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Forty-three Baltimore Street
Peggy Garrett

Preface

The history of a remarkable African-American family in Pennsylvania begins, in a sense, with a two-story frame house at 43 Baltimore Street in Carlisle. The builders of the house, Jonas and Mary Kee, came into Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century from Maryland and Virginia respectively. Their daughter, Margaret, married William James Andrews, whose forebears were in Shippensburg as early as 1790. The Andrews were the second generation to inhabit the house. The family’s story passed into the public domain in 1987, when their daughter, Anna Andrews, who had married Richard Johnson, became too frail to live in the house alone. Then her daughters, Anna Wilson and Louise Austin, offered the Cumberland County Historical Society the artifacts and papers from the house. Hence the origin of the “Johnson Family Collection,” named for their parents, Anna and Richard Johnson.

The collection offers an opportunity to tell the story of the three generations who built and inhabited the house, as well as to speculate upon the stories that preceded that building. Through these lives, we gain insight into the struggles of African-Americans in southeastern Pennsylvania as they wove their stories into those of their fellow citizens.

The history of 43 Baltimore Street, Carlisle, begins with the lives of its builders, Jonas Kee and Mary Foulk Kee. Neither was born in Pennsylvania, and their separate journeys to Cumberland County are part of a larger story of African-American migrations out of the South in the mid-nineteenth century. Some of Mary Foulk’s family came into Pennsylvania before she did. Her parents, Julia and George Foulk, were both born in Virginia in the 1820s. They came to Carlisle some time between 1850 and 1857. We can estimate the time of their arrival because their daughter Margaret was born in Virginia in 1850 and their son George was born in Pennsylvania in 1857. The two older children, Mary and her brother Reuben Washington, who were born in 1843 and 1845 respectively, appear to have come later. Mary Foulk is first listed on the Pennsylvania census in 1870 as the wife of Jonas Kee.

The Foulks’ trek is significant because it illustrates the northward migration of many African-Americans who made Pennsylvania their destination in the
mid-century. Pennsylvania was the hub of a nationwide escape network, the underground railroad, primarily because of its geographical location. It lay immediately north of the Mason-Dixon Line, and the mountains in the southeastern part of the state provided refuge for escaped slaves. Its rivers, especially the Susquehanna and the Monongahela, provided natural routes of escape to the north, and the international port in Philadelphia was a destination point for boats traveling north from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.1

There were cultural reasons as well that made Pennsylvania a haven for escaped slaves. Many of the Quaker tradition opposed slavery. By the early decades of the nineteenth century there were significant free black populations throughout the state. The nation's oldest and most prestigious anti-slavery organization was the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. In Carlisle the black community supported the anti-slavery cause. Men like John Peck, a local barber, and Michael Buck, a well known conductor on the railroad, were active in Carlisle. Further, there is evidence that some, although certainly not all, of the white population of the town was abolitionist in sentiment. The most famous anti-slavery incident in Carlisle, the McClintock Riot, occurred here in June of 1847, when two Maryland slave holders came in pursuit of three fugitives. Dr. John McClintock of Dickinson College not only assisted the fugitives but also tried to prevent their recapture. He was arrested, along with a number of free blacks, for participating in an attack on the slave holders which led to the beating of one who died three weeks later. McClintock and several of the blacks were acquitted and several other blacks fined. When the Daily Richmond Enquirer reported the incident, it warned its readers editorially to “be careful that none of their sons shall be sent to that place [Dickinson] for their education.”2

Less well known evidence of white support appeared in an article in the Carlisle Herald of October 21, 1886. Reporting on the departure of Mr. William Jackson, “for many years a highly respectable colored citizen of this borough,” to his daughter’s home in Urbana, Ohio, the writer recounts Mr. Jackson’s escape from slavery in 1846. Jackson had reached Williamsport, Maryland, via the underground railroad bound for Carlisle, when he was arrested on suspicion of being a runaway slave. When he told his captors that he was going to Carlisle, where he was well known by “Mr. John Noble, Captain Biddle, Mr. Penrose, and Lawyer Watts,” pillars of the community, he was released. Those names had been supplied to him before he left Virginia.

Julia and George Foulk and their children may have come north via the railroad. Even if they were fortunate to have been free blacks, however, there was good reason to leave Virginia. After the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831, the Virginia General Assembly passed laws designed to restrict the lives of freemen in such ways as to make further rebellion unlikely: teaching free blacks to read or write was a criminal offense; black preachers were silenced and black congregations could not gather unless a white person was present; free blacks could not carry firearms; they could not purchase slaves unless the slaves were members of the purchaser’s immediate family; and criminal penalties for free blacks were the same as for slaves, so that trial by jury occurred only in capital cases.3

The fact that the Foulks made the journey as a family and appear to have encouraged other members of their extended family to come into Pennsylvania is significant, too, because it demonstrates the will of African-American families to stay together despite the institution of slavery and the general conditions under which they lived. When Mary and Reuben joined their parents, they, too, contributed to the building of an enduring sense of home for the family in Carlisle. Children in later generations would leave to find work in Pittsburgh, New York, Detroit, and the West, but descendants of these first settlers continue to live in Carlisle. Those who moved on in each generation maintain close ties with the family here and frequently return.

Within a few years of Julia and George Foulk’s arrival in Carlisle, the war that was to decide the issue of slavery broke out and drew at least two members of the family into the conflict. The first was Reuben, who traveled to Iowa in order to join Company E, 60th Regular U. S. Line, which was formed from the First Iowa Colored Infantry and saw action in Arkansas. The second was Jonas Kee, the man who was to become Mary Foulk’s husband. Jonas joined in his home state, serving in Company H, 30th Regiment Infantry, USCT of the Maryland Volunteers. In Carlisle black men wishing to enlist had to travel out of Pennsylvania, which was one of the last northern states to form “colored troops.” The Carlisle Herald of April 10, 1863, reported that “one hundred Negro soldiers” from Cumberland County enlisted for a black regiment being raised in Massachusetts. A walk through the African-American Union Cemetery in Carlisle will demonstrate that many of the town’s black population served in the war.
Jonas Kee, the builder of 43 Baltimore Street, did not come into Pennsylvania until after the war's end, when many African-Americans in the southern and border states continued to move northward. When he arrived, he already had a family, having married Annie Reed in 1863, probably in his birthplace, Sharpsburg, Maryland, where their first child, Jonas H. Kee, was born in July of 1864. By April of 1866, when their second son Robert was born, they had left Maryland and were living in Carlisle.

One supposes that their short married life had been marked with troubles: they were separated while Jonas was in the army. He had been "mustered in" on March 31, 1864, when Annie was carrying their first son. The records show that Jonas "deserted from Hospital; Date unknown." The fact that dependents of soldiers were given no assistance by the government and that a black private's pay probably was meager and inconsistent may have contributed to Jonas' decampment. Hope of finding a better life in Pennsylvania must have prompted their move north.

Jonas and Annie arrived when the town was trying to accommodate an influx of "colored" people who they regarded, at best, with suspicion. In 1860 only 7.2% of Carlisle residents had been African-American; by 1880 over 15% of the town was black. There is even evidence that there were tensions within the black community at this time. Recent arrivals to Carlisle were considered, in the words of a white writer in the *Carlisle Herald*, "contrabands" but old Pennsylvania blacks as "pure Pennsylvania blood." Such was his account on April 28, 1865, when he described a dispute within an African-American congregation about the purchase of a hearse for the church's funerals. He reported that one "wench observed that the Pennsylvania darkies were too poor to buy a hearse, without the aid of their Southern brethren and sisters." A heated exchange followed, which led to the trouncing of the newcomers.

The couple may have come into this unsettled environment without friends and relatives to help them make a new start. The only records of Kees who were not Jonas' descendants are in letters from his relatives in the 1890s, when those kin were still in Maryland. This may indicate that most of the Kee family continued to live in Maryland and that Jonas, unlike his second wife Mary Foulk, did not migrate with a group of his family.

Jonas arrived with a trade, that of carpenter, which underlines the fact that some southern blacks had been able to obtain skills that blacks employed only in menial labor in rural areas of Pennsylvania had not. This difference could have been a source of tension such as that reported in the *Herald*. Whatever the Kees' situation upon first coming into Carlisle, it quickly worsened. Annie Reed Kee died two months after the birth of their second child, and Robert followed his mother, dying at the age of four months in August of 1866.

Jonas Kee must have been looking for a wife and a mother for his four-year-old son when he married Mary Foulk on September 4, 1868. In the 25-year-old Mary he found a strong and resourceful woman who through her family was well established in Carlisle. In the year of their marriage evidence began to appear that the African-American community was responding to the hope that, following the war and the emancipation, a new society would emerge that would draw upon and recognize the gifts of "the colored brethren." In April of that year the new African Methodist Episcopal Church on Pomfret Street, the church that Mary and Jonas attended, was dedicated. That church was built on the site of its first structure, which had opened in 1828 as the first African-American church in Carlisle.

In 1869 a second church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, dedicated a new building. In Harrisburg the *Progress of Liberty*, a paper devoted to the interests of "the colored population," commenced publication. *The Carlisle Herald* on May 14, 1869, reported that the editor of the *Progress of Liberty* had visited Carlisle and written that quite a large number of colored people...reside here who are generally enterprising and industrious, nearly all of whom have accumulated homes for themselves and are doing comparatively well. Mr. John Brock and Mr. John Simons have opened a fine grocery and are doing a living business. The colored people have two new churches, and are generally respectable, and pay strict attention to their religious obligations and duties. Their school privileges have always been and are quite limited.

Three months after Mary and Jonas were married, their first child was born. Like many black and white women in the 18th century, Mary had waited until late in pregnancy to marry. She was formed by the experience of African-American women who, enslaved, had little or no attention paid to their marital state by their owners. In fact, many very young women protected themselves from being traded away from other members of the family by having children that could become laborers. Evidence exists that within the African-American culture itself pre-marital pregnancy, including the bearing of more than one child before marriage, was acceptable. What was unacceptable in that culture, however, was any infidelity upon the part of the woman after marriage. As the three long-standing marriages of this study indicate, the women of Baltimore Street practiced such fidelity.

Menea Kee died within three months, and in April of 1870 a second daughter, Mary Julia, was born; she lived only six months. By 1872, however, when Mary was now 29 and Jonas 33, the first of the six children who were to survive well into adulthood was born. In February of that year Sarah was born, and between her arrival in 1872 and Benjamin Franklin Kee's birth in 1883, George, Luther, Laura, and Margaret were born. The last child, Frederick, was born in 1886, when Jonas was 47 and Mary, 43. That child lived only two months.

We do not know what became of Jonas' son from his first marriage. The 1870 Census shows the young Jonas, then six years old, living with Mary and Jonas and the infant Mary Julia. But by the 1880 Census, when the boy would have been 16 years old, he is no longer listed as living within the Kee household, nor does his name appear on the census lists for Carlisle and the outlying townships.

In the early years of their marriage Mary and Jonas rented a house on Chapel Alley in the third ward of Carlisle, where two-thirds of the African-American population of the town lived. That ward was also home to the most elite of the
white population, town workers, owners of businesses and professionals. The Kees, like their fellow citizens white and black, lived near their work. The “alleys” which became the “avenues” and sometimes the “streets” of Carlisle, were often home to blacks who worked for the prosperous white families residing on the major streets of Hanover, High, Pomfret, and Louther.

Jonas Kee first appears on the tax records in 1870 as a “laborer,” like 174 of the 202 “colored” men in Carlisle listed as “taxable” in that year. His first estimated yearly income appears in the tax records for 1874 as $80. In that year the range of estimated incomes in the category of laborer is from $50 to $100. Occasionally African-American men were given a specific designation for their occupation, such as “teamster” or “barber” or “mason,” but the great majority in the Carlisle tax records, as the 1870 record demonstrates, were listed simply as “laborer.”

As the Reverend J. D. Brock of the A.M.E. Church, speaking of the economic conditions of the blacks in 1901, said, “The colored people of Carlisle are employed in domestic service or as day laborers.” He went on to point out that if those men who had trades knew their skilled labor was in demand, it “would bring variety and add dignity to the labor.”

Jonas’ experience is a case in point. Although he obviously had the ability to work as a carpenter, as the house still standing attests, the only time he was given that designation in the tax records was during the period when he was building the house on Baltimore Street. For several assessment periods after the house was completed, he is designated a “carpenter,” with an estimated yearly income of $150. By the late 1890s, however, Jonas is again listed as a laborer with an estimated income of only $60. The most prosperous time in his entire life, if these records are an indication, was those years when he was building his own house and was recognized as a carpenter. One must assume that race was the barrier to his establishing himself in the higher paid craft. His experience was part of the reality of the black male experience that can be traced in all three of the generations of the family: while the fathers of each of the three families earned respect from their kin and within the black community for their leadership in that community, their merits, and hence their ability to “get ahead” financially, were often denied in the larger white community.

While the tax records show no income for Mary Kee, and the census reports list her as “keeping house,” there is evidence that she not only raised six of her own children and cared for others, but also worked outside the home. In her later years, when writing to her son Luther, she speaks of no longer being able to earn money for the family because of her age and her health. Further evidence of her earnings is the fact that Mary, not Jonas, purchased the lot for their home from Henry G. Beetem on April 19, 1889, for the sum of $100. However she was able to put aside this nest egg, it is remarkable that she paid outright a sum equal to her husband’s estimated income in the year of that purchase. Most of the women in the family have at one time or another worked as domestic servants in the houses of prominent white families in Carlisle because that was the only respectable occupation open to African-American women. Mary probably supplemented the family income with such work.
While we have only the family Bibles and what we can gain from census reports and tax records to tell this early portion of the Kee family story, we learn about their character, industry, and loyalty to one another from the letters and records beginning in 1896 allows us to make some suppositions about the family life that Jonas and Mary provided their six living children.

Both parents were interested in their children’s education. Jonas Kee could read and write, and books in the Johnson Collection that are connected with him indicate that he had an interest in questions of justice and freedom and a concern to pass this interest on. War in Cuba or the Great Struggle for Freedom was purchased by Jonas and inscribed, “To Margaret A. Kee by her father Mr. J. Kee, May 2nd 1897.” Published in 1896, the book was written by Señor Gonzalo de Quesada, chargé d'affaires of the Republic of Cuba, with Henry Davenport Northrup. Apparently Jonas kept the numerous newspaper clippings in the Johnson Collection from the same period that detail the conflict in Cuba and indicate Jonas’ ongoing interest in the fate of a people subject to Spanish imperialism. His gift to his 16-year-old daughter suggests that he wished to keep alive in his children an awareness of the human rights that he had struggled for in his own lifetime.

Another book in the Johnson Collection, published just three years after that on Cuba, signals Jonas’s pride in the contributions that his people had made to the struggles for freedom and dignity within the American republic. Campfires of the Afro-American, or The Colored Man as Patriot was written by Chaplain James M. Guthrie and published in Philadelphia in 1899 by the Afro-American Publishing Company.

Mary Kee must have joined Jonas in encouraging the children’s education. While Mary could neither read nor write, because teaching her would have been a criminal offense in the Virginia of her childhood, all of their children were able to do so. Here we find a concern that spans the generations in the family. Included in the Johnson Collection is a carefully handwritten account of African-American education in Carlisle from before 1836, when the Common School Law established the first public schools in Pennsylvania, to 1927. The dates of this history indicate that it was probably written by Anna Johnson, my collaborator Louise Johnson Austin’s mother and Jonas and Mary Kee’s granddaughter. According to this family historian, in 1877, just before the first Kee child, Sarah, would have gone to the Primary School for “colored” children in Pitt Street, a committee of “colored citizens appeared before the Board asking for additional facilities for the education of their children.” Further, they asked that the “course of study be advanced” so that their children could also earn diplomas. This prompted the School Board to divide the school into three grades, primary, intermediate and high school.

While we do not have any school records for the Kee children, we do know that they attended such schools as were available for black children, and that their eldest, Sarah, was one of the ten young people who graduated from the “colored high school” in June of 1888 [Daily Herald, June 11, 1888]. The family account describes overcrowding, few teachers, and the need to secure facilities that were “wholesome morally and of easy access to the colored school children” of this generation. Sociological studies of Carlisle undertaken by the Dickinson College Class of 1901 corroborate this account of need for improvement. In one of those studies Miss Josephine K. Brunyate (later dean of women at Dickinson) wrote of the contrast between the “colored school buildings” and the white, noting of the “colored” high school that “the whole building was out of repair, the floor splitting, the desks old, rickety and disfigured, the plaster walls dusty and smoky.” She was so “discouraged” by her visit to the high school that she did not go to the other two “colored” schools. Despite these conditions, Jonas and Mary must have encouraged all the children to gain what they could from what the “colored” schools offered them.

The Church also played a central role in each of the three generations of the inhabitants of 43 Baltimore Street. Mary and Jonas Kee attended the Pomfret Street A.M.E. Church, which was dedicated the year they were married. When their daughter Margaret married William Andrews, a member of the A.M.E. Zion congregation, Margaret became active in the church, now located on South West Street. We know that family ties to the Zion Church go back at least as far as 1850, when the tax records show that David Folks, Moses Scott, and Henry Williams were the elders of the Church who bought part of a lot at 108-112 East North Street from Catherine Thompson. Conway P. Wing’s History of Cumberland County records that the congregation, also referred to as the Wesley Chapel, built a “substantial brick edifice” on that land at the cost of about $1,800, and that before 1879 the building was paid for in full. Moses Scott was the grandfather of William James Andrews, the patriarch of the second generation of the family in the house on Baltimore Street. Until the present generation, all members of the family have belonged to one or the other branch of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose origins sprang from the belief of African-Americans in the nineteenth century that they deserved better than to be relegated to the balconies of white churches and that they could organize and conduct their own worship services.

The family letters refer to church events that were part of both spiritual and social life. Camp meetings were times of renewal and also of opportunities for families to gather. Ena Mae Kee, one of the members of Jonas’ family in Hagerstown, wrote to Mary of plans for the families to meet at one such camp meeting in the summer of 1876. Some years later, after Luther had moved to York, Mary reminded her son that camp meetings were going on in August of 1903 and urged him to come home to attend them so that he could see a family friend, Charles Jenkins, who had been “sick all this summer and looks bad.” Celebrations such as Christmas were, of course, part of the family’s church life. In December of 1903, Mary wrote to Luther that she had spent “a very pleasant Xmas.”

The Elks Lodge, gave a public dinner in the Assembly Hall. So I took the children, and went up and got our dinners, then at night we went to the church to the Xmas tree exercises.

Members of the Kees’ extended family were also active in the religious life of the community. The obituary of Mary’s sister-in-law, Mary V. Foulk, wife of
her younger brother George, provides a picture of the activities of a woman who, unlike Mary Kee, had no children and thus may have had more opportunity to become involved in church organizations. In 1880 George Foulk had been appointed the treasurer for the newly opened Indian School, and he and his wife lived at the school, enjoying a kind of security rare among the African-American population in the town. At the time of Mary V. Foulk's untimely death of peritonitis at the age of 40 in 1897, she was lauded for her leadership at the West Street A.M.E. Zion Church, where she was "a stewardess." Moreover, she was noted for her work in the women's association of the Odd Fellows, the Household of Ruth, and the Golden Chain, organizations closely tied to the interests of the church. The Evening Sentinel reports of her funeral that

Beautiful floral tributes from Indian school employees and others were there in abundance. At five o'clock the remains were brought in Carlisle and interment was made in the colored graveyard. It required three trolley cars for the funeral cortège.12

While Mary Foulke Kee did not have as fortunate a situation in some ways as her younger brother's wife, she, too, was a faithful church member. Her greatest energies, however, appear to have been directed toward the family she and Jonas had created. Her purchase of the lot on Baltimore Street and the plans she and Jonas shared in the creation of their own home must have been a high point in the family's life.

When Mary purchased the lot in 1889 she and Jonas had been married for 22 years. Mary was 47 and Jonas was 53. The Kees' oldest child, Sarah, was 17 years old and the youngest, Benjamin, was six. By 1891 Sarah would leave the family to marry Charles Fisher. Within three years Jonas had completed a two-story frame house which was assessed in the 1892-94 County Rates as worth $500. By the time the 1895-97 assessments were made, Jonas had added a frame back building to the property.

Unfortunately, the 1890 Census records were destroyed in a fire, so we are not certain just what the family composition was in that period. In 1900, however, all of the children, except Sarah, were still living in the house. None of the others had married. George was 25 and was listed as a laborer; Luther, 22, was a waiter; Laura, 21, and Margaret, 18, were both working as domestics. All were probably contributing to the family income. In addition, Laura had two daughters, Mary Howard, 4, and Margaret Reed, 2, who were part of the family. So Mary and Jonas Kee had a period of almost ten years when almost all of their children were with them in their own home.

In April of 1889, when Mary Kee purchased the lot at 43 Baltimore, it was probably not chance that the purchase was made of Harry G. Beetem and his wife, Sarah Elizabeth. In 1904, when "Mrs. Lizzie Beetem," as Mary Kee spoke of her friend, died within 24 hours of contracting "acute pneumonia," Mary wrote to Luther that she had "lost a good friend." That friendship, the fact that the Baltimore street property was bounded on one side by the Beetems' residence, and subsequent transactions regarding the property all point to an ongoing relationship between the two families. Harry Beetem was the son of Amelia and George Smith Beetem. George father was Captain Abraham Beetem. George Beetem was the founder of the Beetem Lumber and Manufacturing Company of Carlisle in 1880, which Harry took over upon his father's death. Beetem father and son both owned homes in the neighborhood of the Baltimore Street property, living down the street from one another in the 200 block of South Hanover Street. Here, then, was the typical pattern of the well-to-do white family on the main street having a working and often friendly relationship with an African-American family living nearby. Baltimore Street, by the way, was Baltimore Avenue when the lot was purchased.

For a period of about eight years, the Kee family actually owned the house that Jonas built. By 1900, however, family fortunes must have changed because in that year Jonas and Mary sold the house back to the Beetem family, although they continued to live there, presumably as renters, until 1905. At about this time Jonas suffered a stroke and the family moved back to Chapel Avenue. The Beetems, however, continued to hold the property, because when it was repurchased by the Kees' daughter Margaret and her husband William Andrews in 1914, the sellers were Harry's sister and her husband, who had inherited it.

The Beetem family had other relationships with the African-American community. When the Carlisle Herald, on July 27, 1882, announced that the A.M.E. Church that the Kees attended had paid off "a debt that has long been resting on the church," Harry Beetem was identified as the builder who had finally "been paid in full." One of the memorial windows in the Church bears the name "Beetem," further evidence of the family's involvement with the congregation. This kind of support and interaction among the white and black populations of Carlisle may have been an indication that in the period of Reconstruction the two communities believed they could build a common future together.

At the time that Mary and Jonas had to sell the house, their children began to leave home. In 1900 Luther received an invitation from his uncle to come to work for him in Hagerstown. "See if you can't do better than my own son," Henry S. Kee wrote, appearing to have recognized the good up-bringing that Jonas and Mary provided. In the next year, both the girls left, Laura to work in Pittsburgh and Margaret to marry William Andrews.

These departures provide the evidence that Mary Kee was instrumental in keeping the family together. While she had to use the services of the "Carlisle letter writer" to write to her family, Mary was the parent who kept in touch with all her children as they moved out into the world. The letters between mother and children reveal their habits of caring for and about others in the family. Luther and Laura both sent money home to their mother from the time they left Carlisle to seek work elsewhere. Laura was particularly responsible about sending money and clothing to the two small daughters she had left in her mother' care, but she also sent gifts to her sisters and to their families. As she wrote in the spring of 1902, "Mother tell Maggie I will get her a braid just a soon as I get down [the] street." And in the next summer she explained:

Mother please tell Maggie that the dress that I sent to Anna was new[,] but the lady I stop with has a little girl. I put it on her to see if I thought it
would fit Anna. I knew if it fit her it would fit Anna. And after I got it on her I could not get it off before she got it soiled but of course it can be washed.

The children returned their mother's affection for them. Almost everyone in the family became involved in giving Mary Kee the special treat of a train trip to Philadelphia with her friend, Mrs. Townsend, in October of 1903. Margaret Andrews returned home to “keep house” and take care of her nieces while her mother was away. Luther sent Mary $10 for the trip, and Laura sent money and advice:

...I want you to go and enjoy yourself, But Mother be very careful of the cars and the wagons as It will not be like it is at home.... Mother here is the money for the coal. And tell your pap not to have It all burnt up when you get back from the City. I would like very much If you were coming to Pittsburgh instead of going to Phila. but of course it takes more money for that. But may be some day you may get a chance to get to Pitt. It is a wonderful place to see. Well I close hoping to here[sic] from you again before you leave for the city, but Mother above all be very careful when you are out on the street.

Mary made her trip without incident, but she came home sooner than she expected. Sarah Fisher gave this account to her brother Luther:

Maggie got so tired of keeping house for her beloved papa, so Mary got sick with a slight touch of Pneumonia. And you know what a great calf Mary always is if Mama just turns the corner, so Maggie took that as an excuse to write for Mamma to come home[,] hence Mamma came Thursday night at 9:45. I am so sorry for she was having a lovely time. [E]ven your pap got provoked at Maggie.... [E]veryone thinks Maggie ought to hide herself. Mary was getting so much better the doctor had stopped coming.

In 1902 Jonas and Mary's youngest, Benjamin, left home and began his wandering ways. Both Louise and her sister Anna remember their great uncle Benjamin as a pleasant visitor who came into town from time to time, having hopped one of the many trains that still ran through Carlisle in their childhood. He appears to have begun his travels first by taking a job in Pittsburgh. Laura wrote her mother in February of 1902 about an accident:

...you will be surprised when I tell you Mamma Ben did not have to have any of his fingers taken off. [H]is hand is alright now. But I have not seen him for 3 weeks. [H]e telephone[d] to me about 3 weeks ago and said he was coming out to see me on Saturday night, but he failed to come. Now Mama do not worry bout Ben's hand because it has been well for now going on 6 weeks. [H]e has been working since that has happened.

We can only speculate about his work in Pittsburgh, but by September of 1903 he had left to live and work at the State Fair Grounds in Springfield, Illinois. Then two months later he had taken a job as a “scrubber” in one of the largest hotels in Kansas City, Missouri, and was urging his brothers to follow him because he was being paid $20 a month, a much higher salary than they were able to earn in Carlisle. But when Benjamin became ill while working in Missouri, the siblings again rallied. Luther and Laura contributed to, and oversaw the sending of money to, Benjamin, hoping that he would return home to recover.

The children's letters to Mary demonstrate that they felt her approval was of great importance. They also spoke with fondness of their experiences at home. When Laura first moved to Pittsburgh she wrote her mother:

Mama[,] Miss Geo said would you please cook her some greens and make her some cornbread and send them to her. And I would like to have some pot pie. I am at Mrs. Geo[s] now talking over the good times that we used to have. I only wish that I had some of the good things we used to have.

Nor did her longing for home cooking or the comforts of home go away. Three years later when she was worrying about Benjamin's being ill and away from home, she reflected, “It is a terrible thing to be sick away from home. I know that from experience.” And as if thoughts of home triggered her memory of her mother's cooking, she went on, “I would like very much to have some chitlins. Is there anyway that you can send me some?”

Mary in her turn aided her children in whatever ways were in her power throughout her life. She took over the raising of Laura's daughters, Mary Howard and Margaret Reed, even keeping them with her when their mother went to Pittsburgh to work. A third granddaughter, Sarah's daughter Salome, joined her household in 1910 after Mary was widowed. Her letters are full of interest in her children’s lives and advice when she thinks they need it. All these examples point to patterns of care and responsibility for one's family that were common in the African-American community.

In December of 1903 Mary Kee wrote to Luther that George “boards at home” and “butchers with Lurie Hartzell now.” In 1904 she reported that George was “jobbing around.” And by June of 1905 a letter from Luther to his mother makes clear that the last of Jonas and Mary's own children had left home to be married. The 1907-09 tax records show that George and his wife Florence were renting a house at 47 Baltimore and that he was working as a laborer earning $80 per year.

Yet even with the last child out of the house, Mary and Jonas did not have a time in which they were free from parental responsibilities. George had lived with them until just four years before Jonas' death, and Laura's two children were still in the household when Jonas died. It was 1905, when George married, that Mary and Jonas gave up the house on Baltimore Street and began renting a house at 36 West Chapel Avenue.

By that time both Mary and Jonas faced health problems. Apparently Mary had problems with her sight, probably from the development of cataracts. After she had surgery on one eye in February of 1904 she wrote to Luther, “I had intended going to the hospital to have my other eye operated on but I have decided to buy myself suitable glasses instead, because it is much better to make sure of one eye than not have any.” This was about the time that Jonas fell ill. In his last years Jonas was partially paralyzed, but was able “to be about” from time to time.
Mary was 68 years old when Jonas died. Within a year of his death, the census shows her heading a household which included her three granddaughters, Mary, 14, Margaret, 12, and Salome, 10. She was not without help from her children, however, for Luther had returned to live at home, and Laura continued to send money toward the support of the children. The last letter we have to Mary Kee is from Laura in Pittsburgh to West Chapel Avenue on June 26, 1905: "I rec'd your kind and welcome letter sometime ago and was glad to hear from you." Laura went on to account for the housecleaning chores that had kept her so busy that she had been prevented from writing and noted that she was enclosing $7. She commented that she had not heard from either Luther or Benjamin and concluded, "Give my love to all. I guess I have said all for this time. I remain your Daughter. [W]rite soon. LJ Kee good bye."

Before Mary Foulk Kee died on March 26, 1924, she was once again living at 43 Baltimore Street. Her son-in-law, William James Andrews, had bought the property back for his wife on March 30, 1914. He paid Amelia Beetem's heirs, Ella and L.R. Brenneman, $1000 for the house. The letters that have told so much of the family history at the turn of the century must have come back to the house before Mary's death. And Anna Wilson and Louise Austin have been instrumental in telling some of the stories about life in the house during the time of their grandparents, Margaret and William Andrews.

John Nicholas Choate:
A Cumberland County Photographer
Richard L. Tritt

Cumberland County is fortunate to have had a number of excellent photographers who left behind a fascinating visual record of Cumberland County people, places and events. Charles C. Lochman, Frank Beidel, Charles E. Himes, A. A. Line, John N. Choate, Maynard Hoover, and Clyde A. Laughlin are just a few names familiar to those who know early local photographers. Choate stands out from the others because of his association with the Carlisle Indian School during its early years. His photographs of the many facets of the school have received international attention. This article is intended to document the life and work of this outstanding Cumberland County photographer.

John Nicholas Choate was born in Windfield, Carroll County, Maryland, in 1848.1 His father, Samuel Choate (1823-1862), was a sharecropper of modest income. His mother, Elizabeth (b. 1824), bore seven children, John being the second oldest.2

On 12 August 1862 Samuel Choate enlisted in Company E of the Fourth Regiment of the Maryland Brigade. Hurried to the field to reinforce General McClellan's Army of the Potomac, the troops occupied Maryland Heights, opposite Harper's Ferry, where Choate died of disease on 1 November 1862.3 He left an estate of farm equipment and home furnishings valued at $564.64. An auction was held and his widow repurchased much of the farm equipment so that young John could continue sharecropping.4

The next record of the family that has been found is the 1870 Census. John is listed as a farmhand living with a nearby farmer named Thomas Kelly. His older sister Elizabeth lived next door with the Dennitic family and worked in their sassafras distillery.5

Details of Choate's life from 1870 until 1875 are sketchy. When he came to Carlisle in 1875, he was prepared to open his own photography business. He also was married to the former Ella (Ellen) McKillip of Altoona. We know that Ella's brother, Edson McKillip, was also a photographer. It is a fair surmise that Choate had spent some time in the Altoona area, met his wife there, and perhaps worked as a photographer's apprentice under his brother-in-law.

That Choate moved to Carlisle in the year 1875 may be deduced from his...
obituary in 1902, which stated that he had been in Carlisle for 27 years. The date 1875 is also confirmed by the fact that his wife joined the First Reformed Church of Carlisle on 16 October 1875. She was admitted by certificate from St. John’s Reformed Church in Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, a small town about ten miles south-east of Altoona.

Choate began business in Carlisle at the former address of Charles L. Lochman on the south-east corner of Market Square and Main Street. His earliest imprint on the back of his card mount indicates that he was a successor to the photographer, Charles Lochman, and that he preserved the negatives of both Buttorff (another early Carlisle photographer) and Lochman. Choate remained at this address only a short time. In 1876 his business address is listed as 21 West Main Street.

In his early Carlisle years, in addition to his regular studio portrait work, Choate did on-site photography, purchasing a traveling horse-drawn studio for this purpose. He produced a series of stereoview cards entitled “ Beauties of Carlisle and Surrounding Country.” These views, taken in 1876, show scenes of Carlisle, Boiling Springs, Mount Holly Springs, and the local countryside. Several of the cards show Choate as well as his mobile studio. He hand-numbered the negatives of this set. Surviving cards and glass plates bear numbers ranging from 300 through 360. Forty-four of the original stereoview cards 300-360 have been located, but 16 are still not accounted for. The photos were mounted on orange cardboard mounts with “BEAUTIES OF CARLISLE and SURROUNDING COUNTRY” printed on the left side and “J. N. CHOATE, CARLISLE PENNA.” printed on the right side. These cards are invaluable since they are the earliest known views of these areas and show early businesses, industries (notably iron and paper), public buildings, homes, and streetscapes.

The Carlisle Indian School opened in Carlisle in 1879. Its superintendent, Lieutenant (later General) Richard Henry Pratt, wanted a photographic record of the school for publicity purposes. Choate was taking pictures there as early as March 1879. He produced a set of stereoview cards in 1879-1880 that are the earliest known views of the Indian School.
school. These were mounted on orange or yellow cardboard mounts with "Photographed by J.N. Choate" printed on the right side and "No. 21 West Main Street, Carlisle" printed on the left side. The identification of the subjects was handwritten on the back by Choate or an assistant. Forty of the original wet plate negatives for these cards are in the Potamkin Collection of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Choate's association with the Carlisle Indian School continued for many years. There are several references to Choate in the Indian School publications. In June of 1880 a short article states that "A fine lot of photographs of the school buildings, pupils, and visiting chiefs have been obtained by Mr. Choate, of Carlisle, who has them for sale at reasonable rates." A school news item in an October 1880 paper reads: "One day we went down town and got a picture taken. It was [a] very nice one. Every Indian boy ought to go to Choate's and get picture taken. Its cheap only 25 cents." 

In the April 1881 issue of Big Morning Star a complete list of the 89 Indian pictures available from Choate was published. The pictures were of individuals and groups - "Sioux boys as they arrived at the Indian Training School, Carlisle Barracks, Oct. 5, 1879" and Indian boys at work in the fields and as shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and bakers. Eighteen of the set were boudoir size (5" x 8 1/4") and were sold at 25 cents each or $2.50 per dozen. All others were regular cabinet size and were priced at 20 cents each or $2.00 per dozen. Most of the cards in this set are in the Cumberland County Historical Society Collection. An article written in August 1881 states that "Mr. Choate continues to add to his collection of Indian photographs, which now number nearly a hundred different ones." In the series entitled "Noted Indian Chiefs" on a card of cabinet size are grouped the heads of 19 well known chiefs who had visited the Carlisle school—Spotted Tail, the Sioux American Horse and Iron Wing, the Ponca chief White Eagle, the Arickaru chief Son-of-the-Star, and others. The series also contained a card showing a careful grouping of 34 vignettes entitled "Our Boys and Girls." "Very good pictures . . . they all are, and the group is a
An article written in September 1881 mentions Choate's picture of Cook the Sioux brave and his little daughter Grace, or Porcelain Face, whom he visited at the school, that was well known and reproduced in Harper's Magazine and the Christian Weekly. Choate continued to photograph periodically at the school until his death in 1902. In 1888 a news note indicated that "Mr. Choate was on the ground, Monday, taking pictures." In March 1901 a news note states that "The class picture photographed by Mr. Choate is a good one." A "Souvenir of the Carlisle Indian School," a booklet containing 19 of Choate's best known photos of the school, was published and copyrighted by him in 1902.

The major purpose of Choate's photos of the Carlisle Indian School was to provide visual evidence of the effectiveness of Pratt's solution to the "Indian problem." Choate photographed all of the academic, vocational, and extracurricular activities of the school. These images were sold and distributed throughout the country to political and educational leaders, as well as to ordinary citizens. Photos of individuals and groups of students on arrival at the school showed the "uncivilized" nature of the Indian people. Shots of the same individuals or groups after some time at the school showed the dramatic physical and social transformation from "barbarism into civilization." Choate produced a number of these "before and after" or "contrast" photos. The most famous juxtaposed pair is of the Navajo student Tom Torlino.

Fig. 8. "Our Boys and Girls," copyrighted by Choate in 1881. Thirty-four Carlisle Indian School faces.

Fig. 9. "Before and after" photos of White Buffalo, Cheyenne, an 18 year old Indian youth with naturally gray hair, 1881 and 1884.
Many of Choate's negatives of the Indian School have survived. The largest collection of 1239 glass negatives (known as the Choate Collection) is in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution. Most of the portrait photographs are of Indians who either attended or visited the Carlisle Indian School between 1879 and 1902. The earliest of these negatives are wet plates, taken between 1879 and 1881, after which Choate apparently adopted a dry plate format. The majority of these negatives are in good condition and have all been appropriately preserved and indexed.14

Choate was very active at the school during the early years of the school's existence but his work tapered off as the school became more established. He then devoted more time to his extensive studio work in Carlisle.

Choate first lived in Carlisle at the Franklin House, where he is listed as a boarder in the CVRR Directory of 1877-1878. In Boyd's Directory for 1882-1883, his residence is listed as 18 West Pomfret Street, probably a rented residence. He purchased his first home for $900 in April 1884, a two-story wooden frame house at 94 West Pomfret Street.15 He sold this house for $1200 in March 1888 and bought the building at 21 West High Street for $4800.16 This three-story brick building with a two-story brick storage/stable building in the rear served as his studio, gallery and residence for the remaining 25 years of his life. His studio address appears on many of his photo cards, first as 21 West Main (later West High) Street, and then as 17 West Main or High Street, after a renumbering of buildings around 1897.

His business establishment on West High Street was described on his photo card as an "Art Store and Photograph Rooms." In addition to taking studio photos, Choate dealt in chromos (a colored picture printed from a set of plates), mouldings, frames, stereoscopes and viewcards. He also advertised life-size crayons (large colored chalk enhanced photos). Two examples are known to exist and are of exceptional quality. One, a portrait of Helen Hall Bucher, is owned by a Boiling Springs family. The other is an enhanced charcoal portrait of an unknown man that is in the Cumberland County Historical Society Photo Collection. Choate also enlarged photos and copied earlier images such as cased photos and carte de visite photos.17

Choate maintained an active commercial photography business at his West Main Street studio. There is evidence that he employed assistants. For example, an article in the Indian Helper of 11 February 1887 mentions that Ray Worthington, a cadet at West Point, had "quit school in Carlisle when a mere boy, and entered

Mr. Choate's art gallery, where for several years he worked faithfully." In the settlement papers of Choate's estate, wages of $22 were due to a Joseph J. Brandon, most likely an employee of Choate. In the CVRR Directory of 1902 Choate is listed as "Choate & Co. photographers." His obituary relates that "Choate was the inventor of an electric retoucher of merit and as a business man he was enterprising and up-to-date."

Choate was a well known and respected citizen in the Carlisle community. He was a charter member and treasurer of the Mystic Circle, a fraternal organization. He was also a founder of the American Insurance Union and was closely identified with several of Carlisle's manufacturing interests.18 His wife Ella was an active member of the Carlisle Civic Club and the First Reformed Church of Carlisle. Her name appears in the church records from 1875 until 1911.

John Choate's death was sudden and unexpected. He died at his home on West High Street. The obituary in the Carlisle Herald of 17 October 1902, relates his final hours in detail.

He had partaken of a hearty supper, and later, at about a quarter of seven, had complained of not feeling very well, and had walked over to Dr. Emrick's drugstore, just across from his residence, and had taken a small glass of aromatic spirits of ammonia. He walked back to his house, entered the studio and sat down on the chair. Here he was seen sitting as if asleep by Coach [Glenn] Warner, of the Indian School, who happened to be passing by, and who thought Mr. Choate had simply fallen asleep. He returned from the postoffice, and being struck by something in the position of Mr. Choate, he went in and found that he was suffering as from a stroke.

He called in Dr. Thomas Stewart, who happened to be driving by, and who at once administered restoratives. The patient recovered sufficiently to tell them that his wife had gone to Mechanicsburg, asking that she be sent for. He died at about 8 o'clock, of heart trouble, or angina pectoris.19

Choate had apparently been in good health up to the day he died. The Wednesday before his death he was present at the Governor Ritner Monument unveiling ceremonies, at Mt. Rock, where he took a number of views of the crowd and monument.20

Choate lived in Carlisle for 27
years. According to the Carlisle Herald, he had been "the leading photographer and one of the public spirited citizens of this place, by nature genial and companionable, he made a large circle of friends and acquaintances." The Evening Sentinel said "He was kind and generous, and a friend to many who needed friendship. By reason of his jovial disposition he made a host of friends."

His funeral was held at his residence on West High Street the Monday after his death at 10:30 A.M. Friends could view his remains between 8 and 10 A.M. that morning. The funeral and interment in Ashland Cemetery were private.

The Red Man and Helper of the Indian School noted his passing in its 24 October 1902 issue. "Mr. J. N. Choate, the well known photographer of Carlisle and who for many years was largely connected with the school, suddenly passed into eternity last week while sitting quietly in his office chair. We all mourn the loss of Mr. Choate. He had many friends wherever he went, his death was a sudden shock to the people in Carlisle."

After Choate's death on 16 October, his widow filed Letters at the Court House on 10 November. Choate did not have a will and his wife executed his estate. An inventory conducted on 14 November indicated that his book accounts had an estimated value of $200. In September of 1903 Mrs. Choate presented a petition to the Orphans Court in Carlisle stating that her husband's personal estate was insufficient for the payment of his debts and asked that his real estate be sold for the payment of his debts. The Court ordered that a public sale of the property be held in front of the Court House at 2 o'clock on 21 October 1903. The sale was advertised in The Evening Sentinel and held as scheduled. The property was purchased for $4450 by E. Skyles McKillip of Altoona, Ella Choate's brother. On the settlement date of 31 March 1904 he sold the property back to Ella McK. Choate for $4450. Mrs. Choate obtained a $4000 mortgage to help pay for the property.

The final account for the estate of John Choate was filed on 2 April 1904. The value of his inventory and appraisal was increased to $364.54, due to a gain on book accounts and the sale of some merchandise. The Administratrix claimed $646.63 in credits. Some of this amount was to pay outstanding bills for supplies such as wrapping paper, glass, gold and platinum. A balance of $127.46 was due to the Mystic Circle, of which Choate was the treasurer when he died. His casket and funeral expenses of $230.00 were paid to A. B. Ewing. Most of the other credits were for professional services needed to settle the estate.

Mrs. Choate remained in Carlisle until at least 1911 and rented the building to various businesses. She retained the property until 15 November 1922, when she sold it to Harry I. Marks for $10,000. She was living in Harrisburg at that time.

A collection of glass negatives of studio portraits attributed to Choate was given to the Cumberland County Historical Society in March 1988. They were found in the attic of 17 West High Street (Choate's studio) where they had been stored for almost a century. They have been properly cleaned and indexed and are known as the Burkholder/Landis Collection. Hundreds of identified Cumberland County individuals from 1875-1902 can be seen in this collection.

Part of the appeal of Choate's photography is that his personality and humor are reflected in his images. He enjoyed people and it is rare to find a Choate photo where no people are present. Even photos that feature buildings and places usually include people.

Choate's love of people and life is seen in surviving examples of photos showing people involved in pleasant activities, such as men gathered by the lake at Boiling Springs, young boys fishing on a summer day, groups posed by mountain streams or scattered over rock formations, such as Flat Rock and Pole Steeple, overlooking the Cumberland Valley.

In a period when many photographers show awkwardly and stiffly posed subjects, Choate's images show people in natural and comfortable positions. The subjects are almost artistically arranged, employing a variety of techniques to add interest to the final image. Some subjects are seated and others are crouched or standing to add interest to the composition of the picture. People in groups are often all looking in different directions, sometimes at each other, and other times at the photographer. Arms and hands are in a variety of positions, some resting on other people's shoulders, or on props such as tables, chairs, fences, and gates. Children hold dolls, others hold hats, and Indians hold pipes or other Native American objects. Children express their affection to their parents by holding their hands or wrapping their arms around them.

A few examples of Choate's humor can be seen in photos from the Cumberland County Historical Society Collection. One shows an obviously diaperless baby boy with his big toe in his mouth and the caption "What will he do with it?" An 1891 copyrighted cabinet card photo of a dog family features a male and female pair with ten puppies all neatly arranged in one photo. Close ex-

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**Fig. 12.** Group excursion to Pole Steeple, photographed by Choate c. 1900.
amination of the image reveals that Choate actually made a paste-up of many individual shots to create the final photo. In Choate's Indian School Series photo No. 15 may be another example of Choate's sense of humor. A nearly naked dancing savage, covered with painted circles over his entire body, is captioned "The first Indian brought to the School by Captain Pratt in 1878." Closer inspection reveals that the image is not really a photograph, but rather a photocopy of a drawing by George Catlin of a male dancer taking part in a Mandan ritual. A Choate image just recently acquired by the Society shows a group of men and boys gathered behind the Boiling Springs Tavern. One young boy is grasping the neck of another boy and is raising a stone in striking position. This was obviously a staged scene, probably directed by Choate.

Choate photos can be found in many local homes or by searching through photos at local antique shops and flea markets. Each find represents one more segment of the life and career of this outstanding Cumberland County photographer.

Notes
1. Obituary notice for John Choate, Carlisle Daily Herald, 18 October 1902.
2. United States Census of 1860, Westminster, Maryland, District 9, 441.
4. Administration of Samuel Choate, 11 November 1862, Administration Index, Carroll County, Maryland.
5. United States Census of 1870, Carroll County, Maryland, District 9, 312.
17. Cabinet Card BS-CH9, Cumberland County Historical Society Photo Collection.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Carlisle Herald, 18 October 1902.

DATING CHOATE PHOTOGRAPHS
All dates are approximations based on Choate's studio locations in Carlisle and a study of dated Choate photos in the Cumberland County Historical Society's Photo Collection. It is rather difficult to date Choate's photographs precisely because he was at the same location for 25 years, and he used a variety of imprints that often overlap time periods. Some of his early Carlisle Indian School photos were reprinted at a later time on different style cards. Choate also made copies for clients of earlier photographs that he printed on the mount he was using at the time.

DATE DESCRIPTION OF PHOTO
1875-1876 Carte de Visite with "S.E. Cor. Market Sq. & Main St." on back. Camera and easel motif. (Fig. 3)
Portrait in a symmetrical frame.
1876 " Beauties of Carlisle, etc. " Viewcard Series
Henry Connelly, Cabinet and Chairmaker of Newville, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia
Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann

In 1808 Thomas Sully, artist to the rich and famous, painted the portrait of Henry Connelly. (Fig. 1) Connelly, looking contented, prosperous, and very Byronesque, was 39 years old at the time. He had reason to look both prosperous and contented for he was one of the leading cabinetmakers of Philadelphia. His furniture, now in the collections of the Philadelphia and the Metropolitan Museums of Art, filled the fashionable drawing rooms and dining rooms of such Philadelphia notables as shipping merchant Stephen Girard, Quaker banker Henry Hollingsworth, and Captain John Carson, commander of the ship Pennsylvania Packet.  

Connelly retired in 1824 after a successful career of 23 years in Philadelphia. But he remained unknown until 1928, when a label of Henry Connelly was noticed on a Sheraton sideboard in the possession of an old Philadelphia family. (Fig. 2) Research on Connelly's life and work then began.

W. M. Hornor, Jr., author of The Blue Book of Philadelphia Furniture, was the first to write about Connelly, who, he felt, ranked equal "in every way to the heralded Duncan Phyfe" of New York. Many have researched and published about Connelly since Hornor's article appeared in 1929, and numerous pieces have been attributed to his shop. Today, the Decorative Arts Photographic Collection at Winterthur records five pieces of furniture with Connelly's label, and several dozen more pieces attributed to him. However, no one was able to locate him anywhere before he appeared in Philadelphia in 1801 at the age of 32. No one learned that while Connelly's furniture graced elegant Philadelphia houses, it also stood in simpler houses in Newville, Pennsylvania, 127 miles from Philadelphia.

Newville, located in Newton Township, Cumberland County, was founded in 1790. The village grew rapidly. By 1798 there were 41 houses and a population of about 300. It was hardly the place one would expect to find a school of cabinetmakers—among them Henry Connelly.

Henry Connelly first appeared in the 1793 Septennial Census of Newton Township as a joiner. The same census listed another joiner, John Peebles. Both men were aged 24 and unmarried. It is likely that both Connelly and
Peebles had apprenticed in Philadelphia. Peebles claimed to have "wrought in the best shops" in Philadelphia, and since his career is known from 1793 until his death, the only time he could have worked in Philadelphia was during and immediately following his apprenticeship.

Connelly and Peebles may have met in Philadelphia when they were apprentices, or known each other as boys in the Cumberland Valley. It seems probable that Connelly was related to the families of Joseph and Dennis Connelly, who settled along the Conodoguinet Creek, four miles from Newville, in the 1760s. Peebles was born in nearby Shippensburg, the son of tavern keeper and Revolutionary War captain William Peebles. Having completed their apprenticeships about 1790 or 1791, it was logical that they settle in Newville, a rapidly growing town, in close proximity to their relatives.

When Henry Connelly and John Peebles formed their partnership is not known, but it was dissolved "by mutual consent" in 1796. Peebles announced the dissolution in a notice in the 23 March issue of Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette:

Whereas the partnership of John Peebles and Henry Connelly, Cabinet makers, is this day, by mutual consent, dissolved. The subscriber calls upon all persons, to whom they might be indebted to come forward, that their accounts may be adjusted and settlement made, before the first day of May next.

JOHN PEEBLES
Newton township 12th February 1796.

N.B. The said Peebles returns his sincere thanks, to those who have favoured him with their custom heretofore, and informs the public, that he continues to carry on the Cabinet business at the same place, as usual, and hopes, from a careful attention to business, to merit the approbation, of all who please to favour him with their commands.

JOHN PEEBLES

After his partnership with Peebles was dissolved, Connelly went into business with John Bratton of Newville. The following notice appeared directly under Peebles’s in the same issue of the newspaper.

CABINET MAKING BUSINESS

Henry Connelly, late a partner of Mr. John Peebles, informs his friends and the public in general, that he has entered into partnership with John Bratton of Newville, where they intend to carry on the Cabinet and Chair Making Business in all its various branches, and hopes by a steady attention and the excellence of their work to merit the patronage of a generous public.

JOHN BRATTON AND HENRY CONNELLY

March 15th, 1796

WHIRLIGIG the partnership of John Peebles and Henry Connelly, Cabinet makers, is this day, by mutual consent, dissolved. The subscriber calls upon all persons, to whom they may be indebted to come forward, that their accounts may be settled, and that he has removed his manufactory to Newville, where he opened a shop.

JOHN PEEBLES.

Newton township, 13th Feb. 1796.

March 15th, 1796

JOHN BRATTON AND HENRY CONNELLY

By 1796, not only Connelly, Peebles, and Bratton were working in Newville as cabinetmakers, but also John Fox, Archibald Cambridge, and several apprentices and journeymen. Competition for clients may have prompted an unfortunate incident which took place three months after the partnership of Connelly and Peebles was dissolved—Peebles’s cabinetmaking shop was set on fire. In a deposition dated 27 June 1796 John Peebles charged that his shop was set on fire by somebody on the night of the 26th instant, and that he “has reason to suspect, and does suspect, Henry Connelly and John Fox (or some persons actually employed by aforesaid Connelly or Fox),” of setting it on fire. He also states that he is afraid they will do him some bodily harm or burn his house down. The case was dropped, and Peebles moved away from Newville to Shippensburg, where he opened a shop.

In 1797 or 1798 Connelly also left Newville. He sued cabinetmaker John Fox in 1799 for a debt, but court records do not say where Connelly was living at the time. After leaving Newville. By 1801 he had established himself in Philadelphia: his first cabinet shop was located at 16 Chestnut Street.

Connelly’s early Philadelphia furniture was in the Sheraton style. His graceful Sheraton chairs and sofas featured acanthus carvings and “delicately tapered and reeded” legs that ended with the spade foot. This feature has been used to distinguish his work from that of his contemporary, Ephriam Haines. Some time between 1803 and 1806 Connelly’s shop made a Sheraton-styled sideboard (now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art) (Fig. 4) and a table for banker Henry Hollingsworth. Both these pieces bear Connelly’s label; in addition, the sideboard is signed “Robert M’Guﬃn Maker 1806.”

Robert McGuffin is important in proving that the Henry Connelly who worked in Newville in the 1790s was the same Henry Connelly who ﬁrst appeared in Philadelphia in 1801. In 1799 Robert McGuffin witnessed a deed for Newville cabinetmaker John Fox and then disappears from local records for 14 years. In 1813 he reappeared and ran the following notice in the Carlisle Herald:

The subscriber late from Philadelphia, has commenced the Cabinet business in Newville, solicits the patronage of a fashionable public. After a residence of twelve years in the city, and during that time worked in the most eminent Cabinet shops—proposes to make Mahogany or Walnut Furniture, viz—Sideboards in any style, French or Egyptian Bureau, the same,

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Pillar and Claw Card, Dining or Breakfast Tables, Cylinder and Tambour Desks, and any pieces of Furniture that may be called for.

N.B. Two or three Journeymen, will find employ, and generous prices allowed them.

ROBERT M’GUFFIN

Newville, Oct. 7, 1813.

Although McGuffin did not mention in his advertisement that he worked for Henry Connelly during these twelve years in the city, the labeled and signed sideboard of 1806 and the fact that both men appear together in Philadelphia tax lists (South Ward) for 1808 and 1809, link them together.

Connelly’s products made over a period of 23 years in Philadelphia express an evolution of neoclassical furniture styles. Pieces like the labeled sideboard dated 1806 show the influence of published designs by Hepplewhite and Sheraton. Later works, like the pair of card tables made in 1818, reveal the sideboard of 1806 and the fact that both men appear together in Connelly shortly before his retirement in 1824 was in the fully-developed Classical style.

What is known of Connelly’s personal life? Henry and his wife Elizabeth had two sons and two daughters in that order. Both daughters died within months of their births: Eleanor, born July 18, 1808, died April 12, 1809; and Elizabeth, born March 24, 1821, died June 23, 1821. Both are buried with their father in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church at Bank and Pine Streets, Philadelphia.

The second child and son, Henry, born June 3, 1806, and called Harry, married Eliza Andrews, eldest daughter of Robert Andrews, on July 24, 1828, at Andrewsia, Delaware. The marriage ceremony was performed by his older brother, the Reverend Pierce Connelly. This eldest son had quite an extraordinary life. Born in Philadelphia on August 9, 1804, Pierce studied theology and was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church. On December 1, 1831, he married Cornelia Augusta Peacock, daughter of the late Ralph Peacock, Esq.

The adventures of their married lives are chronicled in the Proceedings in the Arches Court of Canterbury, England. After their marriage they moved to Natchez, Mississippi. In 1835, while in New Orleans, Cornelia Connelly informed her husband that she wanted to convert to Roman Catholicism: soon he converted as well. During the next few years they traveled back and forth between Rome and America. In 1840 Pierce declared his intention to take holy orders and ceased to have intimate relations with his wife. In the spring of 1844 he placed his wife in the convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at Trinita dei Monti in Rome, and himself took holy orders on Easter Monday, 1844.

In May 1846, Pierce Connelly left Rome for England, where he became the private chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury. After a brief stay in a convent in Paris, Connelly’s wife traveled to England, where she founded a religious community of women at Darby and later another at Hastings.

Henry Connelly knew nothing of his sons’ married lives. He died at his country seat near Newark, Delaware, on November 3, 1826, at the age of 56 and was buried in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

For those interested in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century furniture, it is exciting, if surprising, that a noted Philadelphia cabinetmaker opened his career in a Cumberland County town. However, no signed or documented pieces made by Connelly in Newville in the 1790s are now known. Since the only signed piece of furniture from Newville of the 1790s is a late Chippendale desk and bookcase by Archibald Cambridge, it is possible that Connelly’s earliest works were also in this style. However, it is also likely that he could have made early Federal-style furniture in the 1790s. It is to be hoped that signed or documented products of Connelly’s Newville period will appear. Pieces signed by, or attributed to, John Peebles and John Bratton are also important because both were partners of Connelly during the 1790s.

Notes

4. Septennial Census, 1793. (Cumberland County Hist. Soc.).
5. Catharine McQuaid Steiner and Bruce E. Steiner, High Style & Vernacular: Ohio Furniture, Decorative Arts, and Craftsmen, 1800-1850 (Columbus, 1988), 44.
9. Charles F. Montgomery, American Fur-
JOHN DELANCEY,
COPPERSMITH and Tin-PLATE WORKER.

Returns his grateful thanks to all his former Customers, and at the same time respectfully informs them and the Public, that he carries on the COPPERSMITH and TIN PLATE WORK, in all its various branches, in High street, East of the Court house, the fourth door from the square, partly opposite Mr. John Creigh, merchant, in the Borough of Carlisle.

He has for sale

STILLS of all sizes,
WASH and CIDER KETTLES,
Tea do.

FILLER'S do.
HAFTER'S do.
DYER'S do.
&c. &c.

He will engage to make the work good. He will sell on low terms as he has received an excellent assortment of copper and tin, imported of the best quality—he therefore hopes to merit the custom of the public.

N.B. Old work repaired in the most manner and shortest notice—he gives the highest price for old copper, brass, pewter and lead.

August 29th 1796.

Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette, November 23, 1796.
Instead of traversing the Alleghenies to the west, the early settlers were deflected into the natural “funnel” created by the Cumberland Valley, which extends in a southerly direction from the Susquehanna River at Harrisburg to the Potomac River. By the time George Washington was a young man in the late 1750s, a dirt wagon road, dubbed the “Great Road to Virginia,” had been opened, connecting what was to become Harrisburg with Carlisle and other points south to the Potomac. Later, in 1816, this highway became the “Harrisburg Turnpike,” with a toll house in Middlesex itself. In 1925 the Harrisburg Pike was designated "US Route 11" when it was incorporated into a prototype interstate highway system by the Federal Government. Eventually, by 1972, the superhighway known as Interstate 81 would be completed to parallel old Route 11 through Cumberland County.

Although the topography of the Cumberland Valley placed Middlesex in a propitious location for north and south interstate traffic even from the earliest pioneer days, commerce over the Alleghenies to the west remained challenging and infrequent. Then in 1759, during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), British Brigadier John Forbes constructed a road over the mountains which originated south of Carlisle at Chambersburg and terminated within striking distance of strategic Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio River. Utilizing the road he had built, Forbes attacked and defeated the French decisively. Many decades later, the fort would grow into the industrial city of Pittsburgh.

Archer Butler Hulbert maintained in his 1903 multi-volume Historic Highways of America that this route from Harrisburg through Carlisle to Pittsburgh “was the most important link between New England and the Ohio Valley in the days when New England was sending the bravest of its sons to become the pioneers of the rising empire in the West.” Indeed, while other vital roads to the West included Braddock’s Road from Maryland to Pittsburgh and the Cumberland Road to Kentucky, the Forbes Road provided a direct route from the towns of Boston, New York and Philadelphia to what was then the center of western settlement at the head of the Ohio Valley.

Modified and renamed the “Lincoln Highway” early in this century, the original route of the Forbes Road for about 180 years was the only major highway from the Northeast over the mountains. Then, on 1 October 1940, the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission opened a new, four lane, “all weather” road between Irwin, a suburb of Pittsburgh, and Middlesex. “To understand the turnpike’s ‘all weather’ importance,” wrote Phil Patton on the Pennsylvania Turnpike’s 50th anniversary, “you must not only drive it but also drive its predecessor, Route 30, part of the Lincoln Highway, which winds through the mountains between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.” The Lincoln Highway, Patton goes on to say, because of its steep grades in places over the Alleghenies, was simply “impassable for trucks in heavy snow.” With the Turnpike’s mountain tunnels, the new road “succeeded where its last century forerunners failed. It pierced the Allegheny barrier....”

At the eastern terminus of the original Pennsylvania Turnpike sat the village of Middlesex, situated in Middlesex Township, Cumberland County, between the Harrisburg Pike and the confluence of the Conodoguinet and Letort Creeks about three miles northeast of Carlisle. Middlesex native Robert Preston is a descendant of the Albright family, who owned a large amount of farmland on the south side of Route 11 and who later established one of the first motels in Middlesex. As a young boy in the 1930s, Preston remembers not only living in a house alongside the Pike when it was just a two lane road, but also sometimes bicycling to Harrisburg on lightly traveled Route 11. “In 1939,” he recollected, “the village consisted of four farms on the south side of Route 11, and two farms, ten houses, a church, and a combination general store and post office on the north side of the Pike.” Many of the large farms surrounding the village were owned by such families as the Albrights, the Sundays, the Keisers, and the Ottos.

After 1940 thousands would descend upon little Middlesex to experience America’s first “superhighway.” Says Dan Cupper in his book, The Pennsylvania Turnpike: A History, “As soon as they heard about it, travelers and truckers altered their plans, some of them making special trips from as far away as New York and West Virginia to ride the highway.” Though the first to drive on it was Carlisle native Homer D. Romberger, the Pennsylvania Turnpike was not just for local traffic. It was estimated that interstate travelers accounted for fifty percent of the vehicles using the highway on its first day. Within 24 hours nearly 2,000 vehicles had entered the Turnpike from Route 11 at Middlesex. In its first year 2.4 million vehicles used the Turnpike.

The enormous decrease in travel time over the Allegheny Mountains contributed to the phenomenal success of the Pennsylvania Turnpike in those early days. Formerly it had taken ten hours for a truck to journey from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh via US Routes 11 and 30. With the Turnpike, it now took four. “The advantages in delivery time, fuel saved and driver comfort proved to be overwhelming, and in the weeks that followed,” asserts Cupper, “interstate trucks and intrastate trucks... quickly were attracted to the Turnpike by the thousands.”

Although US Route 11 was an important commercial route even before the Turnpike’s opening, Middlesex had remained a rural village. Historically, trav-
elers who required food and lodging could journey just a few more miles down the Pike to Carlisle's Molly Pitcher Hotel, for instance. Relating how, during the 1930s and early 1940s, her father never stopped in Middlesex on business trips, Robert Preston's wife Barbara explained, "There was nothing in Middlesex for traveling people." 11

Looking back at the Pennsylvania Turnpike's opening, Mrs. Preston recalled that "it wasn't trucks at first, it was tourism" which brought the initial commercial growth to Middlesex. "The turnpike was not merely a route to tourist attractions; it was a tourist attraction," affirms author Stephen B. Goddard. "Tourists could enjoy a roadside picnic while watching convertibles whiz by, and then devour an ice cream cone in one of Howard Johnson's twenty-eight flavors while cruising at seventy miles an hour..." 12

Such excursions along the Pennsylvania Turnpike came to an abrupt end after 1941. The number of passenger cars using it fell 70 percent from 2.1 million in that year to 581,000 in 1943. During World War II (1941-1945), heavy utilization of the Turnpike by military traffic foreshadowed President Dwight D. Eisenhower's vision of an interstate system of defense highways in the 1950s. Realizing the efficiency of moving troops and war material over this superhighway, "the number of trucks rose from 48,000 in the last three months of 1940 to about 300,000 in 1942, and stayed fairly consistent through the war." 13 Perhaps related to this great boost in truck traffic, the first sign of commercial development along the Harrisburg Pike also occurred in 1942, when the forerunner of the modern Miracle Mile truck stop, the Twin Gables Restaurant, was opened by J.F. Penney. About the same time Charles A. B. Heinze opened a restaurant west of the village close to the Turnpike entrance.

We can only begin to guess why Penney and Heinze decided to open their establishments during the height of World War II on what was to become the Miracle Mile half a century later. However, the attraction of restaurant and truck stop entrepreneurs to the Pennsylvania Turnpike was not without precedent. In 1940 L. Frank Bittner's uncle started Snyder's Gateway Restaurant/Truck Stop in Breezewood, Pennsylvania. "The turnpike was just beginning to be constructed," said general manager Bittner in 1981. "My uncle had another place, to the west on Route 30. They told him he ought to go to one of the turnpike interchanges because that's where the traffic was going to be. He decided on Breezewood." 14

Although trucking and travel-related industries recognized the Turnpike's potential benefits, the residents of Middlesex seemed indifferent to the new businesses it induced. When it first opened in 1948, on a piece of John W. Otto's farm, Robert Preston worked as a night clerk at the Middlesex Inn, now the Best Western Motel on the south side of Route 11. The Beauford Motel and the Mayflower Inn, now respectively the Coast to Coast Motel and the Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge near the Interstate 81 interchange, were also opened in the late 1940s. Said the Prestons, "We took it as progress. At that time, maybe we weren't concerned with the changes." In those days the motels, restaurants and fueling stations were seen as economic opportunities for Middlesex housewives and children, who could conveniently walk to their new jobs. 15
Meanwhile, the American trucking industry burgeoned after its massive wartime debut onto the land transport scene. “The period from 1945 to 1950 was the watershed in the changing direction of how freight moved in this country,” Carlisle’s G. Kenneth Bishop asserted. In 1951 Bishop became associated with what at that time was a small motor carrier called Daily Express. Consequently he was able to experience first-hand the growth of long haul motor freight in Cumberland County from its infancy. Prior to those years, Bishop explained, it was rare to think of transporting products over great distances since most trucking firms, such as Daily Express, operated only locally. Originally railroads, not motor trucks, were used for interstate long hauls. Trucks were needed only to transport merchandise from the manufacturer to the railroad depot, and then from the depot to the dealers. However, after the Second World War it occurred to savvy trucking companies that they could “cut out all that nonsense” and take the products they carried directly to the dealers. By 1950 the truckers’ share of national revenue ton-miles had risen to 16.3 percent.16
As early as 1944, in recognition of the Pennsylvania Turnpike’s importance during the war years, the United States Congress passed legislation outlining a national system of highways. This bill, quoted in Bob Gatty’s 1981 article, “Highways That Changed a Nation,” stipulated routes that would join “as directly as practicable the principal metropolitan areas, cities and industrial centers, to serve the national defense and to connect at suitable border points with routes of continental importance.” As a result of the large number of vehicles using the Pennsylvania, Maine, New Hampshire and New Jersey Turnpikes during the late 1940s and the 1950s, the US Department of Transportation concluded in a 1977 publication that the post-war traveler “was impatient with obsolete, congested highways.” In 1956, the year the Pennsylvania Turnpike was extended to the New Jersey Turnpike, President Eisenhower signed the Federal Aid Highway Act, effectively authorizing the construction of a national express highway network subsidized by Washington and incorporating the Turnpike into this network.

In November 1959, just months before construction of Interstate 81 began in Cumberland County, the Carlisle Evening Sentinel ran a short article in which

Pennsylvania State University researchers predicted the effects of the new superhighways on communities in the Commonwealth:

Soaring population and business enterprise, construction of new homes and schools and increased property value cause increased government expenditures with corresponding increases in tax revenues collected. The conversion of land from fields and forests into commercial, industrial and residential sites changes the appearance of a town.

The group suggested that communities near proposed highway routes examine and enact planning policies in preparation for both the potential opportunities, and also the possible problems, that these new roads were expected to bring. In the case of the Miracle Mile, although Middlesex Township did enact zoning as a planning tool in the 1970s, it is perhaps unfortunate that Interstate 81 was not designed to link directly with the Pennsylvania Turnpike. In a 1996 interview Township officials expressed the belief that if the Miracle Mile stretch of Route 11 had not been used for access between the two express highways, there never would have been any of the “problems” associated with it today, such as extreme traffic congestion.

Between 1955 and the completion of Interstate 81 in 1972, commercial development along Route 11 grew, but could not be characterized as extraordinarily rapid. About 1955 the Socony Vacuum Oil Company (Mobil Corporation) opened a filling station in the center of the village at the intersection of North Middlesex Road and US Route 11. Some time before 1957 two Albright brothers, Wilbur and Frank, established a motel on their farm about one half mile west of Middlesex between the Harrisburg Pike and the Pennsylvania Turnpike. In 1957 Charles Heinze sold the restaurant he had built about 1942 to the Everett family, who ran it as a truck stop until they sold the business to George Fleming in 1963.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s a daughter of Harry D. Keiser, Gayle K. Mullen, operated a motel called the Moongayle on a lot she inherited from her family in 1948 across Route 11 from the Mobil gas station and the old Middlesex United Brethren Church of Christ. According to the Prestons, Gayle Mullen’s husband Robert, a toll collector for the Turnpike, was nicknamed “Moon” after the popular comic strip “Moon Mullins”—hence, the name Moongayle Motel! Later, in 1967, Mrs. Mullen sold her motel business to truck stop operator George Fleming. Fleming abandoned his Turnpike entrance site, demolished the Moongayle Motel and built the distinctive oblique structure now occupied by the All American Travel Plaza Family Restaurant. Together with Fleming’s and Penney’s original Twin Gables truck stop, Edward G. Smith’s truck fueling depot was added in 1972 adjacent to Penney’s on the north side of Route 11.

After 1972 the link that Route 11 provided between the two interstates would begin to establish the trucking industry and trucking related businesses as the dominant force along the Harrisburg Pike. Across the country during the 1970s the trucking industry gained strength as truck ton-miles rose an astounding 89 percent from 1955 levels. In fact, there were 20 million trucks on the road in
1972, hauling 54 percent of land freight. 25 Catering to a market of truck drivers interested in western fashion styles, Harry Kutz and Son Saddlery Repair opened across from Fleming's in 1977. According to Harrisburg Patriot and Evening News correspondence Matt Miller, the congested and commercial nature of the Route 11 strip had become so well known throughout the region that it led fellow reporter Roger Doran in the late 1970s to christen it the “Miracle Mile.” In 1978 Edward G. Smith opened a restaurant at his truck filling station and established his Soco truckstop by 1981. One year earlier Glen E. “Bud” Mistifer had bought Fleming’s, renaming it the “All American.” 26 With the addition of Soco’s, there were now three truck plazas in the once quiet little village of Middlesex.

Since 1981 all the high-profile, hotly debated commercial development along the heavily traveled Miracle Mile has been initiated by trucking firms and travel plaza operators, both wishing to cash in on the prime location that the intersection affords. As more and more trucking-related businesses sprang up along Route 11 in the 1980s, begetting such diverse controversial issues as traffic management and the establishment of an adult sex shop, Township authorities recognized that “there should have been more order. Middlesex was not prepared for such change.” They attributed this neglect to the fact that Middlesex was still essentially a rural community which had insufficient zoning requirements and whose officials were inexperienced in dealing with commercial interests. 27

One such commercial interest was Roadway Express, Inc. of Akron, Ohio, which bought a tract of land located just east of the Miracle Mile near Interstate 81 in 1982 for $2.2 million. 28 After a lengthy process of receiving approval from the Middlesex Township Board of Supervisors, Roadway opened its “largest” distribution facility in 1989, employing over 1,000 people. 29 To former Daily Express staffer G. Kenneth Bishop, who now owns Carlisle’s Genie Trucking Company, trucking firms such as Roadway fight to build terminals in Middlesex because “from here, truckers can serve the greatest amount of the country’s population in one trip segment.” Bishop went on to say that, even in the 1950s, before a trucker could drive between metropolitan areas without stopping, it was at least another day’s journey to New York City. Although truckers may not legally drive more than ten hours without rest or about 500 miles, the Carlisle area is still situated within a long day’s journey from the warehouses of Boston and Columbus. 30

Associated with the truck stop business since his family bought Heinz’s in 1957, All American Plaza’s executive vice president and director of sales and marketing William H. Everett asserts, “It’s to our advantage to put travel facilities where vehicles, especially trucks, already have to slow down.” Therefore, he says, the first rule of designing truck stops is never to locate them at the bottom of a hill, where truckers begin to accelerate in preparation for the climb. On the Miracle Mile, truckers traveling between Interstate 81 and the Pennsylvania Turnpike must naturally decelerate when negotiating the traffic on Route 11. In addition, for safety reasons truck drivers do not want to lay over in urban areas. Accordingly, they leave Middlesex in the early morning hours, drive to their destinations in Boston, New York or New Jersey, and come back to Middlesex by nightfall. 31

In 1918 525,000 trucks were registered in the United States. 32 By comparison, in 1994 42 million trucks traveled on American roads, hauling almost 80 percent of overland freight. 33 In 1995, according to Greg Penny, a local Pennsylvania Department of Transportation spokesman, the daily traffic volume on Harrisburg area roads exceeded 85,000 vehicles. Of these, 32 percent were trucks. Comparatively, traffic volume on Interstate 81 around Carlisle was 35,000 vehicles per day, of which 26 percent were trucks. Penny estimated that normal daily interstate truck traffic runs between 8 and 12 percent. If daily truck traffic on the Miracle Mile runs 29 percent of 34,000 vehicles, then almost three times the number of trucks found on a typical interstate highway travel through Middlesex each day. 34 In fact, one day in 1996 every fifteen seconds a truck drove onto the Miracle Mile. 35

In a 1968 National Geographic article it was asserted that the growth of businesses around superhighway interchanges was “typical of the Interstate’s Midas touch in many parts of the country.” 36 Almost three decades later, however, Gail Jensik, the current Township secretary/treasurer, says that the commercialized strip drains many of the Township’s resources. Jensik contends that, as a result of safety and traffic concerns along the so-called “Miracle Mile,” 40 to 45 percent of Middlesex’s annual budget is allotted to municipal services. For example, in the early 1960s Middlesex Township had no police force whatso-
ever. But with the increase in trucking-related activity on the Miracle Mile, the Township's spending for police and fire protection has also increased—from $38,500 in 1981 to about $400,000 in 1996.

Since many travelers on the Miracle Mile are "just passin' through," according to current Supervisor Joseph Capuano, the Township does not benefit from them. Additionally, it seems to Capuano that businesses which are not targeted towards truckers suffer because most residents try to avoid the area altogether. Although, according to Cumberland County Planner, Jeff Kelley about 6,700 people were employed along the Miracle Mile, Gail Jensik stated flatly that the increase in trucking and traveling related business caused by the intersection of the Pennsylvania Turnpike and Interstate 81 "did not produce economic growth to Middlesex." 38

In response to a proposed moratorium on development in Middlesex Township, a supervisor said in 1987, "I don't know how in the world you're going to stop progress." 39 In 1966, driving past the extensive development along the Miracle Mile—comprising eight restaurants, six motels, three truck stops, two defunct gas stations, a professional office building, a truck customizing and detailing shop, a tattoo parlor, a western clothing store, an adult video and book store, a bar and grill, a country club and a single private residence—Robert Preston, formerly the Middlesex Township secretary/treasurer from 1963 to 1991, counted eleven houses in the village which had been razed to make room for "progress."

The most obvious sign of progress in Middlesex is the numerous truck stops which have been established along this short corridor over the years. According to James Harold Thomas, author of the seminal work on trucking culture in the 1970s, The Long Haul: Truckers, Truck Stops and Trucking, "The only prerequisite to being called a truck stop is having enough room for the giant trucks to park and the facilities to dispense diesel fuel." 40 At the All American Travel Plaza, there is no lack of parking and no fuel shortage—its founder, Glen Mitstifer, says he can accommodate 440 big rigs and pump in excess of 1.7 million gallons of diesel per month. In addition, the All American provides hospitality to 1,500 to 1,800 patrons per day. 41 These numbers may sound staggering, but Mitstifer's Miracle Mile travel plaza is the progenitor and head quarters of his $160 million corporation encompassing ten truck stops, three fuel stations, and one motel. 42

Involved in almost every controversial debate concerning the Miracle Mile over the past ten years, Mitstifer is an outspoken advocate for the new, more positive role truck stops will play in the future. "We don't think it's fair for the general public to drive down the road and say, 'Oh, that's a truck stop. I'm not stopping there,'" he told Carlisle Sentinel reporter Mitch Gitman in early 1996. In 1989 the All American Plazas, Inc. president allocated $37,000 towards beautification of his truck stop and publicly denounced the existence of a sexually explicit book and video store on the Miracle Mile. 43

In 1990, allegedly in the interest of improving traffic safety on Route 11, Mitstifer pledged $500,000 to the state Department of Transportation for the proposed construction of an Interstate 81 off ramp on a site originally planned to be developed into a travel plaza by the Pilot Oil Corporation of Knoxville, Tennessee. In response a representative for Pilot Oil wrote to the Pennsylvania governor emphatically demanding that the All American's offer be rejected as "a thinly veiled attempt to have the government and taxpayers subsidize the elimination of a competitor." 44 Backed by 35 Harrisburg Pike businesses, Middlesex Township officials, and over 800 residents, Mitstifer suggested that Pilot consider another nearby site. 45 Although neither Pilot nor the Department of Transportation ever developed the Interstate 81 tract, the Knoxville corporation bought the Albright Motel property for over $1 million in January, 1996. 46 If the planned Pilot Oil travel plaza is built on the motel lot, the once rural village of Middlesex would then contain a record four truck stops.

**Fig. 8.** The village of Middlesex in 1996, looking east from the intersection of US Route 11 and North Middlesex Road in front of the All American Travel Plaza. This view is taken from the same location as Figure 5. Photograph Collection, Cumberland County Historical Society.

Forty-five years after J.F. Penney began his Twin Gables Restaurant, the Miracle Mile's first truck stop closed in 1987. Bolstered by his success at the All American during the 1980s, Glen Mitstifer later bought the derelict facility in addition to the Soco truck stop. Now, with a vested interest in the travel industry along the Miracle Mile, operating the original All American Travel Plaza, the Soco All American, the renamed "Gables" truck stop, and the Thriftlodge motel, Mitstifer has emerged as a prominent local business leader. "Competition to provide the best service to the interstate highway traveler has been..."
for more than 35 years," he argued in 1991. "In Carlisle and around the country, whole communities have grown up around truck stops and travel centers at highway interchanges."^7

No longer are hopeful pioneers guiding their wagons down the Great Road to Virginia; nor are tin lizzies dodging ruts on the Harrisburg Pike. In 1996 the once pastoral village of Middlesex is undergoing an almost urban transformation precipitated by the intersection of two thoroughly twentieth century interstate highways and the mechanized agents of national commerce which use them. As the Township struggles to control the growth of this new community, the All American Travel Plaza continues to fulfill its mission by providing those who ply our country's concrete pathways a respite from the road.

Notes
8. Preston interview.
10. Ibid, 18, 19.
11. Preston interview.
15. Preston interview.
16. G. Kenneth Bishop, personal interview, 24 March 1996. Active in local business, Bishop wrote a report in 1953 for the Carlisle Chamber of Commerce predicating the importance of the borough's location in respect to major trucking routes. Unfortunately, this piece is not extant.
23. The preceding information was obtained from the Cumberland County Recorder of Deeds, the Cumberland County Office of the Prothonotary and interviews with the Prestons and William Everett.
24. US Department of Transportation, America's Highways, 258.
27. Jensik, et al., interview. It is interesting to note here that, foreseeing the trucking industry's future desire for services along the Miracle Mile, the Estate of Harry D. Keiser in an effort to block development there, stipulated in its deed of 1 May 1978 to Edward G. Smith's Soco that the lot between South Middlesex Road and the present All American Travel Plaza "shall not be used as a truck stop, tire repair shop, or gas station." (Deed Book 27T: 596).
30. Bishop interview.
31. Everett interview.
32. US Department of Transportation, America's Highways, 98.
33. Goddard, Getting There, 280.
34. Greg Penny, telephone interview, 30 May 1996. Middlesex Township's internet website estimates that 56,000 vehicles use the Miracle Mile daily.
35. This figure gathered informally by the author, 29 May 1996.
38. Jensik, et al., interview.
41. Glen E. Mistifer, letter to the author, 1 June 1996. New Mexico's "Giant Travel Center" along Interstate 40 pumps 25 million gallons of fuel per month and serves 4,700 patrons per day, according to its general manager, David Pearson.

Fig. 9. Exit 17 of Interstate 81 at US Route 11, taken probably in 1972, just before it opened to traffic. Note the absence of a southbound cloverleaf exit ramp onto Route 11 in left center. Courtesy of Carlisle Sentinel.
A Traveller in the County. 1810

Margaret Van Horn Dwight

Cumberland County and Valley before the 1830s was one of the principal avenues to the American West. A steady procession of naturalists, farmers with their families and flocks, European reporters on American democracy, investors and speculators in land, fortune hunters and ne'er-do-wells came up from Philadelphia, crossed the Susquehanna, and, many of them, passed through Carlisle and Shippensburg over the mountains to Bedford, Pittsburgh, and the fertile lands of Ohio. One of these was Margaret Van Horn Dwight, a young woman of 20, who was journeying to the town of Warren in Connecticut's Western Reserve.

Margaret Dwight belonged to the clerical aristocracy of New England. She was the daughter of the Reverend Mr. Maurice William Dwight; her uncle was President Timothy Dwight of Yale College; her grandmother was a daughter of the great Jonathan Edwards; and, after the death of her mother, she lived in New Haven with her aunt Woolsey, whose son Theodore became president of Yale. In 1810, accompanying Deacon Wolcott and his family and a Mrs. Jackson, the latter's sons and a daughter-in-law, Miss Dwight left New Haven to go to cousins in Ohio. There she met and married one William Bell, a native of Ireland, who was later a merchant in Pittsburgh. The couple had thirteen children. Margaret Bell died in 1834 at the age of 44, remembered as "a lady of remarkable sweetness and excellence, and devotedly religious."

During the six weeks' journey from New Haven, which she left on October 19, to Warren, where she arrived on December 1, Margaret Dwight faithfully kept a daily journal of her observations and experiences on the road to "New Connecticut." Her little party travelled through Fairfield, just east of New Haven, through Westchester County in New York, to Hoboken on the Hudson River in New Jersey; then across that state to Easton ("small but pleasant"), Allentown ("not a pleasant place"), and Reading, which she judged "one of the largest & prettiest towns" she had seen, and where "almost every one could talk English." The group reached Harrisburg on November 1. Beyond the Cumberland Valley the journey was often physically exhausting, for Miss Dwight had to trudge over the mountains on foot, and rest and comfort were not often to be found at inns at the end of the day. Sometimes there were not enough beds or even any at all, the food was ill prepared, and the innkeepers and their servants indifferent or surly. Genteel travellers like Miss Dwight and the Wolcotts were embarrassed, offended, and even frightened by the loud, coarse wagoners toiling over the same road—men generally dirty and profane, who "jabbered" in "Dutch."

Margaret Dwight sent her journal to her cousin Elizabeth Woolsey, in whose family it remained until 1912, when it was edited by Professor Max Farrand and published under the title of A Journey to the Ohio in 1810 by Yale University Press, by whose permission a portion—pages 25-33—is published here. Miss Dwight punctuated her narrative mostly with short and long dashes. The latter seem often to indicate a break that other writers would mark with a fresh paragraph. To make this reprinting of the journal easier to read and understand, the editor has in general replaced short dashes with a period or other appropriate mark, and has made paragraphs where the text and Miss Dwight's long dash suggest that is acceptable.

A Journey from Harrisburg to Fannettsburg, 1810

Harrisburg, P[a.]. Thursday Eve. November 1st 1810

It has been snowing fast all the afternoon & we found it very difficult travelling & were oblig'd to put up just in the edge of the town. It was Mr W's intention to cross the Susquehannah which is the other side the town. We shall not pass thro' it. We cross'd the Sweet Arrow [Swatara], a little river about 8 miles from the Susquehannah. We cross'd it in our waggons. Mr Jeremiah Rees is our landlord. His wife is sick with a fever arising from the Hives at first. He has a sister who seems to take the direction of the female part of the business. She is a strange creature.

Friday morn. I have been very much diverted at hearing some part of her history which she told last night, after drinking a little too much I suppose. She says she has property if she is not married. She had her fortune told a short time since, & was told to think of a certain gentleman living about 300 miles off—which she did, & thought so hard that a drop of blood fell from her nose. She was telling Mrs Jackson of this & ask'd how far she was going. Being told about 300 miles, well she said she really believ'd her oldest son was the young man she was to have, for he looks just like the one she thought of. The young man will be quite flatter'd no doubt.

We are all in tolerably good spirits notwithstanding we are unable to proceed on our journey.

It still continues snowing, & we shall stay here till tomorrow morning & how much longer I do not know. There was a cockfighting in the house last night & a great many of the "finest young men in the town" got so intoxicated as to be unable to get home without assistance.

Sunday eve. East pensboro' township, P.

We left Mr Rees' yesterday ten oclock & after waiting some time at the ferry house, cross'd the Susquehanna with considerable difficulty. The river is a mile wide & so shallow that the boat would scrape across the large stones so as almost to prevent it from proceeding. We only came 8 miles—the riding was awful & the weather so cold that I thought I should perish.
riding 4 miles. This will do well for us, 8 miles in 3 days. We were to have
seen the mountains yesterday, but are 50 miles from it.

I should like to have staid at Mr Rees' till we reach home if it was pos-
sible, notwithstanding we liked to have all lost our characters there.
While we were at breakfast, the black wench missed nearly 4 dollars of money,
& very impudently accused us with taking it, in rather an indirect manner.
I felt at first very angry, but anger soon gave place to pity for the poor girl
loss. It was money she had been saving for a long time that she might get
enough to buy her a dress, but she left it about very carelessly in the closet
where any one might have taken it who was so disposed. But had I been
inclined to steal, I could not have stolen from a poor black girl. I would
rather have given her as much. I never felt so queerly in my life. To be
suspected of theft was so new & unexpected to me, that I was wholly
unprepared for it. We went to Mr. Rees & begg'd him to take some method
to satisfy the girl; we were innocent but we could not prevail on him to,
that we really wished it. He gave the girl a severe scolding & desir'd us not
to remember it against them, or to suffer ourselves to be made a moment
uneasy by it, & both himself and Mrs Rees were extremely sorry any thing
of the kind had happen'd. The girl continued crying & assuring us her
money had been safe all summer till then & nobody had been near it but
us. I, nor any of us had any doubt that the landlord's sister, whom I before
mention'd, had taken it. She had the day before 2 or 3 ninepences in her
shoes, & when Mr W ventur'd to ask her if she had not taken it to tease the
wench, she swore by every thing she had not rouch'd it. She said it was
fashionable for ladies to carry money in their shoes. I suppose she had long
been eyeing it & thought then would be a good opperty to take it but did
not intend it should be discover'd till we were gone & unable to defend
ourselves from the charge which she then meant to make against us. She is
so worthless a character is every respect, that I am certain she could be
guilty of stealing upon occasion. She was very fond of telling what ladies,
like her & me, did & wore. She is between 30 & 40 yrs of age. It was an
honour I was not very tenacious of, to be rank'd with her ladyship. The
money was not found before we left there & I suppose the poor girl feels as
certain some one of us have it, as that she has lost it. Should I ever return
this way I would call & enquire about it. I hope it will be found with
Babby (for that is the creatures name).

We put up for the Sabbath at a tavern where none but the servants deign
to look at us. When I am with such people, my proud spirit rises & I feel
superior to them all. I believe no regard is paid to the sabbath any where in
this State. It is only made a holiday of. So much swearing as I have heard
amongst the Pennsylvanians both men & women I have never heard before
during my whole life. I feel afraid I shall become so accustom'd to hearing
such & the small towns seem to partake of the vice & dissipation of the
great ones. I believe Mrs Jackson has cast her eyes on Susan or me for a
daughter in law. For my part, though I feel very well disposed toward the
great ones. I believe Mrs Jackson has cast her eyes on Susan or me for a
daughter in law. For my part, though I feel very well disposed toward the
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patience with him. We are not as bless'd as the Israelites were, for our shoes wax old & our cloaths wear out. I don't know that mine will last till I get there.

Wed. morn. Last night Susan & I went to bed early, as we slept ill the night before. We expected to get good beds & were never so disappointed. We were put in an old garret that had holes in the roof big enough to crawl through. Our bed was on the floor, harder it appear'd to me, than boards could be & dirty as possible; a dirty feather bed our only covering. After lying an hour or two, we complain'd to Mrs Wolcott who applied to the landlady for a bedstead, but could only obtain leave for us to sleep on one bed with another over us. I slept wretchedly & feel very little like climbing a mountain. Mr & Mrs W could not sleep at all & got up at about eleven o'clock. She had good beds in the house or I would not have complained so much.

Jennyauter [Juniata], P. Wednesday 2 o'clock P M between 2 brothers

This morning we cross'd the first mountain call'd first brother, & are in an inn between the first & second brother; the latter we are soon to ascend. The first m[ountai]n is 3 1/2 miles over, better road than we expected but bad enough to tire the horses almost to death. We met & were overtaken by a number of people. We all walk'd the whole distance over. I did not stop at all to rest till I reach'd the top. I was then oblig'd to wait for some of them to overtake me, as I had outwalk'd them all. It is not a little fatiguing to walk up a long mountain I find. When we had nearly reach'd the foot of it, we heard some music in the valey below, & not one of us could imagine from what it proceed'd; but soon found it was from the bells of a waggoner. He had twelve bells on the collars of his horses, (not sleigh bells) & they made a great variety of sounds which were really musical at a distance.

We found at the tavern where we are now, or rather they came after us, a Mr. Beach, & his wife who was confin'd nine days after she set out on her journey, with a little son. It is just a fortnight since she was confin'd, & this morning she ventur'd to set out on her journey again. They came from Morristown, N. J. & are going to some part of the Ohio, much farther than we are going. Mrs B appears to be a very pretty woman & quite a lady. Her father & mother, a sister & 3 little children set out with them, but were oblig'd to leave them & go on, as soon as Mrs B was confin'd. I feel afraid she will catch her death, tho' every care is taken to render her journey safe & comfortable. She & babe are both very well now.

Fannitsburg, Penn. McAllen's Inn
Wednesday night, Nov. 6th

We have over come 2 mountains to day & are between the 2d & 3d brothers. We walkd over it. I have walked about 8 miles to day & feel as much fatigued as I have almost ever been in my life. It was 4 long miles over. We met a number of waggons on it but no other travellers. This is a very small but pretty place. The 3 first m[ountai]ns are very near each other, the 4th is 40 or 50 miles distant. They are higher than I expected, & make a formidable appearance. It has been very smoky all day. I am so tire'd I can neither think or write, so good night.

**Why Hampden?**

*Daniel J. Heisey*

I n 1995 Hampden Township observed its sesquicentenary, causing one to wonder why it is called "Hampden." While there is no documentary proof, it can with some confidence be concluded that it bears the name of a little known, almost forgotten hero of the English Civil War. Cumberland County's standard histories—Wing, Beers, Donehoo, and Godshow—dutifully note the formation of the township in January, 1845, but none inquires into the name it bears. The county's prothonotary records the actions in civil court creating the township, but such transcripts offer no reason for the name.1

Now, among American place-names, "Hampton" vies with "Hampden," and a word must be said of it before attempting a study of the Hampden in Hampden Township. As at Hampton, Virginia, founded in 1610, or Hampton, New Hampshire, charted by Massachusetts Bay in 1637, "Hampton" here tends to reflect an era and a place professing allegiance to the British crown; it refers, in the colonial period, to Hampton Court, royal seat of England from Henry VIII to George II. An exception locally is Hampton, Adams County. This village, with its enormously wide public square, was founded in 1814 by an ambitious medical doctor from Connecticut, John B. Arnold. He named it probably in honor of General Wade Hampton, Southern politician and nemesis during the War of 1812 of Secretary of War John Armstrong.2 "Hampden," as in Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, where Presbyterians founded a college in 1775, is the name of a barrister and landed gentleman of seventeenth-century England whose Buckinghamshire ancestors were named for the location of their estate: "Hampden" comes from the Old English words for a watered meadow in a valley. "Hampton" derives from the Old English for an enclosed homestead.3

But the man John Hampden is famous for his courage and his love of liberty.4 Born in 1594, he was a first cousin to Oliver Cromwell and was educated at Oxford and the Inner Temple, London. At age 27 Hampden entered the House of Commons and soon sided with Sir John Eliot and John Pym, who were with Cromwell vocal opponents of the personal rule of King Charles I.

In 1627 the king maced members of Parliament for a loan; Hampden refused and was imprisoned for a year. His civil disobedience won admirers, and in 1631 the Earl of Warwick, as president of the Council for New England, granted Hampden rights to a vast tract in Connecticut. Meanwhile, King Charles
cited a custom long in abeyance that the king could tax all the counties of England to support the royal navy. Even under the threat of the Spanish Armada, the crown had taxed formerly only the maritime counties.

Hampden, comfortable and respected in his manor, opposed this "ship money," and refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed him. To Hampden a principle was at stake. In 1628 Parliament had codified an ancient belief, that public loans, taxation, and imprisonment were illegal without its actual consent. This Petition of Right was seen as a second Magna Carta, securing the rights and liberties of all citizens. Hampden maintained that only Parliament could tax; otherwise a king taxing on his own might dissolve Parliament and become a tyrant. Tyrants, Hampden had learned from the classics, must be killed that liberty may be preserved.

In November, 1637 Hampden was tried before the twelve judges of the Exchequer of Pleas. "With brief pauses," says Thomas Carlyle, "the trial lasted for three weeks and three days." The report of the proceedings in the turgid Latin of English-speaking lawyers, Carlyle wrote, was "preserved yet... in acres of typography, unreadable now to all mortals." By April, 1638 the court had decided seven to five in favor of the king. The close vote encouraged others to withhold their ship money, and in 1640, partly from Hampden's defiance of royal fiat, civil war erupted in England. "Three years later Hampden died of wounds suffered in battle against royal cavalry near Oxford."

While the name of Cromwell could in later generations still incite fear and loathing, and Pym passed from memory, Hampden was immortalized in prose and verse. He was eulogized by the great Puritan divine, Richard Baxter, and the royalist historian, the Earl of Clarendon. In centuries ensuing Whigs hailed Hampden, the Founding Fathers were keenly aware of his death — like that of Cato Uticensis— for republican ideals, and the historian Lord Macaulay found his parallel only in George Washington, not coincidentally an admirer of Cato.6

Scholars know these reputations, but, even ignorant of them, school children recited Hampden's name well into the twentieth century. For in 1751 Thomas Gray published "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard"— which General James Wolfe would rather have written than take Quebec — in which, meditating among the tombstones, the poet imagines beneath one "some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast/The little tyrant of his fields withstood." Gray's "Elegy" was praised by that grand old Tory, Samuel Johnson, otherwise no fan of Gray, and Gray's moving poem was finally canonized for generations of American students by William H. McGuffey in his New Sixth Eclectic Reader (1857).7

The world has changed much since 1845; Johnson is no longer definitive, Gray goes unread, McGuffey is mocked. The heroes of the original Presbyterian farmers of this county have been forgotten. Enclosed homesteads, making every man a king in his own castle, fill Hampden Township. Once a meadow watered by a serpentine stream, it was carved into a rectangular swath by the court of common pleas and likely christened "Hampden" to commemorate one property-owner's stand for his natural right to be taxed and governed by his consent.

Notes
Recent Acquisitions


*"Pictorial Souvenir of Carlisle."* 96pp; paper. Compiled and published by the Art Publishing Co., 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The library also has recently received 72 decorative art books from the Milton E. Flower estate and 26 Shippensburg University yearbooks in consecutive years from Dr. Gilmore H. Seavers, past president of the University.

Two valuable nineteenth century Cumberland County manuscripts have also recently joined the library collection. The first is the ledger of accounts from Laurel Forge, 1830-1835. At the time of the manuscript the forge was owned and operated by Joseph Arthur Ege and Michael Peter Ege. The second manuscript originally belonged to John G. Hass, who was a men's tailor in Carlisle. It is a measurement book which contains the size of many local prominent business, military, and religious leaders of the community. The manuscript dates from 1877-1879.

Christa Bassett

**NEWVILLE**

30 miles from Harrisburg; 134 from Philadelphia.

(9 miles by stage to Doubling Gap Springs.)

A HEALTHFUL and thriving town half a mile from the railroad station. Newville is deservedly a popular place of resort in the summer. It was incorporated February 26th, 1817. Through its borders flows the “Big Spring,” a stream noted for its fine trout, which yearly attract thither merry disciples of Walton from all parts of the country. Within nine miles of Newville are the famous Doubling Gap Springs, with their healing waters, situated in the bosom of mountains, the weird surroundings and wild beauties of which gives zest to the legend which clings to them of that “Sandy Flash” of the Cumberland Valley, the once famous highwayman Lewis. From the plains this place appears high in the mountain, but when we get there we seem in a valley. There is a steep mountain before us, a steep mountain behind us, and at the head of the gap is another mountain. There is only one approach to the level fields below; all else is precipitous, steep, and in many places inaccessible. There are various points which may be visited hereabout. A grand view of the entire Cumberland Valley lies before the gazer from “Flat Rock” near the peak. For variety, beauty and picturesque effect the landscape can scarcely be exceeded by any in the country. At the Springs, which are white sulphur and chalybeate, a hotel is erected, where visitors are accommodated through the summer at reasonable rates. All the conveniences of a well-regulated summer resort are at hand.

Big Spring Hotel, at Newville station, is also thrown open to boarders during the summer, and is headquarters for the sportsmen who come to enjoy the fishing. Newville has about 1000 inhabitants.

*Rural Resorts and Summer Retreats along the line of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, including Picnic Parks and Pleasure Places* ([Philadelphia], 1881), 16-17.
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Visit of President George Washington to Carlisle, 1794.
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Cumberland County Historical Society (1991) $5.00

Cumberland County History. Single issues, as available $5.00

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Contributions Solicited
The editor invites articles, notes, or documents on the history of Cumberland County and its people. Such articles may deal with new areas of research or may review what has been written and published in the past.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced. Citations should also be double-spaced; they should be placed at the end of the text.

Authors should follow the rules set out in Kate L. Turabian, Manual for Writers (5th edition, 1987), especially chapters 1-5.

Queries concerning the content and form of contributions may be sent to the Editor at the Society.

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A copy of the official registration of the Cumberland County Historical Society may be obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of State by calling toll free within Pennsylvania 1-800-732-0999. Registration does not imply endorsement.

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