fine of \$5,000,” causing Cobbett to flee the country (190).

Law and Medicine in Revolutionary America offers a brilliant reading of a crucial, if largely overlooked, event in early American law and medicine. Myrsiades’s deft handling of sources and her trenchant analysis of the 1799 Rush-Cobbett trial offer new insight into freedom of the press, the medical marketplace, the legal system, and the politics of the early republic.

University of Minnesota Rochester

MARCIA D. NICHOLS

Government by Dissent: Protest, Resistance, and Radical Democratic Thought in the Early American Republic. By ROBERT W. T. MARTIN. (New York: New York University Press, 2013. 272 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$49.)

If the old cliché that history is written by the winners is true, then it should be no surprise that a legacy of dissent should become buried after two centuries. In this impressive account of dissent in the early American republic, Robert W. T. Martin resurrects the ideas of those in early America who opposed the majority and fought the status quo. Dissent, for these objectors, was not merely disagreement; it was a central component of the democratic process. Martin aims to restore a lost understanding of “dissentient democracy,” a “democracy that values dissent as an essential core element” (2). This is not an argument for mere toleration of dissent; dissentient democracy embraces dissent itself as essential to the legitimacy of government.

Martin’s book is strongest in his discussion of the democratic clubs that sprang up in opposition to the policies of the Washington administration. These radical democrats not only opposed what they saw as the dangerous political trajectory of the country but also consistently argued that their opposition was both legitimate in itself and essential to the legitimacy of the government. Martin finds in these clubs a precursor to the concept of a public sphere later articulated by Jurgen Habermas; this idea, he suggests, “is the first working out of the balance between deference and dissent appropriate to a popular, representative government” (90). This public sphere would allow the political discussion among ordinary voters to continue between elections.

At times Martin overstates his case. The “regulators” in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts become philosophers of liberalism rather than mere objectors to what they saw as oppressive regulation, and the Anti-Federalists champions of dissent as a principle rather than mere opponents of ratification. James Madison becomes a consistent democrat, privileging opposition, rather than a more reluctant democrat who worried about the potential of the masses, especially when they could become organized. These assessments are not false, but they are exaggerated. This does not, however, obscure the central argument of the book. Neither the regulators nor the opponents to ratification developed a clear theory of dissent. Both, however, along with Madison, contributed to such a theory, which developed over time. Martin works hard to not only revive this theory but also to articulate it clearly.

Some of the later thinkers Martin discusses, on the other hand, did develop fuller theories of dissent. He discusses about half a dozen largely forgotten writers who made philosophical arguments for dissentient democracy; each of these sections is a fascinating essay in itself, and each writer is worth revisiting.

In the introduction, Martin situates his argument in opposition to the literature on deliberative democracy. Deliberative democrats, he suggests, are fixated

on consensus to the extent that dissent is at best inconvenient, and at worst inimical, to their understanding of the legitimate democratic process. This theme does not persist throughout the book, but the idea of democracy offered by Martin is certainly distinct from, and in some respects superior to, the deliberative model.

Although Martin does not go far in developing an understanding of dissentient democracy for the contemporary world, this book is a good beginning and well worth reading for anyone who wants to see more in democracy than simple majority rule.

Texas State University

MICHAEL J. FABER

Citizens in a Strange Land. A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830. By HERMANN WELLENREUTHER. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. 384 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, \$94.95.)

Herman Wellenreuther and his research team have produced an interesting new book on broadsides, defined as sheets “*printed on a single sheet on either one or both sides irrespective of its contents*” (3). Most were printed in Philadelphia and the larger towns of the southeastern counties of Pennsylvania, where many German immigrants in Pennsylvania settled.

In chapter 1, readers gain an interesting perspective into the printing business in Pennsylvania, where 215, or 75 percent, of the German printing presses in North America were located. Wellenreuther covers who the main printers were, how their work was carried on by apprentices, and in what sorts of printing they specialized. Chapter 2 delves into the demand side for broadsides and the probable circumstances of their use. A common use of broadsides was the advertisement of real estate—land, houses, and farm animals and implements—usually following the death of a farm owner. Notably, such broadsides would not only describe the property but would also list the neighbors by surname, suggesting that these were notices intended for a relatively internal market of German speakers. Love poems, house blessings, heavenly letters (*Himmelsbriefe*), ads for medicines, descriptions of medical treatments, religious stories and songs, religious events (especially baptisms), ballads or stories reflecting political and current events, advice for farmers, and reflections on the twilight of life were also consumed via broadside.

Chapter 3 helps readers understand several of the changes organized religious groups underwent in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Many groups were defining why their particular denomination was different; their parishioners were trying

to figure out their own place in the world as Christians. It is striking that one of the most frequently printed religious broadsides, “Wo ist Jesus mein Verlangen?” consisted of a hymn purchased by people across a variety of denominations and that a database search on the titles and first lines of hymns shows that the most popular broadsides emphasized personal religious edification. Finally, chapter 4 delves into the broadsides related to politics, including colonial matters in the earlier period, revolutionary matters later on, and constitutional disagreements in the late 1770s and through the 1780s. These documents provide a better understanding as to what German Pennsylvanians were thinking about the English world around them and their place within it.

Citizens in a Strange Land is a beautiful book to behold. The publisher has reproduced numerous examples of broadsides, including about sixteen in color. It is also a useful volume for researchers; endnotes are easy to use, and appendices include many statistical tables. Thanks in part to the work of Wellenreuther and his team, all the broadsides from this study are housed in a digital collection at Pennsylvania State University (www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/GermanLanguageBroadsides.html).

This reviewer still has questions about the ability of German Pennsylvanians to read the broadsides, which are mostly printed in Gothic typeface and often in a very small font. Although economic and social historians have described literacy rates in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania as high relative to many parts of Europe at the time—over 60 percent in Lancaster County and higher in Philadelphia (see work by Farley Grubb in *Social Science History* Winter 1990)—historians have determined literacy by whether individuals could make a signature, a rather elementary standard. It is not clear that someone who could barely sign his or her name could also read a broadside. Still, this may make more of an argument that broadsides, as opposed to books, were more suitable to the abilities and interests of many German Pennsylvanians in the eighteenth century. It is also possible that the best readers read aloud to family members.

In sum, this work is an important addition to the study of eighteenth-century German American life and society. By examining the market for broadsides, contextualizing their content, and calculating which were the most widely sold, Wellenreuther opens up the world of eighteenth-century German Americans to us by showing what they were concerned with in their daily lives and what they wanted to read and think about. It is also most helpful and generous to future scholars that the broadsides are now housed in a digital collection. Thank you, Professor Wellenreuther and team!

*College of Staten Island and
The Graduate Center, CUNY*

SIMONE A. WEGGE

Over the Alleghenies: Early Canals and Railroads of Pennsylvania. By ROBERT J. KAPSCH. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2013. 452 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.99.)

In *Over the Alleghenies*, Robert Kapsch has produced a detailed narrative history of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's internal improvement program between 1826 and 1858. During these years, Pennsylvania struggled to construct, maintain, and operate a technologically sophisticated but financially precarious system of canals, railroads, and improved river navigation that reached into all corners of the state. The impetus for the system came from Pennsylvania boosters' desires to compete with New York's Erie Canal for the trade of the Great Lakes and Ohio River valley in the 1820s, but the political exigencies of constructing the Main Line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh required the simultaneous construction of branch lines along the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and other smaller streams. The system was ultimately unsuccessful in fulfilling its original mission because it was too technically, financially, and politically precarious to beat the Erie at its own game. But, as Kapsch points out, the Pennsylvania system pioneered a number of important technologies, particularly in railroad construction and operation, and many of its branches played locally important economic roles. The history of such a system represents an important contribution to our understanding of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania.

Kapsch structures his account geographically, with individual chapters on each division of the Pennsylvania system. This organizational choice offers benefits and presents problems. It allows Kapsch to tell the story of each segment's construction in loving detail. *Over the Alleghenies* excels in this respect, because each chapter provides a thorough discussion of the political, financial, and engineering issues relevant to its division. Each account is also superbly sourced; Kapsch provides extensive quotations and has thoughtfully illustrated his narrative with period images and newspaper clippings arranged in the margins. This thoroughness is clearly the result of an impressive research effort.

The geographical organization imposes some compromises on the book, however. It makes the tight and rapid chronology of the overall internal improvement program difficult to follow, which matters because much of Kapsch's argument about the system's successes and failure relies on chronology. From its late start date, after the Erie Canal was already completed and opened, to the fateful decision to construct the branches at the same time as (or even before) the main line, to the disastrous timing of the Panic of 1837, the overall timeline of Pennsylvania's program is critical to Kapsch's analysis of its successes and failures. Other analytical themes similarly get lost in the book's tight geographical focus. For example, Kapsch describes repeated decisions by canal commissioners and engineers to use cheaper and less durable wood construction techniques for locks, bridges, and aqueducts rather than more expensive and durable masonry. This decision was

generally justified by the expectation that the system would be so profitable upon opening that it would support higher future maintenance costs and the eventual replacement of wooden structures with masonry ones. In the meantime, the cheapness of wood would allow the system to get up and running more quickly. In most cases, revenue never met projections, and the cheaply built infrastructure became a drag on the system's operation and finances. It's not that these chronological and analytical threads are absent from Kapsch's work, but the geographical structure of the book makes their treatment repetitive and less deeply explored than they otherwise might be.

The level of detail evident Kapsch's research, as well as the high quality of *Over the Alleghenies's* production, make this book valuable for readers interested in early national transportation and nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, though the book gets frustratingly close to some very interesting arguments about the successes and failures of the commonwealth's internal improvements program, which a different organizational structure might have allowed to shine.

University of Mary Washington

WILL B. MACKINTOSH

Keystone State in Crisis: The Civil War in Pennsylvania. By JUDITH GIESBERG. (Mansfield, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2013. 96 pp. Illustrations, notes. Paper, \$14.95.)

This short study attempts something unusual by essentially ignoring the Gettysburg campaign and almost anything to do with actual combat in a concise analysis of Civil War-era Pennsylvania. It would seem to be almost self-defeating to write about the conflict in a key Northern state and yet to slight the war's biggest battle (fought within its borders, no less) and spend only a minimal amount of space conveying the actual experiences of hundreds of thousands of its residents in uniform. Yet Giesberg's compact volume does offer real value for anyone teaching or studying this period. It succeeds in rendering some of the excellent social and political scholarship on the wartime North (including the author's own notable work) into an easily digestible format.

The study follows a broad chronology, but the five main chapters are essentially topical in nature and jump around quite liberally. Chapter 1 focuses on antebellum politics and the election of 1860. Giesberg uses a variety of evidence to argue that the Republican hold on the Keystone State was surprisingly precarious and always bitterly contested by Democrats. The second chapter casts the classic subject of "Mobilizing for War" in creative terms by focusing on some of the persistent debates about that mobilization. In this vein, Giesberg begins by highlighting Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott's pacifistic ambivalence about the brutal conflict. She also explores wartime labor strife, draft resistance, and the

Altoona governor's conference in 1862, providing a helpful corrective to many who seem to downplay arguments about war aims and wartime management from within loyal states such as Pennsylvania.

Chapter 3 draws back from the war itself to frame the conflict as one primarily over slavery and, later, civil rights. Giesberg offers concise summaries of the Underground Railroad and the famous Christiana resistance of 1851 before leaping forward into a careful discussion of the hotly contested recruitment and training of black soldiers at Camp William Penn in Cheltenham.

Chapters 4 and 5 cover the second half of the war, focusing briefly on Gettysburg (the battle and the address), before exploring in greater depth some leading political issues of the period, such as draft resistance, equal pay for black soldiers, and reconstruction. The purpose here is to show how bitter partisan debate affected the state's mindset, especially during pivotal elections in 1863 and 1864. The surprising results by 1865, according to Giesberg, were "deepening ideological divisions in the state" rather than any kind of unionist or emancipationist consensus (70). She offers sharp profiles of congressmen Thaddeus Stevens and William D. Kelley, as well as of lesser-known figures, such as labor leader Jonathan Fincher, to help bring to life some of the fierce debates in Pennsylvania that erupted as the war ended and continued for decades afterward. This is not the popular story of the state's Civil War-era experience, but it does provide helpful detail for anyone who aspires to create a multidimensional account of the crisis that swept through Pennsylvania and the nation during the 1860s.

Dickinson College

MATTHEW PINSKER

Philadelphia Spiritualism: The Curious Case of Katie King. By STEPHANIE HOOVER. (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2013. 128 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Paper, \$19.99.)

Philadelphia Spiritualism investigates a short-lived episode involving a presumed spirit summoned by late nineteenth-century mediums in London and Philadelphia. Author Stephanie Hoover uses the case study, written in the style of a true-crime tale, to expose the fraud and fakery of the spiritualists of that era. The "curious case" of Katie King is situated within a long line of charlatanism dating back to the late 1850s, when the spiritualism movement arose in Hydesville, New York. It was there that the Fox sisters discovered that they could crack their toe joints to make a rapping sound. They perfected the ability and used it to convince the nation that the sound was being made by spirits who had come back to talk to the living. The Fox sisters set into motion a mass transatlantic movement that inspired millions of believers.

After briefly providing the context for the rise of spiritualism and discussing key figures in Philadelphia's spiritualist community, Hoover tells of the rise and fall of Katie King, a ghost initially dreamed up in London by Florence Cook, a supposed medium. Cook portrayed the character of Katie King from 1871 to 1874, telling audiences that she was the late daughter of the fierce pirate Henry Morgan and that she could carry messages between the dead and the living. For a brief time the charade was lucrative. Cook was soon exposed as a fraud, however, and forced to retire the act. Learning of King through newspapers, two con artists, Nelson and Jennie Holmes of Philadelphia, resurrected the spirit for audiences in their city. For a time, Katie King commanded a large audience of believers in the City of Brotherly Love, even becoming a special favorite of the wealthy philanthropist Robert Dale Owen. Hoover's narrative deftly explores how the con was created, perpetuated, and, ultimately, exposed.

Philadelphia Spiritualism provides an interesting contribution to this period in Philadelphia history. Because the intended audience is the general reading public, the book does not include footnotes or endnotes, but a list of primary sources is provided. The weakest aspect of the work is its failure to analyze the role that spiritualism played as a cultural response to changes in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Numerous studies of spiritualism have variously couched it as a response to the rise of scientific thinking, as an expression of anxiety in an era of political and social upheaval, or as a progressive movement that embraced women and marginalized figures, both as mediums and as the spirits with whom they interacted. Hoover might have drawn on any of these cultural frames to better anchor the book in the context of this historical movement, and this more nuanced contextualization would have provided readers with a better insight into the cultural concerns of Philadelphians at that time.

Nazareth College

TIMOTHY W. KNEELAND

The Homestead Strike: Labor, Violence, and American Industry. By PAUL KAHAN. (New York: Routledge, 2014. 166 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$135; paper, \$29.95.)

Paul Kahan quotes Mark Twain at the outset: "History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme" (4). Indeed, echoes of late nineteenth-century class conflict, inequality, and exploitative working conditions resonate in disturbing ways today, and Kahan's acknowledgment that "contemporary events inspired [him] to write" about this iconic 1892 labor battle is refreshing (4). Current relevance provides one of two compelling reasons that Homestead warrants renewed attention, the other being that Paul Krause's *Battle for Homestead*, the best devoted, extant treat

ment of this topic, is twenty-three years old and over five hundred pages long. Kahan's take appears in a Routledge series aiming to deliver concise accounts of pivotal episodes in US history while offering students "a window into the historian's craft" (vi).

The Homestead Strike succeeds in both objectives. The book consists of six chapters, which present, respectively: biographical background on Andrew Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick; a survey of US labor history; a summary of events preceding the lockout in Homestead; a narrative of the conflict in political-economic context; an account of immediate repercussions; and an assessment of Homestead's meaning for subsequent US history. Impressively, these chapters fill just over one hundred pages. With the appendix's nine primary documents, numerous "bubble" inserts on related issues, and a companion website, the book is a marvelous teaching tool.

Its pedagogical value, however, lies sometimes in its shortcomings rather than its virtues. Kahan names Carnegie and Frick the "most important individuals involved in the Homestead strike" but renders them as caricatures of venality, ruthlessness, greed, and hypocrisy. One need not sympathize with steel moguls to see that such depictions exemplify—albeit with a different class inflection—what E. P. Thompson called "the enormous condescension of posterity," always a pitfall of the "historian's craft" worth discussing with students.

Such portrayals undermine Kahan's entirely reasonable analytical intention to defend the strikers. The industrialists' decisions set the conflict's gears in motion, but arguing that Carnegie and Frick drove every element of violence at Homestead not only strains credibility (neither man was physically there) but also implies that the rank-and-file steelworkers' violence constituted a brute reaction to the employers' machinations rather than an expression of historically specific radicalism. Homestead workers had politics worth understanding. In trying to exculpate them, Kahan obscures them instead. More attentive editing would also have removed inexplicable errors (the Pinkerton barge floated up the Monongahela, not the Ohio River; Johann Most was never nicknamed "Johnny") and a woeful omission: a chapter entitled "American Labor History, 1600–1892," cannot simply ignore slavery.

In assessing Homestead's legacy, Kahan cites the continued existence of the United Steelworkers (USW) union as evidence that the Homestead strikers lost their own battle but "won the war" (105). Today's steelworkers might demur, working as they do in an industry racked by layoffs, intense foreign competition, and declining union strength. Critical readers, observing the world around them, should question the notion that any war was won. They might even take inspiration from the Homestead strikers and renew the fight, sounding history's rhyme once more. We can hope.

On a Great Battlefield: The Making, Management, and Memory of the Gettysburg National Military Park, 1933–2013. By JENNIFER M. MURRAY. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014. 328 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.)

Few sites in the United States are more universally considered sacred than the battlefield at Gettysburg. How that ground has been preserved, maintained, and interpreted, however, has not always met with universal approval. In *On a Great Battlefield*, Jennifer M. Murray effectively demonstrates how succeeding generations have shaped the physical appearance of the battlefield park and how the National Park Service has often clashed with local residents and special interest groups in interpreting the battle for its visitors.

Beginning in 1933, when authority over the Gettysburg National Military Park transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, Murray shows how the context of the times shaped the battlefield park. The Depression brought work crews and funding for new roads, but the transfer from the War to the Interior Department also brought a shift in focus from administering a military site for use by future soldiers to emphasizing the natural landscape, which entailed planting trees and allowing historic vistas to become overgrown. While World War II saw a surge in visitors who saw a parallel between the struggle at Gettysburg and the struggle against fascism, it also saw park resources sent to scrap metal drives. The postwar era saw attempts to lure tourists to Gettysburg as a means of ensuring the site remained a national park. Murray powerfully depicts how the influence of the civil rights movement and social history sparked an evolution in the park's programming and interpretation. The theme for observances of the battle's centennial in 1963 was "High Water Mark," which emphasized military aspects and a reconciliationist narrative; in contrast, the 150th anniversary was built around the notion of "A New Birth of Freedom," placing the battle within the context of slavery and emancipation.

Relying on park records and reports, Department of the Interior documents, newspapers, and interviews, Murray convincingly argues that while each generation of park officials has dealt with similar issues—restoration of the field to 1863 conditions, improving interpretative programs, attempting to contain creeping commercialization—recent decades have seen an increase in national attention paid to management decisions, so that park superintendents do not enjoy the degree of autonomy that they once did. Another constant has been the role of outside groups—especially the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, Licensed Battlefield Guides, Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg, and the Gettysburg Foundation—in influencing the management of the park.

Murray praises John Latschar, park superintendent from 1994 to 2009, for the "far-reaching changes to both the battlefield's physical landscape and its interpretive trajectory," stating that these "unprecedented accomplishments are owed

to [his] management, persistence, and commitment" (193–94). Unfortunately, the book does not discuss the controversy spawned by Latschar's decision to retire from the National Park Service and accept the position of president of the Gettysburg Foundation—a decision later reversed. This is a minor criticism, however, and should not detract from an otherwise fine study that opens our eyes to the way in which local politics, special interest groups, individual administrators, and broader world issues have impacted the management of the Civil War's most famous battlefield.

Western Connecticut State University

PETER C. VERMILYEA

Making Good Neighbors: Civil Rights, Liberalism, and Integration in Postwar Philadelphia. By ABIGAIL PERKISS. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014. 248 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

In *Making Good Neighbors*, Abigail Perkiss presents a detailed history of West Mount Airy, one of the first neighborhoods in the nation to embrace racially integrated living, and explores the self-conscious efforts of the West Mount Airy Neighbors Association (WMAN) to draw local, national, and international attention to the efforts of its well-educated and historically minded community members.

Perkiss begins her study by presenting some historical background on the relationship between race and residence in Philadelphia and other American cities from the 1910s into the 1950s, discussing Supreme Court decisions and discriminatory federal mortgage lending policies to provide context. She then moves through the efforts of George Schermer and WMAN in the 1950s to create a stable interracial community of middle-class homeowners; the regional, national, and international marketing Mount Airy in the 1960s as a model for interracial living; and the varying meanings of integration to Mount Airy's African American residents and to prominent black Philadelphians, led by NAACP chapter president Cecil B. Moore, who opposed it. She charts the struggle in the 1970s to maintain stable, integrated public schools as well as the fracturing of interracial amity during this decade as an ethos of African American empowerment, rising rates of crime, and an influx of poorer black families threatened intentional residential integration and integrated public schooling alike. Finally, Perkiss tracks the history of West Mount Airy in the 1980s, which was marked by a shift in community focus from racial integration to inclusion of gays, progressive Jewish scholars and activists, and young professionals.

To better understand this neighborhood history, Perkiss conducted oral history interviews with close to fifty current and former residents of Mount Airy and made use of oral history interviews on deposit at the Germantown Historical

Society. These she uses to good effect. She discovered, for example, that the promise of safe, affordable homes with the good schools found in an integrated neighborhood, as well as the draw of “a window into a majority white culture,” were more powerful motivations for African Americans moving to Mount Airy than its celebrated embrace of interracial living (72). The interviews enabled her to understand why early lesbian residents and young progressive professionals, many of them Jewish, moved to Mount Airy and how they have made sense of its history. Providing an insightful analysis of the political uses of oral history projects, she also explains how a community-wide historical memory project conducted by WMAN in the early 1990s “uncomplicated a very complicated story” by minimizing historical tensions within the community and by leaving out critical events, most notably the fatal shooting in 1971 of teacher Samson Freedman by a fourteen year old in a school playground that, according to Perkiss, “marked the end of any hope of an integrated educational system for many Philadelphians” (165, 118). In sum, WMAN produced a sanitized history designed to offer a model for successful community organizing.

Making Good Neighbors offers rich insights into the challenges confronted by urban residents who struggled to create and maintain stable, interracial communities as well as useful lessons for those committed to living in pluralistic communities today. This highly detailed history of West Mount Airy, however, may attract a narrow readership. The valuable and thought-provoking history found in *Making Good Neighbors* might have found a broader audience had Perkiss included some comparative analysis of other communities that undertook similar experiments, such as Cleveland’s Shaker Heights and Wynnefield in West Philadelphia. That said, Perkiss has produced a well-researched and insightful study about a community that “developed and honed a model of neighborhood organization that, when deployed effectively, fostered both interracial tolerance and economic viability” (173).

West Chester University

CHARLES HARDY III

Here and There: Reading Pennsylvania’s Working Landscapes. By BILL CONLOGUE. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. 248 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$69.96; paper, \$29.95.)

In the personal essays that constitute *Here and There*, Bill Conlogue combines readings of American literature, especially poetry, with legal and environmental history, autobiography, bits of geology, mining engineering, and travelogue to explore the history of land use in and around the Lackawanna Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania. His book will help readers already familiar with the region gain additional insight into that corner of the state and the challenges it presents to its

modern-day residents. Conlogue is an eloquent, heartfelt guide to the history of both the mine-scarred anthracite landscape around Scranton, where he currently teaches, and the hardscrabble dairy farms that survive in the neighboring valleys to the north, where he grew up. He pays attention both to the reality of the region and to representations of that reality.

Conlogue's six chapters trace the nineteenth-century emergence of the anthracite industry and its legacy of acid mine drainage, burning culm banks, and mine subsidence. They explore his family's long history as farmers in Wayne County and the personal struggle that resulted when he left the land to pursue academic life. They catalog modern attempts at mine reclamation through waste disposal. Throughout, Conlogue unashamedly commits himself to paying close attention to the local, because "mending the damage starts with remembering what damage has been done" (3). He takes his students to local places where poems are set, examines the mining history of his own neighborhood and campus, and ruminates on the costs to his family of his own decision to abandon farming. He does all this in the name of "making the familiar strange" (58). Like the poets he admires, he admonishes his readers to "look closely at where we are and what we do there" (58). Only this way, he claims, can we understand the environmental costs of our past actions on the landscape and avoid those that lurk in new industrial development like the widespread drilling of the Marcellus Shale.

Conlogue announces ambitions for *Here and There*, however, that are not fully realized. He claims in his introduction that his book "shows how the region connects to and shapes the world beyond home," but in fact the book is much better instead at showing how the world shaped him and his home (20). Too often the essays meander—chapter 5, "Other Places," is particularly elusive—and the connective tissue between the literature Conlogue cites and the local observations he connects it to seems forced, or tangential. With the exception of chapter 6, which explores the irony of using garbage from New York City to fill abandoned mines and occasional references to water draining into Chesapeake Bay, the book rarely invites the wider world into the confines of its landscape. Readers who don't already know the local area about which Conlogue writes will have a difficult time understanding why it should matter to them. Nevertheless, *Here and There* is well worth reading by anyone who seeks to understand the full human and environmental legacy of unrestrained industrial development in northeastern Pennsylvania.

University of Nevada, Reno

C. ELIZABETH RAYMOND