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BERLAND County History

Summer/Winter
2003

Volume Twenty
Number One-Two

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This issue of *Cumberland County History* has been underwritten by Ann K. Hoffer. It is dedicated in memory of her mother, Mary S. Kramer.

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Contributions Solicited

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

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced. Citations should also be double-spaced; they should be placed at the end of the text. Electronic submissions should be in Word format with any suggested graphics digitized.

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.

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

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Contributors

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Rob Rowland is a retired consulting engineer and has been a lifelong history buff. He has had several items in the Journal and wrote a history column for Lower Allen Township for several years. His primary interest is the 18th century West Shore area. As co-chairman of the 250th County Anniversary Wagon Train Program, he played the role of Tobias Hendricks at the welcome campfire and other appearances.

Sandy Mader has been a volunteer at CCHS since January, 2002. During that time, she has done the research and been the guide for three walking tours; she wrote the preface to the recently republished History of Pine Grove Furnace booklet; and she has done the research for and given several presentations for the Society, including "Ironmasters of Cumberland County: The Ege Family Dynasty." Sandy received a Master's Degree from the University of West Florida in Pensacola, Florida. Research for her first walking tour led to the article presented in this issue of the journal.

Mary Anne Morefield has served on the Board of Trustees of the Society and of Messiah College.

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Oaths of Allegiances in 18th Century Cumberland County

Mary Anne Morefield

In a recent reorganization of the Cumberland County Historical library, two original Oaths of Allegiance from Cumberland County were rediscovered: the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy of April 13th 1761, and the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance and Fidelity of June 13th 1777.

The 1761 Oath of Allegiance promises to "bear True Allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third." The signers of the second oath swore in June of 1777 to "renounce and refuse all Allegiance to George the Third King of Great Britain, his heirs and sucesors [*sic*] and to bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a Free and Independent State." The two oaths reveal the change in the political situation in 18th century Pennsylvania as it ceased to be a colony of Great Britain and became an independent commonwealth.

Before an examination of these documents, it must be noted that records in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania report earlier Oaths which were administered in Pennsylvania. These oaths were administered to Government officials as they took office or to officials when a new King was proclaimed. Following the death of George the First, The Provincial Council minutes of September 1, 1727, read:

After the Governour had acquainted the Board, that yesterday His Highness George, Prince of Wales, had been publickly proclaimed here King of Great Britain, etc, by the name of George the Second, with the Solemnity and Ceremony suitable to the occasion, His Honor took the Oaths and the several Members present the Affirmations of Allegiance and Fidelity to his said Majesty and Abjuration of the Pretender, as did likewise the Clerk of the Council.¹

A new problem arose for the Provincial government when a ship, the *William and Sarah*, arrived from Holland in September of 1727 with "four hundred Palatines as 'tis said, and that [there was] information they will be very soon followed by a much greater Number who design to settle in the back parts of

this Province.”² This marks the beginning of the great Germanic immigration into Pennsylvania. The problem for the Provincial government was that they were arriving with “without any leave from the Crown of Great Britain.” It was determined that it was necessary for these new arrivals to take an Oath of Allegiance to “His Majesty and promise Fidelity to the Proprietor and obedience to our Established Constitution.”³

As a result of this concern, the following oath was approved by the Provincial Council on September 21, 1727:

We Subscribers, Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine and Places adjacent, having transported ourselves and Families into this Province of Pennsylvania [*sic*], a Colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hopes and Expectation of finding a Retreat and peaceful settlement therein, Do Solemnly promise and Engage that we will be faithfull [*sic*] and bear true Allegiance to his present Majesty King George the Second, and His Successors Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithfull [*sic*] to the Proprietor of this Province: and that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all His said Majesties Subjects, and strictly observe and conform to the Laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our Power and best of our understanding.⁴

A second and more complex version of the oath to be administered to foreigners is found on page 3 and 4 in Vol. XVII of the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives. Although the Archive version is an oath of fidelity to King George II, in its details to assure that the succession to the crown remains with the Protestant line, it closely resembles the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy of 1761 from Cumberland County found in the library collection.

The death of King George II on October 25, 1760 necessitated the Oath of Allegiance to George III which was taken by 19 men in Cumberland County on April 13, 1761. The signers were Francis Campble, John McDowell, John Byers, Ezekial Smith, Robt. _____, _____ Dunning, Robert Robb, John Armstrong, James Galbreath, Thomas Wilson, John McKnight, A. Hoop, John Montgomery, William Spear, William Smith, James Carrithers (?), Jonathan Hoge, and John Rannels.

Francis Campble was appointed the Indian Agent of Fort Augusta in April 1758.⁵ He declined the appointment. John Byers was a member of congress.⁶ Ezekial Smith was commissioned as Sheriff of Cumberland County in 1760 at the same time that Robert Robb was made Coroner.⁷ James Galbreath was a Provincial Commissioner of Cumberland County in 1765.⁸ Adam Hoop was the commissioner to cut the road westward.⁹

The Oath consists of four parts, the shortest of which is the Oath of Allegiance by which men swear true allegiance to His Majesty King George III. This is followed by the Oath of Supremacy which is a statement against the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope may be murdered by their subjects and declaring that no “Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate has any jurisdiction.... or any Ecclesiastical or Spiritual authority within this realm.”

To make this clear, the test oath follows:

I ___do declare that I do believe there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Elements of the Bread and Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person ... whatever.

The test is a religious statement that denies the Roman Catholic understanding of the Lord's Supper. In this document, church and state are one. The King is the head of the Church in Great Britain and the church is Protestant.

The longest section is the Oath of Abjuration. This section makes clear that the Pretenders have no right to the throne and that the person signing the oath will help assure that the proper succession to the throne is through Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body to assure that Protestants will continue to rule.

This section refers to Charles Edward who was the Stuart claimant to the throne of Great Britain. Charles Edward had been named the Prince of Wales. He was the grandson of King James II, and the son of his son, James, who was known as the Pretender.

Sixteen years after signing the Oath of Allegiance to King George III, the names of three of the signers appear on a new oath, The Oath of Allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of June 1777. The three whose names appear on both documents are James Galbrath, who signed the oath on August 5th, John Rennells, Esq., who signed on August 8th, and John Armstrong, August 11th.

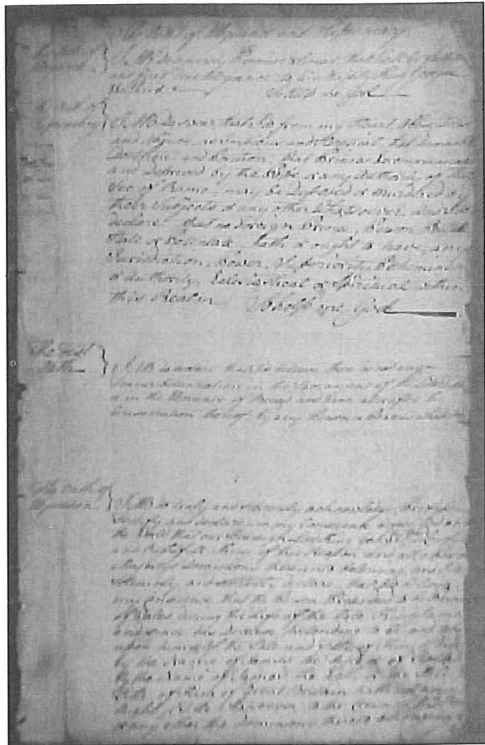
Between the time of the signing of the first oath and the second and as early as May, 1776, the Continental



Congress declared that it was "irreconcilable to reason and good conscience that the American people would take oaths for the support of the government under the crown of Great Britain."¹⁰

When the time came to call a Provincial convention for the formation of a new government, a religious test was adopted which was to be signed by members of the Convention. The test read:

I _____ do profess in God the Father and in Jesus Christ His Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit one God blessed evermore, and do acknowledge The sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration.¹¹



The members signed the oath and met in Convention. By the 28th of September 1776, the Constitution of 1776 was in operation. Prior to this time, groups of men had formed as Associators to fight the enemy. However, there was little control over their actions with many men simply leaving the field of battle and returning home. In order to bring some order, the Legislature proposed a general militia law in the spring of 1777.

The proposed law was printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette for public consideration on June 4, 1777, and was passed by the assembly on June 13, 1777. The law called for the enrollment of all males fit for military service, but also included a provision for an oath of allegiance for all white male inhabitants of the State above the age of eighteen. This oath was to be subscribed before a Justice of the Peace in the county in which the person resided. The oath was to be signed prior to July 1, 1778, except for men who lived in Bedford and Westmoreland Counties for whom the deadline was extended until August 1, 1778.

The process was to appear before a Justice of the Peace to take the Oath and then be provided with a certificate stating that the oath had been taken. The certificate reads:

I do hereby certify that _____ hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of affirmation and fidelity, as directed by an Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed the ____ day of ____ A.D. 1777. Witness my hand and seal the ____ day of ____ A. D.¹² (Pennsylvania Gazette, June 4, 1777)

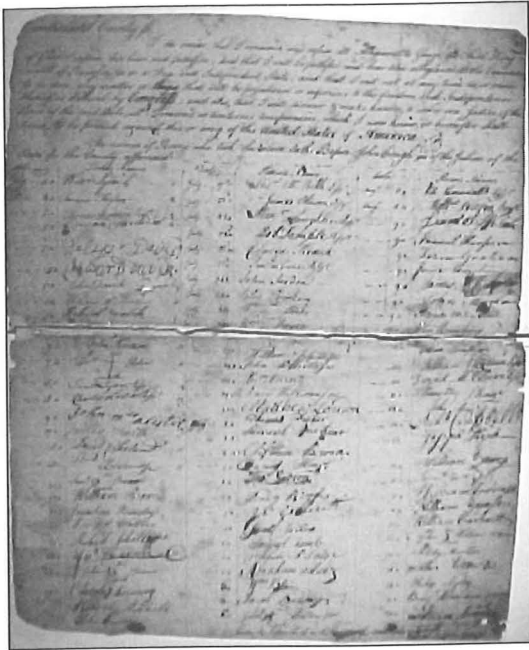
Two blank certificates are part of the Society's manuscript collection, although none of the signed certificates are in the collection.

In the Quarter Session Docket dated June 19, 1777, a group of men are assigned as Justices of the Peace for Cumberland County. They are:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Agnew, John | McBeath, Andrew |
| Anderson, John | McClay, John |
| Armstrong, James | McClure, David |
| Brown, William | McClure, William |
| Creigh, John | McCune, Samuel |
| Culbertson, Samuel | Oliver, James |
| Duncan, Stephen | Peoples, Robert |
| Harris, John | Rannells, John |
| Holmes, John | Royer, Samuel |
| Kennedy, Thomas | Scouller, John |
| Laird, Hugh | Steel, Ephraim |
| Laughlin, Alexander | Taylor, James |
| Leeper, Charles | Trindle, John |
| Lyon, Samuel | Vance, Patrick |
| Mascwell, James | Wilson, Matthew |
| Matthews, George | Work, John |

Found in this list of names are the names of the four men who were issued a Dedimus Potestatem signed by William Wharton Jr., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania on April 8, 1777. This gave authority to John Creigh, James Oliver, John McClay and Robert Peoples to administer the Oath of Allegiance.¹³

John Creigh was a resident of Carlisle. In 1798, he resided on lot 189 which is located at 9-15 East High. James Oliver lived in East Pennsboro Township, currently Silver Spring Township. He lived on the property currently owed by Pat and Chuck Vance. He is the father of Isabella Oliver, the poet. Robert Peoples appears on the tax lists of Lurgan Township during the period. Two men named John McClay are listed in Lurgan Township, John McClay Esq., and John McClay, Senior. As a Justice of the Peace, the title of Esquire would have been used, perhaps pointing to which John McClay was the one appointed to take the oaths.



The recently rediscovered manuscript of the Oath of Allegiance of 1777 is the Account of the Persons who took the oath before John Creigh in Cumberland County. The list was obviously known earlier and was printed in the Pennsylvania Archives Second Series Volume XIV.

The whereabouts of the lists of James Oliver, John McClay and Robert Peoples were unknown to Alfred Creigh LLD when he presented the John Creigh document to the Hamilton Library on February 1, 1886. He noted that the other lists should be sought. The Pennsylvania Archives does not

report the lists, and their whereabouts remain unknown.

A process for the transmission of the names of the men who took the oath was set out in the act. The Justices of the Peace were to keep a record of the names and "before the first day of October in every year transmit in writing under his hand and seal to the office of recorder of deeds for the said city or county, a true list of the names...and the Recorders of deeds...are hereby enjoined to record the said lists in books to be prepared for that purpose."¹⁴ The Justices were to be paid for each name they submitted. In October 1778, John Creigh was paid for administering the oath to 642 persons.

Signing or not signing the oath was serious business. The act provided harsh penalties for those who did not sign. Those who refused to sign the oath would be "incapable of holding any office in this State, serving on juries, suing for any debts, electing or being elected, buying, selling or transferring lands...."¹⁵

In addition, because there was fear of the "seeds of discord" being spread by persons traveling around the state, all travelers must be able to produce their certificate stating they had taken the oath or face the risk of being arrested as a spy. If such a person upon being taken did not then sign the oath, they could be committed to jail without bail until the oath was taken.

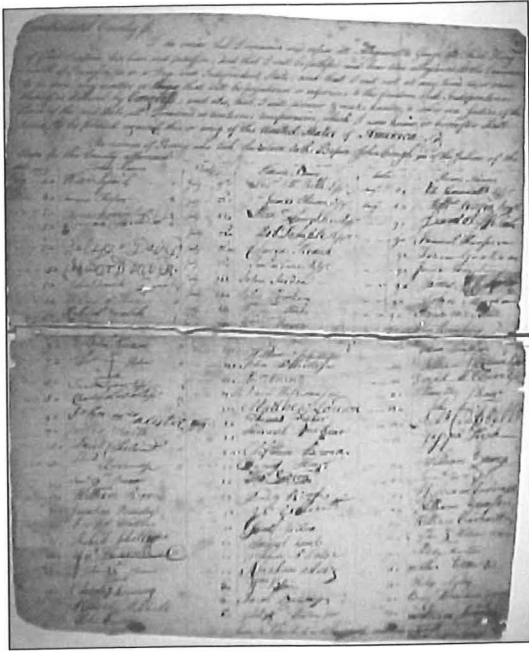
The oath of 1777 was less complex than the oath of 1761. It read in its entirety:

I do swear that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors; and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State; and that I will not at any time do, or cause to be done, any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one Justice of the Peace of the said State, all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I may know, or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America.

The first man to sign the oath was William Lyons who signed on July 4, 1777. William Lyons had been appointed prothonotary of Cumberland County on April 4th of the same year. James Oliver, who had also been appointed to collect the oaths, swore his oath before John Creigh on July 23, 1777. One can imagine that the oath of John Creigh appears on James Oliver's list. It might also be supposed that Robert Peoples and John McClay, the other list collectors, signed one another's lists since neither of their names appear on the Creigh list.

Those familiar with Cumberland County history will recognize many names. Robert Semple was a tavern keeper at Semple's Tavern on Hanover Street in Carlisle. Samuel Greer was a cabinetmaker. John Steel Sr. includes the designation D.V. M. after his name. David Hoge, brother of Jonathan and Sheriff of Cumberland County, lived in what is now Hogestown in the home currently owned by Bud Gaskin. There were two men named John Pollock, one a tavern keeper and one a carpenter. James Hamilton practiced at the bar. In 1789 he owned a house and lot in Carlisle, had two horses, one cow, plate, one sulky and one man and one woman slave.¹⁶ Tobias Hendricks was a tavern keeper at the Sign of the White Horse on what is now Market Street in Camp Hill.¹⁷ Matthew Loudon lived in East Pennsborough. Joseph Sabolle was a barber in Carlisle. Samuel Lamb was a mason. He signed the list on August 5, 1777, the same day as Abraham Adair, a storekeeper in Carlisle and William Adair, a tavern keeper. Perhaps the three men planned to take care of more than one item of business on the same day since it is recorded that on August 5, 1777, Samuel Lamb of Middleton Township and Margaret, his wife sold lot 254 in Carlisle to Abraham Adair.

Among the last signers of the list were William Denny, who signed on September 26, 1778, and William McFarlane, who signed on October 21, 1778. An extension of time was given to members of the military to sign the oath. The list reports the capture of both men, William Denny at the Crooked Billet and William McFarlane at Fort Washington.



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The Fifth Battalion commanded by Col. Joseph Armstrong was engaged in the Battle of Crooked Billet in Berks County on May 4, 1778. Conway Wing says of this battalion that "it suffered severely at the Battle of Crooked Billet when Gen. Lacy was surprised and many of his men were butchered without mercy."¹⁸ William Denny was taken prisoner at the Crooked Billet on May 15, 1778, and was not exchanged until the July 16, 1778. William McFarlane was taken prisoner at Fort Washington and was not exchanged until September 21, 1778.

Although it might be of particular interest to know which County men did not sign the oath, that information is not available as long as the three additional lists are missing.

In any case, although the citizens were given until July 1778 to take the oath, action began to be taken against those who did not. As early as August 1777, John Penn, James Hamilton and Benjamin Chew and other officers under the proprietary government were arrested for refusing to take the oath. Conway Wing reports they were "escorted through this valley to Staunton, Virginia, where they were detained until near the conclusion of the war."¹⁹

By October 1777, the Council on Safety appointed men in both Chester and Lancaster County to collect "Arms, Accoutrements, blankets, shoes and stockings for the use of the army" from those who had not taken the oath of Allegiance and Abjuration.²⁰ The Council on Safety also appointed men in each county to seize the estates of any person who has joined the army of the King. In Cumberland County, George Stevenson, John Boggs and Joseph Brady were appointed Commissioners for this purpose and were further given authority "to use force and break open doors" for this purpose.²¹

As the months went by, the time for signing the oath as stated in the original act was extended and additional penalties were permitted so that those who had not signed the oath could be summoned by the Justice of the Peace, fined 10 pounds, and imprisoned for three months.²²

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the Oath of Allegiance is contained in the signer's promise to "discover and make known to some one of the Justices of the Peace of the said State, all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I may know or hereafter shall know against this or any of the United States of America."

This led to a series of arrests for Misprision of Treason which is defined as concealment or nondisclosure of someone else's treason. The most interesting case involves Thomas Kerr of Hopewell Township. Beginning in October 1778, the Quarter Session Docket shows bond being posted for his appearance in court to answer to the charge of Misprision of Treason to which he pled not

guilty. In the July session of 1779, a jury found him guilty, and a motion was presented for a new trial. At this point, bond was set at two thousand pounds and two sureties of one thousand pounds each. The sheriff was required to take an inventory of Kerr's estate real and personal. The personal estate was to be secured so that it could be demanded by the court.²³

Thomas Kerr posted the required 2,000 pounds. David Wallace, Joseph Milford and Thomas Pattan gave surety of one thousand pounds each.

A new trial was held during the April 1780 Session of Court. It was resolved that Thomas Kerr "shall be imprisoned during the present war, that he pay the costs of Prosecution, that he forfeit to this Commonwealth one half of his Lands and Tenements goods and chattles."²⁴

Tax records show that Thomas Kerr had 272 acres in Hopewell Township in 1780 with two horses and five cows. The land was, indeed, forfeited. Tax records for Hopewell Township for 1781 show that Thomas Kerr had 70 acres of land with two horses and two cows. In 1782 it shows that he had 72 acres two horses, two cows and three sheep. The surmise might be that though he lost more than half his land, expenses may have cost him some additional loss of land. Thomas Kerr does not appear in the tax records of Hopewell Township in 1783.

Thomas Kerr was not alone in being accused of Misprision of Treason. In the January 1778 Session of the Court, Paul Pierce was charged with "uttering words inimical to the United States." Bail was set for his appearance at the next Session of court, and depositions were to be taken from Anthony Wright and George Dalzel as evidence in the upcoming "tryal [*sic*] in case of their Death or absence."²⁵ In addition, several people were "Presented as being inimical and unfriendly to the rights and Liberties of America." These include Levi Bowan and his wife, Anne Bowan, Edward West (?) and Robert Steel, and Thomas Kinsloe.²⁶

John Gibson was indicted for speaking inimical to the United States. He pled guilty and was fined three pounds. Edmond Kean was fined five pounds for the same offense.²⁷

In the July 1778 session of court, Paul Pierce was indicted on "Mis Prison [*sic*] Of Treason." At a jury trial in January 1780, Paul Pierce was declared not guilty.²⁸ Paul Pierce is buried in the Big Spring Presbyterian Church in Newville.

In April 1778, Daniel McDaniel was indicted for Mis Prison of Treason. He pled not guilty.²⁹ In the January 1779 session of court, a jury trial was held. He, too, was declared not guilty.³⁰ Daniel McDaniel owned 200 acres of land in Newton Township and served as an overseer of the roads there.

At the April 1778 session of court, when Daniel McDaniel was indicted, a trial before a different jury found Robert Davison guilty of Mis Prison of Treason³¹ Records show Robert Davidson owned 50 acres of land in Antrim Township in 1775. James Scot who was called by the court to testify for the Commonwealth against Robert Davison had served on the jury that found Daniel McDaniel not guilty of Misprision. Among the jurors who found Robert Davison guilty were John Carrothers and James Wilson. The defendant's council filed "Reasons in Arrest of Judgement."

The period of Pennsylvania history in which oaths of allegiance were required ended with a bill passed on the March 13, 1789, which repealed the law requiring that all men take the oath. The requirement for foreigners who entered the state to take an oath of allegiance remained. The religious test found in the Constitution of 1776 was not included in the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790.³²

Endnotes

1. *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III, (Harrisburg, PA: Printed by Theophilus Fenn, 1840), p. 296.
2. *Ibid*, p. 299.
3. *Ibid*, p. 299.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 299, 300.
5. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol. VIII, p. 99.
6. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol XIII, p. 120, 152.
7. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol VIII, p. 506.
8. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol IX, p. 237.
9. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol. VI, p. 318.
10. *Pennsylvania Archives 2nd Series* Volume III, ed. John B Linn and Wm H. Egle, (Harrisburg: B. F. Myers, State Printer, 1875), historical note.
11. *Pennsylvania Archives 2nd Series* Volume III, historical note.
12. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1777.
13. Alfred Creigh LLD, manuscript collection, Cumberland County Historical Society.
14. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1777.
15. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1777.
16. Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *A History and Genealogy of Carlisle, Cumberland County, 1751-1835*, p. 186.
17. Merri Lou Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County 1750-1840* (Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994), p. 121.

18. Rev Conway Wing, *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: James Scott, 1879), p. 87.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
20. *Colonial Records* Vol. 11, (Harrisburg: Printed by Theo. Fenn, 1852), p. 328.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
22. Thomas Westcott, *Names of Persons who took the Oath of Allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania between the years 1777 and 1789 with a History of the "test laws" of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: John Campbell), p. MDCCCLXV.
23. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 71.
24. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 162.
25. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p.18.
26. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 20.
27. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 16.
28. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 54.
29. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 35.
30. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 54.
31. Quarter Session Docket 1778-1789, p. 54.
32. Westcott, p. XLII.

“My dear father . . .”: An Indian School Student’s Letter Home

Clarke Garrett

In January of 1883, an eleven-year-old boy from the Laguna pueblo in New Mexico Territory wrote a letter from the Carlisle Indian School to someone back home. Here is the letter:

Carlisle Barracks, Pa.
Jan. 29, 1883

My dear father:-

I like to tell you how I am getting along. I am well. I have been in school all the time and I am trying to speak English All the time because Capt. Pratt want us to. Some of the boys and girls don’t try I think because they don’t care. That is not the way to do. I am trying very hard to learn the English language. I never talk Indian since Capt. Pratt told us to stop talk. Capt. Pratt is very kind to the Indian. I think because he used to fight them. Now we have very large school[.] Dear father I have been thinking about you, because I never see you for along, long time. I like to hear from you how you are getting along. Tell me what you are doing this Winter and tell all of my friend. I am very well and learning to talk English, read and write. I think that is good for me and for you. I think because you send me to learn these good things, when I come home I shall be able to tell you a great many things that I learning at Carlisle School, and what I saw there, and what a great many thing they do the White people.

Dear father—I wish you would send my sister to school I shall be very glad because that a good thing to do.

From you affectionate Son,
Benj. M. Thomas

I found the letter in the Benjamin Thomas Collection of the Chavez Historical Library of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. When he received it, this Benjamin Thomas was the Indian Agent for New Mexico’s nineteen Pueblo tribes and the Jicarilla Apaches. After some research and the first of several e-

mail conversations with Barbara Landis, the Indian School expert at the Cumberland County Historical Society, I found that students at the Indian School commonly took “American” names, often the names of sponsors or patrons at home. Although there are no records of other contacts between the two Benjamin Thomases, I assume that the agent had recruited young Bennie Thomas—as he was known at the school and as I shall call him from now on—to come to Carlisle, where he arrived in July of 1880 and joined the school’s second class. Since Bennie had had no previous education, the letter demonstrates a remarkable advance in his use of English after only two years and a few months.

Benjamin M. Thomas, the Indian agent, had been born in Indiana in 1843, so he was a young man of 37 when he met Bennie. He had attended Wabash College and then studied dentistry. In 1870, his poor health sent him west, where he secured positions with the Office of Indian Affairs, first near Fort Reliance and then near Fort Wingate, both in Navajo country. In 1872, he became the Indian Agent for the southern Apaches at Tularosa, NM. Two years later, he moved to Santa Fe to head the bureau there.



Cabinet card photo by John N. Choate of three Pueblo students at the Carlisle Indian School, Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul.

Since 1870, President U.S. Grant and his administration had promoted a "Peace Policy" aimed at Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. In pursuit of the policy, the various religious denominations were to send teachers to the reservations with their efforts subsidized by grants from the federal government. Originally, the Disciples of Christ Church was designated to work with the Pueblo tribes, but when their representative resigned in 1873, the Presbyterians added the Pueblo Indians to their other responsibilities, which also included the Navajo.

Not coincidentally, Benjamin Thomas was a dedicated Presbyterian, and the placing of Presbyterian teachers on the pueblos was a continuing project for him from his arrival in Santa Fe. When Thomas took over the agency, there were eight-day schools on the pueblos, but none was flourishing and none of the teachers were Presbyterians. He set out to replace the teachers, and in addition he worked with the First Presbyterian Church in Santa Fe to bring Indian pupils to its parochial school. He also began an association with Sheldon Jackson, the Denver representative of the Presbyterian Bureau of Home Missions, in seeking out suitable missionaries (who were to be trained as doctors as well as teachers) to bring to New Mexico.

One of the pueblos that had a school was Laguna, forty miles west of Albuquerque, among the largest and most prosperous of the tribes in the territory. Since it also was one of the few pueblos receptive to the economic and cultural benefits of contact with the Americans, it is not surprising that Thomas gave it his attention from the outset.

The teacher at Laguna was Walter G. Marmon, an American surveyor who had come there to resolve a protracted boundary dispute with the neighboring pueblo of Acoma. Marmon was the first of a number of Americans, several of them his relatives, who settled on the pueblo, married local women, and were accepted as full members of the tribal community. But Marmon, who also ran a store, kept the school only sporadically, and he was not a Presbyterian. With the assistance of Sheldon Jackson, Thomas recruited a Scottish missionary trained in medicine and theology, John Menaul, to take over the school at Laguna. Menaul arrived at the pueblo in 1876, accompanied by Thomas, Jackson, and the minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Santa Fe, George Smith. The future Bennie Thomas was then about two years old.

Laguna was unique in that there had been a small group of Protestants among the Indians on the pueblo since the 1850s, when a northern Baptist missionary named Samuel Gorman had lived there with his family for six years. He had come to New Mexico in 1852 and had been invited to Laguna by a group of pueblo leaders, but others in the leadership, committed to the traditional way of life and the traditional religion, were firmly opposed. Gorman also faced the

determined opposition of the Catholic priest, who at one point took Gorman to court for using the church for a religious service. Gorman and his family persisted, and after a year he was accepted into the tribe and permitted to build a house and a chapel. When the Rev. Smith wrote Gorman on Thomas's behalf asking about his experiences at Laguna, Gorman replied that while he had preached regularly and, when the Indians came to his store, he would "talk religion to them for hours." On the other hand, his efforts at opening a school had failed completely. Shortly after his arrival, he persuaded 15 or 20 boys and girls to come to his home, but after ten minutes, "one called out 'Show, Show' and in another minute they were all out & we never could get them back in the school-room." Since the arrival of Marmon and the other Americans, however, the situation on the pueblo had changed, and some at Laguna were eager to receive American education.

By 1876, Laguna was on the route of a projected new east-west railroad, and nearby Albuquerque, formerly a collection of farming villages, was growing rapidly into a city with an increasing American presence. Marmon and the other Americans on the pueblo found allies among the Laguna who were sincerely dedicated to introducing nineteenth-century "progress," seeing in working with and for the Americans a means to the pueblo's economic prosperity. Although they were a minority, they had taken control of its government in the early 1870s. The victorious "progressive" faction deprived the traditional religious leaders of their authority and even tore down the two great kivas, sacred to the traditional religion. Some of the traditionalists left Laguna for a time, but most of them soon returned. The pueblo was large enough and diverse enough to permit a tense coexistence between the factions. The progressive faction, which included the few Protestants, remained in control, fully supportive of Menaul, his school, and agent Thomas. Although at a few other pueblos there were similar factional disputes over the question of the acceptance or rejection of the Americans and what they represented, nowhere was the struggle as intense or as decisive as at Laguna.

On April 8, 1880, Captain Richard Pratt, recent founder of the Carlisle Industrial Indian School, wrote to Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior. Pratt was in the process of recruiting his second class for the school and was hoping he would get the Presbyterians to persuade some Navajo children to attend. "The Presbyterians who have had ten years to move upon this tribe are only now waking up to their responsibility," he wrote. "This [the Cumberland Valley] is a Presbyterian valley, and fifty Navajoe youth at this school will incite the whole church to work." He added a postscript: "If Agent Thomas of the Pueblos has not returned [from Washington] to his station I would like him to visit us on his way home."

Presumably, Thomas did visit Carlisle and there began a lifelong friendship with Captain Pratt. After his return to New Mexico, he and Sheldon Jackson prepared to recruit Indian students from the Southwest for Carlisle, and in July they made an extensive tour of the region. Jackson's efforts among the Navajo were unsuccessful—they had been resisting acculturation through education for decades—but Thomas recruited eleven students, at least seven of whom were from the pueblos. Three were from Zuni (which also had a Presbyterian missionary-teacher) and two from San Felipe. Bennie Thomas and Mary Perry came from Laguna.

Bennie Thomas was enrolled at Carlisle for ten years, although three times he returned to New Mexico in the spring for what his school records describe as "time out," returning each time in the fall. He left the school permanently in 1890. From the founding of the Carlisle School, Pratt encouraged the children to write home regularly. Pratt would enclose with the letters progress reports for the parents and sometimes photographs. John Menaul wrote him that at Laguna letters that had been received were translated and reported to the congregation each week after Protestant worship services.

Barbara Landis has collected a handful of references to Bennie Thomas in the school's newspaper, the *Indian Helper*. He was learning to be a printer. He belonged to the Invincible Literary Society. He spent one summer's outing experience in Middlesex Township and a second in Bucks County, where he learned to plow. When in March of 1889 he became a mail carrier for the school, the newspaper wrote, "Ben is a boy who can always be relied upon when given [an] important duty to perform." According to one of his classmates, who wrote the paper shortly before Bennie Thomas returned to Laguna for the last time, he was a talented painter.

It is not at all clear why, after what seems to have been a successful, if protracted, experience in Carlisle, he returned home to Laguna without a diploma, and we know almost nothing of his life after that. According to an undated report sent to the school from Laguna, he worked for a time as a rancher. Uniquely among the pueblos, in the 1890s Laguna was developing a large sheep-herding industry, and perhaps he worked in it. Bennie may well have worked for the railroad as well, as many Laguna did.

In 1896, the *Indian Helper* reported that Bennie's nephew was one of 12 students from Laguna who were beginning their studies at Carlisle. In addition, Barbara Landis's student lists include one other Thomas, Bonnie Thomas. Surely this is the sister that Bennie had hoped would attend Carlisle when he wrote to agent Thomas in 1883.

It remains to recount the rest of Benjamin Thomas's story, for it too involves Carlisle. Soon after Thomas sent Bennie Thomas to Carlisle, in cooperation with the Department of the Interior and with Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterian Bureau of Home Missions, he established the Pueblo Industrial Boarding School in Albuquerque, in order to bring pueblo children into the American mainstream without sending them across the country.

Thomas's open favoring of the Protestant interest inevitably produced an opposition that included the formidable Archbishop J.B. Lamy of Santa Fe. Since the establishment of the secular French Third Republic in 1871, Lamy had been convinced that the Calvinists (Huguenots in France, Presbyterians in New Mexico) were bent on the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church. It could be said that in his eyes Benjamin Thomas was the representative of this plot in New Mexico. With some justification, Thomas's response might have been that after 300 years the Pueblo Indians were still devoted to their traditional religious beliefs and almost entirely illiterate. The Presbyterians were simply carrying out the work of "civilization" that the Catholics had failed to accomplish.

Thomas's diary of 1882 (in the Chavez Historical Library in Santa Fe), expresses a blithe disregard for the forces that were forming against him. In January, he reported that he had recruited a new contingent for the Carlisle school. Since he was going to a conference in Washington, he accompanied them on their trip to the East. After the conference, he spent a few days in New York and then went by train to Carlisle, arriving on February 3. The next day, he wrote: "Go out to the school this morning. Capt. Pratt at home, and all well and nice as usual. Visit the children and find them looking splendidly. Full meeting at the chapel in the evening. Arapaho chiefs present." On the next day (Sunday): "I attended inspection with Capt. Pratt in the morning. All very nice. A full meeting of the school at the chapel in the evening." Thomas wrote that his "Indian boys," including, presumably, Bennie Thomas, "lead in prayer and some of us make remarks." The next day, he returned by train from Harrisburg to Santa Fe, where he found that his opponents had prepared a petition to replace him as Indian agent for the pueblos with a Roman Catholic.

Eight months later, Captain Pratt arrived in Santa Fe, "en route to the Navajoes." He was accompanied by the Rev. George Norcross of Second Presbyterian Church of Carlisle. Thomas showed them the new Indian school in Albuquerque, then accompanied them to Fort Wingate, in Navajo country. They recruited two Navajos and a few other Indians for Carlisle, but it seems to have been a disappointing tour.

Thomas continued to correspond with Pratt, who he noted in one entry was "a good friend of mine." Meanwhile, the opposition to him in New Mexico was intensifying its efforts to remove him. In October, the usually discreet Lamy wrote that in New Mexico as in France, "the war against religion by education" was "the same war. It is the organized persecution by secret societies and infidelity against God and his religion."

The same month, one of Lamy's French priests, Etienne Parisis, at the archbishop's instigation, wrote a letter to his "very dear uncle" in France. The uncle, we assume, was a prominent figure within the French Church, and the purpose of the letter was to urge French Catholics to increase their already generous contribution to the New Mexico missionary efforts of Lamy and the French clergy he had recruited.

Parisis described the founding of the Albuquerque Indian School, whose purpose he contended was solely to convert people "to their false doctrines." Meanwhile, he continued, "at Carlisle at the center of the United States they [the Protestants] have established a free boarding school where they keep little Indians far from their parents for more than five years to make them into Protestant ministers and then send them forth to preach their false doctrines into their own villages." There followed a direct attack on Thomas: "The agent who is paid by the government to protect them [the Indians] and their temporal interest" was "a Presbyterian bigot" who went with Protestant ministers "from village to village to look for children for those two schools." It was therefore imperative that the Catholics recruit teachers and open schools of their own. Archbishop Lamy simply did not have the financial resources to do so himself, so his countrymen must come to his aid. Parisis did not say so in his letter, but Lamy was at the time too heavily committed financially to erecting the cathedral that still dominates the Santa Fe skyline to spend money on establishing schools.

By the time Parisis wrote his letter, Benjamin Thomas knew that he would be replaced. On December 16, 1882, he wrote in his diary that he had received a letter telling him that the new Secretary of the Interior "wants a Catholic Agent & intimates that he will transfer me." And in the final entry in his diary, he wrote: "have continued in office but will probably have to give place to a Catholic on Feby 26th when my commission expires. *I have been too successful with my Indian schools.*"

Preferring not to remain with the Indian Bureau, Thomas went to the Tucson Land Office. Five years later, he returned to Santa Fe and briefly practiced dentistry until 1889, when a fellow Indianan, President Benjamin Harrison, appointed him secretary of the New Mexico Territory. He held that office until he died suddenly in 1892, not yet 50 years old.

By the time of Thomas's death, the Indian Bureau had abandoned the system of contracting with the religious denominations to operate schools on the reservations and instead ran the schools itself. The Albuquerque Indian School had become a government school in 1886. It persisted into the 1930s, moving from one crisis to the next. Yet Carlisle soldiered on, and Pratt and his aides and successors continued to recruit students from the pueblos. Lamy's vicar general complained to the Vatican that even with a Catholic Indian agent in Santa Fe, the Protestants continued to take the "children of the pueblos" and "bring them east to Godless schools to make them loose [sic] their faith."

In its 40-year history, over 100 children went from Laguna to the Carlisle Indian School. Since Barbara Landis's roster lists 451 students as being from one of the Pueblo tribes or simply as "Pueblo," this suggests that something like a fifth of the Pueblo Indians who went to Carlisle were from Laguna. Today, Laguna remains one of the largest, wealthiest, and least traditional of all pueblos.

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"Bennie Thomas" dropfile from the *Indian Helper* and Carlisle Indian School student lists, both courtesy of Barbara Landis

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The Silk Road to New Cumberland

Daniel J. Heisey

America's first historian, Abiel Holmes, records that by 1792 enterprising New Englanders were enjoying success in the cultivation of silk worms.¹ The idea was to begin an American source for silk and thus avoid importing the luxury from France or other European brokers. Silk had been appreciated in the West since at least the days of Augustus, being brought from China to Syria by way of India.² Trade in silk and spices continued (Indian merchants were eager for glass and linen from Alexandria, for example), and even as late as the sixth century there was "a remarkable degree of association between China and the Roman Empire."³ It is not necessary to review the medieval appetite for spices and silks or the efforts to bypass Oriental middle-men, but it is worth noticing that the gamble on sericulture made by early American entrepreneurs had an ancient pedigree.

Cumberland County's first historian, I. D. Rupp, records efforts at the silk trade. In his notes on the borough of New Cumberland, he says: "In the height of the *multicaulis* mania, an association for the manufacture of silk was started in this town."⁴ The mania for growing the *morus multicaulis* (mulberry) centers around 1840. This paper will focus on that mania and the association of businessmen in New Cumberland who then tried their hand at the manufacture of silk.

The reason Abiel Holmes in his *Annals of America* remarked upon silk spinning in 1792 was that that year saw "the first clergyman's gown fabricated throughout [entirely] in America." When in 1793 the president of Dickinson College, the Rev. Charles Nisbet, received from an anonymous donor (or, as he believed, a practical joker) "a Purple Silk Coat," Nisbet assumed it must have originated in Europe. Nisbet mused, "I cannot imagine that the Citizen Minister [of France], who probably had stole [*sic*] some Cloathes out of the Wardrobe of Lewis the 16th would have taken it in his head to make me a Present of any of them." Nisbet grew more amused by the absurd episode, wondering whether "the Pope of Rome has thought proper to promote me to the Purple by making

me a Cardinal...But if this is the Case, he would have sent the red Hat along with it."⁵ The laugh Nisbet got from picturing Pope Pius VI or Edmond Genet sending him, a Presbyterian minister from Scotland, a purple silk coat shows that to him silk meant Europe.

In European countries, the silk business was risky. Princes and parliaments officially encouraged the manufacture of silk, all in hopes of avoiding the expensive trade with China. Even in Lyons, France, where the manufacture of silk had been established since the fifteenth century, "the raising of silkworms, from the gathering of mulberry leaves to the stifling of the pupae...was virtually a cottage industry."⁶ The small numbers of people and their flimsy results were common. In the eighteenth century, efforts by Frederick the Great of Prussia to establish a silk industry in Berlin failed, but Mennonites in the Rhineland, relying upon close-knit family businesses, flourished at making and selling silk.⁷

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century the manufacture of silk in America had become lucrative. Again, Abiel Holmes notes some interesting details. "In 1825," he records, "the sewing silk and raw silk, produced in Windham county, Connecticut, was estimated to be worth 54,000 dollars a year."⁸ The previous year, according to Holmes, imports of silk goods totaled \$7,103,000; exports were \$1,816,000. Reversing those numbers steadily gained national attention. By 1830 a French immigrant, Peter Stephen DuPonceau, was lobbying Congress to enact legislation "to introduce...the proper methods of raising and manufacturing silk."⁹ In February 1837, Congressman John Quincy Adams presented the House of Representatives with a report on the cultivation of mulberry trees and the making of silk.¹⁰

It was not only a federal concern. Throughout the 1830s the General Assembly of Pennsylvania also took an interest in the manufacture of silk. In 1836 and 1838 the Assembly amended its Act of 1832 "to Promote the Culture of Silk." This Act originally provided for the governor to incorporate any association successful at producing silk. When this "company has associated together to cultivate the white mulberry for the production of silk," and when it has "actually set out one thousand or more white mulberry trees," the governor could issue a patent of incorporation.¹¹ The newly incorporated company would have rights to making silk within its county, and "as the raising of silk occupies but a small part of the year," the company "shall have the privilege of establishing and conducting a manufactory of the raw material."¹² Moreover, the company "may also conduct a school or academy for the education of youth," but the school must be "so conducted as to combine manual labour [*sic*] with literary and scientific instruction."¹³ Meanwhile, "the whole art and mystery of raising and manufacturing silk shall be taught to such of the students as may desire

it.”¹⁴ These silk companies were restricted to having capital under \$50,000, they could not use that capital for banking, and they could not own more than five hundred acres of land.

By 1836 the General Assembly raised the limit on capital to \$100,000, and it repealed the requirement for one thousand or more mulberry trees.¹⁵ In 1838 the legislature enacted “a premium of twenty cents for each and every pound of cocoons” and “fifty cents per pound on each pound of good silk...reeled from cocoons so raised.”¹⁶ A local alderman or justice of the peace would attest to the weight, and the premium would be available from the State Treasurer until 1 January 1843.

The ledger-keeper’s mind of I. D. Rupp records facts culled from the Census of 1840, a compendium of which was for many years kept in the county prothonotary’s office and is now in the Cumberland County Historical Society. By 1840 five people—two men, three women—had managed to tease three pounds of silk from eight and a half pounds of cocoons. These three pounds of reeled silk had a value of fifteen dollars. To get that result someone had invested \$1,505 (incorrectly copied by Rupp as \$4,505); presumably the “association” mentioned by Rupp were the capitalists, the five spinners being employees.¹⁷

By 1840 Perry County, in contrast, had produced no cocoons and thus no silk. Some had tried to enter this risky line of work, without success. Three decades later the local historian chose to keep the venturers unnamed: “The Italian Mulberry (*Morus multicaulus*) was introduced from Europe for feeding silk worms. It was sadly remembered by many as the source of their great loss.”¹⁸ More success occurred to the north, and the historian for Columbia County had no qualms about naming names of failed businessmen. “About the year 1838,” he says, “the culture of the silk-worm was agitated in many parts of this country. Among those who conceived of the idea that golden possibilities could be realized were Robert Cathcart and William G. Hurley, of Bloomsburg. An orchard of the *morus multicaulis*, or Chinese mulberry, was planted on the north side of First street. The cocoonery was reported as in active operation in 1841; and about this time it seems to have lapsed into desuetude.”¹⁹

The gentlemanly reticence governing the historian in Perry County seems to have affected also the writers in Cumberland County. Rupp attaches no names to the “association for the manufacture of silk,” although writing in 1845 and 1846 he may well have known the names. Perhaps at the time such a venture, however strongly encouraged by the legislature, seemed foolish; perhaps the “association” of hopeful silk manufacturers in New Cumberland spent their remaining days living down the stigma of all who fall short in a scheme even friends and family deem hare-brained. More than a century and a half after the

demise of silk production in New Cumberland, one seeks the names not for ridicule but to bring life to statistics.

A clue comes from the history of Cumberland County compiled by Conway P. Wing. In it the section on New Cumberland notes, “In 1839, John G. Miller, Dr. Mateer, Dr. Asa White, and John Sourbeck were interested in mercantile pursuits.”²⁰ The context of this sentence is the names of numerous shopkeepers. Miller is later listed as a retired businessman, and regarding the other three, further research yields some suggestions. Alas, George P. Donehoo, writing about fifty years after Wing and company, is content simply to echo, “As early as 1839, we find John G. Miller, Dr. Mateer, Dr. Asa White, and John Sourbeck engaged in mercantile pursuits.”²¹ Of these four men, John G. Miller seems to have left no trace; the others, taken alphabetically, will be sketched as far as possible.

William Mateer was prominent in Shiremanstown, where he lived at 121 East Main Street in a two-storey log home once used as a tavern.²² In 1841 he was vice president of the Beneficial Society of Shiremanstown²³, perhaps an insurance company, and our source vaguely recalls that Mateer “practiced medicine in Shiremanstown some time near 1853.”²⁴ In January, 1866, *The American Volunteer* rather unhelpfully noted his passing: “Died, in Lisburn, this county, on January 1st, 1866, Dr. William Mateer, in the 53rd year of his age.”²⁵ Thus his obituary, *in toto*.

John Sourbeck in August 1832, married Sarah Fahnestock in the First Lutheran Church of Carlisle. The church register notes the groom was “Living at Harrisburg Bridge, this county.”²⁶ That bridge was formally known as the York Haven and Harrisburg Bridge, part of a turnpike connecting Harrisburg with Baltimore.²⁷ From 1839 to 1840 John Sourbeck held the license for the White Tavern, at the northeast corner of Second and Market streets. The tavern dated to 1815, a year after Jacob Haldeman of Harrisburg laid out lots for New Cumberland. The tavern was also the polling place for Allen Township.²⁸ In August, 1841, Sourbeck, “owing to his misfortunes in business” was “unable to pay his various creditors,” and so he sold for one dollar his real estate to a “yeoman” named Nicholas Urich (a name also given as Uhrich and Ulrich).²⁹ In this settlement, Sourbeck is listed as “merchant,” and among his first class creditors were Charles Oyster and George Crist, owners with Benjamin Mosser of a lumber business in New Cumberland.³⁰ Nicholas Urich remains elusive, although he seems to have come from East Hanover Township, Lebanon County.³¹

Asa White was already a medical doctor when in March 1827, he married Harriet Jane Orr, daughter of Thomas Orr of New Cumberland.³² White’s bride

may have been related to the John Orr who had from 1835 to 1838 run the White Tavern.³³ In April 1839, White bought from John and Elizabeth Orr, Lot 133, a property at the corner of Bridge and Second streets in New Cumberland. In September 1841, he and his wife sold the place to George Poist, a tailor. White paid one hundred dollars for the lot and sold it for six hundred twenty-five dollars.³⁴

The “mercantile pursuits” occupying two doctors, a businessman, and a tavern-keeper must have been compelling. Five diverse men listed together in a paragraph otherwise dedicated to individual merchants—enough evidence to guess at the members of the “association” mentioned by Rupp? The record, admittedly porous, suggests Sourbeck giving up his license to an established tavern in 1840 in order to join Mateer, Miller, and White at White’s new property at Second and Bridge. The venture soon goes awry, Sourbeck fending off the creditors while White sells the real estate to an enterprising tailor. All strongly suggestive to the student of history, but not conclusive. After all, Sourbeck’s bankruptcy could have come from lean days at the tavern; likewise, White turning a handsome profit by selling a corner lot to a tailor may have no relation to moths and cocoons.

Still, the gaps in the record do admit exercises of historical imagination. The era in question did not enjoy three levels of government demanding documentation from cradle to grave; records of incorporation and taxation, for example, were not rigorously emphasized. More enduring than paperwork have been mulberry trees, spread over the years by the passage of birds. Meanwhile, the historian muses upon the tapestry of the past, often as elusive as shimmering images on diaphanous silk.

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Women of Carlisle's East End

Sandy Mader

Thomas Penn, a son of William Penn and a Proprietor of the lands remaining from his father's original grant, was actively involved in plans related to the design of Carlisle. The town, as originally developed, incorporated sixteen square blocks centered on a Square bounded by the cardinal streets: North, South, East and West. A letter from John O'Neal to Governor Hamilton in 1753 described the new community as "handsome, in the center of a valley, with a mountain bounding it on the north and the south, at a distance of seven miles." He also wrote of the two waterways near Carlisle. "A large stream of water runs about two miles from the village, which may at a future period be rendered navigable. A fine spring flows to the east, called the Le Tort, after the Indian interpreter who settled on its head about the year 1720."¹ The Conodoguinet, the larger stream north of town, never did become commercially navigable, but the Letort, running along the eastern boundary of the original town plan provided the water necessary for several of the early industries that helped to shape the character of Carlisle's "East End."

Tanneries, distilleries and breweries grew up along the Letort. The stream and the streets around it changed dramatically over the years. Epidemics associated with unclean water plagued the colonies in the late 1700s. In 1793, Philadelphia ordered a nearly total quarantine of the city in efforts to halt the spread of yellow fever. The citizens of Carlisle "were at the same time suffering under a disease which they termed the *March miasmata*, and the prevalence of which they attributed to the unhealthy condition of the Le Tort's spring. Tan-yards and mills were attacked, dams declared public nuisances and razed, and the channel of the spring dragged and cleansed, to remove the stagnant water from the adjoining low grounds, and prevent its future accumulation. The fever in Philadelphia, and the *miasma* here, shortly afterwards subsided, and with them the terror and excitement of the people of Carlisle."²

As the industrial side of town, the East End of Carlisle developed differently from the more genteel western part of town. Newly constructed buildings associated with Dickinson College (founded in 1783) provided an anchor to the West End from 1799 onwards. Additionally, banks and law offices near the



Woman getting water from an old draw-well on East South Street, between Bedford and East Streets.

Photo by Thomas Sharp, c. 1905

Square attracted professionals to build homes within walking distance of work. Members of the upper class built homes in the East End, too, especially along High Street, but the streets of the eastern half of Carlisle provided a greater mix of working class and middle class homes. In these homes, women played many roles. It would be natural for some women to work side-by-side with their husbands in the industries along the Letort. Women served in the many taverns associated with the breweries of the area. Other women played a more traditional role as homemakers in support of their families. Biographical sketches of nine women with associations to Carlisle's East End over nearly 200 years provide an insight into this diverse culture.

Anne Letort: A woman on the frontier

Circa 1700

Anne Letort was one of the first white women in the Cumberland Valley. She and her husband, James, settled at the headwaters of the stream that would eventually bear their name before 1720. James Letort was a trader dealing with several of the Indian groups of the region. Business with the government, as an interpreter, took him away from his trading business from time to time. Anne Letort developed a bad reputation among the Indians who came to trade; they complained that she charged them more than the customary amount. Carlisle historian Milton Flower records in *A History of Cumberland County* that "her shrewish ways towards the Indians were as famous as her husband's exploits. At times she beat the natives with her broomstick; on one occasion she forced them off her property which she boasted, truly enough, was granted by Penn and therefore private." Mr. Flower continues his report regarding James Letort to state that "in 1720 his cabins here were burned by unfriendly Indians, for all we know, irked at his crabbed wife."³

Molly Pitcher: Legend or Heroine

Circa 1740; died 1832

One of the most famous women to live in Carlisle's East End was Molly Pitcher. In recent years, some of the "facts" concerning the exploits of the Heroine of Monmouth have become suspect. In fact, a very detailed article as originally written by a past president of the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS) proposes to say "Goodbye" to Molly Pitcher.⁴ A look at Molly's memorial statue in Carlisle's old graveyard will show how deeply the interest in all aspects of the Molly Pitcher story—and its accuracy—runs. There are three different sets of "markers" at the statue, the latest from the year 2000 with a

“correction” regarding the true names of Molly and her husband. A certain amount of controversy about Molly Pitcher will continue, but it is unlikely that the romantic story of Molly Pitcher will ever be separated from Carlisle’s local history.

In remarks at the unveiling of the Molly Pitcher Monument in the Old Graveyard on June 28, 1916, the Hon. Edward W. Biddle stated, “According to current accounts, a German girl named Mary Ludwig come to Carlisle from New Jersey in the early part of 1769 as a domestic servant, and on July 24 of that year was married to a young barber named John Hays, whose shop was adjacent to her place of employment.”

Some of the disagreement about the accuracy of the Molly Pitcher story can be attributed to a confusion of names. Some accounts say that Mary Ludwig married John Hays; some refer to the young husband—soon to be soldier—as William Hays. Mary Ludwig Hays remarried after her first husband died; this second husband is sometimes referred to as a McColly, or McCullough or even McCauley, but certain themes run through most accounts related to Molly Pitcher and her involvement at the Battle of Monmouth.

John Hays enlisted in January of 1777 and was present at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778. Mary Ludwig Hays stayed in Carlisle after her husband’s enlistment before she eventually followed him to New Jersey. John Hays and his regiment did fight at the Battle of Monmouth. While the battle was going on, Mary carried water to the Continental troops to relieve their thirst; she subsequently became known as Mollie Pitcher.

The heart of the Molly Pitcher story relates that when her husband was wounded—and there was no one to serve at his cannon—Mary took his place and acted as a cannoner. Some writers say that her husband died at Monmouth, but in fact both John and Mary Hays returned to Carlisle after the war. John Hays died in 1786 and Mary eventually remarried a man named John McCullough/McColly...Mary is sometimes known as Molly McColly.

Molly eventually received a pension after the war from the government. Supporters of Mary Ludwig Hays as Molly Pitcher claim that this pension provides proof of her heroic exploits at the Battle of Monmouth. This pension was in actuality the same as any widow’s pension,⁵ and there was never any official mention of services provided in battle. Likewise there was no mention of her valor at the cannon in the obituaries in local papers when she died in 1832. The editors of both local papers had been acquainted with Molly for years and presumably would have included information about her war experiences if they had known of any.

However, the obituary of her son, John L. Hays, who died in 1856 mentions that he was the son of “the celebrated Molly Pitcher” whose deeds of daring are recorded in the annals of the Revolution and over whose remains a monument ought to be erected. The writer of the obituary “recollects well to have frequently seen her in the streets of Carlisle, pointed out by admiring friends thus: “There goes the woman who fired the cannon at the British when her husband was killed.” Yet, none of Molly’s contemporaries mentioned these anecdotes.⁶

Wesley Miles, who later became a teacher in Carlisle, didn’t have any doubts that Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley was Molly Pitcher when he wrote an article in praise of “his old nurse” in 1876. “I well remember there resided at the corner of Bedford and North streets, or as the location was familiarly known, as Lougheridge’s Corner...an aged Irish woman, then past sixty, healthy, active and strong, fleshy and short of stature, and (I) remember her entire personal appearance, her peculiar dress of the period, manners, oddities, etc. She was very social, exceedingly talkative...The old lady was largely employed as a nurse, was careful of the sick, her delight to kindly administer to the afflicted of her own sex. Besides, too, she was passionately fond of children.”⁷

Mary Ludwig Hays McColly may have done all of the things attributed to her, or this story may be nothing more than a very pleasing legend, but as Merri Lou Schaumann concludes, “She did leave a reputation of unusually faithful and useful service with the soldiers, and with that one must be content. But that is a good deal, and enough to justify a statue in memory of her life, although the Molly Pitcher story and the facts engraved upon it are mistaken.” This statement presents a very balanced view of the Molly Pitcher story; although perhaps one might say that the facts engraved upon the statue may not be factual. History or legend, Carlisle’s Molly Pitcher is a fascinating part of our heritage.

The Nineteenth Century brought many changes to Carlisle and to its eastern section. One of the most profound of these events was the coming of the railroad in 1837. For ninety-nine years, tracks of the Cumberland Valley Railroad ran the length of High Street providing transportation links with Harrisburg and Chambersburg. The tracks at the eastern edge of town crossed on a trestle over the Letort. A young woman living along High Street might begin married life when the train stopped at her house to take her and her new husband on their wedding trip.⁸

Not all changes in the community were so benign. An account from 1846 lists among other statistics that Carlisle was home to “12 taverns and 3 distilleries for yielding the ‘liquid fire,’ would there were none, for a great deal of misery of human life which is daily seen raging our streets would be prevented...”⁹ Life in the East End was also affected by its proximity to the military Barracks at the

Northeast edge of town. Distilleries, breweries, and young men with time to kill provide a potent combination...sometimes leading to violent events. Local historians report that “enlisted personnel at the Barracks met laborers in the saloons of the eastern end of town, and many a brawl ensued and sometimes ending in killings. East North Street at one time was called “Hell Street,” indicative of the turmoil in that area.”¹⁰ But it wasn't only the men of the eastern part of town who wreaked violence upon each other. Women could be just as cruel and just as deadly.

Sarah Clark: Love and Life Lost

Circa 1775; died 1799

Even as the 18th Century ended, a sensational murder led to the first public hanging of a woman in Cumberland County. In 1798, Sarah Clark was tried for the murder of her employers. She confessed, was convicted, and hanged. Sarah Clark lived and worked outside the boundaries of Carlisle, but the time she spent in the County Jail at the corner of Bedford and High Streets gives her legitimacy in a discussion of women associated with Carlisle's East End. Interestingly, one of the surviving members of the family she poisoned, Andrew Carothers, would become a respected lawyer and spend his adult years living at 172 East High Street.¹¹

Sarah Clark was a servant in the household of the John Douglas family, and she fell in love with the Douglas's son, John. Unfortunately, he was already in love with the daughter of a neighboring family, Ann Carothers. Sarah thought that if Ann was out of the way, she might have a chance with young John Douglas so she left the Douglas family and got a job in the Carothers' home. Her original plan was to do away with Ann only, but no opportunity presented itself so eventually she purchased some white arsenic and baked it in the family's bread. All members of the family became ill, but only the parents—Sarah's employers—died. Having failed in her first attempt, Sarah acquired yellow arsenic that she mixed in the butter. Fortunately, she became a suspect before anyone had a chance to eat the butter.¹²

Sarah Clark was hanged at the public gallows east of Carlisle on October 30, 1799. *Kline's Gazette* reported that she was attended by two German ministers and that she “appeared very penitent and received her fate with resignation and seemed resolution—and the moment previous to her entering into eternity declared herself dying an innocent murderer.”¹³

The middle years of the 19th Century brought more changes to Carlisle and to the women of Carlisle's East End as well as to women throughout the United

States. An uncertain political climate, the actuality of war with Mexico, and the threat of a war between the states gave rise to an unsettled atmosphere in a town where the Army maintained an active garrison. Women with husbands and/or sons in uniform experienced anxiety and all too often the loss of a loved one. Almost one hundred years earlier—during the Revolutionary War—Abigail Adams wrote to her husband John: “when you offer your Blood to the State, it is ours. In giving it our Sons and Husbands we give more than ourselves. You can only die on the field of Battle, but we have the misfortune to survive those whom we Love most.”¹⁴

Sarah Smead: Army Wife

Died 1891

One woman who could agree completely with Abigail Adams' thoughts was Sarah Radcliff Smead. Sarah came with her husband, Captain Raphael Smead, when he was ordered to Carlisle Barracks in 1847 after serving some months in the Mexican War. Arriving at the Barracks with five children, the Smeads enrolled their eldest son, John Radcliff Smead in Dickinson College. Captain Smead returned to the fighting with Mexico where he contracted yellow fever. Mrs. Smead, with their newborn son in her arms, was able to visit her dying husband in Virginia before Captain Smead died on August 20, 1848. Because her husband's death was the result of an illness and not of battle, the Bureau of Pensions would not pay a pension to his survivors.¹⁵

When Sarah Smead returned to Carlisle, she was a widow with six children and her income had been cut off by her husband's death. Her situation was desperate. Officers at the Barracks, friends of Captain Smead from his years at West Point, took pity on the widow and children of their departed friend and took up a collection for Mrs. Smead to buy a home for her family. Eventually, Sarah Smead was able to purchase the house at 170 East High Street, which still exists.

Shortly after his father's death, John Radcliff Smead decided he wanted to enter West Point. With help from family and friends, the young man was able to secure an appointment. He was commissioned in 1854. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he was a captain of volunteers. He was killed at the Second Battle of Bull Run on August 30, 1862.¹⁶

Sarah Smead and the family left in Carlisle had a personal encounter of their own with war when the Confederate Army was approaching Carlisle in June of 1863. Sarah was concerned about her daughter, Elizabeth, who was teaching in Harrisburg. Elizabeth couldn't be found for several hours, but then peering out of the second story window of her home, Sarah saw Elizabeth cheerfully riding down the center of town on a railroad handcar.¹⁷



Sarah Radcliff Smead, wife of Captain Raphael Smead, c. 1850.

Photo courtesy of Raphael Hays II

Once Sarah realized that her daughter was safe, she began to worry about possessions that could be stolen by the Confederate soldiers. After the occupation, a wounded Confederate soldier needed a bed, and the Smead family was requested to house him. Sarah reluctantly agreed....little did the soldier know that the lumps and bumps he felt in the bed were mounds of silver pieces that Sarah had hidden. As will be seen in the following account, one of the Smead's neighbors had an even more dramatic encounter with the Rebel troops in that same week.

Susan Thorn: An Original

Circa early-mid 1800s

In 1840, the Reverend John Van Eps Thorn, an Episcopal clergyman, and his wife moved into a home at 52 East High Street. (This attractive Federal style home is often referred to as the "Duncan-Stiles house" because Chief Justice Thomas Duncan and his wife built it for their son, Stephen, and his bride, Margareta Stiles.) Rev. Thorn's wife was Susan Hamilton, sister of James Hamilton, Jr.—the founder of the Hamilton Library at the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Susan Hamilton Thorn was an unconventional woman in an era when the conventions were very important. Her participation in the community's social life was singular. Carlisle was a town that prided itself on hospitality and high standards of entertaining. Mrs. Thorn did entertain, as the wife of a clergyman would be expected to entertain; however, she entertained in her own special way. She kept early hours; the foods she served were simple; and she provided the music for an evening's entertainment herself. One of her specialties was to sing the Lord's Prayer while accompanying herself on the spinet piano. One person who heard this performance said, "She played as if the keys were red hot." Once, as she received her guests, she managed to clearly indicate the hour at which they should leave by saying, "I don't wish you to say that I close my house at eight o'clock, for I will be glad to have you remain until half-past eight tonight."¹⁸

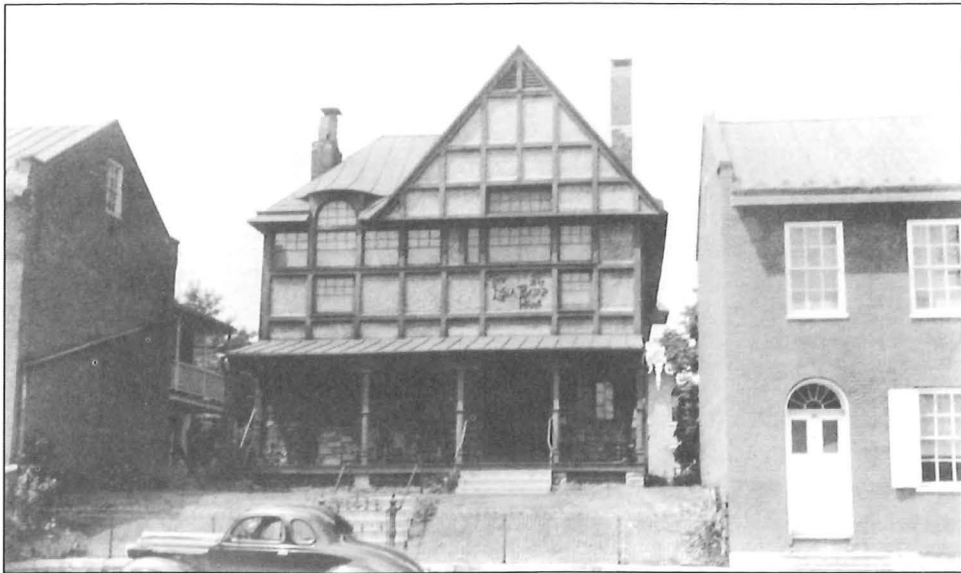
During the shelling of Carlisle by Confederate troops, a cannon ball pierced the wall of Mrs. Thorn's drawing room and passed through a large mirror, producing a hole in the glass with clean edges. The ball shattered the sofa on the opposite side of the room.¹⁹

Female Benevolent Society: Women who saw a need and met it

1828-1984

Several decades before the Civil War and continuing into the Twentieth Century, well-meaning individuals tried to provide aid to the poor and helpless of the community. In 1828, a number of ladies in the community who had been trying to help the needy realized that it was difficult to provide assistance to the truly deserving in any kind of organized manner. They decided to establish an organization for the orderly and careful distribution of aid—a group where proper application for help could be made. This group became known as the Female Benevolent Society (FBS).²⁰

Forty-one members enrolled initially and agreed to follow the rules of the organization's constitution, paying 25 cents yearly membership. FBS was the



The Lydia Baird Home on East High Street in the late 1930s.

second oldest women's charitable organization in Pennsylvania, the first being the Widows' Protective Association of Bethlehem, founded in 1771.

Yearly requests for money were made in churches and the members of the Society canvassed all four wards of town. During this period, all the members had servants in their homes so the physical work they did for the society was a significant departure involving real sacrifice from their normal daily life. Members were required to make personal visits to the poor, read the Bible and pray, and give spiritual as well as material aid. On market mornings, the members begged for leftover produce from the vendors—a custom that continued well into the 1900s. The membership roll in the early days was a "who's who" of Carlisle...the socially elite gave of themselves as well as their money.

In 1901, the Female Benevolent Society were appointed trustees for the Lydia Baird Home. Anyone walking on East High Street who passes the Lydia Baird Home will be struck by its unusual style, set back from the street, looking nothing like its neighbors and enhanced with a woman's name written above the second story. The founder of the Lydia Baird Home was Mary Baird Biddle.

Mary Baird Biddle: Humanitarian

Mid-1800s; died 1901

Mary Baird grew up on West High Street. Her family was not particularly well off although Mary's grandmother was the wealthy Lydia Spencer Biddle of



The Biddle Mission, located on the northeast corner of East and North Streets, c. 1890.

Photo by A. A. Line

Philadelphia. Mary married Henry J. Biddle, also of Philadelphia, who was a very rich man. Mary's marriage into one of the wealthier branches of the family was certainly advantageous and may have been facilitated by her grandmother.²¹

Mary Baird Biddle and her husband lived in Carlisle before the Civil War. On August 3, 1861, Henry J. Biddle was appointed as a Captain in the 127th U. S. Colored Regiment.²² The *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County* states that he died "July 20, 1862, from wounds in battle."²³ In 1867, Mary provided funds to help found Biddle University in North Carolina in his memory. It was a Colored College which is significant because of her late husband's association with a Colored Regiment. She also provided funds for the Biddle Mission at the corner of East and North Streets of Carlisle in memory of her son, Jonathan Biddle. This young man was killed at the Battle of Little Bighorn. Jonathan, a deeply religious youth, had always been concerned about the plight of the poor in Carlisle. He had planned to do something to help the underprivileged when he turned 21 and received his inheritance. Tragically, he died before he could carry out these plans, but his mother followed through in his memory.

According to an announcement in the July 13, 1886, issue of *The Sentinel*, Mrs. Henry Biddle of Philadelphia was making plans to establish a hospital on

East High Street in memory of her sister who died in 1876, Lydia Baird. (Mary Baird Biddle's mother's name was Lydia also: some sources say the hospital was in memory of her mother, too.)²⁴

The hospital opened in April of 1893; however, the 8-bed hospital didn't have any business until May 12th when injured employees of the Barnum and Bailey Circus, which was then in town, were admitted as its first patients. This was Carlisle's hospital only until the Todd Hospital on the NW corner of West and H streets opened in early 1896.

Mary Baird Biddle died on December 3, 1900. Her will bequeathed the home, the land, and a brick dwelling adjacent to the home as a residence for indigent women with the Female Benevolent Society as trustees.

The FBS held a special meeting on July 3, 1901 to set up rules of operation for the home. The rules included the following stipulations: only women of good character, between the ages of 60 and 75 who were physically able to care for themselves would be admitted. Applicants must provide sponsors who guarantee to remove them in case the home cannot keep them. The applicant must furnish her own room and do her own cooking.²⁵

In an article of the CCHS Journal, James L. Otstot reminisced,

"In the early 1930's my spinster Aunt Mary lived at the Lydia Baird in a second floor front room. From her window I often watched trains passing on the elevated tracks. Sometimes the engineer would wave to me. What a thrill to see the big train and hear the steam and smoke escape!

The ladies at the home economized in a way that sounds strange to most of us today. My father used to tease Aunt Mary about sharing soup bones. One resident would buy a soup bone from the butcher for ten cents. She would boil it for broth, then pass it along to a neighbor. The second woman would boil it for a few more minutes before passing it along to a third woman. To put this into perspective, you must realize that this was during the Great Depression, and soup bones were a good way to make broth for some inexpensive soup. The cost of a good soup bone in those days may have been five or ten cents."²⁶

The Home had financial ups and downs. With the advent of social security and old age pensions in the mid-1900s, more resources were available for poor women and the waiting list for occupants at the home dropped to the point that several rooms were at times vacant. The Home was placed, voluntarily, under the Department of Welfare's Committee on Aging, in 1962. FBS closed the doors of the Lydia Baird Home in March 1984. The last recorded minutes of the FBS are dated October 1, 1984.²⁷ The building is now privately owned.

Rebecca Mason Reynolds Smith: An Early Businesswoman in a New Field 1823-1882

In the years just before the Civil War, one of the first women to become a professional photographer in Pennsylvania opened a studio in Carlisle. Rebecca Mason Reynolds Smith was a daguerreotypist with a studio just south of the Market building on South Hanover. The unusually large windows of the third floor corner rooms in this building can still be seen and reflect the need for extra light in producing daguerreotypes.

Rebecca Mason was born in Cumberland County and married Benjamin Reynolds of Shippensburg in 1847, when he was 62 and she was 24. He died two years later. They had a son, William. After her husband's death, Rebecca and her infant son returned to Carlisle and lived with her parents for a period of time.

An 1856 ad in the *Carlisle American* states that Mrs. R. A. Reynolds has opened a photography studio in Carlisle—the ad states that she is “newly returned from Philadelphia where she learned ambrotype.” The 1860 Census lists R. A. Reynolds, Daguerreotypist, age 38, with her son William, age 12.²⁸

Before the Civil War, she advertised frequently in the *American Volunteer*. These ads state “In beauty and durability, no ‘sun drawn’ picture equals a good Daguerreotype: this is the opinion expressed by leading photographic journals of the day, both American and English, and these may be obtained at the rooms of Mrs. Reynolds...”

In 1861, she married W. G. Smith of Mauch Chunk, PA in a ceremony at the First Presbyterian Church, where she was a member for most of her life. She continued to work as a photographer until shortly before her death in 1882. Her funeral took place at the First Presbyterian Church, and she was buried in the Old Graveyard. She had been the Principal of the Infant Department of First Presbyterian Church for twenty-five years. Her obituary described her as a “gentlewoman of...amiable disposition.” She was also among the first women professionals in Carlisle's eastern wards.



Photo of William Reynolds, dressed as an Indian, taken by his mother, Mrs. R. A. Smith, c. 1864.

Bessie Jones: Working in the Oldest Profession

1893-1972

Bessie Jones was the third of three generations of brothel owners in Carlisle. Local traditions state that Bessie's grandmother was a former slave, a camp follower with General Ewell's troops who liked the Carlisle area and stayed when the troops went on to Gettysburg. That's a charming story, but a respected local historian and genealogist states that Bessie's grandmother, Jane Andrews, and two sons born in Pennsylvania are listed in the 1860 Census records for Carlisle, showing that she was here before the Civil War.²⁹

Local records show that Bessie's mother, Cora Andrews, had operated a "most notorious rendezvous for immoral men and women for about a quarter of a century."³⁰ This became Bessie's Place in approximately 1922 and was located at 20 East Locust St. The building was still there at the time of Bessie's death, but it has been torn down since then.³¹

Research about the organization and operation of a house of prostitution in Carlisle in the early to mid 20th century proved to be fascinating. The house on East Locust Street contained three bedrooms on the second floor: Bessie's room and rooms for two working girls...there were no more than two girls at a time—usually white, sometimes black. "Big city syndicates" allegedly supplied the girls...two new girls every two weeks by bus on Friday night from Baltimore, Pittsburgh, or Philadelphia. The girls left two Fridays later, and two others arrived.³²



Bessie's House on Locust Avenue.

Photo by James Steinmetz, May 29, 1972

During World War II, part of Grover Hunt's crystal factory in the first block of North Hanover had three shifts working every day to produce radio crystals needed in the war effort. Sometimes the workers in the crystal-making shop looked out the back window to see who was coming and going from Bessie's house located behind their building. Many of the workers were interested in watching the clientele because some notable people could be seen going in and out. There was a bus stop at the corner of Hanover and Locust Streets. As the crystal workers were going to and from work, they sometimes encountered "Bessie's girls" doing the same. One of the former crystal workers remarked about Bessie's girls, "I remember those girls walking from the bus, swinging their hat boxes."³³

In 1966, the IRS learned that Bessie had \$192,000 in the bank and a fire at the house revealed \$48,000 stuffed in a pillowslip. She was tried and convicted of income tax evasion. She received a sentence of 1 year, but only spent a few months in a federal penitentiary in West Virginia. She was released early because of poor health.

Bessie occasionally found herself as a defendant in County courtrooms, too. During one of her trials Bessie's attorney stated, "She catered to high class clientele and not to students and riff-raff." "Her clients were farmers and prominent citizens of the town. Most all were white. She wouldn't permit college students in because she felt it would downgrade the establishment. She knew who the riff-raff were, and she wouldn't let any of those boys in."³⁴

Bessie was easily recognized in town. She was a large woman who liked big, floppy hats. She carried a cane, but many believed the cane was more for dramatic effect than need. Despite her career, many local citizens recognized Bessie as a valuable contributor to the community. She gave money to local churches and civic organizations. She helped many families in the African American community when money and food were scarce during the Depression. A police officer commented that once when he was escorting Miss Bessie to the courthouse, a prominent church deacon said to him, "Isn't it a shame the way they persecute that poor woman?"

On October 1, 1972, Bessie was found dead. She had been bound, gagged, and stabbed to death.³⁵

There had been a series of robberies before the murder, but Bessie usually didn't report such incidents because she didn't want to be involved with the police. Georgia Ann Schneider—one of Bessie's "girls"—was caught with \$2,879 in her possession. Taken to Cumberland County Prison, she escaped briefly about a week later. She was recaptured, tried and found not guilty. This murder has never been solved. Bessie was 79 when she was killed.

Katharine Mary Drexel: An American Saint's work in Carlisle 1858-1955

The last woman to be discussed in this article had a profound impact not only on Carlisle, but also on the world. She began life as a rich socialite in Philadelphia and after her death she became a saint. In between, she established an order of nuns who would serve the oppressed of Carlisle's East End and beyond. Saint Katharine was a woman of the late 19th and early 20th Century, but the events leading to a need for her religious order occurred centuries before.

The culture of religious unrest between Protestants and Catholics in England and the rest of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries traveled with many immigrants to the Colonies. Catholics were a small minority in Pennsylvania's population—1300 of 300,000 in 1757 and 7,000 of 400,000 in 1783. Charles Sewall was one of America's first native-born Jesuits, a missionary from Maryland. He walked and rode the length and breadth of southern Pennsylvania as he spread the tenets of Catholicism.

Father Sewall ministered to the Catholics in and around Carlisle. In 1779, he purchased a lot on East Pomfret St. It has been the site of a Catholic Church ever since. It began as a plain mission church—first log, then brick—with an original community of German, French, and Irish immigrants in its congregation. The church, its priests and congregation became well established in the community. A later-day priest from this parish would be responsible for bringing to Carlisle the woman who would eventually become a Saint.³⁶

Francis A. Drexel, a partner of J.P. Morgan, was one of the wealthiest men in Philadelphia in the mid-1800s. His first wife died shortly after giving birth to a daughter named Katharine. Mr. Drexel later remarried. Katharine and her sisters grew up in Victorian splendor...private tutors, tours of Europe, and excursions to the American West, but there was also a parental example of charity and religious devotion. With their stepmother, the girls distributed food and clothing to the city's needy. Mrs. Drexel suffered from cancer and Katharine nursed her stepmother through the long illness until her death in 1883. Mr. Drexel died suddenly in 1885 and left generous sums to charities and vast trusts for his three daughters.

Katharine Drexel used part of her legacy to fund Catholic missions to the Indians. Her spiritual advisor, Father James O'Connor, had been made bishop of Omaha, and he asked her to find missionary priests for the Indians on her next trip to Europe. In 1887, she had a private audience with Pope Leo XIII. When she asked the Pope to send missionaries to the Indians, he suggested that she herself become missionary. She initially demurred, feeling herself unequal to the task.³⁷ However, when she returned to the United States, her courage

returned, and in 1891, she founded the Roman Catholic Order of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, now known simply as the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. She also founded numerous Indian Schools, mostly in Western States, and rural and inner-city schools for Black students, primarily in the South. She was the founder of Xavier University in New Orleans, the country's only historically Black Catholic college.

In 1879, Captain Richard Henry Pratt, United States Army, founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) on the site of the former Army Cavalry School at Carlisle Barracks. On October 6th of that year, Pratt arrived by train with a group of over 80 Sioux children who were to be students at the new school. New students from several other Indian nations followed. In a paper written by Pratt in 1908, he stated that the "school opened with one hundred and forty-seven pupils from seven tribes."³⁸ As the years passed, many of the Indians at CIIS came from southwestern tribes that had adopted Catholicism. There is disagreement among historians regarding Pratt's treatment of these Catholic students. Daniel Heisey writes in *A Short History of Carlisle Pennsylvania, 1751-1936* that a priest at St. Patrick's, Henry Ganss, criticized Pratt because he wouldn't allow the Catholic Indians to worship in their own faith. Heisey further states that Protestant chapel was compulsory for the Indian students.³⁹ However, in her doctoral dissertation, Carmelita Ryan writes that although Pratt disliked and distrusted members of the Catholic Church, he was "irreproachably correct in his relations with" the priests in Carlisle. She further writes that Pratt worked with the local priests to ensure that Catholic



Saint Katharine Drexel.

Photo courtesy of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Bensalem, PA.

students went to church, and he allowed Catholic students to attend catechism in a classroom at the school. In communications with Pratt, Father Ganss expressed his feelings regarding Pratt's relationship with the Catholic students and the members of his parish as follows: "Your treatment of me has been uniformly civil and courteous; acceding readily to all requests I made, and as far as my knowledge goes placing no obstacle in the way of the Catholic Indians to be instructed in their faith, nor handicapping any efforts of mine in such a direction."⁴⁰

In later years, Father Ganss wrote to Mother Katharine to ask for her help. At this time, Mother Katharine was in her early 30s and in full command of her new Order. In 1901, Mother Katharine provided the funds needed to build a school next to the church. This is now known as St. Katharine's Hall. In 1906, the first four nuns arrived at the convent. While in Carlisle, the sisters traveled four times a week to the Barracks to provide religious instruction to the Catholic Indian students.

They also began a program of basic education for Carlisle's African-American students with the establishment of a "Select Colored School" in the basement of the convent. Catechism was not part of the curriculum which focused on rigorous elementary and secondary education. The Sisters also began a sewing class for Black adults on Saturdays.

By Christmas 1906, the programs at CIIS and the convent were well established, and Mother Katharine returned to Carlisle to celebrate Christmas with her sisters and their students. Both programs continued until 1918 when the CIIS closed. The Convent closed at the same time. Over the years, Mother Katharine visited Carlisle a dozen or more times, staying at the convent which became the first of the Order's ventures into educating Indians and Blacks together.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament were not the only women interested in providing education to Carlisle's black population. The first church that African-Americans built in Carlisle is located across the street from St. Patrick's Church at 131 East Pomfret St. The original structure of the Bethel AME Church was built in 1828. In the mid-1830s, members of the Female Benevolent Society decided that Blacks from the community should have some religious training and be taught to read. A teacher, Miss Sarah Bell, was hired to teach reading, sewing and some religious instruction. Her students included adults, as well as children. Their first classes were in the basement of Bethel AME church, over 50 years before the Sisters of Mother Katharine's order began to teach African American students.⁴¹

On September 7, 1877, a committee of Black citizens appeared before the school board to request improved facilities and the opportunity for education

to the diploma level for black students. The board complied with the request by providing educational opportunities at the primary, intermediate, and high school levels. The history of education for blacks in Carlisle is a rich one in which progress was achieved through the efforts of many people; schools in Carlisle were fully integrated in 1948.

Mother Katharine died in 1955 at age 96. At her death, she had used the entirety of her inheritance—between \$12-20 million—to aid and educate the poor, especially Indians and African Americans. She is entombed at Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in Bensalem, PA.

Mother Katharine was officially declared a saint on October 1, 2000—only the second American born saint. Pope John Paul II, in recognizing St. Katharine's sanctity, declared, "She exercised a truly prophetic role. To those whom her own society neglected, she extended a preferential love, seeing in every person the face of Jesus himself."⁴²

Over the centuries, the community of Carlisle has grown; the original 16 square block center has expanded in all directions. The Letort no longer serves as an industrial channel. The breweries, distilleries and tanneries of the East End are gone. Opportunities for women have expanded in all directions, too. Women of the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries would undoubtedly be amazed to see these changes as we progress into the 21st century.

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Tobias Hendricks: A Family Tradition of Service

Bob Rowland

In 1734 the land on the west shore of the Susquehanna River was opened for homesteading, and the first settlers were permitted to cross the river to legally obtain land. Trappers and Indian traders had been traveling through the valley to the west and the south for years, but they were not permitted to reside or claim land. The Penn's had previously purchased this land from the Indians, but some claims remained, and it had not been opened to the public. The Penn family went to great lengths to be fair with the Indians in their acquisition of land in Pennsylvania. The Proprietors would eventually purchase the west shore of the Susquehanna four times before it was considered finalized, a process about which the Indians never complained.

Because of increasing pressure from Marylanders who were moving northward into the area which would become York and Adams Counties, Penn gave permission for Samuel Blunston, a Lancaster County Magistrate, to grant licenses for persons to settle and take up land on the west side of the Susquehanna River. The boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland overlapped, which initially had not been a problem, but by the 1730 conflicts and some riots developed. While the final Indian claims were not extinguished until 1736, Penn felt it necessary to allow settlers to proceed westward to protect his interests. Beginning in January 1733/34 Blunston began issuing licenses in the Cumberland Valley, west of the Susquehanna River. These licenses became known as Blunston Licenses and were later upheld by both the Land Office and the State Courts.

The entire Valley was not available for settlement. In 1731 a letter had been written to the Shawnee sachem Peter Chartier advising him that they were laying out a tract of land for the Seneca Indians starting on the west bank of the Susquehanna River and extending westward five or six miles to include all the land between the Conogowaitet [*sic*] and the Shaawna Creek. This letter was

cial appointments. In 1673 he served as a constable and is reported as the first person in Pennsylvania to have held that office. In 1684 he served on a jury involving witchcraft, and in 1685 he is listed as Supervisor of Highways. His early immigration and his involvement as a public servant obviously were significant in the raising of his frontier sons.

Tobias's eldest brother James, a carpenter, frontiersman, early Indian trader and interpreter, was one of the first settlers in Donegal, future Lancaster County, when it was organized in 1722. He became the first justice of the peace in that area. James and another brother, John, a miller and Indian trader, were listed on the Conestoga tax list as early as 1718. John and James were authorized, along with several others, to settle in York County to blunt the advancement of the Marylanders, probably as early as 1728. When testifying at a hearing in 1740, James stated he had known the River Susquehanna since 1690. The role of James and John in the Maryland-Pennsylvania Border War is another story, and in particular John became an embarrassment to Tobias.

Tobias, the youngest of Albertus four surviving sons, was also a frontiersman, but he was considerably more involved in public affairs than his brothers. In 1724 Tobias was appointed a justice in Chester County. Four years later, Tobias, along with Samuel Blunston and John Wright, were part of a group of twelve "fit and well qualified persons" who were appointed by the Lieutenant Governor to establish the boundary of the new county that would be separated from Chester County. In May of 1729, Lancaster County was formed, and Hendricks, Blunston and Wright, along with seven others were appointed as justices of the peace with the requirement that any three of them could conduct the quarter sessions. The records indicate that Tobias only missed one quarter session from November 1729 until his death in 1739. In 1734 the sheriff reported that Tobias Hendricks was elected to be a County Commissioner for the ensuing three years.

Thomas Penn responded to Wright's request as follows:

Tobias Hendricks Philadelphia May 6, 1736

Upon an application made to me on thy behalf by John Wright to allow a settlement on the land laid out for the Indians on or against Paxtang together with a letter from Captain Civility, Shilellamy and some other Indians giving their consent thereto, and also my own desire that some person should be settled on that side as a magistrate to keep peace among the inhabitants. I think it is proper to acquaint thee under what restriction I shall consent to it. As this tract was laid out for the Shawnees who were to be directed by the Five Nations to come back and settle there and this government has engaged that the land shall be

for their use. Whenever upon the application of the Five Nations made to us that the settlers must be removed, thou must be content to move also. Whether it shall be worth the while to settle on these considerations, thou best knows, I am

Thomas Penn.

With this authorization Tobias moved quickly and established his residence in future Lower Allen Township, probably wanting to get his garden planted in June. Thus Tobias Hendricks as a Lancaster County Commissioner and a magistrate became the first public official to reside in the future Cumberland County. Other than tax collectors, a part time job, there is no record of any other public official residing in the Cumberland Valley until 1750 when the county was formed.

In the fall of 1736, Edward Smout prepared the first survey of the Indian land which later became known as Lowther Manor. The Map indicates the presence of three buildings on the Manor: John Harris's Ferry House, Peter Chartier's trading post on the banks of the Susquehanna River near what is now 16 th Street in New Cumberland, and a structure on the road from Taeff or Simpsons Ferry Road to Carlisle in Lower Allen Township. Later maps showed this same house with the notation "Widow Hendricks". It was on the west side of the springs and on the south side of the road, probably opposite the recently (c2000) demolished stone house know as the George Rupp's. Interestingly Rev. Conway Wing's *History of Cumberland County* (1879) includes illustrations, one of which shows the Rupp stone house and across the road a small frame house then owned by H Neidig. Behind Neidig's house a third small log house can be seen, with the entrance facing the stream and not the trail which later became the road. This house could possibly be the original Hendrick's house. The log house was removed between 1879 and 1937.

The route passing the Hendricks home site was originally an Indian trail from the Indian village at the mouth of the Yellow Breeches Creek in New Cumberland to Letort's Springs (Carlisle). The original foot trail was gradually widened by the pack animals of the early traders. It was over a decade before the first of the wagon roads would be developed in the Cumberland valley.

The Manor remained empty, no settlers and no Indians, only the Hendricks log cabin and the ferry house at John Harris's crossing. The Indian game management program of burning the woods between the Conodoguinet and the Yellow Breeches, to promote the growth of ground cover for use by small game, had long since ended, and the west shore was again becoming reforested. This periodic burning resulted in the area being known as "the barrens". There were no roads on either side of the Susquehanna, only Indian paths. The nearest

neighbors were miles away, and the nearest location for supplies was Harris's trading post on the east side of the river or the town of Lancaster. Tobias's frequent trips to Lancaster to fulfill his duties as County Commissioner and his attendance at the quarter sessions of the court were on foot or horseback. In spite of his travel requirements, Tobias was re-appointed a Lancaster County justice in October 1734 to serve through the end of 1739. The 1739 estate inventory after Tobias's death listed two mares but did not include any wagons or coaches. Ironically, at the May 1739 quarter session, the last session attended by Tobias, a road from the Susquehanna River at John Harris's Ferry to the town of Lancaster was approved.

In addition to his public service to the people of the valley, Tobias and his wife, Catherine, raised seven surviving children who became part of the frontier life. Four of their children were involved in the Indian trade, and one son, Abraham, was killed by the Indians in Ohio during Pontiac's War. Another son, David, was captured by the Indians and taken to Montreal and became a French prisoner. Their son Tobias Jr. gave up his Indian trading and built a log tavern a mile to the north of the family cabin on the Great Road, now Market St. in Camp Hill.

After Tobias's death in October or November 1739, his wife continued to live in their log cabin with some of the children until the mid-1760s. Their son Tobias Jr. remained close to home, and by the 1740s had built and was operating a tavern, known as the "Sign of the White Horse." While Tobias Jr. had been permitted to build his tavern on Manor ground, he did not come into ownership of that ground until the early 1770s. Apparently legal restrictions prohibited him from acquiring one of the original subdivided parcels, and he eventually purchased it from an intermediary. There is no record pertaining to the initial establishment of Tobias's tavern on Manor property, but it has been assumed by historians that Tobias Jr. continued the Manor caretaker role first assigned to his father. After Tobias Jr.'s death in 1779, the tavern passed through several owners until 1796 when John Bowman acquired the site and replaced the log tavern with a stone structure which still exists at 2324 Market St. in Camp Hill.

The Hendricks family's call to duty and patriotism did not end with Tobias's children. Shortly after the "the shot heard 'round the world" at Bunker Hill in June 1775, the politicians of Cumberland County called a meeting which created a "Military Association." As his father Tobias Jr. had in 1743, William signed on and was appointed captain of one of the two companies formed in Cumberland County. They quickly formed up and headed for New England. After a 28-day march the Cumberland County troops covered 432 miles and

then participated in the skirmishes at Cambridge. A month later found Hendricks's Company part of a small force that attacked Quebec where he was killed in action.

The Hendricks established their mark as leading frontiersmen in the early development of Pennsylvania. Tobias Hendricks was willing to move into the advancing frontier to protect the Manor that the Penns had promised to the Indians while continuing his public responsibilities in Lancaster. Tobias Hendricks was the first public servant to reside in what would eventually become Cumberland County.

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Jacob Fought's Early Years in Cumberland County (1798-1811)

Stephen B. Hatton

Introduction

Jacob Fought, blacksmith and tavern keeper of Cumberland County in the first third of the nineteenth century, became well-known in and around Carlisle at about the time of the War of 1812. He rose in prominence in the late 1810s through the 1820s and into the 1830s. He had business, legal, and social dealings with many professionals, businessmen, farmers, tradesmen, common folk, and even criminals.

Though he has been mentioned in passing in several books and articles,¹ nothing has been published with him as its main subject, and almost nothing has appeared in print about his early years in the County. This article fills those gaps. It describes the first fourteen years of his Cumberland County life when he was establishing his dual careers, making rural moves, settling in Carlisle, making social connections, and beginning his long involvement with the civil and criminal justice system.² This background will enable a better understanding of his subsequent life in the County.

Arrival in Cumberland County

The earliest documented date for Jacob Fought's presence in Cumberland County is 24 April 1798, when he purchased 78 acres and 27 perches from John and Catrina Cole.³ This land was the southeasterly part of a 407-acre piece of land a warrant for which was granted to Samuel Lucas in 1752.⁴ It was situated in Middleton Township, in present-day North Middleton Township, a little north northwest of where Waggoner's Gap Road crosses the Conodoguinet Creek. The western edge of his property was sliced by Meetinghouse Run.⁵ Jacob probably moved here to be close to his brother, Frederick, who was in the County by 1795,⁶ and also to his sister Christina and brother-in-law, Benjamin Crane, all of whom lived at the time in the same general area in Middleton Township.

A brief description of Jacob's house is found in the United States Direct Tax schedule of 1798,⁷ sometimes referred to as the Glass Tax because its levy was based partly on the number of windows in a dwelling. His house was a wood structure, 22 feet by 20 feet. It was a one-story dwelling with two windows and six lights. There were also a 50- by 20-foot barn, and a blacksmith shop that was 20 by 16 feet. His neighbor was widow Leonard, undoubtedly the widow of Daniel Lenhart who accidentally drowned in 1797.⁸ Jacob's dwelling was valued at \$300 for tax purposes.

In 1799, Jacob was assessed at a rate of \$280 for his real estate, and an additional \$64 for one horse and three cows, for a total of \$344.⁹ In 1800, he still lived on the same property, and in the same township as his brother, Frederick, his brother-in-law, Benjamin Crane, and another brother, John.¹⁰

First Involvement With the Court

Although Jacob's first involvement with the Court was relatively minor, it is important because it was the first of several scores of other cases in which he was involved. His role in these later cases ranged from plaintiff to defendant, witness to bail bondsman, serving as tent, that is, providing surety for appearances, and jurist.

In this first case, he was a defendant. Hugh McFadin accused Jacob Fought of killing his ox.¹¹ McFadin alleged that in the spring of 1800, Jacob shot his brown draught ox. The bond for court appearance was set at 40 pounds. The co-bondsmen for Jacob's court appearance were Jacob's brother, Frederick, and Philip Kinkle, also of Middleton Township. The *capias* was dated 11 April 1800, and the bond was signed 25 August 1800. The court date was set for 1 September 1800, and the original bond was assigned to Hugh McFadin, implying a finding of debt of Jacob to Hugh for the price of the bull, placed at \$100.

Career as Blacksmith

Jacob Fought had a blacksmith shop in 1798 as recorded in the U. S. Direct Tax. Some time between 1 February 1807 and 1 February 1808, he did blacksmith work for the County.¹² This included repairs to the Courthouse Bell and irons for prisoners. For the former, he provided a written account of work done.¹³

The work done in 1807 and 1808 at the jail included that associated with Edward Donnelly, a well-known convicted murderer of his wife.¹⁴ In late summer 1807, Jacob Fought put a pair of hobbles, or leg cuffs, and handcuffs on Donnelly. In the fall, he removed handcuffs, loosened hobbles, and made other similar adjustments during the fall and into the winter of early 1808. This included moving the prisoner and chaining him to a wall. On 5 February 1808, three days before Donnelly's date with the hangman, Jacob made a hook for the gallows.¹⁵

He did other work at the jail, including making a new bolt for a cellar door, fixing door hinges, making rivets, screws, and fixing two locks, one for an outside door, and one for an inside door, perhaps a cell door. Jacob Fought did further repairs at the jail in 1810.¹⁶ The 1811 tax rates identify him as a blacksmith.¹⁷

One case that came to court in 1818 sheds much light on some of the kinds of blacksmith work Jacob did in the private sector.¹⁸ This case lists work done between 1806 and 1810. Much blacksmith work was done for his neighbor, George Pattison, a saddler. Of course, most of this work was in connection with George's business. Objects worked on included bridle bits, neck buckles, britchband rings, saddles, hipstrap rings, crupper rings, saddletrees, platings, irons for side straps, belly band buckles, and buckles for a sleigh harness. Some work was specified for women's saddles and some for men's.

But some of the work was outside the realm of saddle work. This included a plow coulter, upsetting an ax, repairs to buckets, making a drum on a stove, making a grubbing hoe, plow irons, and even repairing a window frame.

It should be noted that George Pattison counter-claimed that Jacob owed him for saddle work. Some customers in need of both leather and iron work brought their saddles to George and others brought them to Jacob. George and Jacob then cooperated in completing the work.

Career as Innkeeper Begins¹⁹

On January 26, 1801, an advertisement was written, published two days later, for the lease of a tavern, house, and farm formerly owned by Daniel Lenhart.²⁰ This is the same man who accidentally drowned, and whose widow was a neighbor of Jacob. Jacob probably heard about the forthcoming lease before its publication, and became interested in the prospect of innkeeping, particularly as the tavern was located in his immediate neighborhood. The vendue was held on 14 February 1801 on the premises of the property to be let, located about three miles from Carlisle on the road leading to Waggoner's Gap.

Jacob Fought was the highest bidder. As a result, he sold his property on 28 February 1801 to Peter Drear, whose name may be seen on a survey of property made not too long after.²¹

Jacob petitioned for a license to operate the tavern during March term 1801.²² The tavern, "Sign of the Black Horse," had been operated by Daniel Lenhart from 1793 until his death in 1797, then for one year by Christiana Lenhart. In 1799, it was operated by Philip Lenhart.²³ It was operated by David Wonderlich in 1800 because his tenure is referenced in Jacob's 1801 petition.²⁴ Among those recommending Jacob's character were David Wonderlich, George Weise, also a tavern keeper, and Michael Kosch, who was both a neighbor and a guardian of the estate of Daniel Lenhart.

The house was described as a two-story log house with a cellar, a kitchen, and stabling.²⁵ On the property were an orchard and a meadow.

Jacob renewed his application for the same tavern in August term 1801.²⁶ This petition confirms that he lived in the house. This second petition also was signed by Michael Kosch, by Johannes ("John") Sponsler, later to be named with Jacob in a number of documents, by his brother-in-law, Benjamin Crane, and by his brother, Frederick Fought, among others.

The house and the 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres it was on were sold by Jacob Wolf, Jr., a co-administrator of Daniel Lenhart's estate, to Anthony Houtz of Carlisle, a minister.²⁷ Both this deed and Jacob's August 1801 petition specify that the tavern was located on the "great" road leading from Carlisle to Waggoner's Gap.

Early Inns/Early Moves

In spite of the sale of the tavern, "Sign of the Black Horse," in 1802, Jacob Fought continued to operate it for two more years. Jacob Fought petitioned for a tavern license in August session 1802.²⁸ The petition states that he had kept a house of public entertainment, and that he wished "to continue the same." This was filed under the name Jacob Voight.



Moore's Tavern, also known as Cumberland Hall, in Dickinson Township.

Photo by A. A. Line. c. 1900

In 1804, Jacob Fought moved to Dickinson Township, where in March, he petitioned to keep another tavern.²⁹ In that petition, he stated that he had had a tavern in Middleton Township for a series of years, another indication that the "Sign of the Black Horse" had been run by him from 1801 until or shortly before March 1804.³⁰

The tavern in Dickinson Township was Moore's Tavern, also known as Cumberland Hall.³¹ This structure was built in 1788 by James Moore, and is still standing. It is located on Walnut Bottom Road about seven miles from Carlisle's square. Described in the petition as situated between Carlisle and Shippensburg, it was located on the mail stage route between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. George Washington passed this house on the way to quell the Whiskey Rebellion. The property also contained a blacksmith shop which must have attracted Jacob.³²

In 1805, Jacob Fought moved to his fourth residence, close to his original one.³³ This tavern, the name of which is unknown, was located in North Middleton Township on the east bank of the Conodoguinet Creek on the road leading to Waggoner's Gap. This was at the fording place of the Creek. This house was formerly occupied by David Williamson, who ran the tavern prior to Jacob Fought.³⁴ In 1806, the tavern was run by Maximilian Spidell, and in his petition he references Jacob's tenure.³⁵

Because this tavern was located on the Conodoguinet Creek, sometimes stray animals would end up here unable to cross the Creek and penned in by the road. This happened on 7 November 1805, when a sorrel horse, about seven years old, came to Jacob's property.³⁶ The owner was asked to claim the horse at George Weise's tavern.

Again, in January 1806, two red and white calves about nine months old wandered onto Jacob's property.³⁷ The owner was urged to claim them.

Jurist

In May 1805, while living on the plantation where he would soon find the three stray animals, Jacob Fought served on two juries. In the first, the defendant was Robert Moore, and in the second, the defendant was John McGinnis.

In the first case, Henry Rheem accused Robert Moore of assaulting him.³⁸ The alleged assault occurred on 30 March 1805. Not many details have sur-

Look here!

A VARIETY OF CURIOUS

LIVING ANIMALS.

To be seen at Mr. Jacob Fought's inn, (in Carlisle) from 8 o'clock A. M. until 9 P. M.—The public are again presented with an opportunity of beholding NINE different & curious animals; 7 of which are alive; the most singular perhaps ever seen in this country.—A large male *ELK*, measuring from his hoof to the tip of his horn, 11 feet 4 inches, and his mane under his neck is 6 inches long.—A *PIG* with 5 feet, one like a human arm & hand. This pig is allowed to be a great natural curiosity.—A *WILD RAM*, imported by Captain Charles, from the Island of Otaheita; having 4 horns, one projecting from his forehead 15 inches, and the other 3 are round his neck. *LAMB* with 5 legs; one grown out of his breast, longer than any other of his legs. *Pelican*, from East-India; this bird can hold 6 quarts of water in his bill at one time, and can likewise swallow one pound of beef at once, & measures from one end of his wing to the other 7 feet, can reach 6 feet high with his bill [which is 16 inches long] as he stands on the floor. This is the only one in this country.—*Royal Eagle*, from West-India; and an *APPE*, also from West-India.—All of the above animals are alive.

1816 ad for a wild animal menagerie to be displayed outside Fought's tavern in Carlisle.

Freiheits Fabne, 21

March 1816

vived about this assault. Henry Rheem's name comes up numerous times in connection with other fights. On 4 July 1804, for example, George Reid accused Henry of beating him with a cowskin and throwing his hat in a spring. Henry's response was that John O'Brien threatened to throw him in the mud. Henry Rheem, a tanner, also was linked with Jacob Fought in many events beginning with this case against Robert Moore and ranging to an event in 1815.

Robert Moore was indicted on assault and battery.³⁹ Jacob Fought served on the jury that found him guilty, and Moore was ordered to pay \$10 penalty plus court costs, and \$100 surety for good behavior for one year.

In the second case, Owen Coll alleged that John McGinnis, merchant in Carlisle, assaulted and beat him in the public square on 20 May 1805.⁴⁰ In his sworn testimony, John Johnson also alleged that John McGinnis and others called Owen Coll, Thomas Kernon, and himself rascals. A conversation ensued, presumably over the veracity of the charge of rascality, whereupon John McGinnis hit John Johnson, then John Johnson hit John McGinnis back.

Johnson and Kernon were then followed by McGinnis and those with him as far as W. Gray's porch, at which place McGinnis hit Johnson again. Johnson then put McGinnis on the ground.

During a pause in the fight, Johnson and Kernon continued on their way to the house of Kernon's father, all the while followed by McGinnis and those with him. At this point, it was alleged that McGinnis and those with him attacked Kernon, Sr.'s house with stones, and tried to open Kernon's door.

Hearing the ruckus, Kernon's father, John, came to the door and ordered McGinnis and those with him to leave. McGinnis then put dirt on John Kernon. Sometime during this exchange, McGinnis hit Thomas Kernon on the arm.

McGinnis was indicted for malicious mischief for the attack on John Kernon's house and for the attack on John Kernon, but apparently not for the original attack on Thomas Kernon that started this incident. Jacob Fought was on the jury that found John McGinnis not guilty.

John McGinnis became well-known to the criminal courts. In 1809, he was indicted on a charge of insulting James Hamilton, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.⁴¹ In 1811, McGinnis was indicted for attacking the house of James Noble.

Miscellaneous Business Transactions

There are a number of other business transactions in which Jacob Fought was a participant in the years prior to the War of 1812. These reveal some of the social as well as financial commerce in which Jacob engaged.

On 18 December 1806, William Dawson, a weaver, petitioned the court for protection under the laws of insolvency.⁴² Among his creditors was Jacob Fought

whom he owed \$0.50, for what is not documented, but this was likely for blacksmith work. It is not known exactly when this bill was incurred. Several names, soon to become familiar for being among the associates of Jacob Fought, were also listed as creditors, including John Kernon, mentioned previously in the case against John McGinnis.

On 27 January 1807, Jacob Fought and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Crane, signed two bonds payable to Jacob Wittiright, but subsequently assigned to Peter Wittiright.⁴³ The first bond was for 83 pounds 15 shillings. The first payment was to be 41 pounds 17 shillings and 6 pence due on 10 February 1808. A payment of \$36 was made on 1 April 1809, another of \$10 was made 12 March 1810, and a third of \$10 was made 17 March 1810.

The second bond was for 61 pounds 18 shillings. The first payment was to be 30 pounds 19 shillings on 1 April 1808.

In August 1810, Peter Wittiright sued Jacob and Benjamin to obtain payment for the debt balance plus interest. The court appearance was 6 August 1810, led to a fieri facias demand, and a court appearance to settle on 6 April 1812. The debt was settled, leaving court costs of \$8.82 unpaid, with a follow-up court appearance on 4 April 1814. What Jacob and Benjamin did with the borrowed money is not known. Perhaps Jacob needed it for capital expenditure in his blacksmith business.

On 8 September 1807, Joshua Craig filed for insolvency.⁴⁴ In this case, it is uncertain whether Jacob owed Joshua or Joshua owed Jacob, as the account(s) is indicated as unsettled.

On 26 February 1807, Nicholas Sponsler of Middleton Township was accused of assaulting Andrew Kerr.⁴⁵ John Sponsler, who served as a character reference in Jacob's August 1801 tavern petition, and William Curley were accused of assisting in the assault. Nicholas Sponsler was indicted, found guilty, and ordered to offer surety on condition of good behavior for two years. Jacob Fought also provided \$200 surety on condition of Nicholas' good behavior for two years.⁴⁶ Andrew Kerr gave the same surety for his own behavior also for two years.

Jacob Fought also attended a couple of estate vendues during this period. On 18 February 1809, he attended the vendue of James Reed,⁴⁷ also a blacksmith, of Carlisle. There he bought a mandrel for \$3.65, and a lot of weights for \$0.09. He also purchased 28 pounds of iron. Attending this vendue were his brother, Peter, William Dawson, the insolvent, and others who were documented as future associates, some of whom he likely knew at this time.

Jacob Fought attended the vendue of Jacob Wolf, almost certainly a former neighbor and father of the co-administrator of Daniel Lenhart's estate.⁴⁸ The

vendue was held 4 December 1810, and based on the names of those who attended, probably was held in Middleton Township, Jacob's original neighborhood. Jacob Wolf, Sr. had lived next to Jacob Fought's original property. At this vendue, Jacob Fought purchased a sow with a yoke, one ton of hay, two scythes, and 20 bushels of corn, all on note. Among those who attended were Jacob Wolf, Jr., son of the deceased, Hugh McFadin whose bull Jacob shot and killed in 1800, Jacob's brother-in-law, Benjamin Crane, and others whose names were to crop up in future dealings with Jacob.

Jacob Fought is also named as a debtor in an unusual case. Frederick Fogle, an innkeeper who lived not far from Jacob in Carlisle, filed for insolvency. But Fogle tried to sell some possessions in an attempt to deprive his creditors from their just compensation. For this he was criminally indicted.⁴⁹

Move to Carlisle; the Plough and Harrow

It is believed that Jacob Fought moved to Carlisle in 1806 where he remained until 1837. He is listed in Carlisle in the 1810 census⁵⁰ and appears in the Carlisle Tax Rates in 1808.⁵¹ The insolvent William Dawson was a Carlisle resident, and a number of his and Joshua Craig's respective other creditors are known to have been Carlisle residents. Also, it is reasonable to believe that the County Jail and Courthouse would hire a borough blacksmith for repairs, and we know those occurred in 1806, 1807, and 1808. Finally, George Pattison, the saddler for whom he did much saddle repair beginning in 1806, lived near the center of Carlisle, on High Street.

Having been out of the tavern keeping business since 1806, Jacob Fought renewed this career and filed a petition to run a tavern near the center of Carlisle in April term 1811.⁵² This tavern, "Sign of the Plough and Harrow," was operated by John Peters from 1807-1810, and prior to that, by George Stine (1805-1807).⁵³ This was a frame house with one end made of stone, situated on lot #268, on the south side of High Street between Bedford and East streets.⁵⁴ Originally owned by John Kerr,⁵⁵ it was sold by John Peters to Jacob Fought with the mortgage held by John Peters.

Though the petition was applied for in April 1811, it appears not to have been approved until the August session of that year.⁵⁶ Jacob's newspaper notice of 1 August 1811 states that "he has commenced the Tavern keeping business" at the "Sign of the Plough and Harrow."⁵⁷ Here he had a hostler, a variety of liquors, much food, and accommodations for travelers.

Although there is ample evidence that Jacob continued his work as a blacksmith for many years, his career as innkeeper was to dominate the rest of his working life, and this set the stage for his increasing local repute.

Early Involvement With Criminal Justice

Jacob Fought began his proprietorship of the Plough and Harrow less than one year prior to the beginning of the War of 1812. In this brief time, he was rewarded by new business and prospects of prosperity, but was also thrown into an environment where the rowdy, along with friends, gathered. Along with the rowdy and boisterous came fights, and along with fights came criminal behavior, indictments, and court cases.

The events of the cases to be described occurred in the two-month period of November and December 1811. They involved a complex of accusation and counter-accusation.

The first two criminal cases, *Commonwealth v James Noble*, and *Commonwealth v James Wilson*, stemmed from the same event that occurred in Jacob Fought's tavern.

In *Commonwealth v James Noble*, James Wilson averred that on 29 November 1811, James Noble called him a name, threatened him, then hit him with his fists.⁵⁸ Later, as James Wilson was sitting on the stove, James Noble asked him where he lived. When Wilson refused to tell him, Noble asked him whether he was a d****d rascal for biting a man. Noble then used Wilson's wagon wheel to hit Wilson on the head and body, causing blood to run from his head and body.

In *Commonwealth v James Wilson*, James Noble gave a different version of what happened.⁵⁹ Noble said that while at Jacob Fought's inn, he swapped horses with a wagoner. He said that James Wilson, a wagoner, grabbed him by the collar and threw him to the ground. When Noble got up, Wilson jumped at him and threw Noble down again. Wilson then bit Noble's right thumb. They got to their feet and grabbed each other. Wilson then bit Noble's left forefinger.

In the first case, James Noble was indicted in January 1812. He was found guilty and ordered to pay \$15. In the second case, James Wilson was indicted, also in 1812. Jacob Fought and his wife, Catherine, appeared as witnesses for the Commonwealth against James Wilson. The court date was set for 3 August 1812. James Wilson was found guilty and ordered to pay \$15.⁶⁰

Before turning to the next set of cases, it is important to review as background a civil case, *Isaac Hoffer v Henry Rheem*,⁶¹ the defendant having appeared earlier in this article. In this case, Isaac Hoffer, a barber, and Henry Rheem, a tanner, swapped coats, with Rheem agreeing to pay Hoffer \$1.50 because Hoffer's coat was considered that much greater in value. This coat trade occurred in the house, or inn, of Jacob Fought. Henry Rheem did not want to pay the \$1.50, so Isaac Hoffer sued him. Henry Rheem allegedly became angry at having to pay the \$1.50, and declared that if the justice of the peace ruled that he had to pay the \$1.50, he, Rheem, would take the issue to court.

The original court date was set for 9 November 1811, and later reset to 11 December 1811. However, because Rheem did not appear in court, the case was continued until 18 December 1811. Again, the defendant refused the hearing and the trial. The next day, Jacob Fought signed an affidavit about the incident, and probably as a result of the affidavit and the defendant's non-appearance, the judgement was for the plaintiff, there was a debt levy of \$3.20 against Rheem, and execution was issued four days later. On 30 December 1811, a certiorari was issued and the court date on the certiorari was 1 January 1812. The court appearance was set for 19 February 1812. In May, the court reversed the proceeding, upon what grounds is not clear.

In his deposition, Jacob Fought stated that one night in his house, Henry Rheem and Isaac Hoffer swapped coats and Rheem was to give \$1.50 to Hoffer. Jacob Fought said that at the time, Rheem seemed "to be sensible of what he was doing." Rheem then threw his coat to Hoffer, and Hoffer threw his coat to Rheem. Jacob Fought declared that it seemed to be a fair trade, and that the oral agreement was a real bargain, that is, a genuine completed business transaction, or oral contract.

While the civil court case was proceeding, a confusing fight occurred in Jacob Fought's tavern on 3 or 4 December 1811. Jacob Fought was witness to the incident. From this incident, which appears to have been a fight among Isaac Hoffer, Henry Rheem, and a third man by the name of George Morrison, arose three separate but related criminal cases.

In *Commonwealth v George Morrison*, Henry Rheem accused George Morrison of assault and battery.⁶² Witnesses to this incident were, besides Jacob Fought, Samuel Jackson, Jr., Abraham Laughridge, and Isaac Hoffer.

In *Commonwealth v Henry Rheem*, Isaac Hoffer accused Henry Rheem of assault and battery.⁶³ In this case, the oath and surety were recorded on 7 December. Again, witnesses obliged to give evidence were Abraham Laughridge, Samuel Jackson, Jr., Jacob Fought, and George Morrison, a sign that this was almost certainly based on the same event.

In *Commonwealth v Isaac Hoffer*, Henry Rheem accused Isaac Hoffer of assault and battery.⁶⁴ Witnesses included Abraham Laughridge, Jacob Fought, Samuel Jackson, Jr., as well as Jacob's wife, Catherine Fought. Jacob and his wife were witness for the Commonwealth. Thus, Jacob sided with Isaac in the civil case, but with Henry in the criminal case.

George Morrison was indicted. Henry Rheem's case was declared ignoramus, that is, the grand jury found the accusation against Rheem groundless. Isaac Hoffer was also indicted.

Conclusion

Discussing Jacob Fought's first fourteen years in Cumberland County lays the background for a fuller and better understanding of his later life in the community. The article portrays some of the lives and events in the County in this period of time.

It also shows Jacob Fought's life as reflective of his generation's creation of an egalitarian sociability. These years show his initiative, evident in his residential moves, dual careers, and work for the County. It also shows his participation in business and social relationships. In his life can be viewed a blurring of private and public worlds, illustrated not only in his blacksmith work for individuals as well as for the local government, but also in the intertwining of tavern and court life. Also, along with many in his generation, he actively participated in the newly democratized print world, using newspapers for placing notices of strays and a new inn, and reading them for notices of property for lease.

Jacob Fought appears to have balanced his drive for economic opportunity with a desire to make and help friends, tenting for good behavior surety, for example, or attending vendues for material bargains but also for social interaction. Thus, he participated in an energetic meritocracy, but not at the expense of others. He reaped the resulting rewards and risks. All these traits are common of his generation, and are what helped shape the local and national society.

Endnotes

1. John R. Miller, "The Old Taverns" (Carlisle: Hamilton Library Association Publications, 1907); Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *A History & Genealogy of Carlisle Cumberland County, Pennsylvania 1751-1835* (Dover: 1987); Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania 1750-1840* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994); Clarke W. Garrett, "Swan, Elephant, and Canaries: Public Performances in Carlisle," in *Cumberland County History* 14:1 (Summer 1997); Clarke Garrett, *In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1997).
2. An excellent background of this period in American history may be found in Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).
3. Deeds, Volume 1, O:170, Cumberland County Recorder of Deeds.
4. Survey, A18:256, Pennsylvania State Archives (hereafter PSA). A comparison of the plat drawn from the narrative description of the property at the time of Jacob Fought's sale to Peter Drear (Cumberland County Deeds, I, O:170) with the original survey drawn based on the warrant (A18:256, PS), and especially with the resurvey of a portion of the original property drawn in 1822 (B3:129, PSA) shows that Jacob's property was the southeastern part of Lucas' plot.

5. The precise location of this property can be determined by piecing together surveys for Robert Levers ("now Richard Peters") (Survey A24:250, PSA), William Brown (Survey A40:206, PSA), and the previously mentioned survey at A18:256, together with some of its resurveys.
6. 1795 Tax Rates, Middleton Township (see Helen I. Harman, *Cumberland County, Pennsylvania Tax Lists 1762-1829: Townships of Middleton, South Middleton and Dickinson*, compiled from Jere Zeamer Records (NSDAR, 1961) 41).
7. United States Direct Tax, third district, Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, microfilm item 521, Cumberland County Historical Society (hereafter CCHS).
8. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 209.
9. 1799 Tax Rates, Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, microfilm roll 1-6, CCHS.
10. 1800 U. S. Census, Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, National Archives microfilm M32, roll 38, 150, 157, 158.
11. *Hugh McFadin v Jacob Fought*, case file, September session 1800, bond and capias trespass, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
12. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 19 February 1808, page 4, column 1.
13. Account for work done at the Bell, file, CCHS.
14. D. W. Thompson, et. al. (eds), *Two Hundred Years of Cumberland County* (Carlisle: Hamilton, 1951) 99-104.
15. Account of work against Commissioners, March 1808, file, CCHS; see also *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 17 February 1809, page 4, column 2.
16. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 8 February 1811, page 1, column 1.
17. 1811 Tax Rates, microfilm 1-7, CCHS.
18. *Jacob Fought v George Pattison*, case file, August session 1818, especially the book account, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
19. Two good sources for understanding the role of inns in this era are Elise Lathrop, *Early American Inns and Taverns* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1926), and Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (New York: Fraunces Tavern Museum, 1983).
20. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 28 January 1801, page 3, column 4.
21. Survey, A18: 257; survey drawn 30 November 1803, PSA.
22. Tavern License Petition, March term 1801, CCHS; Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 9:73, microfilm 1011067, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter FHL).
23. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 209.
24. Tavern License Petition, March term 1801, CCHS. David Wonderlich's tenure at the "Sign of the Black Horse" is not mentioned in Schaumann, *Taverns*, 209.
25. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 9 September 1801, page 4, column 3.

26. Tavern License Petition, August term 1801, CCHS; Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 9:125, microfilm 1011067, FHL.
27. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 208.
28. Tavern License Petition, August term 1802, CCHS. His tenure during 1802 and 1803 are not included in Schaumann, *Taverns*, 209.
29. Tavern License Petition, March term 1804, CCHS; Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 10:101, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
30. See Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 10:45, August session 1803, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
31. See Nancy Van Dolsen, *Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1990).
32. The 1805 Tax Rates list him in Dickinson Township where he was taxed for two horses and one cow (microfilm 1-6, CCHS).
33. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket, 10:209, June session 1805, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
34. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 207. This was probably the property rented by vendue in February 1805, following David Williamson's death (*Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 15 February 1805, page 2, column 3).
35. Tavern License Petition, August term 1806, CCHS.
36. *Carlisle Herald*, 15 November 1805, page 3, column 4.
37. *Carlisle Herald*, 24 January 1806, page 3, column 4.
38. *Commonwealth v Robert Moore*, case file, June session 1805, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
39. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 10:192, June session 1805, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
40. *Commonwealth v John McGinnis*, case file, June session 1805, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
41. This account may be read in Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, "Murder, Mischief and Mayhem in the Good Old Days in Cumberland County," *Cumberland County History* 10:1 (Summer 1993) 20-21.
42. Insolvency Petition, William Dawson, 18 December 1806, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
43. *Peter Wittiright v Jacob Fought and Benjamin Crane*, case file, August session 1810, April session 1812, April session 1814, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
44. Insolvency Petition, Joshua Craig, 8 September 1807, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
45. *Commonwealth v Nicholas Sponsler*, case file, April session 1807, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
46. See Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 10:414, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
47. Vendue, James Reed, 18 February 1809, CCHS. Follow-up vendues were held on 27 March 1814 and 11 September 1827.
48. Vendue, Jacob Wolf, 4 December 1810, filed 9 September 1812, CCHS.

49. *Commonwealth v Frederick Fogle*, November session 1809, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
50. 1810 U.S. Census, Carlisle borough, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, National Archives microfilm M252, roll 48, page 32.
51. 1808 Tax Rates, Carlisle, microfilm 1-7, CCHS.
52. Tavern License Petition, April term 1811, CCHS.
53. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 58.
54. *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 6 September 1797, page 1, column 1.
55. Schaumann, *History and Genealogy*, 91.
56. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket, 11:353, August session 1811, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
57. *Carlisle Herald*, 2 August 1811, page 3, column 4.
58. *Commonwealth v James Noble*, case file, January session 1812, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
59. *Commonwealth v James Wilson*, case file, January session 1812, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
60. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 11:439, January session 1812, microfilm 1011068, FHL.
61. *Isaac Hoffer v Henry Rheem*, case file, January term 1812, Cumberland County Prothonotary.
62. *Commonwealth v George Morrison*, case file, January session 1812, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
63. *Commonwealth v Henry Rheem*, case file, January session 1812, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
64. *Commonwealth v Isaac Hoffer*, case file, January sessions 1812, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.

The One-Room School at Historic Peace Church

Dr. Stanley N. Miller

As time passes there is an increasing nostalgia for the one-room school which so many persons attended and which passed from the countryside in the 1950s. Nationwide, in the early 1900s, an astonishing one-half of the children attended 212,000 one-room schools.¹ However, as school consolidation progressed, by 1947 the number of one-room schools was reduced to 75,000, and by 1960, they had virtually passed from the scene.² Cumberland County followed the national trend. In 1950-51, there were over 80 one-room schools in the county, but by 1957-58, according to the Cumberland County Education Directory, none were left.³ They were the victims of the school reorganization and consolidation which changed the school configuration after World War II.

An example of the rapidity of the closing of the one-room schools is contained in a brief description of the Big Spring Joint School System in the Education Directory of 1955-56. "The new school year will be a historic month for the citizens of the area. The new year will see the closing of twenty-five one and two-room schools and the opening of the six-room Mifflin Elementary School, the six-room Frankford Elementary School, the eight-room Plainfield Elementary School, the addition at the Jacksonville Elementary School, and the twelve hundred pupil Big Spring High School."⁴ In a similar vein the Cumberland Valley Joint School System in the same Directory reported, "The Silver Spring Elementary School was occupied December 15 at which time the nine one and two-room rural elementary schools in Silver Spring Township were closed."⁵

With the closing of the rural one-room schools, the ubiquitous yellow school bus appeared on the back roads and highways carrying students to their new large and modern schools.

It follows, then, that the generations of people who attended the one-room schools are also passing from our midst; the youngest are in their 50s while the oldest are 90 and above. What the one-room school was like physically and the activities of the school day are in their memories. Interestingly, there are more

written accounts of one-room school days from the 19th than from the 20th century. In the 19th century, these country schools were often called the common school or the "blab" school. This unusual appellation is derived from the amount of rote recitation. However, if the history of the one-room school in the 20th century is to be preserved, it is important, then, to capture the memories of members of our older generation who attended them. The History Committee of the Friends of Historic Peace Church chaired by Miriam Miller was fortunate to locate three former students who attended the one-room school at Peace Church, commonly known as the Stone Church School, during the 1920s. The former students agreed to share their memories in a Sunday afternoon program at Historic Peace Church on September 9, 2001.

The final part of this article is a recounting of their reminiscences which describe the building and the activities of the school day. Those of us who did not attend a one-room school will find some of their perceptions and conclusions surprising. We take for granted that a modern elementary school in order to be effective must have class sizes below 24, a school library, counselors, special teachers, audio visual aides, computers, and several administrators. The one-room school did not have any of these. It was usually a single building which housed one teacher, 40 to 50 pupils ranging in age from 6 to 16 usually in grades 1 to 8. The one teacher faced the daunting task of maintaining discipline, managing the pupils, and teaching all of the subjects to eight different grades.

To examine the 20th century Peace Church one-room school, however, it needs to be placed in its historical context in the Hampden Township, Shiremanstown, and Camp Hill area of Cumberland County. Rev. Anthony Hautz, pastor of the union church later known as the Salem Church, periodically crossed the Susquehanna River from Harrisburg to form the German Reformed Congregation in 1793 in what was then East Pennsborough Township.⁶ The congregation owned no building until 1797 when the congregation purchased the log house of the Shopp family. Its intended use was as a church and school until a stone church could be built. It was moved about one half mile to land purchased by the congregation for a church and burial ground. This location is at the present day corner of St. Johns Church and Trindle Roads.⁷

Beginning in 1797, the log building was used as both a church and school until the stone church was completed in 1799 at the same site. In 1806, the Poplar Grove Lutheran Congregation bought a one-half interest, and for the next 60 years the two congregations shared the church on alternate Sundays. In 1866, both congregations left the church for other locations. The Reformed Congregation is now in Mechanicsburg as the St. Paul's United Church of Christ,



The log school house at Peace Church as it appeared c. 1900. Hampden Township paid the congregation \$10.00 annually for the use of the building until it was demolished to make way for a brick building in 1902.

Photo by Charles Himes

and the Lutheran congregation is in Shiremanstown as St. John's Evangelical Lutheran. In 1967, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission acquired the church as a gift, and today it is operated under its auspices as a museum by the volunteers of the Friends of the Historic Peace Church.

The exact site of the wood school is uncertain although the foundation stones of the brick school which replaced it are evident on the west side of the St. John's Cemetery stone wall in front of an old hand pump near Trindle Road. Of course, the stonewall did not extend to Trindle Road as the present one does.⁸ Rather it ended at the present day gate which was at the back corner of the schoolhouse. The play area of the school extended west along Trindle Road from St. Johns Church Road for about 50 yards. The outside toilets were at the end of the school grounds, about 30 yards from the school and near Trindle Road.

The school was under the control of the church, for these German farmers were devout German Presbyterians who wanted their children to have a Christian education. They brought the tradition of religious education with them.⁹

The pastor paid an amount to the teacher as a tuition fee for each student. If the teacher was popular and the attendance high, his salary was accordingly larger. Because this was a church school, the day opened with singing and the Lord's Prayer or the Creed, and the Bible and the Catechism were among other textbooks.¹⁰

In the 1830s, when the public free school system was established, the school building was leased to East Pennsborough Township for school purposes.¹¹ Thus the school changed from a church school to a public school. When Hampden Township was created in 1845, its boundaries included the land where the school was located. In the Rupp manuscript collection at the Hamilton Library are two surviving leases to Hampden Township for school purposes, one dated 1858 and the other 1872. The Township was given the authority to remodel the building. Sometime during the 1840s, the logs were covered with weatherboard; the partition in the building was taken out; and a new floor and desks were installed.¹² According to a newspaper clipping quoted in *Lower Allen Township, a History*, the log building was torn down in 1902.¹³ The building was thought to be the oldest and longest in continuous use as a school in Cumberland County, 104 years.

The wood school building was replaced by a brick structure in 1902.¹⁴ It continued to be used as a school building until 1931, when the pupils were sent to Eberly Consolidated School located on the Carlisle Pike.¹⁵ Together the wood and brick buildings served as a school for 134 years. The Cumberland County School Directory indicates that three teachers served at the school during the last century—P.L. Beistline, Mabel Zimmerman, and Della Flickinger (later Lerew).¹⁶ Originally, the brick school had no water, electricity, or inside toilets. Toilets were added in the early 1920s, but were without running water. They were connected to the school on either side of the front porch and were entered from the inside of the school.

What was it like to attend this one-room school? The reminiscences of the three former students who shared their memories at Peace Church on September 9, 2001, provide some interesting insights. Participating in the program were former students D. Stoner Dietz, Carlisle (attended from 1917 to 1925), Claude Blosser, Camp Hill (attended from 1925 to 1931, and Harry E. Hamsher, Mechanicsburg (attended from 1926 to 1931). Stanley Miller, the author of this essay, moderated the program. The material below is taken from a transcription of the program.¹⁷ Comments of the participants have been edited for ease of reading and rearranged into logical topics for clarity of presentation. Extraneous comments are omitted. As much as feasible the former students are quoted directly to preserve the flavor of their remarks.



Students and teacher, Miss Mabel Zimmerman, at the Stone Church School, 1922–23.

Photo by J. Edwin Taylor of Dillsburg

The first question put to the students was, “How did you manage without water?” Stoner Dietz replied that in the mornings boys took a pail and dipper across St. Johns Church Road to the sexton’s house to get water. During the day the dipper was used by all of the pupils except for those who brought their own cups. Early in the 1920s a water cooler was placed in the school, and the students only had to press a button to get a drink of water.

From the standpoint of sanitation, it did not make much difference if one used the common dipper or dipped his/her own cup into the pail of water. Germs were shared. People of the present generation would be horrified by the thought of sharing a common drinking dipper. Yet it is doubtful if the parents or adults objected back then, for it was a common practice for a dipper to be hung beside a hand water pump for everyone’s use.

The other necessity affected by the lack of running water was the toilets. As mentioned previously the outhouses were located along Trindle Road, about 30 yards from the schoolhouse. The inside toilets were added in the early 1920s, but without running water. Stoner Dietz commented, “But I tell you that as far as the kids were concerned, it was a great improvement over walking clear down to the end of the playground.” After a comment about the discomfort of using the outside toilet in the cold of January, he replied, “It did not make any difference. At home we did not have inside plumbing either, so we had to walk outside so that was not too much of a change.”

There were comments about the differences between the world of the 1920s and today. Mostly, they contrasted the slowness of communications. Radios were just becoming popular so that news of world events was slow in reaching the people. Travel was limited by rough, primitive roads. Entertainment was provided by the children themselves. For instance, after sliding on the snow down a hill and climbing five times back up the hill again, the children were so tired they simply went home, ate supper, and went to bed. Discipline came from the home, and the students’ expectations were constrained by their limited experiences. “We just did not know any better.”

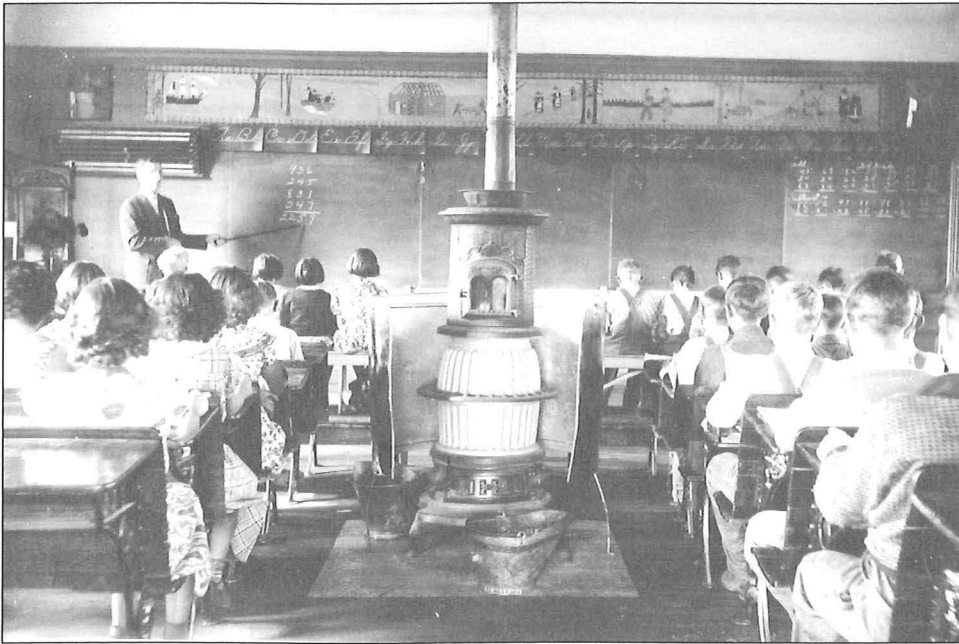
Harry Hamsher commented, “There was no such thing as a snow day. We came to school snow or no snow. I remember the winter of 1929-30. My brother and I, we lived on a farm on the Carlisle Pike then. . . We walked St. Johns Road on top of the snow.”

Clyde Blosser added, “One other thing about the school year. We went to school Labor Day or there about, and you had two days vacation during the year. You had Christmas, one day, and Thanksgiving, one day. And that’s all you had. You did not have a week or two weeks’ vacation. You had two days, Christmas and Thanksgiving.”

The school day started at 8 and closed at 3:30. There was a 15-minute recess in the morning and one in the afternoon. The students carried their lunches to school, and they ate at their desks during the one-hour lunchtime. Clyde Blosser commented, “We used to play a game about this building [Peace Church]. We had a group of kids on this side and a group of kids on that side. You threw the ball over the building and you caught it on the other side, and then we would all run around and tag the other people. Well, I tried from about the third grade and couldn’t get it over, fourth grade and couldn’t get it over, fifth grade still nothing. About the sixth grade I was finally about to throw the ball over that building. I remember that distinctly.”

Harry Hamsher added, “Yes, I had the same problem—I couldn’t get the ball over.” Stoner Dietz continued the discussion of the topic, “So this church, this building played a big part in our school life. Whether that is good or bad, I’m not sure. But anyway it was part of going to school and learning and so forth. And, of course, we used the front of the building here down to the road as a playground also. And everything worked out real well. And I remember we threw that ball over, and I think it was you were suppose to catch the ball and then run around and try to tag the people on the other side. We played a lot of ball.”

The moderator changed the subject to the school building by asking, “When you walked inside the school building, what did you see?”



Interior of a typical one-room school. This is a c. 1938 photo of students and their teacher, Frank Hair, at the Anderson School, Silver Spring Township.

Photo by J. Edwin Taylor of Dillsburg

Claude Blosser answered, "Five rows of seats. There were two double rows on this side, the left side when you walked in. They were double seats. There were two rows of them. Then down through the center was a single row. Then there were two more rows [of double seats] on this side [right side]. Generally the girls sat on this side and boys sat on that side, and there were two students to a seat. The larger seats were in the rear, and the smaller seats were in the front. The children in the first grade, second grade, third grade, and it graduated up."

Stoner Dietz continued, "To add a little bit to that, there was like a furnace up along one of the walls toward the front of the building. And this was a coal-burning furnace. We had to carry the coal. . . there was a basement or cellar, up the steps. And round this boiler there was like a jacket so that if the children got up against it, it wasn't hot enough to hurt them. And it was there for protection. So that's the way the building was heated."

Harry Hamsher recalled, "Stoner was saying about the furnace. I remember we would go in there on a cold morning especially on a Monday morning. The fire would probably go out on the weekend. The teacher would make the fire, and it would be cold in there, and we would gather around the furnace, maybe for an hour or two until we went back to our desks."

Stoner Dietz added, "And, of course, across the front wall was a blackboard, the whole way across the front of the building. And we would get up there and have arithmetic problems to work out on the board. Or spelling or whatever, and one of the things I remember most clearly was mental arithmetic. You get the class in front of the school, and you had these mental problems to solve. When you divide 12 by 144, what answer do you get? When you add three quarters, what's the answer? And I think that's one of the first things they could have had in the school because you are standing up in front of the whole school, really, and you had to think on your feet. And they had spelling the same way. Spelling bees. . . When the class was called up front to recite or go through their lessons, the rest of us were sitting at our desks. Hopefully we were doing our homework. So, I'll say this, the teachers were all very strict, and there was not a lot of foolishness going on, and when you got in front to make your presentations, there was total silence in the school."

Claude Blosser added his insight, "But it was not difficult for that woman because when she looked at you, you kept your mouth shut. The times were a little tough at that time, and I remember there was not enough money to buy a pencil sharpener. The boys had to sharpen the pencils with their knives."

Harry Hamsher continued to describe the school day. "Also I remember whenever that bell would ring in the morning, the first thing the teacher would read from the Bible, and then we would say the Lord's Prayer and pledge the allegiance to the flag. This is something I remember all through my life. And it is my opinion that we would probably be better off if we had that today."

I remember when we started in the first grade in school. At that time there was no kindergarten. In the first days we learned the ABCs and how to count. Then eventually we would go to addition and subtraction, and the teacher had cards with words on, and we would learn the words. That's how we learned the words and how to read. And she taught us arithmetic, the adding and subtracting, both multiplying and dividing. But we did not have any kindergarten. We did not know our ABCs or how to count or anything before we went to school, that was all part of the first grade."

Claude Blosser recalled, "And then they had penmanship. Ah, make the circle [demonstrating make Os]. Terrible."

The following exchange about recitations ensued:

Claude Blosser, "We used to have to recite poems."

Stoner Dietz, "Oh, yes."

Claude Blosser, "You had to recite a poem which you memorized."

Harry Hamsher, "Every month."

Claude Blosser, "Remember that?"

Harry Hamsher, "Every month."

Claude Blosser remembered, "As strange as it may seem. This is true. I was in the Christmas play when I was about six years old, and this is what I said, 'A birdie with a yellow bill hopped upon a window sill, cocked his shining eyes and said, ain't you shamed you sleepy head?'"

Stoner Dietz, "The Gettysburg Address. Do you remember that?"

The moderator changed the topic by commenting that he did not understand how one teacher could teach that many students all of the subjects in eight different grades.

The men explained that there were from two to ten students in each grade, and the teacher brought up each of the classes to sit on the front benches to do their lessons or recite while the rest of the students sat at their desks doing their homework or listening to what was going on in front.

The moderator asked, "As I understand, she would bring one class up at a time to her desk, and they would recite."

Claude Blosser clarified the moderator's comment, "Sure, but first, 'first grade please pass the class.' Then they would come up and sit on the bench and on the fronts of the double seats which were there. And then they would go through their little exercise. 'Little second grade please pass the class,' then the second grade would come up. If you would pay attention from one class to the next you would know what was coming,"

Harry Hamsher recalled, "I am like Claude. You could listen to the classes ahead of you, and you knew what was coming the next year. So sometime you didn't have to study too much on that."

One reason the students could anticipate what was coming in the next grade is that the same books were used year after year. At the end of each year, the students had to erase all of the marks in the textbooks and hand them in to the teacher. The next year the books were distributed again. If they finished doing their homework, they would listen to the lessons taking place in the front of the room.

Stoner Dietz explained, "I think the fact that you could hear what was going on in the other classes was an advantage. . . because you could not help but hear and you couldn't talk. The teacher would not let you talk to your classmate or anything so you either had to do some studying or listen to what was going on. And I think lots of times we were listening."

The moderator advanced to another subject. "I looked at some of these pictures [pictures of the children who attended the school], and some of these young ladies are petite young teachers, and then I looked at the students ranging in age from about 6 to 16, and some of those boys are pretty big. How in the world did she control all those kids?"

Harry Hamsher answered, "I think they were pretty well controlled before they came to school. At that time, I think the parents, well I know the parents told you that if you got a licking at school when you got home you were going to get another one. We know we went to school to learn, and this is what we tried to do. However, once in a while we would get a little off base, but the teacher really had no problem. She had a large paddle hanging on the wall if I remember correctly. But she very seldom ever used that. She didn't have to."

The moderator replied, "One of you mentioned to me that when she did use the paddle, she knew how to use it."

"Oh, yeah," came back the reply.

Continuing the subject of student behavior, Harry Hamsher observed, "At that time, it seemed that the older children would more or less look after the young children. Is that right?"

Stoner Dietz replied, "I think that's true. They would look after them. And we never had too many problems, I mean fights or anything else. I don't really remember any."

Claude Blosser agreed, "I don't remember any." He recalled a lighter moment, "I remember, I can't remember what the boy's name was, but he trapped skunks in the winter time, and he would skin the skunk, and he would manage to get a little of the odor on him somewhere. So Mrs. Lerew would send him home."

In concluding the program, the moderator asked, "Do you remember any disadvantages of going to a one-room school?"

The answers were not what the moderator expected.

Claude Blosser quickly replied, "We didn't know any better. There was not any other place to go."

Harry Hamsher added emphatically, "We were not disadvantaged."

Stoner Dietz added, "We did not have anything to compare it with."

All three of the students went on to a borough high school where they were top students, and they think in many ways they were ahead of their fellow students from the city. "Everybody did a pretty good job." Not only did they excel in high school, all had a successful adult career.

An obvious question is, what contributed to the success of this one-room school? The students mentioned repeatedly that the ability to listen to the lessons of the classes ahead of them contributed to their success. The pride in their voices was ample evidence of the value they placed in their teacher's demands and methods, mental arithmetic, for instance. They also commented on the attention to their lessons that was demanded of them, and the absolute silence required in the class. Finally, the environment of pupils with a wide range of

ages in a one-room school fostered a feeling of family in which the older pupils looked after the younger ones.

The three former students attended one of the better one-room schools. It was supported by the community and was provided with good facilities and teachers. However, there were a few other one-room schools with little support from their communities and with barely adequate facilities. Their former students might tell a different story about their school days.

Could the success of the one-room school be replicated? Probably not. Too much has changed in the intervening fifty years. Today's children are exposed to television's view of the larger world. Travel has become easy because of the auto and airplane. Further, the nature of the family has changed. Families with both parents working, and many with only one parent in the household, exert a major influence on their attitudes. Their attitudes towards authority, the school, and the teacher have changed. Finally the rural scene as we knew it has virtually disappeared. Where are the children who lived on farms that supported the family, and the family worked as a unit? We will, then, have to recall the one-room schoolhouse with fondness as part of the passing American scene. It is important also to record it and enter it into our history so that it is not forgotten.

Endnotes

1. Andrew Gulliford, *America's County Schools* (Washington D.C.; The Preservation National Trust Press), 1984), 35.
2. Raymond Bial, *One-Room School* (Boston; Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 36-37.
3. Cumberland County Schools Education Directory 1950-1951 (Carlisle, PA; 1950), Taken from a count of schools where only one teacher was assigned. Also Cumberland County Schools Education Directory 1957-1958 (Carlisle, PA; 1957), No school had only one teacher assigned to it.
4. Cumberland County Schools Education Directory 1956-57 (Carlisle, PA; 1955), 13.
5. *Ibid.*, 19.
6. Robert Grant Crist, *Peace Church* (Camp Hill; Hampden Township Civic Club, 1972), 11.
7. J.C. Longsdorf, "History of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Hampden Township, Cumberland Co. Pa. From its organization in 1787 to 1887. Also "A Short History of Peace Church, Reformed, 1797 to 1866," typescript; Chapter, "The History of the Old School House at Peace Church and the Teachers who taught there." Located in the files of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Shiremanstown, PA. Presumably the manuscript was originally handwritten. Some time later it was typed, and the sequence of chapters and pagination is unclear.

8. Pictures of the brick school dated circa 1902 show no stone wall from the school to Trindle Road. Foundation stones of the school which remain in the ground show the corner of the school against the end of the wall.
9. Walter J. Chantry, "Early (1650-1900) Schools in Cumberland County," typescript, 2. Hamilton Library, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle.
10. Longsdorf, 3
11. Crist, 12 Also "Rupp Manuscript Collection," Hamilton Library, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle.
12. M. Miller, ed., *Historic Peace Church 200th Anniversary 1998 Commemorative Book* (Camp Hill; Peace Church, 1998) 4.
13. Robert Grant Crist, *Lower Allen, A History* (Lower Allen Township, Cumberland County, PA; n.p. 1993), 71. Also *The Daily Journal* (Mechanicsburg, PA), August 15, 1902: An interesting item avers that people are securing wood from the school to make canes and rules as relics.
14. Robert Grant Crist, *Camp Hill, A History* (Camp Hill, PA, n.p., 1984) 17.
15. Harry Hamscher, interview by author, tape recording, Peace Church, 2 August 2000.
16. *Cumberland County Teachers' Directories 1905-1930* (Carlisle, PA: 1905-1931). P.L. Beistline, Mabel Zimmerman, Della Flickinger (Lerew) are the only three teachers' names associated with the Stone Church School.
17. "Transcript of Program Presented at Peace Church on Sunday, September 9, 2001," typescript. Located in the files of Peace Church.

Book Review

Wayne Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*.

University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2002. Map. Notes. Index. Pp. x111, 325. \$35.00.

Despite its title, this book covers more than the few months of the "Valley Forge Winter." Background material treats the period from the winter of 1777 when expiring enlistments brought the discharge of the bulk of Washington's army at Morristown, New Jersey, the piecemeal assembly of a predominantly new force as recruits trickled in through the spring, and the constant but inconclusive maneuvering of these troops through most of the summer. The detailed narrative addresses the nine months between the late-summer arrival of the British and American forces in Pennsylvania through the departure of both forces in mid-June 1778 and their clash at the Battle of Monmouth. The author's analysis of what he considers the significance of the experience provides the conclusion.

In examining the "Civilians in War," primary emphasis is given to their response to the political and economic consequences of military operations. These were particularly influenced by the unique diversity of the population and the resultant differences in attitudes toward the war and the independence that was its goal. The new state government, brought to power by the war's supporters, nonetheless lacked a solid base of popular support and was further weakened. Its inability to restrain Pennsylvanians who sought the windfall profits promised by British readiness to pay inflated prices for food – and in gold – or even to maintain basic law and order, gave rise in some areas to what Professor Bodle calls virtual civil war. He also shows that it was the political need of Pennsylvania's government for support rather than any compelling military considerations that led Washington reluctantly to agree to keep his troops concentrated within striking distance of Philadelphia and hence to establish their encampment at Valley Forge.

Summing up the book's coverage of "Civilians in War," the material offered is generally familiar. Restricting examination to eastern Pennsylvania suggests either that the Valley Forge winter had no material impact on the civilians of other regions of the state, or that regional differences in popular attitudes did not exist. As neither possibility seems likely, the account must be viewed as less than comprehensive. Within these limits, however, the book's depth of detail and impressive documentation make it a valuable contribution to the literature devoted to an important phase of the American Revolution.

Regrettably, the author's extensive research and his thorough grasp of economic, political, and social factors that produced understanding insight with regard to the subtitle's "Civilians in War" is not matched in his treatment of the "Soldiers in War."

The account of the Valley Forge encampment itself, in which most of the specific attention to the soldiers' experience is concentrated, has substantial merit when it addresses such essentially political matters as Washington's dealings with Congress, the work of the investigation by the "Committee in Congress," and the defeat of the attempt by the Board of War to usurp Washington's command authority.

As for other matters, while the legendary shad run had little substantive importance, showing that it is unlikely to have occurred is to Professor Bodle's credit, if only for dispelling one of the many myths that cloud our understanding of what actually took place at Valley Forge. Much more important is his examination of specifics, leading him to alter the image of starving soldiers in the snow to more realistic proportions. While his assertion that in the famous late December letter to Congress Washington exaggerated the troops' dire desperation as a scare tactic to spur more vigorous support is based on rather flimsy evidence, it is not implausible. Having disposed of the high-level policy issues and the prominent food-supply problem, Professor Bodle shifts attention to an effort to discredit the long-standing view that the experience at Valley Forge, through the major organizational reforms achieved there and Steuben's famous training program, was a dominant influence in the development of the Continental Army.

The author insists that the army that occupied Valley Forge had come into being at Morristown. If an army is created merely by assembling and arming a sufficient number of men, his stand is unassailable. The fact remains that until after this force arrived at Valley Forge, constant field operations had denied it any opportunity for training – to learn how to change formation without losing cohesion in response to shifting and often unexpected battlefield developments, to be instilled with sound discipline, or to experience the bonding that brings a soldier from perceiving himself as a civilian temporarily in

uniform to identifying himself primarily as an integral component of a distinct institutional entity, part of but separate from the community as a whole. In brief, while the troops arriving at Valley Forge in December 1777 should not be described as an armed rabble, they bore more resemblance to a large sheriff's posse than to an army in any real sense of the word.

Aside from ignoring these intangible ingredients of an army, Professor Bodle evidently does not recognize that close-order drill, as the means of effectively bringing concentrated firepower to bear where and when it was required, was the indispensable foundation for 18th Century tactics. Given his contention (p. 251) that drill was useful only for the parade ground, the use on the book's dust jacket of the famous painting of Steuben training troops in the snow is ironic; the tribute to that training as the source of ultimate victory in the dust jacket's blurb (for which I am sure Professor Bodle is not responsible) is an outright misrepresentation of the book's contents.

Calling Valley Forge the army's birthplace may be excessively flowery, but the six months of the encampment had improved the force immeasurably. Equating its performance at the Battle of Monmouth with its failures at Brandywine and Germantown, as the author does to bolster his argument, is simply not supportable. Serious blunders in command marked all three engagements, but at Monmouth, despite the book's novel version of the battle, the troops clearly demonstrate a tactical competence and an ability to recover from the mistakes of their generals that were lacking in the two previous battles. Monmouth may not have been a clear victory, but at Brandywine and Germantown it had been the Americans who had retreated; at Monmouth it was the British.

The effect on the Continental Army of its months in Pennsylvania, however, is secondary to the book's concentration on eastern Pennsylvania's civilians and in particular their political attitudes. The major conclusion of Professor Bodle's study – extensive, if not, as he claims (p. 2) comprehensive – is that the chief significance of Valley Forge is that without the concentration there of Washington's troops through the winter, the Pennsylvania state government could not have survived. Very possibly that is true, although how its fall might have affected the outcome of the war is not clear. In any case, to define the entire Valley Forge experience as the achievement of such a short-term goal in contrast to the forging of the major instrument of the Revolution's final success seems rather anticlimactic.

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Book Review

Art Michaels, *Pennsylvania Overlooks—A Guide For Sightseers And Outdoor People*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. Maps, photos, 240 pp., \$15.95.

The book's goal challenges the reader to travel throughout Pennsylvania to experience significant overlooks. The author writes, "A majestic overlook will leave you breathless, enveloping you in delight, wonder, and hope." However, he may have crafted the book a little too well. Some of us may find the book so engaging that we find no need to actually go outside. Mr. Michaels endeavors to ensure that readers who do venture to the overlooks have a very enjoyable time. He has a large number of black and white photographs (all taken by himself), excellent driving directions, and tips that will help to make the adventure a success.

Resist the temptation to immediately head out with your new book without first reading the preface. Mr. Michaels has included tips such as where to obtain maps. The book does not have maps though I imagine in many cases the average road map wouldn't suffice. The written directions in each section are quite detailed, such as, "Bear left onto the single lane dirt road about 30 yards after turning onto Oak Road." The preface also has comments on driving dirt roads. Not all the overlooks are remote; however, many are in urban settings. The overlooks that are included in the book can be driven to "...or you can park near them and reach them in an easy walk." If you are looking for more remote overlooks that require exercise, Mr. Michaels has suggestions on where to obtain the information. Included are websites and phone numbers in the index.

Now if you have overcome inertia and decided to actually go outside to experience an overlook, you will find the book mentions sites throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I would imagine that you are never more than one hour from a site that is mentioned in the 47 chapters. Some of the chapters mention multiple overlooks, and all the chapters have suggestions on "Other Nearby Opportunities" such as museums and parks. The information in each chapter is in an easy to read narrative. Limited uses of a few symbols

such as “\$” to denote a site where a fee is charged saves the reader the time of looking up the symbol key. The narrative includes nearly everything you would need to plan your trip. The only thing I could think to add would be longitude and latitude. However, Mr. Michaels almost has that covered since he has included information such as, “...narrow view mainly north-northwest from about 315 degrees northwest to about 30 degrees north-northeast.” This attention to detail is useful for photographers and sunrise/sunset aficionados. On page 225 (of this 240-page book), he gives a tip for getting the best shot at High Rocks Vista of Ralph Stover State Park: “Try shooting photographs in the mornings, when the sun angle produces less glare off the western bend of the creek.” An important aspect of the narrative is the hours of public access. Mr. Michaels has included that information and suggested good star-gazing opportunities if appropriate. Another detail that I know is important is the condition of the “amenities” at an overlook. He doesn’t let us down: there is attention to this important detail such as “Near Cliff Vista, Sideling Hill Picnic Area has water pumps (which may not operate in cold weather) and pit toilets.”

If the book hasn’t enticed you to an overlook with a riveting description of “amenities,” it may be able to get you there after reading about the history or geology surrounding the overlook. Did you know that Gary Cooper, Tom Cruise and Paul Newman were in movies filmed near some of these overlooks? Did you know that Congress narrowly rejected the Wrightsville area that George Washington proposed as the nation’s capital? You may also learn that overlooks still serve today as they have in the past. “Wyalusing Rocks, in Bradford County, was a signaling point of the Iroquois.” Other chapters describe a modern radio tower that may be in the area. The comments about geology found through the book emphasize the importance that aspect of our world has in everything from commerce to war. The latter is illustrated by the significance of a hill called Little Round Top found at Gettysburg National Military Park. Mr. Michaels doesn’t just describe the way to get to the overlook. He delves into the history and geology and suggests a tour of the Visitor’s Center prior to visiting the overlook to enhance your appreciation “...of this hallowed place.”

I have been to a number of the overlooks mentioned in this book. I have even lived at one of them (Kings Gap Environmental Education and Training Center—my wife, Genevieve, was the site manager there for eight years). Every description is extremely accurate, and I learned something new from every chapter. This paperback book is a much for every car’s glove box (it measures 4.5 inches by 9 inches), and it is a great value even though it costs more than the \$1.72 per acre that was spent in 1902 to acquire land for the Tuscarora State Forest (see page 130). Enjoy!

Steven Volgstadt
Huntingdon, PA

Book Review

Allen Cohen and Ronald L. Filippelli, *Times Of Sorrow And Hope*.
State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. Photos, 265 pp., \$45.00.

The Great Depression of the late 1920s and the decade of the 1930s was one of the most profoundly significant eras in the history of the United States. Not since the Civil War had the nation’s foundation been so threatened by economic, cultural, and political instability. In 1935 the Farm Security Administration (FSA), an agency of the New Deal, gathered a group of photographers to document life in America. The dozen or so photographers fanned out across the country, producing an archive of images showing the life of the citizenry during those difficult times, a chronicle of American life that remains unrivaled to this day. This book is an assembly of the images that were created in Pennsylvania.

This wonderful book is beautifully produced on quality paper stock. The printing captures the broad range of tones in black and white photography with an appealing fidelity. The fine, semi-matte surface of the book’s pages allows for the inks to render the images with great accuracy. This can be seen mostly in the success of rendering the shadow details.

The layout and design of the book are well done. The photographs are presented in a consistent size from page to page with plenty of white space around them to set them off, as if they were framed for an exhibit.

They are preceded by a well-written foreword by Miles Orvell that places the project in the context of its moment in history, as well as giving a perspective on documentary photography as a whole. He gives credit to the FSA photographers for paving the way for the success of the weekly magazines, such as *Life* and *Look*, and the elevation of this genre of photography to an art form as seen in Edward Steichen’s “Family of Man” exhibit at the New York Museum of Modern Art in 1955.

The authors, Allen Cohen and Ronald Filippelli, continue the text with a scholarly essay on the Depression and its effects, along with the governmental

and political responses in Pennsylvania. They go on to describe the FSA Photographic project in general and how it was specifically implemented in the state.

The photography section is organized into themes representing: Children, Town and City, At Home, At Leisure, and eight other categories. These groupings serve to give structure to the archive of 150 images, breaking the pictures into manageable, cohesive segments.

The appendices contain a guide to the On-Line catalog, a listing of each photographer and their photographs (unfortunately no page numbers in this section), a guide to places and towns, and an alphabetical listing by title of the photo with the date, location, page number, and notes about the photographer. Short biographies of 15 of the more well-known photographers are included in a separate section.

Arthur Rothstein, Jack Delano, and John Vachon seem to have spent the most time in Pennsylvania and consequently have the greatest number of photos included and their work is the backbone of the book.

Walker Evans, one of the few famous photographers recruited by the FSA, worked in 35mm for part of the project but these photos are not as strong as his large format contributions. Happily, one of Evans's most famous photographs, "Bethlehem Graveyard and Steel Mill," is presented at the end of the "Steel" section without a competing image on the adjacent page, allowing it a deserving, individual presentation. Some of his other large format images are included throughout the book.

Although the text sometimes refers to the camera used (as with Evans), the appendices omit any information on the equipment used by the photographer. Such information would serve to better inform the reader about how the pictures were created. Knowing the type of instrument would shed light on the photographic process and illuminate the technical challenges of the photographer at the time of the image's creation.

In conclusion, this is a fantastic book of classic black and white photographs and it could stand on that strength alone. But it is more. Due to the author's comprehensive organization, it is also a valuable historic and anthropological document, a resource, and a research tool. It provides access to an archive that remains important to history and to the history of Art.

Guy Freeman
Carlisle, PA

[The On-Line catalog includes over 100 photographs taken in Carlisle including portraits of firemen, a courthouse shot, and dozens of views of the US Army Medical Service at Carlisle Barracks. Over 6,000 Pennsylvania photographs have been identified, but more need to be. The search site is <<http://lewebz.loc.gov/pp/fsaquery.html>>. -Ed.]

Book Review

Dan Cupper, *Rockville Bridge: Rails Across The Susquehanna* (Halifax, Pa.: Withers Publishing, 2002) 112pp., illustrated (some col.), maps, plans, \$29.95.

More than a century after it was built by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Rockville Bridge continues to carry mainline rail traffic over the Susquehanna River. This stone and concrete structure, the third bridge to stand at this site, has weathered ice and flood, corporate bankruptcy and merger, and changes in usage, yet it remains a monument to American railroading.

In *Rockville Bridge: Rails Across the Susquehanna*, noted railroad historian Dan Cupper details the history of the three bridges that have borne the name "Rockville Bridge." While the book concentrates on the present bridge, the most famous and longest-standing of the three, the previous structures are described in great detail.

The first Rockville Bridge was a single-track wooden Howe truss bridge that opened to traffic in 1849. In addition to being a fire hazard (portions of the bridge burned in 1868), the bridge became a bottleneck as railroad traffic increased. In 1877 an iron bridge replaced the earlier structure. A loss of confidence in iron bridges combined with a continuing increase in the weight of railroad locomotives led to the decision to replace that structure with the current bridge. The book describes the present bridge from its 1900-1902 construction to the 1997 collapse of a portion of the downstream sidewall and the ensuing repairs.

The author debunks two oft-told myths that have developed regarding the current bridge. First, the bridge is properly described as a stone and concrete bridge and is, therefore, technically not the longest stone arch bridge in the world. Second, the bridge's 48 arches do not represent the states of the Union at the time the bridge was built; the United States flag bore only 45 stars when the bridge opened to traffic in 1902.

This is, however, more than a book about a bridge. Mr. Cupper discusses the development of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the company's great passenger trains, the famous Pennsylvania Railroad calendars and the change from steam to diesel-electric. The Penn Central debacle, the creation of Conrail and Amtrak and the Norfolk Southern acquisition of most of the Pennsylvania Railroad's former lines are all detailed. Attention is also given to the long-gone Northern Central Railroad Bridge, the piers of which can still be seen at Dauphin, and to the old Pennsylvania Canal, abandoned early in the last century.

The book is lavishly illustrated with both color and black and white photographs. It also includes numerous maps and architectural drawings. *Rockville Bridge: Rails Across the Susquehanna*, will be a welcome addition to the library of both the local historian and the railroad buff.

Mark W. Podvia
Carlisle, PA

Book Review

Conrad Richter, *The Waters of Kronos*. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2003. Pp. 176, \$16.95

When Conrad Richter published *The Waters of Kronos* in 1960, he was sixty-nine years old and contemplating the swift approach of three score and ten, a significant phrase for the son of a minister and a writer shaped by the language of the Authorized King James Version. He had left Pine Grove in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, when he was twenty years old. He lived a productive life as a writer in Ohio and New Mexico, then returned to his hometown for the last eighteen years of his life, dying in 1968. Among many honors were a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 for *The Town*, the culminating novel of his Ohio frontier trilogy, and a National Book Award in 1961 for *The Waters of Kronos*.

Although he resided away from Pennsylvania for the middle third of his life, the land and the people abided within him. Seven novels were set here, and others had strong connections to the state. Thirty-five years after his death, a fair representation of his work remains in print: his first novel, *The Sea of Grass*; the Ohio trilogy, known collectively as *The Awakening Land*; the Indian captivity novel, *A Light in the Forest*, once a Disney movie and still taught in area schools; *A Free Man*, the rags to riches story about a German Lutheran immigrant getting caught up in the American Revolution; and, reprinted the summer of 2003, *The Waters of Kronos*.

This novel appeals to anyone interested in Pennsylvania history because it is a true and thoughtful consideration of a small town and its people in the valley and ridge central part of the state. Richter delivers with loving yet analytical detail the Pennsylvania Dutch (and one notable Scots-Irishman), the miners, the merchants, the ministers, and the families of a slightly disguised Pine Grove circa 1900. The story is set in an allegorical framework (the waters of time) that echoes wonderfully in the reader's mind and only improves with rereading and reflection.

The premise is simple: a man returns home to a valley and town that has been flooded by a dam, no doubt in the name of flood control and probably inspired by the Dehart Dam north of Harrisburg. Initially he finds only the displaced graves. Then in a smooth and intriguing transition he is able to return to his childhood village. This is more than memory, however, because he remains his contemporary self, an old and anxious man. He spends three days in what he had remembered as a paradise, recognized only by a voiceless few and regarded as frightening or annoying by his beloved relatives. He seeks reassurance, clarity, and understanding during his eventful and brief time travel. Whether he satisfies these poignant human hungers must be revealed only by reading the book.

Richter's evocative sense of what makes up a small Pennsylvania town, akin to Thornton Wilder's New England skill with "Our Town," and his masterly touch with allegory create an excellent book for discussion and self-reflection. Indeed, the book has been taken up recently by reading groups of the Historical Society and of First Presbyterian Church in Carlisle. His style is formal, ironic, philosophical, and yet it is grounded by affection for the telling details of life: what an old grocery store was like, how a funeral of an eminent man was run, and what secrets everyone knew and no one talked about.

To celebrate the reappearance of such a worthy novel may be an expression of regional patriotism, but it should also be an opportunity to think about our own small towns, our own haunted memories, and our own quest for the meaning of the past.

Jeffrey S. Wood
Carlisle, PA

[With a nod of appreciation to the Cumberland County Historical Society Reading Group 2003, especially Jan Hays for the Thornton Wilder analogy.]

Book Review

Arthur P. Miller, Jr., and Marjorie L. Miller, *Guide to the Homes of Famous Pennsylvanians: Houses, Museums, and Landmarks*.

Mechanicsburg PA: Stackpole Books, 2003. Photos, 224pp., \$18.95.

Therese Boyd, *The Best Places You've Never Seen: Pennsylvania's Small Museums: A Traveler's Guide*. University Park PA: Penn State Press, 2003. Maps, photos, 209 pp., \$18.95.

The old question never goes away: why go? Don't you have enough to do at home? Would you want complete strangers to visit *your* home, to ogle *your* furnishings, to tramp about on *your* lawn? And horror of horrors, would you want someone to dress up in *your* old clothes and "re-enact" you for these strangers?

Fortunately, by the time someone could ask you the latter two questions with serious intent, you would be unable to answer. You would be safely dead. Thus we need guidebooks to tell us how to get to your home and what to expect when we arrive. This summer saw the publication of two Pennsylvania books with markedly different styles, formats, and interests, and yet they not only succeed on their own merits, but they are unexpectedly complementary.

The Millers, in their hunt for famous Pennsylvanians, have given us an old-fashioned but unusual format. The reader is escorted chronologically, beginning with William Penn and ending with Andy Warhol, thirty-six names in all, adding up to even more museums. Superb short biographies, well-written and matter-of-fact in tone, are given before the visiting details of the home or museum. Photographs are plentiful, including portraits and buildings. Each site has a detailed sidebar set off from the text with all the nitty-gritty information: phone numbers, websites, tours, directions, and much else. At the end of the book, the Millers present a list of four dozen more notable Pennsylvanians that do not have sites, which they see as an honor roll, but the reader, being inspired by their book, may see as a call to action.

Cumberland County is crisscrossed by the stories, but we have only ourselves to blame for being yet a bridesmaid and not the bride. The Frederick Watts farm is destroyed. The Horace Sadler mansion is destroyed, as are those of James Williamson Bosler, E.W. Biddle, Spencer Fullerton Baird, and too many others that could have provided a valuable perspective on county history. Does the county wish its history to be embodied by blue road signs beside monster warehouses or by houses and farms where men and women lived and made a difference in their times?

Ms. Boyd's pursuit of small and often eccentric museums in the state is a personal book, sometimes to the point of the reader making excuses and offering to go on alone, thanks. A good general rule is that only when the guide is Mark Twain or Rose Macauley does the reader welcome learning more about the guide than the place. Ms. Boyd often flouts this rule, but by the end her appreciation of the odd is contagious, and almost all is forgiven. She genuinely likes the strong souls who mind the museums, and she enlists the reader in her cause. Her approach is regional, and the selections are charmingly diverse. She covers well, in her own style, museums devoted to beer, bugs, abolitionists, and thirty-nine others. Her informational sidebars for each museum, while much less comprehensive than the Millers', are nonetheless adequate. The graphics are homey and quirky, occasionally comic.

Cumberland County misses out on this guidebook as well. Although the county has several excellent historical societies, we still lack the Daniel Drawbaugh Museum of Lost Patent Battles, the Reno Museum of Unjust Historical Verdicts, and other possibilities. Seriously, with due respect to the Germans and the Irish, what better place than Cumberland County for the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Museum?

Jeffrey S. Wood
Carlisle, PA

Hamilton Library – Partial List of Recent Acquisitions

- Collection of publications about Messiah College, 1980-2002. Donated by Elaine Ocamb.
- Cumberland County Tombstones (compact disc version)*; data collected by Betty Landis Carson. Produced in CD form and donated by Bob Highlands.
- Penn Township Cemetery Transcriptions; Tombstone Inscriptions, Newville Area; and Mifflin and Frankford Township Tombstone inscriptions*. Collected and donated by Betty Landis Carson.
- Tombstone Inscriptions, Ashland Cemetery*. Collected and donated by Ken and June Egolf.
- Mt. Zion Cemetery Tombstone Inscriptions*, collected by Betty Carson, June & Ken Egolf, and Jean & Gary Steffen. Donated by Betty Landis Carson.
- Collection of original documents related to the history of the Carlisle Band, 1869-1968. Donated by Brenda Long for the Carlisle Band.
- Album of Carlisle Indian School papers and photos, compiled by daughters of General R. H. Pratt. Includes photos of instruction at the Indian School, as well Indian students upon arrival at Carlisle Barracks. Also, pamphlets, papers, letters and souvenirs from the school. Acquisition includes bound copies of Carlisle Indian School publications, catalogues, and booklets as well. Donated by the Gary A. Hutchinson family.
- Collection of early 20th century sheet music originally owned by Jackie Martin, to be known as "The Jackie Martin Early 20th Century Music Collection". Donated by Harry Goldby.
- Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928, *David Wallace Adams, 1995. 396pp; paperbound. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. Collected by staff.*
- Selected cemeteries of Hampden Township, Cumberland County, and Selected cemeteries of Silver Spring Township, Cumberland County. *Donated by Linda Picket for the West Shore YMCA Genealogy Club.*
- Kirkpatrick family genealogical information. Donated by George M. Kirkpatrick.
- Collection of sheet music, 1898-1963. Donated by Jean Harrison.
- Collection of original court documents relating to the Carlisle Market House case (F.F. Bruker, et.al. vs. Borough of Carlisle), May 1952. Includes handwritten notes, correspondence, and newspaper clippings assembled by J. Boyd Landis. Donated by Robert Black.
- Collection of antiques reference books. Collected and donated by Ruth Shilling.

Collection of background materials, particularly information about the Carlisle quartz industry, used in the preparation of the book "20th Century Thoughts: Carlisle Past, Present and Future" (2001) by Ann Kramer Hoffer. Donated by Ann Hoffer.

Collection of materials related to the military service of Kenneth Devor, a resident of Walnut Bottom, Cumberland County, who was killed in Vietnam in 1968. Collection consists of correspondence and a scrapbook. Donated by Rick Devor.

Collection of assorted business records, dated approximately 1906-1976, pertaining to the former Carlisle Trust Company, which later merged with Dauphin Deposit Bank. Includes ledgers, journals, meeting minutes, specifications for building projects, insurance maps, and photos. Donated by Frank E. Koser II for M&T Bank.

Collection of personal papers belonging to Shippensburg-born artist Holmead Phillips (1889-1975), including family letters and genealogical material. Donated by Margaret Crenson.

Journal of Norma Sedgwick. *A collection of information about Norma Sedgwick (1922-1934), one of the three child victims in the 1934 "Babes in the Woods" murder case. Collected and donated by Norma Sedgwick's half-sister, Beverly Sedgwick Hatch.*

Collection of genealogical information about the Cornelius Vanderbilt family, and its connection to Cumberland County, donated by Elizabeth W. King.

Cumberland County Court records, 1752-1827. Copies of original old form Quarter Session legal writs and pleadings, on 9 reels of microfilm. Collected by CCHS staff with grant funding.

Collection of assorted papers and documents about Independent Order of Odd Fellows lodges in Carlisle and Mt. Holly Springs, 1877-1989. Donated by Owen Kertland.

Carlisle Indian Industrial School items, including school catalogues and detailed information about the school's harness-making shop. Donor anonymous.

Accounts ledger kept by Daniel Dunlap of Carlisle, 1795-1820. Records of payments from students taught by Dunlap, property and road taxes, medicinal and household recipes. Society purchase.

Papers of the Cumberland County Cooperative Extension Service, including information about the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, dairy farming in Cumberland County, and the Carlisle Fair and Agriculture Expo. Donated by Duane Duncan.

Collection of papers and original documents pertaining to the South Mountain Mining and Iron Company and Gettysburg & Harrisburg Railroad Co. Donated by Gretchen Kline.

Collection of manuscripts and legal documents from the Rupp and Albright families of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania from the 1840's. Donated by Gladys Horvath.

Compiled by David Smith and Barbara Houston.

Publications In Print

THE COUNTY HERITAGE SERIES

The Bitter Fruits: The Civil War Comes to a Small Town in Pennsylvania. (1998).
David G. Colwell \$39.95

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

Past Receipts, Present Recipes (1996).
Members and Friends of the Cumberland County Historical Society. \$35.00

The Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918 (1993, paperback 2000).
Linda F. Witmer \$24.95

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

Twentieth Century Thoughts. Carlisle: The Past Hundred Years (2001).
Ann Kramer Hoffer \$24.95

Carlisle History and Lore: Its People, Places, and Stories. (2003).
Paul D. Hoch \$14.15

The New Way: Greeks Come to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. (2003).
Susan Eyster Meehan \$22.95

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 \$6.50

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

Walking Guide to Historic Carlisle, PA (2001) tax included \$5.50

Cemeteries of Cumberland County. Bob Davidson (2003) \$15.00

History of Pine Grove Furnace. Lenore Embick Flower (revised reprint 2003)
\$7.00

Pennsylvania State Sales Tax of 6% and \$2 for postage and handling.
A complete list of Society publications in print is available on request.