CUMBERLAND County History

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Volume Thirty

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

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Editor's Introduction

The 2013 issue of *Cumberland County History* marks the 30th year of publication of the Journal. That alone is an important milestone, but it is also appropriate at this time to acknowledge the significant contribution to the success of this publication made by Executive Director, Linda F. Witmer. Her ongoing support for the Journal has made it possible to continue publication during the rich and the lean times at CCHS. She has made an indelible mark on the Society in so many ways and this publication, in its thirtieth year speaks to the success of her tenure at the Society.

The 2013 issue of *Cumberland County History* presents a variety of articles spanning from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The first two articles are about William Petrikin. At first my thought was to select one of them for this issue. However, each writer approaches this 18th century immigrant's life from different perspectives and I decided to publish both of them. The readers will have an opportunity to learn much about this interesting man from the perspective of Wayne L. Trotta and Gerard Fox.

The next article by Stephen B. Hatton is the final in a series of three articles about Jacob Fought. In addition to learning about the life of this man, the reader will learn how the legal profession must have benefitted from his presence in Carlisle.

The next four articles continue the observance of the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War. The first article by Randy Watts looks at an event at the beginning of the war. The second, by André Watts, examines the war's effects on one small community in the South Mountain, particularly before, during and after the battle at Gettysburg. The final articles deal with the period following the war. Rachel Zuch looks at reconciliation efforts and the post-war impact of inviting Fitzhugh Lee, the man responsible for the shelling of Carlisle, back to Carlisle thirty years after the shelling. The fourth article by Janet L. Bell looks at the war's impact on the African American community during and following the war and helps tell the story of the often overlooked contributions of the local African American community during this important period of our nation's history.

An article by frequent contributor Daniel J. Heisey examines the early life of 20th century resident, Marianne Moore and the impact the local community may have had on her poetry.

The 2011 issue of *Cumberland County History* introduced a new feature in the Journal entitled "Focus on the Collections." This feature was not included in the 2012 issue, but returns with the 2013 issue. Each of the departments – museum, library, and photo archives – provide information about one item in their collections.

Finally Barbara Bartos, County Archivist, again updates progress on organizing Cumberland County Government Records and Cara Holtry Curtis, librarian, provides an update on important contributions to the Hamilton Library over the past year.

David L. Smith, Editor

William Petrikin:

Anti-Federalist Scourge

Wayne L. Trotta

Toward twilight on the day after Christmas, 1787, Major James A. Wilson and a group of Carlisle's leading Federalist citizens were preparing to celebrate Pennsylvania's recent ratification of the new federal Constitution. After hauling a cannon into the center of town, the revelers gathered round in anticipation of the artillery salute that was to open the festivities. As they might have expected, though, their preparations were drawing angry attention from local residents, most of whom were passionately anti-federalist. Before long, a mob of townsfolk, many brandishing barrel staves and axe handles, began taunting the despised Federalists and pelting them with chunks of wood. So began one of the most widely reported events in the national conflict over ratification, the Carlisle Riot.[1]

At the forefront of the mob was William Petrikin,[2] a Scottish immigrant tailor with little education, but possessing a keen mind and a gift for satire that would earn him a place among the leading authors of what would come to be known as the Anti-Federalist Papers. To Petrikin, as to most inhabitants of the Pennsylvania backcountry, the proposed new central government threatened the people's right of local governance, and would effectively undermine the freedom for which they had risked their lives in the war with Great Britain. As they saw things, the Constitutional Convention had been nothing more than a cabal of aristocrats conspiring to appropriate the powers of "purse and sword" to themselves and to those of their station. Still smarting from their defeat in the Pennsylvania ratification fight, these tailors, merchants, mechanics, and tenant farmers, were not about to let Federalist enthusiasts make a mockery of their doubts and fears.[3]

The mob closed in, but, as they did, Major Wilson challenged them, saying that "he hoped people so pregnant with liberty as they appeared would not wish to hinder their neighbors."[4] But the crowd was not in a tolerant mood, and one of the leaders reminded the major and his party that "their conduct was

contrary to the minds of three-quarters of the inhabitants, and must therefore produce bad consequences if they persisted."[5] Unmoved, the Federalists swore that they would not be prevented from firing their cannon, and, if the mob would not clear the way, they would fire it "through their bodies."[6] With that the townsfolk attacked, and, despite a valiant effort by Major Wilson, easily put their opponents to rout. As the local press reported, "It was laughable to see Lawyers, Doctors, Colonels, Captains, etc., etc. leave the scene of their rejoicings in such haste."[7] The cannon's wooden carriage was set ablaze and a spike driven through the barrel.[8]

Re-enactment of the 1787 Riot between Anti-Federalists and Federalists by Historic Carlisle in front of the Old Courthouse, October 9, 1998.

CCHS Photo Archives

The following day, the Federalists returned to pursue their rejoicings.[9] More heavily armed this time, they were able to enjoy a brief celebration capped by a musket fire salute, after which they retired to Joseph Postlethwait's tavern for toasts all around. Not to be outdone, townsfolk got up effigies of James Wilson (Pennsylvania delegate to the Constitutional Convention, not the major) and Pennsylvania Chief Justice Thomas McKean, and, after subjecting them to sufficient ridicule and abuse, burned them to ashes. Finally, the state Supreme Court stepped in issuing warrants for the arrest of 20 of the rioters, including William Petrikin, charging them with a variety of unlawful acts. Sheriff Charles Leeper

called at the homes of each of the defendants, and all agreed to appear at any time before any magistrate of Cumberland County. When bail was demanded, Petrikin and six others, though capable of paying it, refused on the grounds that they were guilty of no crime against the laws of their country. A commitment order being signed, Sheriff Leeper conducted the seven to the county gaol.

At this, the entire countryside took alarm, and various militia companies sent representatives to town to meet with Federalist leaders and negotiate a means of settling the matter. The results were mutually satisfactory, and, taking this as a victory, hundreds of cheering militia men marched into Carlisle to oversee the release of the prisoners.[10] William Petrikin, eager to continue the struggle, returned to his tailor shop and embarked on his new calling as a scribbler for the Anti-Federalist cause.

Like most writers for the public press in those days, Petrikin favored the use of pseudonyms. Keeping one's identity secret allowed every writer to write as the equal of any other. So it was that William Petrikin, calling himself "The Scourge," took to the pages of the *Carlisle Gazette.*[11] There he reprised in the public mind the image of respected members of the local gentry despoiling "the work of their hair-dressers" as they beat a helter-skelter retreat out of courthouse square. In various reports the question had been raised whether the Federalists might have been armed on the day they were so laughably routed: "I know not," said Scourge, "but perhaps they threw their arms away that they might not encumber them in their flight." He goes on to repeat the already current charge that "Jemey the Caldonian" (James Wilson) had fomented the riots that broke out in Philadelphia on the evening before delegates to the Pennsylvania ratifying convention were to be elected. Not one to mince words, Scourge admonishes his readers never to forget that the Federalists are those who would "endeavour by fraud and force to cram down your throats a constitution that would immediately create them your rulers…" Although this would be the last anyone was to hear from Scourge, Petrikin was just getting started.

The question for Americans in the 1780s was how much democracy was too much.[12] Radical egalitarians, like Petrikin, believed that the liberty of common folk was best preserved in a system of loosely confederated states in which democracy was direct and local, and above which the national government was benign and limited. Localized democracy was the arrangement that most Americans had become used to since the Revolution, and that Pennsylvanians, in particular, had enjoyed since the adoption of their state constitution in 1776. But Federalists, and even some Anti-Federalists, were convinced that, in a large republic like the United States, such a system would be too unstable. And stability, especially for the genteel class, was crucial.

Many of the wealthiest Americans had over-extended themselves in land speculation. Only a stable, predictable America would lure the kind of European cash that would allow them to turn a profit on their investments. In Carlisle, for example, about ninety percent of the startup money for Dickinson College was made up of speculative investments. Before any ground was broken, the college's success was dependent upon European willingness to buy American land.[13] No wonder then that Rev. Dr. Charles Nisbet, first president of the college, and Dr. Benjamin Rush, a college trustee, became leading spokesmen for the concept of "natural aristocracy." To their minds the gentlemanly class would not only have the time for politics, but would also have the kind of breeding and higher education (from places like Dickinson College, of course) that produced the requisite commitment to public virtue.[14] Government would govern best when the lion's share of power was channeled into the hands of these natural aristocrats. It was this concept that Petrikin detested above any other.

Choosing the name "Aristocrotis" for his next work, Petrikin set out to ridicule the idea of a natural aristocracy by seeming to praise it. In his pamphlet entitled *The Government of Nature Delineated or An Exact Picture of the New Constitution,* Aristocrotis set himself up as the mock champion of the aristocratic set. From that vantage point, he could lampoon the ideas of Charles Nisbet in language that Nisbet himself might have used.[15]

"Nature hath placed proper degrees and subordinations amongst mankind, and ordained a few to rule, and many to obey," intoned Aristocrotis. Here was the natural order of things, and fortunately for Americans, a small group of wealthy gentlemen had designed the Constitution so as to raise the proper class–their own–to preeminence. The natural aristocrats, according to Aristocrotis, will be easily identified as those whom nature has marked with the necessary qualifications of authority, such as the "dictatorial air, the magisterial voice, the imperious tone, the haughty countenance, the lofty look, the majestic mien." The Revolution had undermined the natural order by giving the people the "exorbitant power...of electing their own rulers," a thing that was clearly a "subversion of all good order and government." This excess of democracy made it necessary for dignified gentlemen to have to pander to the mob in a debasing, vulgar practice known as "electioneering." We should be thankful, said Aristocrotis, that the Constitutional Convention has provided Congress powers of taxation such that they should "never be at a loss for money while there is a shilling on the continent." Thus Congress will insure that the people would "attend to their own business; and not be dabbling in politics." As Reverend Nisbet himself put it, politics was, after all, best left to those who were not confined by domestic concerns.

Further, says Aristocrotis, we should not fail to admire the way the authors of the Constitution were able to sweep all history aside in creating a government founded entirely upon nature and free of the encumbrances of religion. "What the world could not accomplish from the commencement of time till now, they easily performed in a few moments by declaring that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.'" The new Constitution simply disdains such "contemptible auxiliaries as the belief of a Deity, the immortality of the soul, and a day of judgment" in preference of a "religion of nature." Of course, the greatest argument in favor of this deistic non-religion is that the members of the "grand convention are great admirers of it." What should be most evident to all, marvels Aristocrotis, is how dexterously the authors have "provided for the removal of everything that hath ever operated as a restraint upon government."[16]

The *Government of Nature* gained enough attention so that, when a second convention was called for in Harrisburg in 1788, Petrikin was seen as a logical choice to join the contingency of delegates representing Cumberland County. Anti-Federalists in a number of states had been agitating for a second convention to "render the proposed Constitution truly democratical."[17] Ever since the day he saw diverse militia companies organize to secure his release from jail, Petrikin was confident in the people's ability to act in a coordinated way. He notes in one of his letters that numerous "Societys," or committees of correspondence, were being formed in Cumberland and Franklin counties in opposition to the "detestable Fedrall conspiracy." To his mind the Harrisburg convention held out the prospect of a new nationwide political organization "so formidable to the Federalists that they durst not have refused us our demands."[18] As things turned out, Pennsylvania was the first and only state to actually hold a second convention. Still, Petrikin continued to believe that Harrisburg could plant the seed for a national anti-constitution movement.

Unfortunately, the western counties were dependent upon Anti-Feds of the elite class in Philadelphia to help them organize the eastern half of the state. Most of these wealthy gentlemen, however, were just as tied up in land speculation as their Federalist counterparts, and, while firmly opposed to the Constitution, they wanted nothing to do with the egalitarian extremism of western radicals. Despite passionate pleas from Petrikin and others, the eastern gentry were less than zealous in their advocacy for the convention. When the delegates were finally seated in September, not one of the mostly German-speaking eastern townships was represented.[19]

Meanwhile, the Federalists had done their work. By June, 1788, when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify, the Constitution was virtually the

law of the land. By the time the convention met in September, eleven states had ratified. Serious attempts to turn back Pennsylvania's vote to ratify would be at best pointless, at worst treasonous. Forced to adopt a more conciliatory tone, the convention produced a list of milder proposals designed to limit the new government to only those powers expressly delegated by the Constitution while prohibiting any expansion of federal power. Moderate representatives were satisfied with the result, but for the radical populists like Petrikin, the convention at Harrisburg was a betrayal of the public trust: "Our friends throughout the state expected something decisive from us...," but, in the end, "...our Harrisburgh conference did more injury to our cause than all the strategems of our advarsaries."[20]

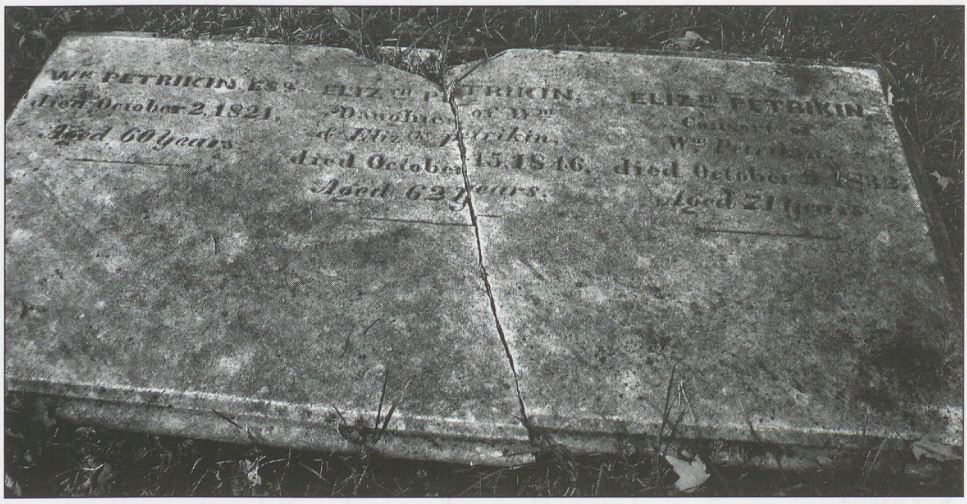
Undismayed, however, Petrikin continued to believe that the democratic spirit of the backcountry could be tapped to energize the entire state. He kept up a stream of correspondence to Philadelphia still hoping to unite all of Pennsylvania's "Friends of Liberty." What he had not considered, though, was the need for post-Harrisburg Anti-Federalists in western as well as eastern Pennsylvania to distance themselves from the uncompromising populism represented by events like the Carlisle Riot and by men like William Petrikin. Indeed, the riot and the convention each proved to be its own undoing.[21] Rather than warming the spirits, they had decidedly cooled the heels of Anti-Federalists everywhere. There would be future victories, but these would come from Anti-Federalists working within, not against, the Federal system. In the process, they would demonstrate that a loyal opposition was not only possible but necessary to the health of America's democracy. Eventually, even Petrikin would find a way to reconcile himself to the new system. But his days as a warrior for the cause of radical democracy were not quite over.

In 1794, farmers in western Pennsylvania rebelled against an excise tax on whiskey that was collected from grain producers rather than from whiskey retailers.[22] The Whiskey Rebellion found Anti-Federalists once again divided against each other, with moderates disdaining the extreme localism championed by their populist neighbors. Petrikin had no fear of what moderates called the excesses of democracy. He became a leading agitator in favor of the rebellion, believing that the western farmers were simply exercising their right to armed revolt against a government that had ceased to represent their interests. When President Washington and his troops, on their way to put down the rebellion, stopped to rest in Carlisle, Petrikin tried to persuade the populace and the local militia to oppose the federal action. Moderates took a more balanced approach, supporting the rebels in their cause but not their tactics. They understood how easily localized democracy could degenerate into a "mobocracy," and they real-

ized that extralegal, not to mention violent, actions only served to underscore the Federalist argument for a strong, centralized government. They were not displeased when Washington's troops finally put the rebellion to rest.

More than the Carlisle Riot or the Harrisburg Convention, the Whiskey Rebellion seemed to have a moderating influence on Petrikin. Resigning himself to membership in the loyal opposition, in 1795 he accepted an appointment as Justice of the Peace for Cumberland County and immersed himself in a study of the law.[23] Although many Anti-Federalists, including Petrikin, often equated education with elitism, they were never opposed to education per se, only to the idea that the educated alone possessed the civic virtues necessary for self-government. Following his program of self-study, Petrikin even allowed himself the gentlemanly title "Esquire." Although he became rather well-versed in the juridical science of his day, he never practiced law, which is something of a shame as his writing style makes it easy to imagine him holding forth from the courtroom floor or from behind the bench.

In 1796, Petrikin and his wife, Elizabeth (McEwan), decided to move their family to sparsely settled central Pennsylvania. There they found themselves among the founding families of the town of Bellefonte in the heart of the state's burgeoning and highly promising iron industry. Because he kept a stock of goods for sale in his tailor shop, Petrikin became the first merchant in the town. When Centre County was formed in 1800, from parts of Mifflin and



William Petrikin Grave Marker: William Petrikin and his "consort," Elizabeth (McKewan), share this grave stone with their daughter, Elizabeth, in the family burial site in Union Cemetery, Bellefonte, Center County, Pennsylvania.

Photo by author

Northumberland counties, he was named one of its first justices, and later was appointed the county's register and recorder, a post he held until February of 1821. William Petrikin died on October 2nd of that year. He and Elizabeth are buried beside each other in the Union Cemetery in Bellefonte. They left behind progeny who would go on to become physicians, attorneys, and military officers, and who would serve the public in local, state, and, yes, even federal government. Petrikin Hall now stands on W. High Street in Bellefonte on the site where William's son, James M. Esq., and his wife, Elizabeth (Wallis), made their home until Elizabeth passed away in 1887.

For decades the Anti-Federalists were remembered, if they were thought of at all, as the party that got it wrong, desperately wrong. After all, they failed to see—what is so obvious to us today—that the Constitution is one of humankind's truly great achievements. If they were so out of touch with the tide of history, then they deserved to fade, with the rest of history's losers, into obscurity.

However, as historians are most recently reminding us, Anti-Federalism was not a failure at all. First of all, the Anti-Federalists gave us the debate out of which the Constitution itself was forged. Second, they helped establish the all-important concept of the loyal opposition, and their willingness to continue the fight from within the system has kept their principles alive, and the debate lively, even until today. Last, it was their insistence that the Constitution place clear and unequivocal limits on government that gave them, and us, the biggest victory of all, the Bill of Rights. As historian Saul Cornell has written, the Anti-Federalists today are praised by the left for their democratic ideals, by the right for their hostility to centralized government, by libertarians for their defense of individual rights, and by communitarians for their emphasis on civic participation.[24]

William Petrikin was an American for only a few years before immersing himself in the politics of his new country. An immigrant without much in the way of means or education, he gave the Anti-Federalist cause one of its most distinctive voices, a voice so representative, in fact, that modern-day scholars love to quote him. He would surely be pleased to know that his scribblings continue to play a part in his adopted country's quest to define itself.

Endnotes

1. A detailed narrative of the events comprising the Carlisle Riot can be found in Cornell, S., "Aristocracy Assailed," *Journal of American History*; Mar 1990; 76, 4; Research Library, 1148-1172. Most of the important documents relevant to the Carlisle Riot are reprinted in Jensen, M., et al., eds. *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, II, 670-708, Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and in the microform supplement to the Pennsylvania volume.
2. In a footnote on pg. 1154 of "Aristocracy Assailed," Cornell describes William Petrikin as "a leader of the riot."
3. Cornell, S., *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism & the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828*, Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina press, 1999, 110.
4. "Aristocracy Assailed," 1151.
5. *The Other Founders*, 111-112.
6. McMaster, J. B. & Stone, F.D. *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution 1787-1788*, Indianapolis; Liberty Fund, 2011, 486.
7. In *The Other Founders*, 110, Cornell attributes this quote to a writer calling himself "One of the People" (*Independent Gazetteer; or the Chronicle of Freedom*, Philadelphia, Feb. 7, 1788). A writer to the *Carlisle Gazette* (Jan. 9, 1788) using the same pseudonym was probably Petrikin, suggesting the possibility that the Philadelphia contributor was Petrikin as well.
8. *The Other Founders*, 112.
9. *The Other Founders*, 110. Details of the second day of the riot and the response of the justice system are documented in McMaster & Stone, *Pennyslvania and the Federal Constitution 1787-1788*.
10. *The Other Founders*, 113. Cornell notes that the *Carlisle Gazette* provided an account entitled "The Release of the Prisoners," on Mar. 5, 1788.
11. The entire article by "The Scourge" can be found in Jensen, et al., eds. *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, II, 685-692.
12. Bouton, T. *Taming Democracy: "The People," the Founders and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 172-176. This book in an analysis of the relationship between American frontier democracy and the nation's troubled post-Revolutionary economy.
13. *Taming Democracy*, 175.
14. The conflict between plebian populism and the so-called natural aristocracy forms the theme of Cornell's "Aristocracy Assailed," 1157-1172. Also, *The Other Founders*, 69-70.
15. Petrikin's essay can be found in its entirety in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, Vol. III, 196-211.

16. See Kramnick, I. & Moore, R. L. *The Godless Constitution: A Moral Defense of the Secular State*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005. The authors draw on Petrikin's essay as evidence that early opposition to the Constitution on religious grounds makes it clear that it was perceived from the beginning as a thoroughly secular document.
17. "Aristocracy Assailed," 1170.
18. *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, II, 696.
19. *Taming Democracy*, 191.
20. Jensen, M. & Becker, R. A. eds. *Documentary History of the First Federal Elections*, I, Madison, WI, 406.
21. *The Other Founders*, 141.
22. The Whiskey Rebellion and Petrikin's role as an agitator for the rebels are described in *The Other Founders*, 200-218.
23. A brief account of the second half of Petrikin's life can be found in Linn, J. B. *History of Centre and Clinton Counties Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883, 219-220.
24. *The Other Founders*, 3.

William Petrikin "An Ardent Love of Liberty"

Gerard Fox

William Petrikin immigrated to America from Scotland and settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania sometime in 1785. He arrived in the midst of a period of intense political activity when, after the victory for independence, citizens across the newly formed republic turned their attention to the formation of their government. "An ardent love of liberty was the cause of his emigration" and he wasted little time in immersing himself in the politics of his new community, state and nation.[1] He was a tailor by trade, and a family man who fervently identified himself as one of the people. Although his educational background is unclear the influence of his Scottish heritage is unmistakable. His writing reveals a man with a sharp wit and extensive knowledge of the political, religious, and philosophical thoughts of his time. His actions are those of a man committed to a cause and willing to fight, if necessary, to defend his ideals.

This paper will explore the life and times of William Petrikin through his words and actions. His involvement in American politics, from the formation of the Constitution to the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, demonstrates the power of liberty for this founding generation of Americans. William Petrikin's cause was liberty, and he believed that it was the most important thing in our lives; that it was fragile, especially during this formative and tumultuous time, and that it must be defended without regard to cost.[2] His story is important because Petrikin's words and actions resound with the hopes, beliefs and prayers of many Americans even to this day. The ideals that he, and the other Anti-Federalists, promoted and defended played a significant role in the framing of the Constitution, the adoption of The Bill of Rights, and in how many citizens today view their government.

In studying the life of William Petrikin a number of important observations emerge that can reveal not only the dimensions of his thoughts and beliefs, but can help to paint a fresh view of America from the late 1780s to the 1790s and the end of the Federalist Era. Petrikin was approximately 23 years old when he came to America and one of the surprising discoveries about his life is the so-

phistication of his political thought and the leadership that he displayed among his contemporaries. In tracing his writing and his actions through the events of the Constitutional era, Petrikin clearly shows a love of liberty that in his words and actions he was quick to defend.

In order to clearly understand William Petrikin it is important to comprehend the political and social climate as it existed when he and his family arrived in America in the mid 1780s.

Gordon S. Wood, a historian who has focused on this era in America, provides an excellent starting point when he states "the belief that the 1780s, the years after the peace with Britain, had become the really critical period of the entire Revolution was prevalent everywhere during the decade. By the mid-eighties the oratory and writings were filled with the talk of crisis to the point of redundancy."[3] This crisis revolved around the urgent need for the citizens of the new nation to agree upon the form and content of their new government. Opinions on this matter varied greatly, and the passions attached to those beliefs were high. Bernard Bailyn observes that "everywhere there were discussions of the ideal nature of government; everywhere principles of politics were examined, institutions weighed, and practices considered."[4] As we will discover Petrikin clearly acted and wrote as if he was in the middle of a crisis and his sense of urgency was evident.

Liberty was the watchword central to this grand, national discussion and understanding its meaning to citizens, like Petrikin, is an important element of this study. John Phillip Reid does an excellent job describing some common views of these ideals. "Three aspects of the eighteenth-century concept of liberty converged on one point – the fact that it was the most important possession of civilized people, the fact that its existence was precarious, and the fact that it had to be defended or it surely would be lost."[5] Liberty for Petrikin involved ensuring that his voice and the voices of his fellow citizens were heard and that government was localized and responsive to the needs of the majority not an aristocracy.

Furthermore the meaning and understanding of liberty during the eighteenth century had its obligations and responsibilities as well as its rights. Citizens of the new republic understood, as Petrikin did, that "if people had rights they also had duties, owed less to the state than to society – to their fellow members living under the social contract – but the emphasis was still as much on duties owed as rights possessed."[6] In tracing the evolution of political thought during this period historian, John R. Howe, Jr., concurs and adds that "if there was one thing upon which the entire revolutionary generation could agree, it was the belief that republican governments were closely dependent upon a broad

distribution of virtue among the people." This virtue according to Howe meant "a certain disinterestedness, a sense of public responsibility, a willingness to sacrifice personal interest if need be to the public good."[7] As Petrikin's involvement in the political debate deepened he took on the duties and obligations essential to the preservation of liberty, and advocated for agitation if necessary.

Compounding the intense debates going on about the future of American government was an acceptance and history of extra-legal protests that extended back prior to the Revolution. As Pauline Maier states in her study of popular uprisings in eighteenth century America, "whatever quasi-legal status mobs were accorded by local communities was reinforced, moreover by formal political thought. 'Riots and rebellions' were often calmly accepted as a constant and even necessary element of free government."[8] The political and social climate of Carlisle that Petrikin lived within was ripe for conflict as most of the residents of the countryside and significant numbers of residents in the town were Anti-Federalists while a smaller number of Federalists were concentrated in the town. The social, political and economic divisions between these two groups were significant. Judith Ridner states, "As a town in-between it [Carlisle] had a history as a divided, contentious, and sometimes violent place; the Revolution had done little to alter that fact."[9]

Although drafted by a selected few the process of ratifying the Constitution was open to and embraced by the American public. This process, observes Saul Cornell, "ensured that Americans from all walks of life would be drawn into a wide-ranging public debate about its merits. The Constitution was subjected to unprecedented public scrutiny; every clause of the document was parsed and in some cases literally rewritten by readers who took issue with its phraseology or principles."[10] At a basic level studies of this debate divided public opinion regarding the Constitution into two camps: the Federalists, who supported the passage of the document as it was written at the convention; and the Anti-Federalists, who opposed its ratification over a wide range of issues.

From the start the debate over the Constitution in Pennsylvania was heated and garnered much national attention. The majority of support for the Anti-Federalist position lay in the western counties of Berks, Northampton, Cumberland, Franklin, Dauphin, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Washington. Federalist strongholds were centered in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and in the more heavily populated eastern counties.[11] The mid-state location of Carlisle in a region that had as recently as twenty years before been considered the frontier made it an ideal spot for William Petrikin to read and digest the many letters, pamphlets, and newspaper articles written in support of or in opposition to the Constitution. Close enough to Philadelphia, the nation's capital and site of the Constitutional

Convention, with main roads west and south running right through it, Carlisle, although no longer the geographical frontier of Pennsylvania, can be viewed at that time as a frontier for ideas and news that streamed back and forth between the political, social and economic centre to the western boundaries of the state.[12]

The Carlisle Gazette and the Western Repository of Knowledge, published by George Kline and George Reynolds was one of four weekly newspapers in Pennsylvania published outside of Philadelphia during Petrikin's time in Carlisle.[13] By tracing the articles and letters available to the local residents in this paper as well as the many pamphlets circulated we can recreate the flow of ideas and activities that Petrikin and his contemporaries were exposed to and begin to understand his thoughts and beliefs regarding the future of American government and society.

With the work of the Constitutional Convention being completed and the document signed on September 17, 1787, it was then referred to the individual states for ratification. Pennsylvania moved quickly as it was read to the State Assembly on the 18th and they then deliberated over the election of delegates and the date for the State Ratifying Convention. Controversy soon erupted however when nineteen of the assemblymen refused to attend the closing sessions, objecting to the timing and manner of the Convention process being proposed. It should be noted that all of the assemblymen absent were from the above noted counties that were Anti-Federalist in their sentiments. Two of the four representatives from Cumberland County were among that number. What garnered national attention, however, and served to raise passions on the local level was that two of the assemblymen were forcibly returned to the assembly by a mob of Federalist supporters, in order to create a quorum. This incident is described in an address composed by the seceding assemblymen that was published nationally: "Thus circumstanced and thus influenced, we determined the next morning to absent ourselves from the House, when James M'Calmont, Esquire, a member from Franklin, and Jacob Miley, Esquire, a member from Dauphin, were seized by a number of citizens of Philadelphia, who had collected together for that purpose; their lodgings were violently broken open, their clothes torn, and after much abuse and insult, they were forcibly dragged through the streets of Philadelphia to the State House."[14]

The period between the publication of the proposed Constitution, the election of delegates to the convention on November 6, and the beginning of the Pennsylvania Convention on November 20, saw a flurry of letters, pamphlets, and newspaper articles across the nation and the residents of Carlisle on both sides of the debate worked to ensure that their arguments were available to the public. In presenting and analyzing the many written tracts that American

citizens, like those in Carlisle, were bombarded with and that Petrikin himself wrote, it is essential to understand the importance of the rhetoric used as well as the content of these arguments. As Cornell states, the "rhetorical persona, or mask, of an author was one of the most important ideological tools available to persuade an audience. One might choose to speak as a gentleman, a member of the sturdy yeomanry, or a plebian artisan or farmer. The language of a text and everything from its diction to the choice of metaphors were all designed to reinforce the writer's message."[15]

Federalists and Anti-Federalists alike were not shy about threatening violence toward those who opposed their position, and the use of pseudonyms encouraged this tendency. A letter from a Federalist who calls himself "Tar and Feathers" that appeared in the Philadelphia newspaper, *Independent Gazetteer,* on September 28, 1787, illustrates this point when he states, responding to an anonymous attack on the Constitution, "this *Antifederalist* should reflect, that his name may yet be known, and he himself branded with infamy as an enemy to the happiness of the United States; I would therefore advise him to choose some other subject for his remarks in future, if he wishes to escape the just resentment of an incensed people, who perhaps may honor him with a coat of TAR and FEATHERS."[16] It is clear from some letters sent to and from residents of Carlisle that citizens were deeply and passionately divided over the issue of ratification, and that some feared violence might erupt. In a letter written by Richard Butler, a Carlisle resident, he states "the great commotion of this county [Cumberland] is not yet fully seen or can it till the returns for assemblymen comes in which is hourly expected."[17] By the time the Pennsylvania Convention ratified the Constitution on December 12, 1787, Petrikin and the other Anti-Federalists were ready to defend their perceived loss of liberty.

"At about five o'clock in the evening on December 26, 1787, a group of Federalists gathered in Carlisle's center for a celebration marking Pennsylvania's ratification of the new federal Constitution. The mood was festive: drums beat and bells rang as Federalists awaited the cannon salute that would honor the new Constitution. The celebratory mood shifted, however, when an angry crowd of Anti-Federalists came on the scene and ordered the Federalists to disband."[18] The confrontation escalated into a full scale riot with the Federalists threatening to blow up their opponents with their cannon and Petrikin and the Anti-Federalists attacking them with staves and bludgeons. The Federalists were routed and driven from the scene. The following day the Anti-Federalists returned to the center of town parading and burning effigies of James Wilson, a prominent Pennsylvania Federalist and Thomas McKean, Chief Justice. Federalist officials in Carlisle unsure of what legal steps to take and reluctant to further agitate the

situation, referred the incident to the state to decide if legal action was necessitated. Meanwhile a war of words erupted in the *Carlisle Gazette* and William Petrikin became the voice for Carlisle's Anti-Federalist citizens.[19]

Re-enactment of the 1787 Riot between Anti-Federalists and Federalists by Historic Carlisle in front of the Old Courthouse, October 9, 1998.

CCHS Photo Archives

A letter to the *Carlisle Gazette* on January 2, 1788 from "An Old Man" portrayed the Federalist account of the riot and condemned the Anti-Federalist mob. Petrikin was quick to respond and his letter titled "One of the People" was printed on January 9th. He begins his letter, "AN OLD MAN, who pretends to be an impartial spectator, has taken upon him to furnish the public with a state of the facts, respecting what he calls 'the riot on Wednesday the 26th of December last; as also of the burning the effigies of two of the most distinguished characters in the state.' The vein of misrepresentation and falsehood that runs through this production renders its legitimacy very dubious."[20] From the start Petrikin sets a tone that is aggressive, sarcastic, and that shows little respect for his Federalist opponents. Petrikin's title implies that he is speaking as one of the people, but he is also clearly speaking for the people, and with this we begin to glimpse his emergence as a leader and a spokesperson.

He continues his account, "it is necessary to observe as we go along, that when it was remonstrated to the intended rejoicers, by a number of respectable inhabitants in the most peaceable manner, that their conduct was contrary to the minds of three-fourths of the inhabitants, and must therefore produce bad consequences if they persisted; their reply was, 'They would fire the cannon in spite of any who would oppose them; and if they would not clear the way, they

would blow them up in the air.' Such imperious language was too grating for the ears of freemen, and produced a short conflict which ended in the total rout of the new Federalists."[21] In this passage Petrikin asserts the power of the majority of the people, in this case the Anti-Federalists, and denigrates the aristocratic nature of the Federalists. Petrikin and the Anti-Federalists of Carlisle demonstrate that they are willing to fight to defend their status as "freemen".

For Petrikin politics is serious business, and he shows no tolerance for those who would disagree with his vision of government. The constant presence of conflict that Thomas P. Slaughter has identified as an elemental feature of this era is evident in Petrikin's words as he assails the old man for his comments about the Federalist leaders.[22] "Why the old man cannot be serious! What spirit possessed him, when he called them friends to government? Pray what government do they befriend? They are determined enemies to the government of Pennsylvania, to the Confederation of the United States, and to every government that ever existed in the world (a despotism excepted)."[23] So for Petrikin the national debate over the ratification of the Constitution is a battle that has a clearly defined enemy seeking to take away the thing that was most important, liberty.

Petrikin's active role and leadership during the riot and its aftermath became clear as the old man identifies Petrikin as a recent immigrant whose intentions are not clear to the more established and respectable men of the community. Petrikin writes, "The old man observes, 'it is remarkable that some of the most active people in the riot of Wednesday and the mob of Thursday have come to this country, within these two years, men perfectly unknown and whose characters were too obscure to attract the notice of the inhabitants of this place.' Some of these characters, however, are so obvious as to be noticed with an envious eye, even by the old man himself, and several others of his party, but does the old man think newcomers are to be deprived of their rights as men?"[24] Petrikin believes that all citizens should have an equal voice in their government, even those who have recently arrived as immigrants and in fact he holds high those who have fought for liberty in their native countries.[25]

> "Rouse then my fellow citizens before it be too late; act with a spirit becoming freeman; That you are not insensible of the invaluable blessings of liberty – convince the world and your adversaries to, who wish to become your tyrants – That you esteem life and property, but secondary objects; when your liberty comes to be attacked."[26]

With these words William Petrikin made his mark across the political and social landscape of his new home. "The Scourge," printed in the *Carlisle Gazette,* January 23, 1788 is a powerful example of the commitment and passion that Petrikin brought to his defense of liberty. At times invoking biblical fire

and brimstone, "The Scourge" was a fierce attack by Petrikin on his Federalist opponents. This letter, certainly read by most citizens of the region, establishes Petrikin's role as a leader and a knowledgeable political voice of the local Anti-Federalists. It is a call to arms for the people and as we will see they respond.

On the same day that the *Carlisle Gazette* printed Petrikin's letter, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ordered the Sheriff of Cumberland County to apprehend Petrikin and the others for acting in a "riotous, routous, and unlawful manner."[27] Petrikin and the Carlisle Anti-Federalists were beginning to draw wider attention as evidenced by this letter written from Carlisle by John Jordan. "In one of the enclosed newspapers, viz., that of the 9th January, you will see an answer to them signed One of the People. In the paper of 16th, you'll see their reply signed Another of the People. In the 23rd, our answer concluded with a song, signed The Scourge. We wish to have them published in the city [Philadelphia] as it will show the public the spirit of opposition that takes place here against the Constitution."[28] Petrikin's words and actions were a strong part of this "spirit of opposition" that seemed to be gaining momentum.

On February 24 Petrikin writes a letter to John Nicholson, a prominent Pennsylvania Anti-Federalist, explaining the charges brought against him and asking if Nicholson could help bring more Anti-Federalist writings into the Carlisle community. In a telling passage Petrikin stated, as he described his legal dilemma, "enter Bail or go to Jail the last is our full Detemination the Country is almost unanimously on our Side and seems to wish for an opportunity to signalize themselves."[29] Petrikin was confident in his cause and in his fellow Anti-Federalists, and he would soon help them to rise up or "signalize themselves."

Seven of the Anti-Federalist rioters were jailed on February 25, and Petrikin was one of them. The other 13 defendants were released on parole, but Petrikin and the others refused it and insisted on having a trial. A letter, also printed in the *Carlisle Gazette,* from the prisoners, explains why they refused bail, and it is clearly written by Petrikin.[30] At this point Petrikin stands out as a leader and his call to arms was being heard.

One Anti-Federalist contention was a fear and distrust of a standing army and the belief that local militias were more effective to the preservation of liberty. Herbert J. Storing states, in *What the Anti-Federalists Were For,* "The standing army would be not only a potential instrument of oppression but a source of moral corruption."[31] Petrikin also had very clear ideas about the dangers of a standing army and the proper role of the militia in a society based upon freedom and liberty.

In his pamphlet entitled *The Government of Nature Delineated or An Exact Picture of the New Federal Constitution,* Petrikin, writing under the sarcastic

pseudonym Aristocrotis, presented his most comprehensive account of his political views. Written as a satire on Federalist views of government and human nature Aristocrotis scoffed at their ideals and celebrated the common sense and sound judgment of the people. In commenting on the Federalist position on a standing army Petrikin sarcastically states "to render government entirely independent, they must have the sole and absolute command of the militia without restriction or reserve, either as to time or place, principle or conscience."[32] When discussing the role of the inactive or local militia as envisioned by the Federalists, Petrikin cleverly comments "It would be dangerous to trust such a rabble as this with arms in their hands. They might employ them in opposing the supreme laws of the land instead of employing them to execute them."[33]

Upon hearing the news that Petrikin and the others had been jailed "immediately the country took alarm on hearing that a number of persons was [*sic*] confined in prison for opposing a measure that was intended to give sanction to the proposed federal Constitution. The people who composed the different companies of militia in this county thought proper to collect, and appointed to meet in Carlisle on Saturday."[34] John Shippen writing to his father, Joseph Shippen, on March 3, described the events that next took place. "On Saturday [1 March], by daylight, a company from the lower settlement entered the town singing "Federal Joy" (a song composed by one of their party and published in the newspapers), took possession of the courthouse and rung the bell all morning. Several other companies came in from different parts of the country, the last of which about ten o'clock. They then marched to the jail and demanded the prisoners; upon which they received them, placed them in their front, and marched through town huzzaing, singing, hallooing, firing, and the like. It was thought there were upwards of eight hundred. Such a number of dirty, rag-a-muffin-looking blackguards I never beheld."[35] Petrikin's call to arms had been answered and the Anti-Federalists of Carlisle won a small and temporary victory.

With ratification of the Constitution and the Federalists in power the political crisis of the 1780s turned into an economic crisis that loomed large across the country. Homes and properties were being foreclosed at an alarming rate, and credit from banks, for those facing these hardships, was extremely difficult to obtain. Class divisions and resentment added fuel to the fire as bankers, businessmen, and politicians were accused of greed and corruption. The price tag for the war had placed an economic burden on all citizens, and the federal government took decisive steps to bolster the nation's financial foundation. The essential freedom of land and home ownership was in jeopardy and citizens across the country were scared and angry. Such was the situation in America during the early 1790s.[36]

In 1791 the United States Congress approved the excise tax proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. This tax, that targeted whiskey among other items, proved to be highly unpopular in specific sections of the country, and led to what is called the Whiskey Rebellion. The heart of this rebellion took place in western Pennsylvania, but there were also outbreaks of resistance in central Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maryland, the Carolinas and Virginia.[37]

A view of this era as being a continuation of the Revolution is espoused by Thomas P. Slaughter, in his study of the Whiskey Rebellion. He argues "the story of that crisis, as it is retold here, focuses on the Rebellion as a climactic event in the process of political and social change that provoked and sustained the War for Independence. Conflict was at the heart of the Revolution, and conflict among Americans was at least as important a part of the story as cooperation against a common enemy."[38] Petrikin's words and actions demonstrate the centrality of conflict during this era, especially for those citizens on the periphery of power.

Many of the issues that the Anti-Federalists had fought for during the Constitutional debates had resurfaced in the grievances of the whiskey rebels and Petrikin, once again through his words and actions, placed himself in the center of local support for the rebels. William Slaughter describes the local protest movement: "As in Western Pennsylvania, these Cumberland County protests shot off in several directions at once, with some people trying to channel dissent into meetings and petitions, and others of a more radical bent pursuing their own violent lights. There were individuals who advocated civil war and a separation of West from East. A fellow named Peterson, for example, proclaimed that 'the people of the West had better separate themselves from the government of the United States than undergo such hardships as they were subjected to and they had better form a government for themselves.'"[39] It is possible that the man Slaughter refers to as Peterson was actually Petrikin as by August of 1794 his voice is once again being raised in defense of liberty.

Saul Cornell recounts that, "Petrikin's house in Carlisle became a meeting place for opponents of the Federalist policy who supported the Whiskey rebels. As a contemporary observer noted, on one occasion forty men left Petrikin's house and erected a liberty pole to which a board was fixed with the inscription 'Liberty and Equality.'"[40] Petrikin's rhetoric continued to escalate and when warned by Robert Whitehall, a former Anti-Federalist leader, that his words "could bring on a Revolution," he replied "all Revns began by force and that it as well it should begin. It was time there should be a Revolution – that Congress ought either to Repeal the Law or allow these people to set up a government for themselves – and be separated from us."[41] This time Petrikin's call to arms for

the local militia to oppose the federal troops gathered by Washington did not succeed, and in August of 1794 William Petrikin was charged with Sedition for agitating others in support for the rebels.

Eventually the charges against Petrikin and the other Whiskey rebels were dropped and Petrikin like many other Anti-Federalists before him began a career working within the government that he had so often and vociferously opposed. He was appointed a justice of the peace for Cumberland County in 1795 and began to study law. Later in 1800 he moved to Center County and was appointed one of its first justices. He served as the register and recorder of Centre County until his death on October 2, 1821.[42]

The decade of William Petrikin's life covered here from his arrival in America in the mid 1780s to the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 clearly shows a man with "an ardent love of liberty." His actions alone from his involvement in the riot of 1787 to his jailing and subsequent liberation by the local militia all the way through his agitation in support of the Whiskey rebels reveal a man motivated by a cause. Petrikin's cause was liberty and his actions reflect its importance and its fragility. He made choices, such as going to jail, that showed its importance to him, and he acted and prompted others to act with an urgency that reflected his fears for its loss. Time and again Petrikin steps forward as a leader of the people and their spokesman to defend liberty and their rights against the Federalist opponents.

Petrikin's writing also highlights the importance of liberty and the need to defend it at all costs. From his letter as "One of the People," where he set an aggressive tone towards those who would threaten the rights of men, Petrikin's rhetoric provided ideas and motivation for his readers. In "The Scourge" Petrikin sarcastically attacked the Federalists and issued a call to arms to all the people lest the "invaluable blessings of liberty" be lost. Significantly this call to arms was answered and as Petrikin and the other prisoners were rescued from the jail by the local militia, they all join in song singing his words in "Federal Joy."[43]

William Petrikin emerges from a close study of his life and words as a colorful and important member of the founding generation. His impact is even more surprising when considering his age and the fact that he was a recent immigrant to America. He does appear to have arrived in America with a clear and determined vision of liberty and how it should provide the foundation for his new country's government. He lived in an age where violent protests against perceived threats were acceptable and he quickly learned how to harness the power of the people. Petrikin grew into a leader and yet sought to always be one of the many. His fears and the Anti-Federalists fears of a strong central government dominated by an aristocracy seemed to come true as the Federalist era progressed. Taxes

viewed by them as unfair, like the excise on whiskey, and the raising of a federal army to squelch the uprising provided Petrikin and the Anti-Federalists proof that liberty for all was not yet established.

The words and actions of William Petrikin reveal a man committed to the cause of liberty, and knowledgeable enough about the politics of his age to perceive the threats to it. He acted and urged others to act in liberty's defense before it was too late to ensure that America would be built upon its foundation. As Petrikin sarcastically comments, "congress having thus disentangled themselves from all popular checks and choices; and being supported by a well disciplined army and active militia, will certainly command dread and respect abroad, obedience and submission at home; they will then look down with awful dignity and tremendous majesty from the pinnacle of glory to their subjects, whom they have reduced to that state of vassalage and servile submission, for which they were primarily destined by nature."[44] Petrikin's commitment to liberty exemplifies its importance to the members of the founding generation, and his words and actions show that he was well aware of its "invaluable blessings."

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Jacob Fought of Carlisle, Pennsylvania and His Associates (1830 – 1837)

Stephen B. Hatton

This article is the third in a series of biographical sketches about Jacob Fought, a blacksmith and innkeeper who moved from Berks County to rural Cumberland County in 1798,[1] and to Carlisle in 1806.[2] In 1811,[3] he became proprietor of the Sign of the Plough and Harrow, a tavern located one and one-half blocks east of the town square. For an account of his early years in Cumberland County, see the Volume 20 issue of Cumberland County History entitled "Jacob Fought's Early Years in Cumberland County (1798-1811)," pages 56-69, and another article published in Volume 21, Number 1 entitled "Jacob Fought, Carlisle Tavern Keeper, 1815-19," pages 3-12.

Jacob Fought's last years are traced by examining his business, legal and social relations between 1830 and 1837. The first part of the article chronologically narrates business, civil, and social events in which he participated. The second part relates social transactions involving thirty-one people with whom he came into contact during 1830-37. Those interactions were not chance encounters but were built on a history of previous engagements. They enlighten us about the life and character of Jacob Fought and the Carlisle vicinity. Through documents archived in Cumberland County, they illustrate that who a person is or becomes must be understood in relation to his neighbors, friends, acquaintances, business associates, and legal adversaries.

1830 EVENTS

In April, Jacob Fought relocated his tavern, which he had operated on east High Street since 1811, to south Hanover Street, just three doors south of the courthouse. This may have been lot #139, but not much is known about the disposition of this property between its original ownership by Robert Callender c. 1760, and 1858 when it was owned by James Hoffer.[4] Later, evidence will

be presented that the owner of lot #140 may also have purchased lot #139. Fought renewed his proprietorship of the Sign of the Plough and Harrow, and announced the relocation in a newspaper advertisement.[5] His inn was equipped for entertainment, offered room rentals by the week, month, or year, and had sheds and a stable "for the convenience of market people, drovers, &c."[6] There was much competition among taverns at this location. A large tavern occupied lots #140 and #141, bordering to the north.[7] On lot #137, two doors south, there was a tavern called the Carlisle Inn and Travellers's Rest that was a daily stage stop between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[8] Around the corner was yet another tavern on lot #142.[9]

The census taken that year tabulated Jacob's household including two males between 60 and 70, one male between 20 and 30, a young boy less than five, and five females, three between 15-20, one between 25-30, and one between 50-60.[10] Likely included among them were his son Simon, wife Catherine, and daughters Julianna, Isabella, and Rachel, all of whom except Julianna migrated to Ohio seven years later. The youngest boy may have been a grandson, but the other two were probably boarders in his inn.

In November, Fought was listed as a creditor in an insolvency petition filed by Samuel Wightman.[11] Wightman owed Fought 62 cents by book account. That same month, Fought reassigned to Robert McClan a debt owed by Jacob Stouffer.[12] The *fieri facias* (judicial writ directing the sheriff to satisfy a judgement from the debtor's property) was to be satisfied from Stouffer's four-acre tract of land on which was located a sawmill and partly finished house in Perry County, Pennsylvania, north of Cumberland County. The reassignment indicates a debt to McClan that Fought was trying to satisfy or at least partially satisfy by reassigning what was owed to him. McClan had been his landlord until 1827 or 1828 at the former location of the tavern, and had previously legally seized Fought's possessions to recover rent in arrears.[13] McClan will be discussed below. The Stouffer debt may have originated with a note Stouffer signed to Fought in 1819 that was the subject of a suit brought by Fought against Stouffer in 1820.[14]

1831 EVENTS

In January, William Wightman appeared in court in a suit against Jacob Fought.[15] Almost nothing survives about this case, but the capias was instigated 20 November 1830, the summons was issued 31 December 1830, and the court date was 10 January 1831.

In April, Fought renewed his tavern stand.[16] He was also named as creditor in another insolvency petition, this one by John W. Thompson.[17] Thompson owed him less than one dollar. Fought also became involved in criminal proceedings against Catharine Buzzard and Edward Young. John Buzzard alleged that he was

beat in his house by his wife Catharine and Edward Young.[18] John Buzzard said that Young held him while Catharine hit him with her fists and tried to strike him with an axe. To save himself, John was forced to flee his house. Buzzard eventually agreed to drop charges against his wife but proceeded against Young. Fought provided oath surety for John Buzzard to prosecute.

In August, Fought sued John McGinnis.[19] Almost nothing survives about this case, but we will trace Fought's relations with McGinnis later. Fought also pursued a fieri facias against John Sponsler for a debt of $8.67.[20] John Sponsler became innkeeper at Fought's old location on east High Street in 1830 or 1831,[21] and his relations with Fought will be further discussed below. Another insolvency was filed, this one by John Wartsbaugher,[22] and Fought was listed as a creditor. Gideon Kutz also filed for insolvency.[23] Kutz owed Fought $1.50.

1832 EVENTS

In January, Samuel Beltzhoover became insolvent.[24] He owed Fought $1.00.

In April, Gad Day, Fought's landlord from 1828 until 1830 (lot #268), took out a case against Fought for which Fought then filed a certiorari (writ requesting a certified record) claiming the unjustness of the suit.[25] Abraham Moudy filed for insolvency and owed Fought $3.25 by book account.[26] Fought again renewed his tavern license.[27] He became involved in a criminal case against George Humes.[28] In this case, John McCartney accused Humes and David Wickart of assaulting him. Fought served as tent (provided surety for court appearance) for Humes. Surety was given in March but the case came before the court in April. In a related case, Wickart provided oath in the case against John McCartney.[29]

Some time during the year, Fought was enumerated for taxes.[30] He was listed as an innkeeper.

In August, Martin Kauffer filed for insolvency.[31] He owed Fought $1.25 per book account.

In November, family matters occupied Fought's attention, as Julianna Fought accused Joseph Lobach of fornication and bastardy.[32] Research enables Julianna to be identified as Jacob's daughter.[33] The case ended with a nolle prosequi (prosecuting attorney will no longer prosecute), and the defendant paid court costs.[34]

1833 EVENTS

In April, Jacob Fought renewed his tavern license.[35] Nineteen people signed his petition.

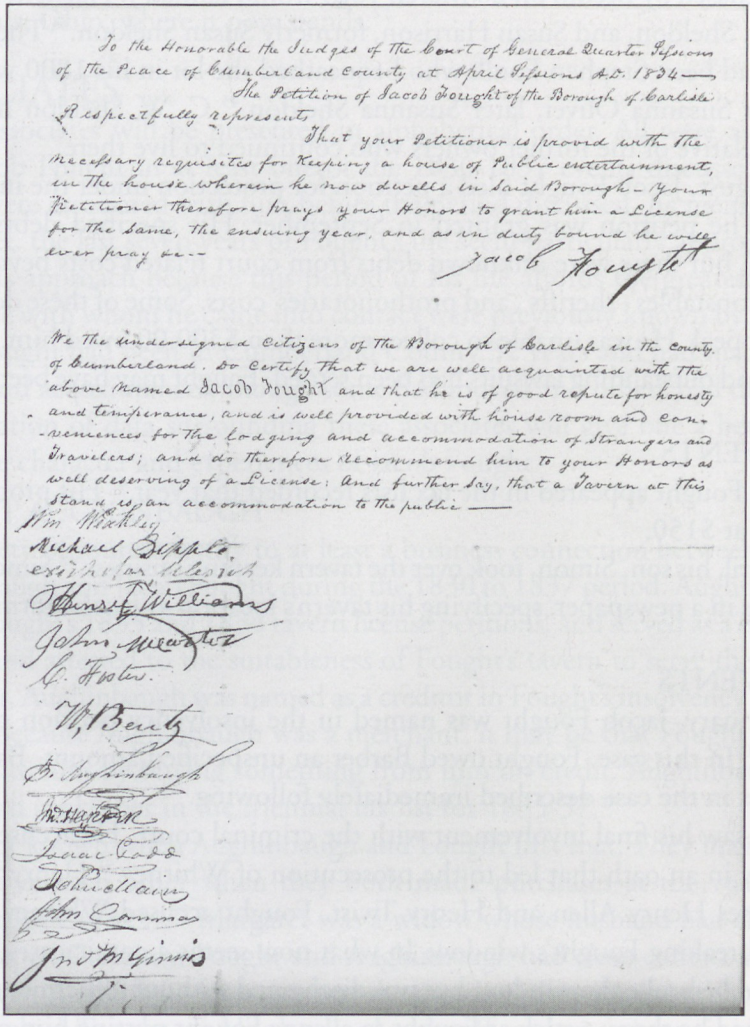
In August, he was named as creditor in two insolvency filings, that of John Rath[36] and that of George Swanger.[37] Swanger owed him about $5.00. Fought was sued by Joseph Laughlin, a retailer, who claimed Fought did not pay $2.00 for a cloth vest.[38] Among the defendant's witnesses were Samuel Wightman, who had filed an insolvency petition in 1830, and John Buzzard, who had been chased from his house by his axe-wielding wife.

In October or November, he attended John Delancy's vendue.[39] Delancy had been a justice. There Fought bought two lots of pamphlets.

1834 EVENTS

In January, he was involved in the State's case against John Blackford.[40] Blackford was indicted for stealing six silver coins belonging to Thomas Sibbits in late December 1833. This may have occurred in Fought's inn because Fought was called as a witness.

In April, he filed for a tavern license for the last time.[41]



To the Honorable the Judges of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace of Cumberland County at April Sessions A.D. 1834 —

The Petition of Jacob Fought of the Borough of Carlisle Respectfully represents

That your Petitioner is provid with the necessary requisites for Keeping a house of Public entertainment, in the house wherein he now dwells in said Borough — Your Petitioner therefore prays your Honors to grant him a License for the same, the ensuing year, and as in duty bound he will ever pray &c —

Jacob Fought

We the undersigned Citizens of the Borough of Carlisle in the County of Cumberland. Do Certify that we are well acquainted with the above named Jacob Fought and that he is of good repute for honesty and temperance, and is well provided with house room and conveniences for the lodging and accommodation of Strangers and Travelers; and do therefore recommend him to your Honors as well deserving of a License: And further say, that a Tavern at this stand is an accommodation to the public —

Wm Weakley
Michael Sipple
exithofar Plesich
Henry Williams
John Measter
C. Foster
W. Bentz
B. Aughinbaugh
Wm Harper
Isaac Todd
Schuellaine
John Cammas
Jno Fm Gimmis

Final tavern license application showing some of the signatures of local residents supporting the application.

CCHS Archives

He was sued by James Bredin in January for ¼ of the rent of his tavern.[42] Interestingly, Bredin, about whom we will learn more later, signed Fought's April tavern license petition just three months after the summons in this case was issued. Also of interest, James Bredin had purchased lot #140, and it is likely that Bredin was Fought's landlord beginning in April of 1830. In the suit brought by Bredin, the debt is for rent due between 8 January 1832 and 19 November 1833: "being C. W. Sheldons proportion of the rent of said property, which rent was lately decreed by the Court of Common Pleas to the Plff."[43] Lot #140 was purchased by Bredin on 20 March 1829 from Hannah J. Hackett, formerly Hanna J. Sheldon, and Susan Harrison, formerly Susan Sheldon.[44] The original owner had been Stephen Foulk who bequeathed the lot in his 1800 will to his daughter Susanna Oliver, later Susanna Sheldon.[45] C. W. Sheldon may have been a relative of the former owners who continued to live there.

In August, Jacob Fought filed a petition for protection under the insolvency laws.[46] The petition was granted in September. His specified debts totaled $154.98, but there were unknown debts from court related costs beyond that, such as constables', sheriffs', and prothonotaries' costs. Some of these debts were under appeal. He was unable to collect more than $300.00 owed him. If all accounts and outstanding lawsuits had been settled, Fought may have been solvent.

1835 EVENTS

Jacob Fought appeared in the tax lists recorded that year.[47] His property was assessed at $150.

In April, his son, Simon, took over the tavern keeping business.[48] Simon advertised this in a newspaper, specifying his tavern's location as Jacob's former one.[49]

1836 EVENTS

In January, Jacob Fought was named in the insolvency petition of Joseph Barber.[50] In this case, Fought owed Barber an unspecified amount. Barber was a witness in the case described immediately following.

April saw his final involvement with the criminal court. He accused Henry Whitney in an oath that led to the prosecution of Whitney.[51] Henry Whitney had aliases Henry Allen and Henry Twist. Fought accused Whitney of maliciously breaking Fought's window. In what now seems a comic case, Whitney admitted he broke the window, but was discharged without indictment because he claimed he threw a stick at Fought to avenge Fought putting him out of the tavern. Thus, when he threw the stick, Whitney intended to hit Fought, not the window, so the window breakage was accidental, and therefore not malicious.

1837 EVENTS

Jacob Fought was named as creditor in one last insolvency, this one of Daniel Miller, in February.[52] Miller owed Fought $38.50 by judgement and execution. Also, Fought's daughter, Julianna, married William Noble,[53] who probably lived in Fought's former neighborhood.[54]

Some time in the spring, Jacob Fought, his wife Catherine, and children Simon, Isabella, and Rachel, moved to Columbus, Ohio.[55] Shortly thereafter, on June 22, he died.[56] He is commemorated on a memorial originally erected in the Columbus City Graveyard, but later moved to Greenlawn Cemetery in Columbus, Ohio, where it now stands.[57]

ASSOCIATES

The associates will be presented in alphabetical order. All were associated with Jacob Fought in at least one of the 1830-1837 events discussed above, and all were associated with him before the period discussed. As mentioned at the outset, the last seven years of Fought's life seem particularly appropriate to apply this approach because this period of his life affords the greatest chance that those with whom he came into contact were previously known by him. By 1830, Fought had been in Cumberland County 32 years and had made many friends and acquaintances, though some had moved and others had died. The accumulation of data surrounding these associates will give one a better idea about the character and experiences of Jacob Fought.

BARNET AUGHINBAUGH

A variety of sources testify to at least a business connection between Barnet Aughinbaugh and Jacob Fought during the 1830 to 1837 period. Aughinbaugh, signed Fought's 1833 and 1834 tavern license petitions, and served as a character witness and attested to the suitableness of Fought's tavern to serve the public. Moreover, Aughinbaugh was named as a creditor in Fought's insolvency petition (1834). Because Aughinbaugh was a merchant, it may be that Fought became indebted to him by buying something from him on credit. Aughinbaugh was listed as an innkeeper in the triennial tax list for 1835-37.[58]

It is not known when Aughinbaugh and Fought first met. They may already have known each other when they both made purchases at the vendue for Margaret Rine (1825).[59] Margaret was a widow whose husband had also been an innkeeper. Certainly, Fought and Aughinbaugh had close contact in 1829. In that year, Aughinbaugh's house was the meeting place for the arbitration of a case in which Fought sued his landlord, a sheriff, and an attorney in a dispute about the distrainment of Fought's possessions intended to force payment of his rent in arrears.[60] The arbitrators ruled in favor of Fought, and his possessions were returned to him.

JAMES BREDIN

It is clear that Bredin and Fought knew each other during the 1830s. Bredin sued Fought in 1834 for overdue rent, and this indicates that he was Fought's landlord. Bredin was also named as a creditor in Fought's insolvency (1834), and that debt was the one in dispute in the suit.[61] Both Fought and Bredin were creditors of Gideon Kutz (1831 insolvency), John Wartsbaugher (1831 insolvency), and George Swanger (1833 insolvency).

James Bredin and Jacob Fought knew each other years before. Both were participants in the Democratic Citizens Committee for Vigilance of Carlisle in 1813.[62] Bredin witnessed the attack of the U. S. Army on Fought's inn in 1814 in which the peace was disturbed, personal property was damaged, and Fought was injured.[63] Bredin was co-plaintiff with Fought in a suit against James Gorman (1816).[64] In this case, Michael Longsdorff owed $166.37 plus interest to James Gorman, and because Gorman owed money to Fought and Fought to Bredin, they were both claiming it. Both Bredin and Fought were named in five insolvencies before 1830. It is evident that Bredin's and Fought's relationship went back to the time of the War of 1812. Bredin had experience renting to tavern keepers, having rented the Fountain Inn in previous years.[65] Bredin, a merchant, was president of the St. Patrick's Day celebration of 1833.[66]

WILLIAM BROWN

William Brown was a creditor named in Fought's insolvency petition (1834), which indicates they knew each other in this period. They knew each other as early as 1824 when Brown had the use of debt reassigned to him in Christopher Lamberton's suit against Fought.[67] Lamberton had sued Fought for a $10 debt, and Lamberton had apparently owed money to Brown. It is likely that Fought and Brown greeted each other at the vendue for Daniel Fisher (1829)[68] who, as mentioned, had been a co-landlord of Fought.

JOHN CLIPPINGER

Because Clippinger was named in Fought's insolvency petition in 1834, they knew each other. Clippinger was sheriff. Before this period, Clippinger was the sheriff named in the case of Julianna Fought versus George Kerne (1827).[69] Clippinger was also the sheriff alluded to in the Barnet Aughinbaugh section above, in which role he seized Fought's possessions at the direction of the landlord's warrant. In that connection, Clippinger was a co-defendant in Fought's suit to regain his possessions.

PATRICK CULP

Culp and Fought knew each other because Culp was a creditor named in Fought's insolvency (1834). Their acquaintance went back as far as 1824, when

Culp was a witness in the Commonwealth's case against Fought (1824),[71] and a plaintiff against Fought (1824). In the former, Fought was accused of keeping a disorderly house, that is, disturbing the peace in his tavern, but the case was dismissed without merit. In the latter, Culp accused Fought of unjustly taking Culp's possessions against sureties. Culp also attended the vendues for Daniel Fisher (1829) and John Schwardt (1829).[72] Culp was listed as a cabinet maker in 1835.[73]

JOHN DELANCY

Fought attended the vendue of Delancy in 1833. Delancy, of course, was deceased at the time. However, Fought and Delancy had not been strangers. Both were participants in the previously mentioned 1813 Democratic Citizens Committee. As a justice, Delancy had witnessed the 1815 judgement bond that bound Fought to Benjamin Crane, Jacob Whitman, and Dr. Frederick Albright for $1600.[74] Delancy also was a justice of the peace in the case in which Michael Longsdorff, who ran a distillery and undoubtedly supplied Fought's tavern, sued Fought to recover $75.75.[75] There were a number of other cases involving Fought in which John Delancy was named as Justice of the Peace. Delancy was named on Fought's first insolvency petition in 1819.[76] Fought owed him $10 for costs.

In 1828, Delancy accused Zechariah and Henry Reed of stealing five cords of white oak wood from him.[77] In 1829, the grand inquest refused to indict. In this case, Fought provided surety for Delancy to appear in court. Clearly, there was a long relationship between Fought and Delancy.

MICHAEL DIPPLE

In 1830, Dipple was listed as a neighbor.[78] He also signed Fought's 1833 and 1834 tavern license petitions. Dipple was another participant in the 1813 Democratic Citizens Committee, so it is likely they met at least as early as 1813. Dipple was a shoemaker.[79]

RICHARD DOUGHERTY

During this period, Dougherty signed Fought's 1833 tavern license petition. He was also a creditor named in Fought's insolvency petition. Dougherty was a neighbor of Fought when the 1810 census was taken.[80] He lived almost directly across the street from Fought. Dougherty was a schoolmaster, and sued Fought in 1813 for debt accrued while teaching Fought's children. This suit continued until 1821. In spite of their previous legal adversarial position, they were on good terms in the 1830s.

ELISHA DOYLE

Elisha Doyle signed Fought's 1833 tavern license petition. As justice, Doyle witnessed a judgement bond for $458.75 cited in Conrad Eckert's suit of Fought

(1815).[81] Doyle was also a witness to the reassignment of a sheriff bond in John Peters' case against Fought (1815).[82] Peters was seeking repayment of the lien held on Fought's inn. Peters had sold his inn to Fought probably in 1811. It is likely Doyle and Fought greeted each other at Daniel Fisher's vendue (1829).[83]

GEORGE FOULK

In this period, George Foulk was a creditor of Fought, named in the latter's insolvency (1834). This was for medical services and medicines given in Foulk's role as a doctor. Foulk and Fought became acquainted years earlier. Foulk was one of the arbitrators in the drawn-out Peters-Fought case. As mentioned, Peters was the title and lien holder of Fought's house/inn, and he was suing for repayment of the lien. Foulk was also a witness in the Commonwealth's case against John Lehman on a charge of bastardy, in which Fought provided surety for the defendant.[85] Both Fought and Dr. Foulk attended the vendue for Margaret Rine in 1825, and may have conversed there.[86]

ROBERT GUTHRIE

During this period, Guthrie and Fought attended John Delancy's vendue (1833). By itself, this is not evidence they knew each other. However, Guthrie was an arbitrator in Patrick Culp's suit against Fought (1824). Guthrie and Fought both attended Margaret Rine's vendue (1825).

JOHN HELFENSTINE

During this period, Helfenstine was named as a creditor of Fought (1834). Helfenstine was a merchant so Fought probably had bought something from him on credit. Before this period, he and Fought participated in the 1813 Democratic Citizens Committee. Helfenstine was also an arbitrator in Fought's suit against Peters.[87] In that case, Fought was suing for damages arising from Peters' refusal to give title to Fought's property.

JOHN IRVINE

John Irvine was a neighbor tabulated in the 1830 census. The year before, he was an arbitrator in Fought's case against Clippinger, Squire, and McClan. This was the suit discussed in the section about Barnet Aughinbaugh in which Fought filed to regain his possessions.

WILLIAM IRVINE

William Irvine was both a justice and witness in Laughlin's suit against Fought (1833). Before this period, William Irvine was a participant in the Democratic Citizens Committee, and an arbitrator in Fought's case against Clippinger, et. al.

GEORGE KERNE

George Kerne was a creditor of Fought named in the latter's insolvency of 1834. He was the "next friend" in Rough's case against Fought,[88] and a defendant of Julianna Fought's suit[89] mentioned in the John Clippinger section. Not much is known about these cases, but they may have been related. In the first, Rough by Kerne (indicating Rough was a minor) sued Fought for illegal detention of clothing. Rough claimed Fought had given him the clothing in lieu of wages. At the time of the suit, Peter Rough was eleven years old, and George Kerne was his stepfather.[90] At the time of the second case, Julianna, Fought's daughter, was a minor.

ROBERT LAMBERTON

Robert Lamberton attended the vendue for John Delancy (1833), and though this does not by itself support his acquaintance with Fought, based on their previous history, they probably acknowledged each other at that vendue.[91] Lamberton was a witness to the attack of the U. S. Army on Fought's inn in 1814. Both attended the 1829 vendue for Daniel Fisher.[92]

ROBERT McCLAN

Clearly, McClan and Fought knew each other in the period covered by this article. McClan was the end creditor in the *fieri facias* against Jacob Stouffer, discussed in the 1830 section. McClan was named in Fought's insolvency as a co-instigator of the levy against Fought's personal property since returned to his possession. They both attended the vendue for John Delancy where they probably greeted each other (1833).[93]

Before this period, McClan was a co-buyer in 1819 of the sheriffed property Fought used.[94] He then became Fought's landlord. He was a witness in the Commonwealth's case against Fought in 1824[95] (see Patrick Culp section), and was a witness in Lamberton's suit against Fought[96] (see William Brown section). They both attended the vendue for Margaret Rine.[97] McClan was sued by Fought in 1828 in the case referred to in the Barnet Aughinbaugh section.[98] He and Fought attended Daniel Fisher's vendue in 1829.[99] Besides being Fought's landlord, McClan was a merchant.

ROBERT McCOY

McCoy was named as a creditor in Fought's 1834 insolvency. It is not known what led to Fought's debt, but it is a sign they knew each other. McCoy was a witness in John Peters' case against Fought in 1814.[100] He was also the prothonotary named in some Fought cases.

JOHN McGINNIS

Jacob Fought's relations with John McGinnis went back years. Fought served as a jurist in the Commonwealth's case against McGinnis in 1805,[101] before Fought lived in Carlisle. McGinnis may have been a witness to a brawl that occurred in Fought's tavern in 1812. McGinnis provided bail in the Commonwealth's cases against Noble and Wilson,[102] each of whom accused the other of assault and battery. Fought provided bail in the case against Noble, and was a witness in the case against Wilson.

Fought and McGinnis were participants in the 1813 Democratic Citizens Committee. McGinnis was also a witness to the Army's attack on Fought in 1814. McGinnis was a creditor named in Fought's first insolvency in 1819.

Fought's suit against McGinnis in 1831 did not damage their relations. Both were present at Delancy's vendue (1833),[103] and McGinnis provided a character reference for Fought in the latter's final tavern license petition (1834).

ANDREW MITCHELL

Andrew Mitchell was a creditor named in Fought's 1834 insolvency. Mitchell was also a creditor named in Fought's 1819 insolvency. Mitchell was the sheriff who handled the sale of Fought's property in 1818.[104] It may be that Fought's debts to Mitchell arose from Mitchell's performance of duties as sheriff in cases involving Fought's legal dealings.

JOHN MYERS

An examination of the associations of Myers and Fought in the time covered by this article does not show they knew each other. They were both creditors of Samuel Wightman (1830 insolvency) and John Rath (1833 insolvency). However, Myers bought a pump from Fought for $5.[105] It may be that part of the debt from this sale was still outstanding a year later because Myers was a debtor named in Fought's 1819 insolvency.[106] They certainly knew each other when they attended the Daniel Fisher vendue of 1829.[107]

JOHN NOBLE

John Noble was a creditor of Fought in 1819. The earliest recorded association was that Noble was a witness of the 1814 Army attack on Fought. Noble was a creditor named in Fought's 1834 insolvency.

JOHN OTTO

In the Commonwealth's case against James Noble in 1812, Fought and Otto both provided bail for Noble.[108] Both were participants in the 1813 Democratic Citizens Committee. Otto provided surety for Fought in Longsdorff's suit against Fought in 1817[109] (see John Delancy section). Otto was a creditor named in Fought's 1819 insolvency. Otto was a witness in the case in which Bredin accused

the Reeds of stealing his wood.[110] Fought provided bail. Thus, Otto and Fought knew each other when they attended the John Delancy vendue in 1833.[111] John Otto lived three doors west of Fought and was a blacksmith.[112]

SEARIGHT RAMSEY

Searight Ramsey signed Fought's 1833 tavern license petition. They also likely had contact in the James Bredin suit, in which Ramsey provided a bond guaranteeing Fought's appearance at the next court session, and of course, Fought was defendant.

The earliest known association of Ramsey and Fought was 1819. In that year, Ramsey was an arbitrator in the Peters-Fought suit over repayment of a lien.[113] They may have seen each other at the vendues for Daniel Fisher[114] and John Schwardt,[115] both in 1829. In 1827, Ramsey was a farmer.[116]

WILLIAM RAMSEY

William Ramsey was named as Fought's creditor in his 1834 insolvency. They may have greeted each other in the 1825 vendue for Margaret Rine.[117] In 1816, Fought became indebted to William Ramsey by signing an insolvency bond as a result of a lawsuit against Fought.[118] William Ramsey was also named as a creditor in Fought's first insolvency in 1819.[119] Ramsey was a creditor of Michael Longsdorff who in turn, was a creditor of Jacob Fought. Another possible reason for the debt is that in at least one case, Ramsey was Fought's attorney.[120] That was a case in which Fought sued his neighbor in 1819 to recover debt dating back to 1806. William Ramsey also was a prothonotary when Fought had contact with him in the John Peters case.[121] He owned a tavern just one-half block down the street from Fought beginning in 1810.[122]

JOHN REED

John Reed and Fought attended the vendue for James Reed in 1809.[123] Fought may have expressed condolences. In any case, Reed was a jurist in the trial of Fought's son, Thomas, in 1811.[124] In that case, Thomas Fought was accused of jumping into another man's cart and punching him. John Reed was tavern keeper of the Pennsylvania Coat of Arms from 1809 to 1825.[125] Reed succeeded Margaret Rine's husband as innkeeper after her husband's death in 1809.[126] This may explain why he attended the vendue of Margaret Rine, and likely he and Fought talked with each other there.[127] They may also have seen each other at the vendue for John Delancy in 1833.[128]

JOHN SPONSLER

Fought's relations with the Sponslers date from his early years in the county. Thus, it is not surprising that there are two documented contacts with John Sponsler in the 1830s. In the first, Sponsler was called as a witness in the Buz-

zard case in 1831. In the second, he was the defendant in Fought's pursuit of a *fieri facias* against him, also in 1831.

John Sponsler provided a reference for Fought on his second tavern license petition.[129] This was in 1801 when Fought lived in what is now North Middleton Township. Sponsler was also a witness to the skirmish at Fought's inn that pitted the U. S. Army against Fought. Sponsler and Fought would have spoken to each other if they saw each other at the vendue for Daniel Fisher in 1829. The John Sponsler who appeared in the 1820 tax rates as an oysterman is likely the same person.

JACOB SQUIRE

Jacob Squire was a creditor of Fought named in his 1834 insolvency in connection with the case about Fought's rent in arrears pending in the court.[130] Squire was a justice of the peace in the Gad Day's suit against Fought.[131] One wonders whether Squire was objective in that case in view of Fought's suit against Squire in 1828 that was still unresolved as of 1832.[132] The debt mentioned in the 1834 insolvency filing may have originated with this pending case.[133] Squire and Fought may have acknowledged each other at the vendue for Daniel Fisher in 1829.[134] Squire and Fought may have met in 1813 in connection with the Democratic Citizens Committee. Squire was a shoemaker.[135]

ISAAC TODD

There are many documented associations of Fought and Todd. Todd signed both the 1833 and 1834 tavern license applications. As a Justice of the Peace, this must have carried some weight. Todd was a creditor of Fought listed in the 1834 insolvency petition.

Though Todd and Fought may have met at the 1813 convention of the Democratic Citizens, they clearly had contact in 1814 because both served on the jury of the Commonwealth's case against Jacob and William Krause.[136] Fought and Todd were on the traverse jury list of 1815.[137] Interestingly, Todd served as an arbitrator that same year in Peters's suit against Fought.[138] Also, in 1820, Todd served as justice of the peace in Fought's suit against Jacob Stouffer.[139]

NICHOLAS ULERICH

Nicholas Ulerich signed Fought's final tavern license petition (1834), so they knew each other. Ulerich was yet another of the crowd of witnesses in the War of 1812 skirmish at the Sign of the Plough and Harrow. If they saw each other at John Delancy's vendue, where both made purchases, they probably conversed.[140] Ulerich also was an innkeeper.[141]

SAMUEL WONDERLICH

Fought's relations with the Wonderlichs went back to his early years in Cumberland County. Samuel's only documented association with Fought in the 1830s was as a signer of Fought's 1833 tavern license petition. Both made purchases at the vendue of Jacob Wolf in 1810.[142] The Wolfs, Wonderlichs, and Foughts lived in the same vicinity in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and Fought had gone back to his old neighborhood to pay respects and socialize with his old friends. Both Wonderlich and Fought bought items at Daniel Fisher's vendue in 1829.[143]

CONCLUSION

For the local historian, to understand an era requires examining the social organization and interactions of men and women in the community. Economic, legal, religious, political, and many informal relations and transactions coalesced to form a local society. Likewise, to adequately understand the life of a person requires studying the social interactions of that person. Individual biography and social history are intermeshed. This brief look at the final seven years of Jacob Fought's life is a small window on Carlisle society, made possible by the public records regarding one Carlisle tavern keeper.

Endnotes

1. U.S. Direct Tax, third district, Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, NARA M372, roll 17; Deed of Sale, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania Deeds 1 O:170. For an account of his first years in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, see Stephen B. Hatton, "Jacob Fought's Early Years in Cumberland County (1798-1811)," *Cumberland County History* 20:1-2 (Summer/Winter 2003), 56-69. For an account of his life in the years following the War of 1812, see Stephen B. Hatton, "Jacob Fought, Carlisle Tavern Keeper, 1815-19", *Cumberland County History* 21:1 (Summer 2004), 3-12.
2. He was hired to perform blacksmith repairs at the courthouse and jail in 1807 (see *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, 19 February 1808, page 4, microfilm at Cumberland County Historical Society, hereafter CCHS) . Also, he coordinated blacksmith and leather repair with a neighbor saddler beginning in 1806 (*Jacob Fought v. George Pattison* case file, August sessions 1818, Cumberland County Prothonotary, hereafter CCP).
3. He continued as proprietor of this tavern until he retired in 1835, with the exception of April 1817 to March 1818, when he lived in Mechanicsburg (see Jacob Fought tavern license petition, April sessions 1817, CCHS).

4. See Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *A History & Genealogy of Carlisle Cumberland County, Pennsylvania 1751-1835* (Dover: author, 1987), 44. This work will hereafter be cited as Schaumann, *History*.
5. *American Volunteer*, 22 April 1830, microfilm 4-3, CCHS.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania 1750-1840* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994), 36. This work will hereafter be cited as Schaumann, *Taverns*.
8. *Ibid.*, 35.
9. *Ibid.*, 37.
10. 1830 U. S. Census, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Carlisle, 2, NARA M19, roll 150.
11. Samuel Wightman insolvency petition, 8 November 1830, CCP.
12. *Fieri facias* v. Jacob Stouffer, November sessions 1830, CCP.
13. See *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger, Esq., Robert McClan, and Jacob Squire, Esq.*, August sessions 1828, CCP.
14. *Jacob Fought v. Jacob Stouffer*, August sessions 1820, CCP.
15. *William Wightman v. Jacob Fought*, January sessions 1831, CCP.
16. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 16:370, FHL microfilm 1011316.
17. John W. Thompson insolvency petition, 18 April 1831, CCP.
18. *Commonwealth v. Catharine Buzzard and Edward Young*, April sessions 1831, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
19. *Jacob Fought v. John McGinnis*, August sessions 1831, CCP.
20. *Fieri facias v. John Sponsler*, August sessions 1831, CCP.
21. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 58.
22. John Wartsbaugher insolvency petition, 8 August 1831, CCP.
23. Gideon Kutz insolvency petition, 8 August 1831, CCP.
24. Samuel Beltzhoover insolvency petition, 9 January 1832, CCP.
25. *Gad Day v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1832 and August sessions 1832, CCP.
26. Abraham Moudy insolvency petition, 9 April 1832, CCP.
27. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 16:496, FHL microfilm 1011316.
28. *Commonwealth v. George Humes and David Wickart*, April sessions 1832, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
29. *Commonwealth v. John McCartney*, Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 16:485, FHL microfilm 1011316.
30. Cumberland County 1832 triennial tax rates, Carlisle, microfilm 1-10:22, CCHS.
31. Martin Kauffer insolvency petition, 13 August 1832, CCP.
32. *Commonwealth v. Joseph Lobach*, November sessions 1832, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
33. See Stephen B. Hatton, "Determining Children from Underused Sources: Jacob and Catherine Fought of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 93:1 (March 2005), 48-49.

34. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 17:54, FHL microfilm 1011316.
35. Jacob Fought tavern license petition, April sessions 1833, CCHS.
36. John Rath insolvency petition, 12 August 1833, CCP.
37. George Swanger insolvency petition, 12 August 1833, CCP.
38. *Joseph Laughlin and George W. Woodburn, trading under the firm of Joseph Laughlin & Co. v. Jacob Fought*, August sessions 1833, CCP.
39. John Delancy vendue, V-D-22, CCHS.
40. *Commonwealth v. John Blackford*, January sessions 1834, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
41. Jacob Fought tavern license petition, April sessions 1834, CCHS.
42. *James Bredin v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1834, CCP.
43. Appeal, *James Bredin v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1834, CCP.
44. Schaumann, *History*, 45.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Jacob Fought insolvency petition, 11 August 1834, CCP.
47. Cumberland County 1835 triennial tax list, Carlisle, 22, microfilm 1-11, CCHS.
48. Simon Fought tavern license petition, April sessions 1835, CCHS.
49. *American Volunteer*, 30 April 1835, microfilm 4-4, CCHS.
50. Joseph Barber insolvency petition, 20 January 1836, CCP.
51. *Commonwealth v. Henry Whitney*, April sessions 1836, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
52. Daniel Miller insolvency petition, 10 April 1837, CCP.
53. The marriage took place 28 February 1837 (*American Volunteer*, 23 March 1837, microfilm 4-4, CCHS).
54. For more details about the interactions between the Foughts and Nobles, see Stephen B. Hatton, "Determining Children," 49.
55. For a discussion of the range of dates, see Stephen B. Hatton, "Determining Migration Dates: The Jacob Fought Family," *Genealogical Journal* 31:2 (2003), 51-55.
56. Memorial stone, section R, Greenlawn Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio.
57. See Donald M. Schlegel, *The Columbus City Graveyards* (Columbus: Columbus History Service, 1985), iii, 51, 103; also, *History of Franklin & Pickaway Counties, Ohio* ([Cleveland]: Williams Bros., 1880), 553.
58. Schaumann, *History*, 145.
59. Margaret Rine vendue, V-R-47, CCHS.
60. *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger, Esq., Robert McClan, and Jacob Squire, Esq.*, op. cit. This case is important for learning how Fought's house/inn was furnished, for which see Stephen B. Hatton, "What Did the Foughts Lose During Their Pennsylvania to Ohio Migration?," *Family History Magazine* PLUS, March/April 2004, 8-10.
61. The amount in the suit, $69.89 ½, is the amount specified in the insolvency petition.
62. *Kline's Weekly Carlisle Cazette*, 8 October 1813, microfilm, CCHS.
63. *Commonwealth v. William Littlejohn, et. al.*, August sessions 1814, Criminal Indictments, CCHS. This incident is described in Stephen B. Hatton, "The Trials of a Tavernkeeper

During the War of 1812: The Story of Jacob Fought of Carlisle," *The Journal of the War of 181*, 2 9:1 (Spring 2005), 10-11.

64. *Jacob Fought and James Bredin v. James Gorman*, November sessions 1816, CCP.
65. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 51.
66. *Ibid.*, 16.
67. *Christopher Lamberton v. Jacob Fought*, November sessions 1824, CCP.
68. Daniel Fisher vendue, V-F-44, CCHS. Brown bought item 171, and Fought bought items before and after.
69. *Julianna Fought v. George Kerne*, November sessions 1827, CCP.
70. *Commonwealth v. Jacob Fought*, November sessions 1824, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
71. *Patrick Culp v. Jacob Fought*, August sessions 1824, CCP.
72. John George Schwardt vendue, V-S-150, CCHS.
73. Schaumann, *History*, 148.
74. Judgement bond, 8 March 1815, *Jacob Fought v. Benjamin Crane, Jacob Whitman, Doctor Frederick Albright*, January sessions 1815, CCP.
75. *Michael Longsdorff v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1817, CCP.
76. Jacob Fought insolvency petition, 20 February 1819, CCP.
77. *Commonwealth v. Zechariah Reed and Henry Reed*, April sessions 1829, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
78. He is listed immediately following Jacob Fought (1830 U. S. census, op. cit.).
79. Schaumann, *History*, 135, 149, 170.
80. He is listed five households after Jacob Fought. See 1810 U. S. Census, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Carlisle, 11, NARA M252, roll 48.
81. Judgement bond, *Conrad Eckert v. Jacob Fought*, November sessions 1814, CCP.
82. Sheriff bond, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, August sessions 1815, CCP.
83. They were at the vendue at the same time. Both were there for quite some time, and their purchases interleaved.
84. Arbitrators report, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1819, CCP.
85. *Commonwealth v. John Lehman*, January sessions 1821, Criminal Indictments, CCHS.
86. Jacob Fought bought items throughout the sale. Foulk purchased an item toward the end of the sale.
87. Summons covenant, *Jacob Fought v. John Peters*, August sessions 1817, CCP.
88. Summons trover, *Peter Rough v. Jacob Fought*, November sessions 1827, CCP.
89. *Julianna Fought v. George Kerne*, November sessions 1827, CCP.
90. Peter was born 29 February 1816 according to the Bible record of Catharine Rugh, and George Kern married Catharine Ruch according to the records of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church. This information came from *The Diaries of John Horner*, edited by Edward Cochley (Stephens City: Genealogical Books in Print, 2006), viewed before it was published; advanced copy provided by Netti Schreiner-Yantis.

91. Lamberton purchased the eighth item, Fought the eighty-fourth.
92. Lamberton and Fought were at the vendue at the same time. Lamberton bought two mugs after Fought purchased two tumblers.
93. McClan bought an item earlier than Fought.
94. In 1819, Robert McClan and Daniel Fisher purchased the property where Jacob Fought lived (Schaumann, *History*, 91).
95. *Commonwealth v. Jacob Fought*, op. cit.
96. *Christopher Lamberton v. Jacob Fought*, op. cit.
97. Margaret Rine vendue, op. cit. Their purchases overlapped.
98. *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger, et. al.*, op. cit.
99. Both were there for a long time, and their purchases overlapped.
100. Summons to witnesses, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, August sessions 1814, CCP.
101. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 10:191, FHL microfilm 1011068.
102. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 11:403, 404, FHL microfilm 1011068.
103. John Delancy vendue, op. cit.
104. Sheriff deed, Deed Docket A:338, Cumberland County Recorder of Deeds.
105. Book account, *Jacob Fought v. George Pattison*, August sessions 1818, CCP.
106. The debt in 1819 was $3.68.
107. They were there at the same time, and both bought handkerchiefs.
108. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 11:404, FHL microfilm 1011068.
109. Appeal, *Michael Longsdorff v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1817, CCP.
110. Grand inquest, *Commonwealth v. Zechariah Reed and Henry Reed*, op. cit.
111. John Otto bought items eleven and fifty-four, and Jacob Fought bought item eighty-four.
112. Shaumann, *History*, 84, 141, 160.
113. Arbitrators report, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1819, CCP.
114. Ramsey bought an item after Fought's first one and before other items Fought bought.
115. Both were present for most of the sale. Both made purchases toward the beginning and toward the end (John Schwardt vendue, V-S-150, CCHS).
116. Schaumann, *History*, 36.
117. Their purchases overlapped.
118. Insolvency bond, 31 October 1816, CCP.
119. Jacob Fought 1819 insolvency petition, op. cit. Fought owed Ramsey $36 by judgement.
120. Affidavit of defense, *Jacob Fought v. George Pattison*, August sessions 1818, CCP. See Schaumann, *History*, 141.
121. Capias covenant and summons, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1813, CCP. See also Schaumann, *History*, 129.
122. Schaumann, *History*, 81.
123. James Reed vendue, V-R-46, CCHS.
124. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 11:373, FHL microfilm 1011068.

125. Schaumann, *Taverns*, 29.
126. *Ibid.*
127. John Reed's purchases were made toward the end of the sale after all of Fought's purchases.
128. Reed made a purchase before Fought.
129. Jacob Fought tavern license petition, August sessions 1810, CCHS.
130. *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger, et. al.*, op cit.
131. Certiorari, *Gad Day v. Jacob Fought*, April sessions 1832, CCP.
132. This was *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger,* et. al., op. cit.
133. This case was not settled until 1835 (see verdict, *Jacob Fought v. John Clippinger, et. al.*, op. cit.).
134. They both bought one lot each of shirt buttons one immediately after the other.
135. Schaumann, *History* 142, 173.
136. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket 12:175, FHL microfilm 1011069.
137. Jurors, April sessions 1815, County Records Collection, CCHS.
138. Arbitrators report, *John Peters v. Jacob Fought*, August sessions 1815, CCP.
139. Unsatisfied debt, *Jacob Fought v. Jacob Stouffer*, August sessions 1820, CCP.
140. Ulerich bought the seventeenth item prior to Fought.
141. Schaumann, *History*, 143, 164; Schaumann, *Taverns*, 47, 53, 104.
142. Jacob Wolf vendue, V-W-28, CCHS. Fought's purchases were made later in the sale, but given the location of the vendue, they were probably present for much of the sale.
143. This was a large vendue. Samuel Wonderlich's purchase came after Fought's final one.

Battle of Papertown, April 23, 1861

Randy Watts

As America commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Civil War there is a renewed interest in the history of the conflict, its battles and its impacts. This paper looks at what came to be referred to as the "Battle of Papertown," an incident that resulted in the death of a young Carlisle man. The account is of interest not so much for the battle itself, as there was none, but rather for the insight it offers into the emotional mood of the country at the start of the war. It is also an interesting look at how the events relating to the *battle* entered the memory of the town and how it was documented over the next century. (Papertown is now Mount Holly Springs, PA)

The events in Carlisle and Papertown took place on April 23, 1861, just over one week after the fall of Fort Sumter to rebel forces and the start of what would become the American Civil War. President Lincoln issued a call for troops on April 17th and by the 21st the first men to enlist had left Carlisle. For a time when the only media were the telegraph and newspaper, rumors and fear flashed across the country almost as rapidly as news does today.

On April 20th Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin issued a proclamation calling the Legislature into session with a preamble that reflected the sentiment of the day:[1]

> WHEREAS, An armed rebellion exists in a portion of the States of this Union, threatening the destruction of the National Government, periling the public and private property, endangering the peace and security of this Commonwealth, and inciting a systematic piracy upon our commerce; and
>
> WHEREAS, Adequate provision does not exist by law to enable the Executive to make the military power of the State as available and efficient as it should be for the common defense of the State and General Government; and

> WHEREAS, An occasion so extraordinary requires prompt legislative power—Therefore, I, by virtue of the power vested in me, do hereby convene the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, and require the members to meet at their respective Houses at Harrisburg, on Tuesday, April 30th, at noon, there to take into consideration and adopt such measures in the premises as the present exigencies may demand.
>
> Andrew C. Curtin

Two days after Curtin's proclamation, members of the Union Fire Company met in their hall at 34 West Louther Street to form a home guard militia company they called the "Union Guard". The minutes of that group explained their purpose:

> WHEREAS a prompt response to the call of the Executive by our patriotic volunteers will render our town defenseless, and our homes in danger, also believing that the position of our borough is dangerously near the traitorous states, we deem it necessary to form an organization for the purpose of more efficiently repelling any foe, therefore it is resolved that we unite ourselves under the title "Union Guard", having for our object the protection of our town and country.

Members of the Good Will Fire Company took similar action about the same time. The fire companies at that time filled a prominent role in the community and many of their members were involved in the several militia companies active before the war. The leaders of the companies that were recruited in Carlisle in the early part of the war would also come from the fire companies including Robert Henderson and Lemuel Todd from the Union, David Porter from the Empire Fire Company and Robert McCartney from the Cumberland Fire Company.[2]

The important points to note are the comments "the position of our borough is dangerously close to the traitorous states" and "for the purpose...of repelling any foe." In the days after the fall of Ft. Sumter, the local newspapers reported many alarming accounts of imminent rebel attacks and small partisan raids that fueled the public imagination and put people on edge. On April 19th Confederate sympathizers attacked Union troops moving through Baltimore toward Washington and four soldiers and twelve civilians were killed in the riot that followed. This left many people thinking the rebel army was as close as Baltimore and created additional fear in an already alarmed populous.[3]

The *American Democrat* wrote of Carlisle on the 24th:

> ALL EXCITEMENT: The intense excitement of the last week has entirely unfitted all classes for any kind of business; and very little is transacted. Our people are all busily engaged preparing for any emergency that may arise. Many of the young men are enrolling themselves

as volunteers, and every man, whether young or old is arming for service either at home or abroad. [4]

All of these emotions set the stage for and help explain the context of the events that follow in the early morning of Tuesday, April 23rd. The *Herald* provides a report on the details of what took place that day:

> A STAMPEDE. On Tuesday morning, about one o'clock, our citizens were alarmed by a man riding through town from Petersburg [today's York Springs], Adams county, with the startling intelligence that 5,000 secessionists were in full march towards Carlisle, and had fired the town of Hanover. Absurd as the story was, it caused the greatest alarm and excitement. The bells were rung, the drums beat to arms, and in a short time the volunteer companies were forming in the square. The streets were crowded with our citizens, while women and children were preparing to move at short notice. By 3 o'clock the alarms had subsided, when another messenger arrived confirming the story of the first, and stating that he had been sent to procure ammunition.
>
> These men were highly respectable, known to many of our citizens, and it was evident they had been imposed on, or there was some foundation for the rumor. The consequence was a greater degree of excitement than ever, until communication was opened by telegraph with York, and assurances given that nothing was known of it there. Finally the people became satisfied that the report had originated in some ridiculous mistake, and retired. The Infantry, however, under Captain McCartney, marched to Mount Holly, and returned in the afternoon, having found everything quiet in that region.
>
> The following explanation of the report has been given: A party of men were proceeding by a hand car from Hanover to Gettysburg, when some person as they passed, enquired the news. Those in the car, no doubt in jest, told him the secessionists were within three miles of Hanover, and threatened to burn the town. This was sufficient to set the country to a blaze, and the consequence was the ridiculous story that was brought to Carlisle. [5]

The *American Volunteer* published a similar account and only the differences will be mentioned here:

> "...a rider arrived from Hanover, York county, bringing the startling intelligence that a large body of Southern men were marching upon that town to burn it down, and that the object of their invasion of this State was to make an attack upon Carlisle and the military post at this place...Alarm bells were sounded – the drum and fife called the

three new volunteer companies to arms, who were soon on the march – women and children were weeping in all directions, and the excitement exceeded anything we ever witnessed. The feeling, however, had somewhat subsided when another rider, with horse foaming, arrived from Hanover, confirming the news of the first rider. Again the excitement was greater than ever. A number of children were taken from their beds and hurried out of town – the troops were again put in motion – old guns of every description were brought out, and an early attack upon our town was expected by most of our people. The Infantry Company, well-armed, marched to Papertown in double quick time, for the purpose of intercepting the marauders. Our whole people young and old, were in a wild state of alarm until long after daylight. No enemy appearing the excitement quieted down, and we doubt not, most of our citizens partook of a hearty breakfast.

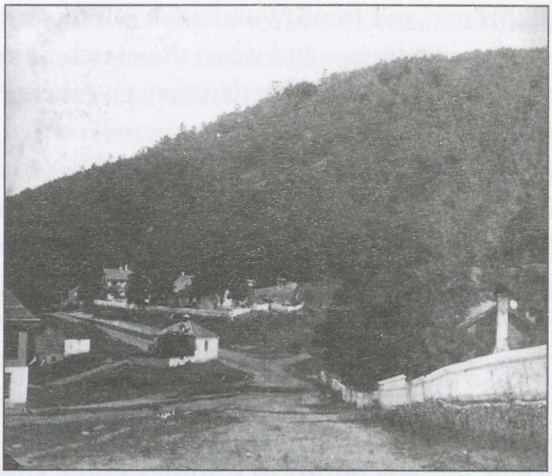
The *Volunteer* offered a different theory for the alarm:

> What it was that caused the alarm at Hanover, we have no reliable information. We believe there is no doubt a considerable number of men were seen approaching the town soon after dark, but the general impression now appears to be that they were slaves escaping from their masters in Maryland. [6]

While the incident proved to be false, McCartney, who was the Brigade Inspector, and as such the ranking militia officer in Carlisle prior to the war, marched with a group of men to Papertown. It is not known who accompanied him or why they would do so when the rest of the town had decided the rumors were false. The indications of the contemporary accounts are that only McCartney's company marched and that the recently formed militia and volunteer companies were not engaged. As both papers make reference to the "Infantry Company" they were most likely referring to the Carlisle Light Infantry which was the pre-war militia company. This theory is supported by some of the names mentioned in a later written account. The minute books of the Union Guard and subsequent writings of that unit's militia members don't mention the excursion to Papertown, suggesting that McCartney took only his company.

But the story did not end there. In their articles on the march both the *Herald* and *Volunteer* reported exactly the same paragraph:

> MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT: On Tuesday morning a young man named William Beetem, son of Mrs. Jacob Beetem, a widow of this place, proceeded to Papertown, in a buggy in company of Jacob Wonderlich. They had followed Capt. McCartney's Infantry Company. After remaining in Papertown some hours, the troops were about to return,



View of the Mt. Holly Gap by John N. Choate, c. 1876.

CCHS Photo Archives

when young Beetem proposed to receive a number of their muskets in his buggy, and bring them to town. In placing the guns in the vehicle, one of them discharged, the ball passing through the body, and as supposed, through the heart of the unfortunate lad. He fell and expired almost instantly. His age, we learn, was about 19.

This sad accident has cast a gloom over our town, and has overwhelmed the mother of the boy with grief. This is another sad warning to young men to be careful in handling fire arms. The body of the deceased arrived at his mother's residence an hour or so after the accident. [7]

The *Democrat's* report provides a little different view on the accident:

MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT: A melancholy accident occurred a few miles south of this place yesterday afternoon, resulting in the death of an estimable young man named William Beetem. Mr. Beetem, in company with his uncle J.U. Wonderlich, Esq., were driving along the Hanover turnpike in a buggy and overtook Sheriff McCartney's company of volunteers` on their return from Papertown, where they had gone in the morning. Some of the soldiers being somewhat fatigued, Messrs. Wonderlich and Beetem proposed to carry a few of their guns, and whilst in the act of taking them into the buggy one of the guns was accidentally discharged, the ball passing through the heart of young Beetem and killed him instantly. No blame attached to anyone. [8]

An account published as part of a family history in 1905 attributes the presence of Beetem and Wunderlich to curiosity:

William L. Beetem and Jacob Wunderlich out of curiosity had followed the company in a buggy, and when the march homeward began they proposed to some of the soldiers that they give them their muskets to carry back in their buggy. [9]

In speaking to hunters who use muzzle loading weapons, both flash powder and percussion fired; they indicated that it would have been possible for a gun to discharge in the manner described, even if the trigger was not bumped. If a gun was cocked it would not take much to cause it to fire and if the guns were old or worn, they would have discharged more easily. They also agree that it would not be an easy task to determine visually which gun had fired unless all the other guns had remained loaded.

William Luther Beetem was born August 27, 1841 to Jacob and Isabella (Wunderlich) Beetem and was buried in Carlisle's Old Cemetery. [10] He was a member of the Good Will Fire Company and they mourned his passing:

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT: At a special meeting of the Good Will Fire Company held at their hall (currently the Salvation Army Thrift Shop on East Pomfret Street), on the 23rd inst., the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Whereas the company has heard with feelings of their deepest sorrow and regret of the death of our late fellow member, William L. Beetem, who for a long time has been intimately associated with us, and whose many manly virtues and benevolent qualities had secured for him our love and respect, therefore:

Resolved, that we pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased by attending his funeral in a body, and that our apparatus and Hall be draped in mourning for thirty days.

Resolved, that a copy of the above be furnished by the Secretary to the family, and published in the papers of our borough. [11]

Postmortem tintype of William L. Beetem, the 20-year-old man who was killed accidentally during the "Battle of Papertown."

CCHS Photo Archives

And that seemed to be the end of it. The Coroner's Office has no records of the event. Because it was clearly accidental and the Sheriff was on the scene, an inquest may not have been required under the procedures of the day. At no time in 1861 was the event referred to as the "Battle of Papertown" but it seems to have acquired that moniker, used somewhat derisively, over time.

The next written account of the incident was penned by Conway Wing for his 1879 history of the county:

> During the year 1861 a rumor reached the people of Cumberland county that the Confederate army was marching northward by way of Hanover Junction toward Holly Gap. As this occurred about the beginning of the war and before the people of Cumberland county had learned anything of modern civil warfare, the most improbable reports of cruelty and devastation were readily credited. It was stated that the enemy was advancing "with fire and sword" and spreading death, ruin and destruction in his course. The objective point of the enemy was said to be the United States Garrison at Carlisle, and Cumberland county was to pay the penalty for her part in abolitionism. The leaders of this advancing army were men who had formerly been officers in the United States army, and were well acquainted with the location of the Garrison and its comparatively defenseless condition.
>
> The report reached Carlisle at midnight, and soon the greatest consternation prevailed. The night was full of horror, and vivid imaginations already described the reflection of the flames of burning buildings on the distant horizon and sniffed the smoke in the midnight air. The people were awakened by the rolling of drums and the call to arms. Men gazed as if for the last time upon their helpless wives and children, and mothers clasped their infants to their bosoms that they might die together. A council of war was quickly held, and it was determined that the military, which consisted of a company of volunteers under Capt. Robert McCartney, should march at once to Holly Gap and fortify it. This was executed without delay, while from all parts of the county brave men hurried from the plow and workshop to his support until within a few hours Mount Holly Springs was crowded with the military and active with preparations for defense.
>
> Prominent among the patriots who went to the defense of Holly Gap was Jacob Ritner, Esq., son of ex-Governor Ritner. This gentleman rode into town at break of day armed with a United States musket and a pocket full of buckshot and having a bag full of oats fastened upon his horse. Many other "good yeomen whose limbs were made" in Cumber-

land were there to show the mettle of their pasture. The first rays of the morning sun, however, dispelled both the mists on the mountain and the fears of invasion, and the little army of Cumberland dispersed to their homes and their labors. Although no foe appeared and the whole occurrence now seems exceedingly ridiculous, yet Mother Cumberland may be proud of this outburst of patriotism and feel assured that whenever circumstances shall require it her sons will rise as one man to her defense. [12]

Wing's account sets a different timeline and certainly seems to exaggerate the scope of the response, almost raising it to the scale of the battles of Lexington and Concord. He no doubt conveyed the community's sense of the mission when he said it now appeared "exceedingly ridiculous". And in the short interval of 18 years, the death of William Beetem seems to have faded from the popular memory.

The next written account that is known was published in the Sentinel in 1910. The writer, who was not named, had been asked by Charles H. Leeds to prepare the account for the Old Home Week Celebration in Carlisle in 1909 but had delayed doing so. Leeds offered the following comments as a preface to the account:

> Happening to remark in conversation with a former resident of Carlisle, that I should like to obtain from some participant the particulars of the "Battle of Papertown" as a tramp of one of our local companies early in 61 to Holly Gap to repel imaginary rebel raiders is often referred to humorously. My hearer replied that he himself, had been present. Being a young boy at the time however he could only describe 'the battle' to me from a boy's point of view, which of course, must leave out much that grownups of those days could have told. But my interest in what he then narrated to me as to what he saw led me to ask him to write his story of the incident of the day, which he has at length done after a year's delay and repeated reminders from me of his promise. He prefers that his name should not be published.

The account, later confirmed to have been written by James W. Sullivan, an "east end boy", read as follows: [13]

> For fully a year after the firing on Fort Sumter, Carlisle was in a state of feverish excitement. Rumor filled the air from day to day with every form of story that could be suggested to the imagination by war. According to various unfounded reports circulated in that period old residents will remember, the Ninth Regiment of three months men was completely cut to pieces, hardly a man of Chris Kuhn's Carlisle

company escaping; Baltimore was burned to the ground; Washington was in possession of the rebels, all Democratic newspapers were to be suspended by order of the Government; Richmond was taken again and again; and, at least once a month, Carlisle was in imminent danger from Confederate Raiders. In no more absurd situation was the community at any time thrown than on the occasion of the "Battle of Papertown".

The precise date of that day of wild alarm and valorous display, of farce closing in tragedy, I have no means at hand for verifying. It was in the spring of '61, between April 14 when Sumter fell and June 6, when Carlisle's three Pennsylvania Reserve companies departed for West Chester. [The actual date was April 23, 1861 as noted above.]

An hour before daylight that morning I was awakened by the scurrying of feet in the hallway of my home, followed by the slamming of the front door, and a shouting in the street. A relative of mine, a member of Captain McCartney's company, sleeping like a true soldier "with one eye open", had been awakened by a rapping at our street door, which was unheard by the other members of the family. In a moment he had thrown on his clothes and started on his way to company quarters with the messenger who had awakened him, arousing neighbor comrades as he went. The rest of us tardily awoke, caught the idea that there had been an unexpected call to action. Silence of the night followed his going, but in my fancy 'war's wild alarm' was already sounding, with flitting visions of quick marches, fierce battles and bloody charges. In five minutes I also was at the jail, eager to serve my country in any capacity possible to a boy of thirteen years. "Go, said my relative to me, wake up Sergeant–, and Corporal–, and the – boys, and any others in the neighborhood" – which was in the Bedford, and North, and Louther streets district. Ah! I had "a message for Garcia." Proud of my first chance for military service, off I sped into the night, not waiting to hear more from the little group which had gathered at the jail yard gate than that "there were orders to move"...

The contemporary accounts place the first alarm at 1:00 am and the renewed alarm at 3:00 am. If his recollections are correct this was probably after the second rider arrived in town at 3:00 am and McCartney decided to take some action. Sunrise for April 23 is around 6:15, however, local time in 1861 may have been different – many accounts of battles in the Civil War, including Gettysburg, are hard to timeline precisely because of local time differences.

The sergeant's query as he poked his head out of a window, in response to my banging at his house door was couched in emphatic

language, but as my youthful treble croaked up "McCartney's company got orders to move to the front" he changed tune, and signified he was on the jump getting ready. I tore away to announce bloody and imminent war at our very doors to other sleeping patriots who started up 'eager and anxious for the fray'. By this time however, the 'tocsin was sounding from the tower', that is some muscular fellow was hammering with the iron clapper against the court house bell. As I then walked breathlessly back toward the jail, the voices of startled but sleepy folks croaked at me as windows rattled open 'what's up?" And I, special aide decamp for the occasion replied with a sense of the importance of my communication; "McCartney's company's got orders."

The contemporary accounts indicate the companies met at the court house. At that time the court house bell was used as the town fire alarm.

I could hardly say just how brief was the time which it required for the company to assemble and fall in line in Main Street, facing the jail. I have confused recollections of a distribution of muskets, of sharp commands by officers, of inquiries from the private as to whether orders were "Haste to Washington" or "On to Richmond". But a speech from Captain McCartney set guesswork at ease. "The enemy" was perilously near. His army was "somewhere this side of Harper's Ferry" and rapidly approaching. And it may be recorded parenthetically at this point, that within an hour or two many tongued rumor had transported the raiding enemy, by a lightning cross country march, to Hanover, to the further stretches of the South Mountain, even to the lower entrance to the gap, "just beyond Papertown."

Coming at that rate the winged enemy must be met promptly, and if not hewn to pieces at least held in the pass until reinforcements should arrive from Harrisburg. Actually our picturesque little Holly Gap was to become a classic Thermopylae.

To fife and drum the company marched out the pike; face toward where the fire eating Secessionists were – the south – land of King Cotton, setting up a counterfeit republic, and whence their invading army was speeding toward our own Carlisle, to capture it, as the gem and prize of all the north. A diminishing escort of small boys accompanied the command for a short distance. A length I was the last outsider with the soldiers.

About a mile beyond the toll gate (near the current site of Home Depot) a masterful voice from the company yelled to me "___ did you ask your mother if you could come along?" On my disappointedly reply-

ing "No" the voice, that of my relative – issued unmistakable orders to me to go home. I turned back, mentally drawing up the necessary terms of peace to be made with mother. But in the course of the morning the war spirit gave me no rest – to Papertown I would hike. I must ask on the spot 'how goes the battle?' Toward 10 o'clock I wrung from mother a reluctant consent; though in late years I divined that by that hour our elders had recovered from their dismay and bewilderment of the dawning morning and had begun to smile at their own fright.

I set out on foot alone and passing more than one wood where pickets of blood thirsty disrupters of the Union might be lurking and what was more particularly real, several farms where the dogs were noisily inhospitable – I reached the tavern at Holly about noon. My recollection is that it was in those days still a tavern, where the 'wharf rat' company was in quarters. How much of the inside of the tavern they occupied I am unable to say. Orders had been issued against drinking at the bar. Most of the men were in the front yard. Second Lieutenant Dwen, with a red sash about him, was the officer of the day. Scouting parties, I heard, had been sent off far ahead, through the torturous road of the gap, along the wooded north slope of the mountain and up to the nearest summit of the long range. On applying to the officer of the day I was permitted to enter the yard and mingle with the troops. What I remember of the talk among them was a discussion of the military strategy, befitting the situation. Big pine trees could be felled across the narrowest points in the gap; farmers by the hundred could assist in throwing up barriers with fortifications at commanding points on the mountain side; the enemy, being cavalry could be hemmed in successfully and ambushed once they should enter the gap – our forces advancing north and south erecting obstructions at both ends. The knowledge of handling whole armies displayed by some of the corporals I had therefore known only in the capacity of brick yard hands or farmer boys – was to me surprising and impressive, with that generation of the East Ward – near the barracks – Bourrienne's "Napoleon" was popular.

The Second Lieutenant was probably Dwin, he later served under McCartney in the 30th Pennsylvania, enlisting on June 8, 1861. He died at South Mountain on September 14, 1862.[14] The reference to 'wharf rat' is a long standing nickname for residents, especially children, of the east end of Carlisle. While the area is not strictly defined it would include residents from the area between High and North streets bounded by the Letort and Bedford Street. This would reinforce the idea of only McCartney's men participating.

The day was bright and warm. The soldiers in the yard chafed at their confinement and would have wandered into the village but when any one of them faked up a reason for going out Lieutenant Dwen, while displaying some of the quality of a martinet merely smiled a negative. Though I was there but a few hours I found camp life irksome. There were no dress parades, cavalry charges, rebel forces in fast retreat, review of victorious army corps or big brass bands. Neither the 'pomp and circumstance' nor the 'thrill and carnage of novelizing war' enlivened the dull day. It was with satisfaction that in the middle of the afternoon the men heard the order "Fall In". This military command however, was supplemented, when they were in line, by a stump speech from Captain McCartney. The Captain, by the way, could make a very fair and moving speech, at least in my immature judgment. How strange, the tenacity of our memory of youthful impressions. As I write I recall his every note, the play of Captain McCartney's voice. Its quality, the timbre, as is said of stage voices – was pleasing, though at times slightly nasal. It reached well, his tones persuasive, rather than directive. The Captain's oratory was in the patriotic strain; he could in stirring appeal to the flag, call for heroic defenses of home and fireside, and urge his men to perform their everlasting duty. The members of the company admitted his capacity for discourse and he was popular. As Sheriff he had gained a reputation for courage. On more than one occasion I had myself seen him dash into the street alongside a runaway horse and stop him after a struggle. And tramps dreaded his ready cudgel.

As the company filed out of Papertown, homeward bound, the men regarded the incidents of the day as over, except the five mile walk to Carlisle. But while yet at the edge of the village there was a pleasant interruption. Mr. William B. Mullen, owner of the Mt. Holly paper mills invited the entire company into his capacious grounds, where a repast, chiefly of ham sandwiches and milk had been prepared for them. There was plenty for all. It was an attractive scene. Mr. Mullen, the elder, appeared the soul of hospitality; the ladies of the household and others of the neighborhood chatted gaily with the officers and some of our best known townsmen of the ranks; the soldier boys ate with picnic spirit and hearty appetites. Fun and good humor had replaced the emotions of the morning, whether of alarm for the safety of the town or of the warlike defiance of the enemy.

This episode at the Mullin mansion was characteristic of our great war – at the beginning. What master of the drama of national life can ever

portray the cooling off in that delirium that brought the entire north to its deeds of devotion from '61 to '63 to be followed by the partisanship, the hatreds, the unpatriotic demonstrations witnessed in '64 and '65. What a gap in mutable public sentiment between the voluntary rush to arms in '61 and the opposition to the drafts with their bloody riots in '64. In '61 the women of Carlisle, in eager groups pressed about every trainload of Union soldiers in route to the front, offering them gifts of fresh bread and sweet milk and honey. In '64 except the few professional nurses hardly any women paid the slightest attention to the troops in transportation on the railroads....

Captain McCartney's company resuming its march, proceeded in military array, though orders were necessary at times by the squad sergeants to prevent straggling – I struck out in long strides in the rear flank. First Lieutenant Joseph Stuart, whose great fierce black beard was incongruous with a kindness of voice and gentleness of manner, looked back at me once from his position a couple of files ahead and called out 'you're perfectly tired aren't you?' To which I replied "No!" which confessed that an affirmative reply might have answered truthful for the flesh, however unflagging the building patriotic spirit.

The First Lieutenant was probably Joseph Stewart; he filled that position in the 30th Pennsylvania under McCartney. He enlisted June 8, 1861 and was killed at Gaines Mills, June 27, 1862.[15] One has to ask if it was merely coincidence that both men he named died in the war and why he did not name others in the account. Was it because they may have still been living and he did not want to tie them to the incident?

But many of the men were fatigued, the heat being that of a 'spring fever' day. There was a halt for rest. Two vehicles drew up alongside the company. The first was a buggy in which were William Beetem, eldest son of Jacob Beetem, prominent in business affairs, and a leading contractor and builder and Jacob Wonderlich, a well-known citizen and school teacher. The second was Aleck Ewing's one horse spring furniture wagon. It being decided that the men might be relieved of carrying their guns by putting them in the vehicles, Aleck got down to direct the loading in his wagon, taking hold of me as he did and telling me to mount in the driver's seat, and ride to town with him, I being the only boy in the march. The men then came crowding up handing their guns to either Mr. Beetem for the buggy or to Aleck, or a man with him for the wagon. Here, alas, the fortunes of war turned the tide of men's emotions to sadness though an unexpected and most disturbing occurrence. As seated

in the wagon I was little more than double the length of the horse from where Mr. Beetem was at work before me stowing the guns in the end of his buggy. I was watching him. When the accident took place there may have been twenty muskets in his buggy, the arrangement of them being stocks forward under the seat and the muzzles pointing out the rear. As Mr. Beetem gave a piece, at the moment in his hand, a shove into the receptacle among the others, there was a flash of smoke and a report from the firearm. Instantly he turned and fell, crying feebly, "Oh, I'm Shot!" Several men near him hurried to his side but he was already lying on the ground. I leaped from the wagon and was one of the first near him. He was already dead, his clothing soaked with blood.

Jacob Beetem had died on September 7, 1856. None of the contemporary accounts indicate that Alexander B. Ewing was on the scene at the time of the shooting. Ewing was an undertaker and as was common at that time with undertakers, a furniture builder. It would seem most likely he was summoned after the incident.

In the commotion that ensued a relative who was with him threw himself wildly on the body and cried aloud in a heart rending manner. Captain McCartney tried to check him, declaring that he himself had as much reason to be grievously affected as any present. A number of the men bathed their temples in the shallow pools of water in the road which the cattle had cut up with their hoofs. It was said in later years that some of the men had fainted on the occasion but while I noticed several reclining by the roadside fence as men do in hot weather I saw none who had apparently lost consciousness.

Some inquiry was instituted at once as to whose gun had been the instrument of the unfortunate young man's death, but the investigation seemed to be fruitless and the matter or responsibility has, I believe, always remained an uncertainty. There was no accusation on the spot, to my knowledge.

Mr. Beetem's body was carried to town in Mr. Ewing's wagon. The men took the guns out of the vehicle carefully and shouldered them the rest of the way. As Mr. Ewing needed the help of a man with the body I walked home taking a place again in the last file of the company. The soldiers in the marching resumed their way in silence as if at a funeral. It seemed to me that after the accident they improved their marching order, the files before me swinging together from left foot to right, with that regularity which gives to a company on the march the movement of a single body.

> The men were not in uniform. Their equipment's were few, and not such as were issued to them later when mobilized at West Chester. Their guns were clumsy and heavy. It was a long and sad march to town.
>
> It seems to me I yet see that Carlisle company of volunteers, as I looked upon them moving ahead of me on that summer like day of 1861. (I have omitted some additional flowery prose from the account in the interest of space.)

The writer of the account above was James W. Sullivan. His "Boyhood Memories of the Civil War 1861-1865" was read before the Hamilton Library Association in 1933. That letter, as it were, contained confirmation that he had written the story and some of his earlier comments, but they were brief. According to an 1858 map of Carlisle Mrs. Sullivan lived on North East Street at what would today be number 27. The rear yard adjoins the creek and was in the heart of "Wharf Rat" territory. [16]

In 1931 Merkel Landis delivered an address entitled "Civil War Times in Carlisle" and he too touched on the issue but did not refer to it as a 'battle'. His account copied the newspaper stories and he concluded:

> "Being all dressed up by this time Capt. McCartney's company marched to Mt. Holly Springs and finding everything quiet about there, marched back again in the afternoon."

The next account was given in 1963 by Charles Gilbert Beetem; his father was a brother of William Luther Beetem.[17] His article is based on the recollections of his father, and reads, in part:

> My family and I had a deep and serious interest in the war," said my father," because on April 23, 1861, my brother, William Luther Beetem, at the age of 20, was the first Carlisle man to give his life in that war when on a tour of duty.

He then related the standard account of the day's events and after stating the group marched back to Carlisle again quoted his father who attributed the discharge of the gun to a different cause:

> "The day was hot," said my father, "and my brother, William, was assisting the men in laying their rifles into a wagon which had accompanied them. The cartridges were removed and the rifles were laid in the wagon with their stocks toward the driver. Some one of the Company – it was never learned who – failed to remove his cartridges. When the wagon rumbled over a rough part of the road, this rifle was discharged. William was walking directly behind the wagon. The bullet, to the consternation of all, pierced him in the heart. 'I am shot.' he

exclaimed, and dropped dead on the turnpike. This was a hard blow to my recently widowed mother."

This affair was ironically termed the Battle of Papertown.[18]

An article in the June 21, 1963 *Gettysburg Times* describes the role of a local family's grandson in the upcoming Civil War Centennial pageant at Carlisle. David Sadler, a student at Letort Elementary, was to have a role in the fifth episode of the pageant, "The Battle of Papertown". He was selected, according to the paper, because he was a direct descendant of one of the county officials who played an actual role when the Confederate soldiers invaded Cumberland County.

It was David's great-great-grandfather, Thompson Rippey, the Sheriff of Cumberland County in June 1863, who rode to confirm the approach of the rebels.

The pageant mentioned, called "Thunder Over the Valley" was held on June 26, 27 and 28, 1963 at the Carlisle High School Stadium. No copy of the script is known to survive. Act V was entitled "The Battle of Papertown – War Nerves Dictate a Military Operation. There is no further description.

It is ironic that as one accurate account of the "Battle of Papertown", based on fact, was read into the historical record during the Centennial, one theatrical version of the story was being disseminated to the public at large in the form of entertainment. Such are the vicissitudes of local history.

The Sesquicentennial of the war provides an opportunity to look at the original record in an attempt to place the events in context. I recall being in downtown Carlisle as the events of September 11, 2001 unfolded. The streets were quieter than normal and everyone was tense. Suddenly several police cars raced down the street, sirens blaring. It was a frightening moment. Not long after word spread that there had been a bank robbery. Imagine that same sensation in a day before electronic media, the town fire bell ringing in the middle of the night, excited riders bringing chilling stories to town. It took some time but calmer heads prevailed and all went home except Robert McCartney and his company.

McCartney was the Sheriff from 1858 to 1861. On June 8, 1861 he enlisted in Co. I of the 30th Pennsylvania Volunteers and was elected Captain by the men, most of whom were from Carlisle's east ward and no doubt many of whom had marched with him to Papertown.[19] He resigned from the military on August 21, 1861 and returned to Carlisle. In the 1870s he was jailed for perjury based on testimony he gave against Charles Foulk, a noted Carlisle criminal, who tried to blow up McCartney's house. At the time a woman who claimed to be Foulk's wife was living with McCartney.[20]

William L. Beetem should go down in history as Cumberland County's only civilian casualty of the Civil War; an unfortunate victim of an improbable series of events.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I would like to thank Richard Tritt and Deb Miller of the CCHS staff for their assistance in providing information that added significantly to the completeness of this article.

Endnotes

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15. *Ibid.*
16. The term "wharf rats" has been in use for many generations; its origins are unknown but the term definitely referred to the old east end.
17. Dowd, Margery (undated) Genealogical Chart for William A. Beetem III, Cumberland County Historical Society Archives, Carlisle, PA.
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Civil War Troop Movements at Pine Grove Furnace

André Weltman

In the summer of 1863, the Cumberland Valley was awash in fear and excitement as General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia came northward, culminating in the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1st, 2nd and 3rd. Much has been written since then, indeed perhaps too much — by one estimate more than 5000 books and articles have been written about the Gettysburg Campaign of June and July 1863.[1] Historian Noah Andre Trudeau said that writing about Gettysburg is a cottage industry and each author now begins by apologizing for "adding to the congestion of so many previous studies on the subject."[2] Gentle reader, I too apologize, yet nonetheless hope for your indulgence.

What follows is not a grand story of the Gettysburg Campaign. Rather, this article briefly examines a small component of the drama as it played out in the far corner of southwestern Cumberland County: the movement of troops through William Watt's Iron Works, comprised of Pine Grove Furnace and nearby Laurel Forge. This part of the South Mountains was not in the main path of the huge armies maneuvering in Pennsylvania. Nonetheless, Union militia are documented to have passed through the iron works. Evidence concerning Confederates is less clear — very probably the rebels did not make it to Pine Grove Furnace.

Confederates at Pine Grove Furnace before the Battle of Gettysburg?

In late June, the Confederate army was spread across south-central Pennsylvania, with the main force extending up the Cumberland Valley from Chambersburg to Shippensburg and Carlisle and beyond. They then converged to fight the Battle of Gettysburg.

It is sometimes stated that both Northern and Southern soldiers passed through Pine Grove Furnace. A rather typical comment in a 1954 newspaper article: "The spot was visited by troops of both armies in the Civil War...."[3] One near-contemporary writer made a very specific statement that a few Confederates moved due south out of the Cumberland Valley and across the South Mountains all the way to Pine Grove Furnace, while on their way to Gettysburg. This account was written less than 30 years after the battle by Captain James

Thomas Long, who had served elsewhere at the time as a lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Cavalry, Pennsylvania Volunteers. Long claimed that on June 30th elements of the Confederate Third Corps moved south from Newville:

> General Pender's division of Hill's corps was sent from Newville by way of Pine Grove Furnace, on the Newville and Mummasburg road, reaching a point on the latter ten miles northwest of Gettysburg. He stopped for the night with four brigades, as follows: Thomas', Lane's, Scales' and McGowen's.[4]

The "Newville and Mummasburg road" could refer to modern Route 233 from Newville to Pine Grove Furnace; then modern Bendersville Road south from the furnace across Piney Mountain Ridge toward Bendersville and Arendtsville. Beyond Arendtsville is the hamlet of Mummasburg, located just to the northwest of Gettysburg. These roads all existed in 1863, and are shown on the 1858 Bridgens map of Cumberland County.[5]

Detail of Dickinson Township from the Bridgens
1858 map of Cumberland County showing the Pine Grove area.

CCHS Library Archives

There is a significant problem with this account. All other sources say that Pender's Division was with the rest of the Confederate Third Corps near Chambersburg, not further north, and specify the Division moved along what is now Route 30 to Cashtown and Gettysburg. Is the book totally incorrect, or merely giving wrong unit names to some other troops at Newville?

The Confederate forces moving up the Cumberland Valley past Chambersburg were with General Richard S. Ewell's Second Corps and mostly traveled the Chambersburg-Harrisburg "Pike" (modern Route 11) or along Walnut Bottom Road. Some of these Confederates did pass through Newville during the last week of June. Cavalry scouts rode into the area on June 25th, then on June 27th at least 50 cavalry entered Newville under the command of Captain Priest from Mississippi. As many as 500 to 1000 other men with a few cannons were meanwhile camped near modern Route 11.[6] There seems to be no mention in the official records that any of them went a significant distance due south from Newville to cross the mountains. In contemporary accounts, the Confederates described closest to Pine Grove Furnace were nearly 6 miles north of the iron works, in Centerville on the Walnut Bottom Road, as well as probably a few men near the intersection of modern Route 233 with Pine Road just south of Centerville.[7] Ewell's forces all later moved northeast in the valley toward Carlisle and Mount Holly Springs and thence south to Gettysburg.

Anna Reed Watts, wife of Pine Grove ironmaster William Watts, feared the possible arrival of the Confederates. She hid her silverware at the modest home of Margaret Weiser, an ironworker's wife, according to a Weiser family memoir from 1954.[8] The memoir does not describe Confederates ever arriving. If Southern troops had indeed passed through the iron works, it is strange that a contemporary account from the general area did not mention it.

Pine Grove Furnace stack and buildings c. 1875. The engine house is on the left and the forge on the right. The mansion house and office are in the left background.

CCHS Photo Archives

It should be noted that in any case, Pine Grove Furnace and other area iron works did not suffer the fate of Caledonia Furnace 16 miles to the south, which was deliberately burned on June 26th during the Gettysburg campaign by Major General Jubal Early. The furnace was destroyed "on his own initiative" explicitly because it was owned by prominent abolitionist politician Thaddeus Stevens, and in retaliation for Union destruction of industry in the South.[9] This wholesale deliberate destruction was an aberration; Confederate troops were under General Orders from General Robert E. Lee not to destroy civilian property. Even if they had passed through Pine Grove Furnace, there is no particular reason to assume they would have destroyed the iron works there – though it can be imagined that food, horses and other supplies would not have been safe from the Confederates.[10]

In summary, the lack of agreement in other relevant sources suggests Captain Long was completely in error. The reason for such a highly specific yet erroneous claim in his 1891 book is unclear. The bulk of evidence does not support the idea that Pine Grove Furnace was visited by Southern forces.

Union Troops at Laurel Forge and Pine Grove Furnace

The Battle of Gettysburg was followed by the withdrawal of Confederate forces on July 4th. Their remaining capacity to fight was not clear to the Union command, which was under political pressure to continue to engage the enemy. Various Northern troops — largely untested volunteers — were put in motion toward Gettysburg and surrounding areas. The day after the battle ended, Major General Darius Couch, commander of the Department of the Susquehanna, was ordered to move his forces from Carlisle to Gettysburg:

> At 11:30 A.M. on the 4th, [Secretary of War Edwin] Stanton sent Couch the first of a number of messages expressing anger at Couch's delay in pushing troops to [army commander George] Meade. [Brigadier General William F. "Baldy"] Smith did move his division from Carlisle that day, but rather than push through the mountains to join Meade, or move down the Cumberland Valley to attack Lee's flank, he turned at Mt. Holly and moved southwest in the mountains, reaching Pine Grove Furnace that night...Things were not moving much faster in the north with Couch's command...Smith remained at Pine Grove Furnace and recommended that if his division were committed, it should be broken up to regiment level and distributed to the Army of the Potomac...[11]

On July 4th, 11 regiments of Pennsylvania and New York volunteers marched from Carlisle through the Mount Holly Gap. Brigadier General Smith, field commander under Major General Couch, had a total of "approximately 4000 men, after about half that number had deserted on the march [south from Carlisle]."[12] Unfortunately these troops were "inexperienced militia."[13] General

Smith was concerned about their ability to march quickly in the dark and to fight effectively unless bolstered by more seasoned troops. He wrote to General Meade that:

> My command is an incoherent mass, and, if it is to join the Army of the Potomac, I would suggest that the brigades, five in number, be attached to old divisions, and thus disperse the greenness. They cannot be maneuvered, and as a command it is quite helpless, excepting in the kind of duty I have kept them on in the mountains…I am utterly powerless, without aid and in the short time allotted, to infuse any discipline into these troops….[14]

Brigadier General William Farrar "Baldy" Smith (1824-1903)

Wikipedia commons, public domain

Based on this assessment, army commander Meade apparently did not want "Baldy" Smith's soldiers to run into the flank of the retreating Confederates located further south. Meade was afraid that if these fresh volunteers were engaged with the enemy "prematurely, that is, before the Army of the Potomac came within supporting distance, the Confederates would rip the emergency troops to shreds."[15]

Though the three days of the battle in Adams County had been hot and dry, subsequently the heavens opened. Mud was soon thick on country roads as thousands of men plus horses and equipment churned the ground. The Union volunteers and their supply wagons struggled through the poor weather and difficult terrain.

Who were these men? Hastily formed regiments of the New York National Guard had been sent by railroad from New York City through Philadelphia to Harrisburg in late June, to bolster a notably smaller number of Pennsylvania "emergency militia" regiments created in direct response to Lee's movement north. The Pennsylvanians had enlisted for no more than 90 days, after an appeal by Governor Curtin on June 26th.[16] Short terms of enlistment, typically 30 days, also applied to the New Yorkers who were mostly from New York City and Brooklyn (still an independent municipality at the time).[17]

The Pennsylvania units marching into the mountains were commanded by Colonel William Brisbane from Wilkes-Barre, while the New York units were commanded by Brigadier General John Ewen from The Bronx, and Brigadier General Joseph F. Knipe.[18] General Knipe, born in Lancaster County, was "a veteran who was still recovering from a wound received at Chancellorsville" at his home in Harrisburg. He was also suffering from a bout of malaria. None-

theless, in response to the Confederate movement northward he had offered his services to General Couch, which were eagerly accepted.[19]

The infantry regiments were accompanied by 10 artillery pieces manned by approximately 180 Philadelphians, organized in two units under Captains Henry D. Landis and Elihu S. Miller.[20] The artillery were "peacetime dress and drill units composed of socially prominent Philadelphians" that had departed Philadelphia two weeks earlier.[21]

Brigadier General Joseph Farmer Knipe (1823-1901)

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These emergency volunteers had first been placed at Fort Washington on the west bank of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg. During the last week and a half of June, they did see some enemy action. Two New York regiments plus Miller's artillery moved down the valley to Chambersburg under General Knipe, but fled north again after a brief encounter with the battle-hardened regular Confederate army. The artillery and some infantry subsequently skirmished with the enemy in Cumberland County at Sporting Hill, Oyster's Point, and near Carlisle, and they had experienced the shelling of Carlisle. Some men were wounded, as well as caissons damaged and horses killed, in these various small engagements in June.[22] Nonetheless, they remained "raw troops" by General Smith's standards, and he was openly frustrated by their slow marching and logistical disorganization.

General Smith's official report said movement through Mount Holly Springs on July 4th was "detained for two hours by the arrival of about 2,000 prisoners, paroled on the battle-field, and sent under a flag of truce toward Carlisle." These were Union men, mostly captured near McPherson's Ridge in Gettysburg on July 1st, accompanied by a small guard of Confederates. "Wishing to prevent the enemy from getting information of our strength, I was forced to accept the prisoners, subject to the decision of the Government, and turn the rebel escort back."

Continuing south from Mount Holly, most of the troops were directed southwest to Laurel Forge, beyond which is Pine Grove Furnace, while 400 men of the 37th New York Regiment remained at the junction of Pine Grove Road with Gettysburg Road (modern Route 34). As the majority of the force began to follow Mountain Creek toward the iron works, General Smith reported that "a most furious rain-storm set in, which raised the creeks, carried away bridges, and made the march toilsome in the extreme." The unending rain caused Mountain

Creek to flood its banks, in some places "waist deep." Supply wagons were stuck in the mud, and some horses drowned.

The troops arrived soaking wet, hungry and exhausted at Laurel Forge late on July 4th and into the early hours of July 5th. A florid account published in 1864 by a participant from Brooklyn described the long march:

> On, on through rain and mire, one mile, two miles, three miles to the hamlet of Laurel Forge, indistinguishable in the darkness, which gave refuge to all that remained of what was 12 hours before a proud regiment, filling the mountains with the echoes of its fervid patriotic song, now a forlorn, exhausted handful of men clutching greedily the shelter and the hope of rest which the grimy forge offered....The road now began to improve at once. We were getting 'out of the wilderness' apparently. A few miles brought us to Pine Grove, another settlement with its furnace and shops...
>
> To sum up our Fourth of July work: Distance traveled, including the countermarch [because the road was flooded], half of it through frightful mire, *seventeen miles*; weight carried, allowing for the additional weight given to overcoat, tents and clothes by their being soaked through and through a good deal of the time, *thirty-two and a half pounds*; with insufficient food, and bad feet under most of us.[23]

Considering the immense bloody clash that had just occurred at Gettysburg, we might regard the tone of this account — by a soldier who had not seen any prolonged combat — to be a little too full of self-pity, despite the genuinely difficult conditions!

General Smith reported that he dispersed his forces to guard various intersections and mountain passes. "General Ewen's Brigade was left to watch the road from Mount Holly to Pine Grove and that from Laurel Forge to Bendersville, over the mountain." At Pine Grove itself, "the Eighth New York Regiment was sent out to hold the road to Bendersville, where it crosses the mountain south of Pine Grove." Meanwhile, General Smith established a temporary headquarters at Pine Grove Furnace; it seems natural that he would be situated in the Ironmaster's Mansion, though available sources do not specify this.

We now know there was no need to guard these various roads across the South Mountains between Adams and Cumberland Counties. The Confederates were far to the south as they returned to Virginia.

The residents of Pine Grove Furnace found food and shelter for the Union troops. The Weiser family memoir from 1954, which does not quote from contemporary letters concerning these specific events (and thus may represent oral tradition passed down by the family), gives the following account:

The Union army did get to Pine Grove and Jacob [Weiser] found places for the soldiers and their horses. Two soldiers were lodged in Jacob's home, one of them a general who was sick at the time [presumably General Knipe].

The company which went through the valley arrived when Margaret [Weiser, Jacob's wife] was taking a baking of bread — perhaps eight or ten loaves — from her outside bake oven. Onions ripe in her garden made a perfect complement for the fresh bread; the troops made short work of both.

A commander ordered a barrel of flour, sugar, and everything necessary to bake flapjacks brought to this oven and three or four soldiers took over, baking flapjacks until more food arrived.

Jacob acted somewhat as a spy during these exciting days. Pretending to be a doctor, he rode about the countryside seeking details on the location of troops. One night, returning late, he was not allowed in his home until Margaret identified him.

While the soldiers were in Pine Grove, Sade, one of the daughters, saw some of them leading a calf to slaughter. Her father had given her a calf to raise, which seemed to be the thing being led away. Sade ran to the general at her house, sobbing and telling him that the soldiers were going to kill her calf. The general sent orders out not to kill the animal, but when the matter came out in the wash, they learned that another calf was being killed.

Sam, another son who wanted to become a drummerboy, got himself a rifle and canteen from the soldiers while they were in the community. When all the men left, the village once more settled into its routine existence, but the exciting news of Gettysburg cheered their spirits.[24]

The story about the calf in particular serves as a reminder that the arrival of hungry soldiers on the doorstep, even if on "your" side, may be a mixed blessing. The Union men, who had lost most of their supplies in the floodwaters, foraged through the community and ate almost everything they could find. The soldier from Brooklyn (who endured the long wet march the night before) described going into a worker's cabin at Laurel Forge, "taking possession of the family cook stove" and "the women of the establishment meekly withdrawing." A crowd of soldiers then cooked flap-jacks with somewhat more disorder than described above for the Weiser residence. However, the men did pay for their food:

Our little private breakfast party hastened its departure from the now to us historic hamlet of Laurel Forge, after gratifying the poor woman

who presided over the dingy domicil with the sight of more money in her hands, doubtless, than she was accustomed to seeing at one time.[25]

The men were eventually ordered onward across Piney Mountain Ridge due south of the furnace:

> Then shortly we began to ascend again; and we wondered with fear and trembling whether we were entering upon a second mountain road which it would be our wretched fate to climb....
>
> At Pine Grove Iron Works turned left and ascended a heavy mountain, on the summit of which halted and bivouacked...[26]

At the top of Bendersville Road, probably in the vicinity of the modern ATV parking lot, some infantry units camped beside artillery under Captain Landis. On July 5th, one section of artillery plus supporting infantry moved 1½ miles forward "to a cross roads within two and half miles of Bendersville, Adams County [probably the intersection of modern Bendersville Road with Coon Road], and masked in a position commanding the approaches from the south."[27]

Meanwhile, that evening two other sections of artillery at the top of the ridge were ordered back down the mountain to Pine Grove Furnace, where they had come from, only to be again sent up and over Piney Mountain Ridge the following day. The official report does not say what the men and their horses hauling heavy cannons and caissons of ammunition thought of this back-and-forth movement on steep terrain south of the furnace.

At his Pine Grove Furnace headquarters on July 5th, General Smith sent and received messengers. He directed a few scouts to seek the enemy, which was encountered just north of Caledonia Furnace:

> A cavalry scout, under Lieutenant Stanwood, was sent up the Mountain Creek Valley [southwest from the iron works, along the general path of modern Route 233], in the direction of the pass from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, through which it was supposed the enemy would drive his trains [supply wagons], if he were defeated. Lieutenant Stanwood drove in the pickets a couple miles from the turnpike [modern Route 30] but had not sufficient force to press on.

In addition, that day saw the arrival of an experienced cavalry unit attached to the Department of the Susquehanna, the 1st New York Regiment with approximately 120 men led by Captain William H. Boyd. This cavalry unit was soon sent southward, apparently leaving the iron works via the Bendersville Road:

> Captain Boyd joined me at Pine Grove, having followed the rear guard of the enemy to Fayetteville, on the Gettysburg and Chambersburg Road, capturing prisoners. He was directed to pass by Bendersville,

in the direction of Cashtown, to try and ascertain the movements and position of the enemy.[28]

The next morning, July 6th, the remaining mass of men and equipment finally departed the area of Pine Grove Furnace and moved south toward Gettysburg. They had completely missed the fighting there. The milita units never quite reached the town itself, with their closest approach being 4 miles east of Cashtown.

On July 7th they headed southwest to follow the Confederates' trail toward Virginia. However, General Smith's emergency militia never went much beyond the Mason-Dixon line. Some made it as far as Boonsboro, 15 miles into Maryland between Hagerstown and Frederick, and a few of them had one minor encounter with enemy cavalry. They were "unable to assist in any important way in pursuing Lee and bringing him to bay north of the Potomac" and in terms of the entire Gettysburg Campaign, "the function for which they had first been intended, to slow Lee's advance into the North through delaying actions, for the most part they had not needed to perform."[29]

By mid-July, they were all sent back to Pennsylvania and New York whence they came, and mustered out of service.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the assistance of the Newville Historical Society, and Rachael Zuch, curator of the Cumberland County Historical Society museum.

Endnotes

1. From the introduction to *Virtual Gettysburg* at *www.virtualgettysburg.com/exhibit/bookshelf*, accessed March 13, 2013. Stephen Recker quotes licensed battlefield guide Gary Kross: "There are over 5,000 books, pamphlets and articles about the Battle of Gettysburg. Even if you could find it all, even if you could afford it all, you couldn't live long enough to read it all."
2. Noah Andre Trudeau, *Gettysburg: A Testing of Courage* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), in Preface.
3. "Iron Making at Pine Grove is Meeting Topic," *Gettysburg Times*, December 7, 1954, describing a talk by Frederick Weiser about his family's long history at the furnace; see the Weiser family memoir in note 8 below.
4. James Thomas Long, *Gettysburg: How the Battle Was Fought* (Harrisburg, PA: E.K. Meyers, 1891), 12. Major General William Dorsey Pender's men from Georgia and the Carolinas were heavily involved in the fighting at Gettysburg, including "Pickett's Charge." Pender was hit by artillery fragments on July 2 and died two weeks later.

5. Henry F. Bridgens, *Map of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1858; From Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia: Wagner & McGuigan, 1858).
6. Joan Brehm, "When the Rebels Came to Town," *Valley Times-Star* [Newville], June 7, 2006.
7. "When the Rebels," *op. cit.* and see Robert J. Smith, *History of Penn Township: 125 Years 1860-1985* (Penn Twp Supervisors, 1985), 31-33.
8. Frederick Sheeley Weiser, *Family Memoirs of Pine Grove Furnace* (address by the author to the Hamilton Library and the Historical Association of Cumberland County, November 18, 1954). Unpublished typed manuscript in the Hamilton Library, shelf number *CHW427f.* I am grateful to CCHS museum curator Rachael Zuch for pointing me to this document, which was used as a source for the 2012 special museum exhibit on Pine Grove Furnace.
9. "Burning of Steven's Furnace," *Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser,* July 21, 1863. Also see Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863, or General Lee in Pennsylvania* (Dayton, OH: W.J. Shuey, 1887), 171. In a letter written 23 years after the fact (May 7, 1886), General Early stated that the "iron works...were burned by my order, and on my own responsibility....In some speeches in congress, Mr. Stevens had exhibited a most vindictive spirit toward the people of the South....This burning was simply in retaliation for various deeds of barbarity perpetuated by Federal troops in some of the Southern States...."
10. Edwin B. Coddington, "Prelude to Gettysburg: The Confederates Plunder Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History,* vol. 30, no. 2 (April, 1963), pp. 125-126 and 148. Lee's instructions in General Orders 72 and 73 not to harm private citizens, property and infrastructure, and to pay market price (in Confederate currency) for goods taken by the army, "was issued not from any feeling of tenderness" toward the population of Pennsylvania: "The only difference between illegal and legal confiscation was that the latter gave civilians the possibility of recovering some of their losses should the Confederacy win the war. Under the circumstances the citizens of Pennsylvania could not have had a fairer arrangement to compensate them, but the primary purpose of these regulations was not a humanitarian one. Lee wanted to make sure that seizure of the region's movable wealth was done efficiently and for the benefit of the whole army. He also knew that wanton and indiscriminate pillaging and destruction of property by individual soldiers would break down discipline and reduce the effectiveness of the army. For this reason his general officers cooperated in enforcing his orders, and not because they were kindly disposed toward the inhabitants. Lee's regulations were perhaps designed to encourage the Northern peace movement by inducing respect for Southerners instead of hatred. If so, this objective was never stated, and it appeared to be incidental at best to his real purposes and principles. Lee's primary task was a military one, but if in the process of carrying it out the behavior of his men promoted a political end, so much the better." Nonetheless, we should not be surprised that significant "seizure of the region's movable wealth" did occur. For the Confederates, this wealth including free African-Americans, as many as 50 of whom were sold into

slavery (Coddington, "Prelude," pages 133-134). Also, deliberate and extensive damage was done to the Cumberland Valley Railroad, which could be considered consistent with Lee's orders because railroads were directly relevant to the movement of Northern troops and supplies. Less defensible was Jeb Stuart's burning of a lumber yard and gas works at Carlisle.

11. Lieutenant Colonel Rod Burns, "The Roads to Falling Waters: A Critical Analysis" Student paper at the Army War College (Carlisle, March 1988).
12. Eric J. Wittenberg and J. David Petruzzi, *One Continuous Fight: The Retreat from Gettysburg and the Pursuit of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, July 4-14, 1863* (Philadelphia: Casemate Publishers, 2011), 194.
13. Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (originally published 1963; New York: Touchstone edition, 1997), 542.
14. Wittenberg and Petruzzi, *One Continuous Fight, op. cit.,* 194.
15. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign, op. cit.*, 543.
16. Edwin B. Coddington, "Pennsylvania Prepares for Invasion, 1863," *Pennsylvania History* vol. 31, no. 2 (April, 1964), 160-161.
17. Cooper H. Wingert, *The Confederate Approach on Harrisburg: The Gettysburg Campaign's Northernmost Reaches* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2012), 34. For summaries of individual units' origins and muster dates see Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1865* (Albany, NY: Weed Parsons & Co., 1890).
18. General William F. Smith, "Memorandum of Operations in Pennsylvania and Maryland, June 24-July 15" in *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records* (Washington, D.C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1889), series I, vol. 27, 226. General Smith gave a full account of the units he led toward Pine Grove Furnace as follows: "The whole command, consisting of the brigade of Colonel Brisbane, Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Pennsylvania, Gray Reserves Regiments, and Blue Reserves, 2,500 men; General Knipe, Eighth, Seventy-first, Fifty-sixth, and Twenty-third New York Regiments, — men [no number given], and General Ewen's brigade, Thirty-seventh, Twenty-second, and Eleventh New York Regiments, with Landis' Philadelphia battery of six pieces, and Miller's Philadelphia howitzer battery of four pieces, left Carlisle at 6 a.m., and moved by the Papertown road, 6½ miles to Mount Holly."
19. Coddington, "Prelude," *op. cit*, 135. Also see "Joseph Knipe – Hometown Hero" [no author listed] in *The Bugle: Quarterly Journal of the Camp Curtin Historical Association and Civil War Round Table Inc.*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer 2007).
20. Benjamin Matthias Nead, *Waynesboro: A History of a Settlement in the County Formerly Called Cumberland, But Later Franklin, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in Its Beginnings, Through Its Growth Into a Village and Borough, to Its Centennial Period, and to the Close of the Present Century: Including a Relation of Pertinent Topics of General State and County History* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Co., 1900), 246. Nead gives the number of men in these artillery units (one week later): Landis had 87 men, and Miller 94.

21. Robert Grant Crist, "Highwater 1863: The Confederate Approach to Harrisburg," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (April 1963), 168. This article is a good source of additional information about the infantry as well.
22. Captain Henry D. Landis, 1st Philadelphia Battery, Company A, 1st Regimental Artillery, Philadelphia Home Guard, report in *Third Annual Report of Brigadier General A.J. Pleasonton, Commanding the Home Guard of the City of Philadelphia to the Hon. Alexander Henry, Mayor. for 1863* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1864), vol. 3, 83-84. For more details on Sporting Hill, see Cooper H. Wingert, "The Real Battle of Sporting Hill: Part II" in *The Bugle: Quarterly Journal of the Camp Curtin Historical Association and Civil War Round Table Inc.*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Fall 2011).
23. John Lockwood, *Our Campaign around Gettysburg: Being a Memorial of What Was Endured, Suffered, and Accomplished by the Twenty-third Regiment (N.Y.S.N.G.) and Other Regiments Associated with Them, in their Pennsylvania and Maryland Campaign, During the Rebel Invasion of the Loyal States in June-July, 1863* (Brooklyn, NY: A.H. Rome & Bros., 1864), 96-97. His description of the wet walk between Mount Holly and Pine Grove Furnace goes on for 11 pages.
24. Weiser, *Family Memoirs, op.cit.*
25. Lockwood, *Our Campaign, op.cit.*, 98.
26. *Ibid.*, 103.
27. Capt. Landis, *op. cit*, 84.
28. General William F. Smith, "Report of Brig. Gen. William F. Smith, U.S. Army, commanding First Division, of operations June 26-July 15," in *The War of the Rebellion: Formal reports, both Union and Confederate, of the first seizures of United States property in the southern states, and of all military operations in the field, with the correspondence, orders and returns relating specially thereto 1880-1898* (Washington, D.C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1889), part II, chapter 39 "The Gettysburg Campaign etc.: N.C., VA. W.VA., MD., PA., etc.," item no. 407, 222.
29. Russell F Weigley, "Emergency Troops in the Gettysburg Campaign," *Pennsylvania History* vol. 25, no. 1 (January 1958), 56-57.

Fitzhugh Lee: Reconciling North and South in Carlisle, PA

Rachael Zuch

The 1863 shelling of Carlisle during the American Civil War left indelible marks on some of the town's buildings. It crystallized into stories passed down in family histories. Its presentation in print was a fascination for local residents who relished the collection of facts and opinions in their newspapers. A piece in the *Carlisle American* gave the popular opinion that the Confederate leader in charge of the shelling, Major General Fitzhugh Lee, was "the dastard ... not only lost to pity but destitute of humanity".[1] Thirty-three years after the shelling, the marks left by artillery remained and the family stories acquired the polish of many retellings. But the "dastard" of 1863 was welcomed back and celebrated during his return visit to Carlisle. Bitter feelings were replaced with common respect and the forward-looking spirit of togetherness. Where did this spirit originate? How could popular opinion about the shelling and its chosen villain change so completely? The story of Fitzhugh Lee's return to Carlisle and the opinions of local citizens on this event reflected the national mood as America was coming to terms with its civil war. The wounds of the Civil War could not simply be healed by the official policies of Reconstruction. The mental and emotional reunification of American citizens had to be accomplished by a popular effort towards reconciliation.

The shelling of Carlisle in 1863 was the Confederates' last stop before heading to the battle at Gettysburg. On July 1st, Major General J. E. B. Stuart and three brigades of cavalry stopped to demand supplies and the surrender of the town; they were the second group of Confederates to do so in a matter of days. When Carlisle, then under the command of General William F. Smith, refused to concede, Stuart directed his subordinate, Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, to attack. The Confederates kept up their bombardment until Stuart was called away to join the majority of the Southern Army gathering around Gettysburg.[2] Once the invading troops retreated, the town's anger about the shelling was directed at Lee, who the *Carlisle Herald* declared to be "immortalized by his brave at-

tack upon the defenseless women and children of a town where he had in past days been treated with the civility and courtesy which his dastardly conduct has shown him so undeserving."[3]

The *Herald* was not exaggerating that Carlisle had, in fact, welcomed Fitzhugh Lee with civility and courtesy only a few years prior. Dickinson College and the School of Cavalry Practice at the Carlisle Barracks attracted many future leaders from both the North and South. Virginia native Fitzhugh Lee knew Carlisle from his term as a cavalry instructor at the Barracks in 1856-1858. He enjoyed his stay and the social life of the town. In an 1882 letter to a citizen of Carlisle, Lee wrote,

> Now I have only time to say that it was with much regret that I proceeded with hostile intent against Carlisle. My first military service after graduating West Point was there. I knew and had received the hospitalities of most of its citizens. I had warm & earnest & good friends among its inhabitants. Some of the most pleasant days of my life was passed in the hospitable homes of her people – but war – horrid war – was raging then between them & those with me & my paths & their paths had separated.[4]

The dashing cavalry instructor who was so warmly welcomed by the town made bitter enemies when he returned with Confederate cavalry in 1863. How, then, could attitudes have changed so much as to welcome him back in the 1890s? The answer to this question depends on the aftermath of the Civil War and how the United States was able to recover from this great division.

Reconstruction (1865-1877) was the official policy to bring the South back into the Union militarily, politically, and economically, but the spirit of America needed healing as well. That process was called Reconciliation, and it was at its height in the 1880s and 1890s, as the Civil War was becoming a more distant memory. In the years immediately following the war, the ideological division of the states was still too close to reconcile and those affected by the war did not want to relive their suffering and anxiety.[5] But as the years passed, the South recovered its political, economic, and social activities and was gradually reintegrated into the Union. The North relaxed its fear that the South would rise again and nullify the consequences of the Union victory, either militarily or diplomatically.[6] New traditions such as Memorial Day brought both sides together specifically to commemorate the war. National and local centennial celebrations in 1876 made Americans focus on their shared heritage and the future of their reunited nation.[7] Public interest became united on reunion through a mythic retelling of the Civil War, where neither side shouldered the blame, but instead shared the values of honor, courage, loyalty, and strength of conviction. This story spoke

mainly to how the white citizens of each side could meet as equals again and work together to improve the nation, for the most part ignoring the influence of slavery and African-American service during the war.[8]

Although reconciliation seemed to naturally arise as the Civil War began to be seen as an historical event, it was not so simple. Lives and property had been destroyed by strong convictions of both the Union and the Confederacy. People who were touched by the war were left uncertain of its meaning and worked to create a narrative that made sense for their past and their future. However, the importance of emancipation and the Constitutional Amendments granting full citizenship rights to African Americans were often ignored in favor of more romantic attributes. Popular stories and memoirs of the war published in newspapers and magazines provided a model for the reunion of North and South. The popular press of the early 1880s was obsessed with the Civil War in fiction, non-fiction, and commemorative events.[9] This spirit of reunited strength shone brightest at battlefield reunions of Civil War veterans and was eloquently folded into expressions of reconciliation by veterans from both sides. Public opinion was shaped far more by great speakers who could charm the people, rather than through actions of Congress.[10] As a prominent ex-Confederate veteran, Fitzhugh Lee was admirably suited to this subject. Lee was a politician himself, serving as governor of Virginia from 1886-1890, but more importantly for reconciliation, he was a talented veteran orator popular in both the North and South for his speeches on the Civil War.[11]

Fitzhugh Lee was at first glance an odd choice to be a voice for reconciliation. Immediately after the war, he still strongly identified with the cause of the South and took pride in his rebel status. In a letter to fellow Confederate Major Manning M. Kimmel, dated October 1, 1867, Lee wrote "in the language of the 'old rebel,' am glad I fit agin it, only wish I'd won; and ain't gwine to ax no pard[on]ing for anything I've done."[12] However, the political climate modified this outspoken opinion and Lee wrote to President Andrew Johnson in 1866 to request a pardon. Although in his letter he did not admit to any wrongdoing and did not ask for forgiveness, Lee took the oath of amnesty five days later and was completely cleared from treason charges by 1869.[13] It may be surmised that Lee came to his position of reconciliation in the way many soldiers did, through remembering and discussing the war's events. In the mid 1870s, he began to contribute to Southern discussions, particularly on actions at the battle of Gettysburg, and became a moderate voice calling for reason and civility. His printed works also made Fitzhugh Lee a popular lecturer on war events and audiences gathered in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, and Norfolk in order to hear him speak. Lee's speeches to Northern and Southern veterans were aligned with the increasingly popular national rhetoric of reunion and reconciliation.[14]

Central Pennsylvanians experienced Lee's contribution to reconciliation during his 1896 visit to Carlisle and Gettysburg. The superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, General Richard Henry Pratt, invited Lee to speak at the eighth commencement of the Indian School on February 26-28, 1896. The Carlisle Indian School stood on the repurposed grounds of the cavalry school. This was the place where Lee had been an instructor as well as the place that he burned during the invasion of 1863. In this memorable setting, Lee was invited to return to Carlisle. His popularity and message fit Pratt's purposes perfectly. [Pratt] liked to draw famous personages to his commencements, but they were persons who would represent the sharing of a good civilization by all Americans. So in 1896 he invited Gen. O. O. Howard, commander of the XI Corps of the Army of the Potomac, to share his platform with Fitzhugh Lee, to show that North and South were united with East and West in a common life, hope, and allegiance.[15]

The most complete record of this event is preserved in the March 1896 issue of the Carlisle Indian School publication *The Red Man.* The school took great care to closely report many of the speeches given during Commencement Week. Understanding the content of these speeches will explain how they fit into the national pattern of reconciliation.

The schedule of graduation events began on Wednesday, the 26th of February, the same day Lee arrived in Carlisle. That day, the Indian School held a basketball game and allowed visitors to inspect the workshops. In the evening, special visitors were welcomed and asked to give informal speeches. The event was so popular with the townspeople that some students were made to give up their seats to accommodate all those who wanted to attend. Ex-Confederate Fitzhugh Lee and Union General O.O. Howard both spoke at this event. General Howard told a story of the Indian Wars, while Lee told an anecdote from his time at West Point, making a point of praising the Indian School. Neither speech directly engaged in any conciliatory rhetoric. That was left to Mr. George Pendleton, a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Texas. In his speech welcoming Lee, he said,

> I admit that in my feeble way, as quite a young and inexperienced member of the Confederacy I tried to break up the best Government the world ever saw, and I feel very happy to think we didn't succeed, [Applause] and it is exceedingly gratifying tonight to know that the stars and stripes float over us all, over the white, over our Indian brethren, and over our colored friends down in the savanna in the South, where we know them and love them [Laughter], the red, the white and the blue in the flag typifying the red, the white and the black citizens of our

country; all under our flag; all receiving equal rights, and I am proud of it, truly proud and thankful.[16]

The next day, Thursday the 27th, was commencement day. The ceremonies opened at two o'clock in the afternoon and the presentation of diplomas to the class of twenty-five was accompanied by lectures and music. *The Red Man* reported that between three and four thousand people were at this ceremony and they gave a "hearty recognition" to both Generals. O. O. Howard of Maine and Fitzhugh Lee of Virginia headed the list of notable visitors, along with Senators, Representatives, and other government officials, especially those involved in Indian affairs. Following a student's presentation, Howard gave his speech and presented diplomas. Pratt, as Master of Ceremonies, introduced Pennsylvania Governor Daniel H. Hastings, who extended a welcome to the important guests, saying of General Lee,

> [W]e extend our right hand to greet Gen. Lee [applause], who was here before, I have heard. [Laughter.] We gave him a right warm welcome then; we give him a warmer welcome now [Applause.] We sent our people down to return his call in his good state of Virginia, and they gave us a warm reception, and now we are trying to outdo ourselves to give him a much warmer welcome in the city of Carlisle.

Governor Hastings in his remarks, mentioned the planned visit to Gettysburg scheduled for the next day, casting the battle as an event of the past, as opposed to the present unity of the country under one flag. Once Hastings finished, Pratt introduced General Lee, who thanked the crowd for the welcome and expressed the friendship between Pennsylvania and Virginia. He reminisced about his time as an instructor at the barracks, mentioned combat he saw in the Indian wars, and then moved on to the topic of the Civil War, saying,

> When I was here as a United States Army officer I received a warm welcome at the fire sides of your people, which I have not forgotten. But when I came here as a rebel officer of the civil war, I dare say you would have taken my life or disowned me; but that is war.

Lee mentioned that he renewed many acquaintances on his current visit and stated that "If we are to have a common country, common laws, a common flag, we must all do our full share toward building up this great Republic." He concluded with the confirmation that the South will defend the United States. At the conclusion of the day's events, Pratt thanked all the visitors and said of Lee, "The good people of this town and the Grand Army [of the Republic] men wanted him to come. We wanted to show our good feeling, our friendship."

On Friday the 28th, many visitors from the commencement ceremony left at eight o'clock in the morning to take the train to Gettysburg for a battlefield visit. They spent about four and a half hours discussing the battle. Lee then left for Virginia from Gettysburg, but General Howard made one final stop in Carlisle to give an evening speech sponsored by the local Grand Army of the Republic post.

The speeches given at the commencement were filled with the reconciliatory rhetoric of their day, as was expected from the meeting of these two former enemies. Even if in the years immediately after the war, similar statements were expressed insincerely, by the 1880s, these familiar sentiments were considered positive for the United States and were expected to be presented at the appropriate occasions.[17] America could only put aside the hatreds of war by allowing each side to save face and take pride in its unique situation. The North stood by its victory and moral righteousness on the issue of slavery. The South pointed to its courage, determination, and loyalty to its lost cause. In this reckoning, the South is justified for having fought so valiantly, and the North for having won.[18] Southerners' ability to fight for what they believe in was transformed into loyalty now firmly re-cemented by an oath to the United States.[19] At the Carlisle Barracks in 1896, Governor Hastings represented the pride of the North in victory, while Lee's speech good-naturedly acknowledged and submitted to

A photo taken at Gettysburg in Feb. 28, 1896 shows Generals Fitzhugh Lee, O.O. Howard, R. H. Pratt, and Captain William Miller visiting Little Round Top at Gettysburg. The handwritten caption on this photo reads, "A visit to the Battlefield from Carlisle on the occasion of Genl. Lee's first return to Carlisle since the occupation by Confederates, June 1863."

CCHS Photo Collection

this Northern victory. To be accepted back into the Union, the South had to acknowledge defeat and promise to abide by its results, even to the point of expressing it as an improvement, as in the speech by Mr. Pendleton.

Despite the unique story each side was able to take away from the war, national good feeling could only be accomplished by praise for the heroism and bravery shown on both sides, avoiding divisive subjects such as slavery or moral superiority. Soldiers praised sincerity and courage as common threads of both sides and minimized secession as a heartfelt, though misguided, conviction of the South. This emerging culture of respect for veterans of North and South professed a hatred of war, but also romanticized its glory. Some of the rhetoric was congratulatory to both sides at once, such as the audience's laughter at the veterans' descriptions of a "warm welcome" describing the valiant fight against a powerful opponent.[20] As the old political issues and their consequences passed into history, those once divided by war were reunited by respect and shared memories.[21] Written accounts strove for balance and called the Civil War an unavoidable conflict that arose from Constitutional grounds about the powers of the federal government. Harsh words like treason and rebellion were not used and harsh subjects like slavery and racism were not mentioned. Reconciliatory speakers took pride in their common American heritage and together looked forward to peace and union.[22] In their speeches, Lee and Pendleton used references to the American flag as a symbol of unity for the country. Fitzhugh Lee used his speech to reflect on war as a thing of the past and encourage his listeners to look to the future.

If reconciliation was to be founded on respect for wartime achievements, no other organization was so well-suited to the task as the Union veterans' Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). The GAR post 201 in Carlisle, like other posts across the nation, prided itself on being in the forefront of the reconciliatory movement. Pratt gave the Carlisle post credit for wanting Fitzhugh Lee to come as well as O. O. Howard. As the years passed, the war generation kept alive past experiences and sought friendships among the soldiers of both North and South. As was written in their self-published history, "It will be recalled that Post 201 was the first organization north of Mason & Dixon's line to hold a re-union with ex-confederates. This re-union served as an example and it was followed by others of similar character, which tended largely to soften the bitterness that existed between the two sections."[23]

The first reunion mentioned in the quote above refers to an 1881 expedition planned by the Carlisle GAR, when they met with ex-Confederates for a tour of Luray Caverns in Virginia. The Southerners paid a return visit to Pennsylvania sites, including Gettysburg and Carlisle. In 1896, the local GAR still desired to

reconcile with the Southern veterans and heartily approved Lee's visit as is seen in the correspondence reproduced below.

Carlisle Pa. March 9, 1896.

My dear Genl.

I take pleasure in inclosing a minute adopted by our local Post of the G.A.R.. I saved some of our town papers to send you but I am informed by John Dehuff that he has attended to this duty.

You may recall that when I bid you good-bye at Gettysburg I remarked "you have many warm friends in Carlisle but like every other community we have some d---d fools".

I am happy to say that thus far we have found but one and he has been universally condemned by our citizens.

You are to be congratulated that this patriot? has shown his teeth as it brought your friends to the front and made you hosts of others.

Had you witnessed the enthusiasm – at a full meeting of our Post – when this minute was passed unanimously you would be enabled to appreciate its significance.

When it is remembered that Post 201 is largely constituted of such men as Genl. Henderson, Capt. Pratt, Capt. Landis, Capt. Derland, Capt. Brindel and men of the same standing you will understand that they move cautiously and their action means something.

Trusting that you will make us another visit in the near future, I am

Sincerely and truly yours,

Wm. E. Miller

To Genl. Fitz-Hugh Lee.

Head Quarters Capt. Colwell Post 201 G.A.R.

Carlisle Pa. March 5th 1896.

At a regular meeting held this evening the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved That we are indebted to General O.O. Howard for his admirable lecture "Thomas in Campaign and Battle" delivered in the Court House on the 28th of February for the benefit of this Post.

To a crowded and enthusiastic house he clearly demonstrated the fraternal love borne in the breast of every true soldier in his beautiful tribute to that great and good man. We are pleased to note that the reception given General Howard and General Fitz-Hugh Lee at the Indian School was largely attended and that the members of this Post were not only glad to meet the veteran who selected the field on which the battle of Gettysburg was fought but were extremely gratified to welcome their old antagonist who opposed them on many a hotly contested field with the same gallantry and heroism with which he accepted the results of the war, and who became Gove[r]nor of his native state Virginia, and after the lapse of over thirty years has honored them with a visit.

This sentiment is universally approved by our citizens and his former friends.

Attest

Jos B Haverstick — Adjt

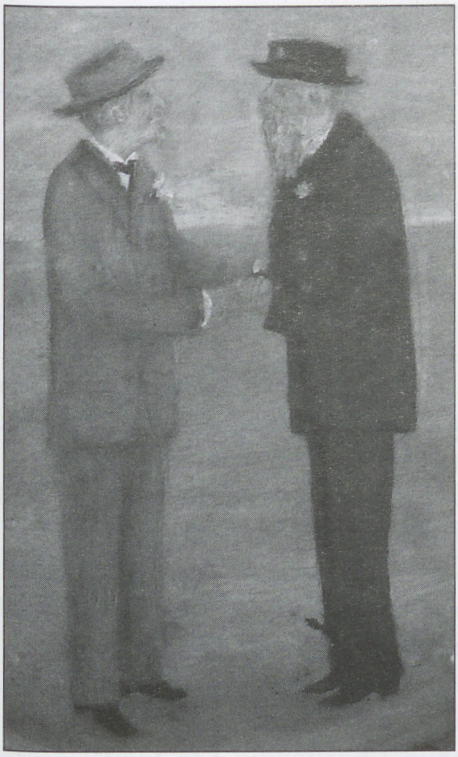
J P Brindle — Commander

The Post 201 resolution is an exemplary summary of reconciliation, ranging from personal heroism in battle to loyalty to a reunited United States. However, not all citizens of Carlisle felt the same way about their Southern visitor, as is referenced by the unknown "bad apple" incident mentioned in Miller's letter. The thirty-year hiatus Lee was away from this town was far too short in the memory of some. Following the shelling, one of the town's greatest accusations against Lee was that he attacked without giving an appropriate warning for women and children to get to safety. The *Carlisle Herald* published a column on Friday, February 28th, 1896, titled "What He Did," reminding local readers of the shelling. The majority of the article was a reprint from an 1863 newspaper account, with the following addition: "It was a mistake to invite him to come here again. It was a mistake not because he was a rebel but because he did a disgraceful and unsoldierly thing that can not be justified."[26]

Instead of attacking Lee as a rebel at a time when the national bandwagon was for reconciliation, the paper instead attempted to call shame upon his personal actions in the war. While it is true that Lee fired some warning shots unannounced, citizens had enough time to get to safety before the shelling began in earnest. This article was published on the day Lee left in the morning to visit Gettysburg and then return home, so he did not have a chance to reply. However, his reputation was defended that evening by none other than former Union General O. O. Howard. At his lecture, sponsored by the Carlisle GAR, Howard explained that he knew the Lee family and "I suppose he did some mischief when he shelled Carlisle, but you must remember that it was the fate of war.... I am glad the people of this town gave Gen. Lee so kind a welcome as they did."[27]

The speakers at the commencement must have anticipated similar voiced or unvoiced accusations in their speeches during commencement week. They made it clear that they forgave the consequences of acts of war and expressed respect for former enemies, perhaps in the hope that the conventional phrases would overpower any of Carlisle's remaining hatred. It seems William Miller's letter was correct in stating that most of the town shared the peacemaking mood. On the 26th, as Lee was entering town, another Carlisle newspaper, *The Sentinel,* reported,

> We are pleased to see the kindly welcome to old Carlisle which has been extended to Gen. Fitz Hugh Lee, the ex-confederate veteran. Though once our hostile foe, he is now our friend our fellow-countryman, interested in our public institutions, and here by invitation to visit the Nation's school at this place. We do well to welcome him heartily.[28]



Detail from painting on a plate used at the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. It belonged to Civil War veteran Samuel R. Coover.

CCHS Museum

Writers for the *Sentinel* were sharing in shaping the mood of reconciliation along with Pratt and the GAR.

If the majority in Carlisle was ready for reconciliation in 1896, ten years later its citizens looked proudly back on the event as a milestone. A decade after Fitzhugh Lee's visit, the Civic Club wrote, "War's dread alarms are past. When northern general or southern general comes into our midst now, he comes as a welcome friend." Looking toward reunification of the nation as a matter of the past, the authors go on to say, "Foes no longer, brothers rather, these white-haired veterans recognized that each had fought for the right as he had seen the right, and above their heads was draped the flag of a reunited country."[29]

Popular reconciliation came at the price of selectively ignoring some of the consequences of the war, while telling a grand story of heroism and courage that encouraged mutual respect. It is notable that the stage for the conciliatory remarks of 1896 was the temporary home of a minority beginning their struggle for equality, the Native Americans. Reconciliation was put to a national test by the Spanish-American War, where many ex-Confederates took war service as an opportunity to prove their loyalty. Fitzhugh Lee played his part, serving as Consul-general at Havana in 1896. He fulfilled his promise to defend the nation made earlier that year in Carlisle. Lee's association with Carlisle, both before and after the Civil War, was a dramatic representation of popular national healing through storytelling and memory.

Endnotes

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2. Wittenberg, Eric J. "The Shelling of Carlisle." *Blue & Gray Magazine.* 24, no. 2 (2007): 45.
3. *Carlisle Herald.* July 10, 1863.
4. Lee, Fitzhugh. Letter to I. T. Zug. Aug. 25, 1882. CCHS Manuscript Collection.
5. Buck, Paul H. *The Road to Reunion*, 1865-1900. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 45.
6. *Ibid*, 75.
7. *Ibid*, 119.
8. Caron, Timothy P. "'How Changeable are the Events of War': National Reconciliation in the Century Magazine's 'Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.'" American Periodicals. 16, no. 2 (2006): 154.
9. Kinsel, Amy J. "American Identity, National Reconciliation, and the Memory of the Civil War." (Proteus. 17, no. 2 (2000): 5-6.
10. Buck, 105.
11. Thompson, D. W. "Fitzhugh Lee Returns, and Returns." Civil War Miscellany. (Reprinted by The Cumberland County Historical Society from *The Evening Sentinel*, 1963), 27.
12. Quoted in Longacre, Edward G. Fitz Lee: A Military Biography of Major General Fitzhugh Lee, C.S.A. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2005). 190.
13. Longacre, 191.
14. *Ibid*, 195.
15. Thompson, 27.
16. "Our Graduating Exercises, The Eighth." (*The Red Man.* 13, no. 8 (1896): 1-8.
17. Buck, 240.
18. Caron, 155.
19. Kinsel, 8.
20. *Ibid*, 7.
21. Caron, 156.
22. Buck, 259.
23. History of Capt. Colwell Post No. 201. (Carlisle, PA: *The Sentinel*, 1907.)
24. Miller, William E. Letter to Fitzhugh Lee. Mar. 9, 1896. CCHS Manuscript Collection.
25. Post 201 Resolution, CCHS Manuscript Collection.
26. "What He Did." *Carlisle Herald.* Feb 28, 1896.
27. Thompson, 30.
28. *The Sentinel.* Feb. 26, 1896.
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Corporal Jesse G. Thompson G.A.R. Post 440

Janet L. Bell

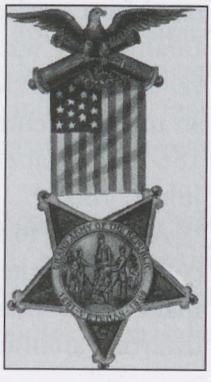
INTRODUCTION

This paper is a by-product resulting from research completed for "Lincoln Cemetery – the Story Down Under" a paper published in October 2011. After finding many articles about the "colored" G.A.R. Post in the local newspaper as part of that research, it seemed obvious that the story of this fine organization needed to be told.

I also received the greatest sense of purpose for its publication when I read a booklet written by Jacob M. Goodyear entitled "The G.A.R. Posts of Cumberland County." This paper was read before the Cumberland County Historical Association on January 18, 1951. The paper included all the "White" G.A.R. organizations of Cumberland County including: Captain Colwell Post No. 201, Joshua W. Sharp Post No. 371, B. F. Eisenberger Post No. 462, Col. H. I. Zinn Post No. 415, Corporal McClean Post No. 423, Kennedy Post No. 490, Greacy Post No. 630.

The omission of the Corp. Jesse G. Thompson G.A.R. Post 440 was notable. Post 440 was organized in 1884. The last known veteran, John Carter, died in 1924. Therefore, this organization had a presence in Cumberland County for forty years and should have been recognized with the other G.A.R. Posts in the county.

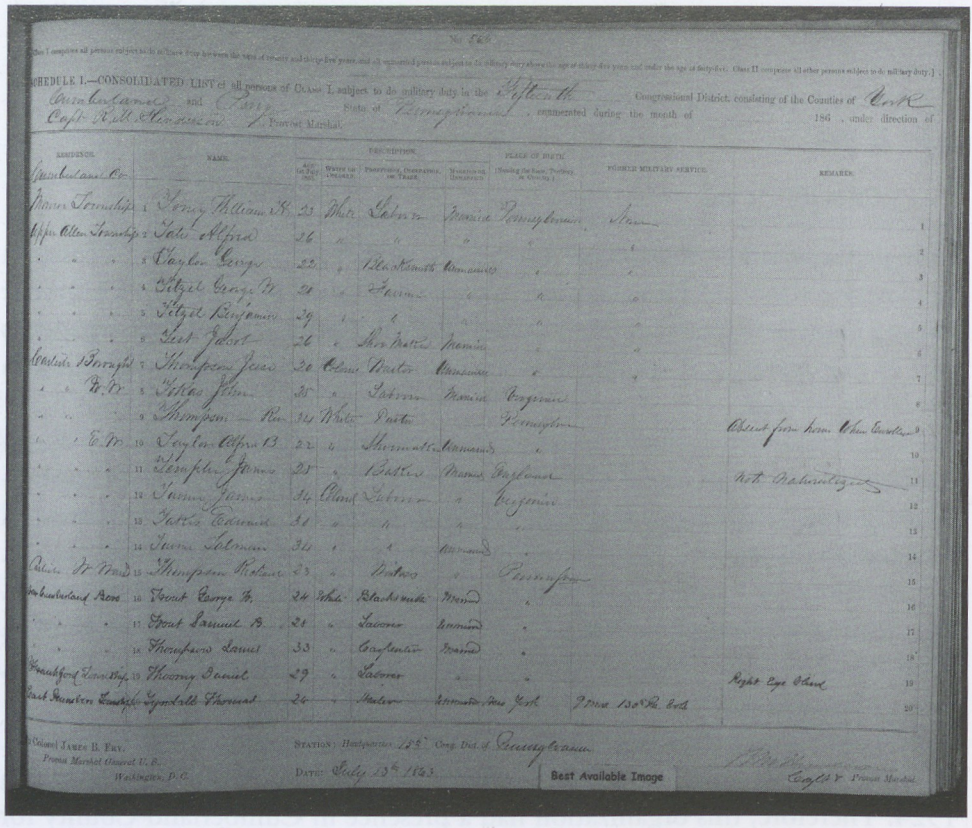
The Post organizers chose to honor Corporal Jesse G. Thompson, a local Civil War Veteran, who had served distinctively during the war. A brief history of his life and military service follows.



"TRIBUTE TO A YOUNG SOLDIER"

Jesse G. Thompson was born c. 1844, in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. He was one of five children born to Benjamin and Mary Thompson. His siblings included one sister, Mary Jane, and three brothers, George, Richard and William. Until his enlistment, Jesse worked as a laborer in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[1]

On Schedule I, Consolidated List of all persons of Class 1, subject to military duty in the fifteenth Congressional District (Cumberland and Perry Counties) dated July 13, 1863, Jesse G. Thompson appears: age 20, occupation waiter, unmarried, Capt. R. M. Henderson, Provost Marshall.[2]



U.S. Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863 – 1865.
Accessed from Ancestry .com.

Less than a year later on February 17, 1864, Jesse Thompson was mustered into service as a Private in Co. A, 32nd Regiment of the U. S. Colored Infantry. He was described as a young man, age 20, 5 feet 5 inches tall with a yellow complexion. Jesse was promoted to corporal on March 18, 1864. For an undocumented reason, he was demoted eight months later on October 22, 1864, but that demotion was temporary. He regained the rank of corporal on July 1, 1865.[3]

According to Bates,[4] toward the close of November, 1865, General Foster, in command of the Department of the South was directed by General Halleck to make a demonstration in the direction of Pocotaligo, Georgia, for the purpose of diverting attention from General Sherman's front, which was now approaching

the sea. Foster could spare only five thousand troops for this purpose, and with these, ascending the Broad River in transports to Boyd's Neck, he landed and hurried forward a force under General J. P. Hatch, to break the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. The Thirty-second regiment was in Hatch's command. On the morning of the 30th, Hatch encountered a rebel force under command of General Gustavus W. Smith, at Honey Hill, three miles from Grahamsville, in a commanding position behind breast-works. Hatch immediately attacked, and though pushing his advance with obstinacy and bravery, he was compelled to fall back, sustaining heavy losses. The Thirty-second had nine killed and forty-two wounded. Lieutenant Robert D. Winters received a mortal wound, and died on the 22nd of December. Lieutenant Colonel Geary was severely wounded and was incapacitated from further duty.

Intent on the purpose of his expedition, Foster sent a force under General E. E. Potter, across the Coosawhatchie River to Deveaux Neck, where, on the 6th of December, he seized a position commanding the railroad, which he began to fortify. Early on the following morning, the enemy approached stealthily and attacked, thinking to surprise the Union forces. The attack fell heavily on the Thirty-second regiment which was holding the extreme right of the line with Company A receiving the first shock. The regiment was taken unaware, but rallied manfully and repulsed the attack. The position was held without further molestation until General Sherman, in triumph, entered Savannah.[5]

Jesse mustered out August 22, 1865,[6] and returned to Carlisle. He died on September 27, 1868, and was buried at Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[7] No obituary was found in the local papers to substantiate this information.

FOUNDING OF THE G.A.R.

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) was a large multi-faceted organization (fraternal lodge, charitable society, special interest lobby, patriotic group, and political club) founded in 1866 by Union Army Surgeon Benjamin Franklin Stephenson. The organization was originally envisioned as a brotherhood of veterans who were dedicated to helping other veterans.

The first post was established at Decatur, Illinois in April 1866. Soon after a second post was organized in Springfield, Illinois, and others began to emerge throughout the northeastern states. By September of 1866, following a mass meeting of Civil War veterans in Pittsburgh, the movement began to spread east with the establishment of GAR posts by ex-union soldiers.

Each post, which presided over the area of one city, town, county, etc., was set up similar to a Union Army encampment. Every post had "sentries" at the door; in order to go to another post you needed a "transfer." Members could be "court-martialed" as well as "dishonorably discharged." The post-commander

would act as general officer, and would report to the departmental commander (Assistant-Adjutant General), who was in charge of all the posts in one state. He in turn would report to the national-commander (Adjutant General). Every post in America was to adopt the same rituals and constitution.

This military system only lasted until 1869, at which time it was replaced by a fraternal order fashioned after the Masonic lodges. This form of organization, with its grading system and strict rules, did not appeal to the vast majority of veterans, and therefore, membership plummeted. This was to change during the late 1870s because of changes in the organizational structure and the demise of the grading system. As a result of these changes, the GAR's membership rose sharply in the 1880s.[8]

CORPORAL JESSE G. THOMPSON POST IS ORGANIZED

On July 2, 1884, William Chapman, a prominent citizen of the Carlisle community and Civil War veteran, organized a colored Grand Army of the Republic. It was recognized by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under the name of Corporal Jesse G. Thompson G.A.R. Post 440. For a number of years, the elected officers of Post 440 were installed by the white Commander of Post 201, also of Carlisle. The first year, elected officers were as follows: William Chapman, Commander; Milton Lane, Senior Vice Commander; Joseph N. Jordan, Junior Vice Commander; John A. Simons, Adjutant of Post; Henry Williams Chaplain, Quartermaster; Charles H. Howard, Officer of the Day; William J. Jackson, Surgeon; Abraham Parker, Officer of the Guard; Henry Smallwood, Sergeant Major; and Alfred Humes, Quarter Master Sergeant. A special program was held and addresses made by selected citizens.[9]

The members of Post 440 (see appendix p. 96) were very proud of their contributions to the Civil War also known as the "War of the Rebellion." They attended their first encampment at Williams Grove on September 2, 1884. This meeting was spear-headed by the posts from Cumberland, Franklin and Dauphin Counties. Numerous meetings were held at the office of General Boyd in Chambersburg in preparation for this event. For the occasion, the members of Post 440 ordered new uniforms from Kronenberg's Store of Carlisle. On the day of the encampment, they left on the 8:15 train for Williams Grove. It is recorded in the local newspaper that they enjoyed being with their fellow white comrades, swapping stories and sharing a meal of bean soup and hard tack.[10]

The Corporal Jesse G. Thompson Post 440 held their first anniversary on Friday, July 3, 1885, in the Carlisle Opera House. General A. B. Sharpe presented the post with a banner. Captain Vale spoke on the work of the G.A.R. He was followed by an address by Peter Hodge. There was singing and a good time enjoyed by all in attendance.[11]

Over the years, the friendship between Corporal Jesse G. Thompson Post 440 and that of Captain Colwell Post 201 and the Sons of Veterans, a colored organization formed under the name of Sergeant C. Watts Post No. 87 grew. Finally in 1895 they agreed to attend one another's memorial service in May of that year. For the memorial service, the Jesse G. Thompson Post 440 ordered new hats, wreaths, numbers and badges. The respective services were a success.

SCHEDULE OF INSPECTIONS[12]

In compliance with General Order Number 7, Headquarters G.A.R. Department of Pennsylvania, the following details have been made to inspect the posts included in the 15th district.

D. A. Hauch, of Post 415, Mechanicsburg, to inspect Post 462, of New Cumberland

M. G. Hale, of Post 428, Shippensburg, to inspect Post 371, Newville

B. E. Goodyear, of Post 201, Carlisle, to inspect Post 490, Mt. Holly

Stacy Gladner, of Post 371, Newville, to inspect Post 423, Shippensburg

J. P. Brindle, of Post 201, Carlisle to inspect Post 415, Mechanicsburg

P. Harman, of Post 490, Mt. Holly to inspect Post 201, Carlisle

Wm. R. Miller, of Post 201, Carlisle to inspect Post 440, Carlisle

The following dates have been fixed for inspection:

Post 371, Newville	May 14th
Post 440, Carlisle	May 15th
Post 423, Shippensburg	May 16th
Post 201, Carlisle	May 16th
Post 415, Mechanicsburg	May 17th
Post 462, New Cumberland	May 18th
Post 490, Mt. Holly	May 19th

Assistant inspectors will please communicate at once with the commanders of posts which they are to inspect and urge a full attendance – W. M. Miller, Assistant Inspector-at-large.

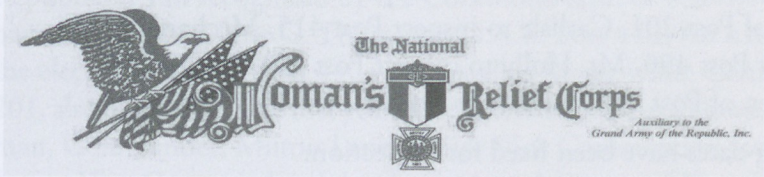
NEW MEETING PLACE

Initially, the members of Post 440 of Carlisle met in Jordan Hall. In August of 1886, they rented a meeting room on the 3rd floor of Bratton's building.[13] Like many organizations, their focus changed from one of inward interest to that of outward concerns. The men who held the position of Post Commander were prominent and well known through the Carlisle Community. They began looking at the needs of those they called neighbors and friends. They helped one another fill out the necessary paper work to obtain their pensions. They raised money via various functions and entertainment to help their relief fund.

They helped one another to receive pensions as well as to help those within the community.[14]

WOMEN'S RELIEF CORP NO. 117

In April of 1890, the wives and daughters of the African American veterans started their own auxiliary organization known as the "Women's Relief Corps". The Carlisle Corps was organized with fifteen (15) members. The officers elected were: Mrs. Eliza Jackson, President, Mrs. Jamison, Vice President, and Mrs. Alexander, Secretary. At the time, Noah Pinkney was the Commander of Post 440. After their incorporation by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, they were known as the "Women's Relief Corps No. 117". Other members of this organization included: Katie Washington, Jennie Humes, Esther Howard, Minnie Howard, Hattie Jordan, Maggie Parker, Mary J. Lane, Jennie Wilson, Mary P. Parker, and Gertrude Patterson. The women worked together to promote their mission.



CONCLUSION

As the members of Jesse G. Thompson Post 440 began to die, naturally the membership began to decline. The memories of the war were the commonality and spirit shared by its membership but the organization was destined for extinction as the members passed away. Resolutions appeared frequently in the local newspaper with these words: We, the committee of Post 440 beg leave to report as follows:

> Whereas, Almighty God in his wise providence has removed from our midst our beloved comrade, a member of Post 440 G.A.R. while we regret our lost, we feel that it is his gain.
>
> Whereas, the destroyer is ever active and relentless, even as I write the lingering sound of the bell strikes upon my ear, another comrade has fallen at his post, the hero of many a hard tough battle. Our departed comrade stood high in our post. Few men will ever more endeared to the G.A.R. by the ties of fraternal friendship then he. His heart was full of sympathy for the distressed, his manly Christian character secured the confidence of all who knew him but while death has done its work in our ranks the living has not forgotten that the soldier stood side by side and that they are now required to stand by each other in life's unequal

contest. Resolved, that the above be published in the daily paper and a copy of the same by presented to the relatives of the deceased comrade, and also recorded in the minutes of the post.

The last veteran of this prestigious organization was John Carter. He died in 1924 and was buried in Union Cemetery, Carlisle, Pa. The last reunion of the G.A.R. was held in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania in 1938.

Form MAGO-41—200M—3-55
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
Department of Military Affairs

RECORD OF BURIAL PLACE OF VETERAN

Cumberland County

NAME: Carter, John

DATE OF BIRTH:

DATE OF DEATH:

VETERAN OF WAR: Civil

SERVED IN: ARMY (X) NAVY ( ) MARINE CORPS ( )

DATES OF SERVICE: 9/8/63-8/29/64

ORGANIZATION(S): Co.I.127th Reg.U.S.C.

RANK: Priv.

CEMETERY OR PLACE OF INTERMENT — NAME: Union Cemetery (Colored)

LOCATION: Carlisle, Pa.

LOCATION OF GRAVE IN CEMETERY

SECTION LOT No.

RANGE GRAVE No.

HEADSTONE

GOVERNMENT ( ) COUNTY ( ) FAMILY ( )

INFORMATION GIVEN BY: Wetzel

REMARKS

DATE

rbk

After being Recorded in the County Veterans' Grave Registration Record This card is to be sent to THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for final Record.

Cumberland County Veterans' Grave Registration Record.

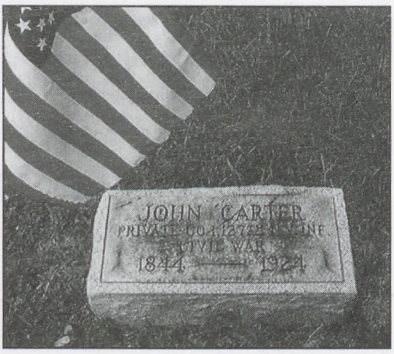


Photo by the author

The nation as a whole marks the valiant efforts of our fallen soldiers and veterans, the love of country and desire for freedom each "Memorial Day." In 1885, the *Evening Sentinel* printed the following article by Thomas J. Stewart, Assistant Adjutant, G.A.R:

Headquarters Department of Pennsylvania G.A.R.

Philadelphia, May 6, 1885

Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic; Another year in life's complaint brings us again to Memorial day with its sad memories and tender associations, and as the nation bends over the graves of its heroes and pays to noble dust the tribute of its love, let us remember that we are not only to case our floral offerings on the graves of our former comrades in arms, but standing in their presence to rededicate ourselves to the unfinished work they have left us to do.

We shall stand on this Memorial Day at the graves of comrades who marched with us one year ago. At these graves we are reminded that our ranks here are rapidly thinning, and with each vacant place come newer and weightier responsibilities.

Their work is done, their mission ended. To us, their comrades is given the duty of keeping fresh and green their memories of perpetuat-

ing and transmitting intact to posterity the country perfected by their sacrifices and sufferings. Resting from their labors, the story of their lives, jeweled by deeds of valor and patriotism, shall inspire in the hearts of all the people a love for country and flag, which shall keep the land forever united, beautiful and free.

Let memorial services be held in such places of worship at which posts may be able to attend, and in the sanctuary, let us thank God, that it was our privilege to live in a time when hosts of brave men died for humanity's sake, and when the greatest and grandest army in the history of the world proclaimed liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof.

The following roster was compiled by the author from a variety of sources.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER OF CORPORAL JESSE G. THOMPSON POST 440

*Served as Post Commanders

Anderson, Eli
Anderson, Jonah
Arnold, John
Bailey, L. James
Barton, John H.
Berry, J. D.
Brown, Edward
Bush, Dennis
Bushrod, Cyrus
Butler, David
Carter, John
Cephas, William
Chapman, William H.*
Cunningham, Harrison N.
Cunningham, John
Davis, Jessie
Davis, John W.*
Day, Alfred
Fisher, Daniel
Foulk, Reuben
Gatewood, William
Green, John
Green, Reuben
Howard, R. B.
Humes, Alfred
Imes, James
Imes, Oliver
Jackson, David
Jackson, Edward
Jackson, George W.
Jackson, Relilford
Jackson, William H.
Jackson, William J.
Jamison, Samuel
Johnson, Aaron Richard
Jordan, John
Jordan, Joseph N.*
Jordan, William
Kee, Jonas William
Kelley, Samuel
Lane, John
Lane, George Washington
Lane, Milton
Lucas, Thomas
Luckett, John
McFarland, David
Parker, James
Parker, Robert A.
Peck, John G.
Pinkney, Noah, H.*
Pleasant, William
Robinson, John
Scott, Michael
Simons, John A.
Sims, Charles
Smallwood, William Henry
Smith, Harrison
Snowden, James
Snowden, Richard
Spradley, Henry W.
Stephenson, Robert
Stoner, Wilbur
Stubbs, Nathaniel, Rev.
Talton, Jesse
Turner, Richard
Ward, Henry S.
Watts, C.
Washington, Alexander
Washington, George H.

Harrison, Isaiah
Harrison, William H.
Henry, Patrick
Howard, Charles J.*
McFarland, John
Mason, George
Newman, Samuel
Parker, Abraham
Welcome, James
Williams, James
Woodburn, William H.*
Washington, Reuben

Endnotes

1. Ancestry.com: 1850 U.S. Census.
2. Ancestry.com: U.S. Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863–1865.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Bates, Samuel P., *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–1865*, Harrisburg, 1871, 1089.
5. *Ibid*, 1088, 1089.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *U.S. Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1861–1865,* accessed through Ancestry.com.
8. Grand Army of the Republic Museum and Library website, garmuslib@verizon.net, "Grand Army History."
9. *The Evening Sentinel,* Carlisle, PA, May 1885.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *The Evening Sentinel*, Carlisle, PA, July, 1885.
12. *The Evening Sentinel*, Carlisle, PA, Tuesday, April 30, 1889.
13. Bell, Janet, *Lincoln Cemetery, The Story Down Under, 1884–1905,* 45.
14. *Ibid,* 73.

Marianne Moore, Suffrage, and Celibacy

Daniel J. Heisey

Some time ago I attempted to read Marianne Moore's poems as clues to local history.[1] I noted that Moore (1887-1972) spent her formative years in Carlisle, Pennsylvania: From 1896 to 1918, that is, from ages nine to thirty-one, she lived, studied, and taught in Carlisle. For much of four years (1905-1909) she was in college at Bryn Mawr, for three months after college she worked in New York for Melvil Dewey (of decimal system fame), but otherwise, Moore was in Carlisle. From 1912 to 1916, she taught English at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, where one of her students was an Olympic athlete, Jim Thorpe. Moore and her family were active in Carlisle's Second Presbyterian Church, an imposing red brick edifice then on South Hanover Street, in which several of the great families of the town worshipped. The coincidence was suggestive: Moore's earliest poems grew from her youth amongst the burghers of Carlisle. When studying a local poet, and in her own way, Moore was as regional as her contemporaries Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg, the poems cannot be divorced from the locality.

Since throughout her life Moore often revised and re-wrote her poems, Helen Vendler has said that students of Moore's poems could not understand them or Moore without reading the early poems in their original editions.[2] P. J. Kavanagh warned readers that Moore "is also frequently obscure, but you sit there, listening to her allusive conversation utterly convinced of her 'unfreckled integrity'."[3] Enigmatic revisions and obscure allusions tempt literary critics, and so Moore herself seduces. In her footnotes to her *Complete Poems* (1958), she cited a citizen of Carlisle, E. H. Kellogg, pastor of her church, as well as C. M Andrews, a professor at Bryn Mawr. Her poem, "Rigorists," mentions Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian missionary to Alaska and brother-in-law to George Norcross, another pastor of Carlisle's Second Presbyterian. Yet, puzzling over hints in Moore's poems deters one from the plain statements of her prose, such as an essay from her early seventies.

In 1958, Moore wrote an essay for *The Christian Science Monitor*. In it she saw something of herself in Arnold Toynbee's "recital of his spiritual debts."[4] Those debts included his mother and Edward Gibbon: one's influences are always near and remote. Moore referred to her "doggedly self-determined efforts to write," and she said that her own poems were "hazarded" while "under the spell of admiration and gratitude."[5] Hence her vast range of footnotes, from Edmund Burke to *National Geographic*, *Life* magazine to Xenophon. Students of the art of writing may find Moore's comments illuminating, but for students of local history, another point captivates.

In this essay Moore cautioned her readers not to think that, "writing is exactly a pastime."[6] She recalled reading H. T. Parker's music column in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, and she confessed to reading it with "an ecstasy of admiration."[7] For her, to be under that spell, "to be writing in emulation, anything at all for a newspaper, was a pleasure."[8] She added, "no more at that time than woman's suffrage party notes, composed and contributed at intervals to the *Carlisle Evening Sentinel*."[9] Here the antiquarian researcher steps from the boggy theory of literary criticism onto the solid ground of historical documentation.

This passing reference by Moore to her youthful, anonymous writing for a local newspaper gets one closer to her life in Carlisle than do her poems. In addition, there is a letter to corroborate it. In late September, 1915, Moore wrote to her brother, Warner, about her work for women's suffrage. She recounted to him her efforts with a friend to persuade farmers at "the fair," presumably the county fair.[10] She said that she had developed her commitment to the suffrage movement while a student at Bryn Mawr. Thus, since Moore moved from Carlisle for good in 1918, her suffragist activity in Carlisle must fall within the terminal points of 1915 (or perhaps 1909) and 1918. While it would be tedious for researcher and reader to peer into reels of microfilm of three or nine years of *The Evening Sentinel* and cull or glean from them what just might be Moore's anonymous "woman's suffrage party notes," it is worthwhile considering the light their existence can shed on Moore of Carlisle. Her political views on suffrage relate to her social and cultural expectations for single women.

Marianne Moore photo from the 1909 Bryn Mawr College Yearbook.

CCHS Photo Archives

According to Linda Leavell, Moore "came of age in a world...in which the conduits of intellectual authority were often women."[11] In that vein, Carlisle had a history of literary women, including a poet, Isabella Oliver (1777-1843),[12] a novelist, Mary Dillon (1850-1922), and a local historian, Lenore Embick Flower (1883-1974).[14] Unlike these local writers, Moore never married, and she lived with her mother until 1947, when the latter died. Moore's father and mother had parted before Moore could form any memory of her father, and the earliest adult male presence in the family was Moore's maternal grandfather, a Presbyterian minister. Moore and her mother and brother were happily close-knit, leading Leavell to conclude that Moore saw a "primacy of familial over erotic love,"[15] and Moore admired "a love that will not obliterate the other person."[16]

Of course, as a practicing Christian, Moore did not believe in love obliterating others. A piece of paper in what Ralph Slotten called "the small but significant collection"[17] of Moore's papers in the Dickinson College Archives contains in Moore's handwriting the sentence, "My favorite benediction," namely Jude 24-25, expressing the hope that the person being blessed will forever know the glory and joy of God.[18] Moore once told an interviewer that her poems came from "an instinctive wish to share what has done me good to look at or to know," adding that, "It is an expression of gratitude."[19] As Leavell observed, this generous spirit is not one of obliteration.

Although she was a younger contemporary of two American women who made names for themselves in founding religious orders of nuns, Mother Frances Cabrini (1850-1917) and Mother Katharine Drexel (1858-1955), Marianne Moore was attuned more to the tradition of the early Church. In her poems, Moore mused upon Saint Jerome, a fourth-century monk and priest whose relationships with women took the form of lengthy theological letters to Roman matrons who were keen students of Scripture; Moore's Jerome is "Pacific yet passionate/for if not both, how/could he be great?"[20] She also studied such modern literary bachelors as essayist Charles Lamb (1775-1834) and novelist Henry James (1843-1916), noting what Leavell has called their freedom from stereotypes and "those romantic delusions about the lonely artist."[21] These bachelor writers to whom Moore felt drawn were also most at home with their own families; Lamb lived with his sister, James often lived with his brother.

For Moore, this model was a far from unusual third option between married life or a series of liaisons. After all, if one did not leave one's family to take a spouse, it seemed only natural that one would live with one's family. Especially in an era before civil legislation enacted social safety nets, an unmarried person setting out for a life alone and away from one's family was in a dangerous situation, not only financially, but also emotionally. Moreover, it would have been

seen as impolite and ungrateful, open to interpretation as rude repudiation of the one group of people believed to be bound to one in mutual obligation. Moore's "small circle of friends in Carlisle," such as the Norcross daughters or the Penrose sisters, "consisted almost entirely of well-educated single women who lived with their mothers or with both parents."[22] Moore reminisced that she and her friends "were constantly discussing authors,"[23] so that the intellectual discourse she found at Bryn Mawr seemed something of a let down.

As the twentieth century saw a majority of middle-class people in the North Atlantic region engage in more and more open discussions about sex, someone from that set who stood outside the conversation seemed strange, even challenging. One recent critic has described such an approach as appearing to be subversive: "Apparently," she wrote with evident irony, "sexual expression takes place only in and after the act of genital intercourse."[24] Moore's sense of freedom from stereotype was at odds with the emerging mood of liberation, and so she can be seen as counter-cultural, gently presenting a more capacious understanding of what makes for a fulfilling life. In this context one sees her work in Carlisle for women's suffrage: For Moore, a single woman was part of the social unit that is the family, in whose conversation she had a voice, even if not always a decisive one. By extension, Moore seems to have been saying, she should have a voice in the larger society, even if that voice, that vote, stood in a minority.

From Carlisle, Moore moved with her mother to New York City, living first in Greenwich Village, then in Brooklyn. In Brooklyn they were close to the naval yards, where Moore's brother, Warner, an alumnus of Dickinson College and Yale, served as a Navy chaplain. Moore worked at the Hudson Park branch of the New York Public Library, then became the acting editor of an influential literary journal, *The Dial*. When it ceased publication, she had more time for her own writing. In her outwardly uneventful life, her writing took time, first with contemplative strolls through the zoo; then her passion for precision compelling her to pick each word, so to speak, with tweezers.[25] In her quietly outspoken way, she defied classification; in a world demanding that individualists label themselves as species of a genus, she serenely lived her own life. She read what she pleased, whether Henry James or *Life*, went to church, and voted Republican.

As she grew older and friends and family passed away, Moore nevertheless enjoyed a comfortable, solitary life. While living alone, she was close to her nieces and maintained a vast correspondence. A way to understand her simple yet creative life, evoking a bygone era, is to know that the novel closest to her heart seems to have been Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1908). She, her mother, and her brother identified respectively with the characters of Rat, Mole, and Badger, three friends living in an isolated, idyllic world, parallel to that of humans.[26]

Although she lived in the big city, Moore still maintained an orderly, small-town life. For example, she continued to read the local newspaper, exchanging *The Evening Sentinel* for *The New York Times*. She described herself as "a metropolitan recluse," admiring the elm trees and elegance of old Brooklyn, a home she reluctantly left in late 1965 for Manhattan; she deplored the crime and decadence overwhelming her old neighborhood, blaming the decline on abdication of parental responsibility.[27] Such judgments one must see deriving from someone who had always enjoyed stable surroundings and good examples set within a loyal and loving family.

By the mid-1960s Jim Thorpe and his fellow athletes of the Carlisle Indian School had faded into memory, but Marianne Moore still loved baseball and rooted for the Brooklyn Dodgers. By the time she was in her seventies, sports journalists sought her out for interviews.[28] Her poems about baseball, such as "Hometown Piece for Messrs. Alton and Reese,"[29] coming as a surprise to all who thought of her only as a little old lady writing quaint, quirky verse about pelicans, elephants, and giraffes.

For even after leaving Carlisle, home to her earliest poems, Moore continued to write idiosyncratic poems in free verse, modestly claiming that if what she wrote were to be called poetry, "it is because there is no other category in which to put it."[30] Her poems, humbly full of quotations, are curious works of art, her varied "quotations inset delicately, like complex patterns of decorative veneer" or often like "quotation mosaics."[31] As a mistress of her craft, she could attempt and achieve such innovations from borrowing, leaving apprentice poets jealously agape, English teachers giving low marks for heavy use of lines from others.

The Norcross family, close friends of Moore while she was in Carlisle, on the porch of the Second Presbyterian Manse on South Hanover St., c. 1900.

CCHS Photo Archives

Like an elderly person's elliptical monologue, Moore's poems require patience. Upon learning that Moore anchored her weeks with Sunday services singing hymns by Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and Charles Wesley (1707-1788), a critic might be forgiven for expecting Moore's poems to have a standard meter. Instead, the key lies not in pious lyric verse but in leisurely prose, the discursive meandering of Henry James, master of the subordinate clause, often maddening to his more hurried and harried readers. One obituary of Moore noted the "discipline, restraint, concentration but also lightness,"[32] of her poems, with their "intellectual clarity at times almost chilling,"[33] and her conversation coolly sparkled with the same traits. "Her simplest remark," wrote one journalist, "has great elegance because of an unusual selection and arrangement of words."[34] Given the pattern of her life, it is worth contemplating the association between her disciplined use of language and her self-discipline of celibacy.

Throughout her life, Moore's poetic work steadily earned the admiration of her peers. Notably, T. S. Eliot (like Moore, born near St. Louis) wrote the foreword to Moore's *Selected Poems* (1935); much-quoted is his assessment that her poems formed "part of the small body of durable poetry written in our time."[35] Another contemporary, W. H. Auden, confessed that when he first read Moore's poems, he "simply could not make head or tail of them,"[36] but persisted and joined the ranks of her fans. She received sixteen honorary doctoral degrees, various literary medals, and in 1952, Moore won the Pulitzer Prize.

At age eighty-four, Marianne Moore died in New York City, and her ashes are buried in the family plot in Evergreen Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Her tombstone has a blank space for the name of the husband she never had, although at a certain point in an unmarried person's life, hope politely masks an inner peace. "[W]ho would change a comfortable life of spinsterhood," Barbara Pym aptly asked, "for the unknown trials of matrimony?"[37] In a balance sheet of the two options, spinsterhood freed one from the perils of childbirth and the gamble on a husband's long-term compatibility and reliability.

Her last years saw Marianne Moore as the first lady of American poetry. For all her fame, she kept to herself, bemused that anyone should fuss over her cryptic lines, and she smiled at memories of anonymous squibs, notices advocating votes for women, printed in the Carlisle evening newspaper. Posthumous honors included a first class postage stamp in 1990, and in 2002, a state historical marker outside her home in Carlisle. Marianne Moore stands as a symbol of an age when women fit their own moulds yet combined cultural leadership with political activity. To use her own words, Marianne Moore "is not too legendary/ to flower both as symbol and as pungency."[38]

Endnotes

1. See Daniel J. Heisey, "Musings on Marianne Moore," *Marginal Notes: Essays Here and There* (Carlisle, PA: The New Loudon Press, 1999), 18-23; cf. Daniel J. Heisey, *A Short History of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1751 to 1936* (Carlisle, PA: The New Loudon Press, 1997), 38-40. Both works bear much revising, hence, in part, this essay.
2. Helen Vendler, *Part of Nature, Part of Us: Modern American Poets* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 60. Moore's early poems are now accessible in Robin G. Schulze, ed., *Becoming Marianne Moore: The Early Poems, 1907-1924* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
3. P. J. Kavanagh, "Conversation Pieces," *The Tablet* (31 January, 2004), 20. The phrase "unfreckled integrity" comes from W. H Auden's homage to Moore, "A Mosaic for Marianne Moore," in *City Without Walls and Other Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 31.
4. Marianne Moore, "Subject, Predicate, Object," *The Christian Science Monitor* (24 December, 1958), 7; reprinted, Marianne Moore, "Subject, Predicate, Object," *Tell Me, Tell Me: Granite, Steel, and Other Topics* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), 46; also reprinted, "Subject, Predicate, Object," *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, ed. Patricia C. Willis (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 505.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.* Henry Taylor Parker (1867-1934) wrote for the *Boston Evening Transcript* from 1905-1934; obituary, *The New York Times* (31 March, 1934), 11:1.
8. Moore, "Subject, Predicate, Object," *The Christian Science Monitor* (24 December, 1958): 7; Moore, *Tell Me, Tell Me*, 46; *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, 504.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Marianne Moore to John Warner Moore, 22 September, 1915, in *The Selected Letters of Marianne Moore*, ed. Bonnie Costello, et al. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 99.
11. Linda Leavell, "Marianne Moore, the James Family, and the Politics of Celibacy," *Twentieth Century Literature* 49 (Summer, 2003), 222.
12. Conway P. Wing, et al., *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: J. D. Scott, 1879), 115-116.
13. Jim Gerencser, "Glimpses of Our Past," *Dickinson Magazine* 81 (Fall, 2003), 15.
14. Dawn Flower, "Lenore Embick Flower," *Cumberland County History* 10 (Winter, 1993), 81-96.
15. Leavell, "Marianne Moore, the James Family, and the Politics of Celibacy," *Twentieth Century Literature* 49 (Summer, 2003), 235.
16. *Ibid.*, 237. See also, David Bergman, "Marianne Moore and the Problem of 'Marriage'," *American Literature* 60 (May, 1988), 241-254; Linda Leavell," 'Frightening Disinterestedness': The Personal Circumstances of Marianne Moore's 'Marriage'," *Journal of Modern Literature* 31 (Fall, 2007), 64-79.

17. Ralph Slotten, "Marianne Moore to Vernon Watkins, June 28, 1965," *John & Mary's Journal* 2 (Spring, 1976), 8.
18. Marianne Moore Collection, Box 2, Folder 11; Dickinson College Archives. Jude 24-25 (KJV): "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and forever. Amen." For Moore's faith, see Samuel Terrien, "Marianne Moore: Poet of Secular Holiness," *Theology Today* 47 (January, 1991), 388-399.
19. Quoted in Mary Seth, "An Instinctive Wish to Share," *Presbyterian Life* (16 April, 1955), 15.
20. Marianne Moore, "Leonardo Da Vinci's," *The Complete Poems of Marianne Moore* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), 201; for Jerome and his circle of matronly admirers, especially Saint Fabiola, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 210-212; for Jerome and celibate chastity, see Ibid., 179-194.
21. Leavell, "Marianne Moore, the James Family, and the Politics of Celibacy," *Twentieth Century Literature* 49 (Summer, 2003), 238.
22. *Ibid.*, 222.
23. Marianne Moore, "Education of a Poet," *Writer's Digest* 43 (October, 1963), 35; reprinted, *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, 572.
24. Sarah E. Hinlicky, "Subversive Virginity," *First Things* 86 (October, 1998), 14; cf. Benedict J. Groeschel, *The Courage to be Chaste* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 77-83; Raniero Cantalamessa, *Virginity*, trans. Charles Serignat (New York: Alba House, 1995), 84-86.
25. See "La Belle Dame Sans Mercy," *The Economist* (31 January, 2004), 80: "[Marianne Moore] admired exactitude of expression above almost all things else. Every word counted. She picked them with tweezers."
26. For Moore and *The Wind in the Willows*, see Linda Leavell, "Marianne Moore, Her Family, and Their Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 147 (June, 2003), 142-143; cf. Nicholas Jenkins, "Bunny, Turtle, and Gator," *The Times Literary Supplement* (22 May, 1998), 3-4.
27. "Miss Moore in Manhattan," *The New Yorker* (29 January, 1966): 24-26.
28. For example, Robert Cantwell, "The Poet, the Bums, and the Legendary Red Men," *Sports Illustrated* (15 February, 1960), 75-82; see also George Plimpton, "The World Series with Marianne Moore," *Harper's* (October, 1964): 50-58.; reprinted, George Plimpton, "Marianne Moore," *The Best of Plimpton* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), 85-99; cf. Joseph Durso, "Marianne Moore, Baseball Fan," *Saturday Review* (12 July, 1969), 51-52.
29. For this poem, see *The Complete Poems of Marianne Moore*, 182-184; also, "Baseball and Writing," Ibid., 221-223. See also the essay review, "A Writer on the Mound," *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, 554-556.

30. Moore, "Subject, Predicate, Object," *The Christian Science Monitor* (24 December, 1958), 7; *Tell Me, Tell Me*, 46; *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, 504.
31. P. J. Kavanagh, "Conversation Pieces," *The Tablet* (31 January, 2004), 20.
32. "Marianne Moore, RIP," *National Review* (3 March, 1972): 207.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Mary Seth, "An Instinctive Wish to Share," *Presbyterian Life* (16 April, 1955), 15.
35. T. S. Eliot, "Introduction," in Marianne Moore, *Selected Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935), 12.
36. W. H. Auden, "Marianne Moore," *The Dyer's Hand and Other Essays* (New York: Random House, 1962), 296.
37. Barbara Pym, *Some Tame Gazelle* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1950), 136.
38. Marianne Moore, "Rosemary," *The Complete Poems of Marianne Moore*, 168.

Focus on the Collections

LIBRARY ARCHIVES

John S. Steckbeck Collection

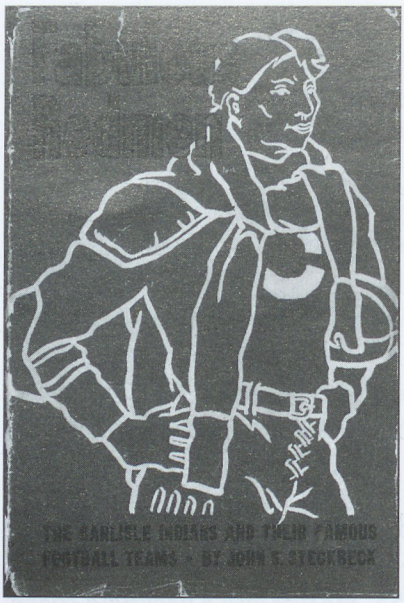
Cara Holtry Curtis

In 2008, the daughters of John S. Steckbeck donated his research collection to the Cumberland County Historical Society. Steckbeck was a professor of physical education at Dickinson College from 1946-1955. He was also a backfield coach, track coach, swim coach, and a trainer for the college. When he was not busy with sporting events, he spent his time with music. He was a known bass soloist who also directed the college choir. After leaving Dickinson College, Steckbeck went to Lehigh University where he continued to be a professor of physical education and coach. He worked at Lehigh from 1955-1959 and again from 1962 until his retirement in 1979. Since 1976, Lehigh has awarded the John S. Steckbeck award. According to Lehigh University, the honoree must be, "an outstanding female athlete enrolled in her first year who has displayed a high level of character." His interest in Native American issues led to his becoming an honorary member of the Oglala Sioux Nation.

During his time in Carlisle, Steckbeck became interested in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. His interest in the school culminated in the book, *The Fabulous Redmen: The Carlisle Indians and their Famous Football Teams.* J. Horace McFarland Company of Harrisburg, PA published the book in 1951. The book jacket states, "Here is the first complete record of the football games played by the Carlisle Indians during the quarter-century that the Carlisle Indian

John S. Steckbeck c. 1950s.

From the John S. Steckbeck Collection, CCHS Photo Archives



Cover of Fabulous Redmen, 1951.

From the John S. Steckbeck Collection, CCHS Library Archives

School existed. The author has checked with every possible source for detailed accounts of the games, for early impressions of Carlisle residents, for stories about warriors who came straight from the reservations of the West to be molded into the most spectacular football teams ever turned out." While many books and articles have been written about the athletic program at the Indian School, Steckbeck's work was groundbreaking when it was published.

The collection includes both library materials and photographs. The library collection includes eighteen document boxes of materials ranging from his interests in Native Americans to sports to the colleges where he worked. His interest in Native American issues went beyond the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. He maintained a collection of government issued reports including: Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1884...1907), Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1860, 1871-1894), Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1871-1913), Annual Report of the Mine Inspector to Indian Territory (1894-1904), and the Indian Rights Association(1892-1909. Beyond the reports, he collected information on the Indian Claims Commission and the Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the US (1929-1930). He also has a copy of "Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: an Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes – Legalized Robbery" by Gertrude Bonin (Zitkala-Ša), Charles H. Fabens, and Matthew K. Sniffen.

The collection also includes correspondence. Mr. Steckbeck corresponded with Ben American Horse, Glenn "Pop" Warner, and student athletes. He also has a collection of William "Lone Star" Dietz correspondence. The Steckbeck Collection also included letters dealing with the burial of Jim Thorpe. There was a movement after the death of Jim Thorpe for him to be buried in Carlisle. John Steckbeck also presented several former Carlisle Indian School Athletes during their induction to the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame.

Beyond the materials he collected about the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and Indian Rights, the collection includes information on his time at both Dickinson College and Lehigh University and early sports history. This rich collection contains many treasures that will be useful to many researchers.

MUSEUM ARCHIVES

The Candy Man (Little's Candy Collection)

Peggy Huffman

How many of our readers remember buying lollipops, clear toy candy, chocolates, and caramel corn from *Little's Home-Made Candies* booth in the Old Market House, the Wrightstone Market and at the Carlisle Fair? In 2010 the museum accessioned a large donation of Little's candy making equipment from Joanne Bear, granddaughter of Herbert P. Little. The accession is wonderful on two accounts. First, it is a fairly thorough documentation of a home-based candy making business. More importantly, it represents the lifelong love and energy that Herbert poured into his hobby – a side business making candy – as well as the support he received from family and friends.

During the day Herbert delivered laundry for Troy Laundry and Dry Cleaning for three generations of Newville and Carlisle residents. When he retired in 1968 the owner of Troy Laundry described 75 year old Herbert as having more energy than some of the younger men in the company.

This energy was quite apparent even in 1939 when Herbert took a candy making course through the mail and began a sideline candy business. Joanne remembers her grandfather whistling along with the radio while making candy in his basement weekday evenings after working all day. "He always insisted on using only the best ingredients…real butter, real vanilla, good quality chocolate…."

The business was definitely a family affair. Herbert made all the candy and his wife Myrtle put sticks on the lollipops, unmolded and wrapped them. She also packed chocolates, bagged peanuts and popcorn. Myrtle and Betty (Joanne's mother) made trips to Harrisburg for packing supplies and helped prepare for the Saturday market. When Joanne was old enough she wrapped lollipops, too.

The Littles offered special candies during the holidays. In November Herbert pulled over 200 clear toy molds out from storage for Christmas. His daughter, son-in-law, and friend Pearl Doyle helped pour countless red, green, and amber candy into various clear toy molds shaped like Santas, reindeer, dancing ladies, teapots, and bears, to name only a few. They also made large stand-alone shapes which included reindeer and Santas. During the Easter season, Herbert made chocolate Easter bunnies and crème-filled Easter eggs which Betty embellished with decorator frosting. Joanne remembers many nights when chocolate eggs and bunnies covered the kitchen table and counters. For Halloween Herbert made taffy apples and lollipop moony faces of clear red hard candy decorated with lifesaver eyes, gum drop noses, and halved lifesaver smiles.

Everyone got involved getting ready for the annual Carlisle Fair. Joanne's father recruited friends to haul everything out to the fairgrounds. Myrtle made crepe paper decorations for the booth. Since Herbert needed so many extra workers to run the booth during the fair, his son, Herbert, Jr. took the week off from his regular job to make popcorn during the day. Herbert worked the stand every night after finishing his day at Troy's and two of Myrtle's sisters came out from York to help work the booth for the week.

Carlisle Fair, 1949, Little's Candy Booth.

Little's Candy Collection, CCHS Museum

After Herbert retired from Troy Laundry he and his daughter Betty focused on the business full time. Herbert maintained his candy business almost until the day he died. Joanne remembers her grandfather saying that for him, making candy was not about making money. In fact, she found paperwork for candy orders indicating that prices for his lollipops remained the same from 1948 through to the early 1970s. "Pay off" for Herbert was in the smile on a child's face when she bought a lollipop.

Pictured here is a metal chocolate mold from the 38 piece donation. The entire collection includes several metal molds for Christmas and Easter chocolate, clear toy molds , measuring cups, thermometers, a copper pouring pot used for making lollipops and clear toys, a copper fudge pot, a cake decorator set, lol-

lipop molds, weight scales, and photos. The accession also included the sign for Little's candy booth that hung in the Wrightstone Market along with funds for its restoration. The sign can be seen in the permanent museum hanging above the model of the Old Market House.

PHOTO ARCHIVES

Girl Scout Collections

Richard L. Tritt

We were extremely fortunate in 2012 to receive two outstanding collections that contained photos related to the Girl Scouts of America. This increased our number of Girl Scout related photos from just a handful to hundreds of significant images.

The first collection was given by Albert B. Crawford, II, and contains materials from the Crawford/Deeter* family of the Mechanicsburg area. Among the items is a notebook of photos and letters related to Jane Deeter Rippin. Jane was born in 1882 in Mechanicsburg and was a graduate of Irving College. She began her working life as a classroom teacher in Mechanicsburg, but soon moved to Philadelphia where she became involved in social work among underprivileged young women. She became keenly aware of women's and children's needs, and was instrumental in developing organizations that offered wholesome activities

Girl Scout leaders and campers preparing wood for a large campfire at Pine Grove Girl Scout Camp during the summer of 1921.

CCHS Photo Archives

for adolescent girls. She became National Director of the Girl Scouts, Inc. in 1919 and served until 1930. Under her leadership the organization grew in numbers and financial stability. She is credited with starting the annual cookie sale. This album is of national significance and contains 26 photos of Jane as well as letters written to her by national figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, John Pershing, and her friend Juliette Low.

Not long after the Crawford accession was processed and an exhibit featuring the Jane Deeter Rippin items was in place, a second large collection related to our local Girl Scouts was donated. This gift from the Hemlock Girl Scout Council of Harrisburg includes thirteen photo-scrapbooks from the 1920s through the 1940s. The scrapbooks were created as a record of each summer's camp experiences and provide in word and image an account of the many scouting activities that took place at the Girl Scout Camp at Pine Grove Furnace. They also show many images of the camp facilities as well as of the Pine Grove area in general at that time. Before the Girl Scouts took over this camp, it was used by the Carlisle Indian School and was known as Camp Sells.

View of Pine Grove Road at Laurel, c. 1915. Photo postcard by Maynard Hoover.

CCHS Photo Archives

These collections are of great value to anyone interested in the early history of Girl Scouting and to those who want to know more about Pine Grove during this time period. Both of these collections are being processed and catalogued by a photo volunteer who has spent about a year thus far on this project. She has been impressed by the depth and richness of these two collections.

*Additional information regarding the Deeter family can be found in *Cumberland County History,* Summer Issue, 1994, page 35.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY GOVERNMENT RECORD SERIES AT CCHS

Compiled by Barbara Bartos

This information regarding Cumberland County government records housed at the Society is a regular feature of the Journal. This update is about documents from the Recorder of Deeds, Treasurers and Register of Wills Offices. An * indicates individual document images available on line. Go to http://ccweb.ccpa.net/archives/listings.aspx>Recorder of Deeds, Treasurer, or Register of Wills. Scroll down to the Paper Series section at the bottom of the page. To view an image, click "Inventory" and then click the camera icon next to the document to be viewed. If there is not a camera icon, or page unable to be viewed, the document is missing as of June 2012.

Series Title	Date Span	Quantity (# of docs)*
RECORDER OF DEEDS Paper Series		
BRIGADE INSPECTORS' BONDS	1828...1849	
COMMISSIONS Volunteer Police Officers	1917...1946	216*
DEED INDEX Grantor	1789...1791	(unbound booklet)
DEEDS	1831...1908	11*
MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS	1774...1863	5*
MORTGAGES	1839...1924	14*
OFFICIALS' BONDS Sheriff	1774...1789	6*
OFFICIALS' BONDS Treasurer	1794...1865	33*
POWER OF ATTORNEY		
Mortgage Satisfactions	1885...1968	196* + 2,135
WARRENTEE TRACT MAPS	1979–1981	6
LAND WARRANTS		
West Side Applications	1766–1769	179*

TREASURER Paper Series

DELINQUENT TAXES Unseated Lands	1783...1815	3*
LIQUOR LICENSE RECEIPTS	1857...1886	1,361*
MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS	1821...1823	20*
MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS		
Land Sales	1769...1839	5*
TAX APPEALS	1779...1850	27*
TAX COLLECTOR ACCOUNTS		
Delinquent Taxes	1781–1789	6*
TAX COLLECTOR EXONERATIONS		
Vouchers	1870...1875	113*
TAX COLLECTORS' SETTLEMENTS	1791–1791	15*
TAX EXONERATIONS Taxpayers	1867–1867	29*
TREASURER'S DEEDS Unseated Lands	1824...1872	138*

REGISTER OF WILLS Paper Series

ADMINISTRATION BONDS	1751–1843	See Inventory at CCHS
AFFIDAVITS OF DEATH	1874–1936	See Inventory at CCHS
ESTATE TAX REPORTS	1920–1922	751*
LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION	1887–1936	See Inventory at CCHS
PHYSICIANS' RETURNS OF BIRTH	1852–1855	See Inventory at CCHS
PHYSICIANS' RETURNS OF DEATH	1852–1855	See Inventory at CCHS
RENUNCIATIONS	1770–1939	See Inventory at CCHS
RETURNS OF MARRIAGE	1852–1855	See Inventory at CCHS
STATEMENT OF DEATHS	1917–1921	1* (Report)
VENDUES	1750–1926	See Inventory at CCHS

Notable Accessions January-August 2013

Cara Curtis

Michael Knudson donated a copy of his book, *Warriors in Khaki: Native American doughboys from North Dakota.*

Katie Kitner donated a copy of her paper, *Jacob Hendel: Cumberland County Clockmaker, Pennsylvania, 1772–1836.*

Paul Barner donated *First Families of Cumberland County vol. XXVIII Doylesburg* and *First Families of Old Cumberland County: Vol. XXIX – Shade Gap.*

The *Sentinel* donated microfilm for January 2012, April–June 2012, August and September 2012 and November 2012–March 2013. They also donated the *Shippensburg Sentinel,* January–March 2013.

Jim Bradley donated 32 family history binders on the surnames Bradley, Failor, Fehl, King, Hefflefinger, Kuntz, Paull, Ormanowski, Roche, and Yeingst.

Ellen Darr donated two scrapbooks to be added to the Beta Sigma Phi Collection.

Christlieb-Chrislip-Crislip Family Associate donated a copy of *Ancestors and descendants of Friedrich Carl and Anna Catharina Christlieb*, edited by Ned Crislip.

Stephen Rockwood donated a copy of his book, *Finding our Loughridge Roots.*

Randy Watts donated a copy of his book, *To the Rescue: Carlisle's Union Fire Company 1789 to 2012.* Randy also donated a copy of his articles: *Eugene E. Shearer 1899–1921, inquiry into line of duty death* and *Cumberland Fire Company 1910 Chemical Engine.*

Sylvia Havens donated a copy of *First United Church of Christ (First Reformed Church) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1988–2013,* by Susan E. Meehan.

Historic Carlisle, Inc. donated 4 scrapbooks from 1995–2008 and two binders containing minutes and reports of the organization.

Order of the Eastern Star: Oswald Taylor Chapter #540, Trio Chapter #544, Old Bellaire Chapter #375 donated new materials to their manuscript group.

Oswald Taylor chapter merged with Old Bellaire in 2004. Trio Chapter merged with Old Bellaire in 2011.

Sondra Wolfe Elias donated materials from the Carlisle Junior Civic Club from 1963–1990s.

Carol Allen donated a copy of a reproduction of *Private Gerald S. Brinton's World War II diary from November 19, 1942 to October 30, 1945.*

Sammi Lehman donated materials collected while she was a camper at Camp Michaux during the 1960s.

Earl Swarner donated materials relating to Blanche Williamson Swarner.

Donald Badorf donated materials related to Nathaniel and Myra Badorf (his father and Aunt) related to their time serving during WWI.

Allen Taylor donated a copy of Robert A. Welsh's Civil War Memoirs. Welsh was a Corporal in Co. E. 33rd PA Volunteers during the Gettysburg Campaign.

The West Shore Neighbors Club donated a collection of materials including correspondence, bylaws, guidebooks, scrapbooks, etc.

The Cumberland County Society of Farm Women donated a collection of scrapbooks.

Angela Aleiss donated a copy of her article, "What was the real James Young Deer? The mysterious identity of the Pathe producer finally comes to light."

Rebecca Zimmerman donated Boiling Springs High School yearbooks: 1945, 1946, 1949.

Joan Barnes donated materials from Troy Laundry and a computer class offered by Carlisle High School in 1970.

Jeffrey Smith donated a copy of *A soldier in the Pacific: my Army experiences during World War II, February 1943 through December 1945*, by Warren B. Smith, Jr., edited by Jeffrey W. Smith.

The Army War College Foundation donated a copy of their book, *United States Army War College Class Gift History 1956–2013.*

CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

The County Heritage Series

The Bitter Fruits: The Civil War Comes to a Small Town in Pennsylvania, by David G. Colwell (1998). Hardcover, $10.00.

In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County, by Clarke Garrett (1997). Hardcover, $10.00.

Past Receipts, Present Recipes, by CCHS Cookbook Committee (1996). $15.00.

The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1879–1918, by Linda F. Witmer (2000). Paperback, $24.95.

Cloth and Costume, by Tandy and Charles Hersh. Softcover, $25.00.

Twentieth Century Thoughts. Carlisle: The Past Hundred Years, by Ann Kramer Hoffer (2001). Paperback, $29.95.

Recent Publications

Dear Folks at Home, transcription of the Civil War letters of Leo W. and John I. Faller, reprinted in 2011 from the original 1963 publication edited by Milton E. Flower. Softcover, $16.95.

Camp Michaux Self-Guided Walking Tour, by David L. Smith (2011). Paperback, $10.00.

Plank Bottom Chairs and Chairmakers South Central Pennsylvania 1800–1880, by Merri Lou Schaumann (2009). Hardcover, $29.95.

The Carlisle Hospital: The Most Important Building in Town, by Susan E. Meehan for the Carlisle Area Health and Wellness Foundation (2008). Paperback, $15.00.

Changing Images: The Art & Artists of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, by Linda F. Witmer (2008). Hardcover, $20.00.

Secret War at Home, by John P. Bland (2006). Softcover, $22.00.

First Families of (Old) Cumberland County by Hayes Eschenmann and Paul Barner. (Maps and surname indexes to 18th century land owners), Twenty-eight volumes, $18.00 each.

Recent volumes include:

The West Shore (Harrisburg West, Lemoyne, Steelton)
Saint Thomas (Franklin County)
Mercersburg & Kaiesville (Clear Spring), (Franklin County)
Little Cove & Big Tannery (Franklin and Fulton Counties)
Fort Loudon & McConnellsburg (Franklin and Fulton Counties)
Fannettsburg, (Franklin and Fulton Counties)
Burnt Cabins (Franklin, Fulton, Huntingdon Counties)
Meadow Grounds (Fulton County)
Doylesburg (Franklin County)
Shade Gap (Huntingdon and Franklin Counties)

A complete list of publications available at CCHS, as well as information concerning ordering, sales tax, and postage and handling fees, is available at www.historicalsociety.com.