In This Issue

Building on a Legacy
Barbara Bartos

The Public and Private in Writing History
Margaret D. Garrett

Carlisle Barracks – 1854-1855
Richard J. Coyer

John C. Lesher: A Carlisle Photographer
Martha L. Berg

Book Review

Recent Accessions
Christa Bassett

Historical Miscellany
CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

Winter 1999
Volume Sixteen
Number Two

In This Issue

Building on a Legacy ................................................................. 69
Barbara Bartos

The Public and Private in Writing History ................................. 89
Margaret D. Garrett

Carlisle Barracks—1854-1855 .................................................. 100
Richard J. Coyer

John C. Lesher: A Carlisle Photographer .................................. 115
Martha L. Berg

Book Review .............................................................................. 123

Recent Accessions .................................................................... 125
Christa Bassett

Historical Miscellany ............................................................... 127
CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA BARTOS has been the project coordinator of the Cumberland County Historical Society, since 1998. She is a graduate of the Cooperstown (N.Y.) graduate program in museum administration.

MARTHA L. BERG, formerly a librarian at Harrisburg Area Community College and with the Dauphin County Library System, is co-editor of the 1844 diary of Margaret Fuller, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society; and is currently a graduate student in archival management in the University of Pittsburgh School of Information Sciences. Her paper on John C. Lesher was written for the Penn State Seminar in American Culture.

RICHARD J COYER, of Surprise, Arizona, has frequently written on the history of the Army in the West.

MARGARET D. GARRETT, formerly a member of the faculty of Dickinson College, but now a resident of Santa Fe, New Mexico, has studied the history of the Kee/Foulke/Washington family.
Building on a Legacy

Barbara Bartos

Being one of the oldest surviving county historical society in Pennsylvania, the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS) has cause for celebration during its 125th anniversary year. Founded in 1874 as the Hamilton Library Association, the Society’s first century is recalled by Milton E. Flower in the publication “The First One Hundred Years”. It concludes with the Society undertaking a 4,128 square foot addition that opened September 24, 1975 in time for America’s Bicentennial. Almost like a matching bookend, CCHS burned the mortgage for its 1998 addition in 1999 in time to celebrate Cumberland County’s 250th anniversary and the start of the new millennium in the year 2000. The two expansions bracket twenty-five years of the extraordinary growth and transition from a small historical society to a professional organization.

As the accompanying chart reflects, CCHS growth in the last twenty-five years has been incredible, but the impetus for this growth started long before 1975. It can be traced to the 1960s when Robert G. Crist, Milton E. Flower, Pierson K. Miller, Roger K. Todd, and Jonas S. Warrell crystallized their desire to realize the Society’s mission of preserving and sharing Cumberland County history and heritage with others. Aggressively lead and inspired by Dr. Flower, their combined advocacy of CCHS and dedication to pursue the goals of increasing collections, offering more programs, and initiating substantive historical projects resulted time and again in the need for additional space. First came the 1964 expansion plans to the original 1881 building that added what are now the central office, Rupley Room, and kitchen. Taking advantage of an opportunity provided by the weakened south wall caused by the 1972 fire next door, the 1975 addition followed with a new entrance foyer, the multi-purpose Todd Hall, and the expansion of the second floor museum galleries. Within twenty years, Ann Kramer Hoffer would again describe the need for more space that resulted in the latest and largest of additions in 1998. “We are literally at a loss for space. Researchers are lined up at computers beside book stacks. Volunteers vie for seats with library users. School children cram through the reading room to the museum upstairs. Manuscripts and photographs are crowded into small vault space storage has become a critical problem overflowing to a rented off-site location. A program/exhibit hall (Todd Hall) on the first floor can no longer serve dual purposes.”
### Comparative Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1970s *</th>
<th>1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>3,152 sq. ft (1974)</td>
<td>29,000 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>670 (1973)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating Budget</td>
<td>$11,270 (1973)</td>
<td>$333,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endowment</td>
<td>$81,862 (1978)</td>
<td>$1,275,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>45 (1975)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer Hours</td>
<td>1,500 (1978)</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors</td>
<td>950 est. (1975)</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>2 (1974)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days Open</td>
<td>104 (1975)</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Different years surrounding 1975 are represented here to use the most accurate of reporting records.

Impressive as the comparative statistics and floor plans are, watershed events and developments better reflect the panorama of accomplishments by dedicated Board of Directors, volunteers, members, CCHS supporters, and staff that made the transition possible.

### 1975-1979

**Presidents**  
1975: Robert G. Crist  
1976-1979: Pierson K. Miller

**Executive Secretary**  
1975-1979: Roger H. Steck

With two additions in fifteen years, America’s Bicentennial, funding of employees through the Federal government’s CETA program, and financial support from the County, the borough of Carlisle, and community groups and businesses, as well as several significant bequests and contributions, the Society experienced a surge of activity from 1975-1979.

During those years its first Executive Secretary, Roger H. Steck, guided the Society through two debt-free additions, increased membership, and oversaw the day-to-day operations. His expertise, especially in the area of public relations, brought a new professionalism and the doors of the Society were more widely opened to the community.

Devoted and conscientious Board members, volunteers, and staff accomplished important projects and programs. In the Library: newspaper holdings were microfilmed, the Whitehill Papers catalogued, Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) materials organized and indexed, US and County imprints identified along with upgraded storage and conservation, and a County Records project completed in 1978, all while continuing to serve researchers and genealogists. The first Genealogy Workshop was offered in 1975, drawing 108 in attendance. Reprints of Rupp’s *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties* (1846), Beers’ *Atlas of Cumberland Co.* (1872), and Brigadier General R.H. Pratt’s
book *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania* (1908) sold successfully and new monographs brought the Society's total publication record to well over 200. CCHS hosted three Bicentennial Symposia on the County's contributions to the Revolutionary War and numerous programs were offered in the newly finished Todd Hall enhanced by technical equipment such as a portable sound system. Presentation topics ranged from Cumberland County farming, personages, and town histories to folk toys, barns, and 18th Century county furniture. Notable guests, such as American folk art expert Peter Welsh, spoke at Annual Meetings. Increasingly ambitious exhibits were mounted and visitor numbers soared. Records estimate that over 1000 visitors viewed the 1978 Coverlet Exhibit alone. The same year museum guides received the title “docents”, volunteers recorded 1500 hours, and the county schools increased their use of the Educational Program. Research for a major exhibit on CIIS had begun.

**Todd Photo Archives**

The establishment of the Roger Todd Photographic Archives in 1978 recognized the devoted work of the first volunteer curator of photographs, the documentary value of photographs, and the Board’s vision to see the collection's future growth. The mounted plaque above the Photo Archives bearing the Todd name is a visible reminder of the value of CCHS volunteers. The donation of countless hours and thoughtful work by Roger K. and Helen Eberly Todd to develop the photo archives and their continuous support of other Society activities are stellar examples of the volunteer dedication that has proven time and again so critical to the successes of CCHS. For the generosity of financial supporters, another plaque was installed in the foyer that bears the familiar names of many constant CCHS friends and supporters.

Behind the scene developments also provide symbolic evidence of the accelerated activity. From more complicated financial reports and the installation of the first phone extension and intercom to the activation of the security system and attempts at opening on Saturdays, CCHS strove to address both the short and long-term needs of the Society.

**Warrell Trust**

Confidence in the future of CCHS was best represented by the establishment of the Warrell Family History Trust in 1977 by Jonas S. Warrell and family for the acquisition of historical materials to augment the library and museum collections. That vote of confidence has been realized. Twenty-three years of wise purchasing in the pursuit of preserving Cumberland County history with quality documents and artifacts has enhanced the collections. Signed Shippensburg and Newville pottery, Hertzler negatives, the Schimmel parrot, eaglet, and rooster, paintings by local artists Etter, Bloser, and Groome, the 1844 coverlet by Peter Diller, fracturs, the Civil War items of John T. Stanton, Woodburn and Shulenberger's painted plank bottom chairs, the Gorgas teakettle, County ledgers and copybooks, the Hemminger diaries, a CIIS's newspaper, and the Baughman miniature child’s chest are a small sampling of the additions made.
possible through the Warrell Trust. Funds also supported important conservation projects.

From other sources, museum holdings during the late 1970s also grew. Among the hundreds of artifacts acquired were: the 1790s Pennsylvania dowry chest, the Mountz eagle woodcarving, the Terry pillar and scroll clock, the glass harmonica, the Peter Ege stove plate, Drawbaugh items, a Braught painting, the 1834 Rachel Davidson sampler, a jacquard coverlet, the 1867 Watts silver presentation pitcher, a magic lantern, an 1876 Centennial platter, and surgeon’s instruments of the Civil War belonging to Longsdorf.

In retrospect, the late 1970s could be characterized as catalyst years. The momentum gathered in collecting, financial, exhibit, facility, and program areas was, however, quickly overshadowed as federal funding through CETA ended in 1979 and the Board assessed the Society’s status and needs. Observations and conclusions made by Boards just a few short years before were recalled. For the Society’s future to be secure, it was concluded that full time professional personnel, more space, and reliable funding controlled by CCHS must be found.

**1980-1999: TWO DECADES OF MATURING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidents</th>
<th>Executive Secretary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>Ann Kramer Hoffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-1988</td>
<td>Warren J. Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1989</td>
<td>William A. Cornell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-1994</td>
<td>Paul Strickler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-1995</td>
<td>Merri Lou Schaumann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1997</td>
<td>Andrea Sheya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-present</td>
<td>Ann Kramer Hoffer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Executive Directors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A striking feature of the 1980s was a steady proliferation of firsts that touched every aspect of the Society, from exhibits and finance to publications and technology to programming and staff. Only some of the accomplishments can be highlighted, but year after consecutive year of major undertakings and successes is unmistakable. They are milestones that set and defined new directions for the Society’s development. The solid leadership and commitment of the Society’s trustees, the extraordinary generosity and support of members and friends, and the unwavering devotion of volunteers and staff is undeniably the common denominator to a decade of critical and substantive growth. Dr. Warren J. Gates, historian, writer, and twice president of the Society during the last twenty-five years, is one of those who reflects the “can do” attitude that has become a part of the CCHS culture. Whether meticulously indexing Beers’ Atlas, implementing the first major computer project, or one of his many other endeavors, the patient Dr. Gates routinely undertook important projects that were daunting to others.

72
First Major Interpretive Exhibit (1981)

To celebrate CIIS's 100th anniversary, CCHS mounted the exhibit “Carlisle Industrial Indian School”. Opening in June of 1980, the exhibit was of significance not only for the importance of the topic, but for the future development of the Society's Exhibit Program. Departing from the didactic collection approach, CCHS's first major interpretive exhibit conveyed the historical and cultural context of the School to more than 1200 visitors. Museum Committee members, visiting curators, volunteers, community partners, and staff mounted over fifty subsequent exhibits and displays in the 1980s. “19th Century Susquehanna River Scenes”, “Defenders of the Cumberland Valley 1755-1765”, “Cast Iron Industry in Cumberland County 1760-1890”, “Tall Case Clocks of Cumberland Valley”, and “Esther M. Groome: A Retrospective” are but a few of the special exhibits that continued to heighten the caliber of exhibit standards begun by the CIIS exhibit. The steady upgrade of museum galleries followed in the same direction.

The 1990s saw no less an effort. With exhibits such as “Cumberland County: A Place In Time”, “The Civil War Comes to Cumberland Valley”, and “Pennsylvania Regionalism: The Turn of the Century”, CCHS now offers exhibit experiences that match any historical society or museum in quality research, sensitive interpretation, and pleasurable viewing.

First Antiques Forum (1981)

In 1982 President Ann Kramer Hoffer, CCHS's first woman president and youngest to hold that position to date, observed in the Annual Report that CCHS was becoming “more program orientated”. The supportive programming of the 1980 CIIS exhibit was
a decided initiative by the Board to pursue what the museum community termed “educational outreach” and CCHS carried the CIIS history off site to community groups through a portable exhibit, programs, and an oral history project. Funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities via the Pennsylvania Humanities Council for this comprehensive programming was another first for CCHS. One year later, CCHS hosted its first Antiques Forum, chaired by Mrs. Hoffer. The two-day event attracted 140 participants from Cumberland County, surrounding counties, and from other states. The subsequent fifteen Antiques Forums have set the criteria of educational quality and the tone of warm hospitality for CCHS programs.

During the 1980s and 1990s, CCHS generated an extensive menu of programs that provided a healthy balance of education and socializing for members and friends. Representative of these offerings are: individual presentations, such as the Fridays in the Fall Series, multiple session courses, such as Recalling and Sharing Local History with Lewis Gobrecht, day-long seminars, such as the Landscape and Garden Forums, multiple event activities, such as the Whiskey Rebellion commemoration in 1994, and comprehensive conferences, such as the Civil War in 1998. Always popular, “field” trips took on new meaning as CCHS offered a trip to Wales and England in 1997, the first trip abroad. The Holiday Candlelight Tours, Silent Auctions, and the recent Appraisal Day are among activities initiated in the 1980s and 1990s that provide both enjoyable experiences and a source of revenue for CCHS.

Endowment Campaign (1981)

The faith of members and friends in the Society’s future was steadfast during the 1980s starting with the $250,000 Endowment Campaign in 1981 during the Presidency of Warren J. Gates. Under the able leadership of Dr. Gilmore Seavers as General Chair, dedicated volunteers from the Society’s Board and membership admirably presented the rationale for such an ambitious undertaking that was so convincingly shared in the Endowment brochure.

“That program (CETA) has been cancelled and present public policies indicate that grant sources previously available are fast disappearing. It is imperative; therefore that the Society increase its endowment so that it can with its own resources annually meet necessary operating and salary expenses. Properly invested the additional $250,000 can provide the additional income needed to stabilize operations, secure an adequately trained full-time professional staff (especially a full-time Executive Director), and permit effective preservation of the existing collections and develop the service potentials of the Society.”

At a December 1982 reception, it was announced that the Campaign had received $276,346, 10.5% over the goal! Within one year the means to shape the Society’s future was secured. As 1982 President Ann Hoffer observed, the campaign was “the most successful fund raising effort in the history of the 109 year old Society” and was to be the “beginning of a long range development plan.” Aggressive grant applications, the establishment of a Development Committee, the introduction of the Hamilton Club membership category, and careful investing reflect some of the finan-
cial strategies used in the 1980s that reconfirmed the trust placed in the Society by so many and allowed CCHS to continue its efforts.

First Full Time Professional Director (1983)

1983 witnessed the realization of a long-sought goal by Board members with the hiring of Jennifer Esler as the first full time professional executive director. Until Linda Witmier assumed the position in 1987, the Society would see four turnovers in three years. The wisdom by Boards to continuously seek professional leadership for the executive director’s position, as well as other positions during the 1980s and 1990s, has resulted in major organizational advancement. No longer would CCHS be a conglomerate of isolated functions and projects, but an institution deliberately developing a synergistic system applying professional values, standards, and accountability to actively enhance all areas: from administration and collection management to volunteer and financial development.

An initial step in the pursuit of professionalism was the analysis of CCHS submitted in 1982 by Wilson O’Donnell, a temporary curator under the previous CETA funding. In 1983 the formal MAP I (Museum Assessment Program sponsored by the American Association of Museums) followed as the Society’s first assessment by an outside professional organization of national repute. MAP II took place in 1986 and articulation of a ten-year Long Range Plan began in 1992. The process has become a part of the CCHS culture, providing a catalyst for such outcomes as the first comprehensive personnel policy in 1986, major by-law revisions in 1992, the installation of UV filtering window panels, and the development of the Collection Management Policy. It also laid solid foundations to assure success with the 1992 Capital Campaign and the 1998 building addition.


After a long and successful history of publishing monographs and papers that earned CCHS recognition from the American Association of State and Local History (AASLH) and the Pennsylvania Historical Museum Society (PHMS, now PHMC), the decision to publish a semi-annual journal was made by the Publication Committee in 1983. The first Cumberland County History was sent to members in the summer of 1984. Goals for the journal were two-fold: first, to share Cumberland County history with a wider county audience through a more identifiable and regular format and, secondly, to position CCHS in the eyes of the public and the historical profession as a serious publisher of historical research. Robert G. Crist was the first editor of the journal, succeeded in 1995 by Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, who has continued the high standards expected by readers and researchers alike.

CCHS continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s to publish smaller pamphlets, such as “Three Cumberland County Woodcarvers: Schimmel, Mountz and Barrett” by Milton E. Flower and “Made in Cumberland County”, to support the major 1991 exhibit of the same title, as well as reprints of such references as the 1858 and 1872 Cumberland County atlases.
The 1990s took CCHS publications to a higher level with the publication of its first major book, *Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey*. The seven titles that now comprise the Heritage Book Series followed. The next publication, focusing on the history of Cumberland County to celebrate the county’s 250th anniversary in 2000, is in its final writing. Little known to the membership and public at large is the extensive financial support by many individuals for these publications. Without their generosity, the sharing of the history and heritage of Cumberland County through the Heritage Book Series would not have been possible. To those individuals and all who invested incalculable hours and cooperative teamwork to meet the Society’s goal of quality research based on primary documents, matched with reader appeal, the listing of the titles is a small conveyance of appreciation, but deeply felt.

*Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey* by Nancy Van Dolson (sold out)
*Drive the Road Bridge the Ford* by Dr. Paul Gill
*The Indian Industrial School — Carlisle, Pennsylvania* by Linda Witmer (sold out; scheduled for reprint)
*Cloth and Costume 1750-1800* by Tandy and Charles Hersh
*Taverns of Cumberland County 1750-1840* by Merri Lou Schaumann
*Past Receipts, Present Recipes* by the CCHS Cookbook Committee
*Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County* by Dr. Clarke Garrett
*Bitter Fruits: The Civil War comes to a Small Pennsylvania Town* by David Colwell

**First Computer (1984)**

In 1984, CCHS entered the brave new world of “high tech” with the purchase of its first computer. Cognizant of the rapid changes, complex problems, inevitable false starts, and enormous initial and on-going costs accompanying any new technology, CCHS also recognized early on the potential of the computer and other electronic devices. As tools to consolidate collection management and care while simultaneously enhancing the physical and electronic access of the collections for research purposes by members, visitors, and staff, technology would enable CCHS to carry out the Society’s mission more effectively and efficiently. With e-mail, fax machine, the Society’s first web page ([www.historicalsociety.com](http://www.historicalsociety.com)), which made its debut in 1998, scanner, servers, and plans to network departments, CCHS has become one of the most well connected historical societies in the state. The establishment of the Technology Committee as a standing committee of the Board in 1999 assures continued integration of technology in a meaningful way to serve current and future needs. One of their first tasks has been the coordination of the software program Past Perfect to standardize the electronic documentation of library, photo archives, and museum holdings. Financial computerization, implemented by staff member Barbara Landis, has been no less critical given the growing bookkeeping and filing requirements of a multi-faceted, non-profit organization such as CCHS.
FOUR MAJOR ENDEAVORS: 1984-1988

Cumberland County Historic Resource Survey (1984-1988)

Begun in 1984, the four-year Cumberland County Historical Society Resource Survey project surveyed all Cumberland County structures prior to 1940. In the first year’s report, Project Director Nancy Van Dolson noted that “The tremendous variety and beauty of historic structures in Cumberland County as well as their historical and architectural significance, becomes increasingly more apparent as the study continues.” Of the 1400 buildings documented upon completion of the project, 1000 received scrupulous detail. CCHS proudly shared with county residents, researchers, and owners the survey results in the 1990 publication Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey. The document sheets and resulting book, already out of print, have increased the public’s awareness, understanding, and appreciation of the bountiful treasures at every geographic turn in Cumberland County that can delight the eye, testify to the county’s history, or give pause for the treasures lost. To further recognize the importance of the architectural and historic sites of the county, the Cumberland County Register of Historic Places was established in 1991, the only county in Pennsylvania to have such a register.

Gratitude is again given to the countless volunteers, owners of structures, and project staff who worked on the project. Mary Caverly is especially to be remembered for initiating the project long before 1984 and her continual support to facilitate the project’s progress at every turn. To the financial supporters who made the project possible, especially the Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation, Cumberland County Commissioners, the Borough of Carlisle, and other county municipalities, equal appreciation is extended.

Educational Partnership Program (1985)

The commitment to sharing the County’s history and heritage with young people was addressed in 1986 when contributions by all county school districts enabled the establishment of the Educational Partnership Program and the hiring of the Society’s first Educational Coordinator, Maureen Reed. From the outset, the Program was to be more than the rote presentation of historical facts. Students learned not only of the people, places, and events of Cumberland County, but practiced historical research using primary documents, and were introduced to the skills of visual literacy to read objects, buildings, and the landscape as sources of information. Hands-on, participatory experiences characterized the school visits, museum tours, field trips, walking and bus tours, and such special events as the Children’s Art Show. Each helped bring Cumberland County history alive for young people. Complimenting student programs, in-service workshops for teachers and classroom resource materials supporting school curriculum were also developed.

Further evidence of commitment was the creation of the Educational Center (originally in the Rupley Room on the second floor), the establishment of the Education Committee as a standing Board committee in 1995, the development of an Educa-
tional Collection, and the spacious facilities of the Himes Educational Center on the new lower level.

Under the direction of Lorraine Luciano, Education Coordinator since 1989, and the enthusiasm of countless volunteers, expansion in programming has continued. CCHS is an active partner in History Day, assisting students with research and acting as competition judges. Kids Alley is a regular and popular feature in Carlisle during October. Interns from area colleges and universities receive a first-hand look at the ins and outs of historical research and the possible career opportunities in the museum and historical society field. Starting in 1997, Summer History Camps for grades 3-5 have been held at Two Mile House in July. Plans to reintroduce the Hamilton Essay Program are in progress. In addition to the regular offerings of site-tours and class visits, the Education Program has responded to requests by individual students, classes, and entire school districts for special, one-of-a-kind projects. Lessons tailored to support such exhibits as “The Civil War Comes to Cumberland County” in 1998 are now becoming increasingly more important as an integral dimension of the exhibit program “to create interest in young people to uncover and discover the rich heritage of Cumberland County”.

The multi-faceted educational program served over 8000 K-college students and faculty during the 1998-99 school year. Significant is the additional 2300 people served that year. Senior citizens’ residences, public libraries, scouts, service organizations and clubs, other historical societies, and adult bus tours are among those that also benefited from the Program. This wide cross-section of audiences, totaling 10,510 persons of all ages and backgrounds, reflects the achievement of the Program’s goal. That goal is clearly conveyed in an excerpt from a letter by 4th grader Amanda Mellott at Frankford Elementary School: “I didn’t really like history until I found out what fun you can have studying historic places.”
The Photo Conservation Project (1986-1988)

In 1986, a two-year Photo Conservation Project was funded by IMS (Institute for Museum Services). The hiring of Richard Tritt as the first paid photo curator on staff and the energies of dedicated volunteers enabled CCHS to address the conservation, physical organization, and printing of what had become a large photo collection of enormous documentary value. The A.A. Line Collection, negatives by such important photographers as Choate, Sharp, and Hoover, as well as postcards, photo albums, stereopticon cards, lantern slides, daguerreotypes, and numerous other photographs, were all given meticulous attention.

The work of identifying, accessioning, physically arranging, cataloguing, indexing, and researching old and new acquisitions has continued. County towns, sites, structures, people, businesses, organizations, and events of the county’s history by area photographers, professional and amateur, are now supported with catalogues, indexes, inventories, and finder guides that are neatly organized on the Spacesaver shelves in the new 1998 facility. Over 10,000 new images have been acquired since 1989, including slide and photo documentation of Society collections and activities. The addition of a computer, printer, and scanner is enabling the work of preserving and sharing these treasures with others to continue with more efficiency and effectiveness.

The increase in the collection’s depth from donations and purchases, combined with the labor of staff and volunteers, has allowed the archives to expand its activities and serve a wider audience beyond the Society’s doors. Photos from the collection are regularly featured in The Sentinels “Tour Through Time” and “The Way It Was”, as well as in Society publications. Local organizations and communities draw from the collections to illustrate publications, and businesses use photos to decorate their facilities. Currently, CCHS is working with the 250th Anniversary Committee of Cumberland County on a county pictorial publication. Many individuals, such as those conducting research for a thesis, house restoration, or family history, discover visual answers in the collection’s holdings. American Heritage, Sports Illustrated, the Discovery Channel, HBO, ESPN, Hollywood’s Warner Brothers, and such book publishers as Houghton Mifflin, as well as local businesses and organizations, have all tapped into the photographic holdings of CCHS. Reproductions from the collections for commercial and individual use provide an important and growing contribution to CCHS’s revenue.

The work begun years earlier by Roger K. and Helen Eberly Todd and continued by the photo curator and volunteers has resulted in what is now a significant collection of the Society.

Museum Curator Initiative (1987)

IMS again invested in CCHS with a 1987 grant funding the position of a temporary museum curator that moved CCHS closer to its long-term goal of a full-time professional curator funded by the Society. With the leadership of Curator Peter Seibert, the Museum Committee, and the hands of many volunteers, storage areas were up-
graded and the painstaking tasks of inventoring, accessioning, documenting, and cataloguing the museum’s collections were undertaken. Thousands of items from both previous acquisitions and new acquisitions were carefully recorded into a more standard museum format for improved physical care, intellectual management, and accountability.

When the IMS grant concluded and CCHS resources were not available to continue the curator’s position, the volunteers and staff continued the efforts. Professional conservators were consulted for advice on better conservation and restoration techniques, storage areas were manually cleaned time and again, collections were photographed, and the upgrading and refinement of record management to account for the history, condition, and location of artifacts was doggedly pursued. After a long vacancy, the position of a paid curator has been filled with the appointment of Michael Strong to focus on museum collections, management, and exhibits.

Greater care has brought greater confidence from Society members and friends. Acquisitions have increased dramatically. The unselfish generosity of donors over just the last ten years, as well as Society purchases from the Warrell Trust and the Pierson K. Miller Accession Fund, fills the pages of accession registers and newsletters. It is impossible to even partially list the holdings that comprise the scope and depth of the museum collections. A few selections can provide a glimpse at the artifacts in the Society’s care that document both the major developments of Cumberland County and the everyday life of its people. Those chosen below illustrate one of the Society’s collection goals to obtain quality examples of the fine craftsmanship and art that Cumberland County has produced.

Sideboard (c1820s) by John Officer, Sr.
Miniature by Thomas Officer
Coverlet (c1842) by Hinkel
Silver sugar and creamer (c1803) by Hendel
Silver spoons (c1800) by Hendel
Folk portraits of Martha Jane Stuart (c1855) and Margaret Woods (1855) by John James T. Arnold
Copper kettle by Keeney
Tea kettle (early 1800s) by Gorgas
Andirons (early 1800s) produced by the Carisle Iron Works
Dress jacket (1907) manufactured by S. Kronenberg’s Sons
Stained glass window (c1925) by Hankinson
Blanket samples by Susquehannah Co.
Cobbler tools belonging to House
Paintings by Etter, Blaser, and Groome
Chair by R. Smith
Blue stenciled crock by Cowden
Various items crafted by students from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School
(1879-1918)

CCHS is especially proud of its collection of early tall case clocks by such local craftsman as Jacob Hendel, Bernard Hendel, Jacob Herwick, and John Greer.

**The Hamilton Library**

The Hamilton Library has always been an essential component of CCHS. The quality and quantity of its collection growth in the last twenty-five years enables CCHS to rank 7th in archival holdings among Pennsylvania historical records repositories.

Newsletter listings of library acquisitions are often accompanied with an apology for the inability to itemize all collection donations and donors. No less is the dilemma here. Several acquisitions illustrate the immeasurable wealth to be found in the collection.

1. The Lenore E. Flower Genealogical Collection (over 1000 family listings)
2. The James Hamilton Collection (containing 13,000 17th and 18th century documents)
3. County Estate Inventories and Vendues
4. 1825 Carlisle imprint of Johann Friedrich (*Stark’s Tägliche Hand-Buch in guten und bosen Tagen*)
5. *Pennsylvania Gazette* 1749-1789 (microfilm)
6. *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers* by Bates
7. Diaries of a Cumberland County farmer (1800-1904)
8. Town directories and school yearbooks
9. Hemphill Genealogical Collection
10. County Road Map Collection

CCHS is also now the official repository for Cumberland County’s historical public records. Local government records have often been a major, under-utilized resource. The County’s recognition of the important research value of local records, the need to preserve them, and the need to make them more accessible to historians and the public is to be applauded. Among records transferred during 1998 and 1999 were early Habeus Corpus Writs, Nineteenth Century Quarter Session Dockets, Renunciations, Administration Bonds, Widows Appraisements, Application for Letters of Administration, Affidavits of Death, Return of Births, Marriages, and Death 1852-1855, the 1962 and 1963 Probate Records (minus wills), and transcripts from Civil Court cases.
The efforts and support of the County in forging this important partnership with CCHS to meet these goals is greatly appreciated and the early interest of County Commissioner and CCHS Board Director Jacob Myers toward the preservation of county records is especially to be acknowledged.

Under the dedicated direction and hands-on participation of Mary Henzler, long time Library Committee Chair and Cordelia M. Neitz, Librarian from 1977-1983, innumerable projects were implemented that set goals and standards that librarians and volunteers have continued to emulate in an effort to serve members, patrons, and staff. In addition to the routine record keeping of accessioning, organizing, and cataloguing library holdings, major projects have since been completed that convey the continual dedication of staff and an exceptional volunteer contingency, who number about forty a year and in 1998 donated over 3,240 hours of service. Examples that provide patrons and staff with finder aides to increase collection access include: The Church and Cemetery Index, The Cumberland County Revolutionary War Soldiers Index, Estate Inventories and Vendues Index, the CIIS Oral Histories Index, indexes of family histories, The Cumberland County Cemeteries Map and Guide, and the Index to the Biographical Annals of Cumberland County.

To enhance the physical care and access of the collections, acid-free folders, interleaving papers, and boxes protect the valuable documents from the detrimental effects of the environment. Material and financial contributions by many provided such support equipment as microfilm readers and printers, computers, and the important Spacesaver units, the first units being installed in 1992.

In related areas, Library Committee members, volunteers, and staff, under the directorship of Christa Bassett since 1995, have augmented collection work with programs that further respond to patron and Society needs. Especially visible are research activities in the areas of Genealogy and CIIS.

To keep pace with growing genealogical and CIIS inquiries, about two-thirds of all inquiries each year, the first HRCT (Historical Research Certification Training) Program was begun in 1996, with a second in 1999, to train volunteers in genealogical, property, and CIIS research. HRCT graduates and library staff are able to now keep abreast of the daily flow of inquiries that arrive via e-mail, letter, fax, or personal visit. Under the auspices of the Library Committee, genealogical workshops continue to be held and a Genealogical Fair is scheduled for May of 2000.

Interest awakened in CIIS by the Society’s 1980 exhibit and the 1993 publication of Carlisle Indian School, as well as a national movement of respect for Native American cultures, has resulted in an explosion of inquiries about CIIS, its students, and history. The willingness of Linda Witmer and Barbara Landis to share their research through presentations, articles, and interviews, as well as CCHS’s extensive CIIS photo holdings, has resulted in a diverse audience of colleges, teachers, students, authors, film writers, Native Americans, and others to recognize CCHS as a major authority on CIIS.
In a comprehensive institution such as CCHS, the Hamilton Library will always be vital to the preservation of Cumberland County history, the serving of patrons, and the bridge that links the various functions of the Society. It is no surprise that Hamilton Library patrons come from both close to home and across the world to search for answers.

**RECOGNITION**

Ever mindful of the generosity of time and effort given by so many to realize the goals and projects undertaken in the 1980s, CCHS established the Roger K. and Helen E. Todd (Volunteer) Service Award in 1986 and renamed the Historian of the Year Award, established in 1958, as the Milton E. Flower Historian of the Year Award. The first recipient of the Todd Award was Colonel Edgar Kadel. His selfless service to the Society has been the measure for the thirteen recipients that have since been honored. Although no award can be given to each and every volunteer who has contributed so much to the Society, there is no doubt that the Society’s amazing accomplishments can be attributed to the combined efforts of all volunteers. Every volunteer should be extremely proud of the recognition that has been bestowed on CCHS.

All during the 1980s and 1990s the substantive efforts of CCHS were being acknowledged and appreciated by others. The Whittaker Foundation, Progress Foundation, the Greater Harrisburg Foundation, The G. B. Stuart Charitable Foundation, the Conservation Center in Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, the Pennsylvania Historical Museums Commission (PHMC), The Wells Foundation, and the Pennsylvania Humanities Council are among a few of those not already mentioned who recognized CCHS with funding for quality projects. The CIIS exhibit, facilities and conservation assessment, AV productions, the four-year Cumberland County Architectural Survey, the purchase of microfilm readers, the two-year Photo Conservation Project, development of the Children’s Area, AAM’s MAP I and MAP II assessment, the Educational Partnership, as well as general operating expenses, are among the projects that have been supported with outside funding.

In 1983 CCHS was recognized by Pennsylvania with an invitation to participate in the 208th birthday of Carpenter’s Hall in Philadelphia — only the second historical society in Pennsylvania to be given that honor. Consistently, CCHS has been recognized by PHMC with Awards of Merit. The exhibits “The Carlisle Industrial Indian School” and “Esther Groome: A Retrospective” were recognized in 1989 and 1990. In 1991, the publication *Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey* received the honor. The entire CCHS publication program was acknowledged in 1993 and in 1995 the public programs for “Washington in Carlisle” were recognized. The Carlisle Historic Board (later known as the Carlisle Historical and Architectural Review Board) saluted CCHS with Awards of Appreciation in 1992 and again in 1998 for “outstanding efforts in maintain the high standards of the Carlisle Historic District”. The publication *Past Receipts, Present Recipes* received national recognition taking 3rd place in the 1997 Tabasco Community Cookbook Award Program. The Greater Carlisle Area Chamber of Commerce presented CCHS with the Jonas S. Warrell plaque in 1999.
for “Best Small Business”. The certificates and plaques representing these accomplishments can be seen in the original entrance to the Hamilton Library and at various other locations throughout the Society.

In 1987, the County recognized the Society as “the official historical society of Cumberland County”. The recognition of CCHS and county history as an important asset to the county’s future and for on-going project and financial support by current County Commissioners Nancy Besch, Earl Keller, and Marcia Myers, the Society is most grateful.

**Two Mile House (1992)**

In 1992, CCHS acquired the Two Mile House (TMH) through the generous bequest of Mrs. Mary Wheeler King, who passed away that year. She and her husband, J. McLain King, purchased the Federal style farmhouse in 1946 and called it home for forty-six years. Both were active supporters of the Society and Mrs. King was the first woman elected to serve on the Board. In addition to Two Mile House, which was placed on the National Register for Historic Places in 1992, Mrs. King also gave five acres of land, furnishings, and a $75,000 endowment. She also challenged the Society to raise $100,000 in three years to establish a permanent endowment for the property. With usual CCHS verve, the goal was quickly reached and the deed will be officially transferred to CCHS in the near future. On April 27, 1994, TMH opened its doors with the program “Recollections of Mary Wheeler King”.

In just five short years, the desire of Mrs. King to share the history, dignity, and warmth of Two Mile House with Society members and the public has been met. Through the dedicated leadership and diligent work of Two Mile House Trustees (Milton E. Flower, Ann Hoffer, and Pierson K. Miller), TMH Committee members, countless volunteers, and four TMH managers, including current manager Joan McBride, the opportunity offered by Mrs. King has resulted in an active site of annual events and special programs. The work of many represents a labor of love in adaptive historic house care. Richard Dutrey, Nancy George, Maureen Reed, Mary Pat Wentzel, and Andrea Sheya, who provided the early continuity needed to develop the McLain Festival and excited others with her fresh ideas, took the lead in making hospitality a hallmark of TMH.

The McLain Highland Festival, started in 1995 to celebrate Cumberland County’s Scots-Irish heritage, continues to attract increasing numbers of area residents and visitors for a day of Celtic music, games, demonstrations, food, and socializing. Other events, such as the Tavern Dinner, Mothers’ Day Tea, Santa’s Breakfast, Adventures in History Camp, the Mary Wheeler King Bridge Party, and the Airing of the Quilts have met with similar success.

Changing exhibits featuring local artists have provided a gallery dimension to TMH. Starting with the Pops & Popcorn concert by the West Shore Symphony in 1994, TMH has provided CCHS with a venue for other special programs. These have included: CCHS Landscape Seminar sessions (1995), The Bessie Jamieson Jewelry Shows (1997, 1998), “Recollections of a Two Mile House Girlhood” by Isabel Carpenter Masland (1997), Summer Fair picnics (1997), a classical piano and violin program by
Anthony and Marcia Lucia (1998), and "Central American Folk Art" by Mrs. Potts (1998), as well as CCHS's Volunteer Covered Dish Suppers. Reservations for weddings, parties, and tours have steadily grown as the public has discovered the charm and hospitality of TMH, its gardens, and grounds.

Enhancement of TMH has been continual both inside and out — from electrical wiring to the expanding landscape plan to the current project of renovating the kitchen for a state of the art facility that will support the increasing demand for social events at TMH. Partnerships from such groups as the TMH Herb Society and The Tressler Wilderness School, along with support from a host of other area organizations and businesses, reflect a community that recognizes and appreciates this special gift of a landmark house and home.

The future holds only the promise of "the best is yet to be". Mrs. King would indeed be pleased with not only the care and use of her historic home, but the fond memories that continue to be created at TMH.

The 1994 Capital Campaign and 1998 Addition

In 1994, friends were again called upon to invest in the future of CCHS. An ambitious challenge of a $1.5 million dollar Capital Campaign was presented to enable the purchase of properties on Pitt Street that would keep CCHS in its original building in downtown Carlisle, establish the Society's Two Mile House Endowment, and secure $1 million dollars for a new addition. Responding to the efforts of Honorary Chair Pierson K. Miller and General Chair Dr. Gilmore B. Severs, who successfully chaired the 1981 Endowment Campaign, over 600 contributors rose to the challenge and attainment of the goal was announced at the 1995 Annual Meeting.
While generating the needed funds, the Building Committee, under Chair Ann Kramer Hoffer, worked with architects and contractors scrutinizing the detailed plans. On September 13, 1997, CCHS officially opened its doors for all to see the results. The Board's vision, which had begun with a Long-Range Plan in 1992, had become a reality. The Miller Gallery, the Todd Photographic Archives, the Masland Museum Shop, the Stuart Reading Room, the Himes Educational Center on the lower level, three new vaults, enlarged collection storage areas, enhanced volunteer and staff work areas, and space on the second floor for future expansion of museum galleries greeted members and visitors. The new High Street entrance now beckons visitors with open gates and provides an attractive complement for downtown Carlisle's historic townscape.

Magnificent and exciting as the new physical addition and renovations are, more lasting will be the cumulative impact. The subtle colors, the handsome details that include the integration of historic interior architectural elements, the caliber of exhibits and programs now possible with the Miller Gallery and Himes Educational Center, the improved environmentally controlled storage areas for collections, the technological infrastructure for the future, the efficiency of the volunteers and staff attending to their business, the pleasure of visitors finding treasures in the Masland Museum Shop, and the atmosphere of cordiality that greets visitors and members alike provide a consistent impression of the integrity and quality of purpose that takes place within a building that encompasses within its walls the original 1881 Hamilton Library.

MATURING FOR THE FUTURE

The strength of the last twenty-five years lies not in the undertaking of new ventures or new building additions, although they are certainly high marks symbolizing great accomplishments. It is the Society's overall maturing as a professional organization that has sustained the momentum generated by the work of so many Board trustees, volunteers, and staff over the years to accomplish both depth as well as scope in the Society's mission.

Of particular importance is the continuity of Linda Witmer as Executive Director. For over a decade she has provided the consistency of not only tenure, but of professional principles, values, and management that have guided CCHS. The strong leadership and initiative by Board Presidents, exemplified by past President Ann Kramer Hoffer, has created a partnership, along with the expertise and longevity of staff members Christa Bassett, Barbara Landis, Lorraine Luciano, and Richard Tritt that would be the envy of any institution. All are in their debt to Rose Tregl, Administrative Assistant, whose efficiency and organizational skills provide every aspect of the Society with invaluable support and to new staff members David Smith, Owen Kertland, Carolyn Lackey, Barbara Bartos, and Jerry Hoover for their contributions.

POSTSCRIPT

Dreams can become reality and when they do, reality can become tradition and provide a legacy to be handed down. The Cumberland County Historical Society and the Hamilton Library today must represent great satisfaction to the dreams of many
over the Society’s first 125 years. What of the future? The dream of new museum galleries is a reality in the making for the new millennium that will continue the legacy.

********

The progression of years has seen the passing of many CCHS members and friends. Each will be missed and their contributions remembered with grateful appreciation.

- Robert G. Crist
- Faith Flower
- Milton E. Flower
- Johanna Franz
- Warren J. Gates
- Donald H. Goodyear
- Edgar Kadel
- Mary Wheeler King
- J. McLain King
- William Sample Masland
- Jacob Myers
- Arthur Rupley, Jr.
- Roger Steck
- Glenn Todd
- Roger Todd
- Jonas Warrell
- Ruth Wyre

These individuals are especially to be noted as together they embody the spirit, vision, and service of the CCHS family. Their efforts, along with the efforts of others over the past twenty-five years, helped to meet the challenges that have faced CCHS by overcoming obstacles, thinking ahead, and taking the initiative. All in the CCHS family have given the Society a confidence, vigor, and clarity of purpose to make the choices to meet the new challenges of the next millennium and carry on the legacy. The history and future of the Cumberland County Historical Society and the Hamilton Library Association, along with its Boards, members, volunteers, staff, and friends, should be applauded, celebrated, and embraced.

**Current Board**

- Ann Kramer Hoffer – President, Museum Committee Co-Chair
- Raymond Bobb – Vice-President; Todd Service Award Committee Chair
- Robin Rowe – Secretary
- David Garity – Treasurer
- Bruce Andrews – Publications Committee Chair; Milton E. Flower Historian of the Year Committee Chair
- Robert Black – Finance Committee Chair
- Richard Dutrey – Membership Chair
- Steven Hattleberg – Nominating Chair
- Paul Hoch – Museum Shop Chair
- Caren Larue – Program Committee Chair
- Edward K. Masland – Property Committee Chair
- Art McCarter – Education Committee Chair
- Mary Anne Morefield
- George F. Myers
- Jamie Price – Museum Committee Co-Chair
- Samuel D. Ross – Finance Co-Chair
- Charles Stone – Library Committee Chair
- Henry M. Weeks – McLain Highland Festival Committee Chair
- Pierson K. Miller – Director Emeritus
CURRENT STAFF
Linda Witmer – Executive Director
Christa Basset – Librarian
Lorraine Luciano – Educational Coordinator
Richard Tritt – Photo Curator
Michael Strong – Curator
Barbara Landis – Financial Secretary
Rose Tregl – Administrative Assistant
David Smith – Library Assistant
Owen Kertland – Library Aide
Carolyn Lackey – Library Aide
Joan McBride – Two Mile House Manager
Barbara Bartos – Projects Coordinator
Jerry Hoover – Maintenance
The Public and Private in Writing History

Margaret D. Garrett

History is, on the one hand, individual stories and, on the other, stories of groups, nations and cultures. In my recollection of classes I took when I was in college, the starting point was the latter, but in my recent experience of trying to write history, I began with individual stories I found in the Johnson Collection in the Cumberland County Historical Society — a collection of letters and papers of an African-American family in Carlisle. In trying to discover what was going on in the lives of the writers of these letters, I have had to turn for help to the larger stories of our country and the ways in which we have included and defined the role of people of African descent from the earliest settlements through the Civil War period.

When I first began my study, it became important for me to establish the family relationships among the people described in the letters. The collection was named after the parents of the donor, Louise Johnson Austin, and my first question was why no Johnson appeared among the letter writers. As evidence emerged from the letters and from the family Bibles, I made a simple chart of the family relationships that helped me to understand that these people were the matrilineal ancestors of Anna Andrews Johnson, Louise’s mother. In doing this, I discovered that genealogy is a valuable tool for a fledgling historian. With kind assistance from the librarians at the Cumberland County Historical Society, I found my way into the public sources of information available to the genealogist: census reports, tax records, court documents, church and cemetery records, street directories, and military records. These resources helped me to answer some of the questions the letters posed.

I want to tell the story of the Johnson Family because the collection gives the rare opportunity to reconstruct the lives of persons in a group often silenced in American history: people of African descent. My first reading of the family’s letters introduced me to a strong-willed, resourceful, brave, and often witty group of people, and I wanted to read those lives in the context of the times in which they lived. To do that, I found that I needed to augment what genealogy had taught me with more general local and national history. The reconstructing of parts of one of those lives, that of Reuben Washington, provides a particularly good illustration of the impossibility of separating the personal from the public, of genealogy from history, in understanding the past.
Let me begin with my first encounter with Reuben. Almost all the letters in the Johnson Collection are from members of the family of Mary Foulke and Jonas Kee, who were married in Carlisle shortly after the Civil War and who raised a family of six children. One letter, however, was not from this group of people. It was addressed to Mary Foulke Kee and was sent from New Hall, Missouri, September 22, 1898. It read:

Dear Sister

I thought I would write you a few lines to let you know that we all are well[,] and I hope When these few lines reaches you[,] I hope it will find you enjoying the best of health[.] I thought I would write to you to see if you would answer this letter. I couldn't hear out from out there[,] I wrote you two or three last letters[,] and you never would answer none of them[,] and what the reason you wont answer[?] I want you to send me the particular[s] of mother[']s death[,] and how did you all divided up everything[?] I heard of mother's death but you all never sent me the paper that had mother's death in it or nothing. Please send what you all [have] done. Please answer this letter[,] [If you don't]t[,] I will write to the writer of Carlisle and ask him what [is] going on I never can hear from none of you all[.] I am coming out There before long[,] I ain't going to stay very long[,] but I am coming through[,] and I am going to stay a little while. Brother George a[i]n[']t wrote me a letter for 2 years. I got a letter from Sister done about 3 or 4 months ago. [S]he wrote and told me about mother[']s death[.]

I tried hard to get moved out there before this time but I am glad I didn't. It seem[s] like the way you all do[,] you all have got to[o] bigity and go above writing. I see birds some time fly way up in the night near out of sight[,] then after while they take a shoot and come down to the ground and get something to eat. Miner[']s life is in the cube nar George[,] [H]e is down about his aunt Hel[en]'s[,] saving to bucco[,] Jane and Lena they both are in South Dakota[,] about 800 miles from me & Ezra. He is working out all this summer and is working out yet.

To sister Mary Kee From Brother Reuben Washington[,] My dear sister[,] please ans[we]r this letter[,] please.

Alex and J made the crop this summer. Julia she haven[']t work[ed] any this year[,] She is at Home[,] After an all time[,] I don't think we are going to have any school this winter[,] and I may move to town after while tell Somre. I ain't got a pen s[cratch[,] and since She have married[,] She have got all she wanted and won[']t write[,] Send me Belle[']s number and address[.] Please answer soon[,] From Reuben Washington.

What was puzzling about this letter is that I had thought that all of Mary Kee's birth family, the Foulkes, were living in Carlisle by the end of the century. Who was this brother who lived in Missouri? Why did he have a different last name from her maiden name of Foulke? Who were these people that he assumed she knew: Miner, Jane, Lena, Ezra, Alex, and Julia?
Partial Chart of the Foulke Family and Descendants

Figure 1. Genealogical Chart.
Reuben's sister, Mary Foulke, appears not to have come into Pennsylvania in the 1850s with her parents Julia and George Foulke because she was not listed as being in the household in the 1860 Carlisle census. She appears, however, in the 1870 Census as the wife of Jonas Kee, so one concludes she came into Carlisle sometime before their marriage there, which is recorded in the family Bible as 1868. Perhaps the Foulke family had been broken up in some way when they were all living in Virginia. Of course, the most likely reason for that would have been that they had not had control over their own lives because they had been enslaved. Such enslavement might account for Reuben's being separated from the family and having a different last name. To this point in my research, however, I had no firm evidence of such enslavement.

At the same time that I was reading the family letters dating from 1896 to 1905, I and my collaborator on this project, Louise Johnson Austin, also were reading the Carlisle newspapers from that time to see if we could find any reference to events in the news that family members had written about in the letters. Louise happened upon this account of her family:

*Carlisle Daily Herald*, 20 September, 1895

Mr. Reuben Washington of New Hall, Missouri has been visiting his brother, Mr. George Foulke. Mr. Washington was sold as a slave, in Virginia at the age of nine or ten, and had never seen his mother since that time till last week, a period of 45 years. He had never seen his brother George. The reunion brought much joy.
Here was the confirmation that members of the family had been enslaved. Reuben had been sold away from his mother. And perhaps Mary, his sister, had too. That might explain the fact that she did not come into Pennsylvania with her family. This brought me much closer to understanding why Reuben was living in Missouri and had a different last name from his mother and sisters and brothers.

As there was no other letter from Reuben in the collection, I thought that perhaps I had reached a dead end with his story. But because Mary, his sister, was born in 1843, I guessed that Reuben could have been old enough to have fought in the Civil War. Therefore, when I went to the National Archives in Washington to look into Jonas Kee’s pension files, I decided to check the listing there of all members of the U.S. Colored Troops and found Reuben’s name. Ironically, I found little new information about Jonas Kee, but I struck gold in Reuben’s files. Depositions given in 1895 and 1896, when Reuben Ellis Washington had requested an increase in his pension because of growing deafness, reveal some of the early history of this family. Julia Foulke testified that she had given birth to Reuben Ellis in December of 1841 and that he was her second son. At that time she was owned by a family in Warren County in northern Virginia. Within the next two years the family who owned them, in Julia Foulke’s words, “broke up housekeeping,” and her mistress took Julia’s son Reuben with her when she moved to Middletown, Virginia. Apparently Julia herself was “hired out” to a family in Front Royal, Virginia, where her daughter Mary was born in 1843. There is no record of what happened to Mary in her childhood. Julia and Reuben must have been separated before he was two years old and were never to live in the same quarters again.

Julia Foulke’s sister, Caroline Jenkins, testified that she had watched over Reuben from the time her sister was sent to the family in Front Royal. Caroline Jenkins’s recollections of Reuben’s childhood were also fragmentary because the boy himself was, as she reported, “hired around considerably.”

Reuben remembered being owned by the same woman, a widow named Mrs. Compton, who owned his aunt. The death of Compton’s husband probably accounts for the breaking up of the household that Julia Foulke recalled. In 1853, when Mrs. Compton died, Reuben said he “fell to a man named Turner Jacobs,”

Figure 3. George Foulke in a fraternal order uniform. Johnson Collection, CCHS.
who owned him only one day and then sold him to Hamilton Bragg, who took the twelve-year-old boy to Missouri, where Reuben was to live a major part of his life. 4

Reuben's story had dramatized for me the chaos that the institution of slavery visited upon family structures of the enslaved. Now it was time for me to turn to a more general study of the history of what life was like under slavery. Brenda Stevenson's close study of slave families in northern Virginia, Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South (Oxford University Press, 1996), was a great help to me. She had focused on precisely the region in which the Foulke family lived. As became clear to me, geography and economics significantly influence the conditions under which the enslaved lived, so that one could almost say that the slaveholding areas were a mosaic of injustices.

Stevenson points out that the "malleable extended family" that provided nurture, socialization, and whatever education that could be given, was the norm for enslaved families in this region. The great diversity in the form that "family" could take included single parents; spouses and parents who lived away from the family on other plantations or farms; one, two or three generation households; all male households; and families that included what Stevenson terms "fictive" kin, or close friends who were given familial names such as "aunt." 5 Clearly Reuben experienced many of these forms. His mother had been "hired out" away from him; he had some nurture and socialization from his Aunt Caroline in Virginia; when he himself was hired away from the place where his aunt lived, he may have lived in all-male households; and he
had a “fictive” mother, Lucinda Sheppard, who cared for him when he was sold into Missouri. Sheppard had been bought by Strother Moore in Virginia at the same time that Bragg, Moore’s brother-in-law, bought Reuben. She and Reuben lived on the same farm in Missouri until Reuben ran away and went to the Civil War. She recalled that she “almost raised him.”

These new facts about one member of the Foulke family allowed me to make some assumptions about the experiences of the rest of the family based upon what I had already learned. Now I assume that the Foulkes had left Virginia in the 1850s to escape slavery, taking only the daughter who was still with them, Margaret. Reuben speaks of “Belle” in his letter to Mary. Belle Mason appeared in the Julia and George Foulke family in the 1870 Carlisle census as a child of seven who was born in Virginia. Since Julia Foulke had been living in Pennsylvania for over ten years, Belle cannot be her daughter, but she may be a grandchild sent to Pennsylvania after the War.

The parents had a son, George, born in 1857, in the relative freedom of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and raised by his parents. George became a prominent member of the black community, was the teamster at the Indian School for many years, and was a noted musician and entertainer in Carlisle and elsewhere. That the newspaper article specifically mentions George and neither Reuben’s sisters Mary and Margaret, nor Belle is probably due to George’s social prominence. Mary Foulke Kee, whose family is the primary focus of my study, had probably suffered the same fate as her older brother Reuben and had been sold away from her mother.

Reuben’s story led me to realize in a very immediate way the impact of living in what Stevenson calls “a malleable extended family.” Effort was made to keep track of kinfolk. That Mary and other kin followed their family into Pennsylvania is evidence of some kind of information network. In 1895 Reuben applied for help in making the case for an increased pension to his aunt in Virginia whom he had left forty-two years earlier. More evidence of some kind of “keeping track” of Aunt Caroline, who was the only memory he would have of a “mother” person in his life, having been left in her care at the age of two. Caroline Jenkins, miraculously still alive in 1895, knew where her sister who had left Virginia some forty years earlier had gone and led Reuben to her so that Julia Foulke could testify about his health as an infant. Probably none of these family members could read or write. Census data and their own testimony tells us that was certainly true of Reuben, Mary, and their mother. We also know that they knew how to use the services of town letter writers. Reuben threatens Mary with writing “to the writer of Carlisle” to ask him what is going on, if she does not respond to his letter about their mother’s death. Letters in the Johnson collection also indicate that other family members used such letter writers. Then, as the next generation of family members learned to write, they helped their parents keep in touch with those who lived far away. We know, partly because of Reuben’s complaints about his daughter Julia’s not being willing to write for him after she got married and partly from evidence within the depositions, that Julia often served as his letter writer. So, whether by word of mouth or letters written by others, some contact was kept among family
members scattered against their will.

Perhaps his discovery of his mother led Reuben to make the trip from New Hall to Carlisle in 1895, the same year that the depositions were first taken regarding his request for an increase in pension. And interestingly enough, having once found his family – remember he was taken to Missouri away from all of his kinfolk – he was very eager to remain in touch with them as that letter demonstrates: "Why you wont answer? Please write soon."

Having been able to find this much about Reuben Washington, I knew to look for his name in census reports and tax accounts, street directories and newspaper accounts. I discovered that Reuben did move to Carlisle, I assume to be united with his birth family, and brought many of his children, mentioned in his letter to Mary, with him. Reuben himself was buried in Carlisle under the surname of Foulke in 1917. When his son, Alexander Foulke, died in Pittsburgh in November of 1950, his death was reported in the Carlisle Evening Sentinel. From that obituary I learned that he was the son of Reuben and his first wife, Laura, now called Laura Foulke. Since Laura died before Reuben moved to Pennsylvania and took on his family name, she never knew herself as Foulke, but as Laura Washington. The obituary also located others of Reuben's children who were still in the Northeast: Alexander was survived by two sisters and two brothers; Mrs. George Frazier of Carlisle; Mrs. Julia Moore (the same Julia who was Reuben's letter writer) in Illinois, Lewis Foulke of Montclair, New Jersey; and Harvey Foulke, of Harrisburg. All of those children who had come east with Reuben had taken on the family name, and made lives for themselves here.

Alexander Foulke, like his father before him, had been a veteran. He served in World War I — probably going off to war in the year his father died. So, more information may exist in Alexander's pension files: another source to use in trying to reconstruct this family history. Perhaps they will lead me to more than Alexander's story and tell me something about the experience of black soldiers in World War I. His father's experience in the Civil War led me to a more general study of that war.

Reuben's story also has taught me a great deal about the Civil War in general. From Reuben's depositions, I learned that he and a group of friends had run away from the Bragg farm in Missouri and had gone into Iowa to enlist. Reuben joined the army in the Fall of 1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation in the previous September had made clear that the North was fighting a war to liberate those enslaved in the Confederacy. Hope was high in persons of African descent that their freedom would be the outcome of a Northern victory. Still, I questioned why Reuben had to run away to join a colored unit in a neighboring state. So again I turned to a history of groups of persons, namely, of black troops in the Civil War. And from a collection of essays, *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and The Civil War*, I learned that not until late in the war, after the Union finally realized that the war was not about union but about the end of slavery and saw that they had a valuable resource in willing black men eager to fight for their own freedom, were black troops actually formed. So Reuben joined one of the first black units being formed.
But why did Reuben run away to Iowa to join what became Company E, 60th Regular U.S. Line, formed from the First Iowa Colored Infantry? Reuben’s words make clear that he knew that he was breaking the law:

I ran away from him [Bragg] when I enlisted. There were nine of us who went at the same time. One of the boys who lived on the place went with me and there were seven neighbor boys who went at the same time.”

While the Emancipation Proclamation had gone into effect the previous January, Reuben’s testimony that he was still the property of Hamilton Bragg underlined for me that the Proclamation freed only those persons who were enslaved in the states in rebellion, not in those loyal to the Union. Lincoln and his government were urging gradual, compensated emancipation on their loyal allies in the border states, but they also needed to keep those allies in the Union. So until almost the end of the war, slavery was left intact there. Ironically, General Order 329 in the Fall of 1863 authorized the systematic enlistment of slaves in Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, but before it was enacted in Missouri, Reuben was long gone.

When Reuben ran away, he took a horse from the Bragg farm to help make the journey. While that seemed to have caused some consternation in the family, Reuben’s owner did not protest Reuben’s actions:

... when I came back from the war Mr. Bragg [probably Ham Bragg’s brother John] tried to have me arrested because I had rode one of Mr. Bragg’s horses away. But Mr. Bragg—Ham—was always good to me, and said he did not care. John Bragg came after me when I ran away, and I would not come back with him. For a long time he would not speak to me, but for sometime now he has been very kind to me.

None of them have been as good to me as my old owner Ham Bragg was.9

Reuben’s regiment was sent to Helena, Arkansas, in December of 1863 and by early 1864 was re-designated the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry Regiment. The regiment remained at Helena for most of the war, making expeditions from there, as Reuben’s company did in July of 1864 when they saw action at Wallace’s Ferry in Big Creek, Arkansas. In his depositions, Reuben speaks only of guard duty and of construction details, but friends recall his talking about the roar of the cannon. He was paid a pension for health problems that seem to have been connected with conditions under which the troops lived during the war.

Reuben stayed with his company until it was mustered out of the Army at Duvall’s Bluff, Arkansas, on October 15, 1865. Then he returned to Missouri to the farms of former owners. In his words:

Upon my discharge I came back to Chariton County, Missouri and remained with Strother M. Moore for two years. I then went to Mr. Ham Bragg and remained there three or four years. From there I remained one year at Ad Johnson’s. He lived at Chillicothe. I then remained two years on Jesse Herndon’s. From there I went to Green Steward’s place for one year. I then remained for 8 years in that vicinity and
from there I came to my present place.  

For an account of the Washington-McKee-Foulke family see the author's "Forty-three Baltimore Street," *Cumberland County History*, XIII (1996), 63-76.  

Although Reuben praised his owner's kindness, his decision to run away indicated that he wanted to better his situation and, like many bondsmen, saw the opportunity to join a colored unit as a step in that direction. His return after the war demonstrated that the farms in Missouri where he had labored as a slave, were both the places he thought of as "home" and the only options for employment that he felt were open to him.  

Through trying to answer my own questions about Reuben's experiences as a Union soldier, however, I was led to a focused study of the history of the Civil War. I learned what a significant role that people of African descent had played in the outcome of that war. Their flocking to the Union camps had led to the evolution of understanding in the Union Army of the key role black men could play in the winning of the war. These men's knowledge and willingness to work with the Union Army provided invaluable information as that Army moved deeper into the South; their valor, when given the opportunity to fight, enhanced their own self-esteem as well as the way in which white men viewed them.  

I also learned how long it took most white Americans to realize that the war was about ridding the nation of slavery. And that even in the Army, black men fought for less pay and with fewer benefits than did their white compatriots. My study began with the personal but could only be completed by a study of the public aspects of history – aspects that helped me make some of the assumptions and judgments that I have made about the history of an African American family in Pennsylvania. I am discovering that writing history is often a matter of asking yourself questions and then going out to find the answers. 

Notes

1. Johnson Family Collection, File 1, Cumberland County Historical Society.
2. Reuben Washington's Pension File, Deposition taken by W. B. Robinson of Julia Foulke on October 7, 1896, National Archives.
3. Deposition taken by W. E. Clapp, Special Examiner of the Pension Office in Middletown, Frederick County, Virginia, of Caroline Jenkins on October 22, 1896, National Archives.
4. Deposition taken by H. L. Arnold, Special Examiner, of Reuben Washington on September 22, 1896, National Archives.
6. Deposition taken by H. L. Arnold of Lucinda Sheppard on September 23, 1896, National Archives.
9. Ibid.
10. Deposition taken by Battle McCandle of Reuben Washington on June 26, 1895, National Archives.

For an account of the Washington-McKee-Foulke family, see the author’s “Forty-three Baltimore Sheet”, *Cumberland County History*, XIII (1996), 63-76.
Carlisle Barracks — 1854-1855:
From the Letters of Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny, 2nd Infantry

Edited by Richard J. Coyer

INTRODUCTION

In July 1855, six companies from the 2nd Infantry took possession of an old fur trading post on the banks of the Upper Missouri River and transformed it into a base of operations against the Sioux. But before setting out on this assignment, the officers and men of this regiment spent almost a year and a half at Carlisle Barracks filling their ranks, drilling, and preparing for service on the prairie. Among the officers in this contingent was 34-year-old Lieutenant Thomas William Sweeny.

A native of County Cork, Ireland, Sweeny and his family came to the United States in 1832 and settled in New York, where he received his education and later apprenticed to a book publisher. Sweeny also belonged to “military and literary” clubs in the city, and it was through these associations that he received a commission in the 1st New York Volunteers when the Mexican War started. The regiment took part in the drive from Veracruz to Mexico City, and suffered heavy casualties in the battle of Churubusco. Among those casualties was Lieutenant Sweeny, whose right arm was amputated. After the war he received a commission in the 2nd Infantry and served at San Diego and Fort Yuma in Southern California from 1849 to 1853. He returned to New York in January 1854, and after a brief stint on recruiting duty joined his regiment at Carlisle Barracks in September of that year.

Sweeny served twice on the Upper Missouri and then had a two-year assignment on general recruiting duty before the outbreak of the Civil War. He spent the first year of the Civil War in Missouri. There he played a major part in keeping the state from seceding and was shot in the leg at the battle of Wilson’s Creek. He saw action at the battles of Shiloh (where he was wounded in his good arm) and Corinth; his performance in the latter engagement earned him the rank of brigadier general of volunteers. Sweeny later commanded a division in General William T. Sherman’s Atlanta Campaign.

In 1866 the Army dismissed Sweeny for his involvement with the Fenian Brotherhood (an organization seeking to free Ireland from British rule), but reinstated him 18 months later. During Reconstruction he commanded troops in Augusta and Atlanta,
Georgia. The Army retired Sweeny with the rank of brigadier general on May 11, 1870 and he spent the rest of his life in retirement. Thomas W. Sweeny died on April 10, 1892, in Astoria, New York.  

What follows are nine letters Sweeny wrote to his wife, Ellen, from Carlisle Barracks. In these letters he talks about his fellow officers, some he and his wife already knew, others new acquaintances, including recent West Point graduates. The letters also contain gossip around the post, news about their upcoming assignment, the excitement over forthcoming promotions, and information on the daily chores of garrison duty.

These letters are part of the Thomas W. Sweeny Papers (Letterbook SW862) at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and are published here with their permission.

* * * 

Carlisle Barracks, Pa.,
September 4, 1854,

My own sweet Ell.:

I received your dear letter yesterday, which gave me infinite pleasure to learn that you and our darling children were in the enjoyment of good health . . . and everything going on as well as I could expect under the circumstances. I have been quite busy since my arrival here, in closing up my Recruiting Accounts, which I forwarded on Saturday last [September 2], complete, and the ordinary garrison and company duties. I have made several pleasant acquaintances in the town of Carlisle through the medium of Capt. Davidson, among whom are the family of Capt. Brent of the Quartermaster Dept., Major Merchant's family, whom you recollect were at Fort Columbus [New York] in 1848, (though I can hardly call them new acquaintances,) yet it is so long since we met, that it appears as such: the Major is in Minnesota at present, detailed on the same Court Gen. Hitchcock is on, and expects to be ordered to California when he gets through with that duty: his family will accompany him:—Capt. Merchant, his son, is also here . . . and is on leave at present: we did not know him, he belongs to the 8th Inf., and shops with his mother in town: old Mrs. Merchant & her daughter inquired very kindly after you, which I was very much obliged to them for. We all went to the Episcopal Church on Sunday, and Davidson & myself dined the same day with Mrs. Brent, whose husband I saw in California in 1852: she has treated us very kindly indeed: Capt. B[rent] is stationed at [Fort] Vancouver in Oregon [Territory] at present, where she thinks of joining him this winter. . . . [I]n fact, every body seems bent on making us feel as happy and contented as possible while we remain here, which we ought to feel truly grateful for: but still, dear Ell., there is one thing wanting, which all the pleasures of this world, and all the kind attentions of our friends cannot supply, and that is,—the presence of my dear wife and children . . . Davidson left this morning for Washington, which leaves me in command of the Head. Qu[arter]s. of the 2d Inf. with six commissioned officers
Figure 1. Thomas W. Sweeny, as a captain at the start of the Civil War. Courtesy National Archives and Record Service.
and about two hundred enlisted men subject to my orders. Lt. McArthur of the 5th Inf. arrived here today with a Detachment of twenty-five Recruits for Company “M” 2d Art[iller]y., he leaves here tomorrow for Fort Columbus: I have given him your address, and told him he must call with his wife (who is in New York) to see you . . . Capt. Lovell, 2d Inf[,] is expected here every day: Lt. Curtiss, with part of his Company, is here at present. We expect to be ordered to Fort Laramie or Kearney [sic] the two posts nearest our Indian troubles, but are uncertain as to the time of leaving. If we are to remain here until next Spring, do you think, Ell., that your health would permit you to accompany me? I’m afraid, dear Ell., to expose you to the hardships of a journey of such a distance: however, let me know what you think about it, as I shall be guided entirely by your advice in this matter. If they have decided upon sending our Companies West this Winter at Washington, Davidson will find out as soon as he gets there, and will Telegraph to me immediately of the fact, upon the receipt of which I will write to you: in that case, of course, it would be impossible for you to accompany me . . . .

* * *

My Dearest Ell.,

Carisle Barracks, Penn.
September 28th, 1854.

I arrived here yesterday from Philadelphia, having stopped there all day Tuesday [September 26] on account of meeting some friends who had heard of my coming, and insisted upon my remaining with them at least one day; so I sent on my baggage with the Detachment, and remained with them until Wednesday morning at 7 1/2 o’clock, when I bade them a last farewell for several years at all events. They treated me very handsomely, and escorted me to the cars when I was leaving. I arrived here about 2 o’clock in the afternoon, just in time to take dinner with the Mess. They were all very pleased to see me. It is a beautiful place, and about three quarters of a mile from the town of Carlisle. The officers here at present are Capt. Davidson, who is in command of the post; Dr. Madison, who has his family here; Lt. Paige, 2d Inf., who got out his Buggy the afternoon I arrived and gave me a delightful drive around the country . . . Lt. Curtiss, who sends his kindest regards to all the folks in Brooklyn; Lt. Kellogg, who is not yet married, but expects to be next month; Lt. Smead, 2d Artillery, just from West Point, and whose mother & sisters live here in Garrison on a pension they receive from Uncle Sam since the death of their natural protector, Capt. Smead, of the 2d [sic, 4th] Artillery. We are likely to remain here until Spring,—so Davidson says; but Quien sabe? [who knows] something may turn up in the mean time that will send us somewhere muy pronto [very soon]. General Hitchcock will not be back much before November, and then we may probably find out something about our destination. I have told Davidson that I intend to get on General recruiting service if I could; he said he couldn’t blame me, but he would be very sorry to lose me for two years. I will write to you soon and give all the news on this part of the world:
My own darling Ell;

I received yours of the 6th and 7th the day before yesterday, and would have answered it sooner, but that I had to go with Capt. Lovell yesterday morning for the purpose of showing him where to purchase some articles of furniture for his quarters, he being unacquainted with the different localities about town. He arrived here with his family on the 5th, but did not assume command until the 7th.; Mrs. Lovell, Miss Lovell, three children and a servant, are living in garrison: when I called on them, Mrs. L. inquired particularly after you, and was surprised to find you were not here, and wanted to know the reason? I told her that your health was in such a state, that it would not be prudent for you to travel at present, and therefore I insisted on your remaining at home until Spring at least, when, if the state of your health permitted, you would probably join me at this place . . .

I have received a letter from Davidson since his arrival in Washington, and he informs me that we are to remain here, in all probability, until next Spring; it is then contemplated to send a considerable force against the Sioux and Pawnees, consisting of Infantry, (our Regiment,) Light Artillery, and Dragoons in order to chastise them for the many depredations they have recently committed, and particularly for the murder of poor Lt. Grattan and his party of thirty men. It is expected that the Campaign will last all summer, and that there will be considerable promotion in the different corps engaged before it terminates: who knows but I may be a captain about this time next year! wouldn't that be fine? . . . I think, dear Ell., that your determination to join me next spring will have to be reconsidered, on account of the difficulties with the Indians, and the determination of our Government to prosecute the war against them with vigor: however, when I see you, we will talk over the matter . . . As the hour for closing the mail is drawing nigh, I must come to an end . . .

My own sweet Ell;—

I received your kind letter of the 23rd which has relieved my mind from a world of anxiety and apprehension, as I feared you were unwell, not having received your answer to mine of the 17th sooner. I was at drill when it came, and immediately halted the Company and brought it to a rest, to enable me to read it, as my anxiety was such that I had not patience to wait until the drill was over. After the perusal of your letter I felt quite relieved . . .
Lt. Wright was here about a week ago, and stopped a few days with us. He is recruiting for our regiment in Baltimore at present. He brought on a Detachment of Recruits.—He has applied for leave, and will get it as soon as some one can be found to relieve him in the recruiting service. . . . Lt. Washington of the 1st Inf., who is Recruiting at Harrisburg, came on here with Wright and left at the same time. He is a very nice fellow, and gave me a very pressing invitation to run down and spend a few days with him, which I promised to do. . . . Lt. O’Connell arrived here with a detachment of recruits the day before yesterday, and left for Cleveland, Ohio, where he is recruiting, yesterday morning. He would have remained two or three days with us, were it not that he promised Lt. Kellogg that he would attend his wedding . . . Lt. McLean is recruiting in Louisville, Ky., and Maj. Wessells is recruiting at Utica, N.Y. Companies “G” and “D” are still to be filled, when the regiment will be reorganized. It is rumored, and generally believed by the officers here, that the Companies of the 2d Foot, will be filled up to 84 rank and file: they are now only 52, including non-commissioned officers and field music[ians], (fifer & drummer.) That was the strength of our companies, you recollect, when we went to California, but they were soon reduced to a very low standard after getting to San Diego. There is a rumor in circulation here, that we are to be ordered out West before the cold weather
sets in, but we do not believe a word of it for two good reasons, viz: first, because it is too late in the season to think of going so far north this winter:— and, 2nd it would be impossible to fill up our Companies to the contemplated standard,— 84 rank & file,— before next spring, unless, indeed, they assigned general recruits to our regiment, which they are not at all likely to do; so that the probabilities are that we remain here this winter, and start early in the spring to enter on a vigorous campaign against the Sioux and Pawnees, who are becoming more and more impertinent every day since the massacre of Grattan and his party. . . .

Capt. Davidson applied for a leave of four months about a week ago to Genl. [Winfield] Scott, and was refused: he received the answer yesterday. He intends applying to the Secretary of War [Jefferson Davis] now for six months leave,— he thinks he'll get it! Lt. Smith of Lovell’s Company applied also for two months leave, with permission to have it extended, and was refused también [also]. I wonder what luck I'll have? Quien Sabe? The Court Martial that Genl. Hitchcock was on has been dissolved, but the Genl. is not expected here before the middle of next month. As soon as he arrives I intend to apply for thirty days leave, so as to enable me to spend the holidays with my dear wife and children. . . .

* * *

Carlisle Barracks, Pa.,
March 2, 1855.

My own Sweet Ell,

I received your favor of Feb. 28th which relieved me from much anxiety, as I knew Charlie was not very well when I left, and indeed yourself was not very strong: however, I am glad ye are all getting better, and I fervently hope ye will continue to improve. . . .

I have been very busy dear Ell. since I arrived here, in the performance of my company duties, all of which devolve upon me at present. Kellogg talks of resigning: he leaves here on seven days leave on Monday next [March 5], with permission to apply for an extension, in order to take his wife back to Cleveland: she is sick of military life already: I don’t expect him back after he leaves. . . . All our companies here now are armed with the rifle: we practice at the target every day the weather permits. Genl. Hitchcock got here yesterday: he told me he was sorry he could not keep me on recruiting service in New York. I don’t think I stand much chance of being appointed on General Recruiting Service, as Hendershott has been offered the appointment, and accepted. However, I can’t tell what may turn up. The four Regiments will probably pass: if they do, I may get a captaincy. Quien Sabe? . . . I hope you won’t forget sending me those daguurretype [sic] likenesses when you feel well enough to have them taken. Any time before I leave here will do. You must not write unless you feel well, dear Ell., and then you needn’t write long letters, you know, but just enough to let me know that yourself and the children are well.
My own darling Ell.,

I received your kind letter of the 6th which gave me great joy to learn that my dear wife and children were, comparatively, in the enjoyment of good health, which I trust in God will continue to improve. I suppose you have seen the appointment to the field officers in the new regiments: they are all made.—Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors, and the best of it is, Silas Casey of the 2d Inf. is full Lt. Col. of one of them [9th Infantry], and ranks old Heintzelman all to pieces, who is only Major by regular promotion: won't Old H. be mad, and particularly Mrs. H.; and won't Mrs. Casey rejoice: you know Mrs. H. turned Mrs. C's nurse out of the cabin of a steamboat they were once travelling in together, and Mrs. C. told Mrs. H. that she hoped she would live to see the time when her husband would yet rank her's. The prophecy has come true. You recollect Emory of the Topographical Engineers, in San Diego? He has been appointed Major in one of the cavalry regiments [2nd Cavalry] . . . Genl. Smith has been appointed to the new Brigadier Generalship. . . . Davidson will be here on the 15th or 16th; he didn't get the Majority he expected. Davis and Gardner of my regiment are promoted to Captaincies, which leaves only Hendershot & Moore above me. It is rumored that the President [Franklin Pierce] will take most of the Captains and first Lieutenants from the Army, which, if he does, will probably make me Captain before the 4th of July next. Congress has done nothing for us except passing the four new regiments. We have nothing more to expect, I'm afraid. We are all well here; the officers with whom you are acquainted here, send their kind regards. . . . My company duties keep me busy all the time, besides we have a great many courts martial here. Capt. Lovell's family will remain in Carlisle when we leave for the West, which will be about the middle of next month. . . .

My own dearest Ell.:

I owe you an apology for not answering your kind letter of the 13th sooner, but I have had so much writing of an official character to do . . . that I assure you, dear Ell., I had very little time to devote to matters of a private nature. Under these circumstances, dear wife, I hope you will excuse me for not having written to you sooner, particularly when I assure you, that I have been in misery ever since the receipt of your letter until I was able to answer it. So that, hereafter, when your letters are not answered regularly, you will have the satisfaction of knowing, dear Ell., that it is no fault of mine, but that you may be sure there is some good reason for my letters not reaching you in good season. Therefore, dearest, you must give yourself no trouble or uneasiness on that count.
There is very little army news stirring here: it is now decided, I believe, that we will leave for the West about the middle of April, and that General Harney of the [2nd] Dragoons will take command of the expedition: I saw him in Washington when I was there last. . . . Davidson has got an extension of his leave until the 1st of April. If I can manage it, I intend to pay you a flying visit before I go to the West. Steele has just returned from Washington: he says the appointments of Captains in the new Regiments will be out to-day, so that we will have them here tomorrow: he thinks I stand a good chance, but my hopes are not very sanguine, for I know there are thousands of applicants for those places. Wessells left here today for Utica, N.Y. where his family resides, on a seven days' leave. Kellogg is still absent. . . .
Carlisle Barracks, Pa.,
April 14, 1855.

My own dearest Ell.:

... We are kept very busy here at present, preparing our command for field service against the Sioux Indians: we drill three times a day, one Battalion and two Company drills, besides dress parade, and the other duties appertaining to Camp & Garrison service. ... It is supposed that we will be kept in the field all next winter, as that is the best season to do the Indians the greatest injury: we expect our troops will suffer very much during the winter campaign in that country, the cold is so severe there. If we should be kept in the field next winter, which is very likely, you must not expect to hear from me, as I will, in all probability, be in a position where it will be impossible for me to write to you, and the only news you will receive will be through the public papers. However, dear Ell., if there is a possibility of writing to you, you may expect a letter from me whenever an opportunity offers [itself]. General Hitchcock will not accompany us beyond St. Louis; he leaves us there on four months leave: Lt. Paige also leaves us there on 4 months sick leave: I expect there will be others besides him sick of the Expedition before it is over. ... Gardner has had his leave extended two months, so that there is little prospect of his going with us: I wish I had command of his company in his place. We will probably not leave here much before the first of May, as the communications with the north-west will hardly be open before that time; we will go to Pittsburgh by Railroad from here, and take steamboat from there to St. Louis, where we will receive further instructions from Genl. Harney whose Hd. Qrs. are there, and then proceed up the Missouri river to Fort Leavenworth, where we will take in our supplies of all kinds, and then proceed to Fort St. Pierre [sic], on the Upper Missouri, where our Head Quarters are to be established, and where six companies of the 2d Inf. and 4 companies of the 2d Dragoons are to be stationed permanently. ... 47

* * *

Carlisle Barracks, Pa.,
April 18, 1855.

My own dearest Ell.:

Your kind letter of the 15th was received yesterday, which gave me much satisfaction to know that my dear wife and children were in the enjoyment of good health, thank God. Tell Sarah and Fanny 48 that papa is very much pleased with them for being such good girls, and will love them very much if they continue to behave well, and do every-thing mamma tells them to do; and when I come home, I will bring them something very nice. I am delighted to hear that my dear little son is doing so well, as I had more fears for his health, (being the youngest and most delicate,) than for either of the others ... Capt. B[rent] returns in the last steamer from Cal[iforni]a and is expected in Carlisle today ... Maj. Canby 49 is here: he has been made a Major in one of the new regiments (10th Inf.) which will take our place when we leave here: he sends his kindest regards: Mrs. C. is in Washington but will be on here soon: the
Lieut. Colonel, Major, Adjutant, and regimental Quartermaster of that regiment are now here—all married men. There is a prospect of our being kept here some time on account of cholera having broken out among the troops at Jefferson Barracks, [Missouri,] where we must necessarily stop on our way to the West, as the Hd. Qr. of the Sioux Expedition are there at present. All the troops that were stationed there have been sent on to Fort Leavenworth. The small-pox is very bad in Carlisle at present; everybody is getting vaccinated.

Notes

1. For an account of the problems the 2nd Infantry endured during the Sioux Expedition of 1855, consult Augustus Meyers, Ten Years in the Ranks U.S. Army (New York: Stirling, 1914), 49-95; see also Richard J. Coyer, “We'll Never Forgive Old Harney,” True West (July 1982), 22-25. Many of the letters Sweeney wrote to his wife during this expedition can be found in Richard J. Coyer, ed., “This Wild Region of the Far West; Lieutenant Sweeney’s Letters from Fort Pierre, 1855-1856,” Nebraska History LX (1982), 232-254.


5. Heitmam, Historical Register, I, 939.


8. Ellen Swain Sweeney (née Clark) came from a distinguished background, being a distant relative of Peter Folger, Benjamin Franklin’s grandfather. She married Thomas Sweeney on May 15, 1848 and traveled with him to California, but returned to New York in 1852 and never again joined her husband on the frontier. A chart of Ellen Sweeney’s family tree is in the Thomas W. Sweeney Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library.

9. Captain Delozier Davidson and Sweeney were close friends since their stay in Southern California. His military career began in 1838 with an appointment to the 2nd Infantry. In the Mexican War he won a brevet captnacy for gallant and meritorious conduct. He transferred to the 4th Infantry with the rank of major on November 1, 1861. In the Civil War Davidson was taken prisoner at the battle of Gaines’ Mill; after being exchanged he faced a court martial for leaving his regiment without authorization. The court found Davidson guilty and cashiered him from the service on March 9, 1863. A year later many prominent men in Pennsylvania politics, including Governor Andrew Curtin and members of the state legislature, came to his defense and through their influence President Lincoln ordered Davidson to be reinstated. Unfortunately Davidson’s position in the regiment had been filled and there were no other vacancies. In 1865 he resigned from the Army, and the War Department made his resignation retroactive to the date he was cashiered. Davidson died on July 17, 1888. Heitmam, Historical Register, I, 355; Richard J. Coyer, “The Strange Case of Maj. Delozier Davidson, 4th U.S. Infantry,” The Regular: The Official Newsletter of Sykes’ Regulars (August 1999).
10. Thomas Lee Brent (West Point 1830) joined the 4th Artillery in 1836 and became a captain assistant quartermaster in 1847. In the Mexican War he won a brevet captaincy. He died January 11, 1858. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 42.

11. Charles Spencer Merchant graduated second in his class at West Point in 1814 and served with the 1st Artillery and Corps of Artillery after graduation. In 1834 he was a captain in the 2d Artillery and a major (1849) and lieutenant colonel (1857) in the 3rd Artillery. He was colonel of the 4th Artillery in 1861 and retired two years later. Merchant received a brevet brigadier generalcy on March 13, 1865 for long and faithful service. He died on December 6, 1879. Ibid., I, 703; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., from its Establishment, March 16, 1802 to the Army Re-Organization of 1866-67*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), No. 92. (Citations to Cullum will be by the “Number” of the individual on the roster of graduates, rather than by volume and page, which differ in the various editions.)

12. The defendant in this case was Captain Napoleon J. T. Dana, assistant quartermaster at Fort Ridgely, Minnesota Territory. The Army claimed that during the construction of the fort Dana bought lumber from a sawmill in which he was part owner. The court found Dana not guilty on October 26, 1854. General Orders, No. 6, October 26, 1854, Headquarters of the Army.

13. Ethan Allen Hitchcock served with the Artillery Corps after his graduation from West Point in 1817 and transferred to the 8th Infantry a year later. He became colonel of the 2nd Infantry in 1851 and resigned in 1855. He reenlisted during the Civil War with the rank of major general. Hitchcock was honorably mustered out of the service in 1867 and died on August 5, 1870. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 177; Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 532; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 230-231.

14. Charles George Merchant served with the 8th Infantry ever since his graduation from West Point in 1833. During the Mexican War he received a brevet first lieutenancy and captaincy. He died on September 4, 1855. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 1204; Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 703.

15. Joseph Hunter MacArthur (West Point 1849) served with the 2nd Infantry, 5th Infantry (1850), and 2nd Cavalry (1855-1860) where he attained the rank of captain. At the start of the Civil War he was lieutenant colonel of the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He returned to the regular Army in 1863 as a major in the 3rd Cavalry, retiring two months later. MacArthur died on January 23, 1902. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 1443; Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 652.

16. Christopher S. Lovell received a commission in the 2nd Infantry in 1838 and won a brevet captaincy in the Mexican War. Lovell transferred as a major to the 3rd Infantry in 1861 and resigned a month later on November 23. He died on August 16, 1868. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 643-644.

17. James Curtiss joined the 2nd Infantry after his graduation from West Point in 1851 and escorted recruits to Fort Yuma, where he met Sweeney. When the Sioux Expedition was over Curtiss resigned from the Army and worked as a civil engineer in Illinois. At the start of the Civil War he reenlisted, this time with the 15th Infantry, and won a brevet majority for service at Shiloh and Atlanta. He died in Chicago on January 19, 1878. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 1521; Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 346.

18. About this time Ellen Sweeney suffered from nervous fits, believed to be epilepsy. She died from this disease on August 30, 1860, Genealogy charts, Sweeney Papers.

19. Thomas C. Madison became an assistant surgeon in 1840 and a major surgeon in 1856. He resigned in 1861 to join the Confederate Army, where he also served as a surgeon. Madison died on November 7, 1866. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 683.

20. Another acquaintance from Fort Yuma, George H. Paige graduated from West Point in 1848 and the next year joined the 2nd Infantry. He was regimental quartermaster from 1853 to 1856 and later captain assistant quartermaster. Paige died on April 18, 1859 at Camp Floyd, Utah. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 1394; Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 765.

21. Lyman Mack Kellogg joined the 2nd Infantry after he graduated from West Point in 1852, first serving at Fort Yuma with Sweeney. He resigned in 1855 but was reappointed to the 3rd Artillery a year later and
ended up back at Fort Yuma and other posts in California. In 1860 he was cashiered for drunkenness on duty, but reinstated the next year. In the Civil War he fought at Shiloh, Corinth, and the Atlanta Campaign, and won a brevet majority. After the war he served on the frontier and was discharged at his own request on December 31, 1870. Kellogg died on January 31, 1877. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1572; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 589.

22. An 1854 graduate of West Point, John Radcliff Smead served with the 2d Artillery until the start of the Civil War when he was promoted to captain in the 5th Artillery; he also briefly commanded a company of volunteers in Washington, DC. He died August 30, 1862 at the Second Battle of Bull Run/Manassas. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1645; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 893.

23. Raphael Cummings Smead was seventh in his class at West Point in 1825 and served with the 4th Artillery (not the 2nd, as Sweeney wrote) until his death on August 20, 1848. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 398; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 893.

24. After serving over four years in California Sweeney liked to sprinkle Spanish terms throughout his writings. According to early travelers the expression "quien sabe?" was a popular catchphrase used throughout Spanish California.

25. In August 1854, Lieutenant John Lawrence Gratten, a recent graduate of West Point, and a detachment of 30 men questioned a band of Sioux about a cow missing from a wagon train. Despite the insulting questions the Indians kept calm until Gratten’s party fired an artillery piece at them. Then the Sioux attacked and killed the entire detachment. Commenting on the expense of sending troops to the Upper Missouri, Senator Thomas H. Benton said it was a “heavy penalty for a nation to pay for a lame runaway . . . cow, and for the folly and juvenile ambition of a West Point fledgling.” Lloyd E. McCann, “The Gratten Massacre,” Nebraska History XXXVII (1956), 1-25; Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1614; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 471.

26. Thomas Jefferson Wright received a commission in the 2nd Dragoons upon his graduation from West Point in 1854. He served as regimental adjutant from 1855 to 1857. He died at Fort Randall, Nebraska Territory, on April 30, 1857. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1642; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 1063.

27. Thornton Augustin Washington graduated from West Point in 1849, transferred to the 1st Infantry in 1850, and served as its regimental adjutant from 1857 to 1860. He resigned in 1861 and served in the Confederate Army as a major and assistant adjutant general. Washington died on July, 10, 1894. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1439; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 1007.

28. John Dawes O’Connell went straight to Fort Yuma from West Point in 1852. During the Civil War he rose to the rank of brevet colonel in the 14th Infantry. After the war he was a major in the 17th Infantry in Texas, where he died on September 16, 1867. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1562; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 755.

29. Nathaniel Henry McLean joined the 2nd Infantry from West Point in 1849. He held the post of regimental adjutant from 1855 to 1857, and then regimental assistant adjutant general. He retired from the service in 1875 with the rank of lieutenant colonel and assistant adjutant general. McLean died on June 28, 1884. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1395; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 675.

30. Henry Walton Wessells received a commission in the 2nd Infantry after graduating from West Point in 1833. In the Mexican War he won a brevet majority. During the Sioux Expedition Wessells commanded Fort Pierre for a short time. In the Civil War he was colonel of the 8th Kansas Infantry and later a brigadier general of volunteers. He won a brevet brigadier generalcy for meritorious service during the war. Wessells retired from the army in 1871 and died on January 12, 1889. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 735; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 1019; Warner, Generals in Blue, 551-52; Cuyer, “We’ll Never Forgive Old Haney,” 24.

31. In 1849 the 2nd Infantry’s second highest desertion rate in California was in San Diego (99 desertions). See “Special Report of Casualties in ‘D’ Company. 2nd Inf., San Diego, Cal., Jan. 16, 1850 (from Nov. 6, 1848 to Jan. 16, 1850),” in: Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments, June 1821 - December
32. The nephew of Virginia Governor William Smith, Caleb Smith joined the Army in 1848 as a second lieutenant in the 2nd Artillery; he transferred to the 2nd Infantry the next year. He resigned at the start of the Civil War to be a major in the 49th Virginia Infantry (commanded by his uncle) and was wounded at the First Battle of Bull Run/Mannassas. Dropped from the regiment during reorganization, he was later a captain in charge of paroled and exchanged prisoners. After the war Smith worked as a lawyer in Virginia. He died on December 22, 1874. Robert K. Krick, *Lee's Colonels: A Biographical Register of the Field Officers of the Army of Northern Virginia*, 3rd ed., rev. (Dayton, OH: Morningside House, Inc., 1991), 350; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 894.

33. Sweeny's third child, Charles Baxter Sweeny (named after the lieutenant colonel of the 1st New York Volunteers) was born in New York on November 17, 1854. Genealogy charts, Sweeny Papers.

34. Kellogg resigned from the Army on August 16, 1855, but was reappointed on June 27, 1856 (see note 21 above).

35. Henry Bascom Hendershot graduated from West Point in 1847 and served in the Mexican War and in California (along with Sweeny). In 1859 he transferred to the 2nd Artillery. Hendershot fought in the Civil War, retiring in 1864 because of illness; the next year he received a brevet lieutenant colonelcy and colonelcy. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 1355; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 522.

36. On March 3, 1855, Congress approved four new regiments: the 9th and 10th Infantries and the 1st and 2nd Cavalries. The two infantry regiments had existed earlier, but were disbanded on August 26, 1848 with the end of the Mexican War. In 1861 the two cavalry regiments were redesignated the 4th and 5th, respectively. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 70-71, 99-101.

37. Silas Casey (West Point 1826) spent nineteen years with the 2nd Infantry before his promotion mentioned here. Six years later he was colonel of the 4th Infantry. In the Civil War he rose to the rank of major general. Union and Confederate commanders used his book *Infantry Tactics* (1861) during the course of the war. He retired in 1868 and died on January 22, 1882. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 467; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 289; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 74-75.

38. A native of Manheim, Pennsylvania, Samuel Peter Heintzelman graduated in the same class with Silas Casey. He served on garrison, recruiting, and quartermaster duties before the Mexican War, where he won a brevet majority. After serving in California (where he founded Fort Yuma) he was made a major in the 1st Infantry. In the Civil War he was wounded at the First Battle of Bull Run/Mannassas and later attained the rank of major general. Heintzelman retired in 1869 and died on May 1, 1880. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 445; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 521; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 227-228. Sweeny is clearly gloating over Heintzelman’s misfortune. The two men despised each other and their letters and journals are full of complaints and innuendoes against each other. Sweeny often referred to Heintzelman as “Old H.”

39. William Helmsley Emory graduated from West Point in 1831 and resigned from the Army five years later. He was reappointed in 1838 to the Topographical Engineers and served with them until his promotion mentioned by Sweeny. During the Mexican War he wrote *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance [sic] from Fort Leavenworth . . . to San Diego* (1848). He gained the rank of major general of volunteers during the Civil War and retired as a brigadier general in 1876. Emory died on December 1, 1887. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, No. 642; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 405-06; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 142-143.

40. Persifor Frazer Smith's military career began as colonel of Louisiana volunteers in 1836. In the Mexican War he again commanded Louisiana volunteers and was colonel of the Mounted Rifles. In that war he received brevet brigadier and major generalcies. Smith died on May 17, 1858. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1, 902.

41. Nelson Henry Davis graduated from West Point in 1846, joined the 2nd Infantry the following year, and remained with the regiment until the start of the Civil War. In the war he saw action at Gettysburg
and fought Apaches in Arizona. He rose to the rank of brigadier general inspector general in 1885. Davis died on May 15, 1890. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1320; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 359.

42. William Montgomery Gardner was a classmate of Nelson Davis’s at West Point and joined the 2nd Infantry about the same time. He resigned from the service in 1861 and died on June 16, 1901. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1326; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 446.

43. Tredwell Moore joined the 2nd Infantry after graduation from West Point in 1847. In the Civil War he served in Ohio and Nevada and won four brevets. By 1872 he was a lieutenant colonel deputy quartermaster general. Moore died on May 29, 1876. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1356; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 723.

44. William Selby Harney received a commission in the Army in 1818. He fought against the Creeks and Seminoles and by 1836 was lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Dragoons. He was a full colonel when the Mexican War began and received a brevet brigadier generalcy. Early in the Civil War he commanded all troops in Missouri. Harney retired in 1863 as a major general and died on May 1889. Heitman, Historical Register, I, 518; Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. “Harney, William Selby.”

45. Frederick Steele graduated from West Point in 1843 and won a brevet captaincy in the Mexican War. He commanded the 8th Iowa Infantry at the start of the Civil War and fought in the battle of Wilson’s Creek (where Sweeny was wounded). Steele took part in the Vicksburg Campaign and rose to the rank of major general of volunteers. After the war he was colonel of the 20th Infantry and commanded the Department of the Columbia. He died in a riding accident on January 12, 1868. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1196; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 918; Warner, Generals in Blue, 474-475.

46. Sweeny did not receive a promotion at this time. He would have to wait until January 19, 1861, to be promoted to captain. Heitman, Historical Register, I, 939.

47. Established in 1831, this fur trading post was named for Pierre Chouteau, Jr., not “St. Pierre” as Sweeny thought. Purchased by the U.S. Government on April 14, 1855, the troops found Fort Pierre in a dilapidated condition; they spent a great deal of effort cleaning up the post in addition to building new quarters. Besides the 2nd Infantry and 2nd Dragoons, companies from the 4th Artillery and 6th and 10th Infantry also occupied the fort. In 1856 the Army abandoned the post, dismantled some of the buildings, and used them as material for Fort Randall, downriver. Frederick T. Wilson, “Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors,” South Dakota Historical Collections I (1902), 263-297; Robert W. Frazer, Forts of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 136; Coeyr, “We’ll Never Forgive Old Harney,” 24.

48. Sarah Barnard Sweeny was born in San Diego on July 24, 1849 and died in New York on May 25, 1871; her sister Frances Ellen Sweeny was born in Benecia, California, on September 29, 1851 and died in New York on April 27, 1829. Genealogy chart, Sweeny Papers; New York Times, 30 April 1929, p. 29 (Frances Sweeny’s obituary).

49. Edward Richard Sprigg Canby received a commission in the 2nd Infantry upon his graduation from West Point 1839. While with the 2nd Infantry he served as regimental adjutant and assistant adjutant general. He won brevet majority and lieutenant colonelcy in the Mexican War. In the Civil War Canby saw action in New Mexico and the South, and rose to the rank of major general of volunteers. After the war he was made a brigadier general in the regular Army. Canby was killed by the Modoc Indians in Northern California on April 11, 1873. Cullum, Biographical Register, No. 1015; Heitman, Historical Register, I, 279.

50. Sweeny is referring to Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Smith, Major Edward R. S. Canby, Lieutenant John McNab, and Lieutenant Henry E. Maynadier, respectively.

51. The cholera epidemic later spread to Fort Leavenworth. On the voyage up the Missouri River a steamboat accident forced one company of the 2nd Infantry to stay at the fort until transportation could be found for them. Fourteen members of the company died of cholera before the company continued on its way to Fort Pierre. Coeyr, “This Wild Region,” 237; Meyers, Ten Years in the Ranks, 59-61.
John C. Lesher: A Carlisle Photographer of the 1860s

Martha L. Berg

During the mid-nineteenth century photography exploded into popularity in Europe and the United States. Beginning with the introduction of the daguerreotype in 1839, the technique of using a chemical process to fix an image onto a sensitized metal plate captivated the imagination of many: those who wished to preserve the memory of a loved one, those who wished to record historical events, those who wished to create artistic impressions, and those who attempted to make a living satisfying the wishes of all the others. In the 1840s technical advances such as the calotype process made it possible to print photographs on paper, and by the 1850s the development of the collodion emulsion process began to reduce long exposure times. The collodion process represented a major change in the direction of photography, from the direct positive of the daguerreotype to negative/positive printing. The collodion wet plate glass negative process using albumen emulsion prints was introduced in the United States in approximately 1855, and it was this process that contributed greatly to the popularization of photography because it made mass production of photographs possible.

With the use of a special camera, the collodion wet plate negative was equally capable of producing, on a single negative, eight identical exposures or eight individually exposed images. The developed wet plate negative was contact-printed onto thin albumen-sensitized paper, then exposed to the sun until the desired darkness was attained. The individual prints were then cut apart and mounted. The negatives were often kept on file by the photographer, so that additional copies could be made at any time.
The format in which albumen prints from collodion wet plate negatives became most popular, was the carte de visite, which consisted of an albumen print measuring 2 1/2 " by 3 1/2" mounted on a staff card measuring 2 1/2" by 4 1/4". The process was patented in 1854 and popularized first in France by André Adolphe Eugène Disderi. The carte de visite's years of greatest popularity were 1859-66, and the last cartes de visite were produced in 1905. This format was most popular for portraiture, and many photographers throughout the United States were employed in the production of cartes de visite, particularly during the 1860s (Fig. 1).

In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the general excitement about the new art of photography is evidenced by the number of different photographers active in the town beginning in the 1850s. These included Charles L. Lochman, Albert A. Line, E. K. Gaugler, H. H. Grove, Charles A. Saylor, Mrs. R. A. Reynolds (later known as Mrs. Smith), John N. Choate, and John C. Lesher. Carlisle, for a century as the seat of Cumberland County, was a prominent market town and community center for central Pennsylvania. While not all the photographers named above were active in Carlisle at the same time, the town's population, which numbered 5,600 in 1860, was large enough — what with the officers at Carlisle Barracks, Dickinson College students and Indians — to support the businesses of several competing photographers. Charles L. Lochman, one of the most prominent, practiced photography from 1859-1874 in several different locations in Carlisle and Newville. His last Carlisle gallery, located in the Zug Building on the southeast corner of Market Square, was previously occupied by another photographer, John C. Lesher (Fig. 2).

Using historical records, it is possible to piece together a sketch of some of the significant events in Lesher's life (Table 1). John C. Lesher was born in Hopewell Township, Cumberland County, on November 3, 1829; the Leshers were an "old family" in the upper end of the county. Lesher's future wife, Mary Ann Hollar, was born on July 27, 1834. Nothing is known of Lesher's education or technical training. According to his obituary, he worked as a photographer in Middletown, Dauphin County, and in Shippensburg and Carlisle, Cumberland County. In 1858 Lesher bought property in Newburg; it is possible that the Leshers lived in Shippensburg.
from the late 1850’s to approximately 1864, when they moved to Carlisle. Both John C. Lesher and his wife Mary Ann may have operated as photographers in Shippensburg during those years.\(^8\)

In April 1864, Lesher inaugurated his new Carlisle gallery with the following somewhat grandiose newspaper advertisement:

\textbf{The “Carlisle Palace of Art”}

\textit{By J. C. Lesher}

Is now open for the accommodation of the public for the purpose of making PHOTOGRAPHS and AMBROTYPES, which will be done in a very superior manner by his peculiarly arranged sky lights, etc. By which means and the chemical influence he will take pictures in cloudy weather equal to clear. His charges are moderate and he solicits the public patronage. Duplicates of Daguerreotypes, Ambrotypes and photographs of deceased persons, made of increased or decreased proportions. Entrance on Hanover St. In ZUG’s Building, opposite the Market House.

According to the usual advertising practice of the time, this ad ran weekly for six months.\(^9\) Lesher remained at this location until the spring of 1870. All of the surviving Lesher photographs in the collection of the Cumberland County Historical Society date from this period, with Lesher’s imprint on the reverse sides of the photographs giving this address on the southeast corner of Market Square.

A news item in the \textit{Carlisle Herald} provides an additional perspective on Lesher’s professional activity during this period coinciding with the last years of the Civil War.

\textbf{Fig. 3} Zug’s Building, after the third-floor photographic gallery was purchased by C. L. Lochman in 1870.
Photographic view of Chambersburg.—Our enterprising friend Mr. J. C. Lesher has made a very fine Photographic sketch of the ruins of Chambersburg. The picture in a very fine one and gives a correct idea of the present appearance of that once flourishing place. Copies can be had at Mr. Lesher’s gallery, on Main St. We advise all who wish a correct picture of what Chambersburg is now, to give Mr. Lesher a call.  

C. L. Lochman also photographed the ruins of Chambersburg, in all likelihood the proximity of Chambersburg and the dramatic nature of its devastation by Confederate forces drew other local photographers as well, increasing the competition among them and indicating the beginning of the age of local photo-journalism.

For unknown reasons, J. C. Lesher put his business up for sale in the spring of 1870, advertising it in the local newspaper:

A photographic Gallery, well established and doing a good business, can be bought cheap for cash, if applied for soon. Call on or address

J. C. Lesher
Carlisle, Pa.

By the second week in May, C. L. Lochman had snapped up this choice location on Market Square at the heart of Carlisle (Fig. 1), highlighting his change of location with this advertisement:

Lochman makes the cleanest pictures in his new third story gallery, southeast corner of Market Square—Zugg’s [sic] Building.

During the same year Lesher sold his land in Newburg, and he and his wife may have moved back to Shippensburg, returning to Carlisle around 1877. For roughly the next twenty years Lesher practiced photography off and on (“in a desultory way,” as one of his obituaries put it). In 1886 the Leshers purchased two frame houses, at 345 and 347 West North Street in Mary A. Lesher’s name. Tax rate records during this period sometimes list J. C. Lesher as a photographer, sometimes not. In the late 1880s the city directory lists him as a photographer at 120 North Pitt Street. No photographs imprinted with any address other than the Market Square corner are known to survive.

In the 1890s J. C. Lesher was elected to a five-year term as Justice of the Peace from “orphan school,” c. 1868.
from the Fourth Ward of Carlisle; tax rate records after 1897 list him as an “old Gent.” Lesher died peacefully on November 10, 1902, after a year-long illness. He was survived by his wife, who died on January 1, 1921. They had no children. The disposition of his photographic negatives after his death is not known.

One of the chief reasons for gathering biographical information about historic photographers is to discover a framework for dating their photographs. Cartes de visite and other photographs were routinely imprinted on the reverse side with the name of the photographer and the address of his or her studio. Unfortunately, the only known photographs by John C. Lesher all bear imprints giving the address of his gallery in the Zug Building on the southeast corner of Market Square, and thus all date from the relatively short period 1864-1870. Nevertheless, examination of the 36 Lesher photographs in the collection of the Cumberland County Historical Society yields interesting tidbits of information. All of the photographs are cartes de visite; thirty-five are portraits and one is a view of a building.

Lesher used nine different imprints during this period, some varying only very slightly in type size, font, spacing or decoration. Several factors make it possible to
Some of the stamps are canceled with one or three slashes, but at least nine of the stamps are canceled with initials JCL and a date, often quite difficult to decipher but generally containing an abbreviation of the name of a month, followed by a slash and either two or four digits indicating the year [for example, one photo bears the cancel-
lation marks JCL Mar/1866]. The presence of the tax stamps on so many of the photographs strengthens the impression that the period of Lesher’s greatest activity was the mid-1860s.

Because of the short time period and the single address involved with Lesher’s professional photographic practice, the information gained from a careful observation of the back of the surviving cartes de visite is not spectacular, but it can be enough to support or refute the effort of dating one of his photographs. For example, William Burkhart, in his paper “Shippensburg Photographers,” discusses a photograph of Lesher’s. He gives the photograph a tentative date of about 1850, based on his knowledge of the woman in the photograph and the details of her life. However, he quotes in its entirety the back matter, which matches exactly the text of the most ornate, and probably the latest, of the Lesher imprints in the CCHS collection (Fig. 12). In addition, his quotation includes the negative number 7176; only one Lesher photograph in the CCHS collection has a higher negative number than this. Based on these facts, the photograph in question is likely a copy of a c. 1850 daguerreotype or ambrotype that Lesher made in the late 1860s.

The photographs by John C. Lesher that survive are clustered around the time of his professional practice in a prominent location in the center of Carlisle. Because of documentary evidence that can be extracted from public records, it is known that Lesher and his wife lived in Cumberland County most of their lives, and it is probable that one or both of them practiced photography in other locations in the county before and after the addresses that can be definitively corroborated. It is tempting to think that somewhere in Carlisle there may still exist a cache of Lesher’s photographs, perhaps with imprints listing different street addresses. But even without such a discovery, Lesher’s place in the history of photography in Cumberland County can be well substantiated.

### Table 1. John C. Lesher Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3, 1829</td>
<td>Born in Hopewell Township, Cumberland County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 27, 1834</td>
<td>Birth of Mary Ann Hollar, who would be Lesher’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>J. C. Lesher purchased land in Newburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worked as a photographer in Middletown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-1870</td>
<td>Lesher had a photography gallery in Carlisle at SE corner of Market Square, in Zug’s Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1870</td>
<td>Lesher gallery for sale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1870</td>
<td>Charles L. Lochman took over Lesher’s Carlisle location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>J. C. Lesher sold his land in Newburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1877</td>
<td>Leshers moved from Shippensburg to Carlisle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>2 houses in Carlisle purchased in name of Mary A. Lesher, at 345 &amp; 347 West North St.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1886
Lesher in business as a photographer at 120 Pitt St., Carlisle

1890s
Elected Justice of the Peace for 4th War, Carlisle, for a five-year term

Nov. 10, 1902
Died in Carlisle; buried in Spring Hill Cemetery, Shippensburg

Jan. 1, 1921
Death of Mary A. Lesher in Shippensburg; burial in Spring Hill Cemetery, Shippensburg

Notes

Author's Note: I am grateful to the Cumberland County Historical Society for permission to reproduce photographic material, and to the following staff members of the Cumberland County Historical Society: Richard Tritt, Photo Curator, for help in organizing the search for information on J. C. Lesher; Christa Bassett, Librarian, and Joan Rhodes, Library Assistant, for help in locating obscure resources.


3. Ibid., 107.

4. Information provided by Richard Tritt, Photo Curator, Cumberland County Historical Society.


7. Deed Records, Cumberland County Courthouse.


13. Carlisle Herald, May 12, 1870.

14. Deed records, Cumberland County Courthouse.


17. Will Records, Cumberland County Courthouse; Cumberland County Tax Rate Records, 1862-1906; Boyd's General Directory of Chambersburg, Carlisle, etc. (Reading, PA: W. Henry Boyd, 1887).

18. Shippensburg News, Nov. 14, 1902; Cumberland County Tax Rate Records, 1895-1903; Will Records, Cumberland County Courthouse.


Book Review


Perhaps the appeal of roadside diners is that they lack pretension. They make no claim to elegance or exoticia; they are reliable and durable, nothing more. Moreover, unlike the national purveyors of fast food, diners offer individualism and local color. One may find McDonald’s the world over, but The Sycamore in Bethel, Connecticut, is one of a kind.

When Brian Butko was researching his book about the Lincoln Highway, he met Kevin Patrick, a young Ph.D. candidate researching the same topic. With the forbearance of their wives and families, they have teamed up to write a superb book on the diners of Pennsylvania. Like Butko’s book on the Lincoln Highway (published by Stackpole in 1996), it is erudite and readable, generously illustrated and mercifully free of weepy nostalgia.

To keep their subject under control, Butko and Patrick define a diner as “a factory-built restaurant transported to its site of operation.” They confess omissions: “As when choosing wedding guests, we had to cut somewhere.” Still, the book is reasonably—not remarkably—thorough, discussing the rise, decline, and renaissance of diners throughout Pennsylvania. The authors explain how styles and locations of diners changed over this century; diners are by and large a phenomenon of the twentieth century, the age of the automobile.

Mindful of their reader’s curiosity, Butko and Patrick include maps indicating the diners, and they conclude each chapter with lists a region’s diners, complete with address, hours of operation, and age and make of the diner. There are also asides on such related subjects as “Pennsylvania Dutch Cooking” and “The American Diner Museum.” The historical perspective and scholarly method of the authors keep this book from becoming an advertising brochure; it is a traveler’s companion, even for the armchair traveler. As years wear on, it will prove invaluable to historians.

Thirty-four pages of this book address the diners of central Pennsylvania (“a diner dead zone”), including Cumberland County. One can read about the defunct Pottie’s Diner between Shippensburg and Carlisle or the thriving West Shore Diner in Lemoyne, as well as other local landmarks, such as Wolfe’s Diner north of Dillsburg. This book takes diners seriously and brings dignity to an often maligned aspect of American culture. As with brick-end barns, the old stainless steel diners are an easily overlooked but quietly important part of our heritage.

Carlisle, Pa.

Daniel J. Heisey
Recent Acquisitions


*Forbes Expedition, Carlisle to Cowan's Gap*, (Historical Events, Series 1, Number 2), Hayes R. Eschenmann, 1999. 68pp; paper. $10.00. Available from Shippensburg Historical Society, 52 West King Street, Shippensburg, PA. 17257. Phone (717) 532-4508. Donated by Hayes R. Eschenmann.


Historical Miscellany

What West Fairview has Done for the War

June 6th, 1863

The town of West Fairview, Cumberland county, containing about ninety voters, has sent nearly half that number to the relief of our suffering country. Thirteen are enlisted for three years or the war, being scattered from Virginia to Tennessee. Seven more joined the 130th Regiment P.V. [Pennsylvania Volunteers], and were at Antietam with M'Clellan, with Burnside at Fredericksburg, and in all the late engagements under "Fighting Joe." The 127th contained fifteen, who were in every engagement in which that regiment participated. Three are in the United States Navy and five with the militia under General Peck, making a total of forty-three. Of this number is Captain May, commanding company K, 7th Pennsylvania cavalry; John T. Morgan was First Lieutenant in company F, 127th Regiment P.V., and Thomas Tyndal Second Lieutenant in company F, 130th Regiment P.V. Benjamin Hoover, company F, 127th P.V., was killed at Fredericksburg, Benj. Barshinger and Wm. Hawkes died in the service, and Moses Bechtel deserted from the 130th Regiment.—When the militia were called out a company was organized sixty-five of whom were from the town and the remainder from the vicinity. It was one of the first to report at headquarters in Harrisburg, and was attached to the 1st Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia as company H. The regiment was the first to leave Harrisburg, and it advanced four miles beyond Hagerstown, Md., and then marched back to Greencastle in about half a day, the distance of fifteen miles. A great many more were enlisted from the vicinity, but those mentioned above were all out of the town, making a total of one hundred and eight, which, in proportion to the inhabitants, will, I think, compare favorably with any town in our loyal Keystone State.

UNION

Carlisle Herald, June 19, 1863.

* * *

127
CHRISTMAS DINNER

Blue Points on Half Shell
Julienne Soup Consomme
Queen Olives, Tobasco Sauce, Catsup
Gherkins, Pepper Hash
Boiled Filet of Halibut, Sauce Hollandaise
Parisian Potatoes,
Baked Smithfield Ham, Champagne Sauce,
Supreme of Sweetbreads,
Prime Ribs of Roast Beef,
Roast Turkey, stuffed, Giblet Sauce,
Deviled Crabs,
Apple Fritters, Glace au rhum,
Boiled Bermuda Onions, Green Pease,
Sugar Corn, Stewed Tomatoes,
Chicken Salad, Mayonnaise,
Home made Mince Pie,
Plum Pudding, Hard and Brandy Sauce,
Vanilla Ice Cream, Pound Cake,
Lemon Jelly,
Assorted Nuts, Layered Raisins,
Figs, Dates,
Oranges, Malaga Grapes, Bananas,
Crackers, Cheese,
Coffee.

The above menu will be served at the Hotel Wellington, on Monday, Dec. 25, 1899. Those wishing to dine will please leave their order at the office on or before Dec. 23rd. Price 75 per plate. Special rates to large families.

(Carlisle) Evening Sentinel, December 23, 1899.
Publications In Print

THE COUNTY HERITAGE SERIES

David G. Colwell $39.95

In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century
Cumberland County (1997).
Clarke Garrett $37.50

Members and Friends of the Cumberland County Historical Society. $35.00

Tandy and Charles M. Hersh $34.95

Merri Lou Schaumann $34.95

Linda F. Witmer $29.95

“...Drive the Road and Bridge the Ford...”. Highway Bridges of Nineteenth
Century Cumberland County (1992).
Paul E. Gill $24.95

Other Books

Atlas of Cumberland County (1858, reprint 1987).
H.F. Bridgens $30.00

Add Pennsylvania State Sales Tax of 6% and $4 for postage and handling.

Booklets and Pamphlets

Archibald Loudon: Pioneer Historian. William A. Hunter (1962) $2.00

Confederate Invasion of the West Shore, 1863.

Three Cumberland County Woodcarvers. Milton E. Flower (1986) $5.00

Made in Cumberland County: The First One Hundred Years.
Cumberland County Historical Society (1991) $5.00

Cumberland County History. Single issues, as available $5.00

Pennsylvania State Sales Tax of 6% and $2 for postage and handling.

A complete list of Society publications in print is available on request.
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 the Chicago Manual of Style.

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

Membership and Subscription

The basic annual membership fee of the Cumberland County Historical Society is $30. All members receive Cumberland County History as part of their membership. Individual issues may be purchased for $5 each.

Correspondence concerning membership and subscriptions should be addressed to the Executive Director at the Society.

Cumberland County Historical Society
21 North Pitt Street
P.O. Box 626
Carlisle, PA 17013

This publication has been generously underwritten by Edward K. and Sarah Masland.

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.