

CUMBERLAND County History

2014

Volume Thirty-one

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Manuscripts should be submitted in digital form, either on a CD or by email. Citations in the form of endnotes should be placed at the end of the text. Authors should follow the rules set out in the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

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

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

*Cumberland County Historical
Society and Hamilton Library
Association: Carlisle*



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Contributors

CARLA CHRISTIANSEN is a retired intelligence analyst with a long-standing interest in American military history. A volunteer in the CCHS Hamilton Library since 2007, she has been helping to document and highlight the library's wealth of archival material from the 18th century. This is her second article for the Journal.

MERRI LOU SCHAUMANN is a noted local historian. She has been a frequent contributor to the Journal and has published a variety of books on local history including, *Taverns of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1750–1840*, *A History and Genealogy of Carlisle, Pennsylvania*, and *Plank Bottom Chairs and Chairmakers, South Central Pennsylvania, 1800–1880*. She is currently one of eight researchers working on a new book on the mills of Cumberland County.

CHARLES MILLER, JR. is a retired geologist. He received his doctorate from The Pennsylvania State University. His professional career included high school earth science teaching and junior college geology, astronomy, and geography teaching. He also worked as a petroleum geologist and hydro-geologist. Most recently he taught part of a short course to petroleum geologists for PetroChina. He is a former 32-year resident of Chambersburg and currently resides in State College, Pennsylvania.

RANDY WATTS is a native of Cumberland County and has lived in the Boiling Springs area for over 20 years. He works as a risk management consultant for American Insurance Administrators of Mechanicsburg. He co-edited *At a Place Called the Boiling Springs* with Richard Tritt in 1995 and also published a series of books on the railroads of the Cumberland Valley. He has recently completed a history on the 225 year history of Carlisle's Union Fire Company.

WILLIAM MURRAY is the archivist for the Mechanicsburg Area School District. This is his third submission to this publication. In addition, while an instructor at Mechanicsburg High School, he served as advisor for three students whose articles have been published in the Journal.

JOHN MAIETTA received a master's degree in Applied History from Shippensburg University in 2014. He retired from the U.S. Army in 2010, after 38 years of active, reserve, and National Guard service. He also maintained a long-time civilian career in the public relations field in south central Pennsylvania. He has lived in the Mechanicsburg area since 1985.

MARY D. MARCH has been the CCHS museum collections manager since 2006. She earned her Master's Degree in American Studies from Penn State University. She resides in Boiling Springs with her husband Matthew and their daughter Miriam. She has contributed to the Journal in previous editions.

RICHARD L. TRITT has been the Photo Curator at CCHS since 1990. In 1995 he was one of the co-editors and authors of *At a Place Called the Boiling Springs*, a comprehensive history of the village of Boiling Springs. His most recent book is *Here Lies the Body, the Story of Meeting House Springs*, published in 2009. He is currently coordinating the efforts with seven other researchers who are writing a book on the mills of Cumberland County which will be published in 2015.

CARA HOLTRY CURTIS has been librarian at Cumberland County Historical Society since August 2008. She is a 2009 graduate of the University of Pittsburgh with a master's degree in Library and Information Science. She is a Cumberland County native and graduate of Cumberland Valley High School and the proud new mother of daughter Harper.

Editor's Introduction

The 2014 edition of *Cumberland County History* includes articles on a wide variety of topics stretching from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century. The articles focus on individuals, caves, tugboats, schools, and flags – quite an unusual collection.

The lead article by Carla Christiansen presents an in-depth look at an early Pennsylvania settler, Samuel Postlethwaite. Any serious researcher of early Cumberland history will have encountered his name on a variety of original documents. He served in numerous positions in the early government of the county. Carla used extensive original sources, many housed at CCHS, to compile this detailed history of this important early settler.

Merri Lou Schaumann explores the life of James Hamilton through the travels of one of his letters until it reaches its final resting place at the University of Virginia. The article reads a little like a mystery.

The next article is unusual for the Journal. Charles Miller, Jr., retired geologist, gives us a look at the county beneath the surface of the ground and explains the geological history of the area as it can be seen in Shippensburg-area caves. The cave article is followed by another unique piece of research by Randy Watts about a tugboat that happened to be named “Carlisle.” The history of this vessel is examined as well as an explanation of how it got its special name.

The final two articles are about schools. The first, by William Murray, examines the early history of the schools in Shiremanstown before the creation of the larger school districts we know today. The final article by John Maietta presents a detailed history of Irving College, the women's school located in Mechanicsburg.

A regular feature of the Journal, “Focus on the Collections,” is presented in each Journal by the Photo Archives, Museum and Library departments at CCHS. This year's focus is on flags. This is being done to coincide with the national celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the writing of “The Star Spangled Banner,” by Francis Scott Key. Although we don't have any direct connections in Cumberland County to that event, we do have information related to the theme “flags” within our collections.

David L. Smith, Editor

Samuel Postlethwaite: Trader, Patriot, Gentleman of Early Carlisle

Carla Christiansen

Largely overlooked in local histories, Samuel Postlethwaite¹ deserves a prominent place on a list of early Cumberland County notables. A frontier trader, he helped supply the Continental Army in the American Revolution and played an active role in Cumberland County's government and social institutions during the early days of the American Republic. In the 1790's, he served in the Pennsylvania legislature as the senator from Cumberland County.

The career of Samuel Postlethwaite is worthy of consideration not just because of the public positions that he held, however, but because in many ways his experiences were typical of many men of 18th Century frontier Pennsylvania. Throughout his long life, Samuel Postlethwaite struggled to advance his family fortunes while simultaneously performing what he perceived to be his public duty. Like other early traders on the Pennsylvania frontier, he took financial risks and experienced financial losses while pushing the borders of frontier commerce. As with other merchants who became members of the Quartermaster Department in the years of the American Revolution, he struggled to meet the needs of General Washington's Army without ruining his own credit. Many of Carlisle's 'gentry' including Postlethwaite took up the Federalist side of the national debate on the new American government. Like other Federalists, he enjoyed more than a decade of political prominence, but saw his leadership jeopardized and career come to an end as the tide of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic Republicanism swept Cumberland County. As with many early Pennsylvanians, he and his family weathered tumultuous times and in so doing, helped shape the Cumberland County that we know today.

The Cumberland County Historical Society has long held a collection of Samuel Postlethwaite's papers and in the fall of 2013 received a new collection with literally hundreds of military and public records and private correspondence that bear his name. An in-depth review of the information in these sources

served as the impetus for the research that follows. Questions raised during this process led to relevant information about his business ventures, military and political career, and family in the collections of other county historical societies in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Wisconsin, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pennsylvania State Archives, and the Library of Congress. Comparison of these sources with the larger historical record of 18th Century Pennsylvania led to the development of this biography and story of life in early Cumberland County that follows.

A Mercantile Heritage

Parentage, family connections and early training motivated, if not preordained the career of Samuel Postlethwaite. He was born in about 1738 in Conestoga, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was one of seven children sired by John Postlethwaite, an English trader, who built his position and that of his family through marriage, ties to the Penn Proprietorship, and membership in Lancaster County's religious and social institutions.²

One of the first settlers of the Conestoga River area of present day Lancaster County, John Postlethwaite signed the petition to form Lancaster County, was appointed by the Penn Proprietors as its first Treasurer, and later served as a Justice of the Peace. He also helped establish Lancaster's first Anglican Parish – St. James. By the time of Samuel's birth, his father had acquired as much as 500 acres of land in the Conestoga area with a mill, a trading post and a tavern that was a major stopping point along the wagon road from Philadelphia. The County Court held its first four sessions at his tavern, although the site lost out in the competition for a permanent county seat.³ In 1739, John Postlethwaite served as one of the Penn's commissioners responsible for drawing a preliminary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland and acquired acreage in the area of Conococheague, Maryland (in the Cumberland Valley, near present day Hagerstown), an area that eventually would become the site of Samuel's first store.⁴

Sometime between 1749 and 1753, when Samuel would have been in his early teens, John Postlethwaite died leaving his family in financial disarray. According to a will dated 1749, his Maryland property conveyed to a daughter Catherine and her husband Isaac Baker, the son of another Lancaster County trader. John's Pennsylvania properties were to be divided among his remaining children, but because of an unpaid lien from 1742 the estate apparently was subject to a sheriff's sale to settle the debt. Joseph Pugh, who was Lancaster County Sheriff from 1755–1757 who later married the widow Postlethwaite, purchased the Pennsylvania properties, with the provisos of the Trustees of the General Loan Office of Pennsylvania that Postlethwaite's children's rights to the

properties were to be honored in any future sales.⁵ In an Orphan's Court decree of 1753, Pugh also assumed the role as guardian to Samuel Postlethwaite and his elder brother John.

Although no specifics have been found that detail Samuel's early years, correspondence in later years suggests that his relationship with his stepfather Pugh was a warm one and served to advance Samuel's training and social status. In the 1750's Pugh, as Sheriff and shopkeeper, was a prominent member of Lancaster society. He likely employed his stepson as an apprentice or journeyman clerk in his store.⁶ Mercantile training would have been in keeping with John Postlethwaite's will, which ordered that his sons "Edmund, Richard and Samuel be put to Trades suitable for them and at Discretion of my Executor." Pugh and his stepsons joined other notables of Lancaster society as charter members of the Lancaster Library Company.⁷ Through his association as Sheriff with the Lancaster County court, Pugh may also have introduced his stepson to his future wife, Matilda Rose, the daughter of a prominent county lawyer.⁸

Service in the French and Indian War

Postlethwaite family members, including Samuel, played active roles in the French and Indian War. In 1758, Samuel obtained a commission as a Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Regiment. He served with Ensign George Ashton in Captain John Clark's company of the Third Battalion for the duration of that year's campaign. The following year he was again called up in the 'New Levies', this time as a Captain at the head of his own company.⁹ According to an entry in an Orderly Book kept by another company of the Third Battalion, Captain Postlethwaite may have been in Carlisle in July of 1759 serving on a general courts martial.¹⁰ Samuel's battalion was charged with building, maintaining, and moving supplies along a new road west across the mountains to support a British Army attack on the French at Fort Duquesne at what is now Pittsburgh. As an officer, Samuel likely worked with wagoners and packhorse drivers who contracted their services, wagons, and animals to the Army for a fee. Samuel's stepfather served as an appraiser of such wagons setting off from Lancaster.¹¹ Brother William Postlethwaite, who had been wounded by Native Americans early in the war, became a wagon brigade leader by at least 1759, taking loads of flour from Lancaster to Fort Bedford.¹² Brother-in-law Isaac Baker, who served for 30 days as a private in the Maryland Militia, used his wagon to deliver liquor to road crews in the area of Fort Frederick (located near present day Hancock, Maryland).¹³ His home, "Baker's Fort", was designated as a stop-over and provisioning point for Maryland militia troops ordered to march west as far as Fort Frederick.¹⁴

Frontier Shopkeeper

By 1760 more peaceful conditions had returned to the frontier and most of the province's soldiers turned to other pursuits. For Captain Samuel Postlethwaite this meant adopting the mercantile trade of his stepfather and father. According to his business records, he opened a shop by April 1760, apparently renting space at or near the Baker's farm in Conococheague, Maryland.¹⁵ For large landowners to operate stores on their farms for those in their employ and for neighbors was not uncommon. Samuel obtained shop goods from merchants in Lancaster and Philadelphia, including the firms of Cuninghame and Nesbitt, McLean and Small, Jacob Tonner, Moses Mordecai, Jeremiah Warder, and Thomas York. He apparently obtained financial backing and assistance in transporting goods from his older brother John, and possibly his stepfather Joseph Pugh.¹⁶

Shopkeepers like Postlethwaite provided Cumberland Valley customers with access to luxury items – imported fabrics, personal items, and articles of clothing. His daybook receipts included sales of fabric in lengths appropriate for clothing and bedding, sewing items, and a few ready-made personal items such as 'Pastor' hats, silk caps, stockings, and handkerchiefs. The latter included ones made of black silk or gauze and others specially decorated with the name of "Cumberland". Samuel also sold a few items of assorted dishware, eating and cooking utensils, and at least one candlestick. Farmers and traders occasionally bought hardware, firearms, and ammunition. Several customers added luxury staples ('best' brown sugar) and small amounts of brandy or rum to their purchases. A few bought rum from Philadelphia and the West Indies and wine from Tenerife in volume – for local resale or possibly (then illegal) trade with Native Americans.

Postlethwaite extended credit to his customers for at least several months on purchases and accepted payments in cash, goods, or services. He sent large volume items that he received in payment (e.g. several hundred pounds of hemp) to markets in the east. A few of his customers transported goods from Philadelphia (or Lancaster) in exchange for a portion of the merchandise.

Postlethwaite occasionally disbursed cash to customers and made payments to individuals they designated. Such multi-person transfers highlight the importance and complexity of family, social and business networks in the colonial economy. For example, Isaac Baker purchased liquor (rum and wine), household staples (sugar, tea, coffee, spices), fabric (wool, linen, silk) and personal items from his brother-in-law. He also covered purchases by at least six families (his employees?) and arranged for Samuel to pay or make purchases from others. For example, Postlethwaite purchased two steers from John Edminston for Baker. Credits on Baker's account included rent charged to Postlethwaite, cash (paid by Baker or others for him), farm produce (wheat, flour, and corn) by the bushel,

and several horses or horse-related services (shoeing). By the end of the debit entries in 1766, Baker owed his brother-in-law more than £70 (Pennsylvania currency), a debt he did not repay until 1772.

In late 1761, Postlethwaite took steps to become further established in Maryland. He married Matilda Rose and ordered a writing desk and a bed through his stepfather. He began making sales at Fort Frederick, a provincial fort located about 10 miles to the west of Conococheague and purchased "Pipe Tomahawk", a 25-acre tract near Licking Creek just north of the fort.¹⁷

Expanding Horizons

Although sales to Cumberland Valley settlers and the local troops could mean a living for a country shopkeeper, trade with Native American tribes for skins and fur offered greater opportunities for wealth. Postlethwaite first became involved in this aspect of frontier commerce through sales of merchandise to small-time traders. As early as April 1760, he was receiving payments for goods in skins and furs, likely from local hunters and trappers. By 1761, however, the scale of the purchases and the amount of skins and furs listed as payment increased. Joshua Baker, Isaac's brother, for example, bought merchandise and in one case 12 gallons of brandy, and occasionally paid with beaver fur. In December 1761, William Cherry – a hunter or trader – paid for his family's purchases with 26 pounds of deerskins. In at least one instance, Postlethwaite sent "39 (191 pounds) fall deerskins, 9 raccoons, 2 cats (mountain lions?), 6 foxes, 1 fisher, and 1 muskrat" directly to Jeremiah Warder, a Philadelphia merchant as payment on an account. Postlethwaite also sold skins locally, e.g. to James Dickson for cash, and to George Ross and Henry Heinzeman in exchange for merchandise.

Ultimately, the lure of the money to be made in the fur/skin trade led Postlethwaite to increase the scale of his own involvement. To do so, he joined forces with a group of men who already had substantial frontier experience and connections, and grand designs. Their goal was to become a major distributor for the newly reopened fur trade, making sales of trade goods to independent traders (both English and French) and to the British officers who needed 'Indian gifts' and provisions for frontier garrisons that also served as trading posts. Traders would pay for supplies with the pelts received from the tribes and the British military would pay with "bills of exchange" that could be used to acquire more imported goods. Sales would take place all along the chain of forts (the 'communication') in western Pennsylvania and further west at forts newly taken from the French. Access to these outposts would require long distance transport of supplies, initially by pack animals and eventually by sailing vessels and bateaux that plied the waters of the Great Lakes.

Postlethwaite's principal partner in the new venture was Captain Evan Shelby, Jr., a Welsh immigrant to Maryland who had ties to the Postlethwaite family through Isaac Baker. The Shelby family had extensive land holdings in western Maryland a few miles away from Baker's farm. Isaac and Evan, both Indian traders, were close friends, each naming sons for the other.¹⁸ During the French and Indian War in 1756, Shelby served in a Maryland militia detachment with Baker.¹⁹ In 1758, Shelby led a 'volunteer' company of rangers that operated in both Maryland and Pennsylvania, scouting routes for British General Forbes's troops and coming to the attention of Henry Bouquet, who was the General's second in command. With Shelby's advice, Bouquet had even acquired land near Fort Frederick, visited the area, and left a rifle with Baker for Shelby.²⁰

To Samuel Postlethwaite, Evan Shelby at nearly 20 years his senior probably represented the role model of a successful frontiersman who not only had experience in the Indian trade but high level contacts among British and Pennsylvania troops manning the frontier forts. Shelby retained contacts among personnel in many of the Pennsylvania forts, and was already selling provisions (at least cattle) to the supply officer at Fort Pitt. Despite his fame and contacts, however, in 1761 Shelby was lacking in funds.²¹ Whether it was Shelby who sought out Postlethwaite as an additional source of funding for his ongoing sales and trading activities or Postlethwaite who approached Shelby as an opportunity to expand his merchandise sales may never be known. By March 1762, however, "Evan Shelby and Company" had become a prominent account for Postlethwaite to which he recorded an investment of £285 in Pennsylvania/British currency. He not only paid for 166 pounds of merchandise and assumed the private accounts for several Shelby company employees, he purchased pack horses, several hundred feet of pine and oak boards – presumably for construction of a warehouse at Fort Frederick, 240 pounds of flour, and four dozen tomahawks. By the summer of 1762, he also had financed the construction of a house, for which Shelby was to pay rent at £6 pounds per year.

A second major business partner was Edmond Moran, an experienced trader with personal knowledge of the markets in the far west of the Ohio country and contacts at Detroit, Fort Michilimackinac (a major trading post located on the southern shore of the Straits of Makinac in present-day Michigan), and even Fort Edward Augustus (present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin). In 1761 Moran's honesty was the subject of several letters to Henry Bouquet. His detractors charged that Moran had "repaired to the remote parts of Pennsylvania" (i.e. Pittsburgh) to evade repaying a debt due in Philadelphia.²² His supporters – who happened to be associates of Postlethwaite – rebutted the charges, asserting that Moran had been maligned, had attempted to settle his accounts before heading west, but

had been rebuked.²³ John Clark, a supporter of Moran and apparently a friend of Postlethwaite joined the enterprise by at least 1763.²⁴ Other more minor company employees included Thomas Clemmons, Bartimus Pack, Owen Davis, Thomas Jolly, and Moses Harding. At least Pack had already been selling skins to Postlethwaite, suggesting that these men may have been small time traders who were willing to join the larger enterprise.

Large shipments of merchandise also took investors with cash or credit beyond that which the principal partners could obtain. George Ross, a trader with whom Postlethwaite already had dealings apparently provided at least £1,800 in backing. Stephen West, who may have been a merchant operating out of London Town (near present day Annapolis, Maryland), invested at least £800.²⁵ It also is likely – though not specifically documented – that Postlethwaite obtained funds or credit from family members.

The trading venture had the potential to make huge profits had it not been for Pontiac's Rebellion. By mid to late 1762 Edmond Moran had taken Shelby and Company trade goods as far west as Fort Edward Augustus, making sales to the British military and to civilian traders and negotiating additional orders along the way. Writing from Fort Augustus on 14 May 1763, Moran reported that he was expecting the delivery of pelts from a trader to whom he had provided merchandise for trade 'on the out limits of Canada'. He also apparently had negotiated orders for "two to three thousand pounds worth" of supplies – apparently to include cattle – for delivery to Fort Detroit in June. He had plans to sell at least some of these goods to the French on a wholesale basis.²⁶ A series of loosely coordinated attacks instigated by the Ottawa war leader Pontiac dashed these plans, spreading chaos and panic throughout the frontier, as far to the east as Carlisle. By June 1763, Fort Detroit was besieged and Forts Michilimackinac and Edward Augustus had been taken. Moran joined the garrison's troops when they evacuated Fort Edward Augustus in the company of friendly tribesmen. The group escaped capture and possible death only by the intercession of such tribesmen, whose protection they purchased with trader 'gifts', including Shelby and Company goods. Moran was at least able to obtain military payment certificates for this part of his merchandise when he finally reached safety in Montreal. He later asserted that before leaving Fort La Baye, he had turned over the company goods to another trader.²⁷ A large part of the company shipment intended for Fort Detroit was reported as lost. Similarly, in a series of barely coherent letters written to Postlethwaite and Shelby in June and July 1763, John Clark detailed the loss of men and supplies and his own narrow escape from Fort Burd (on the Monongahela River). Writing to his employers from Fort Cumberland, Clark reported how he and his men had been forced to retreat, leaving gunpowder (possibly as much as 600 pounds), traps and kettles behind.²⁸

Total losses to the company in the 1763 attacks amounted to between £1,200 and £1,900 in Pennsylvania currency based on accounting submitted to the British government by the partners as late as 1769.²⁹ Company employees Moran and Clark scrambled in the early days following the attacks to submit claims to their military contacts and to seek guidance from Shelby and Postlethwaite regarding alternate sale of the salvaged merchandise now located at Fort Cumberland. From the safety of Fort Frederick, Captain Shelby sought to recoup some losses by contracting horses, and selling supplies (e.g., flour and flints) to the troops recalled for the expedition led by Colonel Henry Bouquet to lift the siege of Fort Pitt and to quell the unrest.³⁰ Bouquet, although supportive of Shelby and Company contracts, was apparently unable to convince either Virginia or Pennsylvania to grant Shelby a commission. Captain Postlethwaite, however, rejoined the Pennsylvania Regiment in 1764, heading one of three companies “on the Northern Frontiers” under the command of James Potter.³¹ Moran served in Captain William McClellan’s Company of Maryland volunteers, who – on the order of Bouquet – contracted to use horses provided by “Shelby, Moran, and Postlethwaite.”³²

The King To Saml Postlethwait & Compf. D^o
 1763
 June 10th To 3000 Flints as p^o mag. ^{for} Lovington
 Receipt. a 7/9/6 £10:10:0
 Errors Excepted by
 Saml Postlethwait
 for self & Compf
 3000. @ 18s Sterling -

Postlethwaite’s accounting for sale of flints to troops at Fort Cumberland, Maryland, 1763.

CCHS Archives

By 1766, Postlethwaite's frontier trading venture could be declared a financial disaster. Income from military sales had continued to decline as troops were withdrawn from the frontier and Shelby's principal contact and supporter Henry Bouquet was reassigned. Shelby and Company investors – George Ross and Stephen West – took legal action to recover unpaid amounts due. Postlethwaite's records list his payments of more than £350 in Pennsylvania currency toward the company's debt to West. Shelby, with hundreds of acres of farmland, paid the remaining amounts due to West with land. By 1766, West had acquired three tracts from him totaling 167.5 acres with all associated buildings, live-stock, and servants. Unfortunately, Shelby had already used the same land to cover company debts to George Ross that totaled £1,811, which now had to be covered separately.

West and Ross were not the only creditors to sue Shelby, Postlethwaite and Moran for repayment of debts. In 1768, merchants William Bruce and William Edgar & Company sought repayment from the partners in the Cumberland County Court in Carlisle. The case ran on through at least July 1770 with no documented resolution. Shelby, who had moved to Virginia (see below), apparently did not appear and Moran, who had already separately lost land to George Ross, pled insolvency and may have served time in jail. While it is not known how Postlethwaite may have fared as a result of the 1770 case, Cumberland County Court records indicate that in April 1774 he was taken into custody as a result of a suit placed by the executors of Michael Gross, a prominent Lancaster merchant with whom both Postlethwaite and Pugh had done business.³³

According to his personal accounts, Postlethwaite considered that when the dust settled the company continued to owe him £155. Whatever the truth of the matter, as late as 1808, Shelby's son Isaac – by then the Governor of the State of Kentucky – continued to hold Postlethwaite responsible for repayment of some unspecified amount to his father.³⁴

The Postlethwaite family apparently also suffered from the trading losses. Isaac Baker, who was connected with the venture not only as Samuel's brother-in-law but as Shelby's close friend, put his property up for sale and by 1770 moved up the Shenendoah Valley along with Shelby to the area of present day Bristol, Virginia.³⁵ Postlethwaite's stepfather, Joseph Pugh, was reportedly "so reduced by that business that he was obliged to remove to a remote part of Virginia with his poor family."³⁶

Shelby, Postlethwaite and Moran were not the only traders to lose money as a result of Pontiac's war. With losses of nearly £2,000 pounds in Pennsylvania currency, the company ranked midway in a list of about two dozen individuals and companies – most from Pennsylvania – whose collective losses totaled over £80,000. These "Suffering Traders", as the group became known, attempted

to offset their losses by jointly seeking a grant of land as reparations from the Native American tribes responsible. Under the leadership of William Trent, the effort initially met with success. At a conference held at Fort Stanwix in 1768, commissioners from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia extracted the 'sale' of a large tract of land – known as Indiana – from the Native tribes in compensation for the traders' losses. Such a sale required royal confirmation however, thus beginning a thirty year long legal dispute that moved from the halls of Parliament, to the Continental Congress, to the state legislatures and ultimately to the Supreme Court of the new American republic. Along the way, the issue of who 'owned' the Indiana Tract became entangled in the dispute in the new U.S. Congress over ownership of frontier lands in general and was only finally resolved – with a rejection of the traders' claims – as the result of adoption of the 11th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.³⁷

Whether Postlethwaite and his partners were able to recoup any of the losses they claimed is unclear. At various times during the 1760's Postlethwaite and his partners prepared documentation of their losses to support the joint claim and in exchange became minor shareholders in the Indiana Company. Discrepancies between the various documents that the men either jointly or independently submitted suggest that there may have been some 'padding' in the claims process.³⁸ Some of the traders with the largest losses apparently attempted to recoup funds by buying and selling Indiana Company shares to land speculators or settlers. No reference has been found either to Postlethwaite's involvement in such speculation or in the litigation process itself.

Early Days in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania

By 1766, with credit shaken, Samuel Postlethwaite relocated to the northern part of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania near Carlisle, where he was dealing with court cases against him and initiating a few of his own. The area had long been a center for traders, many of whom were facing the same downturn in market opportunities that had driven Postlethwaite and his partners to insolvency. The firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, for example, one of the largest of the 'Suffering Traders' and a major stockholder in the Indiana Company had warehouses in Pennsboro Township east of Carlisle. In 1766, the firm was attempting to reestablish the skin trade whenever British regulations and the security situation permitted despite vocal opposition and even violence from Cumberland County residents who viewed the traders as selling the Native tribes the means to resume their attacks.³⁹ Two prominent traders – Ephraim Blaine and Robert Callender, both associated with Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, helped Postlethwaite get settled. Blaine, for example, provided him an initial place to stay and Callender, milling services.⁴⁰

From the summer of 1766 to the fall of 1774, Postlethwaite operated a farm of about 400 acres in East Pennsboro Township.⁴¹ Using the multifaceted barter transactions at which he had excelled in his storekeeping in Maryland, he was able not only to meet his family's needs for food and clothing and furniture, but also to arrange for help on his farm. He recorded, for example, having walnut trees cut into boards at fellow trader Robert Callender's mill, and then exchanging the lumber for seeds for crops and the making of furniture for his family. Over time, he grew and sold hemp, tobacco, and possibly flax as cash crops before eventually turning to principally rye, which he and others turned into whiskey.

The Postlethwaite family grew during this early period in the county. Based on references in Postlethwaite's account book, by 1774 Samuel's wife Matilda had given birth to at least three children: a girl Sarah and three boys, Joseph Rose, John (Jacky), and Samuel. In addition, a coffin ordered from the carpenter John Warder, suggests that there may have been another child who died during this period.⁴²

Beginnings of a Career in Public Service

By November 1774, according to his records, Samuel Postlethwaite moved from East Pennsboro Township to nearby Carlisle. There he simultaneously took on the position of jailer/jail warden for Cumberland County and began to keep a tavern. In the 1770's the County jail was located in a small two-story log building near the corner of Bedford and Pomfret Streets. The location of Postlethwaite's tavern has not been found, suggesting that he rented a tavern stand or worked for someone else.⁴³ From the first, Postlethwaite's commercial and public pursuits were closely intertwined. Indeed, a comparison of his tavern accounts from 1774 through 1777 and his Jail Records from July 1775 to January 1778 provides insights into his mastery in bartering goods and services not only to run a business but also to support a public function. He was to use the same methods repeatedly throughout the coming decades.

Working for Robert Semple, the Sheriff of Cumberland County from 1774 through 1777, Postlethwaite saw to all aspects of jail maintenance and prisoner handling, care, and punishment.⁴⁴ In colonial days, the Cumberland County jail was a place of temporary detention. While corporal punishment – whipping or pillory – was used, it was common for prisoners, even felons, to work out their punishment through indenture to local citizens willing to pay their debts, fees, and charges. These could quickly add up, as prisoners bore the entire cost of their incarceration: the reward (if any) for their capture, their processing (turnkey fees), board (subsistence, diet, and any alcohol consumed) while in jail, and if applicable, their punishment (e.g. whipping). As jail warden, Postlethwaite collected and recorded such fees, probably for a percentage of the charges. He also

posted advertisements for runaway indentured servants and slaves, and charged their owners for any reward claimed by the colonial equivalent to bounty hunters. For example, he noted in his log the collection of fees when he released the individuals to their masters. For patrons of his tavern, he added prisoner fees to tavern charges. He offered credit for both and accepted payments in goods and services as well as cash. For example, in January 1776, James Davis, another Carlisle tavern keeper took out of jail Ralph Rutledge, who had been charged for debt and James Bennet, who had been jailed on felony but was noted as having 'broke goal.' Davis charged the fees for both men at Postlethwaite's tavern and later paid with "a load of oak poles."⁴⁵

D. The County of Cumberland To Samuel Postlethwaite
 1775 To 1 beam for the wells in Prison yard — 50⁰ 5⁰
 January To cash paid John Huston & others for } — 0⁰ 17⁰ 6⁰
 3⁰ Cleaning out the well at the Prison }
 Two Water Buckets for the Prisoners Iron hoops 0⁰ 10⁰ 0⁰
 mending the well bucket 0⁰ 1⁰ 6⁰
 6 Cord of hickory wood 27⁶ 2⁰ 5⁰
 6 Cord of Oak woods 6⁰ 1⁰ 16⁰ 0⁰
 1 Key for the Entry Doors & taking off and putting } 0⁰ 15⁰ 0⁰
 on the Locks and Repairing em of the Locks — }
 1 Lock and Key for the back Room Door & staples 1⁰ 5⁰ 0⁰
 1 Bolt and staples for the Front room Door . 0⁰ 3⁰ 0⁰
 James Ramsays Acc^t for making Window Shutters 1⁰ 10⁰ 0⁰
 Due } 9⁰ 8⁰ 0⁰
 21⁰ Substance of John Major (Prisoner) who was } 1⁰ 2⁰ 0⁰
 committed by } (Acc^t on suspicion of party) }
 To Coffin & Digging the grave } 21⁰ } accepted } 0⁰ 15⁰ 0⁰
 S^{amuel} Postlethwaite

Postlethwaite's Charges to Cumberland County for Jail Expenses,
 January 1775.
 The Papers of the James R. and Lorraine H. Humer Collection, CCHS Archives

Postlethwaite probably also used his tavern accounts to manage the expenses of the jail. While expenses for food, alcohol, and heating for the prisoners are not separately recorded, they likely were included in his overall tavern accounts. These records are explicit in recording expenses for the maintenance and upgrade of the jail – new hinges, shutters and a ceiling for the front room, which likely housed the Postlethwaite family. The ledger also includes the costs for apprehending runaways, deserters and prison escapees. For example, between December 1774 and November 1777, he served beer, slings and rum toddies to William Carhart for apprehending runaway servants, prison escapees, and a deserter. Postlethwaite recorded fees obtained from their return as credits on Carhart's account.

The beginning of the American Revolution, and the introduction of a new Revolutionary Government in Pennsylvania, brought changes to both the operation of the jail and the type of prisoners it held. To some degree this may have been because the county courts were not in operation between the adoption of the new Pennsylvania constitution and late 1777.⁴⁶ In any case, in 1777 roughly 60 percent of the prisoners Postlethwaite processed were individuals accused of crimes directly related to the revolution. Among these prisoners, he quickly returned deserters to their units or to military prison camps outside Carlisle or in Philadelphia. There were a few, as noted below, who remained under his custody.

In the fall of 1776, the Carlisle jail became the site for detention of an “uncompromising Tory” from Philadelphia. Dr. John Kearsley, Jr., had gone so far as to draw his pistol against a crowd of Whigs there who were harassing a lawyer, William Hunt, for representing a Loyalist. (The crowd was parading the lawyer through the town on a cart “while playing the Rogue’s March.”) The crowd limited Kearsley’s immediate punishment for his interference to substituting him in the cart. Subsequently, however, the Philadelphia Committee of Safety tried the doctor on charges of ‘inimical practices’ to include – based on intercepted correspondence – supporting the British army’s invasion of Pennsylvania. Until October 1776, Kearsley was imprisoned in York, where local residents petitioned the Council of Safety to ‘enlarge’ the doctor’s area of confinement so that he could “attend them as a physician.” Instead, the Council ordered him removed to the jail at Carlisle, citing him as a “dangerous Enemy to the American States.”⁴⁷ At first, based on Postlethwaite’s accounts, Dr. Kearsley apparently again attempted to find favor with the local community by hosting dinners for local luminaries including Dr. Samuel McCoskry, John Holmes, and even Colonel William Irvine. By mid 1777, he had run up charges of £82-12-3 for food, assorted spirits, and board. Dr. Kearsley, because of his social standing occupied a small but separate room on the first floor of the jail, behind the larger

room used by the jailer's family. Dr. George Stevenson, a leading member of the County Committee of Safety, was so moved by the threat that these meager and drafty accommodations posed to Dr. Kearsley's health that he petitioned the Council of Safety for money to repair them. Before the Council responded, Dr. Kearsley died.⁴⁸ Postlethwaite's records include no mention of any effort to improve Dr. Kearsley's accommodations or any settlement of fees upon his death. If Postlethwaite did receive any funds, it may have come from monies that accrued to Pennsylvania from its seizure of Dr. Kearsley's Philadelphia estate.⁴⁹

In August 1777, Postlethwaite received twelve loyalist prisoners for detention. The men, who were from Cortland Skinner's Brigade of New Jersey Loyalists, were captured at Lawrence's Neck, New Jersey in February 1777 and first held in Philadelphia and York. The group of prisoners comprised a senior officer, Major Richard Stockden (Stockton) the famed "land pilot to the King's troops," eight other officers (captains and lieutenants) and three privates. At least two of the officers and the three privates were from Stockton's own company.⁵⁰ Postlethwaite provided weekly rations of 98 pounds of beef and bread as well as soap, tobacco, candles, wood, and salt to the prisoners and their two servants until at least mid-November 1777. He initially received payment from Joseph Simon, a fellow "suffering trader" from Lancaster who worked with the British military in making payments to prisoners of war. What happened to the prisoners following Postlethwaite's departure from the jail is not known, but in February 1778, he received a letter from Simon asking to whom he should now send payments.⁵¹

An indication of the widespread support in Carlisle for the Revolution may be the relatively low number of local prisoners detained in the jail on political charges. Postlethwaite's records include only about ten such individuals jailed between April 1776 and November 1777.

Arming the Revolutionary Forces

In 1776, when military units forming in Cumberland County needed arms, Postlethwaite took on the role of arms merchant. The County Committee of Safety called upon all persons who could or would not serve to turn over their arms. Postlethwaite was charged with collecting rifles and muskets and related accessories, making a fair evaluation of their worth, arranging for their refurbishment if necessary, and compensating the former owners.⁵² Between February and March 1776, for example, he recorded the purchase of 28 rifles, 73 muskets and assorted bayonets, and bullet molds. He delivered arms to local militia companies, to Philadelphia, and at least 132 muskets and 117 rifles to six companies of Colonel Irvine's battalion, which was being formed in the spring of 1776.⁵³ Postlethwaite also arranged for the repair and refurbishment of arms for Colonel Irvine's and Colonel Robert Magaw's battalions, using his connections

with local gunsmiths, some of whom he reimbursed by extending credit in his tavern. Between March and June 1776, for example, he sold beer and whiskey to George Magonagle and Abraham Morrow at his tavern and made payments on their behalf to several other individuals. In turn, the men repaired rifles and muskets, including 60 muskets for Colonel Irvine's Battalion. In October 1776, Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council directed that Postlethwaite be paid £175-4-0 in Pennsylvania money for arms he had transmitted. Whether this amount covered all his various transactions is unclear.⁵⁴

On Active Duty

In the summer of 1776, 12 militia companies marched from Carlisle as part of Pennsylvania's response to General George Washington's call for additional "flying camp" reinforcements for the defense of New Jersey. Samuel Postlethwaite led one of these companies as Captain. He had formed and armed his unit as early as March 1776. He and 73 men deployed to Woodbridge, New Jersey, near current-day Perth Amboy, where they stayed from at least 2 August to 11 September. Washington envisioned 'Flying Camp' companies as mobile gap fillers for the Continental Army, but their effectiveness apparently fell far short of his expectations. While a few performed admirably against British troops on Long Island, many spent their short commitments in camp. If Postlethwaite's men were serving a six-month commitment, which was common, shortly after their arrival in New Jersey they likely were ready to return to Pennsylvania.⁵⁵

Postlethwaite's second 'active duty' assignment began in October 1777, when he received a 'by name', one-year appointment as captain of one of two security companies established to guard a newly established military arsenal at Carlisle. By order of the Board of War, Captain Postlethwaite, Major James Armstrong Wilson, and their companies "were to be raised on the continental establishment" and were not to be "removed" from Carlisle.⁵⁶ By virtue of its location far in the interior of Pennsylvania, Carlisle was an unlikely target for attack by the British army, but in 1777 there was concern on the part of the Congress about the potential for a threat from loyalist elements to Carlisle's arsenal.⁵⁷ What patrols Captain Postlethwaite and his company may have conducted in the Carlisle area is unknown.

In the Quartermaster Department

In April 1778, Captain Postlethwaite joined the Continental Army's Quartermaster Department. In April, Colonel John Davis, Jr., the newly appointed Deputy Quartermaster General for western and central Pennsylvania chose Captain Samuel Postlethwaite as his principal assistant in Carlisle. Davis made Postlethwaite responsible for transportation and in late 1778 added "Commis-

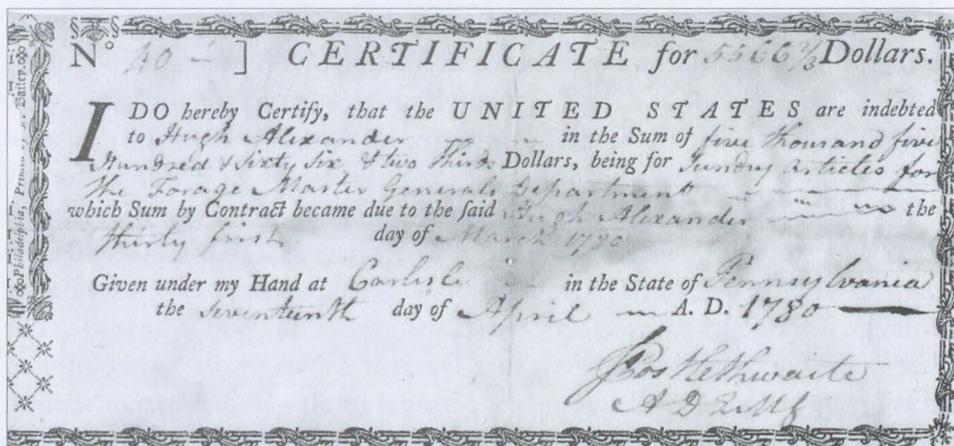
sary for Wood and Candles” to his portfolio. Postlethwaite and Davis already had been working together to supply liquor to the troops at Carlisle Barracks and Davis likely recognized the value of his friend’s trading background and connections. For the remainder of the war, the men together weathered an astounding array of challenges as they attempted, along with the other members of the Quartermaster Department, to meet the needs of the Continental Army. A vivid description of their activities and frustrations emerges from a comparison of the numerous accounting and orders from this period in Postlethwaite’s papers held by the Cumberland County Historical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and a large compendium of Davis’s correspondence held in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Other works have addressed the role of Carlisle in the Continental’s Army’s supply system.⁵⁸ The role that Captain Postlethwaite played, however, is deserving of consideration here.

Providing transportation was a core service provided by the Quartermaster Department. For every request for supplies there was an associated requirement for obtaining horses and wagons. Samuel Postlethwaite knew how to move supplies; by 1778, he’d been doing this type of work for nearly two decades, either as a trader or provincial soldier. He was to need all of this experience to negotiate the minefield of continuous and often competing requirements, inadequate funding, bureaucratic impediments, and corruption that characterized the Continental’s Army’s supply system.

Early in the Revolution, the Continental Congress had identified Carlisle as a natural hub for logistical support to the Continental Army. Iron forges in the Carlisle area were available to turn their production to military needs. To augment this capability, a “Public Works” was established at what is now Carlisle Barracks. The “Works” produced a range of military materiel during the war to include cannon, shot, gun carriages, and ammunition wagons. Other activities at the complex included making nails, repairing arms, and leather working (e.g. for harnesses).⁵⁹ The facility also served as a temporary storage and transshipment point, especially for equipment and supplies needed by Continental Army troops and militia in western Pennsylvania. It was Postlethwaite’s job to move goods both in and out of the Public Works.

He likely found providing local support to the personnel at the “Works” the least taxing of his duties. He already had been selling liquor to troops at the facility’s barracks. In his new role, he arranged for horse teams to deliver wood for use by the barracks and the arsenal’s forge. He also made horses available to local officers and their wives and paid the military express rider. By the end of 1778, as the barrack’s “Commissary for Wood and Candles”, he took on the additional task of procuring as well as transporting these necessities.

Finding horses and wagons to deliver heavy loads of military stores to destinations outside the Carlisle area proved to be more difficult and frustrating principally because of the lack of funds within the quartermaster system. Buying horses for the Army and caring for them was costly, but so too was paying local farmers to contract their teams. As the war dragged on and the worth of the Continental dollar depreciated, local suppliers and wagon drivers demanded higher prices and wages and/or hard currency instead of paper. In February 1779, for example, the quartermaster representative in Hanover asked Postlethwaite for “One or two thousand dollars” to pay for tar pots (for the horse wagons), but not dollars “dated May 20 or April 11th as it won’t pass among the country people.”⁶⁰ Eventually, as an alternative form of payment, the Continental Congress issued ‘certificates’ to pay for goods and services.



Continental certificate issued by Captain Postlethwaite, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster, as payment to Hugh Alexander for forage for horses, 1780.

CCHS Archives

At times, guards were needed to accompany the supply brigades because of the danger of attack, especially, from Bedford to Fort Pitt. In 1781, for example, Captain Postlethwaite received an urgent request for ammunition for militia defending the area of Franks Town (near present-day Altoona, Pennsylvania) from “Indian” attacks. He reported to the president of Pennsylvania’s Supreme Executive Council sending “sixty pounds of Lead, forty pounds of Gun powder, & 100 flints” to militia troops. Postlethwaite also forwarded a letter from the County sub-lieutenant Colonel Arthur Buchanan, noting that he had insufficient stocks to meet the colonel’s request for “100 Weight of Powder, 200 Weight of Lead, and 100 flints.”⁶¹

Supply shipments also faced threats from corruption. In October 1778, for example, Postlethwaite arranged for transport of flour to Washington's army on the Hudson at New Windsor (New York), but withheld payment to the wagon masters when they off-loaded the shipment at Lancaster and Easton, Pennsylvania.⁶² Similarly, in November 1778, Colonel Davis received a report that a wagon master with a brigade of supplies for Fort Pitt had unloaded his wagons 20 miles from Fort Cumberland (in Maryland) and returned. The wagon drivers, who had voted not to continue, were overtaken and put in the guardhouse until they agreed to complete the trip. The wagon master lost his pay and Captain Postlethwaite implemented a subsequent procedural change by which wagon masters did not receive pay without a certificate of delivery.⁶³ In another instance regarding supplies for Fort Pitt, the quartermaster at Bedford reported to Captain Postlethwaite that he had received a shipment of ammunition that was 36 pounds short of the amount stated in the invoice. He asked Postlethwaite to check the weights used in loading the shipment.⁶⁴ In January 1780, on Colonel Davis's behalf, Captain Postlethwaite reprimanded a county contractor, John Glen, for "abuses committed by the teams under your care for neglect of duty" and informed him that the teams were "no longer in the pay of the United States."⁶⁵ Private use of public wagons was a common charge levied against wagon masters and quartermaster personnel alike. Postlethwaite sent a letter of reprimand to Samuel Rippey, the quartermaster representative in Shippensburg, based on such complaints against his wagon masters. The correspondence suggests, however, that Davis and even Postlethwaite himself occasionally included small amounts of personal goods – fresh butter or venison 'hams' – in shipments to Philadelphia to be exchanged for a few luxury items on the return trip.

The bureaucracy of the Quartermaster Department posed headaches for Davis and Captain Postlethwaite, particularly in regard to supplying troops in Western Pennsylvania. For most of the war, two Deputy Quartermasters – Colonel Davis and Colonel Archibald Steel, the Quartermaster at Fort Pitt were assigned this responsibility.⁶⁶ This overlap resulted in competition for the same scarce resources, drove up the costs of horses and forage, and increased the potential for corruption. In 1780 Colonel Steel was taken before a court martial on charges of corruption and although cleared was dismissed from his post. In August of that year, in the context of a reorganization of the department overall, Western Pennsylvania finally became Davis's alone, who looked to Postlethwaite to report on the situation and seek solutions that would be "most for the Public benefit."⁶⁷ Traveling throughout the area, Postlethwaite surveyed supplies, horses, and even boats on the Potomac River. In October 1780 he recommended the

Carlisle the 5th April 1780

You are to proceed with the nine Teams under your
Care by the nearest road to Halifax in North Carolina
and Deliver the Loading agreeably to Comdr Jno. M^{rs}.
Directions, On your Return you are to call upon the
Dep^y Com^r General of purchases at Frontenackburg in the
State of Virginia for Loading & take your Orders from him

All Issues of Provision ^{& Forage} are requested furnish
you with ^{sufficient} sufficiency of each and be particular in render-
ing you every necessary Assistance as I have ^{sent} money
to Advance you to purchase Supplies on the road as
you will make all possible Dispatch as the
Stores with which your Waggon^s are loaded are
Greatly wanted at Halifax

I am Sir your Obedient

James Postlethwaite
A D Galt

Mr David Rowan W^m M^{rs}

Captain Postlethwaite's order, 5 April 1780, to Wagon Master David Rowan
to transport supplies from the Carlisle arsenal to Halifax, North Carolina,
and 12 May certificate of delivery for 57 boxes with 857 stands of arms.

The Papers of the James R. and Lorraine H. Humer Collection, CCHS

Halifax North Carolina May 12th 1780

Then Received of David Rowan W^m fifty seven
Boxes containing Eight hundred & fifty seven stands of
Arms agreeable to an Invoice from Mr. James Galt directed
to Col^o Wickham Lang D^r M^{rs}

Rec^d by me Jas^o M^{rs} Galt A^{ft} D^r M^{rs}

disposal of “useless stores” and worn out horses. Unfortunately, problems at Fort Pitt remained unresolved. David Duncan, the new quartermaster who Davis had appointed there, and who Postlethwaite characterized in glowing terms in his report, was arrested in 1781 for “having put funds received for the sale of horses to {his} own use.”⁶⁸

While Postlethwaite likely received commissions on his purchases of wood and candles for Carlisle barracks, for the most part his compensation as Assistant Deputy Quartermaster probably consisted of a salary paid in depreciating currency (or certificates) that frequently came late. His private accounts also suggest that payment for supplies he independently sold to the army were slow in coming. As early as June of 1777, for example, his records note the sale of 23 head of cattle to Ephraim Blaine “for the use of the US” at £18 per animal with pasturage at £432. He received some cash, but had to wait until 1782 for final payment, in certificates.

Money became a source of friction between Postlethwaite and Davis. Davis, in addition to overextending himself financially for the good of the Army, also appears to have risked his personal finances and those of Postlethwaite in a venture that entailed the sale of flour in the fall of 1780 to the troops in Philadelphia through his representative and partner Samuel Alexander. While having the potential for substantial profit, the joint venture went awry when the flour was condemned as being ‘short weight’ and not ‘branded’. Making matters worse, the investors were charged fines totaling £1,060 (Pennsylvania currency). What percentage of the investment or loss ultimately fell to Postlethwaite is unknown, but his concern over Davis’s ‘accountability’ for the money he invested was already apparent before the venture collapsed.⁶⁹ Anxiety over funds is also apparent in a letter he wrote to Davis late in the war:

Sir,

I am now almost ready to set off for Phila[delphia] & if I can procure as much money as will bear my expences will start on Monday morning. You said when I had the pleasure of seeing you last that you would get me a Couple of half Joes. I find I must Depend entirely on you, as every other channel has faild.

I am Sir Your most Humble Servant

Saml Postlethwaite

P.S. I will want the pay Roll.⁷⁰

The degree to which Postlethwaite lost money in the war is not known. Tax records indicate, however, that in 1779 Postlethwaite owned two houses and lots in Carlisle but by 1780, his taxable property consisted only of livestock.⁷¹

Overall, from both his quartermaster records and correspondence, Captain Postlethwaite emerges as a steady, detail-oriented staff officer – careful with his record keeping, stern when needed with subordinates in the system, trusted by his peers, and admired by his superiors. As he wrote to Joseph Scull, a paymaster in Philadelphia in 1779, “No fellow was ever kept busier than I have been since col Davis and you left this. Setting off the Pack Horses and fort Pitt horses, ever since they have been gone paying the accounts of their Pasture, but have gone through them. I think you might have stole as much time as would served to write me a few lines since you left this if it was only to let me know how my accounts Passed or if any Mistakes were found in the calculations.”⁷² General William Irvine, the new commander of Fort Pitt, recommended his friend Postlethwaite for the position of post quartermaster. Although the new Assistant Quartermaster General, Samuel Hodgdon, ruled that with “Peace being unquestionably settled...an appointment in the quartermaster’s department at Fort Pitt [was] unnecessary”, he noted that “if a new appointment was necessary, your [Irvine’s] recommendation would insure it to Mr. Postlethwait, having previously heard that he was an active, intelligent and honest man.”⁷³

Over the course of the war Captain Postlethwaite advanced his standing in Carlisle society. Whether working with the members of the Committee of Safety on the handling of prisoners, obtaining arms for local military commanders or supplying them with transportation, or looking in on the men’s families while they were away, he forged new and strengthened existing alliances with both senior military officers and Cumberland County political leaders. He wrote them with news from home and they responded with news of the war. William Irvine, sent Colonel Davis and Postlethwaite first hand accounts of his brigade’s performance “in front of our whole Army” in the [28 June 1778] battle with the British at Monmouth Court House [New Jersey] and of his troops racing to West Point when General Arnold’s treachery was discovered.⁷⁴ Similarly, in August 1782, John Montgomery, one of Carlisle’s wealthiest men and a representative to the Supreme Executive Council, wrote Postlethwaite with news regarding the progress of the peace commission and the state of military operations still ongoing in the south.⁷⁵ Davis and Postlethwaite dined with General John Armstrong – whom they referred to as “Dad” – and with General William Thompson.⁷⁶ Postlethwaite’s ties to fellow trader Ephraim Blaine, who rose to be Commissary General of the Continental Army, also grew during the war and may have been a factor in the former’s appointment as supplier of wood and candles to the Carlisle barracks. In August 1779, Postlethwaite sent Davis and Blaine a first hand account of “the greatest Flood in Conodoquinet ever known by the Oldest Lines on the Creek”.⁷⁷ (Blaine had a mill on the Conodoquinet Creek.)

Public Official in the New American Republic

Samuel Postlethwaite's career as an office holder in Pennsylvania spanned more than two decades. It included positions – both appointed and elected – in the borough, county, and commonwealth governments; two federal appointments; and leadership roles in several community organizations. Tenure in public office garnered Postlethwaite a steady income (from fees and salary) and social prominence, the latter denoted by the title “Esquire” which he added to his name in correspondence. To each of his pursuits, he brought his mercantile experience and accounting expertise, and continued to support and help finance public activities through his continuing commercial pursuits.

CARLISLE BURGESS: In the last decades of the 18th century, Carlisle and Cumberland County were experiencing rapid growth, creating the need for new institutions and physical infrastructure. One of the first actions taken in this regard by the leaders of Carlisle was to seek a charter to better regulate the growth of the town and the use of its public spaces. On 13 April 1782, the charter for the Borough of Carlisle was enacted and Samuel Postlethwaite was appointed one of the borough's first two burgesses, second to Chief Burgess Robert Miller.⁷⁸ Postlethwaite held this position until May 1783, when the first elections for borough officials were held, and he remained active in the business of the borough while holding county offices. In September 1790 he joined John Montgomery, John Jordan, and Joseph Thornburgh in the work of a committee appointed at a Town Meeting to develop rules for behavior in Carlisle. The document they drafted levied taxes to repair the market house, established rules for sales at the market, and prohibited – under the threat of fines – shooting guns, galloping horses, or letting swine run free.⁷⁹

SHERIFF: In 1783, Postlethwaite gained election as Sheriff of Cumberland County by a wide margin, was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council, and served through 1786.⁸⁰ His tenure coincided with a period of economic turbulence when the courts were crowded with individuals seeking to recoup debts incurred during the war years. A principal element of the Sheriff's responsibilities was carrying out the court's settlements in such cases, giving Postlethwaite the dubious task of seizing the property and land of his neighbors and friends to cover their debts. Whether owing to the volume of cases or perhaps sympathy for – and empathy with – his neighbors, in 1785 he was slow in “executing” several cases, that is, carrying out the decisions issued by the court. Members of the Bar chided him for this but nonetheless characterized him ‘of good character.’⁸¹

One of the most wrenching ‘executions’ performed by Sheriff Postlethwaite must have been that against the estate of his wartime colleague John Davis. As noted earlier, Davis both for the good of the Army and to fund his own

Rec^d Carlisle 19th March 1785 of Mr. Eneas McMullen Two Hundred pounds
 on account of several Judgments, ^{and Executions} against in the Court of Cumberland
 County Court. —
 Sam Postlethwaite Sheriff

Sheriff Postlethwaite's record of Court-ordered collection of monies
 from Eneas McMullen.

CCHS Archives

personal ventures went deeply into personal debt during the years of the war. According to the records of the Cumberland County Prothonotary docket, between April 1783 and January 1786, he incurred 15 personal suits for debt and damages totaling roughly £3,700 (Pennsylvania currency). Judgments by the court of “*feri facias*” directed Sheriff Postlethwaite to seize Davis’s land and personal property for sale to cover these debts.⁸² In 1784 in the midst of this string of litigations, Davis died, leaving his wife, children and administrators/executors Ephraim Blaine and John Byers to deal with the mess. By August 1785, Postlethwaite had the Davis property up for sale, but for want of a buyer continued to delay settlement of the debts.⁸³ In 1791, the now former Sheriff Postlethwaite was directed by the court to “show how he applied the monies for which the land was sold.”⁸⁴

Being Cumberland County sheriff in the 1780’s posed not only professional but physical challenges given the sheer expanse of the county’s boundaries. Postlethwaite’s accounts record not only his basic sheriff’s fee (probably a percentage of the total court award) but also his travel/mileage expenses.⁸⁵ He probably also had at least one deputy. In 1784 the establishment of Franklin County (out of the southern portion of Cumberland County) diminished Postlethwaite’s area of responsibility somewhat on paper, though not in reality given the need to complete the ‘execution’ of cases originally heard in Carlisle court. Finalizing ‘sheriff’s sales’ of properties could in fact take many years and litigation regarding the handling of cases frequently brought sheriffs back into court long after their official three-year tenure.

MILITIA COLONEL: In 1787 Captain Postlethwaite was unanimously elected a Field Officer in the First Battalion of the Cumberland County militia, for the district composed of the townships of Middleton and Carlisle.⁸⁶ With this largely ceremonial command, he finally achieved the senior rank – Lieutenant Colonel – that had eluded him during the war.⁸⁷ Indeed, residents of Carlisle continued to call Postlethwaite “Colonel” throughout the rest of his life. ‘Colonel’

Postlethwaite oversaw the formation and training of companies in his district. In 1789, he led the 4th of July parade through the streets of Carlisle, carrying "a superb flag, inscribed 4th July 1776." According to a newspaper account, the grand celebration included an oration by James R. Reid, Esquire, entertainment at the farm of Andrew Holmes, and a grand display of fireworks.⁸⁸ It is not known how long Postlethwaite held his militia command.

Support for Militia troops "in service against the Insurgents in Western Pennsylvania" – the Whiskey Rebellion – was Colonel Postlethwaite's last documented 'militia' assignment. An order of the United States Provision Department dated 25 September 1794, appointed Colonel Postlethwaite to serve as "Commissary of Issues to Militia" directing the issuance of military stores and overseeing persons employed in their disbursement. He was to be ready to move with the army, for a pay of \$75 per month with subsistence and forage.⁸⁹ The appointment was a natural one for Postlethwaite given his years of service in the Quartermaster Department and the high regard held for him by men still in the department, including his brother-in-law Henry Miller.⁹⁰ By the accounts that remain, he took on this last assignment with his usual organization, supplying troops from throughout Pennsylvania and New Jersey as they moved through Carlisle and responding to orders for supplies from forward commanders such as John Kean.⁹¹ As in the Revolution, he impressed his counterparts within the quartermaster service, prompting one from the Jersey troops to note in his diary regarding his stay in Carlisle: "Col Postlewait is a man of abilities and exceeding kind - was treated by him with great politeness."⁹²

CLERK OF SESSIONS: Postlethwaite held the position of 'Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace and General Jail Delivery' for more than four years – April 1790-December 1794. He was appointed by the governor upon the death of the incumbent John Agnew and held the position until his election to the Pennsylvania Senate (see page 30).⁹³ Beyond keeping the records of the county's criminal court, the position of clerk entailed a wide range of duties including issuing licenses for tavern keepers, hackneys, draymen, and peddlers. As in his previous offices, Postlethwaite used his private business accounts to facilitate the public's business, for example, by issuing licenses on credit. Familiarity with the processes of the court made the clerk a frequent choice among the leading families of Carlisle when they needed an executor to help settle an estate. Postlethwaite's records detail his handling of the estates for both his predecessor as clerk, John Agnew and for Alexander Parker, a Revolutionary War officer and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati. Samuel extended credit to Parker's widow Rebecca for at least four years, until final settlement of the estate.⁹⁴

An additional responsibility of the Quarter Sessions Clerk was to maintain the Cumberland County Slave Registry – a record of all slaves in the county born after 1780 and their owners. Over his lifetime, Postlethwaite was himself an owner of four adult slaves – Frank, Hannah, Nell and Doll, and five children.⁹⁵ In the mid-1790's Postlethwaite arranged schooling for at least Hannah and possibly Frank.⁹⁶ Keeping slaves was not uncommon in 18th century Pennsylvania, but providing education for a slave was rare.

COUNTY COMMISSIONER: While Clerk of the Court, Postlethwaite also served as a Commissioner of Cumberland County. He was elected in October 1789 and served through October 1794.⁹⁷ In this capacity he lent his accounting skills to the collection of county taxes; to payment for the maintenance, supply and renovation of county facilities like the courthouse and jail; and to oversight for county workers – known as 'barrow men'. He even arranged for the transport of two sets of law books to the courthouse.⁹⁸ When in 1790, the board reached a decision to repair and enlarge the same county jail for which he had previously served as warden, Postlethwaite furnished materials and subsequently billed the county. By 1794, the board simply named him as the contracting authority to complete the project and to add a stone pavement around the courthouse. For his services as county commissioner, he received a yearly stipend of between £27 and £30 pounds (Pennsylvania currency), not including profit he made on the goods and services he billed to the county.⁹⁹

Pay David Rowan Fifteen Shillings out of the County Money for Carriage of Two Sets of Laws from Philad. to this Town - Given under our Hands at Carlisle March 27th 1792

To the Treas. of Cumberland County

Lo. 1790

Jacob Crevier } Com^{rs}
Sam. Postlethwaite }

Order signed by Cumberland County Commissioners Postlethwaite and Jacob Crevier authorizing payment to wagoner David Rowan for transporting law books to Carlisle.

Cumberland County Archives

STATE SENATOR: In the election of 1794, the voters of the election district comprising Cumberland County chose Samuel Postlethwaite to represent them in the Pennsylvania Senate.¹⁰⁰ He served from 1795 to 1801. His tenure coincided with the development of both the physical (e.g. the construction of roads, dams on public waterways, etc. frequently paid for by public lottery) and legal infrastructure of the state. His committee assignments included those considering the division of western Pennsylvania into counties and the designation of their county seats (1797), the development of laws governing real estate inheritance (1797) and bankruptcy (1795), and the inspection of the books of the Bank of Pennsylvania (1797) and the State Hospital (1795).¹⁰¹ On issues closer to home, in 1796, he headed a committee to consider a bill to authorize the erection of a dam on the Conodoguinet Creek and presented a petition of Cumberland County residents "praying that the turnpike road may be continued from Harrisburg to Carlisle."¹⁰² Although active in supporting the infrastructure needs of central Pennsylvania, in 1799, he broke with area senators on the issue of moving the state capital out of Philadelphia to Lancaster, apparently holding out for Pittsburgh to be nominated as a site.¹⁰³

In 1800, the members of the Senate recognized Postlethwaite's leadership by electing him to serve for 36 days as the Speaker of the Senate Pro Tem. As such he acted as spokesman for the Senate in the absence of the Speaker. In addition to the honor of the appointment, he gained \$1 per day more in pay.¹⁰⁴

Not unlike today's legislators, Senator Postlethwaite apparently dealt with requests for help from his constituents while he was in the capital. Letters to him "at the Conestogoe Waggon (Tavern), Philadelphia included requests for help in getting land records and purchasing "a beaver hat", lottery tickets, and "a serving girl."¹⁰⁵

FEDERAL APPOINTEE: Postlethwaite's final public positions were federal appointments. From 1803 through 1804 he served as Collector of the (overdue) United States Direct ('glass') Tax from property holders in the 21st Collection District (Cumberland County). He received a commission and enlisted his son Henry as an assistant. He repeatedly postponed the collection deadlines while posting public notices for taxpayers to "discharge their arrears" to avoid "the disagreeable necessity of exposing their property to public sale." His records contain a list of those properties sold.¹⁰⁶ In 1806, Postlethwaite received an appointment as a Commissioner empowered to carry out "An Act to make Provisions for Persons that have been disabled by known Wounds received in the actual Service of the U.S. during the Revolutionary War."¹⁰⁷ Records of his activities, if any, relative to this appointment have not been found.

Simultaneous with his governmental positions, Postlethwaite also held leadership positions in educational, public safety, religious and even social organizations in Carlisle.

DICKINSON COLLEGE TRUSTEE AND TREASURER: In 1783, a group of leading citizens of Carlisle successfully petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature for a charter to establish a college in Carlisle. The new Dickinson College was formed on the foundation of the Latin grammar school that Postlethwaite, John Armstrong and John Montgomery had established for their sons and other Carlisle boys in 1773.¹⁰⁸ Between 1790 and 1798 Postlethwaite served as Dickinson's treasurer. He sent his son James to the college, and offered credit at his store to other college students.

FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE UNION FIRE COMPANY: As the density of building in Carlisle increased, so too did the threat of fire. In 1789, a group of like-minded, leading citizens of Carlisle, including Samuel Postlethwaite, formed the Union Fire Company to address the potential threat. Postlethwaite signed the company's first set of "Regulations" and as company clerk issued notices for members "to meet with their buckets...to exercise the engine," for which notice would be given by "ringing the bell".¹⁰⁹

ECUMENICAL VESTRYMAN: In 18th century America, election to a church leadership role such as vestryman represented a coveted mark of personal and social distinction. Both Samuel's father and stepfather had served as vestrymen in their Anglican parishes in Conestoga (Pennsylvania) and Woodstock (Virginia), respectively.¹¹⁰ For Samuel to attain such a position in St. John's Episcopal Church in Carlisle thus marked continuation of a family tradition as well as additional evidence of his attainment of status in Carlisle society. He held his post from at least 1795 through 1805, or possibly until his death.¹¹¹ For convenience, social or political purposes, the Postlethwaite family also developed close connections to the First Presbyterian Church in Carlisle. They rented a pew, helped pay the pastor, and held the marriage ceremonies for four of their children in the church.¹¹² Branching even further afield from their Anglican background, in 1793, the family sent their youngest daughter Amelia for schooling at a Moravian seminary associated with the Church of the Brethren.¹¹³

DANCING ASSEMBLY MANAGER: Sometime in the late 1780's, a group of Carlisle's social elite founded a membership-only Dancing Assembly. The signatories (all men) of the bylaws of the subscription-only organization agreed that: "Tickets for the Season [would] be sent to such Ladies as the managers may think proper." Colonel Samuel Postlethwaite was one of the first two managers of the organization and his son Joseph was a subscriber.¹¹⁴

Ardent Federalist

The public service career of Samuel Postlethwaite coincided with a period of political turbulence in which America debated the proper role of its new governing bodies. Postlethwaite sat squarely on the 'Federalist' side in the political debates of the period. His views were not unusual for an individual with a mercantile background, ties to the legal community, and – by the 1790's – substantial property. In many respects Postlethwaite aligned with the so-called "aristocratic" segment of society that some historians have characterized as believing in government by the "wealthy, well informed and well principled."¹¹⁵ Ties with Federalists in Pennsylvania initially propelled him into public office but eventually led to the demise of his political career.

It was over the issue of ratification of the U.S. Constitution that Postlethwaite publically diverged from the mainstream political views of Cumberland County's electorate. In 1787, Carlisle was the setting for vocal and violent opposition to the ratification of the new U.S. Constitution, which differed markedly from the form of government then in place in Pennsylvania. George Bryan, the most prominent defender of the 1776 Pennsylvania Constitution, characterized those in favor of the draft U.S. Constitution as "conspirators against equal liberty" who used "deceit and wicked conduct" to push through ratification of the document. In Cumberland County, Bryan asserted "all are against it [the Constitution] except a small group in Carlisle [namely Federalists like Postlethwaite] and a few, very few, scattered in the country."¹¹⁶ On December 25, when the 'small group' of Federalists staged a celebration of their victory in Carlisle's town square, a much larger contingent of citizens opposed to the new constitution staged a counter demonstration and a riot ensued. There was a repeat of the demonstrations the following day at the end of which the Federalists celebrated at "Postlethwaite's," a tavern operated by Joseph Rose Postlethwaite, Samuel's eldest son. The violence of the confrontation between the opposing elements led to calls for arrests and even though a compromise of sorts was achieved, the result was even more open political polarization within the community. Both Samuel and his son Joseph now were clearly marked as holding minority views.¹¹⁷

The so-called Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania – arguably the first muscle flexing by the new U.S. federal government over the states – led to Postlethwaite's next documented public of views divergent from those of the general populace of Cumberland County. At a time when residents of Cumberland County were erecting 'liberty poles' to demonstrate their support for those in the state who were defying the efforts to collect the federal tax on whiskey, Postlethwaite was (as noted earlier) appointed to supply provisions to the militia

sent to enforce the tax collection. Moreover, his son Joseph had served for a time as the local whiskey tax collector.

In October 1794 as the Rebellion was being resolved, Samuel was elected state senator from Cumberland County, but before he could take his seat, his principal opponent James Lamberton, a merchant of Carlisle, challenged the results of the election, charging fraud.¹¹⁸ The results of the election were close – a spread of only 30 votes and contested elections were not uncommon at the time.¹¹⁹ Indeed, seating of the senators from all of the counties in western Pennsylvania was challenged in the fall of 1794 on the basis that counties technically in rebellion could not hold valid elections. The charge against Postlethwaite is ironic, however, because the petitioner was the same individual who in 1793 had shot and killed Postlethwaite's son-in-law John Duncan in a duel that apparently came about when Duncan charged Lamberton with using corrupt methods to gain election as local militia commander. Although it might be argued that Lamberton's challenge to Postlethwaite's election in 1794 was a belated counterattack in a family feud, it also is likely that political differences were behind the action, if not also at least part of the basis of the duel. Lamberton was a Democratic Republican. In the confrontation that led to the duel with John Duncan, Lamberton reportedly called Duncan "a troublesome, chattering little monkey" who would never obtain a commission in a [Democratic] Republican Government.¹²⁰

Whatever its motivation, the challenge to Postlethwaite's election failed. In January 1795, a special Senate committee held hearings on the election, calling 30 witnesses from the Carlisle area. On February 12th, the committee "unanimously" affirmed Postlethwaite as having been "duly elected a senator."¹²¹ The animosity between Postlethwaite and Lamberton did not abate, however. In November 1795, Lamberton was indicted for forgery, probably in connection with his election to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives that fall.¹²² Dr. Samuel McCoskry, a long time friend and political ally of Postlethwaite wrote to him in December 1795 about the impending trial: "I shall inform you by the first opportunity whether we shall get quit of one of the greatest pests of Society that ever appeared among us."¹²³ McCoskry's letter also alludes to efforts being made by the Sheriff to "convince the People he would not favor any party" in the selection of the Jury for the case. Such efforts notwithstanding, on 7 April 1796, Lamberton and the other defendants were "discharged by proclamation" of a jury whose foreman was Robert Whitehill, a prominent Democratic Republican.¹²⁴

Once established in the Pennsylvania Senate, Postlethwaite took on a leading role in the Federalist cause, espousing the election of Federalist candidates at the national level. In October 1796, he chaired a meeting in Philadelphia of

members of the legislature and other citizens to choose electors to support the reelection of George Washington "or a person of the same principals."¹²⁵ In the election for president in 1800, he was one of 13 Federalist senators who blocked Pennsylvania's Republican Governor and the Republican-controlled House of Representatives from turning the state's entire electoral vote to the Republican Presidential candidates Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Postlethwaite and his cohorts attempted through a variety of legislative tactics to provide instead for a division of the state's electoral vote between the Federalist and Republican candidates. After a year-long standoff on the issue, the Federalists were successful: the state's electoral votes were split with seven going to the Federalist presidential candidates and eight to the Democratic Republicans. So incensed was Governor McKean at the Federalist senators' recalcitrance that he wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson, singling out Postlethwaite, John Woods, and Dennis Wheeler as having "prevented the public will from being declared" allegedly based principally on their concerns over federal office holding. McKean charged that Postlethwaite had acted based on his belief that his brother-in-law Henry Miller would be removed from his senior War Department position if Jefferson were elected.¹²⁶ The editors of the Democratic Republican paper "The Aurora" censured Postlethwaite's behavior, using "the most indecent" language, according to the Federalist newspaper the "Gazette of the United States." The Gazette also noted that a "villain's censure is the highest praise."

McKean's assertions regarding the motivation for Postlethwaite's behavior are refuted by his consistent espousal of the Federalist cause throughout his Senate career. In any case, despite the election of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States, some Federalists – including Postlethwaite's brother-in-law Henry Miller – continued to hold offices in the new administration. At the end of his term in the Pennsylvania Senate, Samuel Postlethwaite received the two minor federal appointments mentioned earlier. In his capacity as Collector of the (overdue) United States Direct ('glass') Tax from property holders in the 21st Collection District (Cumberland County) Postlethwaite reported to his brother in law Miller, who held the position of Federal Supervisor for the state of Pennsylvania.

Out of office, Postlethwaite remained a vocal proponent of the Federalist agenda.¹²⁷ Ironically, in 1805 he joined and served as secretary for a group of Carlisle Federalists to support (unsuccessfully) the reelection of Governor McKean, who had now become a Federalist candidate. The Carlisle group included John Creigh, Doctor Samuel A. McCoskry, Charles McClure, and William Alexander, publisher of the Federalist newspaper, the Carlisle Herald. The men supported McKean only because they viewed his opponent Republican Simon

Snyder as “totally unqualified to fill the office.” Indeed, in an address to “all Cumberland County Federalists” Postlethwaite and his cohorts warned that a vote for Snyder would be “an abandonment of every principle which distinguishes the honourable appellation of Federalist” and a direct threat to Pennsylvania’s constitution. The group aligned in their effort with a splinter group of the Democratic Republicans, known as the Constitutional Republicans or Quids, which in Carlisle was led by Archibald Loudon, publisher of the Cumberland Register. The main line Democratic Republicans of the county countered this bloc with a blistering rebuttal published in the Carlisle Gazette. It characterized Postlethwaite and the Quids as “lawyers and aristocrats...who delight in the work of confusion and distraction of our republican institution.” They singled out Postlethwaite for criticism: “Recollect that Samuel Postlewaite, who now comes publicly forward in support of Thomas McKean, was one of the “Spartan Band”...one of the 13 in the Senate of Pennsylvania, who held out obstinately against the will of the people, in the election of Mr. Jefferson – and this same Mr. Postlethwaite, and all the other federalists are still the violent enemies of Mr. Jefferson’s administration, and everything republican.”¹²⁸ By their joint efforts, the Federalists and Quids were successful in defeating Simon Snyder in the election of 1805, but when Postlethwaite and other Federalists came together again in 1808 to back James Ross over Snyder they failed.¹²⁹ Simon Snyder served as the Democratic Republican governor from 1808 to 1817.

In 1807 ‘Colonel’ Postlethwaite chaired a citizens committee formed in Carlisle to address a somewhat less contentious issue, namely the threat posed by the British Navy. In the run-up to what would in a few years prompt the United States to declare war on Great Britain, British ships had begun attacking U.S. shipping. Postlethwaite and others in Carlisle met to express outrage over the attacks, in particular an “unprovoked, tyrannical and arbitrary” attack on the frigate, *Chesapeake*. The committee produced a resolution that encouraged, among others, the formation of volunteer companies and the declaration as treasonable of any communication with or aid to British ships. They forwarded their resolution to the Secretary of State to be presented to the President.¹³⁰

In the final years of his life, it appears that Postlethwaite relied on his political allies and network of longtime friends within Carlisle’s legal community for work as well as political discourse. His ledger for the first decade of the 19th century lists several charges to individuals for writing legal instruments such as deeds and indentures. He also frequently served as an estate executor.¹³¹ In a time when lawyers were often self-taught, ‘taking up the law’ would have been a credible profession for a gentleman with his contacts and experience in the court system.

Commercial and Family Pursuits

From at least 1790 through the turn of the century, Postlethwaite sold goods in Carlisle and through his sons, operated a store in Lexington, Kentucky. His accounts from this period reflect the same pattern of complex, often multi-party transactions apparent in his earliest records. In Carlisle, he offered a large array of fabric, household items, liquor, personal accessories, hardware and special packages, such as "sundry merchandise for a funeral." Although cash settlement of accounts became more common in his records by the 1790's, he continued to accept payments in goods and services, especially those of local artisans – hatters, shoemakers, milliners, tailors, and metalworkers. For the Carlisle tailor William Levis, for example, he supplied fabric and incidentals (buttons, etc.) for clothing to be made to order, then charged his customers' accounts for the materials. Similarly, Postlethwaite arranged for the tailor Levis and the widow Holmes to fill an order for clothing from Major General Charles Scott, who had a 'private account' at the Kentucky Store. Between 1793 and 1795, and possibly as early as 1786, Postlethwaite made large purchases of castings, bar iron, and pottware (ironware) from Joseph Thornburg and Company (£632-17-6); Thornburg, Arthur, and Company; and Michael Ege – all entities involved in the ownership and/or running of the Pine Grove iron-works. Postlethwaite sold the 'pottware' in Carlisle and shipped thousands of pounds of iron and ironware to customers in Kentucky.¹³²

For the Kentucky Store, Samuel Sr., arranged for the carriage of thousands of pounds of merchandise by wagon from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Carlisle, then on to Pittsburgh. There, Samuel Jr., took responsibility for the final leg of transport, most likely by boat down the Ohio River. As before, Postlethwaite frequently exchanged merchandise for these transport services. So well connected was he with the 'truckers' of the time that Judge Thomas Smith asked his friend Postlethwaite to arrange for shipping his household goods from Carlisle to Philadelphia when the Judge was appointed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1794.¹³³ As with his earlier frontier trade venture, Postlethwaite financed his businesses in Carlisle and Kentucky through credit arrangements. From Kentucky, a network of personal intermediaries brought him payments in cash, bonds, soldier's certificates and occasionally livestock.

Although not the financial disaster that characterized Postlethwaite's earlier frontier trading venture, the Kentucky store apparently had difficulty turning a profit. Accounting records from November 1792 to October 1796 show an operating loss of more than £3,000 (Pennsylvania currency).¹³⁴ This time the problem was competition. In a letter to his father from Lexington dated 29 November 1795, Samuel Jr. laid out his frustration:

“I am not naturally given to despair, but when I see daily that Knavery dishonesty, and every little dirty species of Rascality take the lead from Industry and Integrity – it tends in a certain degree to relax the Springs which actuate the honest man. To be candid, (for I cannot be otherwise with my beloved Father) I never was captivated with this business – and I am now very well convinced that unless a man has an assortment of every thing – or confines himself to one particular branch – twill never do here... There are now in this place 30 stores which contain I think £100,000 – and a man must have something extraordinary to recommend him before he can have a chance to sell largely.”¹³⁵

Samuel Jr. promised his father that he would meet the spring shipment at Pittsburgh to expedite its arrival in Lexington, thus hopefully to beat his competitors. He also suggested that nails remained a good sales item. As to his brother and business partner John, Samuel Jr. characterized him as “little calculated for a Merchant as I am, he ought to have Calves, or a sow and pigs to attend to....”

By 1801, the same year he left the Senate, it appears that Postlethwaite had ceased sales activity in both Carlisle and Kentucky. From this point until his death, his income appears to have been limited to proceeds from a farm in Middleton Township, some legal work as noted above, and the commissions he received from his federal appointments.¹³⁶

Over his lifetime, Samuel Postlethwaite like many of his contemporaries used land acquisition and speculation as a means of building wealth. In the 1798 Federal Direct Tax records for Cumberland County, he is listed as having assets in land and buildings valued at a total of \$2,350.¹³⁷ In Carlisle, his principal residence – a two story brick home located on West High street near the center of town – was valued at \$1,400 alone, putting him in the top 15 percent of similar property holders in the borough. His farm, with house and barn, in Middleton Township, apparently operated by John Hamut was valued at \$950. At various times in the 1780s and 1790s he bought and sold (either independently or jointly) property on Pomfret Street in Carlisle and large acreages in Dickinson, West Pennsboro, and Letterkenny townships. For example, he held the original warrant on a 400-acre tract on South Mountain that has now become the King’s Gap Environmental Center.

Leaving a Legacy

On 24 August 1810, Samuel Postlethwaite died suddenly while walking in his garden in Carlisle. Both the Federalist and Democratic Republican newspapers in Carlisle published a lengthy, glowing obituary. Other east coast newspapers also marked the passing of ‘Colonel Postlethwaite’, with short articles appearing in the press of at least the cities of Philadelphia, New York, Providence (Rhode

Island), and Salem (Massachusetts).¹³⁸ His gravesite has not been found; however, the fact that in 1806 he was leading a town committee to sell subscriptions for the construction of a permanent wall around Carlisle's public graveyard suggests this was his last resting place.¹³⁹

If, as is suggested by his will written in 1791, Postlethwaite hoped to leave a financial legacy to his family, such plans were left unfulfilled. At the time of his death, his debts apparently were substantial. Twice in his lifetime, he had succumbed to the lure of profits to be made by pushing the limits of frontier trade. Twice he had been unsuccessful – one attempt falling victim to attacks by Native American tribes and the other to the competition of other merchants and perhaps the disinterest of his sons. Although the Postlethwaite estate was valued at \$8,000, there apparently was insufficient cash to cover outstanding debts. Executor Andrew Caruthers sold the family's Middleton Township farm to raise funds and took over ownership of the house in Carlisle. What was left for Samuel's wife and descendants is unknown.¹⁴⁰

The Postlethwaite children nonetheless reaped benefits from their father's efforts toward their future during his lifetime. Both Samuel Jr. and John continued the family tradition of military service. In July of 1794, Samuel Jr. took time away from the Kentucky store to join a contingent of 1,600 Kentucky volunteers under Major General Charles Scott to support General Anthony Wayne's army in his campaign against Native American tribes in the Northwest Territory. In a letter dated 29 August 1794, Samuel Jr. sent his father "General Scott's compliments" and recounted details of what has become known as the Battle of Fallen Timbers. John also served under General Scott as a captain in the Lexington Light Infantry in 1797.¹⁴¹

Although John and Samuel Jr. did not continue in the Kentucky store, they went on to lead successful lives in other aspects of business and public office. John stayed in Lexington, Kentucky. Like his father he operated a tavern and became active in the local community, serving as a trustee for the town, Justice of the Peace for Fayette County, and the first bank cashier of the Kentucky Insurance Company. He married the daughter of General Scott, who later became Governor of Kentucky. John died of cholera in 1833. Samuel Jr., who achieved the most financial success of any of the Postlethwaite sons, resided in Lexington until the turn of the century, and then moved to Natchez, Mississippi. In Lexington, he was a town trustee, a master of the local Masonic Lodge, and served on the board of directors for the New Transylvania Library. In Natchez, he married into a prominent family, helped found the Bank of Mississippi, and served as its president from 1815 until 1825. He is said to have helped his younger brother Henry get started in Natchez and at the bank. Both men died of yellow fever – Henry in 1823 and Samuel in 1825.¹⁴²

Joseph Rose Postlethwaite received help from his father in August 1793 in opening a tavern – the Sign of the Bear – in Pittsburgh. He had already previously kept a tavern in two locations in Carlisle. By 1795, however, he apparently was as ill disposed to his appointed activity as his brothers in Lexington. While asserting that he and his wife Polly kept “the best table in Pitt”, he wrote to his father that he was thinking of retiring “from this ill disposed place when my lease is out here.”¹⁴³ In 1798, he served as an officer in the Allegheny County militia and ran unsuccessfully as a Federalist candidate for sheriff of Allegheny County.¹⁴⁴ He reportedly joined his brother John in Lexington.

James Postlethwaite graduated from Dickinson College with a Bachelor of Arts in 1792.¹⁴⁵ He “read medicine” with his father’s long time friend Dr. Samuel McCoskry in Carlisle. In the fall of 1794, James joined a regiment heading west to quell the Whiskey Rebellion and served as an assistant surgeon. Although he returned to his medical studies after the deployment, studying for two years in Philadelphia, he reportedly was so “charmed” with western Pennsylvania that he returned there, and took up a medical practice in the Greensburg area. He became one of the most noted physicians in early Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Like his father, he was an ardent Federalist and spoke up on his political views, as evidenced in articles published in local Greensburg and Pittsburgh papers. His name appeared on a list of electors for the gubernatorial election of 1808, but he apparently never ran for public office.¹⁴⁶ He expressed a preference for the Episcopal Church, but like his father joined the Presbyterian Church in Greensburg for ‘convenience’.¹⁴⁷

Sarah, the eldest child, lost her first husband John Duncan in the 1793 dual noted earlier. Her father served as an executor on her husband’s estate and paid for schooling for at least one of her children (Matilda). He may well have encouraged his daughter’s marriage in 1797 to his long time friend Ephraim Blaine. Blaine died in 1803, leaving Sarah a wealthy woman. She eventually moved to Philadelphia. Sarah’s oldest son Stephen Duncan moved to Natchez and became one of the wealthiest plantation owners in Mississippi.¹⁴⁸

Amelia, the youngest Postlethwaite child, also became a widow at an early age. She died in 1808 while traveling to Natchez with her brother Henry.¹⁴⁹

Sadly, almost nothing has been found regarding Postlethwaite’s wife Matilda, either during Samuel’s life or afterward. In his will, he had made provisions that his wife should retain the use and benefits of the Postlethwaite home and willed her one of the family’s slaves, Hannah. Records from the Presbyterian Church suggest Matilda lived until at least 1816.¹⁵⁰

Epilogue

Samuel Postlethwaite has received only passing mention in the histories of Cumberland County and Pennsylvania. With the departure of his children from the county, effectively no one was left to pass on the family narrative when such 19th century histories were being prepared. Postlethwaite left no tales of daring exploits on the battlefields of the American Revolution and held too junior a position in the Quartermaster Department to evoke more than a passing reference in military histories. As Major General Nathaniel Greene is reported to have remarked when he was asked to become Quartermaster General, "Nobody ever heard of a quarter master in history."¹⁵¹ As a state senator and politician Samuel Postlethwaite ultimately became part of the political minority. Although wealthy enough at one time to be considered part of the local 'gentry', he died heavily in debt.

Nonetheless, to his contemporaries, his was a life worth noting. As stated in his long and effusive obituary, "His heart was fuller than his purse, and in all public undertakings his public spirit was conspicuous – his integrity no man ever dared to impeach, for he was honorable and just."

Samuel Postlethwaite's records not only provide documentation for long overdue recognition of one man's long and active public life. They also should be of interest to historians and those conducting family research. His business accounts, which span the second half of the 18th century, provide data for study into Pennsylvania's early economy and social networks and include not only the names and often the professions of numerous early Cumberland Valley residents, but also glimpses into their daily lives.

Endnotes

- 1 In his papers, Samuel spelled his name both Postlethwait and Postlethwaite. The name is an English one with 'thwaite' signifying a 'clearing' and 'postle' possibly referring to a clergyman (apostle?). This article uses the spelling Postlethwaite.
- 2 No original source has been found that confirms Samuel Postlethwaite's birthdate. A variety of genealogical accounts assert that he was born sometime between 1737 and 1739 and that he was the second of four sons (John, Samuel, Edmund, and Richard) born to John Postlethwaite and his second wife Mary Metcalf. By his first wife, Hylechka Hendricks, who was the daughter of another notable Lancaster County trader Tobias Hendricks, Postlethwaite sired a son, William, and two daughters, Catherine and Susanna.
- 3 Lancaster Historical Society, "Report of the Committee having Charge of the Marking of the Site of the Postlethwaite Tavern where the first Courts of Justice in Lancaster County were Held," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster Historical Society*, vol. 19, no. 8, 283, 294 (Google eBook).

- 4 Ibid. p. 229. The Postlethwait tract, named Pleasant Bottom, was the twelfth survey recorded in what is now Washington County, Maryland. The 1739 plat listed 226 acres but another survey in 1745 shows 338 acres. Patent Indexes, MSA S1426, State Archives of Maryland. Accessed through www.msa.md.gov/msa/stagser/s1400/s1426/html/plist.html.
- 5 Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans. *History of Lancaster County Pennsylvania with Biographical sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck 1883), 737. For a copy of John Postlethwaite's will see *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. 20 (1916), 140-145. Deed N-1-300, Conestoga Township, Lancaster County Archives records the sale by Pugh, with the consent of Postlethwaite's children, of 197 acres of the former Postlethwaite acreage to Tobias Stoneman.
- 6 Joseph Pugh to Samuel Postlethwaite, n.d., Manuscript Box 32-6, Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS), Carlisle, Pennsylvania. That Samuel Postlethwaite likely received training in at least book keeping is attested to by Samuel's account books, which begin in 1760.
- 7 Later named the Juliana Library Company in honor of the wife of John Penn, the company was the third such institution to be formed in Pennsylvania and entailed both an initial subscription fee as well as yearly dues. Charles I. Landis. "Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 43, 247. (Google eBook)
- 8 Joseph Rose was a prominent Lancaster County lawyer who in the 1750s also had cases in Cumberland County. Henry Coyne et al, eds. *Cumberland Justice: Legal Practice in Cumberland County, 1750-2000*. (Carlisle: Cumberland County Bar Foundation, 2001), 10.
- 9 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 1, 130-185.
- 10 "The Orderly Book of Captain Hamilton's Company", Manuscript Box 9-22, CCHS.
- 11 An advertisement posted by Shippen in May 1759 offering payment to Lancaster County farmers who would 'carry Provisions & forage to Bedford [Reas Town]' lists Joseph Puy as one of three men designated to appraise "Every Waggon and Horses". Donald H. Kent et al, eds. *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Vol. 3: January 31, 1759-August 31, 1759* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), 295-296.
- 12 Louis M. Waddell et al, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Vol. 4: September 1, 1759-August 31, 1760* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978), 31, 51, 232.
- 13 *Maryland, Archives*, ARMD 55:774-775, as cited in Henry C. Peden, Jr. *Marylanders & Delawareans in the French and Indian War 1756-1763* (Lewes, Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2004), 10.
- 14 William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753-1761, August 10, 1753-March 20, 1761*. (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Society, 1911), 147-148.

- Also, T. J. C. Williams and Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County Maryland, Vol. 1*. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1979; Reprint of original 1910 edition.), 40.
- 15 Samuel Postlethwait Ledger of Accounts, 1760–1778, BR P858a, CCHS; and Postlethwaite Daybook [1760-1762]; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Miscellaneous Papers and Volumes 1760-1885, James Hamilton Collection (Collection 1612), The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, herein afterwards cited by series as Hamilton Collection, HSP.
 - 16 An Invoice dated October 22, 1760 for goods purchased from Michael Gross in Lancaster notes delivery to Postlethwaite in Conecogiehe [Conococheague] by “Mr. Joseph Pugh’s wagon”. Michael Gross, Lancaster, to Samuel Postlethwaite, 22 October 1760, Manuscript Box 32-7, CCHS. Several charges for carriage owed to John Postlethwaite are listed in the Postlethwait ledger, BR P858a, CCHS. Jeremiah Warder was a Philadelphia merchant who offered merchandise on credit. Moses Mordecai was also a small-time broker in Philadelphia. Emily Bingham, *Mordecai: an Early American Family*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 13. (Google eBook).
 - 17 Postlethwaite and Matilda Rose were married October 11, 1761 in St. James Episcopal Church in Lancaster. Report of the Committee, 238. Frederick County, Land Patents, Liber BC 15/598: BC 21/498. Citation appears in Stefanie R. Shaffer, *Inhabitants of Frederick County Maryland, Vol. 1, 1750–1790* (Westminster, Maryland 1999).
 - 18 Isaac Shelby, who was named for Baker, became a general in the American Revolution and ultimately governor of the state of Kentucky. In the mid-1760s both Shelby and Baker moved to southern Virginia, purchasing land near the present-day town of Bristol. Sylvia Wrobel and George Grider, *Isaac Shelby Kentucky’s First Governor and Hero of Three Wars*. (Danville, Kentucky: The Cumberland Press), 10-11.
 - 19 Browne, ed., 147-148.
 - 20 Captain Shelby although still part of the Maryland militia was listed in the roles of the Pennsylvania Regiment. In 1760, Bouquet commissioned Shelby to scout out a more direct route to Fort Cumberland from Lancaster going over South Mountain instead of through Carlisle. He found such a potential route through what is now Blue Ridge Summit on old Pennsylvania Route 16. Bouquet believed and argued successfully to his superior General Stanwix that such a road, essentially dividing the distance between the Forbes and Braddock roads would be amenable to all three of the contiguous provinces (Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia) and simplify maintenance. Waddell, *Bouquet Papers Vol. 4*, 496-497, 541-2.
 - 21 In October 1761, Shelby wrote to Bouquet seeking his help in his attempt to obtain pay for his volunteer ranger company from the province of Maryland. It was not until 1765 that such payment was authorized. Shelby to Bouquet, 3 October 1761, in Louis M. Waddell et al, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Vol. 5: September 1, 1760–October 31, 1761* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984), 794-795.
 - 22 Mitchel to Bouquet, 20 June 1761, in *ibid*, 567-568.

- 23 Heinzman to Bouquet, 12 August 1761, in *ibid.*, 694-695.
- 24 As noted earlier, Samuel Postlethwaite's first company commander in the French and Indian War was a John Clark. Whether this was the individual who begins to appear in Postlethwaite's records in November 1761 cannot be proved. That the men had a cordial relationship, however, is supported by the tone of their correspondence and the fact that Clark paid Postlethwaite's expenses on a trip to Philadelphia. Clark was one of those at Fort Frederick who wrote to Colonel Bouquet on behalf of Moran. Clark to Bouquet, 12 August 1761, in *ibid.*, 692.
- 25 Elise Greenup Jourdan, *Early Families of Southern Maryland*, vol. 2 (Heritage Books, 2007), 90. That Postlethwaite had commercial dealings with those doing business in Annapolis also is implied by correspondence that he received in December 1761. See T. Bowles to Postlethwaite, 10 December 1761, Manuscript Box 32-7, CCHS.
- 26 Moran to Shelby and Postlethwaite, 14 May 1763, in Lyman C. Draper, "Green Bay and the Frontiers, 1763-65: Letters of Edmond Moran," *Wisconsin State Historical Society (WSHS) Collections*, vol. 8, 232-235.
- 27 James Gorrell, "Lieutenant James Gorrell's Journal" in Lyman C. Draper, ed., *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. 1, (Madison: 1903), 38-53.
- 28 Based on comparison of a variety of sources, the Fort Pitt commander likely had directed Sargeant Shryock at Fort Burd to take custody of the Shelby and Company gunpowder and bring it to Fort Pitt for their defense. Instead Sargeant Shryock buried the powder along with ammunition and retreated south with the traders to Fort Cumberland. See "An Account of the Losses Sustained by Evan Shelby's Company By the Indians Waging War With his Brittanick Majesty's Subjects Seizing Their Effects in the Year One thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty Three," prepared by Samuel Postlethwaite and Edmond Moran, 3 February 1769, Manuscript Box 32-1, CCHS; John Clark to Shelby and Postlethwait, 1763, Box 32-7, CCHS; Draper, *Letters of Edmond Moran*, 235-236; Ecuyer, Fort Pitt to Bouquet, 2 June 1763 and Ourry to Bouquet, 9 June 1763 in Louis M. Waddell, ed., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Vol. 6: November 1761-July 1765, (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1994), 202-204 and 211-212; and John Clark, Cumberland, to Postlethwaite, 3 July 1763, Samuel Postlethwait Papers, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center (AHEC), Carlisle.
- 29 The range cited reflects conflicting accounting in the available sources, not only in the totals recorded, but also in the amount of credits recorded for compensation received by the British military. Draper, *Letters of Edmond Moran*, 235; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Wisconsin: The Americanization of a French Settlement*, (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1908), 114-116 including footnotes; An Account of the Losses..., Manuscript Box 32-1, CCHS.
- 30 Account of Horses Employed in His Majesty's Service by Order of Colonel Henry Bouquet for the Use of Captain William McClellan's Company of Maryland Volunteers, n.d., and Account against the King for 3,000 flints delivered to Major Livingston at fort Cum-

- berland, 10 June 1763, Manuscript Box 32-2, CCHS; Ourry to Bouquet, 3 December 1763, in Waddell, *Bouquet Papers*, Vol. 6, 474-475.
- 31 *Pennsylvania. Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 1, 338.
 - 32 *Ibid.* Account for Horses Employed..., Box 32-2, CCHS.
 - 33 Prothonotary, Appearance Docket, April Term 1772–October Term 1774, Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records; Michael Gross, Lancaster to Samuel Postlethwaite, 22 October 1760, MC32-7.
 - 34 Isaac Shelby to Samuel Postlethwaite, 25 April 1808, Manuscript Box 32-15 CCHS.
 - 35 Biographic notes regarding Shelby and Baker included in the Finding Guide for The Shelby Family Collection, East Tennessee State University, Archives of Appalachia, Johnson City, Tennessee. www.etsu.edu/cass/archives/Collections/afindaaid/a44.html, Accessed 25 January 2013.
 - 36 Letter from Edward Shippen to Colonel Burd, 24 November 1779 as quoted in Landis, 247. A description of the ministry of Peter Muhlenberg suggests that Pugh relocated to the area of Woodstock, Virginia. http://www.shenandoahcountyhistoricalsociety.org/PDF/Emmanuel_PeterMuhlenberg, Accessed 26 January 2013.
 - 37 For a detailed description of this legal marathon, see George E. Lewis, *The Indiana Company 1763-1798: A Study in Eighteenth Century Frontier Land Speculation and Business Venture* (Freeport, New York: Book for Libraries Press, 1941). A listing of the ‘Suffering Traders’ can be found in Charles A. Hanna, “The Wilderness Trail”, (New York & London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), 381-382.
 - 38 An Account of the Losses..., Manuscript Box 32-1, CCHS; Lyman C. Draper, “Green Bay and the Frontiers: 1763–1765,” *Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. 8, (Madison, Wisconsin: David Atwood State Printer, 1879), 84, 232-240 (Google eBook); and Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York & London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), 381-382.
 - 39 Judith Ridner, *A Town In-Between: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Early Mid-Atlantic Interior* (Philadelphia, Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 95-106.
 - 40 Joseph Pugh to Postlethwaite “to be left at Mr. Bleains”, n.d., Manuscript Box 32-6, CCHS. Also Postlethwaite Daybook [1760–1762]; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, and Cumberland County Tax Rate Lists. The date of Postlethwaite’s arrival in Cumberland County is based on entries in his ledger. The Tax Rate lists, which are incomplete for this period, document his ownership of land in East Pennsboro Township from 1768 through 1773. No records have yet been found that document his ownership of a farm or indicate its location.
 - 42 Postlethwaite Daybook [1760–1762]; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
 - 43 The dates of service as jailer from July 1775 through December 1777 are clearly documented by a Jailer’s log that was found in Postlethwaite’s personal journal, but his term

- probably began as early as November 1774 based on the appearance of jail-related charges and fees in his tavern accounts. Postlethwaite Ledger of Accounts, 1760–1778, BR P858a, CCHS; and Postlethwaite Daybook [1760–1762]; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Hamilton Collection, HSP. Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania 1750–1840* (Carlisle: CCHS, 1994), 14.
- 44 Under the regulations of the Penn Corporation, the sheriff could appoint his jailer, who could not be a tavern keeper. By 1774 such restrictions apparently were no longer being observed. Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds. *County Government and Archives in Pennsylvania*. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947), 332.
- 45 Postlethwaite Daybook [1760–1762]; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 46 Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania 1776–1790* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 36–37.
- 47 Wilbur Henry Siebert, “The Loyalists of Pennsylvania,” *Ohio State University Bulletin*, vol. 24, no. 1, April 1, 1920, 23–24. Digital copy accessed through the Open Library at Internet Archive.org. (archive.org/stream/pennsloyalist00siebrich). Siebert provides the background for Kearsley’s detention but cites him as dying in York. See also “Order for Removal of Dr. Kearsley” in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 1, 640.
- 48 “Stevenson to Council of Safety, November 12, 24, 1776,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, vol. 10, 773 as cited in, Roland M. Baumann “George Stevenson (1718–1783) Conservative as Revolutionary,” (Carlisle: CCHS Publications) vol. 10, no. 1, 37.
- 49 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. 12, 262–263 and vol. 13, 330, 494.
- 50 David Humphreys, *The Life and Heroic Exploits of Israel Putnam, Major-General in the Revolutionary War*, (Hartford: Andrus, 1850), 145. Digital copy accessed through the Open Library at Internet Archive.org. (www.archive.org/stream/lifeheroicexploit00humpuoft#page) For a log of Stockton’s charges, see Postlethwaite Ledger of Accounts, 1760–1778, BR P858a, CCHS.
- 51 Letters from Simon to Postlethwaite, 8 October 1777 and 6 February 1778, Series 5, Military Papers, 1763–1795, a. Samuel Postlethwaite, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 52 John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: the American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 122, and Lt. Col. Thomas G. Tousey, M.C. United States Army, *Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks* (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1939), 68.
- 53 Postlethwaite Ledger of Accounts, 1760–1778, BR P858a, CCHS.
- 54 Postlethwaite Daybook; Ledger (1765–1778), Series 9, Hamilton Collection, HSP. For reimbursement cite, see “Minutes of the Council of Safety, Philadelphia, October 28, 1776” *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, vol. 10, 770.
- 55 Postlethwaite Revolutionary War Papers (1776–1790), Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP. An entry in March 1776 lists equipment for his militia company. List of Rations

- for Postlethwaite's company signed by John Bray on behalf of Azariah Dunham (New Jersey Assistant Commissary of Purchases in 1776), *The Papers of the James R. and Lorraine H. Humer Collection*, MG 167, CCHS. For more information on the Flying Camp Companies, see Devine, Francis E., "The Pennsylvania Flying Camp, July–November 1776," in *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 46, no. 1, January 1979, 59-78.
- 56 Tousey, 94-95 citing Journal of the Continental Congress, Vol. 9, 774 and 824 and Writings of George Washington, Vol. 9, 74.
- 57 For a more detailed discussion of the plot against Washingtonburg, see John B.B. Trussell, "Washington: Revolutionary War Arsenal at Carlisle" *Cumberland County Historical Society Journal*, 53-58.
- 58 *Ibid.*, and Tousey.
- 59 Tousey, 96.
- 60 McDowell to Postlethwaite, February 1779, Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 61 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, vol 9, 192-193.
- 62 John McAlister to Postlethwaite, October 1778. Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 63 Charles Clinton to Colonel John Davis, 25 November 1778; and Gustavius [Risberg] to Davis, 5 December 1778, Papers of John Davis, vol. 3, Peter Force papers and collection, entry 32, Series 8-D, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, herein afterwards cited as Davis Papers by volume.
- 64 Thomas Smith to Postlethwaite, 22 September 1780. Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 65 Captain Postlethwaite to John Glen 18 January 1780. Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 66 Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*. (Washington, D.C.: Center of United States Military History), 44 (Accessed through <http://www.history.army.mil/books/RevWar/risch/risch-fm.htm>.)
- 67 Samuel Miles, Deputy Quartermaster for Pennsylvania to John Davis, 25 August 1780, Davis Papers, vol. 8.
- 68 Postlethwaite's report concerning Fort Pitt to Davis, 24 October 1780, Davis Papers, vol. 9; Duncan to Miles, 25 October 1781, Davis Papers, vol. 10.
- 69 Samuel Alexander to John Davis, 24 November 1780. Alexander notes "I have received a letter from Capt Postle wherein he seems to be very wary about his money he says you will not be accountable for it; I thought you and I had settled the matter so far that I should pay you the whole, that you would settle their Demands...Davis Papers, vol.9.
- 70 Postlethwaite to Davis 9 June 1782, Davis Papers, vol. 11.
- 71 Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records. Tax rate records.
- 72 Postlethwaite to Joseph Scull [27 August 1779?], Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 73 Samuel Hodgdon to William Irvine, April 15, 1783 in C.W. Butterfield, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence...* (Madison, Wis.: D. Atwood, 1882). Accessed through University of Pittsburgh Digital Research Library <http://digital.library.pitt.edu>.
- 74 Irvine to Davis, 30 June 1778 and 1 October 1778, Davis Papers, vol. 2.

- 75 John Montgomery, to Postlethwaite, 12 August 1782, Manuscript Box 21-6, CCHS.
- 76 Davis to Postlethwaite, 16 September 1779, Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 77 Postlethwaite to Davis, 23 August 1779, Davis Papers, vol. 5.
- 78 Charter accessed through <http://www.palrb.us/default.php>. List of first officials in Hon. Theodore B. Klein, *Early History and Growth of Carlisle, Extracts from Part One of the Annual Report of the Department of Internal Affairs for 1904*. (Salem, Ma: Higginson Book Company, 1905), 5.
- 79 *Carlisle Gazette*, September 22, 1790.
- 80 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. 11, 166.
- 81 Statement by the Gentlemen of the Bar, 23 April 1785, Series 5, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 82 Prothonotary. *Appearance Docket*, April Term 1783–January Term 1786. Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records. The records include several suits against Davis for debt.
- 83 Advertisement of Sheriff's sale dated August 8, *Carlisle Gazette*, August 17, 1785.
- 84 Prothonotary. *Execution Docket*. January Term 1785–July Term 1790. Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records. See annotation regarding Case #123, January Term 1786.
- 85 Examples of such fees are contained in Samuel Postlethwaite, Docket Book (January 1784–July 1786), Series 1, General Correspondence and legal documents, 1733–1899, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 86 *Carlisle Gazette*, May 2, 1787.
- 87 *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. 3, 351.
- 88 *Carlisle Gazette*, July 8, 1789.
- 89 C.P. Humrich, Esq., "The Relations Which the People of Cumberland and Franklin Counties Bore to the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794" *Kittochtinny Historical Society Journal*, vol. 3, No.3, 231-232.
- 90 A collection of letters dealing with the supply of troops during the Whiskey Rebellion may be accessed through the website: Papers of the War Department, 1784–1800 at wardepartmentpapers.org.
- 91 Samuel Postlethwaite Ledger of Provisions Issued to Pennsylvania Regiments in 1794 and Estate Records, Business Records, BR P858s, CCHS; Samuel McCoskry to Samuel Postlethwaite, 14 December 1795, The Papers of the Mrs. Donald Mowery Collection, MG17-2, CCHS.
- 92 Nicholas B. Wainwright, "March on Pittsburgh 1794," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 71, no. 1 (January 1947), 49.
- 93 Pennsylvania, Department of State, Commissions, Books 1-4, 1777–1815, RG-26.
- 94 Samuel Postlethwaite Ledger of Provisions, BR P858s, CCHS. Accounting for Rebecca Parker is included in Ledger B 1792-1798, Series 1. General Samuel Postlethwaite, 14 December 1795, The Papers of the Mrs. Donald Mowery Collection, MG17-2, CCHS.

- 94 Nicholas B. Wainwright, "March on Pittsburgh 1794," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 71, no. 1 (January 1947), 49.
- 94 Pennsylvania, Department of State, Commissions, Books 1-4, 1777-1815, Record Group RG-26.
- 94 Samuel Postlethwaite Ledger of Provisions, BR P858s, CCHS. Accounting for Rebecca Parker is included in Ledger B 1792-1798, Series 1. General Correspondence and Legal Documents, 1733-1899, a. Incoming, Hamilton Collection, HSP. Although this ledger is not attributed to Postlethwaite in the HSP listing, the ledger entries make his ownership clear to this author.
- 95 Clerk of Courts. *Slave and Slaveholder Register*, 1780-1841. Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records. Available online at ccweb.ccpa.net/archives. Accessed on 24 January 2013.
- 96 Ledger B 1792-1798, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP. Accounting for Margaret Woods notes a credit for schooling Matilda (Matilda Duncan, Postlethwaite's granddaughter) and Hannah. That Frank also received schooling is suggested by an advertisement that Postlethwaite posted when Frank ran away in 1806. Postlethwaite noted that Frank "can read and write." Draft advertisement for runaway slave, 22 October 1806 and invoice for payment to individual returning the slave, 14 December 1806, Manuscript Box 32-5, CCHS.
- 97 Clerk of the Court, Election Returns, Cumberland County Commissioner, 15 October 1789, Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records.
- 98 Payment Order to the Treasurer of Cumberland County, Manuscript Box 32-5, CCHS.
- 99 Commissioner. *Minute Book: 1790-1806*. Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records, 13, 18.
- 100 William Lyons to Thomas Mifflin, 16 December 1794, MG17-2, CCHS.
- 101 Pennsylvania, Assembly, Senate, Journal, 1796...Accessed through "http://www.archive.org/details/journalofsenateo1796_97_penn"
- 102 Pennsylvania, Assembly, Senate, Journal, December 1, 1795-April 4, 1796 (Philadelphia, Poulson [1796]) 92, 170.
- 103 Leonard J. Sneddon, "From Philadelphia to Lancaster: the First Move of Pennsylvania's Capital," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 38, no. 4 (October 1971), 349-360.
- 104 Pennsylvania, Assembly, Senate, Journal, For the Session which commenced at Lancaster on Tuesday the third day of December, 1799. Accessed through Evans Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639-1800.
- 105 Samuel Irwin to Postlethwaite, 22 January 1796; Andrew Galbraith to Postlethwaite, 23 February 1796, and J. Hughes to Postlethwaite, 8 March 1796, Manuscript Box 32-12, CCHS.
- 106 List of persons paying taxes, 11 January 1803 and tax receipt, 3 August 1804, Manuscript Box 32-5, CCHS; Account of Lands Sold for Direct Tax and Redeemed for the Use of the owner, 29 August 1804-25 March 1805 in Samuel Postlethwaite Ledger of Provisions..., BR P858s, CCHS; Accounting of direct taxes collected by Samuel and Henry

- Postlethwaite, H&S Postlethwaite (taxes), Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP; and several issues of the *Carlisle Gazette* during 1803 and 1804.
- 107 Samuel Postlethwaite Appointment, 27 January 1806, Manuscript Box 32-1, CCHS. The act, which was passed by the U.S. Congress on 3 March 1803, specified that claimants must testify as to eligibility before a judge or someone so commissioned.
- 108 Shelton Burke, Historical Society Notes: "The Historical Tour in Carlisle" *Western Pennsylvania History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (September 1952), 167-179.
- 109 Union Fire Company of Carlisle Records 1789-1852, BR U586a v.1, CCHS; and *Carlisle Gazette*, June 24, 1789.
- 110 For John Postlethwaite, see Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol 41, 1937, no. 2, p. 43. For Joseph Pugh, see www.shenendoahcounty.historicalociety.org/PDF/Emmanuel_PeterMuhlenberg.pdf, accessed 31 January 2013; and Pugh to Postlethwaite, n.d., Manuscript Box 32-6, CCHS.
- 111 St. John's Episcopal Church, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1795-1827. Church and Cemetery Records Collection, Microfilm #25, CCHS. Church entries show a gap from 1805 to 1819.
- 112 Sarah married John Duncan on 22 April 1784; Joseph Rose married Mary (Polly) Wilkins on 3 January 1787; James married Betsy Smith on 10 April 1799; and Amelia married Henry Coulter on 18 December 1800. Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle Pennsylvania Obtained by Merri Lou Schaumann from Rev. Russell Weer, Spring, 1972. Church and Cemetery Records Collection, CCHS.
- 113 William Cornelius Reichel, *A History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Conditions of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lipincott, 1870), 338. (Google eBook)
- 114 Subscribers agreement for a dancing assembly, n.d., Manuscript Box 20-10, CCHS. The document most likely was prepared in the late 1780's as Postlethwaite did not achieve the militia rank of colonel until 1787.
- 115 Harry Marlin Tinkcom, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: PHMC, 1950), 31, 52 and Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1952), 14-15.
- 116 Bryan letter of March 1878, as quoted in Burton Alva Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith, 1745-1809* (Philadelphia: Campton and Co., 1904), 181, fn.
- 117 Brunhouse, 210.
- 118 James M Cormick, Junior, to Postlethwaite, 11 January 1795, Manuscript Box 32-11, CCHS.
- 119 Results of the election were posted in *Gazette of the United States*, October 23, 1794.
- 120 *The Federal Gazette* and *Philadelphia Evening Post*, July 26, 1793, accessed through Newsbank.com. The article was a rebuttal to an account of the dual that had appeared earlier in the paper based on an account in the *Carlisle Gazette*. See also *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County* (Chicago: The Genealogical Publishing Co., 1905), 31.

- 121 A copy of the committee report dated 13 February 1795 appeared in the *Carlisle Gazette* on February 25, 1795.
- 122 Prothonotary, Quarter Sessions Docket Book, August and October 1795 and January 1796, Cumberland County Pennsylvania Government Records, 7, 30, 278.
- 123 Samuel McCoskry to Samuel Postlethwaite, 14 December 1795, MG 17-2, CCHS.
- 124 CCHS, Court Docket Records for November 1795 and January 1796, 278. Annotation on the page dated 7 April 1796.
- 125 Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser*, October 24, 1796, accessed through Newsbank.com.
- 126 Letter from Governor Thomas McKean to Thomas Jefferson, December 15, 1800 as cited in full in George L. Heiges, "When Lancaster was Pennsylvania's Capital" *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, vol. 55, 1951, no. 1, 32-33. Henry Miller was at the time the War Department's Supervisor of Revenue for the District of Pennsylvania. His wife, Sarah Ursula Rose was the sister of Matilda (Rose) Postlethwaite. Alfred Nevin, *Men of Mark of Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania, 1776-1876* (Philadelphia: Fulton Publishing Company, 1876), 315.
- 127 In 1807, his name appears on a list of candidates for the State Assembly, but with only 267 votes compared to 2,805 for the top runner James Lowrey, he ranked next to last. *Carlisle Gazette*, October 16, 1807.
- 128 *Carlisle Gazette* "Extra" October 1, 1805 and October 4, 1805.
- 129 George Stroop to Postlethwaite, 24 September 1808, Manuscript Box 32-15, CCHS. Stroop conveyed his prognosis for a 'Sniderite' victory in the 1808 election.
- 130 *Carlisle Gazette*, July 10, 1807.
- 131 Journal (Account Book) 1793-1808, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP. Although this journal is not attributed to Postlethwaite in the collection guide, the entries make the connection clear to this author.
- 132 *Ibid.*; Ledger B 1792-1798, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP; Samuel Postlethwait Memorandum book, 1795-1801, Manuscript Box 32-3a, 10, CCHS; and Pine Grove ledgers 1785-1792, Manuscript Group MG-175, Pennsylvania State Archives.
- 133 Thomas Smith, Philadelphia, to Samuel Postlethwaite, 30 September 1794, Manuscript Box 32-11, CCHS.
- 134 Only three pages of accounting remain for the Kentucky store, but these alone show a loss. Ledger B 1792-1798, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 135 Samuel Postlethwaite (Jr.) to Samuel Postlethwaite, 29 November 1795, Manuscript Box 32-11, CCHS. Problems at the store apparently continued. In a 4 February 1797 letter to his father, Samuel's other son James comments that "the season has been very unfortunate for brother Sam." James Postlethwait to Samuel Postlethwaite, Manuscript Box 32-13, CCHS.
- 136 Limited documentation of Postlethwaite's financial accounts in the last years of his life may be found in "Journal" (Account Book), 1793-1808, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP. The Journal includes several charges to individuals for the preparation of legal instruments. Closure of the Kentucky store is not specifically documented but likely oc-

- curred about 1800 based on his son John's opening of a tavern in Lexington and his son Samuel's departure from Lexington for Natchez. William Elsey Connelley, Ellis Merton Coulter, Judge Charles Kerr, ed., *History of Kentucky, Volume 2*, (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1922), 1192; Charles R. Staples, *The History of Pioneer Lexington, 1779–1806*. (University Press of Kentucky, 1939), 35, 92.
- 137 Wilbur J. McElwain, *United States Direct Tax of 1798 Tax Lists for Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1994), 41, 123.
- 138 Obituaries were published in the *Carlisle Herald* and *Kline's Gazette*, Carlisle, 31 August 1810; Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1810, vol. 39, iss 10532, p.3; *New York Gazette* and *General Advertiser*, 4 September 1810, vol xxiii, iss 7499, p. 2; *Providence Gazette*, 8 September 1810, vol xlvi, iss 2436, p. 3; *Essex Register*, Salem, Massachusetts, 12 September 1810, vol x, iss73, p.3. Accessed through America's Historical Newspapers, 1690-1922 database.
- 139 *Carlisle Herald*, June 7, 1806.
- 140 Register of Wills, *Will Book H*, p. 63 and Administrative Bond No. 68, January 30, 1811, Box AB-5-32. Cumberland County Government Records. *Carlisle Herald*, March 15, 1811.
- 141 Samuel Postlethwaite, Jr. to Samuel Postlethwaite, 29 August 1794, Manuscript Box 39-15, CCHS; George W. Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky: its early annals and recent progress* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1872), 160.
- 142 Connelley, 1192; Staples, 35, 58, 99, 253; Johnston J. Stoddard, *Memorial History of Louisville from its First settlement to the Year 1896* (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1896), 481.
- 143 Joseph Postlethwaite to Samuel Postlethwaite, 11 (no month) 1795, Series 1, Hamilton Collection, HSP.
- 144 Thomas Cushing, *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania...*, (Chicago: A. Warner and Company, 1889) 226. Accessed through University of Pittsburgh Digital Research Library.
- 145 *Carlisle Gazette*, May 9, 1792.
- 146 John N. Boucher, *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (New York, Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1906), 376-379. Accessed through University of Pittsburgh Digital Research Library.
- 147 James Postlethwaite to Thomas Hamilton, Esq., 25 January 1822, Archives, Westmoreland County Historical Society, Greensburg, Pennsylvania.
- 148 Martha Jane Brazy, *An American Planter: Stephen Duncan of Antebellum Natchez and New York* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).
- 149 Amelia's husband Henry Coulter died at the Postlethwaite home in Carlisle on 2 March 1802. The couple was married less than two years. *Carlisle Gazette*, December 23, 1808.
- 150 Records of the First Presbyterian Church..., CCHS, 167.
- 151 As quoted in Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 165.

The Letter

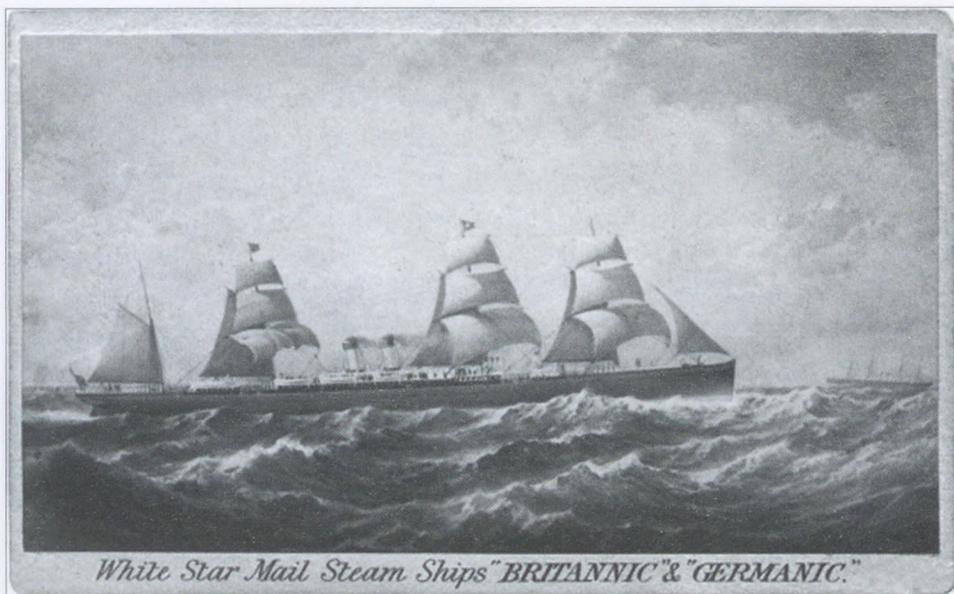
Merri Lou Schaumann

Alexandria, [District of Columbia], 25 February 1810. Thomas Cruse sat down, opened his desk, took out a clean sheet of paper, dipped his pen in the bottle of ink and wrote "Dear Sir." He was writing to his brother-in-law, Judge James Hamilton of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Judge Hamilton received the letter, wrote in his "chicken scratch" handwriting the date that he answered it and then put Cruse's letter in his desk. When every pigeon hole in the Judge's desk was filled to overflowing, the older letters and papers were bundled up and put in a trunk to make room for new ones. The Judge died in 1819; his wife in 1843. The Judge's son, James, Jr. inherited the house and all of its contents. James, Jr. was adamant that all of the family's possessions should stay in the family. To that end, when he wrote his will in 1871, he bequeathed all family paintings, portraits, letters and papers to his cousin, Mrs. Eliza Creighton, Thomas Cruse's daughter.

When James, Jr. died in 1873, Eliza Creighton arranged to have all of the Hamilton portraits, family letters and papers shipped to her home in Philadelphia. Eliza made her will in 1874. Her husband had died eleven years earlier, and four of her five sons were dead. Her remaining son Robert was mentally ill, and both of her daughters, Emilie Bradish and Julia Smith, were married and living in England. Eliza bequeathed "Uncle Hamilton's portrait" to her daughter Julia. Although Eliza did not indicate which daughter was to get all of the Hamilton letters and papers, they were shipped to England after Eliza's death in 1877. So, the letter that Thomas Cruse wrote to Judge Hamilton in February 1810 crossed the Atlantic and was stored in either Julia's house in Liverpool or Emilie's house in Sherborne, England.

Julia Smith never had children and died in 1909, so if she had the letters she must have left them to her sister Emilie Bradish. Emilie died in 1917 and the only children still living (all in England) who could have inherited Hamilton's



The White Star Line operated mail ships like this from Liverpool, England to New York in the 1870s.

wikipedia.org

letters and papers were Henry, a solicitor who died unmarried in 1936, Margaret Julia who died unmarried in 1944, and last of all, Emmeline Hamilton Bradish who died unmarried in 1950. The probate of Emmeline Bradish's estate was granted to Martin's Bank Ltd. of Liverpool and they may have sent her effects (including all of the Hamilton letters and papers) to auction.

In 1952, Maggs Bros. Ltd. of London, a company selling rare books and manuscripts, prepared a catalog for their July sale. One of the listings in the catalogue caught the attention of the staff of the University of Virginia Special Collections Library. It was a cache of 23 letters written between 1810–1813 by Thomas Cruse of Alexandria to Judge James Hamilton of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. On July 18, 1952, the University of Virginia purchased the letters. The staff at Maggs Bros. wrapped the collection for mailing, and the letter crossed the Atlantic, probably in a plane like the one on the following page rather than on a ship.

Since the time the letter was written, it had traveled by horseback from Alexandria, Virginia to Carlisle, Pennsylvania and then to Philadelphia. The letter then went by sea from Philadelphia to England, and finally, 142 years after it was written, by air to Charlottesville, Virginia where it resides today.



BOAC Stratocruiser, 1954

Wikimedia Commons

And what was in the much traveled letter written in February 1810? It was a request for a favor. Mrs. Taylor, the grandmother of 16-year-old Jesse Taylor, was asking Thomas Cruse to write on her behalf to Judge Hamilton about sending her grandson to Carlisle College [Dickinson]. She objected to Princeton College because of its “atheistical principals” She also objected to William and Mary College because “so many young men have fallen in fighting duels that [she was] frightened for the safety of the lad,” she told Cruse. She said that her grandson was “a good boy, [and] hitherto had been carefully brought up in sober, and...religious principals.” He was reading Greek and Latin and was partial to the law. She said that although her resources were slender, but “with economy and prudent management, I trust equal to the occasion.” She asked for Judge Hamilton’s advice about whether her grandson should board at the college or in a private house and also the cost of housing and tuition.

Jesse Taylor did enroll in Dickinson College. On May 27, 1810 Thomas Cruse wrote to Judge Hamilton that Mrs. Taylor had informed him the day before “that her grandson Master Jesse Taylor intended leaving for Carlisle College accompanied with his Uncle Doctor Smith, who was[Cruse understood] formerly a pupil of your college and who no doubt wishes to avail himself of the present opportunity of seeing old acquaintances and friends.”

Thomas Cruse, of Belfast, Ireland, married Judge James Hamilton’s sister, Ann, on Spetember 3, 1791. Cruse was a passionate man who fought for his

belief that Ireland should be free of English rule. According to accounts in the Belfast newspaper, because of his participation in the 1798 uprising, he was forced to leave Ireland in 1799. He settled in Alexandria, Virginia, (then part of the District of Columbia) with his wife and children and died there in 1832. His death was reported in the Belfast newspapers even though he had left there 33 years before. Many of his letters to Judge James Hamilton and other family members survive and reveal his views on education, government, his great love for his wife and family, and his ardent religious beliefs. He also shares vignettes of events during the war of 1812 in Alexandria.

(Source: University of Virginia. Collection 3967 Box W/38-192a Letters of Thomas Cruse to James Hamilton)

A Tugboat Named *Carlisle*

Randy Watts

Carlisle, the town, is widely known. Its place in history is secured by the accomplishments of many famous residents, institutions and events. It has earned many accolades over the centuries but there is one unique honor bestowed upon the community that is little known and that is the fact that the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad named one of their tugboats *Carlisle*. That fact never seems to have entered the collective memory of the town. There are several reasons this was the case: the tugboats christening took place on the day of the death of President McKinley in September 1901; the ceremony was held in Philadelphia and was attended by a few of Carlisle's citizenry and after that, possibly no one from Carlisle ever actually saw the tugboat in person. This narrative will provide an overview of the boat, a brief history of the company that built it, an overview of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad's maritime operations and the ceremonial events attached to its launch.

Construction of the steel, sea-going tug was announced in the *New York Times* on December 19, 1900. At the time it was reported the tug would be named *Carlisle* and that it would be used by the Philadelphia and Reading Transportation Line between Port Richmond (Philadelphia) and New England. The construction contract was awarded to the Neafie and Levy Ship and Engine Building Company and the boat was to be 170 feet in length, 29 feet beam (wide) and 15 feet draught (below the water line) when loaded.¹

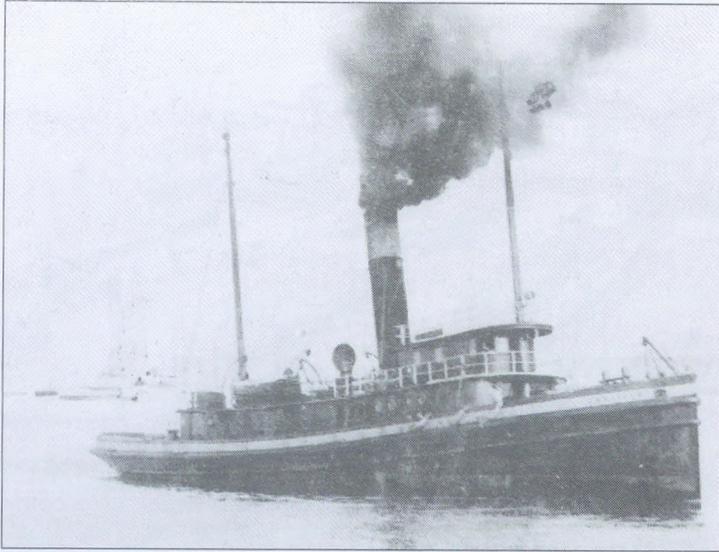
Neafie and Levy, was located along the Delaware River in Philadelphia just south of Port Richmond. Established in 1844, it is described as the first American company to combine the building of iron ships with the manufacture of steam engines used to power them. It eventually became a builder of small, high quality steam yachts and tugs. One of its better known boats was J.P. Morgan's yacht, *Corsair II*, built by them in 1890. The company ceased operations in September 1908.² Its works, located on the Delaware River, later became the site of a power plant, now idle.



The *Carlisle* was owned and operated by the Philadelphia and Reading Transportation Line, which was in turn owned by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. The company provided the distribution system for the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company. The coal company owned extensive mining operations in the anthracite regions, centered in Schuylkill and surrounding counties and the railroad conveyed coal to Philadelphia and other regional markets. As production increased the company sought to expand its market share by shipping coal to New England and other ports on the eastern seaboard. Because water shipments were cheaper than rail shipments and to eliminate as many middlemen as possible the Reading chose to use marine transport.³

The Reading built rail-to-marine transfer facilities in Philadelphia at Port Richmond, and by 1851 more than a million tons of anthracite were being shipped from the company's piers annually. By 1858 they had eighteen piers in operation capable of loading ninety vessels simultaneously. The same facility in 1874, operating from twenty-one wharves could load 175 ships.

The company experienced difficulty obtaining sufficient vessels to ship its coal and eventually purchased their own steamers. By 1874 they were operating fourteen steam 'colliers' and 121 schooners and barges. The colliers were small boats that carried limited tonnage and by 1897 the Reading began to replace them with tug boats and barges. A single tug could pull three or four barges, increasing the payload per trip.⁴



Carlisle shown circa 1920 in the Delaware River. The piers of the Ben Franklin Bridge, then under construction are visible to the rear of the boat. Most of her career was spent hauling barges of coal to Maine.⁵

Photo courtesy of David Boone

The Reading, like other railroads, named many of its marine vessels after towns along its line. One of the early steam powered colliers had been named the *Harrisburg* and another tug built in 1898 the *Gettysburg*. Harrisburg was the terminus of the Reading's Lebanon Valley branch and Gettysburg one end of a branch line that began at Carlisle. At the time there was considerable industry located along the Reading's Carlisle tracks in the area of what is today Spring Garden Street. One of the major customers in this area was the Manufacturing Company operated by the Gardner family and other prominent citizens of the town.

The first local announcement of the boat appeared on September 5, 1901. On that day the *Evening Volunteer* reported that John W. Wetzel, local attorney for the Philadelphia and Reading, had been notified by railroad management that they intended to name a new tug *Carlisle* and provided some additional details.

This sturdy little craft, designed and constructed at the ship yards of [Neafe and Levy], near Philadelphia, will take her initial plunge into the muddy waters of the Delaware River on or about the tenth of this month.

It is the intention of the railroad officials to use the new tug in towing coal barges on the river, she being of powerful build and having Philadelphia as her home port.

Already great preparations are being made by Carlisle residents with the hope of witnessing this event, which will not only afford extreme pleasure for those in attendance, but will mark the induction of this historic town's un-reproachable name into the list of places honored with a namesake on the water.

The article went on to give some hints as to who would be invited to attend which at that point included members of council, borough officials, and their families. It also provided details on the young lady who would actually christen the boat.

Fortunate in being the recipient of the honor of the day, Miss Elizabeth Gardner, the beautiful daughter of Ed. J. Gardner, East High street, will shatter the bottle of imported French wine over the bow of the *Carlisle* as she leaves her ways and slips gracefully into the waters of the Delaware River amid the hearty cheers and shouts of enthusiasts who will throng to the scene. Miss Gardner's grandfather, Mr. Frank Gardner, enjoyed, during his life, the reputation of being an enterprising and progressive citizen. He was connected with local industries and always lent his best effort for the promotion of Carlisle's business interests. The selection of the christener will, therefore, be held doubly valuable as she is both a lady well fitted to perform the duties of the day and a representative of an old and respected family.⁶

On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot while attending the World's Fair in Buffalo New York. Initially it was expected he would survive and the excitement for the upcoming events in Philadelphia continued. On Thursday the *Evening Volunteer* wrote of the upcoming trip.

The 'Carlisle' launching party to Philadelphia on Saturday will be made up of the Chief Burgess and Town Council; a number of our leading and most representative citizens; business men and young, social people.

They will leave at 7 o'clock in the morning and on arriving at Philadelphia will be taken charge of by the Railroad Co., and entertained as their guests. A delightful program after luncheon has been arranged to afford the party a chance to see the river front and boat, and on arrival at the shipyard the party will become the guests of Neafie and Levy, and be handsomely entertained. In short arrangements have been made to give the party a most delightful and enjoyable trip.⁷

President McKinley had died early that day and his death dampened the celebration. The *Evening Sentinel* gave the most complete accounting of the trip and the christening.

I christen thee 'Carlisle', were the words that fell from the lips of Miss Elizabeth Gardner of Carlisle this afternoon, at Neafie and Levy's ship yards in this city, as the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company's splendid new tug glided out peacefully and without a jar from the ways into the old Delaware. The day and the occasion were long to be remembered by the forty-two Carlislens who were present by special invitation of the Philadelphia and Reading railway company and the Neafie and Levy ship and engine building company.

Traveling Passenger Agent G. B. Kauffman, of Reading, left Carlisle in charge of the Carlisle party in a special vestibule coach. After leaving Harrisburg the Reading's flying record time asserted itself in no uncertain way. On sped the train traveling one of the miles in 49 seconds, and reaching Reading ahead of time. The railroad officials extended every courtesy and endeavored to make the journey as pleasant as possible.

Despite the high rate of speed, the excellent equipment of the road in every detail, the magnificent scenery as the train followed the course of the Schuylkill river, and the places of interest pointed out by the officials made the trip a pleasant one.

Upon arrival at the Quaker City at 11 o'clock, each one spent an hour in his own way and at twelve partook of a fine luncheon at the P&R terminal. Following this a special train was boarded for Port Richmond, a distance of about four miles. Three tugs named 'Ogontz', 'Gyned' and 'Cheltenham' were at their service and a sail of about five miles on the Delaware was begun. A delightful breeze made it exceedingly enjoyable. Upon arriving at the shipyards some time was spent in examining the tug 'Carlisle' after which the party was augmented by a number of railroad officials and their families, assembled to hear an address by Rev. Dr. George Edward Reed, president of Dickinson college.

Dr. Reed said in part "...we are here as invited guests of the great corporation that has done so much to build up the material interests of Pennsylvania. The launching of a ship is always a source of congratulation. Today the skies are propitious and every arrangement has been made for our entertainment and pleasure. But a great sorrow has come upon us, and not only 70,000,000 are sad, but all over the world flags are at half-mast today." After paying a touching but beautiful tribute to the late president, Dr. Reed said that he was requested by Judge Campbell, general solicitor of the P&R to say that owing to the death of President McKinley, some of the details of the event, such as decorations, etc.,

will be omitted. There will be no blowing of whistles. But, said Dr. Reed, this will not deter us from entering into the enthusiasm of this event. On behalf of Carlisle I desire to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended us by the managers of this great corporation, and thank them for giving this ship the name 'Carlisle'. This town deeply appreciates the honor conferred upon it and desires to thank you. I desire to congratulate the manager of this fine yard. May great success attend to the vessel that bears the name 'Carlisle'. May it enjoy long life and freedom from disaster, we bespeak for it great prosperity.

After workmen to the number of about 75 had wedged the blocking so that the big tug was held in the cradle, the planks were sawn and all was ready for launch. During the preliminaries Miss Elizabeth Gardner, attired in a beautiful blue and white silk gown, mounted a special platform and when the signal was given for the tug to move, she broke a bottle of champagne over the bow and said 'I christen thee Carlisle'. Then the tug shot out from the ways and into the Delaware. The clapping of hands was vigorous.

The 'Carlisle' tug is the eighth of its kind owned by the P&R. It is 170 feet long, 32 foot beam, 1,000 horsepower engine, depth 29 feet. It cost upwards of \$100,000 and required six months building. It will be used for towing coal barges as far as Boston.⁸

The *Volunteer* also noted: "Each lady in the company received a lovely bouquet as a special souvenir. Later the special car, which was a combination day coach and observation car, was boarded and sumptuous supper was served en route home. The train arrived here at 9 o'clock on Saturday night."⁹

The *Volunteer's* report was similar, although it listed slightly different dimensions for the boat. It also provided some additional details. (The correct dimensions were 170 feet long, 29 foot beam, 15 foot draft, loaded, total weight of 644 gross tons.)¹⁰

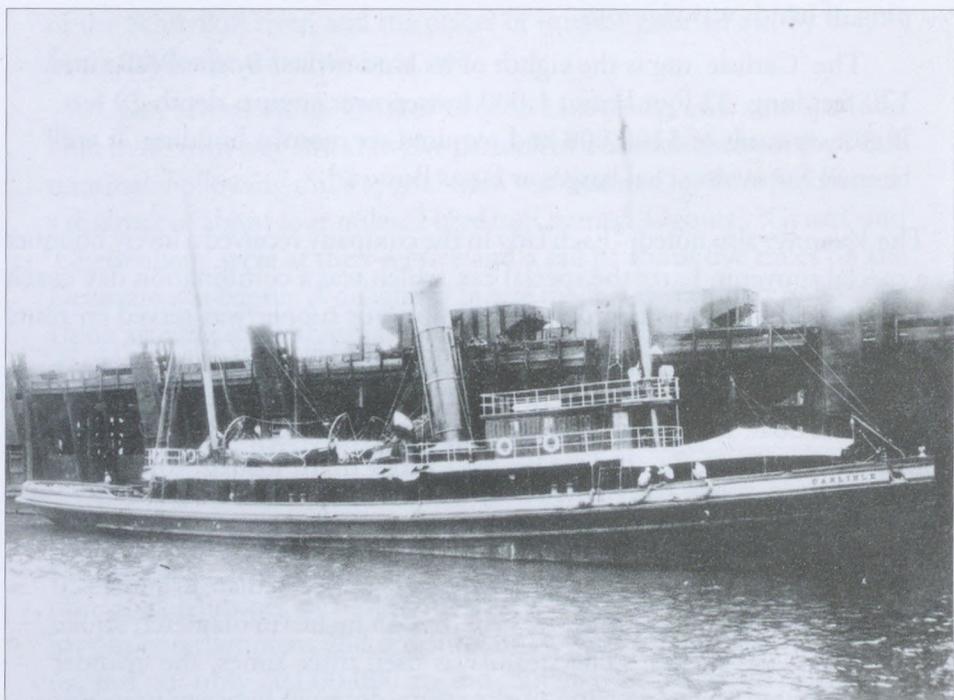
She is equipped with triple expansion engines, 1,000 horsepower, high pressure cylinders 18 inches in diameter, intermediate cylinders 20 inches in diameter, low pressure cylinders 45 inches in diameter; stroke of pistons, 30 inches. (The steam was used three times, the cylinder size increased as the pressure of the steam dropped between uses, this reduced fuel consumption and increased performance.)¹¹

This vessel carries a crew of twenty men, and is practically a duplicate of the other tugs in the company's fleet.¹²

The *Evening Volunteer* provided a listing of those in attendance:

Thomas E. Vale, Chief Burgess (Mayor); Members of Town Council: John Linder, C.P. Humrich, Ephraim Wetzel, John Hildebrandt, William Spahr, Michael Cherry, Harry M. Leidigh, Edward J. Weidman, Willis W. Williams, Harry Hertzler, Dr. J.M. Bentz, Joseph Einstein.

Dr. Geo. Edward Reed and wife, J. W. Plank and wife, and son Le Roy, Misses Elizabeth Gardner, Sarah Gardner, Nellie Gardner, Naomi Landis, Olive Landis, Charlotte Beetem, Reba Kremer, Miss Pratt and friend Miss Campbell, Dr. J. S. Bender, wife and daughter Esther, F. C. Bosler and sister, J. W. Wetzel and wife, Mrs. D. C. Howell, Mrs. John Lindner, Col. E. B. Watts, A. F. Bedford, John F. Kerr, James Porter, H. A. Barr, A. N. Stecker, J. M. Rhey, Esq, Raphael Hays, D. M. Graham, Esq., Charles T. Cornman, J. C. Behney, T. Grove Tritt, Merkel Landis, Esq., Frank Wetzel, Esq., Charles H. Kutz, Herman B. Biddle and Geo. A. Shenton.¹³



The *Carlisle* shown on the north side of Pier 11 at Port Richmond, believed to be in the 1920s.

Photo courtesy of David Boone.

So far as is known the career of the *Carlisle* was uneventful. The barge operations of the Reading went as far north as Buxford, Maine and the *Carlisle* is reported to have covered that assignment.¹⁴ By 1912 the Reading had eleven tugboats and sixty-three barges. The fleet was described as “one of the most important coal fleets operated by any railroad.”¹⁵ Coal shipments from Port Richmond ended with the formation of Conrail in 1976, Pier 18 being the last operating pier by then. The facility was torn down in the 1980s.¹⁶

The *Carlisle* was taken out of service in 1940 and was reportedly scrapped. A similar tug, although smaller, the *Jupiter* built by Neafie and Levy in 1902, survives and is preserved in Philadelphia. It can be seen at Penn’s Landing.¹⁷

So far as is known this is the only ocean going vessel ever named for Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The U.S. Navy did have a Gilliam class attack transport ship in World War II named *Carlisle* but this was for a county in Kentucky.¹⁸

Endnotes

- 1 *New York Times*, December 19, 1900.
- 2 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neafie_%26_Levy.
- 3 There were a number of considerations that favored water shipments including the need to build a large fleet of cars to haul the coal via rail and chronic car shortages.
- 4 Barbara Fisher, *Maritime History of the Reading 1833–1905*. This account is not fully accurate and actually stated that the tugs could move up to 20 barges.
- 5 Photo and information courtesy of David Boone, Philadelphia PA.
- 6 *The Evening Volunteer*, Carlisle PA, September 6, 1901.
- 7 *Ibid.*, September 12, 1901.
- 8 *Ibid.*, September 16, 1901.
- 9 *Ibid.*, September 16, 1901.
- 10 E-mail from Rick Bates, Reading Railroad historian, dated March 24, 2013.
- 11 <http://www.cityofart.net/bship/engine.html>.
- 12 *The Evening Volunteer*, Carlisle PA, September 16, 1901.
- 13 *Ibid.*, September 14, 1901.
- 14 E-mail, Dave Boone, April 5, 2013, also from Hearings before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, H.R. 20285, 1912.
- 15 “Transportation by Water in the United States,” Government Printing Office; Washington DC December 23, 1912.
- 16 E-mail, Rick Gates, former Conrail employee, May 7, 2013.
- 17 <http://www.gazela.org/ships/jupiter/jupiter.htm>.
- 18 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Carlisle_\(APA-69\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Carlisle_(APA-69)).

HISTORY AND GEOLOGY OF SHIPPENSBURG AREA CAVES

Charles E. Miller, Jr.

Peiper Cave, Carnegie Cave, and Cleversburg Sink near Shippensburg have been popular caves for about 60 years. These are among the longest caves in the State.¹ Stone (1932)² and Smeltzer (1958)³ provide the most complete descriptions of these caves. This article presents additional history and geology about these Cumberland County caves formed over the past three million years.^{4,5,6}

Peiper Cave

Introduction

Peiper Cave is a well-known maze cave along the north side of Interstate 81 near Shippensburg in Cumberland County. It is located between the Fayette and King Street Exits of the highway. A spectacular discovery in 1948 was vandalized seven years later.

History and Geology

The cave was discovered in the early 1930s as limestone was quarried and crushed for Southampton Township roads.⁷ Quarrying began there in the 1800s. At the time of discovery, Hun and Bill Coy of Shippensburg were doing the quarrying.⁸ The small stone quarry is near the south end of a narrow wooded ridge on the former Peiper farm, previously the Cyrus Railing farm and, before that, the Bumgardner farm.⁹ Having owned the farm on which this cave is located since 1937, Peiper sold the property in 1972 to Rick Unger of Shippensburg. Ed and Kim Kehs of Hamburg, PA are the current owners.¹⁰ The cave entrance is now gated.

Along the same ridge in which Peiper Cave is located and a few hundred feet south of the entrance is a burned-out house. Spelunkers usually pass it on their way to the cave. Susan Heller formerly owned the house. Following her death, the house burned.¹¹ Prior to the fire, several Heller children also lived there. During the years they used the cave as a playhouse, entering it as their own, to



Figure 1: Prolific speleothems in the Hidden Passage of Peiper Cave.

Photo by Bernard L. Smeltzer

such an extent that they did not like cavers going there. Upon seeing cavers, the children ran into the cave, hid, and made ghost sounds in an attempt to scare people out of the cave.¹²

In 1948, the Philadelphia Grotto (caving club)¹³ made a significant discovery of a “Hidden Passage” decorated with one of the most remarkable speleothem¹⁴ displays found in a Pennsylvania cave (Figure 1). In 1955 virtually all of the speleothems were vandalized.¹⁵ Despite vandalism, some interesting formations still exist in Peiper Cave, including helictites.¹⁶ Peiper Cave also provides excellent examples of dome pits,¹⁷ passages developed along vertical joints (Figure 2), flowstone¹⁸ (Figure 3), and breakdown (Figure 4).

A conspicuous feature in Peiper Cave is breakdown – i.e., en masse failure of cavern roofs or walls (Davies, 1951).¹⁹ The largest breakdown accumulation is in the First Room (Figure 4). Here limestone blocks up to 10 feet in length lie in a jumble, nearly filling half of the passage. Sometimes rock debris, clay, and travertine obscure breakdown. In these cases, recognition may be based on cave ceiling morphology. Breakdown in Peiper Cave creates flat ceilings (Figure 4). Figure 5 is a less common form of breakdown – rock slab separation from a cave wall. This slab is 20 feet long and 20 inches wide standing on edge along the left wall of the northern end of the First Room.²⁰



Figure 2: Passage in Peiper Cave.

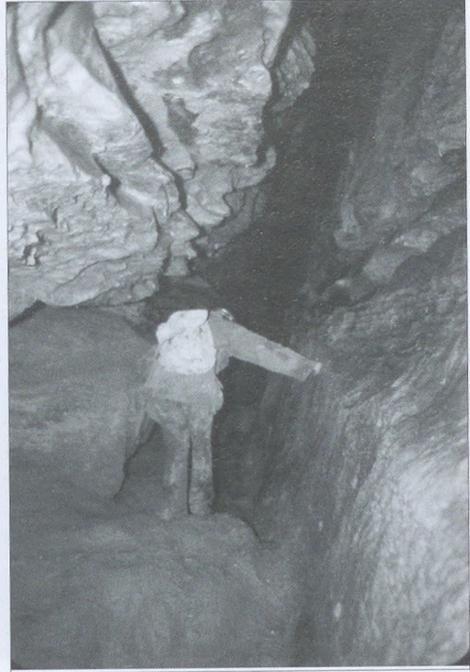


Figure 3: Flowstone in Peiper Cave developed on a vertical fracture.



Figure 4: Breakdown in the First Room of Peiper Cave. Note the flat ceiling.

Photos by author



Figure 5: Slab breakdown in Peiper Cave.

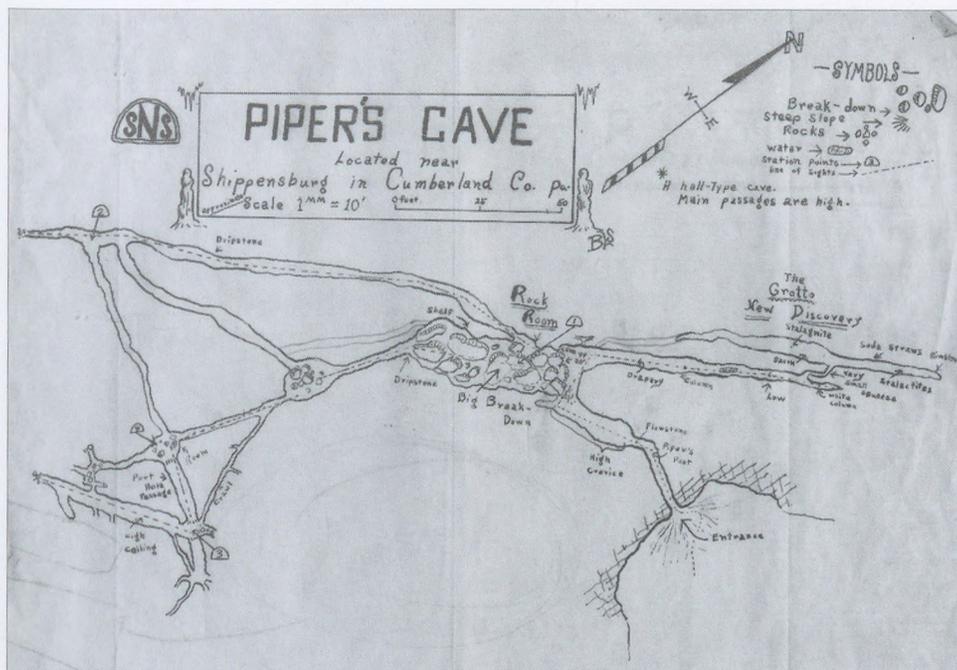


Figure 6: Earliest known map of Peiper Cave.

Survey and drawing by Bernard L. Smeltzer (Note spelling of the cave name.)

Loss of buoyant support by gallery draining appears to be the major contributor to breakdown in Peiper Cave. In this process, assuming an average density for limestone of 150 lb/ft^3 , the buoyancy of the rock in water contributes an upward force of 62.4 lb/ft^3 . When passages are drained, 42 percent of the support is removed.²¹

It was not until late 1948 or early to mid 1949 that Peiper Cave was first surveyed and mapped. This earliest map identifies the cave as "Piper's Cave." The map does not show the complex maze network, a pattern not common in the Cumberland Valley, found in later maps. Duffield Cave at Duffield (Franklin County) is another maze cave in the Cumberland Valley. Peiper Cave has the most complex cave pattern in Cumberland and Franklin Counties.

Carnegie Cave

Introduction

Carnegie Cave is a popular cave partly located under Interstate 81 near Exit 10 (King Street Exit) at Shippensburg. It has 1,905 feet of passages²² and has been explored for at least 80 years.

History and Geology

The earliest description of Carnegie Cave is from Stone (1932), locating it on the Mower Farm.²³ The original entrance was through a quarry opening in the north bank of Thompson Run [Creek]. Smeltzer (1958) updated land-ownership information, indicating the cave was on the Henry Jacoby property, formerly the Carnegie Farm.²⁴ Originally, there were three cave entrances, all in the aforementioned quarry. Only one entrance remains due to Interstate 81 construction in the early 1960s. Prior to completing this section of the highway, on June 9, 1964, the York Grotto (caving club) petitioned PennDOT to preserve access to Carnegie Cave. The main entrance, located in the I-81 median, was maintained when corrugated metal pipe was cemented in the opening and extended out the west side of the highway embankment.²⁵ This pipe is three feet in diameter and 155 feet long. Sections of it were sealed together with a bituminous, tar-like material. The original (easternmost) entrance lies approximately 30 feet vertically below the highway – a distance short enough that, underground, one can hear truck traffic from the surface. Most of the cave lies north-northwest of I-81.

On July 9, 1967, Carnegie Cave became the only local cave to sustain a fatality. On that day, spelunkers exiting the cave left two burning candles in the drainpipe. A different group of three entered the cave, passed the candles, and explored the cave. Upon returning to exit, they saw a wall of fire encircling approximately 25-30 feet of the inside of the drainpipe's middle section. One of them panicked and crawled through the flames. The other two retreated to inner recesses of the cave and waited for rescue. The panicked caver died three days later from second and third-degree burns.²⁶

Carnegie Cave's popularity has resulted in vandalism. However, some excellent speleothems remain. Figure 7 shows a three-foot "fluted column" at cross-section S-S' shown on Smeltzer's 1958 map. Especially interesting in this cave are the well-developed rimpools or rimstone dams (Figure 8) in the northern terminus, northwest of cross-section v-v' on the same map. These speleothems form on cave floors and consist of narrow, interconnected ridges bounding pools of water resembling terraces. Water usually flows over them from one crescent-shaped pool to another. Rimpools form when water flows over an obstruction and is slightly agitated, causing carbon dioxide to be given off and calcite precipitated on the lip of the dam. As more water flows over low parts of the dam than elsewhere, more calcite is deposited on them and the top of the dam, therefore, keeps nearly level.²⁷

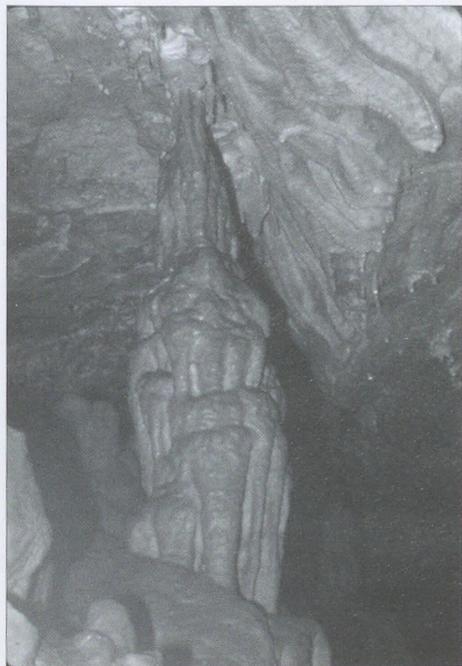


Figure 7: Three-foot column in Carnegie Cave.



Figure 8: Rimpool in Carnegie Cave.

Photos by Author

Cleversburg Sink

Introduction

Of Cumberland Valley caves, Cleversburg Sink is unique in that it intersects the water table. As a result, it is flooded most of the time. This flooding thwarted spelunkers for decades. Only during prolonged droughts could they explore lower levels of the cave.

History and Geology

The earliest report regarding Cleversburg Sink was in 1929 when two hunters discovered the sinkhole and cave.²⁸ The cave was not entered because it was flooded. The landowner previously knew of the sinkhole but not of the cave below.

Unlike earlier spelunkers, in the 1970s this writer used one-man rafts (Figure 9) to explore the cave. The rafts provided observational vantage points not possible during routine explorations. Floating on the water table puts the caver up to 40 feet above the cave bottom. These higher-level observations revealed previously unknown features in Giant Hall²⁹ including: a 25-foot tall column (Figure 10), prolific stalactites 2-3 feet in length and drapery (Figure 11); fish;



Figure 9: Using one-man rafts in Cleversburg Sink.

Photo by author

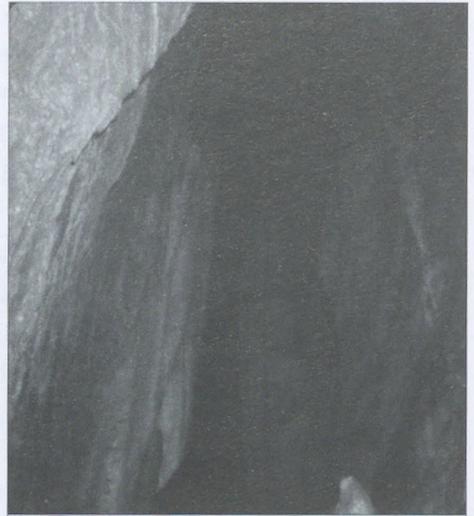


Figure 10: 25-foot column in Giant Hall, Cleversburg Sink.

Photo by author



Figure 11: Prolific speleothems on the ceiling of Giant Hall in Cleversburg Sink.

Photo by author

large breakdown blocks wedged in the narrow passage; and the greatest vertical development of local caves, ranging 70-80 feet. The referenced ceiling speleothems in Giant Hall are too high above cave bottom to see if explorations occur when the cave is dry. Rafts also offered opportunities to photograph a 30-foot decline in the water table over a two-week period. This observation complements more recent pressure-transducer³⁰ readings of water-level measurements in the cave.³¹ Also, in more recent years, wetsuit diving has been done here.³²

Fish in Cleversburg Sink ranged up to approximately eight inches in length and may be from Burd Run and Thompson Creek. Surface surveys of the cave indicate the far end of the southwest branch lies within 20 feet of the two streams intersecting.³³

Some water in Cleversburg Sink is likely from the referenced streams.³⁴

Additional images of the subject caves are in the Mid-Atlantic Karst Conservancy library. Peiper Cave and Cleversburg Sink are now gated. Permission to explore Peiper Cave must be obtained from current owners (see the section of this article on Peiper Cave). The National Speleological Society now controls access to Cleversburg Sink. However, Carnegie Cave is still open to the general public.

Endnotes:

- 1 PA Long Cave List (www.caves.org/conservancy/pcc/Files/PA_Long_Caves_2012-12-01.pdf).
- 2 R.W. Stone, *Pennsylvania Caves*, 2nd Edition, (Topographic and Geologic Survey, Harrisburg, PA, 1932), 55.
- 3 B.L. Smeltzer, "Caves of the Shippensburg area, Mid-Appalachian Region," *National Speleological Society Bull.* 4; October 1958, 14.
- 4 W. B. White, "Cave Sediments and Paleoclimate," *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies*, v. 69, no. 1, 2007, 76-93.
- 5 W. B. White, "The Evolution of Appalachian Fluviokarst: Competition Between Stream Erosion, Cave Development, Surface Denudation, and Tectonic Uplift," *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies*, v. 71, no. 3, 2009, 159-167.
- 6 William B. White, personal communication, 10-1-12.
- 7 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 8 Edgar E. Peiper, personal communication, 3-18-91.
- 9 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 10 Opatka K. Metzgar and T. Metzgar, T. (eds.), "The Caves of Pennsylvania, Guidebook to the 2013 NSS Convention," Shippensburg, Pennsylvania; August 5-9, 2013; The National Speleological Society, 32.
- 11 Peiper, 1991.
- 12 Peiper, 1991.
- 13 Local chapter of the National Speleological Society (NSS).
- 14 Cave deposits formed by the action of water. Examples include stalactites and stalagmites.
- 15 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 16 Curved twig-like speleothem, commonly defying gravity.
- 17 Solution pits in ceilings of caves, looking like domes.
- 18 Sheet-like deposits in caves where water flows down walls and along floors.
- 19 W.E. Davies, "Features of Cave Breakdown", *NSS Bull.*, v. 11, 1949, 34-35, 72.
- 20 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 21 E. White, and W. White, "Processes of Cavern Breakdown", *National Speleological Society Bulletin*, v. 31, n. 4, 1969, 83-96.

- 22 Bernard Smeltzer, personal communication, 3-22-91.
- 23 Stone, 1932.
- 24 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 25 R.E. Mueser; personal communication; 1-16-83.
- 26 "NSS Cave Accident Reports," 1967, 4-5.
- 27 G.W. Moore and G. Nicholas, *Speleology, the Study of Caves*, (Boston, D.C. Heath 1964), 120.
- 28 Stone, 1932.
- 29 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 30 A sensor that measures water levels.
- 31 T. Feeney and M. Mishler, "The Potential for Allogenic Recharge to Cleversburg Sink", *GSA South-Central Pennsylvania Northeastern (46th Annual) and North-Central (45th Annual) Joint Meeting*; 3/20-22/11.
- 32 Kenneth Tayman, personal communication, 8-2-12.
- 33 Smeltzer, 1958.
- 34 Feeney and Mishler, 2011.

History of the Shiremanstown Borough School District

William J. Murray

In 1964, the Mechanicsburg Area School District was created by merging three existing school districts: the Mechanicsburg School District, the Upper Allen School District and the Shiremanstown School District. The school district is fortunate to have in its archives a collection of documents from the former Shiremanstown School District.

Prior to incorporation in 1874, Shiremanstown was a post village located along the Simpson Ferry Road, the main road leading from Carlisle to New Cumberland. It was located partly in Hampton Township and partly in Lower Allen Township.¹ The students from the area received their education as part of either the Hampton Township School District or the Lower Allen Township School District. According to an article in *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties*, the students of Shiremanstown were educated in a "large, commodious brick school house built in 1868 by Lower Allen Township."²

After Shiremanstown became a legal entity in August 1874, the decision was made by the town leaders to organize the Shiremanstown Borough School District. An election was held to form a school board and the first meeting of the newly formed school board was held February 20, 1875.³ The new school board began the process of negotiating the split from Hampton Township and Lower Allen Township. The split with Hampton Township was very amicable with Hampton Township agreeing to allow Shiremanstown to retain the existing building as well as their share of the state subsidy.⁴

The split with Lower Allen Township did not go as smoothly and eventually led to a court battle that ended with a series of rulings including a judgment by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The original lower court decision favored Lower Allen Township. It forced Shiremanstown, in addition to lawyer fees and court costs, to pay a subsidy of \$585.52 to the Lower Allen School Board.⁵ In order to make this payment, the Shiremanstown Board needed to borrow \$250, a large sum since the annual budget for the district was only about \$1,000 a year.⁶ The final ruling of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court issued in 1879 ruled

that Lower Allen did not need to reimburse Shiremanstown the \$72.50 that the Shiremanstown School Board felt was illegally withheld as their part of the state subsidy.⁷

Just like today, two major items of business at most meetings were the raising of money and the payment of bills. In order to raise money, once a year the members of the school board set the millage rate, which ranged from 2 to 3 percent and often included an additional ½–1 percent for building maintenance. This was usually leveed at the summer meeting. An additional tax on dogs was added in 1891.⁸ The largest single expense of the district, other than the salaries for teachers, was the cost of fuel to heat the school house. Very early in the process, a “committee on coal” was set up to investigate the cheapest option for purchasing the commodity and heating the school rooms.⁹

Most of the school board members were very regular in their attendance and served without incidents, but one member was removed from his office for missing four meetings.¹⁰ Another member of the school board resigned over a dispute concerning the salary of the primary teacher set by the board at \$30 per month.¹¹ The members of the board took their role so seriously that when the local newspaper was set to publish an article about the board, members visited the editor of the paper demanding to know the author of the article.¹² Nothing further is mentioned in the minutes about this incident likely indicating that the article was not as bad as the board members feared.

There were originally two school buildings in the borough. The original meeting of the school board was held in the school “located on the north side of Main Street.”¹³ The Board decided to sell the Main Street property and did so in 1875 to William Rupp for \$225.¹⁴ The second property was a four-room school house located at the corner of Green and Locust streets next to the Bethel Church. The building was originally unpainted red brick, but later painted a “straw color with appropriate trim” in 1893.¹⁵ The minutes later state that there was a lawn in the front of the school.¹⁶ In 1884, an awning was added to the front of the building as was a bell and belfry to call the children to class. The cost of the bell was \$21.90.¹⁷ Originally, the addition of a porch on the front of the school house was discussed, but voted down because of the additional cost.¹⁸

An outhouse was added on the property in 1884. The structure was 5 feet x 9 feet in size and “in the rear of the school as close as justified.”¹⁹ In 1888, the minutes stated that there were two such structures; one for boys and one for girls.²⁰ The need to have the outhouses cleaned was mentioned in the minutes on two separate occasions and may have been the reason why one teacher requested the hiring of a janitor.²¹ The request was denied, but the minutes indicate that the facility was cleaned.²² In 1892, the board authorized the construction of a new facility.²³



Shiremanstown School, 1868–1962

Shiremanstown Historical Society

A fence was constructed in 1890 to separate the school property from a private home.²⁴ There were no locks on the school house doors until 1893 when the school was entered illegally and vandalized.²⁵ The area was tree lined and a brick pavement was installed in 1892.²⁶ The school house had a cellar with an outside entrance way.²⁷ The minutes mention a “recently erected” flag pole in front of the building.²⁸ The rooms were furnished with a teacher’s desk and students’ desks. The cost to purchase new furniture for both rooms in 1889 was \$296.00.²⁹ Each room had a slate blackboard.³⁰ The classrooms also contained a stove for heating.³¹

The board set the salary for the two teachers employed by the district. In addition, the board set the length of the school term. Originally, the term was set at the state minimum of 6 months.³² The term was lengthened to 8 months by 1894.³³ Teachers served for a one-year period and needed to reapply for employment every year. There were often two or three applicants for each of the positions. Many of the teachers hired were graduates from a Pennsylvania normal school, but would not receive their full diplomas until they had two years of successful teaching. The board voted on a number of occasions to have a normal school’s degree conferred on an employee.³⁴ Not every teacher that was certified was rehired for the following term.³⁵ Not every teacher’s certification was acted upon by the board.³⁶

There were two teachers hired each year; a primary teacher and either a high school or a grammar school teacher. For the first two years of the district's existence, the upper teacher was referred to as the "high school" teacher. Starting with the 1877-78 term, the designation was changed to "grammar school" teacher. Since specific grades were rarely mentioned, it is difficult to know what is meant by the term "grammar school" except that the board minutes twice stated that the board meeting was held in the "high school" room, and in 1883 the board referred to a teacher in his eulogy as the "high school" teacher.³⁷ Was "grammar school" another name for a "high school"? The question is further confused when the Shiremanstown Grammar School held a baccalaureate and graduation service for the class of 1893 awarding the graduating students a diploma and sending them "into the world."³⁸ Later the Teachers Monthly Report Book of Professor Hench confirms that the highest grade completed during the period was ninth grade.³⁹

Teachers in the Shiremanstown schools, as was true of other schools in the Commonwealth and as stated earlier, were hired to teach for one term and may or may not have their contracts renewed for an additional year. One example is Miss Ada G Sadler, a resident of Hampton Township. Sadler was hired by the district to teach primary school for the one term, from September 1877 to May 1878. Her contract was renewed twice until May 1880.⁴⁰ Miss Sadler reapplied in 1880 and was one of the candidates interviewed by the school board but was not hired to teach for the 1880-1881 term.⁴¹ She applied again the following year and was hired. She served four additional terms until 1885.⁴²

As was the custom of the day, female teachers were often required to leave teaching when they married. Ida R. Shuman taught for the district from September 1885 until May 1889 when she married Clayton Willis.⁴³ Some, realizing that teaching was not for them, left the teaching profession after only one or two years. George W. Ployer was hired to teach grammar school for the borough in 1886.⁴⁴ Ployer left teaching after one year to become a janitor and later a watchman in a department store.⁴⁵ One teacher had his career cut short for a different reason. John C. Strominger, a graduate of Cumberland Valley State Normal School (CVSNS) at Shippensburg, died in 1883 at age 24 during his first year with the Shiremanstown Borough Schools. The minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board of March 4, 1883 contain the following tribute:

— John C. Strominger, the teacher of our High School and whereas we believe God to be too good to be unkind and too wise to err we do therefore bow with meek submission to his will. Resolved that in the death of John C. Strominger his parents have lost a dutiful and obedient son and our school an exemplary and faithful teacher. Resolved that a

copy of these proceedings be entered on our minutes and a copy signed by the President and Secretary of the Board be transmitted to the family with the assurance of our sympathy for them in their loss bereavement."⁴⁶

Mr. Strominger was replaced for the remainder of the academic year by William Emerson Zinn, the town dentist.⁴⁷

A number of teachers hired by Shiremanstown were graduates of the newly created Shippensburg Normal School and can be found in the list of graduates of Shippensburg University. Not all Shiremanstown teachers were graduates of the normal school. As an example, Clara P. Segelbaum was hired to teach in Shiremanstown from January 1912 to May 1913.⁴⁸ She was a graduate of Irving College.⁴⁹ After leaving Shiremanstown, Miss Segelbaum was employed as a teacher by the Harrisburg School District.⁵⁰ While many of the teachers had a college or normal degree this was not true of all of the teachers. Jessie B. Braught was a teacher in the intermediate school for one term starting in September, 1910.⁵¹ She did so with only a high school diploma.⁵²

Some of the teachers, such as the previously mentioned Clara P. Segelbaum, left to teach in another district. One teacher, Solomon M. Smyser was hired by Shiremanstown to teach primary school in 1893 soon after he graduated from CVSNS and stayed at least one year.⁵³ By 1900, Smyser moved to Carbon County where he was again employed as a teacher.⁵⁴ By 1910, he moved again, this time to Bucks County where he was named a principal.⁵⁵ Later, Smyser was commissioned in Bucks County as County Superintendent of Schools.⁵⁶

Some of the teachers hired by the district had a great deal of previous experience. One example is David Emanuel (D.E.) Kast hired by the district to teach high school in 1879.⁵⁷ Kast was listed as a teacher as early as 1850⁵⁸ and served as an original faculty member of Cumberland Valley State Normal School when it opened its doors in 1871.⁵⁹ In addition, Kast served two terms as county Superintendent from 1872 to 1878.⁶⁰ While serving as county Superintendent, Kast was the author of an article on teacher qualifications.⁶¹ After this experience, Kast taught grammar school for Shiremanstown for four terms from 1879 until May, 1883.⁶² Kast then left Shiremanstown and opened a private school in Mechanicsburg, Kast's Classical and Normal School.⁶³ A second former County Superintendent hired by the borough schools was Samuel Beetem Shearer who served as County Superintendent from 1878 to 1887.⁶⁴ He was hired to teach Grammar school for three terms starting in September 1891.⁶⁵

Another experienced teacher hired by Shiremanstown was William H. Hench who taught High School for the Shiremanstown schools. Hench, a native of Perry County, began his teaching career in the Newport schools in 1868 when he was age 21.⁶⁶ By 1872, Hench moved to Cumberland County where he was named

the first high school teacher of the Mechanicsburg School District, a position he held until the 1890s. Hench was listed in government reports as the principal and only teacher of the High School in Mechanicsburg.⁶⁷ The same report for the 1891–1892 academic year states that the high school had two instructors, Hench and an unnamed female teacher.⁶⁸ Hench was hired as the secondary teacher in Shiremanstown in 1905, a position he held for at least ten years.⁶⁹

One teacher was hired with a great deal of experience, but not in education. Martin S. Taylor was born in Franklin County in 1847.⁷⁰ At the outbreak of the American Civil War, Taylor enlisted in Company 1, 198th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry and served in the Army of the Potomac. Taylor participated in the Battle of Petersburg where a bullet shattered his left hand. The hand was amputated at a civil war field hospital.⁷¹ Later in life, Taylor attended Spring Run and Dry Run Academies and in 1867 became a teacher in the country schools. In 1880, he entered the Normal School at Shippensburg and graduated in 1884. Taylor taught grammar school in the Shippensburg area until he was elected Shiremanstown High School principal and teacher in 1895, a position he held until 1902 when he was named a principal in the Harrisburg School District.⁷² By 1910, Taylor was supervising principal of the public high school in Franklin County.⁷³ The census report indicates that when he retired, he returned to live in Shiremanstown.⁷⁴

Blanche Clever, a 1901 graduate of CVSNS, taught in the Shiremanstown Intermediate School until 1907.⁷⁵ After 1907, Miss Clever crossed the river to teach at the Felton School of the Steelton School District, where she remained until her death in 1935.⁷⁶

One individual with an interesting career after teaching in Shiremanstown was Nezza Nevello (N.N.) Arnold. Arnold graduated from CVSNS in 1901 and was hired to teach grammar school in Shiremanstown for one term.⁷⁷ The 1910 census reveals that Arnold was still a teacher ten years later as were his two brothers, Robert and Harrison.⁷⁸ Arnold left teaching in 1910 to become a student at Princeton University. While at Princeton, he joined the Princeton debate team.⁷⁹ Arnold graduated in 1911 with a Bachelor of Arts degree as well as two major debating awards.⁸⁰ The 1920 census reveals a change in “career.” Arnold is listed as an inmate of the Pennsylvania State Hospital for the Insane, where he remained until at least 1940.⁸¹

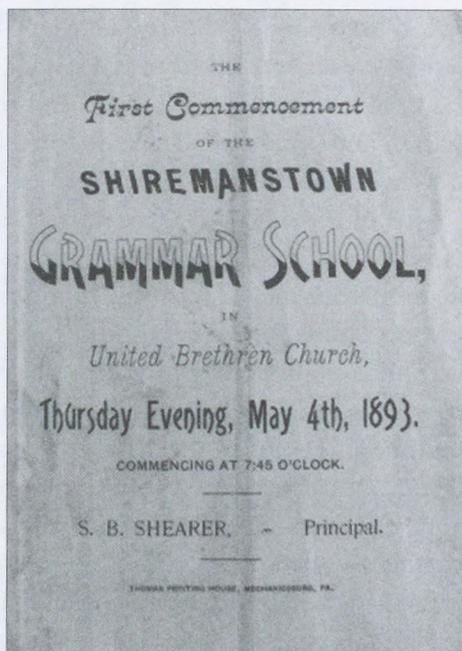
The curriculum design was up to the teacher of the grade. Most high schools of the period were driven by textbooks, and since Shiremanstown purchased textbooks for the classes, the district was likely not an exception to this rule.⁸² It was not until 1880 that a written curriculum was developed for the primary grades.⁸³

The schools served the community, but also allowed for tuition paying students. The rate varied from \$.50 per student per month in 1875 to \$1.50 per student per month in 1885.⁸⁴ There was at least one example of a parent complaining of the expense.⁸⁵ There were times when the school buildings were rented out for use by a subscription (private) school⁸⁶ or a summer school.⁸⁷ There was one case where a Shiremanstown grammar school teacher, Professor Kast, was permitted to recruit students from outside the district and charge a subscription fee.⁸⁸ The rooms were also used by the community to hold municipal elections⁸⁹ and by outside groups like the Literary Society.⁹⁰

During the 1880's the school board needed to act on accepting incoming students from an orphan school or agree to send students to an orphan school.⁹¹ The board had the discretion of sending or not sending students as the case of the children of Raymond Markle indicates. The board refused action for a period of one year before they finally voted to allow the children to be placed in the county orphanage.⁹²

In 1884, the school day was from 8:30 am until 11:30 am with an hour and a half for lunch. The afternoon session was from 1 pm to 4 pm. The students were not permitted on the school grounds more than twenty minutes before school or after school.⁹³ Recess was in the schedule twice each day with boys and girls having separate recess times twice a day for five to eight minutes for each group.⁹⁴

The school board also decided the amount of vacation time that the students and teachers received. During the early years, schools were open every day except Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Day. During the 1884-85 school year, the teachers did not receive any holidays.⁹⁵ This later changed. Students and teachers had a week long Christmas break from December 22, 1893 to January 2, 1894.⁹⁶ Teachers were required to teach a total of 22 days a month unless they were granted time off for a holiday or to attend the County Institute, an in-service program run by the County Superintendent to provide professional development for teachers and administrators.



First Commencement Program
Shiremanstown Historical Society

Attendance is an issue discussed by the school board on numerous occasions. Students who missed school were required to provide a note from a parent or guardian stating why they were not in class.⁹⁷ It was determined that if a student missed more than three days without a reasonable excuse, they were not allowed to return without a permit issued by the Board.⁹⁸ Profane language by students was also a concern as was the use of tobacco and chewing gum.⁹⁹ During the period between 1875 to 1894 covered by the surviving minutes, only two students were suspended from the school. The names of the students are listed in the minutes.¹⁰⁰ Eventually, rules and regulations for running the schools were written and published. They are listed in the minutes and were to be displayed in the classrooms.¹⁰¹

One of the duties of the teachers was to test the students from the "A" primary class to see if they were ready to advance to the grammar school. There are numerous mentions in the minutes of students being tested and the names of those students advancing with their scores listed in the minutes.¹⁰² Students were not automatically promoted. The exam of 1881 determined that no student passed the exam and was ready to advance to the grammar school.¹⁰³

Sometime prior to the 1920s the board of education of the Shiremanstown School District made a decision to stop providing education for students above grade eight. Instead, the Shiremanstown board would pay tuition for students wishing to attend high school in another community. While the students had options in the immediate area, many of them made the trek along Trindle Road to Mechanicsburg High. By 1957, this was made official by the agreement of three district school boards, Shiremanstown, Upper Allen and Mechanicsburg to maintain their separate roles in providing education for elementary students, but to join together to provide a secondary school experience for their children. The Mechanicsburg Area Joint School District lasted until July 1, 1964, when the three districts merged to become the Mechanicsburg Area School District.

Shiremanstown Schools Collection in the Mechanicsburg Area School District Archives

- Board Minutes from the founding of the district, February 20, 1875 to May 24, 1894
- Teachers Monthly Reports – Grammar School, September 1881 to March 1888
- Teachers Monthly Report individual sheet, March 1885
- Teachers Monthly Report individual sheet, April 1885
- Teachers Monthly Reports – Grammar School, September 1888 to March 1895
- Teachers monthly reports – Primary School – September 1888 to April 1896

- Roll of Numbers (Roll Call Book of the Shiremanstown School Board containing the names of school board members and how they voted, June 3, 1889 – 1912
- Rules for the use of the schools, September 12, 1890
- Book marked “Shiremanstown Circulating Library,” circa 1890
- General Science Curriculum (handwritten), circa 1890
- Examination of “A” Class Primary school by S. B. Shearer, May 11, 1894
- Oath of Office, School Director John R. Strong, June 4, 1894
- Cash received by the Shiremanstown School District, July 2, 1894 to May 27, 1895
- Cash paid out as per voucher, loose leaf page, July 12, 1894 to May 10, 1895
- Money received for broken slates (Memo in handwriting of S.B. Shearer), Circa 1894
- Oath of Office, School Director S. S. Rupp, June 10, 1897
- Oath of Office, School Director John F. Rupp, June 7, 1898
- Teachers Monthly Report Book – Grammar School, May, 1904 to September 1913
- Teachers Monthly Reports – Intermediate School, September 1904 to September 1912
- Rules Regulations and Course of Study of the Shiremanstown School District, September 11, 1906
- Daily Handwritten Schedule – Signed by Jessie Brough, circa 1910
- Teachers Monthly Report Book – Primary Grades, September 1911 to June 1921
- Grade book – Estimates of Grades completed by Professor Hench, 1915 to 1916
- Daily schedule in Professor Hench’s handwriting, circa 1919
- Attendance Register of Ray S. Shank Intermediate School (grades 4, 5, and 6), September 2, 1921 – June 1, 1923
- Armistice Day Program on Shiremanstown Public School stationary – Handwritten Program, circa 1925

Endnotes

- 1 Daniel I. Rupp, *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties*, 1846, 433.
- 2 Beers, *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania*, 1886, 269.
- 3 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, February 20, 1875.
- 4 *Ibid.*, May 8, 1875.
- 5 *Ibid.*, May 4, 1877.
- 6 *The Annual Statement of the Shiremanstown Borough School Board*, 1877.

- 7 "Lower Allen SD vs. Shiremanstown SD," *Pennsylvania State Records for the Supreme Court*, April 24, 1879.
- 8 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, July 10, 1891 and May 20, 1892.
- 9 *Ibid.*, July 31, 1875.
- 10 *Ibid.*, April 9, 1877.
- 11 Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board, July 13, 1881.
- 12 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, November 19, 1883 and November 22, 1883.
There is no further mention of the article in the board minutes.
- 13 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, February 20, 1875.
- 14 *Ibid.*, October 16, 1875.
- 15 *Ibid.*, July 25, 1893.
- 16 *Ibid.*, July 2, 1883.
- 17 *Ibid.*, July 21, 1884 and May 14, 1885.
- 18 *Ibid.*, July 27, 1886.
- 19 *Ibid.*, July 14, 1884.
- 20 *Ibid.*, September 14, 1888.
- 21 *Ibid.*, February 14, 1890 and January 9, 1891.
- 22 *Ibid.*, May 8, 1892.
- 23 *Ibid.*, November 7, 1892.
- 24 *Ibid.*, November 12, 1880.
- 25 *Ibid.*, December 12, 1892.
- 26 *Ibid.*, June 6, 1892.
- 27 *Ibid.*, February 8, 1892.
- 28 *Ibid.*, October 7, 1892.
- 29 *Ibid.*, March 18, 1889.
- 30 *Ibid.*, September 20, 1887.
- 31 *Ibid.*, January 13, 1883.
- 32 *Ibid.*, June 7, 1875.
- 33 *Ibid.*, May 10, 1894.
- 34 *Ibid.*, June 4, 1878, August 27, 1881, April 3, 1890 and May 11, 1894.
- 35 *Ibid.*, June 11, 1878.
- 36 *Ibid.*, March 13, 1879.
- 37 *Ibid.*, June 6, 1882, July 11, 1883 and March 4, 1884.
- 38 *Ibid.*, May 5, 1893.
- 39 *Teachers Monthly Report Book – Grammar School*, May, 1904 to September 1913. Written in the Monthly Report for May 1910 is the following statement; "By Resolution of the School Board, Graduation Exercises were postponed indefinitely." For the first time, the list of students for the 1910–1911 academic year include tenth year. The entry for May 1911 includes a listing of students for eleventh year for 1911–1912. The book then ends

- without confirmation that the Shiremanstown School district held a graduation for high school in May, 1913.
- 40 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, July 7, 1877, June 11, 1878 and July 17, 1879.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, July 14, 1880.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, July 13, 1881, June 28, 1882, August 27, 1883 and July 24, 1884.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, July 24, 1885, July 27, 1886, June 28, 1887, and June 15, 1888.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, June 15, 1888.
 - 45 *United States Federal Census*, 1880 and 1910.
 - 46 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, March 3, 1884.
 - 47 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, April 9, 1884. *United States Federal Census*, 1880. *Harrisburg, Pennsylvania City Directory*, 1876. Chambersburg, Pennsylvania City Directory, 1882. Both the Harrisburg and Chambersburg City Directories contained listings for the Mechanicsburg – Shiremanstown area.
 - 48 *Teachers Monthly Report Book – Primary Grades*, September 1911 to June 1921.
 - 49 *Irvingiana*, May 1907. *Irvingiana* was the name of the Irving College Yearbook.
 - 50 *Harrisburg, Pennsylvania City Directories*, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1923.
 - 51 *Teachers Monthly Reports – Intermediate School*, September 1904 to Sept 1912.
 - 52 *United States Federal Census*, 1940
 - 53 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, August 1, 1893. The records for this period are incomplete. Smyser may have been at Shiremanstown longer than one year.
 - 54 *United States Federal Census*, 1890.
 - 55 *United States Federal Census*, 1910.
 - 56 *United States Federal Census*, 1920 and 1930.
 - 57 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, June 10, 1879.
 - 58 *United States Federal Census*, 1850.
 - 59 Beers, 202.
 - 60 Beers, 206.
 - 61 Kast D. E. "Standard Qualifications of Teachers," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, 104-108.
 - 62 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, July 10, 1879, June 6, 1880, July 14, 1881, and July 21, 1882.
 - 63 *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, June 6, 1904.
 - 64 Beers, 206.
 - 65 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, July 10, 1879, June 21, 1880, July 14, 1881, and June 21, 1882.
 - 66 *A History of that Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys: Counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Volume II, 1886.
 - 67 *Report of the Commission of Education for the year 1889 – 1900 Vol 2*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1893.

- 68 *Report of the Commission of Education for the year 1891–1892, Vol 2*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1894.
- 69 *Teachers Monthly Report Book – Grammar School*, May, 1904 to September 1913, *Teachers Monthly Reports – Intermediate School*, September 1904 to Sept 1912 and *Grade Book – Estimates of Grades* 1915 to 1916. The grade books for Professor Hench prior to 1915 are not part of the collection. He is listed as a class visitor for the grammar and intermediate classes starting in 1905. Classroom visitation was a duty of the principal or supervising teacher.
- 70 *United States Federal Census*, 1850.
- 71 *Biography and Portrait Cyclopedia of the Nineteenth Congressional District, Pennsylvania*, 1897.
- 72 *Biography and Portrait Cyclopedia of the Nineteenth Congressional District, Pennsylvania*, 1897, *Boyd's Harrisburg – Steelton City Directory*, 1902, 1904, and 1907.
- 73 *United States Federal Census*, 1910.
- 74 *United States Federal Census*, 1930.
- 75 *Teachers Monthly Reports – Intermediate School*, September 1904 to September 1912. The holdings are incomplete for this period. It is not possible to tell if Miss Clever began her Shiremanstown career prior to 1904.
- 76 *United States Federal Census*, 1910, 1920, and 1930. *Harrisburg, Pennsylvania City Directory* 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, and 1935. *Steelton, Pennsylvania City Directory* 1936.
- 77 *Teachers Monthly Report Book – Grammar School*, May 1904 to September 1913.
- 78 *United States Federal Census*, 1910.
- 79 *Daily Princetonian*, May 1, 1910.
- 80 *Catalogue of Princeton University*, 1911–1912.
- 81 *United States Federal Census*, 1920, 1930, and 1940.
- 82 *Minutes of the Shiremanstown School Board*, August 7, 1875.
- 83 *Ibid.*, November 12, 1880.
- 84 *Ibid.*, September 9, 1878, September 18, 1885, September 20, 1887, November 11, 1887, and November 6, 1891.
- 85 *Ibid.*, September 9, 1878.
- 86 *Ibid.*, March 5, 1883.
- 87 *Ibid.*, March 11, 1886, March 18, 1886, February 14, 1890, and June 30, 1891.
- 88 *Ibid.*, July 19, 1879.
- 89 *Ibid.*, April 9, 1877.
- 90 *Ibid.*, March 13, 1884.
- 91 *Ibid.*, November 2, 1883 and November 30, 1883.
- 92 *Ibid.*, November 8, 1889, February 14, 1890, March 18, 1890 and August 8 1890.
- 93 *Ibid.*, August 25, 1884.
- 94 *Ibid.*, November 9, 1888, and December 14, 1888.

- 95 *Ibid.*, July 26, 1884.
- 96 *Ibid.*, December 1, 1893.
- 97 *Ibid.*, October 22, 1887, and November 14, 1878.
- 98 *Ibid.*, September 14, 1888.
- 99 *Ibid.*, October 6, 1893 and April 13, 1894.
- 100 *Ibid.*, January 3, 1878 and November 17, 1887.
- 101 *Ibid.*, September 12, 1890.
- 102 *Ibid.*, December 2, 1879, August 29, 1882, September 3, 1883, November 1, 1884, March 13, 1885, August 26, 1887, December 13, 1889, August 31, 1891, and August 4, 1893.
- 103 *Ibid.*, March 24, 1881.

Opportunity or Ornament:

The Promise of Women's Education at Irving College, 1890-1910

John Maietta

The advancement of civilization demands a full development of the minds of our girls. The day when the boy is to be educated and the girl neglected has, like other relics of barbarism, passed into history.

– Irving College catalogue for 1896–1897¹

Coming at the dawn of the Progressive Era, the sentiments above seem to herald exciting opportunities at a small, private women's college in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. At the same time, however, the school motto emblazoned at the front of the catalogue suggests a contradictory aim. The words are taken from Psalm 114:12:

*That our daughters may be as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace.*²

Personal fulfillment versus social ornamentation: that dichotomy came to the fore during the nineteenth century, as economic growth and cultural evolution raised new questions about the proper role of women in American life. Higher education marked one field in which this tension played out. The first all-female college appeared in Georgia in 1836, and new coeducational schools such as Oberlin College (1833) and Antioch College (1853) opened their doors to a few pioneering young women as well.³ By the time of the Civil War, women's colleges were sprouting up all across the country. Some, like Vassar College, went on to gain a national reputation for academic excellence and liberating influence. Others, more modest in size and ambition, rose and fell in relative obscurity.

Such was the case with Irving College in Mechanicsburg.* The school was founded in 1856 by an enterprising local businessman, Solomon Gorgas, who

* Chartered as Irving Female College, the school was later known briefly as Irving College for Young Ladies, then Irving College for Young Women; it adopted its final name, Irving College and Music Conservatory, in 1895. For ease of reference, "Irving College" will be used throughout this paper.

sought instant cachet by naming it after the famous writer Washington Irving.⁴ (Popular histories credit Irving College with being the first degree-granting women's college in the state, but serious studies debunk this notion.⁵) The fortunes of the school faltered in the postwar years, and it succumbed to a temporary closure in 1883. In 1886 Irving reopened under new leadership, and the next thirty years saw its greatest success. The original classroom and residential building on campus was expanded three times between 1892 and 1902. Semi-professional music training joined the traditional liberal arts curriculum in 1895. Enrollment ran steady at 100 or more, including part-time and commuting students. By 1920, however, Irving had entered a period of fatal decline. Weak management, financial insecurity, high faculty turnover, competition from coeducational schools, and an inability to maintain educational standards eventually combined to force the closure of Irving College in 1929.⁶

Today, public memory seems to accord Irving College the status of little more than a "charm school," finishing off proper young ladies to be dutiful mothers and decorative wives. This may be due, in part, to the reminiscences of the last surviving alumnae in the last decades of the twentieth century. By the time they attended Irving, in the 1920s, the school had probably lost much of whatever academic reputation it may have once had. The shift away from a solid liberal arts orientation is evident in the last senior class, which had only twenty-six students enrolled in the Academic Department. The Conservatory of Music had enrolled twenty-nine; the Home Economics Department, twenty; the Dramatic Art Department, thirteen; and the Secretarial Training Department, nine.⁷

A further challenge in seeking a full understanding of Irving College is the dearth of personal accounts from its heyday. The only document approaching a memoir is a recollection of college history, written late in life by a 1904 graduate, Lenore Embick Flower.⁸ This slim volume mostly rehashes the standard narrative of growth and decline, offering few insights into the meaning or impact of the college in the lives of its students. Scholarly research on the school is virtually non-existent as well – with the admirable exception of a 282-page master's thesis by Chad Leinawever, a former Mechanicsburg resident studying at Northeastern University.⁹

Nevertheless, the significance of Irving College at the turn of the twentieth century remains an intriguing issue. Two main questions are relevant. First, where did the school fall within the context of social trends of the time, particularly regarding the education of women? Second, what did its students hope to achieve by attending? Were they seeking to claim newly promised roles in the nation's economic and public life? Or were they simply trying to burnish their marital prospects and domestic skills?

One suspects that the answer to the second question lies somewhere between those two extremes. This paper attempts to confirm that hunch. With a shortage of direct student testimony, the author has relied on inferences drawn largely from three documentary sources: the official Irving College catalogue, the student literary journal (*The Sketch Book*), and the student yearbook (*The Irvingiana*). The latter two were first published in 1895 and 1901, respectively; the last editions available in the college archives, at Simpson Public Library in Mechanicsburg, date from 1912 and 1907. This makes the period from 1890 to 1910 a logical focus for exploring the ideas of opportunity and ornamentation as they contended in the minds of young women at Irving College.

The Rise of Women's Colleges

Industrialization, urbanization, and commercial expansion had a profound impact on American society in the nineteenth century. As men increasingly left cottages and farmsteads for paid employment, women stayed behind to maintain the households. Men and women were seen as naturally occupying two distinct spheres: the active, public workplace and the quiet, private home. Middle-class women, in particular, had a clear sense of their inherent responsibilities: "Released from the spinning wheel, the loom, and the dairy, [they] attended the necessary domestic chores, raised, guided, and taught their children, and created for their husbands a moral atmosphere and comfortable refuge from the harsh, exacting world of public affairs."¹⁰

Enlightened thinkers believed that this limited conception of the female role did not preclude the need for a good education. Such learning, however, should not aim to develop the woman as a person; rather, it should enhance her utility as a "functional instrument" to advance the needs of the young republic.¹¹ As early as 1787, for example, Benjamin Rush had declared that women should be trained assiduously, not toward "ornamental accomplishments" but practical knowledge.¹² He called for women to learn "figures and book-keeping," to help their husbands with business; vocal music, to take part in public worship; and sufficient history and biography to make them "an agreeable companion for a sensible man."¹³ Most important, Rush and other educators argued for women to be better equipped to nurture their offspring in "the ideals and virtues required by democracy."¹⁴

The first women's colleges began to appear in the 1830s. Despite the noble aims espoused by educational theorists, these schools were decidedly inferior to their male counterparts. Administrators set lower standards for admission, shorter courses of study, and fewer requirements for graduation. This appears to have been largely the result of prejudice. Intellectually, women were felt to be "incapable of the depth, scope, and analytical powers" of men.¹⁵ Eminent male

physicians also made lurid claims that excessive mental effort, especially during menstruation, would damage women's health and impair their ability to bear children. (The most famous alarmist was Harvard's Dr. Edward Clarke, who in 1873 cautioned that higher education for women would result in "monstrous brains and puny bodies; abnormally active cerebration and abnormally weak digestion; flowing thought and constipated bowels."¹⁶) Other critics raised "the old specter of the unsexed woman," denouncing any female aspirant to the male preserve of higher education as a virtual freak of nature.¹⁷

Disparities between men's and women's colleges persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Unlike men, female students were carefully sheltered from the outside world. Daily religious services were mandatory. Punctuality and decorum were strictly enforced, and every aspect of campus life was closely regulated. Academics were rarely on a par with all-male colleges (or with the growing number of state-run coeducational institutions spawned by the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862). In 1875, by one estimate, only six of the country's 209 schools purporting to offer advanced education for women met "accepted college standards."¹⁸ The U.S. Commissioner of Education acknowledged the lower caliber of women's colleges in 1881 and concluded, "This difference... does not seem to conform to any recognized difference in capacity or probable vocation; it is rather the lingering evidence of a disposition to treat woman's education as a matter of little moment." Only after 1900, once government agencies began imposing uniform standards, did women's colleges finally begin to shed their inferior status.¹⁹

Higher education reached a tiny segment of the female population in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1880, only two percent of women aged 18 to 21 were attending college; the figure did not even reach ten percent until 1930.²⁰ What motivated women to pursue what must have seemed, to many observers, a radical personal choice? Scholars have noted a variety of factors: a quest for intellectual or esthetic fulfillment; a desire for greater participation in a widening American society; a simple need for self-support (particularly with the loss of so many family heads and potential husbands in the Civil War). Parental influence was often decisive. Upper-class fathers could afford to hire private tutors, but middle-class businessmen and professionals viewed a stint in college as a cost-effective avenue toward a better life for their daughters. Mothers lent their support, too, often in reaction to their own harsh upbringing or frustrated ambitions.²¹

Many women undoubtedly attended college in hopes of gaining an edge in the quest for a promising, well-connected mate. (Most college graduates eventually did marry, although at a lower rate than the female population as a whole.²²) Others, however, took seriously the vocational opportunities afforded by a col-

lege degree. Teaching was an especially attractive – and respectable – field for young women to pursue. Free public education was spreading across the country, creating a strong demand for low-cost help. Teaching also represented a natural extension of woman's pious, nurturing role into a modestly public arena. And it allowed the flexibility of easy re-entry into the workforce after marriage and early child-rearing.²³

By 1900, the rising social consciousness of the Progressive Era was opening up new possibilities for female graduates. They sought paid (or volunteer) employment in the temperance movement, missionary activity, urban settlement work, or government-funded health and welfare initiatives. On the business front, commercial expansion brought new clerical and secretarial jobs, and women's colleges responded by adding courses in bookkeeping and economics. In the first decade of the twentieth century, women's colleges were giving many of their graduates – if only for a few years before marriage – an exciting taste of the active, purposeful life long enjoyed by men.²⁴

The Irving College Experience

The Irving College motto, cited at the beginning of this paper, originated in a sermon preached to the first graduating class in 1859. The speaker, Reverend Conway Wing of Carlisle, quoted Psalm 114:12: "That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth: that our daughters may be as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace."²⁵ His chosen verse clearly reflected the gender dichotomy of the era: men are vigorous and productive; women are decorative and superficial. As Wing went on, he made the distinction explicit – but he softened his rhetoric by stressing an equality of purpose. Through education, he asserted, both men and women could gain the wherewithal to lead a virtuous and socially useful life:

Sons and daughters should respectively aim at a kind of life in many respects very different... Both parties possess the same native faculties of mind, but the one is endowed with some of these in a higher degree than the other, and each has cause to esteem in the other endowments in which it is itself inferior. By common consent a higher instinctive and emotional nature has been conceded to the one, and a superior logical and executive energy to the other... All this indicates that they were never designed to be contrasted in rival spheres, but to move in concert... They have the same common nature... and hence both are susceptible of the same general education... The kind of [national] life... desirable for its sons and daughters is characterized by its usefulness, its beauty, and its sacredness.²⁶

Writing in the college yearbook at about the same time, a graduating senior, Sarah Fisher, echoed the pastor's view of the social utility of responsible womanhood:

Her frail nature sinks from the public gaze. The halls of legislation, with their attractive influences, have no charm for her. She thirsts not for the glory of arms...but, following the dictates of her generous nature, she turns to the chamber of the sick, the abode of the dying, that with words of love, and offices of kindness, she may cheer the hearts of the sorrowing, and pour comfort into the wounded spirit.²⁷

Administrators, students, and friends of Irving College probably shared a sense of pride in their involvement on the fringes of a grand, national project to strengthen the contributions of women. Near the end of his sermon, Wing lauded the progress of the times – and its embodiment in this new institution in the hinterland of south central Pennsylvania: “To what age would you rather have belonged than to this? This, in which the true position of woman has been so fully and cheerfully acknowledged, and in which her privileges of education and honorable activity are abundant?”²⁸

The Irving College catalogue for 1857–58 made clear the educational pretensions of its founders. “The quantum of studies necessary to graduation and to obtaining degrees,” it proclaimed, “is essentially the same as that adopted by a convention of Presidents of Female Colleges, held at Cincinnati, May 4th and 5th, 1853.” The catalogue then spelled out the prerequisites for admission and the courses required for each of the two degrees available: the A.B. (*baccalaurea artium*, or bachelor of arts) and the M.E.L. (“Mistress of English Literature”). Standard academic subjects included English grammar, general history, advanced mathematics, an assortment of sciences, and both “mental” and “moral” philosophy. The A.B. added mandatory study of Latin and Greek. Three years was the minimum period of attendance. Applicants who could not meet the initial admission criteria could spend up to three more years in Irving’s “Preparatory Department” in order to make up their deficiencies. (Preparatory programs were a common feature at women’s colleges throughout the nineteenth century.²⁹) A reading room, “regularly supplied with all the best quarterly and monthly magazines,” rounded out the intellectual amenities.³⁰

An Irving College education sounded impressive. But – typical of early women’s institutions – the coursework was designed to be less demanding than the leading male or coeducational colleges of the day. The Irving catalogue of 1875–76 boldly defended this disparity:



Irving College, Class of 1896

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The strong-minded sentiment, and the few colleges that are latterly stimulating young and tender girls to compete with men side by side in studies and classes, or that are proposing a course of study as rigid and severe in order to equal the most advanced colleges for men – we say with all due respect – are doing more for the injury of future generations than any dozen institutions in the land.³¹

Like other women's colleges, Irving also kept a close eye on student virtue. The college catalogue firmly discouraged idle correspondence: "The fewer letters of a trifling character [which] pupils at school receive and write, the better for their morals and culture, and the more time they have to devote to what is useful." For many years, in fact, letters from other than immediate family members were subject to inspection. Likewise, unauthorized books and magazines could not be brought onto campus without permission, since "irregular and trashy reading is very detrimental to solid improvement." Irving's behavioral regulations were surely comforting to anxious, distant parents: "Irving discipline is mild but firm... Personal honor is consistently appealed to and exemplified. One simple rule embodies the entire code, viz: 'Do no act [which] a young lady would be ashamed to acknowledge.'"³²

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, barriers against the public mingling of the sexes were falling everywhere in America. Irving College was forced to respond by introducing dances and receptions to which "approved" male friends could be invited. The administration sought to put the best face on its concession, calling it an effort to "promote social culture" and instill "that graceful bearing, gentle modesty and kind consideration which are the invariable accompaniment of good breeding."³³ Nevertheless, as late as 1916, chaperones were still required for student travel off-campus, with the exception of registered group walks in defined areas of town.³⁴

In the 1890s Irving College came under the leadership of Dr. E.E. Campbell, who ran (and owned) the school more or less continuously until it closed in 1929. Early on, in the florid prose of an accomplished promoter, Campbell laid out his vision of the ideal women's education, as exemplified at Irving:

The advantages of instruction offered at Irving are unsurpassed, it is believed, by any Christian school in this country. The faculty is large, and all its members are college trained men and women. They are selected with care, not only as to their intellectual attainment and ability as teachers, but also with reference to character and all the social qualities indispensable in surrounding students with the refining influences to be found in cultivated homes. The aim at Irving is to preserve the home-like features so often ignored in "boarding schools." Every effort is made to inspire a greater love for parents and home, and to make the school a safe Christian home and a happy family, as well as a place to gain a thorough education.³⁵

For all Campbell's hyperbole, it was still hard, some forty years after the founding of Irving College, to judge the quality of an education received there. On the positive side, the catalogue for 1896-97 listed an impressive array of required and elective courses in eight academic departments: Latin; Greek; English; French; German; History; Mathematics and Natural Science (including trigonometry, calculus, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and botany); and Philosophy and Social Science (psychology, ethics, "Christian evidences," logic, political economy, banking, currency, taxation, tariff, and finance). Art and Music departments also operated, the latter under the auspices of Irving's adjunct Conservatory of Music, which opened in 1895. Women were admitted to the regular three-year course of instruction based on examination or, in the case of transfer students, certification from their previous school. In all cases, they had to submit letters attesting to their "good moral character." They were also expected to have read a number of books specified by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in the Middle States and Maryland. (Among

them were *Silas Marner*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and *The House of Seven Gables*.) By now, traditional students could pursue either a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree. The former, which included both Greek and Latin, was dubbed the "classical course"; the latter, "scientific" course replaced Greek with French or German. Conservatory students worked toward a Bachelor of Music degree, with a concentration in piano, organ, violin, or voice.³⁶

"Among the many excellences of Irving," wrote Campbell, "there is none to which she points with greater pride than her atmosphere of honest work."³⁷ The final examination questions in the senior Logic course for 1897, reproduced in *The Sketch Book*, do suggest a seriousness of academic intent. One of the ten multi-part questions, for example, read as follows: "Give derivation of the term Logic, its meaning and scope, different definitions of Logic, illustrate the organic relation between the different departments of knowledge, is Logic a science, and what is its relation to the sciences?"³⁸

On the other hand, that same year also saw a curious decision to eliminate the "ancient system of examinations" for underclasswomen. As the catalogue explained:

Students whose grade is 85 per cent. on daily recitation and on such tests as may be required, will be excused from further examination until their entrance upon senior class work. Experience has proved this to be a wholesome incentive to proper preparation of daily work. The student who works faithfully and uniformly comes to her classes well prepared is spared the strain of an exhausting period in the examination room, and the knowledge that a good monthly grade exempts from that bugbear of a student's life is an incentive to work that produces the very best results.³⁹

In 1907, an inspector from the New Jersey Superintendent of Public Instruction visited Irving College and, on that basis, judged that four recent graduates qualified as certified teachers in his state.⁴⁰ However, it was not until 1912 that the national College and University Council formally included Irving College among those institutions of "college rank."⁴¹ By then, Campbell had already admitted that the college faced growing academic challenges. In his 1908 report to the Board of Trustees, he had declared:

We have been trying from year to year to raise the various courses offered by the College, both in requiring a higher standard of work and in requiring more work in each course. The strong tendency of our student-body is to run toward the Music Dept. We find it more and more difficult from year to year to persuade students to take the Regular College Courses.⁴²

Management issues, however, should not be allowed to overshadow the personal views of the women who attended Irving College. With the emergence of student publications in the 1890s, it is possible to gain some sense of what the Irving experience meant for them. Captured in print, their "voices" enable a much deeper understanding than curriculum lists, inspection reports, or administrative statements.

In 1896 *The Sketch Book* published a collection of short student essays under the heading "Symposium: My Ideal Woman." These essays provide fascinating hints as to the motivations that induced women to come to Irving College – and their expectations of what their education might bring them afterward. For unknown reasons, the contributors were identified only by their initials.

G.A. addressed the highest aspirations of the era: "Intellectually, [the ideal woman] is on a level with the ideal man. In all lines of mental activity she demands and deserves to be recognized as his equal. She aspires after knowledge, desires a liberal education and makes as much as possible of her opportunities."⁴³ M.B. struck a similar tone: "Woman in our present stage of enlightenment is regarded as the peer of man, and in all the avenues of commercial life she has made it manifest that intellectually she is the equal of man. She seeks not to walk in front of man nor behind him; but where God placed her, by his side."⁴⁴ J.G. agreed, in even stronger terms, but she went on to caution – as did many of her contemporaries – against the threat of de-feminization:

At the present time woman is considered man's equal in every respect. She is no longer thought weak and incapable; but with a firm and steady tread she is pressing onward on a level with "that superior being" – man. If woman's desire is to vote, she may do so; she may follow any profession she will; in fact, almost any high position of trust and state may now be held by woman. Although she is becoming so popular in the world, she must not forget that she is a woman. A masculine woman is distasteful indeed. Some women take delight in dressing in a masculine fashion and cultivating a masculine air and gait. No woman of refined, modest tastes could possibly do that.⁴⁵

In contrast to her progressive classmates, L.M. seemed to take a retrograde view. She described the ideal woman in terms of physical beauty: "Her complexion is pink and white, without a pimple to mar its smoothness; her nose is Grecian, and her teeth are small and perfectly formed and have not a bit of gold filling in them."⁴⁶ E.H. combined an interest in current fashions with a commitment to traditional mores: "She dresses in the latest styles, and although she is a skilled bicyclist, and wears the bloomer costume when indulging in her favorite pastime, she is by no means a new woman."⁴⁷ M.C., too, supported a

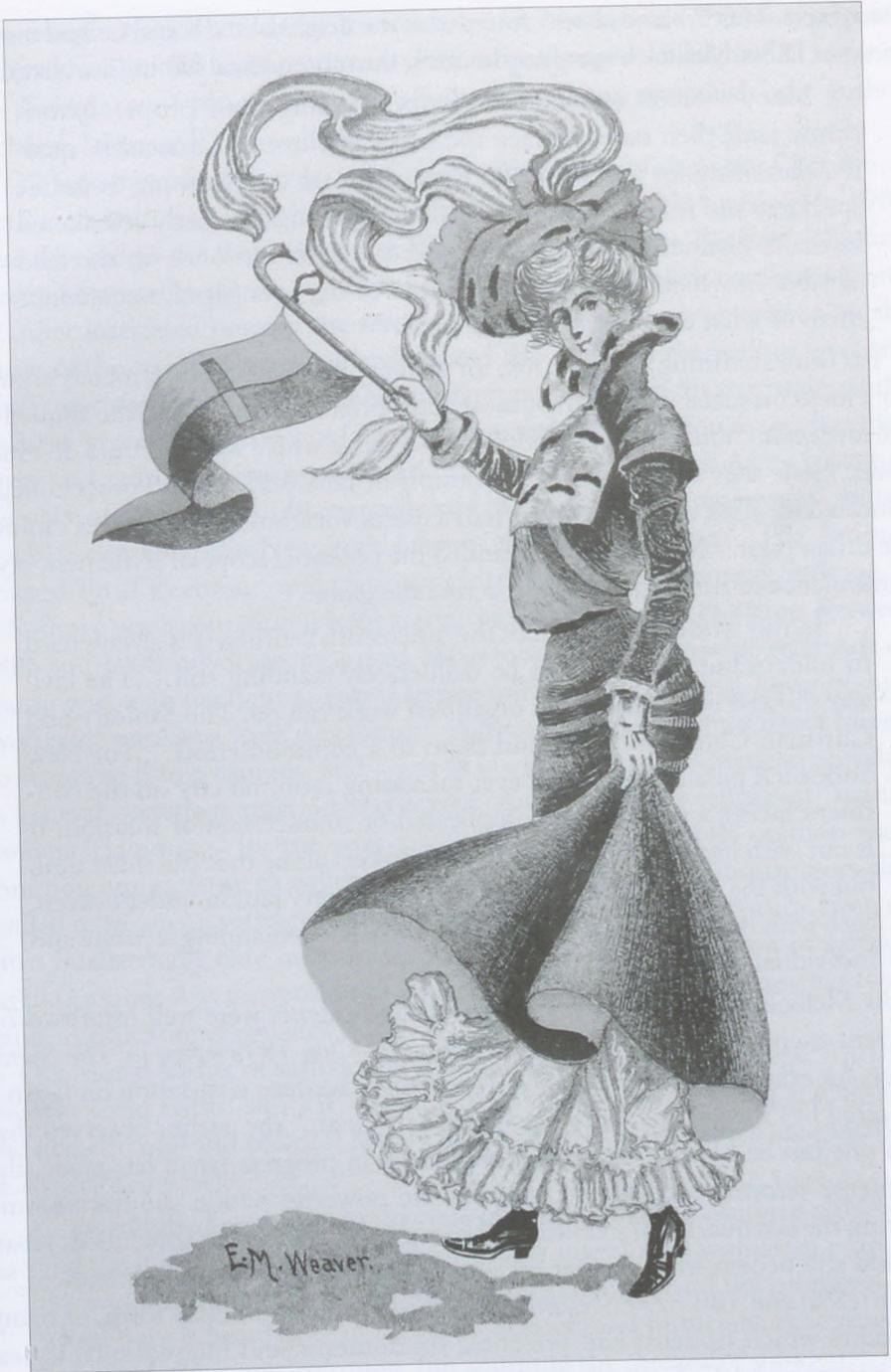
conventional roster of feminine graces: "a high standard of morality...a kind and loving heart...pious, virtuous and modest...firmness in character and action, able to cheer and brighten others by the charm of her presence...[The ideal wife] should be dignified, charming, loving and happy to commit herself to her husband to be directed."⁴⁸

Two students voiced sentiments of social utility with which, a century earlier, Benjamin Rush might have concurred. The ideal woman, according to R.R., is not necessarily pretty but projects the air of a "well-groomed, well-bred intellectual...She of course is a Christian woman, gentle, charitable, loving, lovable, noble, womanly and unselfish, always considering the happiness of others and arranging her plans accordingly...[She] has the happy faculty of making herself useful and entertaining in whatever sphere of life she may be placed."⁴⁹ And the cosmetically-inclined L.M., quoted above, went on more seriously to conclude that the ideal woman "is very well educated and refined, and moves in the best society. She is a good Christian and delights in using her influence and money for the good of mankind."⁵⁰

A year later, Pennsylvania Governor Daniel Hastings endorsed the broad social value of women's education which R.R. and L.M. expressed. As reported in *The Sketch Book*, Hastings had been invited to Irving College to judge the annual oratorical contest. He took advantage of the occasion to speak of his personal pride in having a daughter about to enter college. "We cannot get along without the education of our boys and girls," he said. "Never was a Republic so great, so grand, as our own country because her men and women are educated."⁵¹

In 1904 *The Sketch Book* printed a baccalaureate address given by Rev. S.W. Herman of Harrisburg. His remarks must have resonated with his audience, as he celebrated the social and political gains which were starting to arrive for women. "In the day when men and women had not equal rights," he said, "there was no estimate of womanhood. Woman was a slave, a mere amusement to a man, but at the present time men have grasped the idea of education, and now woman has the opportunity of occupying the highest positions in life." In a pointed reference to the Irving College motto, he urged the graduates to aspire beyond the ornamental role suggested in the figurative "palace": "The exterior of the palace is...not the most important part, but the interior, and so with life. It is the intellect, the sensibility, and the will which sum up the individual. A mind is a mind wherever it is found whether in man or woman. It should be so cultivated as to be an actual benefit to everyone."⁵²

That such exhortations found favor with the students of Irving College is evident in the words of Annie Mellick. An essay of hers entitled "The Silver Cross" ran in *The Sketch Book* in 1897. The essay is in part a paean to the King's



Irvingiana
CCHS Archives

Daughters, a faith-based charity founded at the height of the Social Gospel movement in 1886. Mellick began by criticizing the more radical feminists of her day:

Many women to-day, not comprehending their proper sphere, throw aside their natural grace and cultivate those of a masculine quality, clamoring for the ballot; for their rights on the platform, as public speakers; and for an open door to all occupations, formerly considered in man's distinctive sphere. These need to look but once on the field of labor in which noble womanhood of to-day is engaged, to convince them of what duty lies nearest at hand.⁵³

Far from shunning an active role for women, however, Mellick merely argued for a focus on social work as their most appropriate endeavor. And she alluded to the settlement houses of New York City as a venue where women could do much good. Here, they could follow the example of Jane Addams and other college-educated idealists who had "invent[ed] a useful vocation for themselves" among the urban poor.⁵⁴ Mellick even expanded the potential scope of settlement-style benevolence to needy populations across the globe:

In this wonderful march of the nineteenth century, it is always hard to understand how any can be deliberately standing still....The civil war showed to women what organized work can do. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions bound them to a common effort....For New York such possibilities are in ever increasing ratio, no city on the continent facing a problem so complicated or so uncertain of solution. It is not with her own poor or her own workers alone that she must deal, but with the poor and ignorant classes from every nation under heaven, each with its own peculiar disabilities, and each demanding separate and individual methods.⁵⁵

As Mellick's essay suggests, Irving College students were well informed on current events and international conditions.⁵⁶ One 1895 essay in *The Sketch Book*, for example, was devoted to "The effect of western civilization on Japan." Inspired by "the late war between China and Japan," the author observed that "no one can be blind to the enormous strides in progress Japan has made, the immense reforms she has effected, and the powerful nation she has become during the last quarter of a century." Nevertheless, the author concluded, Japan would still benefit from further social progress and religious enlightenment.⁵⁷

In 1896 and 1897 *The Sketch Book* carried synopses, in essay form, of many speeches which students had presented on domestic and international issues: the prospects for Cuban independence; a pending territorial arbitration treaty between the U.S. and Britain; the economic recovery of the New South; Ottoman oppression in Armenia and Crete; and "Africa in the Twentieth Century."⁵⁸ The

latter essay remarked on the evils of “rum traffic” and the slave trade – popular concerns within the interventionist strain of progressive thought. “As soon as the wickedness of [these practices] is fully realized and remedied,” the author declared, “there will be much gained.”⁵⁹

The following decade at Irving College saw the establishment of Eta Nu, a social club dedicated to high-minded discussion. Two Eta Nu meetings in 1904 were devoted to the Russo-Japanese War then raging in the Far East. The first meeting featured a debate among students representing both combatants and six other interested powers; the second included student presentations on the causes of the war, the principal leaders, and the course of the various land and naval campaigns.⁶⁰ In 1906, Eta Nu speakers covered such diverse topics as the situation in post-independence Cuba; pending federal legislation to regulate food safety and railroad shipping rates; and the discharge of black Army troops in the wake of the notorious Brownsville raid in Texas.⁶¹ A “current events” forum in 1910 examined the New York subway, the Panama Canal, “The Attitude Toward Tariff Revision,” and “Senator Hoard’s Views on Woman’s Suffrage.”⁶²

Suffrage was a contentious issue across the country during this time. Between 1896 and 1908, advocates mounted 480 efforts to hold statewide referenda on granting women the right to vote. Despite spirited campaigning, however, only two ballot measures were successful.⁶³ Public discourse on the subject filtered down to the Irving campus, and – just as it was among the American populace in general – student reaction was mixed. Annie Mellick’s rebuke of “manly” women “clamoring” for the vote has already been noted. Her opinion was a common one at women’s colleges of the era. Students and administrators alike tended to frown on suffragist agitation as a threat to campus decorum. Even the most intellectually elite institutions sometimes banned discussion of suffrage, on the grounds that the introduction of controversy might jeopardize hard-won gains in educational equality.⁶⁴

Occasional flashes of suffragist spunk did appear at Irving College. An 1897 essay by Cora Hicks, entitled “Woman in Politics,” is worth citing at length, as she tied electoral and political reform to the larger goal of women’s engagement in society as a whole:

A hundred years ago, in the time of “the good, old-fashioned girls,” and the hum of the spinning-wheel, such a question of woman in politics was not thought of. Time works many changes, and the spinning-wheel hum is heard only in the fancy of poets and musicians. The new fashioned girl is now spinning, but spinning the threads of thought.... In this country, woman has been abreast with the times, struggling for new liberties, aiming at a higher, a richer and fuller development. She

is no longer content with adding to the happiness and welfare of those she loves, but derives a broader love that aims to elevate all humanity... Should the good, even though they be women, be denied the opportunity of aiding in a righteous cause, or should they be content with remaining idly at home when there is a great field for activity all around them...? If politics be so corrupt that men are afraid it will contaminate her even to better it, in all fairness we ask who made politics so? Surely not woman, as she has had no political power. Should she then allow this mismanagement to continue? No man in political life can afford to disregard the opinions and wishes of any part of his constituency. When the time comes that the wishes and opinions of woman will be regarded, it will mark the dawn of a new era in political life.⁶⁵

To spur further debate, in 1904 *The Sketch Book* carried a long essay penned by Maude Thompson, an Irving professor who had recently earned a master's degree at Wellesley College. Lenore Embick, who attended Irving at the time, described her as "a true feminist – an articulate suffragist." Although Thompson soon resigned from her post to pursue a doctorate at Yale, her influence probably lingered. "Those who knew her," wrote Embick, "were either ardent Suffragists or rabid antis – depending upon the impact her strong personality made upon the student."⁶⁶ The force of Thompson's argument is evident from the opening paragraph of her essay:

To defend the proposition that woman has a right to vote is like defending the abstract principle of justice. In either case the proof is difficult, only because it is so obvious. In fact, the defense of woman's political rights is a defense of justice and we often feel that if people do not believe in equal suffrage, it is because they do not believe in justice.⁶⁷

Thompson closed her essay with a not-too-subtle dig at the narrow-minded jingoists of her day: "We need not wonder that [men] find the political disability of men in Cuba and the Philippines more important and picturesque than the political disability of women in America."⁶⁸

Although women would be denied the vote for a further decade-and-a-half, that did not stop Irving students from exercising a vigorous interest in politics. In November 1904 the Eta Nu club met to discuss the ongoing presidential campaign. Club members spoke on convention procedures, platform issues, and the life and character of four candidates: Democratic, Republican, Populist, and Prohibitionist. (The Socialist Eugene Debs was ignored.) A mock election was held afterward, with all students and faculty invited to participate. Theodore Roosevelt beat the Democrat Alton Parker by a vote of 60 to 45, closely mirroring the actual popular vote of 7,630,457 to 5,083,880.⁶⁹ *The Sketch Book* reported:

The Republicans were very hilarious over their victory. After dinner they sang patriotic songs and cheered for Roosevelt. . . . Eta Nu hopes that the election has helped to interest the girls of the College in politics and the affairs of our country, for we all wish to be patriotic, and in order to love our country we must know something about its government.⁷⁰

As a follow-up, Mabel McKeehan spoke at a December chapel service on the presidential election process; her remarks included a credible defense of the Electoral College system.⁷¹

For the 1908 election, the junior class spearheaded an elaborate mock campaign. Students portraying the major candidates and their followers marched noisily around campus. "Carrie Nation with her little hatchet" joined in with the parading Prohibitionists. "Bryan," "Roosevelt," and "Taft" gave speeches from the porches of Irving Hall, the main academic and residential building. Students then had three days to register to vote. "Almost everyone registered," *The Sketch Book* wistfully observed, "as they feared it would be their last chance to vote." The mock election on November 3 gave 59 votes to Taft, 43 to Bryan, and 2 to the Prohibitionist Eugene Chafin.⁷² The spread between the two major candidates matched the actual result – 7,678,335 to 6,408,979 – even more closely than in 1904.⁷³

While women could not *really* vote at this time, they did increasingly have the option of paid employment outside the home. Some commentators accepted this development grudgingly. In a 1904 chapel address, the visiting Rev. Jacob Clutz lamented:

I believe that God made men to be money-makers and girls to be money spenders. . . . [But] everything has gone awry. Society is turned upside down, hence women must, in many cases, earn money, either for the support of themselves or for others who may be dependent upon them. This side is not to be despised, but it is not the chief purpose of educating girls. . . . We do not educate girls to make men of them. . . . The real purpose of education is to make girls nobler, broader women.⁷⁴

Other outside observers were more sanguine. At a ceremony marking the semi-centennial of Irving College in 1906, Dr. J.G. Butler from Washington, D.C. remarked approvingly, "The present age is distinctly a woman's age, the ideal woman's age. Her influence is felt in many organizations, such as the [Young Women's Christian Temperance Union] and mission organizations. She is being trained and educated, and her sphere in life is ever widening."⁷⁵

Students themselves expressed a variety of views on the vocational question. *The Irvingiana* yearbook offers a snapshot of student ambitions – some light-hearted, some serious – while they were still attending college. In 1901, members

of the junior class listed these personal goals: "write a dictionary," "live and die in Boston," "travel," "go to Cuba," "elocute," "be an old maid," "have a home of her own," "be an artist," "realize her ideal," "marry for money," "study in Germany," "grow tall," "teach elocution," "have us all at her wedding," "be a governess." One student simply reflected the general uncertainty of youth: "Will tell you next year."⁷⁶

The 1902 edition continued in that vein. Out of sixteen seniors, three declared their aspiration to get married; two, to become teachers; and one each, to work as a musician, a composer, an actress, a linguist, and "a famous elocutionist." One planned to travel, and the rest made either frivolous or uncertain comments. In the same issue, juniors' hoped-for careers ran the gamut from organ-grinder and minister's wife to journalist, nurse, and political leader.⁷⁷ In 1907, *The Irvingiana* gave juniors a chance to predict the future occupations of the seniors above them. Their responses ranged from keeping house and washing dishes to working as a teacher or YMCA secretary.⁷⁸

In truth, teaching and homemaking seem to have been the most common paths for Irving graduates to take. In 1904 *The Sketch Book* offered a compendium of news items about alumnae from the mid to late 1890s. One of them was working as chief clerk in the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, post office; five had become teachers (one of them doubling as vice-principal of a high school); and five – including "the charming wife of an influential lawyer" – were married.⁷⁹ In October 1905 *The Sketch Book* reported on the most recent graduating class. One of the sixteen alumnae was a musician, one was a church organist, and six were teaching. Among the latter group, Mabel Perkins from Idaho drew a special vote of confidence: "We predict for her a brilliant career in her profession. Some day it will be State Superintendent Mabel Perkins, Boise, Idaho." The editor went on to summarily account for the rest: "The other members of '05, so far as we know, are at home making it sweet and happy for the homefolks and perhaps others, too."⁸⁰

Lenore Flower portrayed the Class of '04 in simplistically upbeat terms: "Our students stood up well in the world about them. Many did graduate study. Others became teachers in many states. Others entered different fields." The only classmate she cited by name was Jane Deeter '02, who started out as a social worker in New York and rose to become executive director of the Girl Scouts after World War I.⁸¹ Missing from the historical record, of course, are those who would represent the typical Irving graduate – teaching school or taking dictation, perhaps, but most likely leading a quiet domestic life.

So what was the ultimate significance of their years at Irving College? Historian Chad Leinaweaver hits on a number of themes: "To the 4,200 women who attended Irving for five years or one class, it meant opportunity, education,

personal freedom, a strict home away from home, and a chance to develop the underprivileged minds of women.”⁸² Other scholars have identified additional benefits of women’s education at the turn of the twentieth century – benefits they undoubtedly obtained at Irving. Student clubs, athletics, and other activities empowered women to develop leadership and organizational skills.⁸³ Exposure to new ideas and world events raised their “social consciousness and desire for change.”⁸⁴ Female professors gave them inspiring models for personal and professional success.⁸⁵

It took another century for society to extend full equality to women, and to “appreciate and utilize their potential for transforming American life.”⁸⁶ In that light, the early years of women’s education can be seen as preparation and rehearsal for the momentous change to come. If Irving College did not launch its graduates on a dramatically liberating course, it at least offered them a glimpse of future possibilities – which they could accept or reject as they chose. Edith Darr, Class of 1898, spoke for many of her classmates when she invoked the promise of the age:

Society needs the college woman with her unbiased views and quick perceptions; if she prepares to use these gifts in behalf of society as a whole why should every man and woman about her rise up in arms against her? If a woman gives her time and talents to help reach the heights, let us be thankful instead of taking every opportunity to put her down.⁸⁷

Endnotes

- 1 *Annual Catalogue of Irving College and Music Conservatory, 1896-97*, 7.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 3 Chad A. Leinaweaver, “Irving College: Its Life, Its Study, Its Women” (master’s thesis, Northeastern University, 1998), 12-13.
- 4 Washington Irving was also appointed to the Board of Trustees, a dubious honor which he never sought to exercise by actually visiting the school. Daniel J. Heisey, “A Mechanicsburg Legend of Washington Irving,” *Cumberland County History* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 102.
- 5 Saul Sack points out that, in 1838 alone, the state legislature incorporated “twenty-five female seminaries, investing each of them with degree-granting powers” (“The Higher Education of Women in Pennsylvania,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83, no. 1 [January 1959]: 47). At this time the terms “college,” “seminary,” and “academy” were all applied indiscriminately to post-secondary institutions (Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985], 23-24).

- 6 Leinaweaver, "Irving College," 17-84 passim; Chad Leinaweaver, "The Deterioration of the Seminary Rule System at Irving College, 1909-1926," *Cumberland County History* 15, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 51; Lenore Flower Embick, *Irving College* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1966), 23.
- 7 *Irving College and Music Conservatory, Annual Catalog, 1928-29*, 73-74.
- 8 See note 6.
- 9 See note 3.
- 10 Elizabeth Seymour Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in England and America, 1865-1920* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 38.
- 11 Sack, "Higher Education," 32.
- 12 Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 13.
- 13 Sack, "Higher Education," 30.
- 14 Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 15.
- 15 Sack, "Higher Education," 49, 73, 34.
- 16 Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 83-84.
- 17 Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 58.
- 18 Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 27; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 4, 14, 56; Solomon, *Educated Women*, 45.
- 19 Sack, "Higher Education," 72-73.
- 20 Solomon, *Educated Women*, 64.
- 21 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 19-20; Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 60; Solomon, *Educated Women*, 45, 63, 65, 68.
- 22 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 32.
- 23 Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 39; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 15, 198; Solomon, *Educated Women*, 32.
- 24 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 14; Eschbach, *Higher Education*, 185.
- 25 Conway P. Wing, "A Nation's Prayer for Its Youth, a Sermon Preached before the Graduating Class of Irving Female College, June 26, 1859" (Carlisle, PA: *The Herald*), 3.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 6-7.
- 27 Sarah Fisher, "Woman's Excellence," *The Irving Annual*, July 1859, 7-8.
- 28 Wing, "Nation's Prayer," 19.
- 29 At Vassar, preparatory students actually outnumbered "regular" students until 1888. Eschbach. *Higher Education*, 63.
- 30 *Catalogue of Irving Female College for the Academical Year 1857-58*, 12-14, 18.
- 31 *Announcement of Irving Female College, 1875-76*.
- 32 *Catalogue of Irving Female College, 1869-70* (13-14).
- 33 Annual Catalogue of Irving College for Young Ladies, 1891-92, 11.

- 34 Leinaweaver, "Seminary Rule," 60.
- 35 *Annual Catalogue of Irving College and Music Conservatory, 1895-96*, 14.
- 36 *Annual Catalogue of Irving College and Music Conservatory, 1896-97*, 14-17, 21-22.
- 37 *Annual Catalogue, 1895-96*, 16.
- 38 *Irving Sketch-Book*, April 1897, 129.
- 39 *Annual Catalogue, 1896-97*, 14, 38.
- 40 "Board of Trustees Minutes, Irving Female College, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, Transcribed from Original Books by Jane Campbell Beard, 1994," entry for June 4, 1907, 69.
- 41 Sack, "Higher Education," 54.
- 42 "Board of Trustees," entry for June 2, 1908, 73.
- 43 *Irving Sketch-Book*, February-March 1896, 135.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 142.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 137-38.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 138-39.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 137.
- 51 *Irving Sketch-Book*, June 1897, 191-92.
- 52 *The Sketch Book*, June 1904, 2.
- 53 *Irving Sketch-Book*, April 1897, 132.
- 54 Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 106.
- 55 *Sketch-Book*, April 1897, 133.
- 56 This may have been a continuation of an institutional emphasis dating back to Irving's founding. An early catalogue, touting the college library, explained that students were "expected particularly to read the daily papers, so as to keep acquainted with the transactions going on in the world at large, and thus acquire a knowledge of the history of their own times. To insure this, examinations will be held daily, on the news of the preceding day." *Catalogue, 1857-58*, 18.
- 57 *Irving Sketch-Book*, June 1895, 196, 198.
- 58 *Irving Sketch-Book*, April-May 1896, 175-77; *Irving Sketch-Book*, June 1897, 196-201.
- 59 *Sketch-Book*, April-May 1896, 178.
- 60 *The Sketch Book*, May 1904, 4-5; *The Sketch Book*, December 1904, 8.
- 61 *The Sketch Book*, December 1906, 9. It is not clear where the students' sympathies may have lain in regard to the Brownsville affair. Like many of their contemporaries, they seem to have combined a generally racist outlook with goodwill toward individual blacks. The college yearbook for 1902 described, at length, a "coon wedding" pageant conducted on campus, with students acting out all the male and female roles in blackface. A year later, however, the yearbook paid tribute to Irving's black handyman and security guard, Daniel

- Jackson, by running a photographic portrait and short biography of the school's esteemed "professor of boiler engineering." *The Irvingiana '02*, 114-15; *The Irvingiana '03*, 109.
- 62 *The Sketch Book*, December 1910, 8.
- 63 Painter, *Armageddon*, 234.
- 64 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 194; Solomon, *Educated Women*, 111. By 1910, however, women's suffrage emerged as a "fashionable" topic of discussion on many campuses (Painter, *Armageddon*, 248).
- 65 *Sketch Book*, June 1897, 203-05.
- 66 Embick, *Irving College*, 24.
- 67 *The Sketch Book*, February 1904, 4.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 69 *The Sketch Book*, November 1904, 4; "David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections," www.uselectionatlas.org (accessed December 9, 2013).
- 70 *Sketch Book*, November 1904, 4-5.
- 71 *The Sketch Book*, December 1904, 2-4.
- 72 *The Sketch Book*, December 1908, 7-8.
- 73 "Leip's Atlas."
- 74 *The Sketch Book*, October 1904, 7.
- 75 *The Sketch Book*, June 1906, 8-9.
- 76 *The Irvingiana '01*, 31.
- 77 *The Irvingiana '02*, 30-34.
- 78 *The Irvingiana '07*, 99.
- 79 *Sketch Book*, December 1904, 9-10.
- 80 *The Sketch Book*, October 1905, 8.
- 81 Embick, *Irving College*, 20. A recent popular history of Mechanicsburg states that one of Mark Twain's daughters attended Irving College (Byron L. Reppert, *Mechanicsburg* [Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010], 76). Available evidence from college and Clemens family archives, however, refutes this claim.
- 82 Leinaweaver, "Irving College," 19.
- 83 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 34.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 85 Solomon, *Educated Women*, 89.
- 86 Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 196.
- 87 *The Sketch Book*, February 1898, 91.

Focus on the Collections

In recognition of the 200th anniversary of the composing of the poem, "The Star Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key during the War of 1812, the staff has selected three items related to the theme, *flags*. Although in no way related to the iconic flag from Fort McHenry, the information about flags in our collections will hopefully be of interest and illustrate the uniqueness of our collections

Carlisle Guards Flag

Mary March for the Museum

This blue silk flag originally belonged to the "Carlisle Guards" and was given to the Hamilton Library Association between 1916 and 1922 by J. Webster Henderson. The "Carlisle Guards" was formed in Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania during the War of 1812 and went to assist in the protection of the city of Philadelphia in September of 1814. When the Carlisle Guards arrived in Philadelphia they were encamped on Bush Hill where they drilled for nearly a month and constructed entrenchments that were used as defensive fortifica-



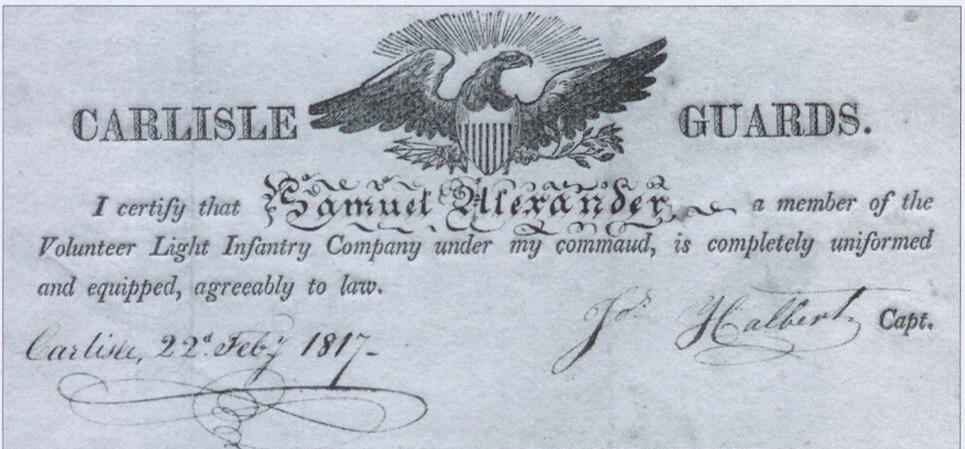
Photo by author

tions. They did not directly engage in fighting against the British, however, their presence may have deterred a major battle.

Their standard features eighteen six-pointed stars above the crewelwork eagle and also features the remnants of the motto “For the Love of Country”, created out of silver metallic sequins. The North American bald eagle has been widely used as our country’s emblem since it was adopted as the national bird on June 20, 1782, and its image has been used by the Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, the President, the Post Office, and the Justice as well as Defense Departments. It is no surprise that the eagle was an important symbol for the company.

The flag was originally presented to the company’s first commander, Captain Joseph Halbert, in 1817 during a celebration on Carlisle’s Public Square by the ladies of town. Upon receiving the flag Halbert gracefully articulated “I receive this standard, the offspring and evidence of female taste and patriotism, and shall trust its preservation to that native gallantry and disciplined valor which will be marshaled around it.” It then passed into the hands of his successor General Samuel Alexander and was found preserved in the garret of his late residence at 5 North Hanover Street in Carlisle, which subsequently became the residence of his grandson – William H. Henderson. After his death, the flag passed into the possession of J. Webster Henderson, his estate administer, and was then donated to the collections of the Hamilton Library Association.

It may be noted that in the Company Book of the Carlisle Guards, Article One, adopted on May 4, 1818, features rules for dress including “the dress of the Carlisle Guards shall be a blue cloth coatee and pantaloons; sixty two white



This 1817 clothing and equipment voucher is signed by Captain Joseph Halbert welcoming Samuel Alexander into the unit.

CCHS Archives

bullet buttons on the coatee, viz three rows in front, of ten each; twenty two on the shirts; one on each side of the collar; four on each cuff; black cord, crow-foot form on the shirts & cuffs; a white star on each side of the collar; leather cap with an eagle in white on the frontispiece; under the eagle the letters C. G. in white; a strip of bear skin round the frontispiece; red woolen cord hapels; black stock; black boots or gaiters over the pantaloons; red plume, worn in the front of the cap: black cartridge box & belt.”

Sources:

Carlisle Old and New, Carlisle Civic Club, (J. Horace McFarland Company, Harrisburg, PA, 1907), 43,44.

“Company Book of the Carlisle Guards” begun May 11, 1815, by Sergeant Brackenridge Samuel Alexander, 36-40.

History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania. Warner, Beers & Co., 1886.

Charles Duey's Flag

Richard L. Tritt for the Photo Archives



This photo in the Todd Photo Archives was taken by A. A. Line in October of 1901.

It shows the east side of the second block of North Hanover Street in Carlisle, and features a huge flag. The buildings are decorated for the 1901 Sesqui-Centennial Celebration that was held on October 23 and 24, 1901.

The event celebrated the 150th anniversary of Cumberland County and Carlisle.

The *Carlisle Daily Herald* of October 23, 1901, had the following description of the town:

The general decorations are gorgeous. The public buildings and places of business, especially are handsomely decorated with flags and colors, while the unique signs at many of the hotels and banners of "Welcome" across the streets, is to the honor of all concerned.

One of the patriotically-decorated businesses was that of G. W. Rinesmith & Sons, located at 114 North Hanover Street. This business sold tinware and house-furnishing goods, such as stoves and refrigerators, and also offered roofing and spouting services. George W. Rinesmith learned his trade as an apprentice in a tin shop in Mechanicsburg. He served during the Civil War in the Quartermaster's Department as a wagonmaster, volunteering in 1861. He came to Carlisle in 1864 and purchased a tin and stove business. He built a new store in 1870. In the photo, the Rinesmith building is on the far left. The decorations focused on a huge American flag that was three stories tall. A. A. Line, in his notes about this photo, indicated that the flag was made by Charles Duey.

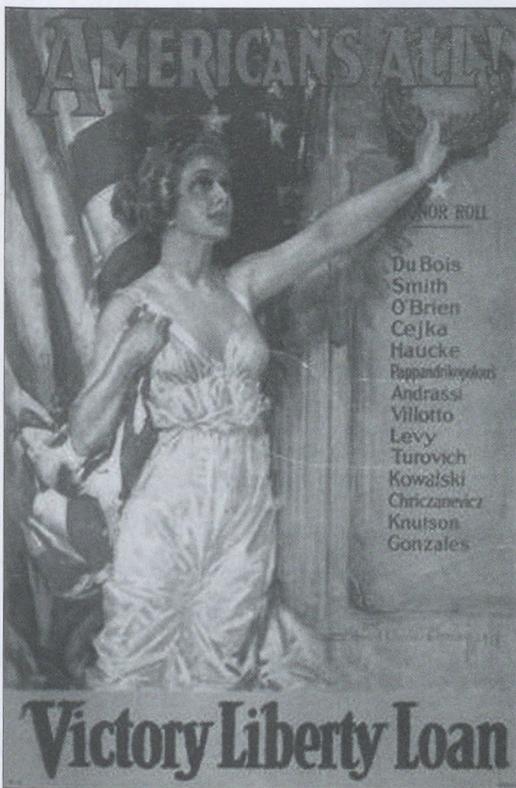
Charles Duey was a longtime citizen of Carlisle. He was a tinner and during his life worked for two tinning establishments in Carlisle, G. W. Rinesmith and Morris & Riley, as well as being in business for himself on East Penn Street, near Bedford Street. As a young man, he was very active in the Union Fire Company and was one of the originators of the old Union Band. He was also a member of Company G of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. He was described as being of genial and jovial disposition and had many friends. He was a splendid workman, reliable and trustworthy. He married Emma J. Meixel on April 3, 1888. It was while he was working for George Rinesmith, that he made the huge flag to hang in front of the Rinesmith building for the 1901 Sesqui-Centennial.

Shortly after 1901, Charles Duey started to work for Rebuck & Co. in Harrisburg. In 1921, he returned to work again in Carlisle for G. W. Rinesmith & Sons. He lived at 107 Spruce Street at the corner with Louther Street, in the area known as Boslertown. On June 16, 1921, he died tragically while working on the roof of the home of Dr. E. K. Lefever, at 630 South Hanover Street. He was killed in a fall from the cupola when he crawled out of the cupola to get on a scaffold, but he slipped and fell about 15 feet onto the porch roof, and then bounded from it to the ground. He was unconscious and died from his injuries, the principal one being a fractured skull. Charles Duey is buried in the Old Graveyard. He was 63 years of age. The fate of his impressive flag is unknown.

World War I Posters

Cara H. Curtis, for the library

Within the Hamilton Library collections, there are about 20 World War I posters. The majority of them deal with Liberty Bond Loans. The posters represent the work of a variety of illustrators of the early 20th century including: Howard Chandler Christy, Alfred Everitt Orr, Clyde Forsythe, and L. A. Shafer. These posters provide us with a unique view of life on the home front during this significant part of American History.



The 28th of July, 2014, marked the 100th anniversary of the beginning of World War I or as it was known at the time, The Great War. The United States remained neutral for the first few years of the war but did help supply the allied nations with supplies and armament. Many Americans agreed with the decision to remain out of the war. When the United States officially joined the war effort in 1917, the government actively campaigned for the support of civilians. The U.S. government heavily advertised using colorful posters designed by well-known illustrators. These posters were meant to inspire American Pride and helped to stir up anti-German sentiment. During previous conflicts like the

American Civil War, newspapers and broadsides used text and line drawings in a similar way. At that time, the technology to inexpensively print colorful posters did not exist. Later, in World War II, posters continued to be used to advance the war effort in addition to wide use of radio and moving pictures. World War I was limited mainly to print media to get its message across to the citizens.

Many of these posters were meant to tug at the heart strings and were strong on propaganda. Many of the images include the use of the U.S. flag or at least the colors of the flag. While posters were used in other wars, they have a special



place in the history of The Great War. There were many different types of posters. Some of them asked men to join the military, others to conserve or donate materials, and yet others to purchase bonds. One naval recruitment poster told men to “Be a Man and Do it.” Others used images to portray the central powers in very negative ways.

Not everyone could fight in the war, so the government called on everyone to do their part. A big part of the call and what so many of the WWI era posters document is the war bond loan. World War I was incredibly

expensive and the U.S. government needed to find ways to fund the war. The government issued a series of 5 liberty bonds between the years 1917–1919. The 5th bond was called the Victory Liberty Loan. The posters made it appear that it was one’s patriotic duty to support the war effort by purchasing bonds. Liberty Loan also had its own flag for some of the bond issues with a white background, red border, and the number of the loan issue in blue.

Notable Accessions January-August 2013

Cara Curtis

Paul Barner donated *First Families of Cumberland County vol. XXX Blairs Mills and vol. XXXI Aughwick*.

Roxanne Rathmell donated minute books from the Cumberland-Perry Bankers Association 1948-2002.

The *Sentinel* donated microfilm for June, July–December 2013, and January 2014.

Carl Davis, Jr donated a copy of his paper, "What I remember from over three decades at Camp D. R. Thompson."

Diane Pincus donated a binder of "Cumberland Colts" football team materials from 1976.

Doreen Rappaport donated a copy of *The Flight of Red Bird: The life of Zitkala-Sa, recreated by Doreen Rappaport*.

William Hoppel donated a copy of *Descendants of the Six Pennsylvania Colonial Happel/Hopple/Hoppel Families: A Name-Based Genealogy*.

Mary Witmer donated materials related to the Naval Supply Depot including newsletters.

Richard Devor donated additional materials of his brother, Kenneth Devor, who was killed in Vietnam.

Lynn Garn donated a copy of *The Garn Family including Carn, Garnes, Garns, and Gern* by Lynn Garn.

Gerald Brinton estate, donated a sizeable collection dealing with Dr. Brinton's family and his wife Mildred Sheaffer's family. This collection includes materials on New Cumberland and the Huntsdale areas. It also includes a collection of WWII letters.

Francine Moody donated a collection of columns and images written for *The Sentinel* entitled "School Scenes" from 1987–1992.

Barbara Hunsberger donated 6 blueprints for the Kitzmiller Apartment house. The Carlisle Musical Arts Club added materials to their Manuscript Group (MG-114).

The League of Women Voters of the Carlisle Area added materials to their Manuscript Group (MG-123).

Wayne Baker donated J.E. Morrow's Teacher's Term report for the New Lancaster School, Newton, PA grade 4, 1912-1913.

Randy Watts donated a copy of his work, "Union Fire Company's 1955 fire engine purchase" and "'Tractobile': how Carlisle almost eclipsed Detroit as an automotive center."

Cindy Mentzer donated menus from the Carlisle Farmer's Market Restaurant which closed in 2014.

Mechanicsburg Museum Association donated a Carlisle Senior High Handbook, 1957-1958.

The Carlisle Barracks Public Works Office donated a copy of "Analysis of Building 839 [Farmhouse], Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania."

Charles Stone donated materials from his school days in New Cumberland. These materials include play programs, athletic association materials, school dance ephemera, and commencement materials. He also gave materials related to the New Cumberland Woman's Club and the New Cumberland Junior Civic Club.

Kirk Wilson donated a charter for the Auxiliary to Sons of the Union Veterans of the Civil War, Capt. J. P. Brindle, camp no. 50, auxiliary no. 50. This includes the names of the charter members.

Jim Bradley donated a copy of his paper, "Memories of passenger train travel on the Cumberland Valley Branch."

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 Revised*, by David L. Smith (2013). 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, the Pine Grove Furnace Prisoner of War Interrogation Camp*, by John P. Bland (2006). Softcover, \$22.00.
- First Families of (Old) Cumberland County* by Hayes Eschenmann and Paul Barner. (Maps and surname indexes of 18th century land owners), Thirty-one volumes, \$18.00 each.

Recent volumes include:

- Mercersburg & Kaiesville (Clear Spring and 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)
Blairs Mills (Huntingdon, Franklin, Juniata and Perry Counties)
Aughwick (Huntingdon and Mifflin 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.

