CUMBERLAND County History

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Volume Seventeen
Number One

In This Issue

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Book Reviews

Contributions Solicited

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Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

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Nineteenth-century German-American Reading Societies: An Alternative Educating Institution[1]

William G. Durden

Within the last two decades historians of American education have cited the inclination of educational theorists and practitioners to focus so exclusively on the schools as vehicles of learning that they ignore the possibilities of other educating forms. Failure to consider education in its widest possible context only contributes to a parochial account of the learning process. One such alternative institution, conspicuously neglected in the history of American education, is the reading society. Not only has this organization remained unexamined as an educating forum, but its very existence in the American scene has also gone largely unnoticed. Although most treatments of the variety of American educating institutions mention museums, libraries, offices, factories, and farms, no notice is given the reading society.[2] Nevertheless, research presently being conducted abroad, particularly among German scholars, indicates that the reading society or *Lesegesellschaft* represented a vital education institution in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. A survey of selected German-American archives and historical societies proves that such reading societies existed in America and that they in part mirror their European predecessors in form and function. A study which examines German-American reading societies, indicating their structure, organization, and function, contributes to a better understanding of American education.

The educating function of German reading societies is apparent in their age of greatest prosperity—the last third of the eighteenth century through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Irene Jentsch, in *Zur Geschichte des Zeitungslesens in Deutschland am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,*[3] suggests a dual basis for the establishment of reading societies: the strong desire of the middle class to read (often called *Lesewut*) combined with the high cost of book purchase by individuals. Barney Milstein, in *Eight eighteenth-century reading societies: A sociological contribution to the history of German literature,* reacts to Jentsch when he states that "the desire to read does not lend itself to analysis as

financial restriction, yet it is worthy of closer examination."[4] Milstein's treatment of the late eighteenth-century Lesewut highlights, in part, an educational matrix which relates the emergence of reading societies to the influence of the Enlightenment:

> It is very likely that the Reading Societies represent in part a manifestation of the Enlightenment which had at its roots the increasing significance of the extra-familial relationships. With the growth of consciousness of the middle classes in Germany the need for education became clear. As individuals of the period began to seek social contacts outside the family, some functions of this group, notably education, also took on an extra-familial cast.[5]

The Enlightenment's call for *Erziehung* in the most comprehensive sense and its strong affirmation of self-education through reading, writing, and discussion guided the middle-class German as he now sought education in groups other than the family. One of the earliest manifestations of this movement occurred of course in the form of *Deutsche Gesellschaften* modeled after the one founded in Leipzig in 1727 by Gottsched. Their goal was unequivocally to educate and to improve the use of the German language. It was but a short step to the establishment of *Lesegesellschaften*, whose major purpose was to provide a well-articulated structure for the increased circulation of reading materials among groups of predominantly middle-class citizens.

Critical attention to the European reading societies has generated discussion of the elements which define the organization generically. Of particular concern is the differentiation of *Lesegesellschaften* from similar contemporaneous institutions, e.g., *Lesegemeinschaften*, the commercial borrowing libraries, reading clubs, informal groups in coffee houses, pubs and homes, and American proprietary and subscription libraries. Marlies Prüsener, in *Lesegesellschaften im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Lesegeschichte,* sees their defining characteristic in a communal governing administration ("die gemeinschaftliche Verwaltung") of the reading society, which includes a slate of elected officers, rules, fees, and membership qualifications.[6] This trend to organization reflects in part the growing social consciousness of the middle class in late eighteenth-century Germany. For Prüsener the reading society usually originated where the middle class, aided by Enlightenment principles, strove for social emancipation and a greater political voice than they had heretofore exercised.

The earliest reading societies, then, are to be interpreted as a form of cultural, social, and political emancipation in which the emerging middle class unites on the basis of common interests. With this practical objective in view, it is not surprising to find the type of reading material favored by societies often to be instructive and to be focused on the contemporary scene. In this context

contemporary newspapers and magazines were a popular item. In addition, books were sought which presented the knowledge-hungry middle class with reading access to the widest possible base of information:

> Was die Wissensbildung und Wissensvermittlung der Lesegesellschaften angeht, machten sich natürlich die Bestrebungen des Bürgetums stark bemerkbar. Man suchte sich möglichst auf allen Gebieten Kenntnisse anzueignen; es wurde eher Breite als Tiefe der Wissensbildung angestrebt. Die Lektüre, die die Lesegesellschaften zur wissenschaftlichen Fortbildung anschafften, musste 'allgemein-wissenschaftlich' oder 'allgemein-interessant', keine spezielle Fachliteratur sein. Damit setzten die Lesegesellschaften die Tradition der Moralischen Wochenschriften fort, die bestrebt waren, ihren Lesern Einblick in möglichst viele Wissensgebiete zu gewöhnen.[7]

In addition to the requirement of "general interest" most reading societies demanded that their literary purchases be both instructive and useful. Historical and geographical works were popular items of reading, especially in the form of biographies and travel descriptions. At the time of the French Revolution the procurement of contemporary political literature in journals or books was of primary importance.

Concurrent with the general emphasis upon literature in reading societies was a rejection of *schöne Literatur* or *Belletristik*:

> Die 'Schöne' Literatur kam nicht medr den Triebkräften der bürgerlichen Emanzipztion und aufklärischen Bildungstendenz, die den Leser zum Buch geführt hatten, entgegen, sondern verlangte eine neue Lesereinstellung. Sie wollte nicht an einen vom Leser bestimmten Zweck gebunden werden, sondern Selbstzweck sein, d.h., sie wollte aus sich heraus bestehan. Damit löste sie sich von der Bezogenheit zum alltäglichen Leben, die der zum bürgertum gehörige Leser im 18. Jahrgundert und gleichzeitig die von ihm geprägten Lesegesellschaften gerade als Hauptforderung an die Literatur stellen.[8]

However, as the nineteenth century advanced, the disinclination of members of reading societies towards *schöne Literatur* gave way to a general reorientation in purpose from instruction to pleasure, "Bezeichend für das 19. Jahrhundert ist jedoch, dass die Lesegesellschaften mehr den Charakter von Geselligskeitsvereinen annahmen, in deren die Lektüre nur noch Nebenzweck war."[9] The beginning of this shift in orientation and the parallel acceptance of schöne Literatur are representative of a larger phenomenon—the gradual dissolution of the reading society as it was originally conceived as an educating forum. Various reasons are suggested for the societies' decline—censorship restrictions, reduced cost of reading material due to advancing print technology, and proliferation of public libraries with more extensive holdings. However, the prevailing consensus of critical opinion is that reading societies declined in

popularity or at least changed form radically because the conditions which gave birth to them in the second half of the eighteenth century—the Enlightenment and the emerging middle class desirous of knowledge—altered. Nevertheless, European reading societies existed for at least six decades as a well-defined organization for education, providing a vital means for the dissemination of Enlightenment thought and middle-class aspirations.

The earliest evidence of a German-American society (defined strictly according to the characteristics outlined in this study) is found in 1803 in Reading, Pennsylvania. But the inclination of German Americans to emulate the organized reading habits of their native Germany existed decades earlier. For example, a circular letter (May 4, 1785), issued by a Jacob Lahn, represents a direct appeal to Philadelphia German Americans to follow their European contemporaries and establish reading libraries (*Lese-Bibliotheken).*[10]

The circular is noteworthy for at least two reasons. Lahn implies that the reading of German books is an important means for German Americans to preserve an identity with their native country. This theme appears critical to differentiate some German-American reading societies from their European counterparts. Also, in his defence of reading libraries, Lahn suggests a number of advantages such an organization naturally lends to members. These advantages are later repeated in the stated objectives of some German-American reading societies and imply an overt educating function. Among the benefits Lahn describes are the ability to provide every class of readers both pleasure and instruction in a manner which best suits their taste, time, and capacity; participation in one of the most noble occupations of the human soul, necessary for domestic happiness and also useful for the management of official activities; rich and genuine pleasure, which with a little talent may permit a reader to be useful to his fellow citizens; and finally, the opportunity for young people of both sexes to sharpen and apply their understanding and to amuse their imaginative powers.

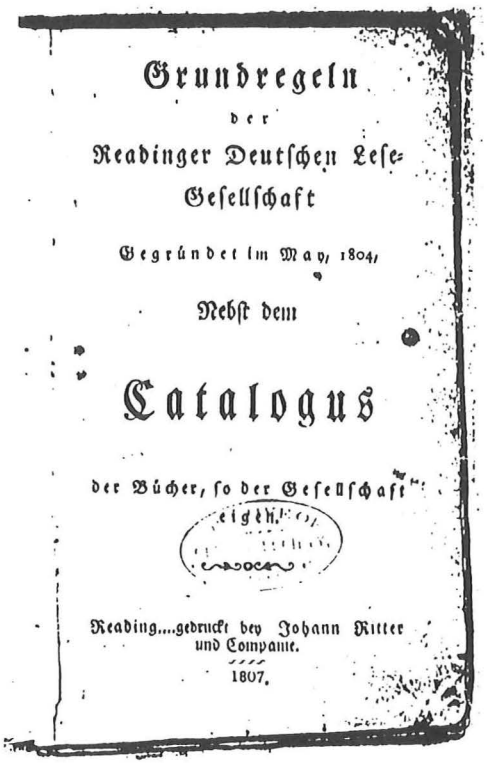
Fortunately for the German-American historian, the Reading *Lesegesellschaft* can be fairly well described because a number of its documents are preserved in libraries and archives: the minutes of all regular meetings of the society (in the library of the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pennsylvania), a copy of the fundamental rules of the society with an accompanying booklist (in the archives of the German Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia),[11] and in an article[12] and newspaper clipping[13] by the Reverend J. W. Early which describe the association.

Although Early's treatment of the Reading *Lesegesellschaft* is factually informative, he neglects to consider the organization in the larger generic context of a reading society. And yet it is precisely in this generic association that the

Reading reading society becomes of significant interest to literary and education historians.

In his article on the Reading *Lesegesellschaft* Early suggests a motivation for the founding of the society that is consistent with a reason for establishing such organizations in Germany—the desire for a communal structure which permits the circulation of books among a large audience despite the high cost of publication. Early states:

> When the German Library was instituted, and indeed throughout its entire existence, a private collection of books was the possession of but a limited number of the wealthier class. In our day [Early's] there exists a plethora of literature on all subjects, which is accessible to the masses upon the shelves of the free public libraries which have come to be regarded as a part of the necessary outfit of all considerable communities. In earlier days books had to be sought for by their readers—in ours they are in some instances literally made to travel after them.[14]



Grundregeln

der

Readinger Deutſchen Leſe-

Geſellſchaft

Gegründet im May, 1804,

Nebſt dem

Catalogus

der Bücher, ſo der Geſellſchaft

eigen

Reading....gedruckt bey Johann Ritter und Compagnie.

1807.

Rules of the Geman Reading Society of Reading, Pa. (1804). Courtesy of the German Society of Pennsylvania

Just as motives which led to the German-American reading society and its European counterparts were parallel, so too are the governing structures strikingly alike and consequently consistent with a defining characteristic of the generic type. As revealed by the minutes of the Reading *Lesegesellschaft*, the organization arrived at its elaborate governing structure in a strict democratic manner. On Friday evening, May 13, 1803, at seven o'clock, 26 Reading residents met in the Reformed schoolhouse for the purpose of establishing a "German Reading Society." The founding members were unequivocally middle-class citizens and included Jacob Schneider, publisher of the *Reading Adler*, member of the Pennsylvania legislature, register and recorder of Berks County, and associate judge; John Walter, United States postmaster; John Ritter, publisher, and Daniel Rose, a celebrated clockmaker and man of affairs in the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Initially, John Spayd was elected temporary president, and Charles Kessler, secretary. It was agreed that the regular officers would be a president, a secretary, and a treasurer. The Reverent Mr. Philip Pauli was elected president; Benjamin Scheck, secretary, and the Reverend Mr. William Boas, treasurer. The name *Die Readinger Deutsche Lese-Gesellschaft* was immediately adopted. A committee consisting of the president and four other citizens was appointed to obtain books written solely in the German language. The society then adjourned to meet again at the same location on June 3, 1803.

At this next meeting the regulations committee presented 18 lengthy rules for consideration. About a dozen of these were readily accepted; serious objections were raised to the remaining suggestions. After a lively discussion yet another committee of nine members, with the president as chairman, was appointed to consider the rules and report its conclusions at the next meeting.

A third meeting was held on June 17, 1803. At this meeting the newly designated rules committee presented a full written report and the regulations were finally approved. The publication, *Grundregeln der Readinger Deutscher Lesegesellschaft nebst dem Catalogus der Bücher, so der Gesellschaft*, lists 14 rules originally adopted in 1803 and in addition, mentions 11 regulations accepted following the initial resolution. The rules are extensive and include meeting times (four per year, May, August, November, and February), protocol, book selection criteria, dues, formula for the selection of new members, maximum size of the society (50 members), and conditions for the expulsion of members.

Like its European predecessors, the fundamental objectives of the Reading reading society include education. The rules state that the object of the association is to purchase a collection of books suitable for the gratification of the tastes and intellectual development of members. Absent, however, is the intensely cultural and political engagement of the organization displayed through its selection of reading materials. Unlike the German reading societies, where

during their most intensive period "schöne Literatur" was largely neglected for more politically or socially engaged readings, the Reading society prominently mentions belletrism in its statement of purpose:

> Die vorbenannten Personen [referring to the founding 26 persons] nun haben sich vereinigt und vereinigen sich zu dem Endzweck, um eine Sammlung von Büchern, des Inhalts sogenannter schöner Litteratur, anzuschaffen und solche Einrichtung zu treffen, dass jedes Glied dieser, sich so vereinigten, Gesellschaft, Gelegenheit habe, den ganzen Vorrath von Büchern auf die möglichst bequeme Art zu lesen.[15]

The society even goes so far as to prohibit from its readings any book which runs counter to good manners, has ungodly content or contains matter which might cause religious or political disputation. One thousand seventy titles are listed in the catalogue of 1807, and books by such authors as Schiller, Wieland, Pope, Shakespeare, Langbein, Klopstock, Heinrich von Kleist, Lessing, Schreder, and Musäus are included. Whereas the Reading society is not politically or culturally engaged with regard to the content of its readings, it is nevertheless fundamentally a cultural organization. Its very existence as an association advocating and preserving the German language and literature amidst the greater American society is culturally differentiating. The vigorous pursuit of this goal is underscored by the members of the Reading *Lesegesellschaft* rejecting a proposal in 1823 to purchase English books.

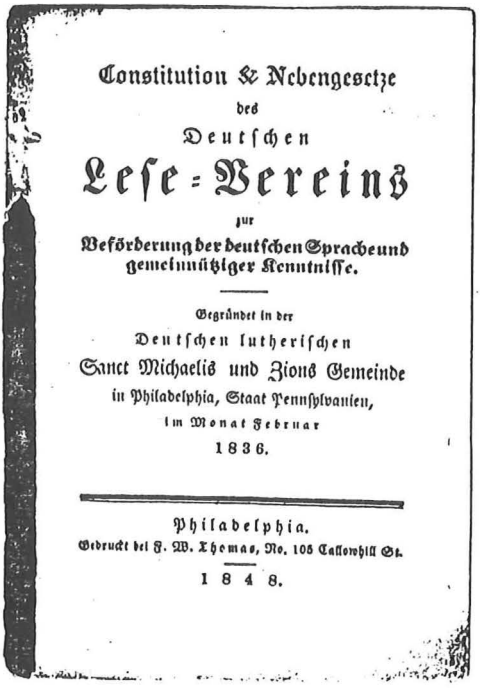
Thus, although the circumstances are different due to changed social and political conditions, the Reading German-American reading society continued in the tradition of its European predecessors to be socially, culturally, or politically engaged. For although some German Americans became quickly assimilated into the dominant English culture, there remained areas of the German immigrant population which stubbornly resisted complete loss of their European heritage. The resistance began early in the Reading area when, for example, in 1755 the English-sponsored charity schools encouraged attendance of German-speaking students and were publicly denounced for supporting a ploy to establish the Church of England among the Germans.[16]

For those German Americans intent upon preserving their German heritage in America, the reading society proved to be a viable means to obtain their goal. Through the exchange of books in a communal manner, the ethnic heritage of the German language and culture was temporarily maintained. On August 27, 1840, the Reading *Lesegesellschaft* was disbanded and the books and money on hand were distributed to the remaining small group of members. Nevertheless, the fact that this organization survived for nearly forty years while so many other Reading cultural organizations collapsed is evidence not only of the personal commitment of its members to the associa-

tion, but also of their desire to preserve the German language in America through the vehicle of German literature.

The Reading *Lesegesellschaft* does not represent an isolated phenomenon in nineteenth-century America. The archives of the German Society of Pennsylvania alone, for example, contain the constitutions and regulations of at least two additional reading societies that share the Reading association's inclination for communal governing structures and educating objectives.

Der Deutsche Leseverein zur Beförderung der deutschen Sprache und gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse, founded in February 1836 at the German Lutheran Saint Michaelis' and Zion's Parish, Philadelphia, possesses a constitution which clearly outlines the purpose and organization of the society.[17] The association should consist of active members who are of unblemished moral character and are over 21 years of age. The club's officers consist of a president, a vice president, a secretary, two librarians, a standing book-selection committee of three members, and a regulatory committee of three members. The responsibilities inherent in each post are clearly defined; of particular interest are those duties of the book committee and the regulatory committee. The book committee


Constitution & Nebengesetze
des
Deutschen
Lese-Vereins
zur
Beförderung der deutschen Sprache und
gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse.
Gegründet in der
Deutschen lutherischen
Sanct Michaelis und Zions Gemeinde
in Philadelphia, Staat Pennsylvanien,
im Monat Februar
1836.
Philadelphia.
Gedruckt bei F. W. Thomas, No. 105 Callowhill St.
1848.

Constitution and By-Laws of a German Reading Society (Philadelphia, 1836). Courtesy of the German Society of Pennsylvania

buys all books for the association's library; prohibits all immoral books which committee members believe might harm good manners; are permitted to buy only German books; should have all bound, loose literature catalogued, and placed on the book shelves, as well as to notify the librarians of the additions; and finally, never exceed the budget when making new purchases. The regulatory committee is charged with investigating and passing upon the moral character of prospective members and, if a member commits an immoral act, notifying the association of the deed and possibly excluding the member in question by ballot.

Among the other rules of the *Leseverein* are the requirements that each new member pay two thalers as well as a monthly fee of twelve and a half cents; all business at the quarterly meetings (the first Thursday in the months of January, April, July, and October) must be conducted in German; and before a member can receive books to read, his entrance fee must be paid and he must sign the constitution.

The other society in Philadelphia, the Hermann Literatur-Gesellschaft der Stadt und Grafschaft Philadelphia, established September 15, 1841, also possesses a constitution with specific stipulations.[18] The constitution must be signed by a person who wishes to join the organization. In addition, the prospective member must pay a predetermined sum of money before acceptance. Prospective members must be able to speak German, be at least fifteen years old, and be of unblemished moral character. The society's principal goal, as stated in the constitution, is to promote the use of the German language, to educate in German by means of lectures, debates, and presentations, to found a German language library, and to establish other regulations (unspecified by the constitution) which arise from time to time. The governing structure of the *Hermann Literatur-Gesellschaft* is noticeably democratic. Every member may vote on all issues that confront the society; the meeting times are explicitly established (once a month); members pay an initial fee of 25 cents and 13 cents per meeting thereafter. The officers of the organization are a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, two librarians, and seven directors. A catalogue of library books also existed.

As the century advanced and the ability to preserve the exclusiveness of German culture became more difficult, German citizens founded reading societies which continued the communal governing structure as exemplified in the early Reading *Lesegesellschaft*, but permitted readings in literature other than German. For example, the November 23, 1844 edition of the German'American publication, *Die Fackel*, announces the preliminary statutes of a rationalistic reading society in New York which had as its objective the establishment of a

library containing "rationalistic" books published in German, English or French.[19]

Here it is not possible to provide a comprehensive treatment of the history and development of German-American reading societies. Yet, a number of summary statements can be made to define their presence. There is substantial evidence that reading societies, modelled in part after their European predecessors, existed in the nineteenth-century German-American community. A complete description of these organizations is hampered by one thing in particular—and this also hinders a thorough treatment of German reading societies—the neglect to which the minutes, book lists, and membership rolls of *Lesegesellschaften* have been subjected throughout history. Furthermore, although the cultural context in which German reading societies developed, i.e., the Enlightenment, differs from that of their American counterparts, the structure and functional intent of the respective organizations remain essentially the same: both associations, organized in a democratic manner, maintain in their most prominent period of existence a strongly educative function. European society viewed reading as a powerful means to cultural, social, and political emancipation for an emerging middle class. The German-American organization, lacking the immediacy of the Enlightenment, nevertheless extolled the role of reading by bringing to an audience useful and pleasurable knowledge. In addition, the readings, restricted to the German language, served as a subtle method for preserving the linguistic, cultural, and social traditions of Germany in a non-German speaking country. To neglect commentary upon German-American reading societies is to ignore a significant moment in the comprehensive history of American education as well as German-American studies.

NOTES

1. Delivered at the annual meeting of the Cumberland County Historical Society and the Hamilton Library Association on October 19, 1999. Reprinted by permission. The author gives special appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies for support in his investigation of German-American reading societies.
2. Lawrence A. Cremin, *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 3.
3. Irene Jentsch, *Zur Geschichte des Zietungslesens in Deutschland am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. University of Leipzig, 1937).
4. Barney Milstein, *Eight eighteenth-century reading societies: A sociological contribution to the history of German literature.*
5. Ibid., 7.
6. (Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Lereinigung, 1972), 388.
7. Ibid., 419-20.
8. Ibid., 448-49.
9. Jentsch, 34.

10. "Vorschläge zur Errichtung einer Lese-Bibliothek: An das geehrte Deutche Publicum," found in the Widener Library of Harvard University, Cambridge.
11. *Grundregeln der Readinger Deutschen Lesegesellschaft Gegründet im May, 1804, Nebst dem Catalogus der Bücher, so der Gesellschaft* (Reading: Johann Ritter and Companie, 1807).
12. Reverend J. W. Early, "Reading's German Reading Association—1803-1840: A Paper read before the Berks County Historical Society, December 12, 1911," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County*, III (1923), 144-49.
13. "Reading's German Reading Association," Reverend J. W. Early in the *Times*, (Reading, Pennsylvania), December 14, 1911.
14. Early, 149.
15. *Grundregeln der Readinger Deutschen Lesegesellschaft*, 3.
16. Morton C. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards, 1975), 375.
17. *Constitution & Nebengesetze des Deutschen Lese-Vereins zur Beförderung der deutschen Sprache und gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse* (Philadelphia: F.W. Thomas, 1848).
18. *Constitution und Nebengesetze der Hermann Literatur-Gesellschaft* (Philadelphia: Walz and Ketterlinus, 1848).
19. *Die Fackel*, Vol. 2, No. 1, November 23, 1844, 8.

The McClintock Slave Riot of 1847

Martha C. Slotten

In the late summer of 1847 when Professor John McClintock was tried before the Quarter Sessions Court of Cumberland County, the only white man among 34 other Carlisle Pennsylvanians, all black, charged with inciting a riot, he seems to have reached a turning point in his career. His first book had just been published by Harper Brothers in the fall of 1846;[1] he had been offered and had declined a munificent post as professor of modern languages at the University of Pennsylvania; his satisfactions with teaching at Dickinson College were great; and his almost accidental part in the stark drama of the slave riot set in the new courthouse in Carlisle climaxed a quickening of conscience against slavery on his own part.

John McClintock spent twelve long, difficult, though happy years in Carlisle, laboring at Dickinson. This all doubtless gave him a sense of belonging which was quickly dispelled in the riot on the square. In approaching our subject, we might ask then, "Can a college professor in a Pennsylvania town near the southern border in the 1840s, continue to find happiness and academic fulfillment, while writing and acting like an abolitionist in the eyes of most of his townsmen?"

It all started on a warm June Wednesday in 1847, when two Hagerstown slave owners, James Kennedy and his brother-in-law, Howard Hollingsworth, came North to Carlisle to retrieve three fugitive slaves. Lloyd Brown and his daughter Ann, a child of about ten, allegedly belonged to Hollingsworth's father, Colonel Jacob Hollingsworth. Kennedy was in Carlisle to claim the third slave, Hester, who was known to have been married to a Carlisle man. Two early June issues of the Hagerstown *Herald of Freedom* report that ten or twelve slaves of that place "have taken to their heels for Pennsylvania."[2] Their several owners were named, among them Kennedy and Hollingsworth, who captured their three fugitives near Shippensburg, from whence they were taken to Carlisle, where the riot then ensued.

On the morning of June 2 in Carlisle the owners appeared before the justice of the peace with the captured fugitives, made claims of ownership with what was considered sufficient proof, and then received a certificate delivering the Negroes into their custody. They found the local constabulary to be obliging allies who agreed to keep the three slaves in jail to serve the owners' convenience until their return to Maryland.

When the deputies were taking the prisoners into jail, George Norman, a Negro and the husband of the slave Hester, tried to snatch her away. At this point, Robert McCartney, the sheriff's assistant, knocked Norman back against the jail wall, and a group of blacks, mostly women, now milled around the jail in an angry mood while the prisoners were taken inside.

At about noon a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained by Samuel Adair, a local Whig lawyer, acting for agents never named, and a hearing was set at 4:00 P.M. by Judge Samuel Hepburn. A crowd of blacks hung around the jail until its doors were opened and trouble seemed so imminent that a posse of five men was deputized to come to the aid of the sheriff. At the hearing, the judge quickly decided that the local justice had illegally given the fugitives into the custody of the sheriff, but he ruled at the same time that the slave owners could rightfully keep the certificate from the justice of the peace remanding the slaves to them. However, Kennedy and Hollingsworth had been arrested on a warrant from the justice of the peace for forcibly entering the house in which the slaves were found, possibly somewhere near Shippensburg;[3] as they had left the court room to give bail they asked Sheriff Jacob Hoffer and McCartney to take charge of the fugitives in their absence. The willing officers stationed themselves close to the prisoners' box. The blacks in the crowd, becoming increasingly agitated and incensed, rushed the prisoners' box and attempted to rescue Hester. The sheriff's assistant McCartney, who had threatened the woman's husband earlier, drew his pistol and threatened to shoot anyone who attempted a rescue. The judge, fearing a riot before his eyes as he sat on the bench, ordered the room cleared, and the crowd was forced down the stairs outside, except for the slaves and their captors. So at this point two rescue attempts had been aborted, one at the jail and one at the courthouse.

At about 5:00 P.M. that day, Professor John McClintock, unaware of all that had been happening on the square, was taking his daily walk to the post office across from the court house, when George Sanderson, the postmaster, called from the courthouse steps to tell of the *habeas corpus* hearing for the fugitives. The judge had just ruled the fugitives' imprisonment illegal when McClintock entered the court room. He talked with the Reverend J.V.E. Thorne, who expressed doubt that the testimony given even proved that the woman and child were slaves. McClintock then took a seat in the bar with the counsel for

John McClintock. Oil Portrait. Courtesy of Dickinson College.

the Negroes and found upon inquiry that the judge as well as the lawyers were ignorant of a recently enacted law which made the procuring of slaves in Pennsylvania illegal. This act, passed on March 3, 1847, forbade any officer of the state to assist in carrying out the federal Fugitive Slave act of 1793 or to take cognizance of any case arising under that law. Judges, jail-keepers or sheriffs were to be penalized for aiding in the restoration of a run-away slave.[4] McClintock, always interested in the law, seemed to have the only authorized copy of the bill, available in a newspaper, and he offered to return to the College for it.

From this point McClintock's diary continues the account:

> About this time there was a melee in the courtroom, the nature of which I did not understand. I passed down to the door of the courtroom and saw a coloured man near the door, whom I had known as a decent man, apparently in danger. A man(Foulke) had a mace or long stick in his hand raised threateningly to the best of my recollection - he said to the Negro, "You ought to have your brains knocked out" or "your scull broke." The Negro asserted that he had done nothing, and I told him, in that case, "if he was struck or injured, to apply to me & I would see that justice was done him."[5]

He subsequently went back to his room to get a copy of the law for the judge and he continues in his journal:

> After some conversation, we came out to the courthouse steps conversed there with several gentlemen, a few moments, when the coloured people were brought out to be led into the carriage which was drawn out immediately in front of the courthouse. I anticipated no outbreak & indeed was sure that the people would be taken off in the carriage. But as they were going in, either they attempted to escape, or others attempted to rescue them; blows were struck, as far as I could judge, by the white men first & a general riot with missiles ensued. I kept out of it, but after it was over, approached a crowd near the market house, where I heard that a man was hurt. Found it was Mr. Kennedy, the owner; asked Dr. Mahon if he was badly hurt, he replied not dangerously—I expressed regret and then passed on homewards.[6]

Kennedy had been chasing the Negroes, who were fleeing with slaves down Liberty Alley. He had apparently tripped and fallen and then was trampled in the crush. (Testimony at the trial was conflicting about how this actually occurred or what caused his injuries.) On McClintock's way home near the courthouse corner, he again intervened when two men were abusing an old Negro woman who claimed that she was only trying to get her old man out of the fray. In the eyes of the white rabble on the square, the professor was already guilty of two things: of knowing more about the law than the lawyers and the judge, and of intervening on behalf of two negroes who were threatened by whites in the

crowd. The inflammatory events of this warm summer afternoon on the square multiplied. Again from McClintock's diary:

> After tea I heard that I was charged with exciting the riot, and that a writ was out against me. All sorts of stories were told and many of the students were very much excited. They held a meeting on the Chapel steps at 7 P.M. Emory [his friend who was then president of Dickinson College] went there and said a few words; when I heard of it, went out, and gave them the true account; told them to go down and ask any decent person they chose and they would find it confirmed. They behaved very well. It was stated in the evening that our house should be mobbed; the town was in great excitement and it was thought best for my family to sleep at Dr. Emory's.[7]

On June 3 President Emory stood bail of $300 for McClintock and the trial was set for August 25 before the Quarter Sessions Court. Also indicted were 34 Negroes who had engaged in the riotous assembly around the courthouse. Of these, nine were women, six of them wives of men also listed as defendants.[8]

Although McClintock's letters to relatives and friends show only composure and calm at this juncture, his deep indignation and chagrin at the turn of events in his beloved Carlisle comes out in this emotional entry in his diary.

> The truth of the case was that my human and Christian sympathies were openly exhibited on the side of the poor blacks and this gave mortal offence to the slaveholders and their confreres downtown. The sentiment of the aristocracy of the town . . . is all pro-slavery and in this they are hand in glove with the lowest rabble.[9]

Moncure Conway, who was a student at Dickinson at this time, gives his version of the students' reaction to news of the riot in his *Autobiography*:

> There was probably not an abolitionist among the students, and most of us perhaps were from slave states. My brother and I, like others, packed our trunks to leave college. A meeting of all the students was held in the evening -in the college chapel at which President Emory spoke a few reassuring words; but we Southerners, wildly excited, appointed a meeting for next morning. At this meeting (June3) we were all stormy until the door opened and the face of M'Clintock was seen, serene as if about to take his usual seat in his recitation-room. There was a sudden hush. Without excitement or gesture, without any accent of apology or of appeal, he related the simple facts, then descended from the pulpit and moved quickly along the aisle and out of the door.
>
> When McClintock had disappeared there were consultations between those sitting side by side, and two or three Seniors drew up resolutions of entire confidence in the professor, which were signed by every one present (ninety) and sent to leading papers for publication.[10]

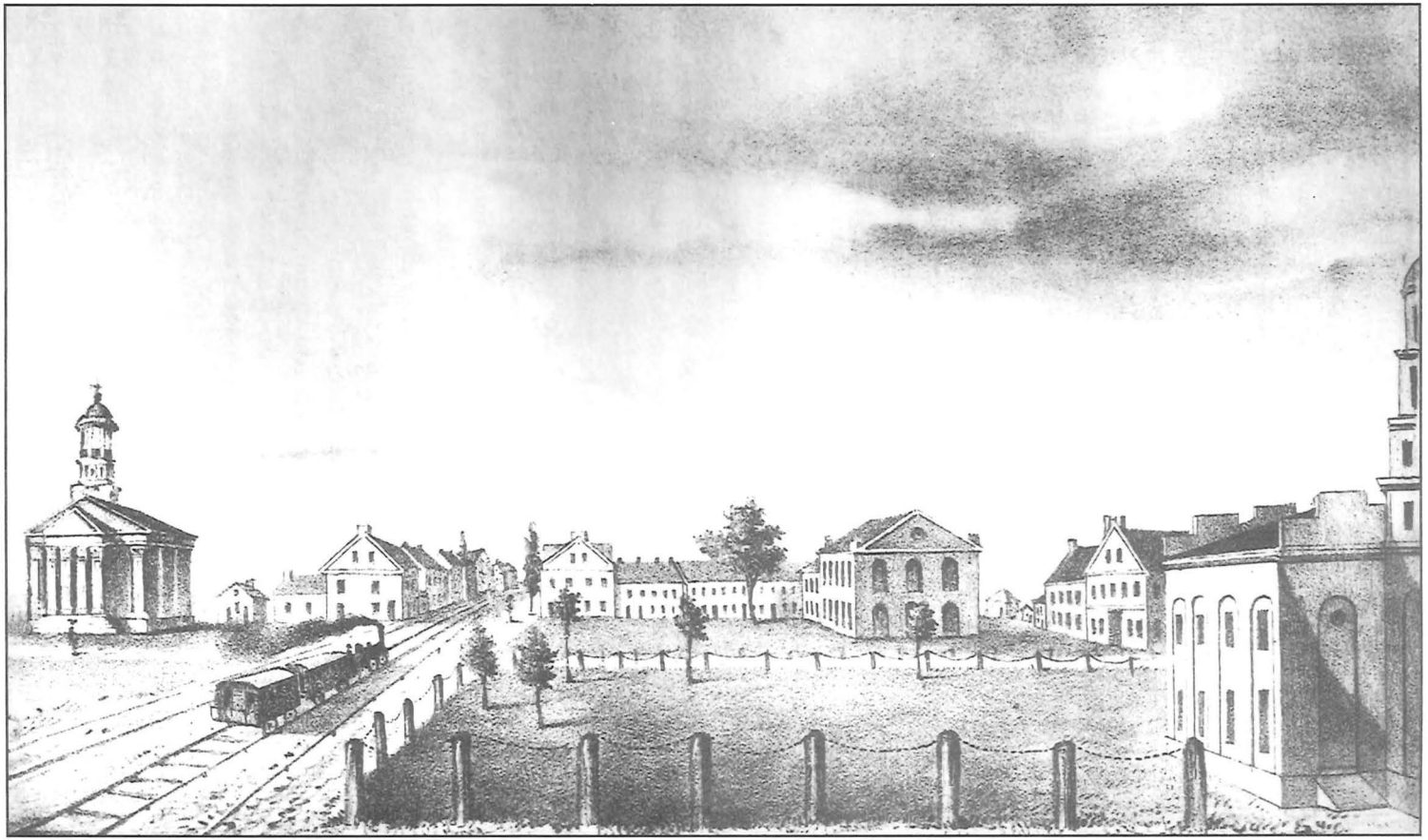
This prompt action by the students was important, no doubt, in preventing McClintock's dismissal from the college as an abolitionist. Many in the town felt that this was his real profession. When the professor had first entered the court room at the close of the hearing, some whites in the crowd muttered or shouted, "There goes McClintock-the damned abolitionist", "Three groans for McClintock", and "Put the abolitionist out!"[11] Obviously, though his appearance in Judge Hepburn's court was unintentioned and accidental, his political reputation had preceded him. This reputation as well as his standing with students and colleagues bears some scrutiny.

Moncure Conway, again in his Autobiography, writes that the faculty under whom he studied at Dickinson "was not surpassed in ability by any in America."[12] John McClintock was one of this group brought together by President John Price Durbin after the Methodists revived the College in 1833. His colleague William Henry Allen wrote, in remembering him later, "The youngest of our corps, he quickly made himself felt as a power among us, and gave early promise of the breadth and depth of attainments which subsequently made him eminent. . . . He could prepare a sermon, write a review, learn a language or master the details of a scientific treatise in less time than any man I have ever known."[13] He was equally at home in the chairs of mathematics and ancient languages, both of which he filled successively during his 12-year tenure at Dickinson, which he began in 1836 at the age of 22. He came to his first teaching position there with a degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and a brief experience as a minister under the New Jersey Methodist Conference.

To read McClintock's diary and letters is to be reminded of an era when such men expressed their feelings for each other and about themselves unreservedly and with sensibility. Yet McClintock felt that his own emotional and volatile nature put him at a disadvantage among his associates, and there was no doubt that this side of his nature was evident to some degree at the courthouse. One entry in his diary in 1841 expressed his deepest feelings about his own temperament: "Men think me <u>volatile</u> because I look and talk as I feel without reserve or hypocrisy. . . . I find that the free indulgence of the best feelings of one's own nature is a thing not to be thought of in this conventional world of ours; the man that is most frigid is most happy. Great God-What happiness! Call they this negative, sleep-like existence of theirs happiness! I envy them not!"[14]

Whether contempt in an intemperate speech to fellow ministers at Conference who were unsympathetic to the support of education, or passion in his frequent "Laus Deo's" for the blessings of family and friends, he expressed his feelings wholeheartedly and often vehemently.

His small wiry frame was dominated by a head which William H. Allen recalled was "as large as Daniel Webster's poised on a body half his size."[15] His



Carlisle Public Square, about 1847. Site of the McClintock Riot. Print after Sherman Day. Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania *(1843), Cumberland County Historical Society*

quick intelligence often lighted his somewhat florid but handsome features, and as Allen later was to testify about him at the trial, it was natural for him to express himself with frequent gesticulations.

His intense drive for work compounded his general weakness in health, with his working days starting with chapel at 6 A.M. and ending with recitations until 6 P.M. In addition to his college class work, he started a Sunday School in the church, a theological class for students on Sunday afternoons; he was librarian of the College, taught classes in Miss Paine's School for Girls, was secretary of the Board of Trustees for several years, and still found time to preach often, to travel among the Conference churches raising money for the College, and to write book reviews, articles, and letters for scholarly and Methodist journals. He wrote three books while he was at Dickinson. In 1848, when he left the College to become editor of the *Methodist Quarterly*, he was already well on the way to being America's foremost scholar of American Methodism.

The McClintocks lived on West Louther Street within a block of the College. John and his first wife, Caroline Augusta, had four children, two of whom survived.[16] They found their comfort and pleasure in the intimate society of the faculty, a few close town friends, and with students who were often in their home. The enrollment was under 200 in the mid-forties.

McClintock had a life-long interest in politics. In a letter to his brother-in-law he writes of the town's and his excitement over a coming Whig celebration that would attract all fellow Whigs of Pennsylvania for Henry Clay and the Tariff of 1842. As an ardent Whig, he vowed " to rebuke this abominable Texas iniquity with pen and tongue. The days of this republic are numbered, and by right ought to be, if by its means slavery is extended one inch or prolonged in its wretched existence one hour."[17]

The sharp abolitionist epithets which were applied to this sensitive and much loved professor in the courtroom come into some perspective as one sees his anti-slavery views develop, though as Conway says, "It would have not been easy at that date to find a professor in any American college willing to shield Negro slaves."[18] It would seem that the events of history and the friendships he formed, combined with his own deeply religious commitment to human justice, led him to the inevitable involvement on the side of the slave and justice in 1847.

By 1841, he was deeply committed to an anti-slavery position as he writes to his dear friend Robert Emory, "It seems to me that the church can do only one thing in regard to so heinous a crime as slavery, namely to bear her testimony against it, and use all her influence for its extirpation. . . . And may God's curse come upon us if, either directly or indirectly, we sanction slavery! We have tampered with it long enough."[19]

The anti-slavery movement was essentially a religious one, as were most of the reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century, so that it seemed only natural for McClintock to see the abolition of slavery coming through reform of the church's attitude toward it. When he writes to his wife in March 1844 just before the Methodist General Conference, "It is said Bishop Andrews has married a wife with slaves and if it be true, he will have to resign his Bishoporic at the General Conference," he was pinpointing the issue which split the Methodist Church into Northern and Southern Conferences in 1844.[20]

John Price Durbin was one of those who tried in vain to effect a compromise after this happened. While affirming that the episcopacy of the Church "ought not to be trammeled with slavery," he sought for a plan of pacification.[21] McClintock spoke out against Durbin's compromise in the November 27, 1844, *Christian Advocate*. The reaction of the Rev. James Sewell from East Baltimore records the antipathy of many old line Methodist ministers to professors with liberal views.

> The position which you occupy as Professor of one of our literary institutions that receives much of its patronage from the South should have restrained you at this cricis [*sic*] of our Church affairs from the attack which you have made on one of the civil institutions of the land. You may rouse the prejudices of the mind but how could you hope to produce conviction by stepping out of your sphere as an instructor of our youth so far as to fight the battles of the Abolitionists . . . So you think my brother "that the question of Slavery is the great question of the age" and I suppose you think too that great men must come forth armed for the conflict....This question is the nut upon which all the Drs. & Professors must try their long, polished and pointed teeth. I would just say that some of them will have need of a moral dentist by the time they have cracked it.[22]

From all that we can learn from McClintock's papers, his anti-slavery sentiments found little sympathy in Carlisle. He writes in a letter on June 12, "There are not two men in this town bold enough to take a stand against slavery publicly."[23] There is no evidence of his having had any contact with whatever abolitionist sentiment there was in Carlisle, though there is some evidence that his acquaintance with the Negro community went beyond the sphere of his Negro maid Catherine.

We can only assume that he might have known of the activities of James Miller McKim, of Dickinson's class of 1828, who was involved in founding the Carlisle Anti-Slavery Society some time in 1834. This society was short-lived, but McKim's subsequent efforts as a Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society agent and abolitionist have been assessed as scarcely second in importance to that of his friend William Lloyd Garrison. In the summer of 1847 immediately following the riot, McKim wrote McClintock a long letter of sympathy and exhortation

from the Anti-Slavery office in Philadelphia. In this he writes, "Unless Carlisle has greatly changed for the better since I was one of its residents, your liberal views of truth and duty find but little sympathy from those around you. The dead formalism passing current there for religion has but little in common with practical-reformatory Christianity...Such views of Christian truth and duty as you have avowed, the church will not tolerate."[24]

McClintock's reply to this letter is a classic statement of his own stand in relation to the slavery problem. "As for swerving from my course for fear of popular clamour, you need have no fears. That is no part of my religion. And, on the other hand, be charitable enough not to charge me with cowardice or moral obliquity because I cannot see & do exactly as you do. That I shall do all in my power, so long as I live to aid in the deliverance of the oppressed coloured race, North and South, you may rest assured."[25] It is understandable that McClintock should ask McKim to keep his remarks "private."

It had been only a few months before this that McClintock's views received a rebuff from the Church, which McKim found so wanting. The debate over slavery which had caused the division in his church was involving McClintock even more deeply in the controversy. In February 1847 he sent to the *Christian Advocate* the first of what he announced would be a series of articles on slavery. Four of these were printed, but in May the editor, Thomas Bond, announced that the McClintock series was to be discontinued because of wide objections to it from the readership.[26]

McClintock's main concern throughout these pieces was to show that slavery was incompatible with Christianity, and he did it with force and passion. He, like McKim, thought it was the duty of the Christian church to extirpate the evil of slavery, not to find scriptural rationale for it, as many Southern churchmen did. He says that he could never be an abolitionist himself for he could never believe "that all slaveholders are sinners and should be cut off from the fellowship of Christianity."[27] Yet he points out that the great majority in the North by this time have become aroused against slavery and that this has come to pass because of the abolitionists. Apparently these views were too much for the Southern readers of the *Advocate* and its cautious editor, who canceled them.

With this prelude on McClintock's part, one can imagine with what strong feelings these same readers of the *Christian Advocate* greeted news of his involvement in a slave riot a month later. Small wonder that President Emory and the trustees of the College set about remedying this damage with a network of therapeutic correspondence to their friends in the South that carried the message that McClintock was not an abolitionist and that his intervention in the riot was purely accidental.

Robert Emory had the difficult task at this time of correcting representations about the riot and McClintock which would be detrimental to the College. At the same time he was trying to keep intact his own integrity as an anti-slavery sympathizer as well as his friendship with John McClintock. He took pains to point out that McClintock would never prevent slave-owners from obtaining their rightful property, and that he "did nothing unbecoming a Christian or law-loving citizen." In one letter he pointed out that the initial clamor raised against McClintock "was got up by certain lewd fellows of the baser sort" and that those against him in the matter were "a notorious gambler, a rum-seller, a professed negro-catcher, etc. while the witnesses for the professor are two ministers of the gospel (both of other churches) and some of our most pious and respectable citizens."[28]

And letters came in to Emory from anxious friends, parents, and alumni. One itinerant minister wrote that the citizens of Accomac in Virginia had recently committed copies of the *Advocate* containing the McClintock slavery articles to flames in the county town square.[29]

Most wrote admiringly and with disbelief about the professor as he was represented in many papers and all asked for public corrections in print, or visits from Emory to their areas to restrengthen frayed ties with the College. A few like Otho Norris from Frederick, Maryland, suggest that McClintock be speedily removed from the institution before vacation "when the students return home to the different states."[30]

A glance at the Dickinson commencement exercises held on July 7 gives us some insight into what the day held for the beleaguered professor. Besides the tension-filled trustees meeting in the afternoon, where he perhaps squirmed uncomfortably as his friend Emory rationalized his position , McClintock had to fill in as a last- minute replacement for Charles Gibbons who was unable to deliver the Belles Lettres Literary Society address as scheduled. Though hastily written, McClintock's address, entitled "Devotion to Truth," was hailed as a signal success in the papers.

President Emory's task of counteracting the effect of the riot on the College's reputation was magnified by sensational and prejudicial newspaper reports. The story was circulated widely and the source for most papers was the local *Herald & Expositor* or, unfortunately for McClintock, the *Hagerstown Torchlight.* It was from the latter source that the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* reported that numbers of Dickinson College students rallied to the aid of the slave owners; that many of the Negroes were severely wounded, and "we are told that at every post and corner was someone to be seen, bloody, and bleeding, leaning for support;" that McClintock was conspicuous in urging the Negroes to the attack, and that the students were meeting to demand his removal or to withdraw themselves.[31]

The *Ledger* and the local *Herald*, among many newspapers, published the statement by Dickinson Southern students refuting point by point the above story from the *Hagerstown Torchlight*. Students, they said, could not have been involved in the riot since they were all attending a joint meeting of the literary societies at this time and knew nothing of the affair on the square; and on McClintock's behalf again they wrote:

> The conduct of this gentleman towards the students has always been of such a nature as to call for our warmest commendation. So far are we, from desiring his removal from this institution, that we thus publicly express our high regard for him as a professor, a gentleman, and a Christian. Moreover, we sincerely hope that he may long remain with us as an instructor, for we are fully conscious that his withdrawal from the institution would be an irreparable loss both to ourselves and the college.[32]

This statement of the students printed in the *Ledger* is the only one which prints all 90 Southern students' names, beginning with 55 students from Maryland and 21 from Virginia.

The righteous indignation of the Hagerstown papers on behalf of two of that town's leading citizens was understandable since the papers of this period carry frequent stories of group runaways of slaves such as the one of the twelve who escaped from Hagerstown. The *Herald of Freedom* asserts that the masses in Carlisle took no part in helping the owners capture their slaves: "According to the laws of our state and those of the United States, we have just as good a right to hold slaves as the Carlisle people have to hold horses. Suppose a hundred of their horses were stolen and brought back to Hagerstown. Would we not help them to retrieve their property even if attacked by a mob?"[33]

The American Volunteer in Carlisle, upstaged by the *Herald's* earlier scoop on the riot, had only a brief account of the "disgraceful riot, which took place in our usually quiet borough on Wednesday of last week."[34] But when James Kennedy, the unfortunate slave owner, died suddenly on June 23, the Democratic *Volunteer* showed its true political stripes.

> The Abolition fanatics can now witness the first and choice fruits of their maddened zeal. They have a beautiful spectacle before them - the workmanship of their own hands. They can now see the legitimate results of their course of conduct - a course which if persisted in will set this Union in ablaze from one end to the other.[35]

They call for the abolition of the 1847 law saying,

> It was passed surreptitiously, and we understand, is a literal copy of an act passed by old blue light Massachusetts in reference to the same question. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts seldom stand side by side on any question, and now they feel ill at ease in each other's company on this.

> Pennsylvania has been duped by a few Abolition agents, and will right herself immediately. She is too honest to have any faith in wooden nutmegs or Yankee notions.[36]

This same issue carried the story of the public meeting called on June 25 upon the announcement of the slave owner Kennedy's death. He had died unexpectedly from wounds not thought to be serious. After an assemblage of citizens gathered in procession for the removal of the body to Hagerstown, they met again in the evening at Education Hall, and chose officers, many prominent names among them. Frederick Watts helped to draw up resolutions of sympathy to the bereaved, and of castigation of the acts of a lawless mob. The meeting was adjourned after a speech by J. Ellis Bonham, who was later to be the prosecuting attorney in the August trial of the rioters.

A concluding paragraph in the *Volunteer* article on Kennedy's death must have fallen on many sympathetic Carlisle ears and brings us to the Negroes' part in the riot:

> Another matter forces itself upon our attention, and now is the proper time to discuss it. It has long been a question whether it was a sound policy to permit blacks of all descriptions and characters such unrestricted liberty to come and settle among us. We appear to be the Botany Bay for the African race. Every runaway negro finds a home in Pennsylvania. Is not this evil becoming a crying one? Should it not be remedied? Will it not largely increase in magnitude, and that speedily? It is not to be denied that a large portion of the time of our Criminal Courts are taken up in trying worthless vagabond negroes, for almost every species of crime at a great expense to the public. They fill our poor houses and jails and this alarming evil is on the increase. Ought we not then, like our Sister State of Ohio, pass a law requiring every black man who takes up his residence in Pennsylvania, to give bond and security for good behavior? Would not such a policy stem the yearly tide of black population, which is pouring in upon us, and inundating the southern counties of this state?[37]

What of these blacks who had been allowed to come and settle with such "unrestricted liberty?" It is as much a challenge to reconstruct the lives of at least a few of the 34 black men and women in the riot trial as it is to sort through the masses of McClintock papers to present only what seemed most pertinent to this event in his life. We know, of course, that George Norman was the husband of the fugitive Hester and this makes him unique, but who were John Clellans, Augustus Coates, or Achilles Vandergrift? We know that Ann Garver was helped by McClintock when one of the white men was threatening to take her "old man" prisoner. We know that Moses Jones, whom McClintock championed when he was threatened by Willis Foulke, was arrested later in 1850 and claimed as a fugitive by a Virginian after the Fugitive Slave Act was

passed.[38] He was discharged at that time. Mark Scott of Carlisle was a barber who was sent there by one of John Brown's' men in 1859 to help to rescue another of Brown's men from the Carlisle jail.[39] Valentine Thomas was a waiter at Winrott's tavern, where the slave owner Kennedy was staying when he died so unexpectedly. College vouchers for 1847-48 show James Jones' bills for carrying wood and whitewashing.[40] John Hunter's name appears most often although it turned out that he was finally not prosecuted at the trial. He had lived with Jacob Rheem for three years and he was probably the Negro named Hunter listed as an underground railroad agent. A glance through the same Quarter Sessions docket which contained the riot trial shows that Anthony Boon, Hall Holmes, Eli Butler and Mealy or Amelia Butler, who were all among those indicted for riot, ran afoul of the law within a two-year period after the riot. Boon was charged with arson,[41] Holmes was charged with larceny[42] and the Butlers were charged with assault and battery and not keeping the peace with each other![43] It should be added that several white witnesses for the Commonwealth are charged with crimes in the same docket There are no records of wills or deeds for these black residents, so one can only imagine from the pitifully little we know of Negro institutions at that time and from McClintock's trial notes what they were like as individuals and how one can account for their audacity in storming the prisoners' box on behalf of their unfortunate fellows.

The Census for 1810 shows 307 slaves in Cumberland County; in 1820 there were 17, in 1830,7, and in 1840, 24, and by 1850 none. Slavery was stronger in Cumberland County after 1800 than in any other part of Pennsylvania and the institution prevailed here longer than in any other county of the Commonwealth.[44] The Census for 1850 shows that 349 of the 4,581 residents of the borough were Negroes, a disproportionately high concentration of the county's total population of blacks.[45] These statistics help to explain why Cumberland County's attitude through these years and longer was not marked by benevolence toward Negroes.

One can surmise that some of the 300, some Negroes living in the county in 1840, arrived here via the Underground Railroad; perhaps this was the route by which the twelve fugitives came up from Hagerstown. There were stations at Chambersburg, 16 miles from the Maryland border and the next stops to be reached nightly were at Shippensburg and Boiling Springs. Boiling Springs was an ideal station, where Daniel Kaufman, an agent, kept fugitives sometimes for days in Island Grove, a dense thicket adjoining his farm. In his later life, he guessed that during his agency, he aided 60 to escape on to stations in Carlisle or Harrisburg on their way to freedom via the North Star.[45]

Scanty evidence seems to show that the only ongoing efforts on behalf of freedom for slaves in Carlisle was carried on by the Negroes themselves. This

observation seems to have been borne out by James Miller McKim, who was an outstanding white exception to the rule. In 1833 when he was running his father's tannery on the LeTort and studying for the ministry under the Reverend George Duffield's inspiration, he became acquainted with John Peck, another Negro barber. In Peck's shop he first read Garrison's pamphlet *Thoughts on African Colonization* and learned from this articulate Negro that northern blacks were almost unanimous in their opposition to colonizing Negroes in Africa, a plan which was popular in the anti-slavery movement at this time.[46]

McKim was probably responsible for starting the Carlisle Anti-Slavery Society which lasted from September 1834 to May of 1835, when he left Carlisle.[47] McKim in his diary indicates that all of the Carlisle abolitionists of this period were Negroes. His efforts were perhaps not in vain since the first free school for Negroes was opened in Carlisle in 1835 by McKim's close friend, Mary Knox.[48] Miss Sarah Bell was its first teacher and taught there for nearly 50 years. The students who entered then ranged in age from 5 to 80 and of these only three could read.[49] The school was located in the African Church on Pomfret Street.

According to the historian Conway P. Wing, the Wesley Chapel in 1839 separated from the above church and was built on Locust Alley between Bedford and East Streets.[50] In 1860 Jacob Rheem, a witness for the Negroes in the riot trial, sold a lot on Chapel Alley to the trustees of this church, one of whom was John Hunter, who barely escaped prosecution in the trial.[51] The church today is A.M.E.Zion on South West Street.

Pitifully on the debit side by 1847 in education and opportunity, though in economic competition, the blacks had to withstand violent prejudice in Carlisle, especially between 1830 and 1850. However, leadership qualities among these free Negroes obviously existed and were there to be reckoned with. They hardly needed John McClintock as a catalyst for their actions. They acted under their own impulses and McClintock's happenstance at being there only dramatized their plight in the face of white injustice and ignorance of the law.

When Judge Hepburn looked down from the bench on that Monday morning of August 25 when the trial started, he could see on his right a sea of brown, black and mulatto faces, too many to be held in any prisoners' box, but they were closely guarded by the sheriff's men. The audience eyed them curiously and with some contempt, but those who were hostile focused their ire and attention on the professor, who sat near the Negroes with his own lawyers, William Biddle and William M. Meredith.

McClintock's friend, William Biddle, was at that time a college trustee and possibly through his influential Philadelphia connections helped McClintock to secure the services of William Meredith, one of the leading criminal lawyers in the state and later Secretary of the Treasury under Zachary Taylor. Half of

McClintock's trial costs of $1000 went for Meredith's fee but McClintock felt he was well worth it. He had hoped to secure Thaddeus Stevens, the anti-slavery lawyer and politician with whom he corresponded about this possibility. Stevens' schedule ruled out the August trial in Carlisle but he had also written McClintock that he felt the College's position might be injured by his sharp anti-slavery views.[52] McClintock for his own part wished that Meredith had "more anti-slavery tone."[53]

McClintock's bail had been set for $300, the same as for the other defendants, and although Robert Emory stood bail for him, he was preoccupied during the anxious summer with the impending cost of the trial. His salary was $1000 for that year and he was to be dependent on generous family and friends to meet his commitments. His trial expenses probably also included the fees of the defense lawyers for the Negroes since there exist receipts to him for fees for S. Dunlap Adair, who had secured the *habeus corpus* writ for the Negroes before the riot.[54]

The lawyers for the Commonwealth were headed by the young County Prosecutor J. Ellis Bonham, at 31 one of the youngest of all the lawyers at the bar. His tastes were literary and his oratory refined. He was no demagogue.[55]

The grand jury returned a true bill on Wednesday the 27th after overruling McClintock's motion for a separate trial, so that proceedings continued with the empaneling of the jury. Three counts were read for the indictment; for simple riot and breach of the peace: for rescuing two slaves who were lawfully in the possession of their owner, and for assault and battery on James Kennedy and John Black, a bystander, who was injured..

The nearest record we have to a transcript of the trial seems to be McClintock's trial notes which he paid a reporter $60 to take down.[56] Though somewhat sketchy, they are much fuller than contemporary newspaper accounts. The mass of testimony given therein by the witnesses for the state leads us as latter day jurors to the conclusion that their feelings of prejudice against the defendants and their action led them to embellish the truth about McClintock with exaggerated results.

Statements ascribed to McClintock and sworn to under cross examination, seem scarcely credible, even in view of McClintock's volatile nature. "Boys, stand your ground, I'll see you thro" or "Now's your time, boys," or "You have the ascendance, hold on." One witness for the state described McClintock as standing over the injured Kennedy in the alley declaring, "It serves him right."[57] Most who testified for the state transformed McClintock from the sensitive scholar into a vulgar agitator, rushing about among the Negroes rallying them to violence. One swore that the professor's face during the riot was "swollen to twice its natural size" with rage.[58]

The witnesses for the state, about 36 in all, included Sheriff James Hoffer and his deputies, most notably the muscular and angry Robert McCartney, a tailor on Irvine Row, a watchmaker, a painter, a whiskey store keeper, as well as a prosecutor for the borough. One of the most colorful of these witnesses was Willis Foulke, a young doctor just starting his practice in his father's home and office just south of the courthouse directly opposite Winrotts' Hotel and the Second Presbyterian Church. It was Foulke who had threatened Moses Scott, and was then warned for it by McClintock. Foulke's testimony was lengthy and apparently impassioned against the defense. In some newspaper accounts it was the only testimony printed.

Several of the Negroes emerge more fully out of the trial testimony. John Hunter, already referred to as a possible Underground Railroad agent and a founder of the second oldest colored church in Carlisle, was obviously a respected citizen. Several witnesses took pains to say that though Hunter was present, he was not involved. His wife Susan was not so discreet. George Bratton testified that he had raised Hunter and was disturbed to find that on June 7 he and his wife Susan were still in jail, reportedly because Susan had been seen at the courthouse armed with stones in her hands.[59] By August 28, three days into the trial, Hunter was discharged as a defendant, but his wife was not so fortunate; we are left to wonder whether he and the other Negroes had spent the whole time between the riot in June and the trial in August in jail.

McClintock's lawyers tried to show that he was the victim of persecution and conspiracy. Their witnesses emphasized the name-calling to which he had been subjected and some quoted violent and prejudicial remarks made about McClintock during and after the trial by sheriff's men; one witness testified to overhearing two of them planning to make sure that McClintock stood trial even if he got the governor's pardon, as it was rumored he might.

Moncure Conway's report of the trial, which occurred before students came back from vacation, emphasizes a dramatic revelation in Jacob Rheem's testimony for the defense, which seemed to clinch proof of a conspiracy against McClintock.[60] None of the existing documentation on the trial seems to bear this out, though much of the defense testimony implies a conspiracy plot. However, a closer look at Rheem's testimony and his stature in the community leads one to think that his appearance and witness were decisive in the verdict of acquittal for McClintock and all but thirteen of the defendants, particularly in contrast to the sometimes excessive rantings of the sheriff's claque in testimony. He asserted that he was on the south side of the court house and could see that Kennedy was not knocked down; that no stones were thrown except by whites at the colored people, who had stones and sticks in hand but didn't throw them. Both the Reverend John V. E. Thorne, a former Episcopalian

rector at St. John's Church, and the Reverend James Lillie of the Second Presbyterian Church, had been present at the riot and testified that McClintock had been in perfect mastery of himself and spoke in a calm, reasoned manner. It seems probable that the truth about McClintock's involvement lay somewhere between the two extremes expressed in testimony.

President Emory was right in describing the witnesses on McClintock's side as a pious lot. Many were leading members of the Methodist Church in which McClintock and most of the college family were active members. Of these Jacob Rheem's' Methodism was no halfway commitment. He was usually leader for at least two classes and for twelve years one of these was the colored class in the church.[61] As a record of his material worth in the community between 1837 and 1860, there were 94 deeds indicating transferral of lots to or from him, an indication that he was involved in buying and selling real estate.[62] We know that he was president of the borough council in 1847 and later from 1859 until 1878 a trustee of the College. In view of his standing in the community, and his concern for Negroes in his church, it seems likely that his testimony was most persuasive to the jury on behalf of the defense. Perhaps he was even the unknown agent who prompted lawyer Adair to obtain the *habeas corpus* writ for the fugitives in the first place.

For three days testimony was taken and on the fourth came the lawyers' addresses to the jury. The case went to the jury at 9:30 P.M. Saturday night and the jury was sealed till 9:00 A.M. Monday morning, when a verdict of guilty was returned against thirteen of the defendants, with McClintock and the rest acquitted.[63]

Judge Hepburn, a Democrat, who had, incidentally, barely been defeated by a Whig for Congress in the previous election, registered an angry protest to the verdict, declaring that had it been a civil case the court would have set such a verdict aside. McClintock wrote to a friend in Connecticut of his reaction to this; "The conduct of our judge has been as severely censured in Pennsylvania as it could be in N.England; the weightiest newspapers of both parties have spoken of his conduct in very much the same terms as those used in your letter. Several of them threaten him with impeachment, and some of the leading politicians of the state have proferred me their assistance in case I undertake it." After explaining that he cannot neglect his studies to undertake such a conflict, he adds that "the judge has but one more year to serve, and will not be reappointed. He is a young man, very ambitious of political distinction, but of very narrow mind, limited education, and vulgar feelings. His hatred of the College is intense, and he would do anything to break it down."[64]

In the sentence handed down on September. 7 by Hepburn, eleven of the thirteen defendants found guilty were sentenced to three years in solitary confinement at the Eastern Penitentiary.[65] This savage penalty was reversed nearly a year later

by the state Supreme Court on McClintock's initiative. He contacted Charles Gibbons, the Philadelphia lawyer, whose place he had taken in July as Dickinson's commencement Belles Lettres speaker. The Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision for reversal based on the error of imprisonment for riot in a penitentiary rather than a county jail and it discharged the prisoners, citing their having already served three quarters of a year of this unfair sentence.[66] This action plus a letter "To the Public" by McClintock in local papers surely did not improve Hepburn's feelings toward the College.[67]

This chapter in Carlisle's history was not the ordeal of just one man but of an entire community, whose feelings on both sides were undoubtedly intensified by the events surrounding the riot and the trial. The College survived this first serious confrontation between town and gown. It opened in August after the trial with 25 more students and no noticeable defection of Southerners. During that year, which was McClintock's last in Carlisle, he was offered four college presidencies, including Dickinson's.[68] He declined the latter, feeling that he could not express himself freely on the great slavery question in such a position.[69] Perhaps those most affected in the long run were the students, some of whom admitted in later years to having been deeply influenced by McClintock's moral strength and integrity on the slavery question. And surely the Negroes themselves must have taken new heart in their struggle upward because of the actions of men like McClintock and Rheem, two civil rights champions, the likes of which Carlisle had never seen before, or perhaps since.

With the death in 1848 of his two close friends and colleagues, Robert Emory and Merritt Caldwell, and the failure of his own health, his world seemed to be falling around him, only to be reassembled by his election to the editorship of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, a post which he held until 1856, and to which he brought scholarly excellence in Christian thought. His short term as the first president of Drew Seminary at the end of his life (1867-1870) brought his administrative and scholarly gifts to the fore. But perhaps most relevant to his lifelong conflict with slavery was his pastorate of the American Church in Paris from 1860-64. There with his second wife, Catherine, Robert Emory's widow, he played an influential part in interpreting America's Civil War to the American community abroad as well as to Europeans. It was said that Lincoln declared him well fitted for ambassador to France.[70]

McClintock claimed a right for the scholar in politics and it was in Carlisle that he was able to test the right successfully and to go on with a life-long ministry based on this premise.

Nearly a quarter of a century after the riot on April 26, 1870, Carlisle celebrated the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment "as a day set apart by our coloured citizens," so the *Carlisle Herald* wrote.[71] One of the banners borne by

the Negroes rejoicing in their newly gained political freedom was draped in mourning for one just died and inscribed, "In Memory of Dr. McClintock, Persecuted for our sake."

A large number of students attended this parade although the faculty had denied them permission.[72] The harsh penalties imposed on the students subsequently brought about their boycott of classes; they wore yellow badges of protest, and in spite of faculty-student meetings, 35 students went home in protest. "Young America," the *Herald* commented, "could not be squelched."[73]

Their demands were met and they were called back from their homes though many never returned to college. This famous incident in Dickinson's history was long referred to as "The Rebellion.' McClintock would not have countenanced such rebellion on the part of his students but he would have been gratified that Dickinson students of the generation which came after him were concerned with celebrating a new freedom for Negroes.

NOTES

1. John McClintock, *A First Book in Latin,* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846)
2. *Herald of Freedom,* June 8 & 10 , 1847. The Dickinson College Archives includes several other newspaper accounts of the riot in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger, Philadelphia Bulletin, American Volunteer, Richmond Enquirer, U.S. Gazette, The Freedman, Carlisle Herald and Expositor, New York Commercial Advertiser, Christian Repository, New York Daily Tribune, Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal, National Anti-Slavery Standard.*
3. John McClintock Diary (hereafter Diary), McClintock Papers, Emory University Special Collections.
4. PL 208. See George R. Crooks, *Life and Letters of the Reverend John McClintock,* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1876), 148-149.
5. Ibid, 151.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 158.
8. Ibid., 75. Although the list of those indicted varies by two or three names between the September 2, 1847 *American Volunteer* and McClintock's "Trial Notes" at Emory, these names were all listed: Anthony Bell, Anthony Boon, Elizabeth Boon, Robert Brisseton, Amelia Butler, Eli Butler, John Clellans, Augustus Coates, John Cox, Rachel Cox, Elizabeth Cribbs, Hannah Decker, George Fisher, William Fisher, Jr., Ann Garver, Jacob Garver, John E. Grey, William Hanson, Hall Holmes, John Hunter, Susan Hunter, Richard Johnston, Sophia Johnston, Clara Jones, Moses Jones, James Jones, John McClintock, Charles Marshall, Henry Myers, Hiram Myers, George Norman, Valentine Thomas, Charles Turner, Achilles Vandegrift, and Nicholas Williams
9. Ibid., 158.
10. Moncure Daniel Conway, *Autobiography* (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904) I, 51.
11. Crooks, *Life and Letters,* 150.
12. Conway, *Autobiography,* 47.
13. Crooks, *Life and Letters,* 385-6.

14. Diary, July 25, 1841.
15. Crooks, *Life and Letters*, 386.
16. John Emory McClintock and Martha Augusta McClintock.
17. Crooks, *Life and Letters*, 23.
18. Conway, *Autobiography*, I, 51.
19. McClintock to Robert Emory, January 24, 1841, McClintock Papers, Emory University Special Collections, (hereafter McClintock Papers).
20. McClintock to Augusta McClintock, March, 1844, McClintock Papers.
21. *Christian Advocate*, November 27, 1844.
22. Ibid., December 4,1844.
23. McClintock to T. A. Mason, June 12, 1847, McClintock Papers.
24. Crooks, *Life and Letters*, 170.
25. John McClintock to James Miller McKim, June 10, 1847, Cornell University Library, Special Collections.
26. *Christian Advocate*, May 19, 1847.
27. Crooks, *Life and Letters*, 125.
28. Robert Emory to George Fechtig, June 6, 1847, Dickinson College Archives, (hereafter DCA.)
29. W. Spry to Robert Emory, June 8, 1847, DCA.
30. Otho Norris to Robert Emory, June 9, 1847, DCA.
31. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, June 8, 1847.
32. Ibid., June 12, 1847.
33. *Herald of Freedom*, June 9, 1847.
34. *The American Volunteer*, June 28, 1847,
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. *American Volunteer*, September 2, 1847.
39. *200 Years in Cumberland County,* (Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951), 189.
40. Record of credit, disbursements & receipts, 1845-60, Treasurer's Papers, DCA.
41. Cumberland County Quarter Sessions Docket, v. 20 (1846-52), 144
42. Ibid., 284.
43. Ibid., 299, 311.
44. Conway P. Wing, *A History of Cumberland County* (Philadelphia: James D. Scott, 1879), 101.
45. Ibid.
46. The Zeamer Papers, Cumberland County Historical Society, a miscellaneous collection of newspaper clippings on slavery, this one from the *Philadelphia Press*, October 15, 1899.
47. William Cohen, *James Miller McKim: Pennsylvania Abolitionist* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1968), 1-2.
48. Ibid., 90n.
49. Ibid., 91n.
50. Wing, *History of Cumberland County,* 233.
51. Cumberland County Deeds; Jacob R. Rheem & wife conveyed property to A.M.E. Zion Church, January 11, 1860; present trustees, John Hunter, John Boyd, John Davis, Rev. J. Gassaway, minister, for $125.

52. Crooks, *Life and Letters*, 168.
53. John McClintock to Merritt Caldwell, August 17, 1847, McClintock Papers.
54. Diary, September 1, 1847, 79 ("The trial will cost about $1000-Meredith, $500, Biddle $100, Graham $100, Adair $70, reporter $60, traveling expenses & expense of witnesses, the remainder.")
55. Wing, *History of Cumberland County*,175-176.
56. Diary, August 30, 1847.
57. Crooks, *Life and Letters,* 160.
58. Ibid., 161.
59. *Herald of Freedom*, September 2, 1847. Also in McClintock's "Trial Notes" at Emory, he wrote that Susan Hunter said "that she would fight in blood up to her knees for her color."
60. Conway, *Autobiography*, 52.
61. Archives of the Allison Methodist Church.
62. Cumberland Courthouse, Registrar of Deeds.
63. 11 of the 13 defendants were sentenced to prison terms: John Clellans, Jacob Garver, Anthony Boon, Moses Jones, William Hanson, Augustus Coates, Charles Turner, Achilles Vandergrift, Valentine Thomas, Henry Myers, and George Norman.
64. Diary, October 12, 1847.
65. Crooks, *Life and Letters,* 166-167.
66. Ibid.
67. John McClintock to Stephen Olin, October 12, 1847, DCA.
68. Diary, November 2, 1847. He was sought for the presidencies of Newark Academy, Allegheny College, Dickinson College, and Wesleyan University.
69. John McClintock to Stephen Olin, May 2, 1842, McClintock Papers.
70. James M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States,* 1896, (American Church History Series), V, 528.
71. *Carlisle Herald*, April 26, 1870.
72. Dickinson College Faculty Minutes, April 26, 1870, DCA.
73. *Carlisle Herald*, April 28, 1870.

Free Soil: The Birth of the Republican Party in Cumberland County

John W. Weigel

There was a time when Cumberland County had no Republican party. It was born of the 1850s struggle between slavery and free labor that produced the Civil War. The party itself helped bring about war, for it was exclusively northern and "free soil", determined to stop slavery's spread. Merely by winning the presidency and Congress in 1860, the Republicans provoked seven southern states to secede, with four to follow upon the war's outbreak. Though a new party, the Republicans arose from existing politicians and ideas, especially those of the northern Whig party that had withered only a short time before. In Cumberland County, Republicans continued Whig loyalty to free soil and high tariffs and drew their strength from the same precincts that had supported the Whigs. Republicanism here was the child of Whiggery.

Whigs and Democrats before the Storm

Up to 1847, Whigs and Democrats, north and south, argued mainly about government's role in the economy. Pennsylvania's Whig party had appeared during the 1830s in a mood of rage over Democratic President Andrew Jackson's efforts to kill the Second Bank of the United States.[1] Whigs (denounced as "Federalists" by Democrats) supported government banks and government funding of "internal improvements"—canals, roads, bridges—while Democrats (denounced as "loco focos" by Whigs) opposed them. As county Democrats put it at their August, 1846 convention, they opposed "all measures of a consolidating, centralizing and federal tendency, whereby the rights of the states and of the people may be trampled under foot by a colossal central power."[2] Although Democrats tended to have stronger support in Cumberland County, the Whigs had a powerful issue: tariffs. Whigs believed that tariffs—taxes on imported foreign goods—ought to be kept high enough to protect and encourage American industry and appealed to the self-interest of American workers anxious about their jobs. In 1842 Congress had set duties at a satisfactorily

high level but in 1846 the Democratic Congress and president had cut duties. Whigs claimed as "Blessings of the New Tariff" that "Factories are stopping in various places," and "The English nabobs are preparing to ship large invoices of goods to factories in America."[3] Cumberland County Democrats were in a tight spot. At their August 1846 convention they disapproved the new tariff as producing insufficient revenue and as possibly "injurious to the great iron and coal interests of Pennsylvania."[4] Whigs kept up attacks along this line for years. In 1849 the *Shippensburg News* wrote, "Foreign manufacturers monopolize our market, and drive everything American out of it...thus closing many of our workshops, and depriving hundreds and thousands of poor men of the means of supporting their families." The paper loudly called for

> PROTECTION! The People, who were so basely and cruelly deceived and swindled in 1844, are trumpet-tongued demanding it! We say a place on our own soil for our own enterprize [*sic*], our own labor, our own manufacturers and our own agriculturalists! To effect this, the British Tariff of '46 must be repealed, and the Protective features of that of '42 restored!

Unfortunately for Whigs, the tariff issue lost its power when Cumberland County's economy refused to collapse. County Democrats felt safe enough by 1849 to shift position and defend the 1846 tariff. At a county meeting in August they openly opposed "a high protective tariff."[5] A convention held February 26, 1850 resolved that, "the present tariff has operated well for the interests of the working classes, and should not be disturbed for light and trivial causes."[6] Later that year the Democratic *American Volunteer* even dared to publish a defense of free trade.[7] Another paper wrote, "The federal government was not made to help a man to his food and clothing, to enable him to raise or spin cotton, to manufacture iron or grow sugar cane."[8] The Democrats had lost their terror of the tariff.

Political economy was not the only divide between Whig and Democrat. When the United States invaded Mexico during 1846 and 1847, many Whigs opposed the war as a wicked land-grab from a weak neighbor. Cumberland County Whigs prefaced a proclamation of Whig patriotism with the sad statement, "while we decidedly believe that the war with Mexico could and ought to have been avoided and while we lament that unhappy contest which places our country in the unnatural attitude of an invader of a neighboring republic...,"[9] Democrats had no such qualms. They called the war, "just and righteous in its inception," and, "one into which we have been forced by the many and aggravated outrages upon our citizens by that semi-barbarous people...."[10] But Whigs across the United States were able to duck the label of "Federal Mexican party" in 1848 by nominating for president Zachary Taylor, one of the two generals

who defeated Mexico. It was not their opposition to war that destroyed the Whig party, it was the strife between North and South that the war created.

The Political Landscape of Cumberland County

Politics in mid-nineteenth century Pennsylvania were not as broadly based as our own. Under the state constitution of 1838, neither women nor non-white men were allowed to vote or run for office.[11] Candidates were nominated not by primary elections but by party conventions. County conventions, usually held twice a year, drew their delegates from precinct meetings and sent one or more delegates to state conventions. Each August county convention elected standing committees supposed to manage the party's affairs during the next year and call future conventions. Although precinct meetings were the common voters' only chance to influence party nominations and policy, few attended them. "It is often the case that these delegate meetings are neglected, and the business left to the management of a few, who, having some personal interest at stake, are induced to attend."[12] Even committee members suffered from apathy. "Standing committees appointed from year, to year, forget in a few weeks that they are on the committee at all, and are only reminded of it when they are called together to appoint a time for delegate elections and the meeting of the convention."[13]

The raccoon was used as a symbol by Whigs and early Republicans, the rooster by Democrats. Source: The Carlisle Herald.

At every convention there were new faces, many not to appear again by 1860. In the August 1852 Whig convention there were 13 new delegates among 44 and eight new members in a standing committee of 21, "new" in the sense that they had not appeared in any convention since 1845 or run for county, Carlisle or Shippensburg offices.[14] Turnover was at least as high in 1860. At the February 1860 Republican county convention there were nine new delegates out of 35. In August there were fifteen new delegates out of 43 and seventeen new members were elected to the standing committee out of 37 (with eight members obscured in the record published by the *Carlisle Herald*). At the 1860 Democratic conventions there were sixteen out of 42 new delegates in January and ten out of 46 in August. The standing committee of 48 elected in August was evenly divided between those who were new and those who were not. Just as significant at the 1860 conventions were those delegates who were not "new"

but had been active in some way only since 1856. Among Republicans there were eleven of these recent veterans in February and thirteen in August. Three similar politicians were elected to the standing committee. In other words, those who had served the Whig party before 1855 were outnumbered on the floor and in committee by those who joined the Republican movement after 1855. The Democratic conventions also featured majorities of post-1855 delegates.

Amidst the apathetic and the occasional, there were men who could be counted on to attend convention after convention, and run for office. Vigorous Democrats included, for example, Philip Quigley of Carlisle's East Ward (six conventions, 1851-59, elected county auditor in 1849 and prothonotary in 1857), John B. Perry of Mifflin township (five conventions, 1848-60), and John Moore of Dickinson township (nine conventions, 1846-1860). Many Whigs remained active in the new Republican party after 1856, including Richard Anderson of Monroe township (five conventions, 1850-59), William Baughman of Shippensburg township (seven conventions, 1847-60) and Owen James of New Cumberland (eight conventions, 1847-60).[15]

Newspapers openly aligned themselves with one party or the other. In Cumberland County the Whigs commanded the loyalty of the *Carlisle Herald* and *Shippensburg News* and the Democrats that of Carlisle's *American Volunteer* and *American Democrat.* The financial records of these papers are not available today but party papers rarely supported themselves. They often depended on party subsidies, public printing contracts or other political patronage jobs for their editors.[16] Even in those days the local press also had to compete with papers outside the county.[17]

The Whigs were a minority in Cumberland County, but one Democrats could not take lightly. Cumberland was one of a half dozen swing counties in Pennsylvania's presidential elections between 1836 and 1852.[18] In 1840 the Whigs won their first victory when presidential candidate William Henry Harrison beat Democratic incumbent Martin Van Buren.[19] A temporary split among county Democrats during 1842 allowed the Whigs to sweep the county offices and both state house seats.[20] In 1844 they took only one office (a state house seat) but nearly every candidate came within 100 votes—less than 1% of 6000 cast—of victory.[21] In the eleven county-wide elections held between 1845 and 1853, when turnout was as low as 3902 in 1846 and as high as 6127 in 1851, the Whigs always drew at least 46% of the vote and thrice out-polled the Democrats (1846, November 1848 and 1851).[22] The greater the turnout, the higher the percentage of votes the Whigs tended to receive, though their best year was 1846, when turnout was at its lowest.[23]

Different parts of the county voted differently. Democrats tended to win a majority in the western and central electoral districts (townships and boroughs), though the Whigs consistently won Shippensburg, West Pennsboro township and the West District of Carlisle. Except for Silver Spring township, Whigs could count on winning the eastern third of the county—Monroe, Allen, Hampden and East Pennsboro townships, and Mechanicsburg. Electoral districts had stable loyalties. Out of eighteen districts, eight voted for the same party at every election from 1845 to 1852, and eight others voted for the same party in nine of the ten elections. Only three districts—Hopewell, Southampton and South Middleton townships—voted twice against the normally prevailing party.[24]

The Storm Gathers

Slavery was the American republic's chronic disease but symptoms of sectional strife appeared only when conditions were right. In 1787, the constitutional convention almost broke down over whether slaves should count for either representation or taxation. The matter was settled by making each slave count as three-fifths of a person for both representation and taxation.[25] The Constitution also protected the slave trade until 1808 and required each state to turn over fugitive slaves (and indentured servants) to the state from which they had fled.[26] This fugitive slave clause benefited Pennsylvania, where slavery was still legal. Slavery's growth in the territories was settled for a generation, with slavery banned in the Northwest Territory (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin) and allowed in the Southwest (Mississippi and Alabama).[27]

It was the territorial issue that endangered American unity again and again. As the United States grew, new states entered the Union either free or slaveholding, and threatened to tilt the federal government toward one section or the other. Each dispute was a struggle for power between two societies that became ever more polarized toward free and slave labor. Conflict erupted when Missouri—the second of many states to be formed from the 1803 Louisiana Purchase—applied for statehood as a slave state in 1820. The North, where slavery was now abolished, and the South compromised by admitting Missouri and forbidding slavery in the rest of the territory above the line of Missouri's southern border, the 36°30" parallel. After Texas won independence from Mexico in 1836, its annexation was blocked by northern congressmen because slavery was legal there.[28] Northerners eventually allowed Texas' admission in 1845 on the mistaken understanding that the Polk administration would also acquire more free territory, specifically the Canadian half of the Oregon territory.[29] Now the war with Mexico created a new chance for external growth and internal strife.

That strife was set off by Pennsylvania Congressman David Wilmot, who proposed on August 8, 1846 that slavery be excluded from any new territories detached from Mexico.[30] This "Wilmot Proviso" was warmly greeted by northern Whigs, who resented southern support for free trade.[31] When the proviso went down to defeat in 1847, the *Herald* blamed northern pro-South Democrats—"doughfaces"—for opposing it.

> Had the Wilmot proviso passed, all the dangers which are likely to follow the Mexican war would have been averted. Slavery would have been told in stern tones, 'thus far shalt thou go and no farther, and here shall thy proud march be stayed.' As it is a crisis may come which shall shake the very foundations of the Union.

The *Herald* was careful to distinguish between its opposition to slavery's growth—preserving "free soil"—and abolishing it where it existed.[32] Responding to an attack by the *Volunteer*, it protested, "the Wilmot proviso has not slightest connexion with what is called Abolitionism. The Wilmot proviso is the simple position that FREE SOIL SHALL REMAIN FREE and that the Slave territory of the United States shall be extended no further."[33] In 1848 the *Herald* portrayed slave-holding presidential candidate Zachary Taylor as a friend of free soil.[34] After Taylor was elected, the *Shippensburg News* not only argued free soil as an exclusively Whig principle but also claimed (wrongly) that Taylor's willingness to support free soil was shared by Southern Whigs generally. "Thus it will be seen that the only hope for FREEDOM is in the Whig party."[35]

Cumberland County Whigs agreed with their newspapers. On August 27, 1849 a county meeting resolved, "That we continue as ever the firm and unyielding opponents of the extension of human slavery..."[36]

But local Whigs abandoned free soil as the sectional crisis came to a peak in 1850, when California sought admission to the Union as a free state. Kentucky Whig Senator Henry Clay tried to settle matters by introducing a number of measures later known as the Compromise of 1850. These measures—admitting California, organizing New Mexico and Utah as territories open to slavery, abolishing the slave trade in Washington, D.C., and tightening enforcement of the Constitution's fugitive slave clause—passed after several months of debate and maneuvering. Dropping free soil, the *News* backed the compromise. "What the Nation requires is a final and satisfactory adjustment of this question...."[37] The *Herald* showed no such support, and the party merely praised Clay and the "spirit of Compromise" without endorsing his specific proposal.[38] As debate dragged on, the *Herald* complained about Clay's opposition to a more attractive plan by President Taylor, and his refusal to take up tariffs in Congress until the compromise had been settled.

> Mr. Clay, knowing the power and influence which [Southern pro-slavery politicans] have been allowed to gain, has no *rebuke for them*, but turns to the North and says, '*you must yield*! You may be suffering from the deluge of British importations, your Iron Works and Manufactories may be sinking into bankruptcy and ruin—your free laborers may be suffering from want of employment—but we can't do anything for you. We are all so absorbed with this slavery agitation here in Washington, that we have not even time to think of you!'[39]

Once the compromise measures became law, Whigs grudgingly accepted them. The *Herald* urged free soil men to leave Congress alone, so long as inaction served their purposes. "He is not the most effective champion of Free Soil in Congress who makes the most ado about it." Even the highly unpopular fugitive slave law, which extended federal police power on behalf of slavery, should be tolerated, at least for the moment.[40] The *News* criticized those in and out of Pennsylvania calling for open resistance to slave-catching and urged them to work for repeal instead.[41] Two years later, the *News* went much further, attacking Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Pierce for publicly "loathing" the fugitive slave law, "the measure that is now looked upon as the only means which subdued and silenced the agitation that came so near proving the ruin of our glorious country."[42] The paper did not foresee that Pierce would enforce the law vigorously as president.[43]

Local Whigs' support for the Compromise, however grudging, may have shielded Cumberland County's party from voter backlash against the 1851 Christiana fugitive slave riot in Lancaster County, where a slaveholder was killed and a federal marshal wounded. Because Whig Governor Johnston had publicly attacked the fugitive slave law and refused to sign a bill repealing Pennsylvania's personal liberty law of 1847, Democrats were able to paint him as an abolitionist and link him to the riot. Johnston was turned out of office, but Cumberland County Whigs enjoyed one of their best elections ever, winning an overall majority of votes and eight out of twelve county offices.[44] Voters here probably had little interest in the Christiana events because Carlisle had already hosted the "McClintock" fugitive slave riot in 1847.[45]

Despite their exceptional victory, Cumberland County Whigs could not escape the downward spiral that now afflicted the national Whig party. In 1852 the Whigs repeated their strategy of nominating for president a victorious general: Winfield Scott, the conqueror of Mexico City. Southern Whigs, who felt betrayed by Zachary Taylor's willingness to support free soil in the former Mexican territories, refused to support Scott because he had ties to Taylor's political mentor, New York Whig and free soil man William Seward.[46] Scott also failed

to endorse the Compromise of 1850. Northern voters were unwilling to endanger the Compromise, so Scott was defeated in most northern states.[47] In Cumberland County, Scott polled only 47.4% of the vote, compared to a mean 48.9% for local Whig candidates in the previous month's election.[48] The Whigs had survived defeat before, but malaise now drained their vitality. Even before the disastrous 1853 election, when Cumberland County Whigs turned in their worst showing since 1841, they asked whether there was still a Whig party.[49] There was, but not for long.

The Storm Erupts

Two events in 1854 ensured the Whig party's doom. The first was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill through Congress. Up to now, the Nebraska territory—a part of the old Louisiana purchase extending from modern Kansas to Montana—remained unorganized. Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, a Democrat who had helped the 1850 Compromise measures become law, wished to see a transcontinental railroad extend westward through his state. He proposed separating Kansas from Nebraska and organizing the former in preparation for statehood. Unfortunately, Douglas needed the support of southern senators, who demanded repeal of the Missouri Compromise as their price.[50] And so it was done. For the first time, the slavery debate turned not on new acquisitions but on territory where the question was settled. The southerners may have wanted repeal because Cuba or other possible new territories for slavery appeared beyond their grasp, but their price was higher than the Union could afford.

"Pass this bill;" warned the *Shippensburg News*, "destroy all previous legislation on this subject, and the Union, which the slavery propagandists have been upholding for years, will soon become one scene of confusion and strife."[51] When the bill passed, the *Herald* voiced cold fury:

> We cannot speak patiently and temperately on this subject. It is the most momentous vote in its ulterior consequences ever passed by Congress. It is the first stroke at the stability of our Union that is real...
>
> No Compromise will ever be made again, while this Government holds together. No mode of enactment can be framed that will be felt as binding. The South wilfully [sic] and wantonly violated the Compact of 1820, will be the cry, and they cannot be trusted again....
>
> The feeling of brotherhood, nursed amid the storms of revolution and nourished by the blood of the patriots, will wither in the hearts of the North until it dies away even from their memories. We threaten nothing; but the South may depend on it that the confidence in their honor has been woefully shaken by this repeal of a solemn compact.[52]

Northern and southern Whigs parted company for good.[53] Anger at the Nebraska bill might have revived northern Whiggery as a free soil party, just as the Democrats were to become "southernized" after 1854, but it did not.[54] Across the North "anti-Nebraska" and "Republican" parties sprouted up that included both Whigs and Democrats disgusted by repeal of the Missouri Compromise.[55] Pennsylvania's turn came in mid-August, 1855 when the following notice appeared:

> The citizens of Pennsylvania, without regard to former party distinction, who are willing to unite in a new organization to resist the further spread of slavery and the increase of the slave power, are requested to meet in Mass Convention at Pittsburg [sic]...to organize a Republican party in this State, which shall give expression to the popular will on the subjects involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and cooperate with other organizations of a similar character in other states.[56]

But no Republicans appeared in Cumberland County that year. Whigs here were deeply involved in a very different organization.

The second event in 1854 was the sudden and unforeseen rise of the Know Nothings. This new movement, secretive and bent on reducing immigration, especially Irish Catholic immigration, replaced the Whig party as the Democracy's chief opponent. After March 1855, it produced the *Carlisle American*, a new paper edited by former Whig Prothonotary George Zinn. Not all Know Nothings were Whigs. The former included some native-born Protestant Democrats, like Carlisle's Lemuel Todd. Running for Congress in 1854 as an "independent", Todd defeated the regular Democratic candidate, J. Ellis Bonham. Three Democrats winning county offices that year also turned out to be Know Nothing infiltrators. Some "old-line" Whigs remained outside the Know Nothing "American" party. They showed their power the next year when county Know Nothings refused to ally with them for county elections. Forced to run a separate slate, the Whigs drew eight percent of the vote, enough to bring down all but one of the Know Nothing candidates.[57] That one—a candidate for sheriff—was supported by the Whigs.[58]

The Know Nothings might have survived this embarrassing defeat but they could not survive slavery any better than the Whigs. Even as Lemuel Todd announced his candidacy in 1854, he declared his opposition to "that policy...that would darken our National escutcheon by permitting and aiding in the extension of slavery over territory now free...."[59] Know Nothings abandoned secrecy in 1856 and joined with the Whig remnant to form a "Union" party. Although they tried to preserve their identity into 1857, the Know Nothings' absorption into free soil Republicanism was assured by the violent struggle that developed in Kansas.

When elections were held for Kansas' new territorial legislature in 1855, thousands of Missouri residents crossed the border to cast their ballots and impose upon the territory a ferociously pro-slavery legislature that met at Lecompton. This fraud was bitterly noted by the *Herald*, under the heading of "The Kansas Outrage," as was the new legislature's act making it a felony to contradict anyone's right to hold slaves in Kansas.[60] Even the *American Democrat*, normally no friend of free soil, protested, "The territory should be kept open for all emigrants, and there should be an entire protection for person and property. The government of the country is bound to secure this, and will no doubt perform its duty."[61] Northern settlers entering Kansas were not willing to be disenfranchised and set up their own legislature at Topeka.[62] The fighting that broke out between the factions took on a symbolic meaning for both North and South.

> In themselves, the conflicts of Kansas are nothing but petty squabbles of border ruffians and law-loving immigrants. But looked at in their first view, they are to us the most important events of the century. The Nation feels it; and the doings of a General of Militia and a cast-off politician in that obscure wilderness, are watched with a breathless interest, such as the campaigns on the Danube or the Black Sea have never aroused. We feel as we hear the first whistling rifle shot on those distant prairies between men of a Free State and men of a Slave State, that it is the first ominous collision between the two great conflicting principles of our history—Freedom and Slavery.[63]

The *Shippensburg News* would prove correct, even though the paper later criticized the free state settlers for failing to live up to its early vision of valiant freedom fighters.[64]

Despite the "Kansas Outrage," 1856 was a disappointing year for the Union party. In October its slate won only 48 percent of the vote—down from a combined 53 percent for Whigs and Know Nothings the previous year—and lost all twelve state and county offices. In November, the Republican and Know Nothing presidential candidates—John C. Fremont and Millard Fillmore—received fewer votes combined than Pennsylvania Democrat James Buchanan. Buchanan won a plurality in every precinct but New Cumberland (won by Fillmore) and Plainfield (won by Fremont). Cumberland County was not ready for Republicanism; whereas Fremont outpolled Fillmore across the state by 32 to eighteen percent, Fillmore beat Fremont in the county by a 100 votes.[65]

County Know Nothings and Whigs remained together in their Union party. When the state Whig leadership and most of the Know Nothing leadership merged with the Republicans in 1858 under the name of the "People's Party," the county's Union party became Republican by default. As Whigs, Cumberland

County politicians and editors had largely been content to oppose the extension of slavery without elaborating their reasons, but as part of the emerging Republican party, they justified their views in detail.

The Republican critique used two related arguments. Slavery in the territories would be bad for non-slaveholding whites wanting to go there.

> The great object in opposing the extension of Slavery to new territory is to keep free white workingmen from being forced into degrading competition with *Slaves*. It is not sympathy for negroes but for white men. Every laboring man who ever hopes to be able to settle on a farm of his own in the rich soil of the far south-west should therefore aim to make Kansas and the other territories *free*.

For example, according to the *Herald*, a free carpenter was refused work in Kentucky because the prospective employer had already bought two carpenters as slaves.[66]

Slavery was also bad for white society in general. "Give them KANSAS and you shut out enterprise, industry and capital, intelligence, humanity and liberty, and the dark demon will spread over the land like the breath of a desolating pestilence."[67] The *Herald* compared the consequences of free and slave labor. Where the North's wildernesses had blossomed with populous cities, wealth and trade, the South's luxuriant plains had become waste places and her wealth squandered. "The rickety buildings, and dilapidated villages proclaim it, trumpet-tongued, FREE LABOR has made the North what she this day is. SLAVE LABOR has been the cause of the South's degeneracy! Would it not have the same effect on Kansas, the garden spot of our country?"[68]

In a slave society, non-slaveholding whites were demeaned below the level of the slave.[69] The non-slaveholder had "no rights that are respected, either by the master or the slave. His children are denied the advantages of common schools, and every means which a tyrannical oligarchy can command, are adopted for the purpose of keeping the non-slaveholding portion of the population in disgraceful ignorance and squalid poverty."[70] But readers needed take not the *News*' word for it. It had already published the following extract from the *Muscogee Herald* in Alabama:

> Free Society! We sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of GREASY MECHANICS, FILTHY OPERATIVES, SMALL FISTED FARMERS and moon struck THEORISTS? All the Northern and especially the New England States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery; and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body servant.[71]

Appealing to northern pride, the *News* asked in one title, "Shall the South Rule You?"[72]

Unfortunately, Republican editors had to spend much print space refuting Democratic accusations that the party promoted racial equality and abolition. We have already seen the *Herald* deny sympathy for blacks as a reason for supporting free soil in 1856. The *News* and *Carlisle American* went further to get on the "right" side of racism. The *News* pointed out that a constitution proposed by Kansas free state settlers excluded free blacks. It also embroidered on the United States Constitution's three-fifths clause to claim absurdly that southern Congressmen owed their seats to black votes but Republicans did not. Disunion was threatened by the South, said the *News*, "because the North refuses to surrender up to the negro the free heritage of our children..."[73] The *American* claimed that Democratic willingness to let slaves into the territories was evidence that "their devotion and adoration of the negro is so strong and marked that they fear that their opponents might perceive it."[74] Four years later the *News* was pleased to print an extract from one of Lincoln's 1858 speeches rejecting social and political equality for black Americans. The paper concluded, "How dare any lying Locofoco print charge [sic] Mr. Lincoln with being in favor of negro equality, in the face of the above extract from one of his published speeches?"[75] How sincere was Republican racism? Bigotry appeared in non-political contexts. The *News* complained about misbehavior by a "party of lazy, drunken niggers."[76] In 1859 the *American* ran a humorous anecdote titled, "A 'Nigger Story,'" in which two "darkies" bought a mess of pork in common and one stole it from the other.[77] The *American* may have planted this item with the party's political image in mind, but contempt for blacks showed up in the *News* half a year before the Kansas-Nebraska bill. When black Shippensburgers held an African Quarterly Meeting in their church on "Ethiopian Heights", the meeting "was characterized by no signal good but a tremendous outpouring of the sable brethren." The *News* remarked sarcastically that, "More of the spirit of wine was felt than the spirit of Christianity."[78] But there *was* some truth to Democratic charges. Local Republicans were tied by party to genuine advocates of racial equality like Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Salmon Chase of Ohio, and Joshua Giddings and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.[79] Unlike local Democrats, the Republicans never adopted racism as party doctrine.

Republicans were just as anxious to avoid association with abolition, especially after John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859.[80] A county convention held February 7, 1860, asserted the federal government had no power to interfere with slavery in states, and repudiated, "all sympathy and co operation [sic] with those men in the North, who, in their fanatical hostility to Slavery, renounce their obligations to the Constitution and Laws—teach

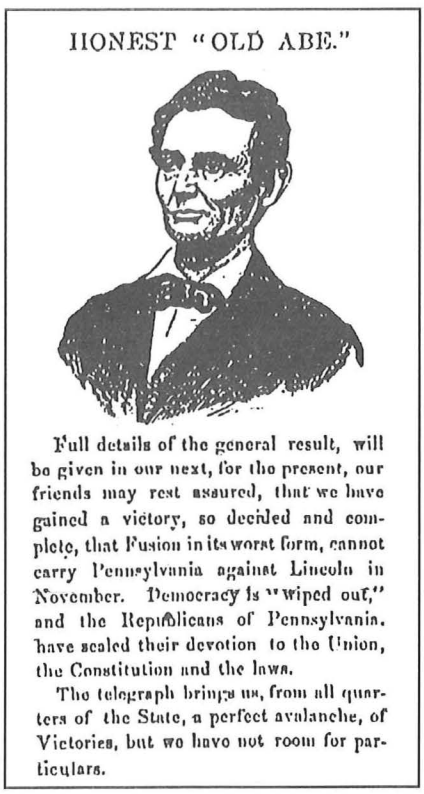
insurrection and treason...."[81] The Republican press went so far as to portray a fictitious "Abolition" party as distinct from the Republicans, who occupied, "a conservative position, checking the ravings of disunion abolitionists at the north, and the fire-eaters and secessionists of the south."[82] The *Herald* argued that slaves in Maryland and Virginia were in better condition than two-thirds of Carlisle's black residents. "A negro in Pennsylvania, has no right save that of protection. In the government he is the merest cipher; in social life, he is only recognized in the capacity of a menial, and the man who would incite a slave to leave his master, by holding up before him the glittering bauble of liberty, shorn of its attendant blessings, is an enemy to both."[83] The paper later praised a slave who refused abolitionist promptings to abandon his master while in New York and remarked that "whenever the secret designs of the Abolitionists are unmasked, they will be found to contemplate, treason to the Government, and infidelity to religion."[84] Again, Republican denials were not entirely true. Radicals in the national party wanted to attack slavery in the South by constitutionally permissible means, such as using federal patronage to build up abolitionist Republican parties, repealing the fugitive slave law and banning slavery in the District of Columbia.[85] They befriended and exchanged views with abolitionists to gain their support.[86] Even moderate free soil men like Lincoln hoped for the "ultimate extinction" of slavery once its extension had been stopped.[87]

Local Republicans opposed slavery's extension, but what were they for, if not for abolition? They needed an answer after 1857, when the Democrat-turned-Republican David Wilmot lost the gubernatorial race and Cumberland County's party polled a mere 45.6% percent of the vote and lost all offices.[88] This election showed the limits of free soil's appeal and the need to attract old-line Whigs. The latter found Wilmot, a free trader and former Democrat, unappealing. Wilmot's one-issue focus also made him vulnerable to Democratic attack. Said the *Volunteer*, "Let Mr. Wilmot define his position in regard to *State* affairs. He is running for office in *Pennsylvania*, and not in Kansas, as his speeches would seem to imply."[89] Republicans answered with...the tariff! The *Herald* put tariffs before free soil when it joined the call for reconstituting the old Whig party.[90] Republican county conventions repeatedly called for tariff increases sufficient to protect American industry.[91] The *News* also sang the old Whig song, "Our national treasury is bankrupt and our government running into debt at a fearful pace; our revenues are inadequate to meet the unprecedented expenditures of government; our iron furnaces, our rolling mills, and our Cotton and Woolen factories are silent...."[92] In August 1860, county convention delegates went so far to stress tariffs at the expense of free soil that they avoided mentioning the latter except by "cordially" approving the national Republican platform.[93]

The tariff issue certainly did county Republicans no harm, but they were also helped by national events. In Washington, the Buchanan administration sent to Congress a constitution for Kansas drafted at a convention called by the pro-slavery legislature at Lecompton. If Congress approved it, the constitution would be submitted to a referendum. To the rage of Republicans and dismay of many northern Democrats, Kansas voters could not reject the entire constitution but only a provision legalizing slavery.[94] Even the constitution "without slavery" protected ownership of the two hundred slaves already in the territory. Senator Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, led the fight against Lecompton, which was defeated in the House of Representatives. Kansas would not become a state until 1861.[95] Angered by their failure to make Kansas a slave state, southern politicians demanded a federal code to protect slavery in all the territories, a Wilmot Proviso in reverse.[96] Just as Republicans wanted to contain slavery, southerners now wished to contain free labor. A slave code could not get through Congress, but it could divide the Democratic party, which it did in 1860. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas for president and southern Democrats John C. Breckenridge.[97]

During 1858 and 1859, county Republicans nursed their party upward from the defeat of 1857. In 1858 they won 47.3% of the vote and elected one state assemblyman (John McCurdy) and the county sheriff (the popular Robert McCartney, voted constable of Carlisle for eight of the previous thirteen years).[98] In 1859, the Republicans raised their vote percentage to 48.7%, re-elected John McCurdy, and won the county treasurer's office.[99] They lost a commission seat by only one vote, after a recount.[100]

To win the county in 1860 the Republicans had to do three things. First they had to hold onto the core constituency illuminated in 1857: the 45% of voters who wanted to stop slavery. Then they had to win over most of those old-line Whigs who were more interested in the tariff than free soil and frightened by sectional tension.


HONEST "OLD ABE."

Full details of the general result, will be given in our next, for the present, our friends may rest assured, that we have gained a victory, so decided and complete, that Fusion in its worst form, cannot carry Pennsylvania against Lincoln in November. Democracy is "wiped out," and the Republicans of Pennsylvania, have sealed their devotion to the Union, the Constitution and the laws.

The telegraph brings us, from all quarters of the State, a perfect avalanche, of Victories, but we have not room for particulars.

The gains of Pennsylvania Republicans in October 1860 were correctly taken as a token of Lincoln's coming victory. Source: The Carlisle Herald.

And then they had to lure at least a few Democrats who were not free soil men but were disgusted by Buchanan's subservience to the South. Republicans appealed to the latter group in August 1859 by purporting to embrace the Democratic doctrine of popular sovereignty—that the people of the territories should regulate their institutions without outside interference (namely a federal slave code).[101] This was an implicit abandonment of the old free soil method, a congressional ban on slavery, but not the free soil goal. After Lecompton's defeat, it seemed slavery, not free labor, needed federal intervention to prosper.

The Republican juggling act succeeded. In the October elections, the party won a mean average of 50.5% of the vote and a majority of county offices, including the register of wills, the director of the poor, the auditor and a commissioner. Democrats elected the prothonotary and clerk of courts. Each party took one state assembly seat.[102] When Lincoln won Cumberland County three weeks later he did even better, winning 51.5% of the vote. He likely won the bulk of old-line Whigs, for their standard-bearer, the Constitutional Union party, polled only 2.1% of the of the vote (though their supporters included the respected Whig James Hamilton).[103]

Cumberland County Whigs had come full circle from tariffs to Know Nothingism to free soil and back to tariffs. The similarity of Whigs and Republicans can be seen by comparing their strength in the county. In October 1852 the Whig slate won Shippensburg, West Pennsboro township, Carlisle's West Ward, Mechanicsburg, New Cumberland, and Monroe, Upper and Lower Allen, Hampden and East Pennsboro townships.[104] Lincoln won them too.[105] He also took normally Democratic Southampton and South Middleton townships and newly-created Penn township.

A majority of the 310 Republicans active between 1856 and 1860 had antecedents unknown today. They might have been Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings or without prior party affiliation. They might have run for offices in township races not reported by Carlisle or Shippensburg newspapers or they might have been active for the first time. But of those Republicans with known affiliations, 119 had been Whigs before 1856. Only fifteen Republicans, such as Lemuel Todd, had been Democrats. Some old-line Whigs refused to go into the Republican party. Six, including Carlisle Chief Burgess Joseph Blair (1848-53, 1860) joined the Democrats.[106]

Drowned Hopes

Much to its surprise, Cumberland County helped cause the Civil War. Some voters had not understood that Republicans were similar to Whigs, not identical. Whigs were a national party, Republicans sectional. Cumberland County Whigs were a tariff party that supported free soil, the Republicans a free soil

party that supported tariffs. If voters missed the difference in 1860, they remembered it well in the decades that followed secession and war. Far from reinforcing their 1860 victory, the war was a disaster for local Republicans. In 1861, the mean Republican vote percentage dropped to 47%.[107] When the national party moved beyond free soil to genuine abolition in 1862, the county party suffered severe punishment, getting less than 43% of the vote that October.[108] Lincoln himself won under 45% of 7200 votes cast in November 1864, despite northern victories at Mobile Bay, Atlanta and Cedar Creek.[109] Emancipation and post-war Reconstruction—the partial fulfillment of "negro equality"—secured Democratic control of the county for the next quarter-century even as the state came under Republican control. Cumberland County was not only conservative but peculiarly so. Local Republicans began to win occasional victories after 1870 but not until the 1890s, when Republican support for civil rights and other forms of radicalism had died away, would Cumberland County begin to become "Republican Country."

Notes

1. Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, NY 1922), 13.
2. *American Volunteer*, August 13, 1846.
3. "Blessings of the New Tariff," *Carlisle Herald*, September 23, 1846.
4. *American Volunteer*, August 13, 1846.
5. Ibid., August 30, 1849.
6 Ibid., February 28, 1850.
7. "Indirect Taxation in the Form of a Tariff," ibid., August 15, 1850.
8 "Who Are the Agitators," *American Democrat*, August 14, 1851.
9. "County Convention," *Carlisle Herald*, August 25, 1847.
10. "Democratic County Convention," *American Volunteer*, February 11, 1847.
11. John F. Coleman, *The Disruption of the Pennsylvania Democracy, 1848–1860*, (Harrisburg, Pa. 1975), 8.
12. *Carlisle Herald*, August 17, 1860. See also Carlisle *Herald*, August 4, 1858 and "Delegate Elections," *American Volunteer*, August 15, 1850.
13. *Carlisle* Herald, August 17, 1860
14. Some "new" delegates might have been past candidates for township races, which were not regularly reported by the Carlisle and Shippensburg press, but the contrast between one-time convention delegates and "repeat offenders" stands.
15. John Weigel, "Whig, American and Republican Politicians of Cumberland County, 1845-1860," unpublished manuscript; John Weigel, "Democratic Politicians of Cumberland County, 1845-1860," unpublished manuscript. Both manuscripts are on file at the Hamilton Library in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
16. Coleman, loc. cit., 11.
17. Whig/Republican supporter James S. Colwell subscribed to the "Press" and "Tribune" prior to his service in the Civil War. James Smith Colwell to Ann Hall Colwell, published in David G. Colwell, *Bitter Fruits* (Carlisle, Pa. 1998), 68.
18. James Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 211-12, cited in Coleman, 159

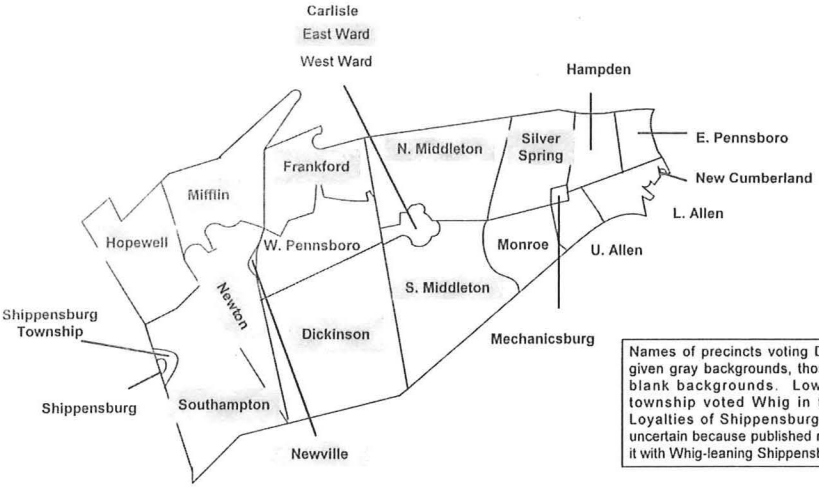
19 .*American Volunteer*, November 5, 1840.
20. *Carlisle Herald*, October 19, 1842.
21. Ibid., October 16, 1844.
22. Ibid., October 21, 1846; November 15, 1848. *American Volunteer*, October 23, 1851. I measured turnout by totaling the votes cast for each office by all voters and taking the highest total for a given year. In 1850, for example, the highest number of votes was cast for the state senate race. I excluded state house candidates because there were always two of them. A small degree of ticket-splitting by voters could make the sum of each party's highest-polling candidate exceed actual turnout.

    I have re-computed some vote totals between 1845 and 1860 using a spreadsheet computer program. For example, Whig Assembly candidate James Kelso appears to have received 2316 votes in 1850 rather than the 2326 shown in official returns. In a few cases the published totals appeared to be incorrect only because there was an error in one precinct's return. The *Carlisle Herald*'s version of the November 1848 returns omitted Cass and Taylor votes in Lisburn. See *Carlisle Herald*, November 15, 1848. In 1852, returns published by the *American Volunteer* showed Whig sheriff candidate Joseph McDarmond receiving a hundred votes too many in Shippensburg.
23. This conclusion was reached using a statistical device called Spearman's rho. Each of two variables—voter turnout and mean percentages for the Whigs—are ranked. The rank of one variable is subtracted from the other at each case, and the differences are squared and added together. This number is expressed as Sd2. Rho=1 - (6 x Sd2) ÷ (number of cases3 – number of cases). The result can vary between - 1, indicating no relation between the variables, and +1, indicating a perfect correlation. See Louise G. White and Robert P. Clark, *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice* (Monterey, California 1983), 218-219. Elections from 1845 to 1853 give us eleven cases. Squaring and adding the rank differences at each case produces a Sd2 of 152. The formula 1 – (6 x 152) ÷ (113 – 11) produces a rho of .31, indicating a significant relationship between turnout and Whig votes. When the 1846 election is excluded, the relationship is much stronger, with a rho of .75.
24. See October and November election returns, *Carlisle Herald, Shippensburg News* and *American Volunteer*, 1845 - 1860. East Pennsboro township was often reported as "Bridgeport" and Southampton as "Leesburg".
25. U.S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 2, Para. 3.
26. Ibid., Sec. 9, Para. 1; Ibid., Art. IV, Sec. 2, Para. 3.
27. David Potter, *The Impending Crisis* (New York, NY 1976), 37-38.
28. Glyndon Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era* (New York, NY 1959), 177.
29. Potter, loc. cit., 24-25.
30. Ibid., 18-20.
31. *Carlisle Herald*, December 16, 1846.
32. "The Wilmot Proviso," ibid., May 5, 1847.
33. "Questions Decided," ibid., October 27, 1847.
34. "To Reflecting Men," ibid., October 4, 1848.
35. "True Whig Doctrine," *Shippensburg News*, September 27, 1849.
36. "Whig Ratification Meeting," *Carlisle Herald*, August 29, 1849.
37. "The Voice of a Patriot: Mr. Clay's Slavery Compromise," *Shippensburg News*, February 7, 1850.
38. "Whig County Meeting," *Carlisle Herald*, April 17, 1850.

39. "The Slavery Compromise," ibid., June 5, 1850.
40. "No More Agitation," ibid., December 11, 1850.
41. "Repeal—Not Resistance," *Shippensburg News*, October 31, 1850.
42. "Pierce and the Abolitionists," ibid., September 23, 1852.
43. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York, NY 1988), 119. McPherson describes the 1854 case of fugitive slave Anthony Burns, deported south from Boston, Massachusetts against popular resistance and with the aid of federal troops.
44. *American Volunteer*, October 23, 1851.
45. Daniel J. Heisey, *A Short History of Carlisle*, 24.
46. Potter, loc. cit., 232-34.
47. Ibid., 231.
48. *American Volunteer*, October 21, 1852; ibid., November 11, 1852.
49. "Have We a Whig Party Among Us?," *Carlisle Herald*, August 24, 1853; *American Volunteer*, October 20, 1853.
50. Potter, loc. cit., 155-60.
51. "The Nebraska Bill," *Shippensburg News*, February 13, 1854.
52. "The Nebraska Bill Passed," *Carlisle Herald*, May 31, 1854.
53. McPherson, loc. cit., 125.
54. Potter, loc. cit., 175-76.
55. McPherson, loc. cit., 126.
56. "The New Party," *Carlisle Herald*, August 15, 1855.
57. *Shippensburg News*, October 20, 1855.
58. For a more detailed account of local Know Nothings, see John Weigel, "'Americans Shall Rule America!' The Know-Nothing Party in Cumberland County," *Cumberland County History*, XV, No. 1 (1998). Note that the article errs in omitting the Know Nothing sheriff candidate's victory.
59. "Congress," *Carlisle Herald*, September 20, 1854.
60. "The Kansas Outrage," ibid., April 18, 1855; "Kansas Legislation," ibid., August 29, 1855.
61. "Popular Sovereignty in Kansas," *American Democrat*, May 10, 1855.
62. Potter, loc. cit., 204.
63. "A Fearful Contest Begun," *Shippensburg News*, February 15, 1856.
64. "The Kansas War," loc. cit., June 7, 1856.
65. *Carlisle American*, November 12, 1856; ibid., December 10, 1856.
66. "White and Black Labor," *Carlisle Herald*, September 3, 1856.
67. "Will You Surrender Kansas?" *Shippensburg News*, October 10, 1856.
68. "Rights," *Carlisle Herald*, June 24, 1857.
69. "Will You Surrender Kansas?" *Shippensburg News*, October 10, 1856.
70. "Our Aim," ibid.., November 3, 1860.
71. "Sound Buchanan Doctrine," ibid., September 19, 1856. This extract, along with others quoted in the article, was probably derived from the New York *Tribune*, the nation's leading Republican paper, which printed it nine days earlier. See McPherson, loc. cit., 197. See also "The Southern Assailants of Northern Labor," *Shippensburg News*, March 27, 1858.
72. "Shall the South Rule You?" ibid., September 26, 1856.
73. "Who are the Woolly Heads?," ibid., September 19, 1856.
74. "Who are the Negro Worshippers?" *Carlisle American*, August 27, 1856.

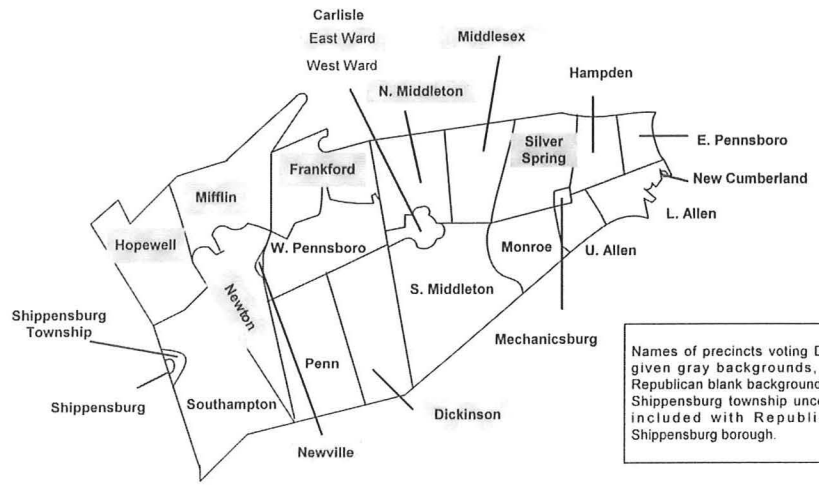
75. "Negro Equality," *Shippensburg News*, October 20, 1860.
76. *Shippensburg News*, March 19, 1859.
77. "A 'Nigger Story,'" *Carlisle American*, September 7, 1859.
78. "Quarterly Meeting," *Shippensburg News*, July 16, 1853. See also *Shippensburg News*, August 11, 1855, in which a camp meeting announcement contained the hope that the constable would keep out rowdy "white niggers".
79. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before The Civil War* (New York, NY 1995), 282-83.
80. "Rights," *Carlisle Herald*, June 24, 1857; "Abolition Dictation," ibid., August 10, 1860.
81. "People's Convention of Cumberland County," ibid., February 8, 1860.
82. "The Republican Party," *Shippensburg News*, February 4, 1860. See also "The Abolitionists Against Lincoln," ibid., September 22, 1860; "What We Are," *Carlisle Herald*, December 14, 1859; "Democracy and Abolition," *Carlisle American*, March 28, 1860.
83. "What We Are," *Carlisle Herald*, December 14, 1859.
84. "A Slave Refusing His Liberty," ibid., July 27, 1860; "Abolitionism," ibid., August 10, 1860.
85. Foner, loc. cit, 116-17, 130.
86. Ibid., 302-03.
87. Ibid., 215.
88. *American Volunteer*, October 22, 1857.
89. "Why This Agitation!" ibid., September 24, 1857.
90. "Re-organization of the Whig Party," *Carlisle Herald*, November 4, 1857.
91. "Peoples' Resolutions," ibid., August 18, 1858; "Resolutions of the County Convention," *Carlisle Herald*, August 17, 1859; "People's Convention of Cumberland County, ibid., February 8, 1860; "People's County Convention," *Carlisle American*, August 15, 1860.
92. "We Need Protection," *Shippensburg News*, September 4, 1858.
93. "People's County Convention," *Carlisle American*, August 15, 1860.
94. Potter, loc. cit., 311.
95. McPherson, loc. cit., 168-69.
96. Potter, loc. cit., 403-04.
97. Ibid., 409-413.
98. *American Volunteer*, October 21, 1858.
99. Ibid., October 20, 1859.
100. "Important Error," ibid., October 20, 1859.
101. *Carlisle Herald*, August 17, 1859.
102. "Elections Returns of Cumberland County," ibid., October 12, 1860.
103. *Carlisle American*, August 31, 1860; ibid., November 14, 1860.
104. *American Volunteer*, October 21, 1852.
105. Hampden voted Whig steadily from 1845 to 1852 but voted Democratic in all but one of the years from 1853 to 1859, so the Republicans recaptured lost ground in 1860.
106. John Weigel, "Whig, American and Republican Politicians of Cumberland County, 1845-1860," loc. cit.; John Weigel, "Democratic Politicians of Cumberland County, 1845-1860," loc. cit.
107. *American Volunteer*, October 17, 1861.
108. Colwell, loc. cit., 165-66; *American Volunteer*, October 23, 1862.
109. Ibid., November 12, 1864.

Cumberland County's Election, October 1852

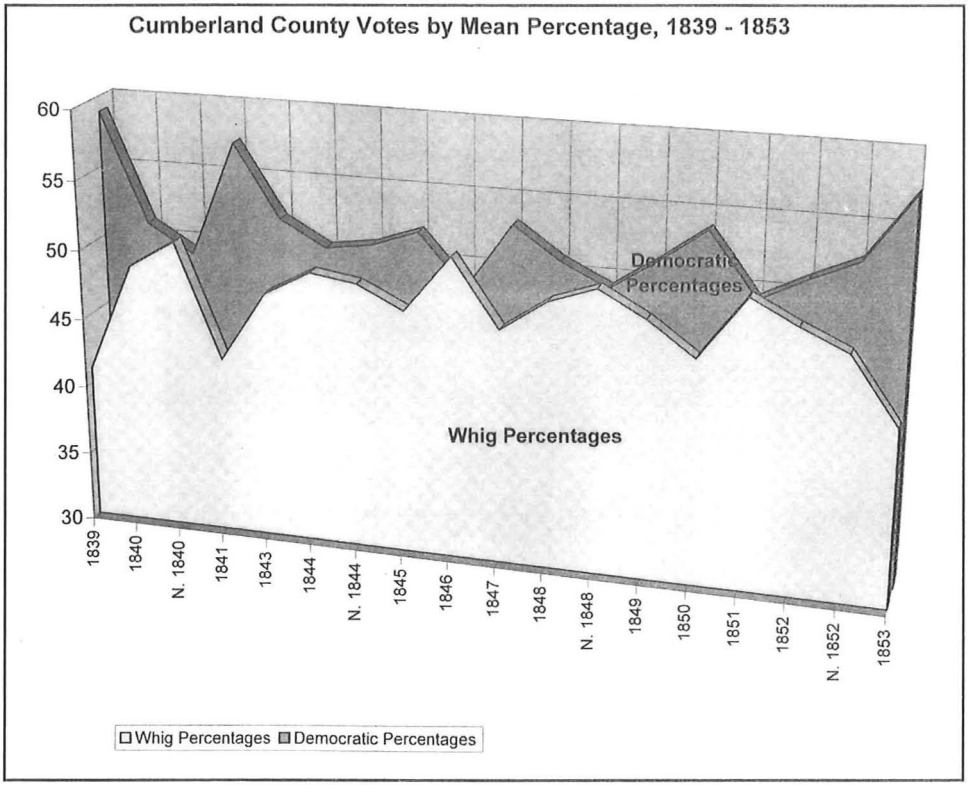


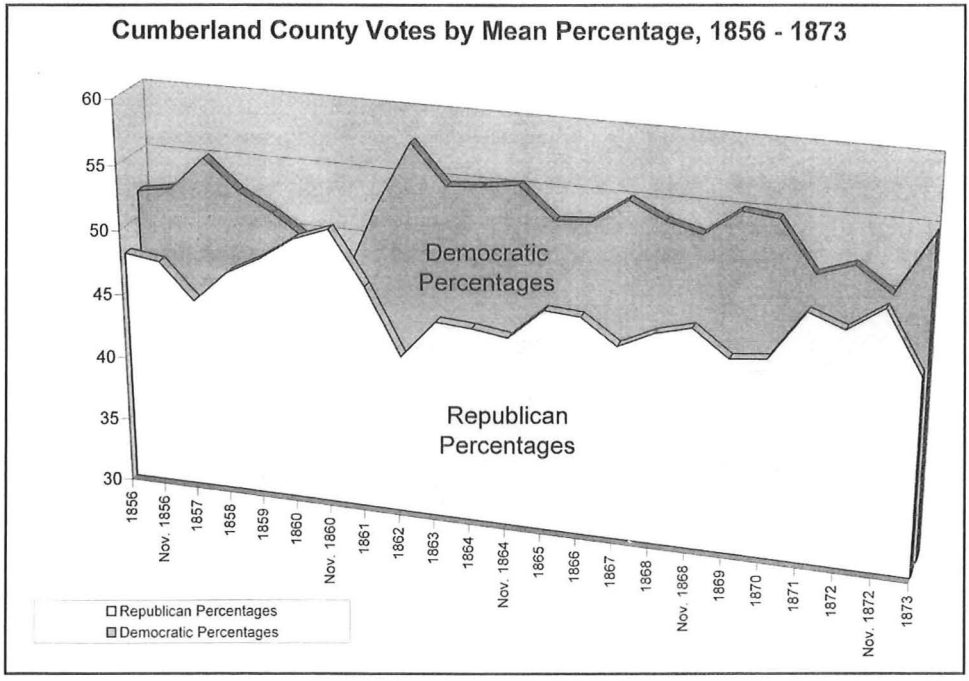
Names of precincts voting Democratic are given gray backgrounds, those voting Whig blank backgrounds. Lower Dickinson township voted Whig in this election. Loyalties of Shippensburg township are uncertain because published returns included it with Whig-leaning Shippensburg borough.

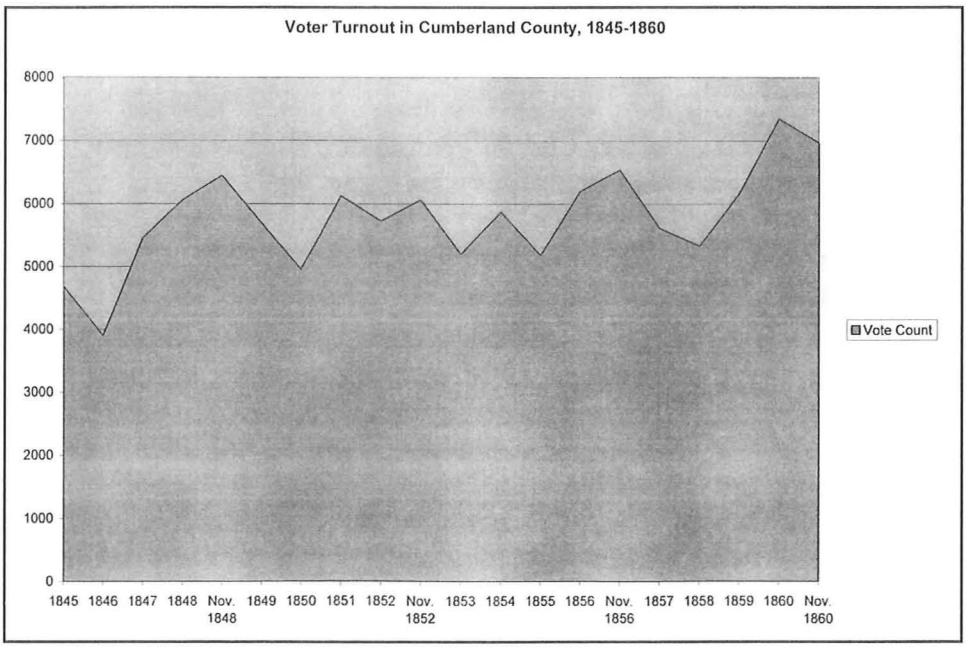
Cumberland County's Election, November 1860



Names of precincts voting Democratic are given gray backgrounds, those voting Republican blank backgrounds. Loyalties of Shippensburg township uncertain because included with Republican-leaning Shippensburg borough.


Cumberland County Votes by Mean Percentage, 1839 - 1853
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
Democratic Percentages
Whig Percentages
1839
1840
N. 1840
1841
1843
1844
N. 1844
1845
1846
1847
1848
N. 1848
1849
1850
1851
1852
N. 1852
1853
Whig Percentages
Democratic Percentages


Cumberland County Votes by Mean Percentage, 1856 - 1873
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
Democratic Percentages
Republican Percentages
1856
Nov. 1856
1857
1858
1859
1860
Nov. 1860
1861
1862
1863
1864
Nov. 1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
Nov. 1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
Nov. 1872
1873
Republican Percentages
Democratic Percentages


Voter Turnout in Cumberland County, 1845-1860
8000
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1845 1846 1847 1848 Nov. 1848 1849 1850 1851 1852 Nov. 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 Nov. 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860 Nov. 1860
Vote Count

Poets and Patricians: The Bosler Library at One Hundred

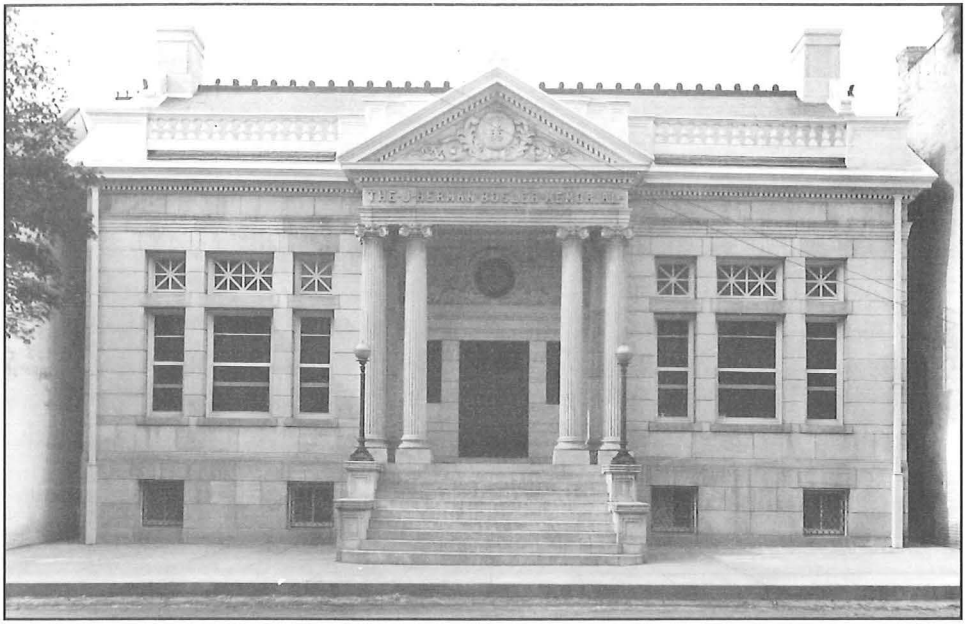
Daniel J. Heisey

"He gave River City the library building, but he left all the books to her."
Meredith Willson, *The Music Man*

That verse summarizes the history of public libraries in many American small towns. A generous citizen provides for a library and puts it in the care of a guardian. The public library in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is no exception, and it is the purpose here to address some aspects of its history, in particular its nature as a public and memorial library.

The basic facts are these: On 6 February 1900, in Carlisle Judge Edward W. Biddle granted a charter to The J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library, "for the use and benefit of the citizens of said Borough and sojourners therein."[1] The petitioners were mainly members of the Bosler family but included Biddles (related by marriage to the Boslers), as well as Charles Francis Himes, retired professor of chemistry at Dickinson College, and the Rev. Mr. George Norcross, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. The Bosler Library's board of directors was fixed at eleven, namely the petitioners. Prominent among them was Gertrude Bosler Biddle, daughter of J. Herman Bosler and wife to Judge Biddle. From the beginning she served on the library's Book Committee, and from 1931 to 1946 she was president of the board of directors.[2]

Before proceeding, a word about John Herman Bosler. He was born in 1830 in Hogestown, one of the older villages of eastern Cumberland County.[3] When he was 20, he attended Dickinson for a year, then became a business partner of his father, owner of a mill and a distillery. With the exception of two years in Huntingdon County as an ironmonger, Bosler lived and worked in Cumberland County. He had a hand in several businesses, chiefly in Carlisle, although he also owned vast and successful ranches in Wyoming. In mid-November 1897, he was "seized with a stroke of apoplexy, caused by the bursting of a small blood vessel in the brain."[4] He lingered for several days. As *The Evening Sentinel* reported, "Long and sad was the watching and waiting, until the end came, when the spirit took its flight."[5] He was buried in Ashland Cemetery in Carlisle,



J. Herman Memorial Library. Cumberland County Historical Society

and the services were conducted from the Second Presbyterian Church, with the Rev. Mr. Norcross officiating. On the day of Bosler's funeral, local factories, banks, and colleges closed. Among the dignitaries attending the funeral were the presidents of Dickinson and Wilson colleges, as well as Moorehead C. Kennedy, vice president of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, and Edwin Warfield, president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company, Baltimore.[6]

Although Bosler was a Democrat, the Republican *Carlisle Daily Herald* praised him in a front-page editorial. "He was," the paper said, "a warm-hearted friend, a kind neighbor, and a public-spirited citizen."[7] Moreover, "In his family he was idolized, and his children and grand-children were inwrapped [*sic*] in his heart." It was this filial piety that gave birth to the idea of a memorial library in his name. After all, he had once proposed the idea for a public library, but other businessmen were slow to match the funds he meant to advance. Moreover, in 1874 he had been one of the eight men petitioning the Court to charter the Hamilton Library Association.[8]

The Bosler Library occupied a new building on West High Street, symmetrical and brick with a façade "constructed of Avondale marble with a massive columned entrance."[9] It was designed to resemble an ancient Greek temple, and in Greek fashion, one ascended a flight of ten marble steps to large double doors made to look like bronze. By 1905, the library boasted an endowment of $20,000 and a total of 4,400 books.[10] It also contained rare manuscripts,

notably the commission—dated 25 June 1775, and signed by John Hancock—of William Thompson of Carlisle as the first colonel in the Continental Army.[11] This document had belonged to the Rev. Mr. Joseph A. Murray, a Presbyterian minister and local historian. Upon his death, his daughter, wife to Charles Francis Himes, donated the commission to the Bosler Library. Such a treasure was the sort sought out by the Hamilton Library, and by and large the two libraries pursued separate vocations—the Hamilton focusing on local history, the Bosler on general reference and popular literature.

Upon entering the Bosler Library, one stepped onto the mosaic floor of the foyer, the walls of which are still lined with the portrait busts of six poets: Byron and Longfellow, Homer and Milton, Schiller and Shakespeare. The absences are as telling as those present; for example, neither Vergil nor Tennyson join the band. Likewise, one might expect to find Dante or Goethe in place of Milton or Schiller. Rather, one sees in those poets selected heroes of the Romantic movement, poets celebrating—or believed to celebrate—nature and man's Golden Age. So, one finds the epic poets: Homer and the Age of Heroes; Longfellow and the Forest Primeval, Milton and Paradise Lost. Schiller and Shakespeare were esteemed as dramatic poets celebrating tragic heroes—Joan of Arc and Willem Tell, Julius Caesar and Hamlet. Lord Byron took part in 1823 in the Greek rebellion against the Turks, and he appealed (inadvertently, to be sure) to the ideals of classically-trained partisans of the Union cause in the War Between the States:

> The mountains look on Marathon—
> And Marathon looks on the sea;
> And musing there an hour alone,
> I dream'd that Greece might still be free;
> For standing on the Persians' grave,
> I could not deem myself a slave.[12]

According to the library's *Book List*—a combination catalogue and by-laws—the library was open daily, except Sundays and certain holidays, from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM, then from 7:00 to 10:00 PM. From October to May the library was closed in the mornings. Books could be borrowed for two weeks; two books at a time, "provided they shall not both be fiction."[13] Patrons had to be "persons above the age of twelve years, of cleanly habits and good reputation." Such persons, if they were permanent residents of Carlisle (including Dickinson students), could get a library card for annual dues of one dollar. Temporary residents were charged twenty-five cents a year. These stipulations ended in the late 1940s, with the retirement of Gertrude Bosler Biddle.

One must imagine a child, flush with the grown-up responsibility of a library card, racing some hot summer day up those ten smooth white steps, blinding in

the sunlight, pulling open one of the huge, heavy black doors, and stepping into the cool, dark, and quiet temple of the library. Beneath his feet are the pale and tiny tesserae of a mosaic of the sort surely Alexander the Great and Aristotle once walked upon, and looming above him, the ghostly white faces of men whose names were household words to his parents and his grandparents, his teacher and his pastor. These six poets stood for the world of adults, a peculiar and puzzling world to which the lad was taught to aspire. Their names evoked enchanting cadences, magical names—Hector, Gabriel the Archangel, Marcus Brutus, Paul Revere—that sent a reverent shiver up the back of the boy's sun-tanned neck.

Less imaginatively, one turns to the words of the library's official bulletin. In June 1905, it announced the arrival of "handsome busts of Byron, Longfellow, Shakespeare, and Schiller."[14] Presumably those of Homer and Milton arrived soon thereafter, for the four that did arrive were "placed in the lobby, in the niches provided for the purpose." In any event, "the busts were imported from Italy, and are of a superior material and finish." The busts, the bulletin declared, "add very greatly to the dignity and attractiveness of the library entrance, where they impress the visitor at once with the purposes to which the library is dedicated."

Which declaration brings us nicely to our theme. The Bosler Memorial Library was part of trend towards more accessible libraries. In 1731, Benjamin Franklin had founded the Library Company of Philadelphia, open to members only; from 1797 to 1806 there was in Carlisle a similar subscription library, the Carlisle Library Company.[15] In 1874 in Carlisle a bequest of James Hamilton established a members-only library in his name, the first library in Carlisle to last more than a few years. It housed his own extensive collection of rare books and manuscripts related to local history. Ten years later the widow of James Williamson Bosler donated $10,000 to Dickinson College for its new library, duly named in his memory.[16] By 1900, with the chartering of the J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library, Carlisle, with 9,626 inhabitants, enjoyed three major libraries. (There were also libraries at the Metzger Institute for women and the Indian School.[17]) One was governed by the college, one by the testamentary wishes of James Hamilton, the third by a dozen or so people professing a more popular focus. That focus drew the attention of Himes, associated both with the college and the nascent historical society, and that focus was proudly symbolized by the half-dozen marble busts of "the school room poets."[18]

For the Bosler Memorial Library memorialised not only a great man, but also Western civilization. The poets represented in the old foyer "were a literary staple of the curriculum in schools"[19] until the middle years of the twentieth century. Some students might groan under the burden imposed by their teacher—via Mr. McGuffey[20]—to memorise Hamlet's Soliloquy or Longfellow's

"Psalm of Life," but as they grew older, those same students could not imagine Carlisle without a library full of "poetry/And other books—good ones, I warrant you" (*Taming of the Shrew* I:2); even during the lean days of the Great Depression, local citizens supported their library with donations of time, money, and books.[21] Here the words of Longfellow come to mind:

> For in the background figures vague and vast
> Of patriarchs and prophets rose sublime,
> And all the great traditions of the Past
> They saw reflected in the coming time.[22]

One such beneficiary of the Bosler Library was a schoolmate of the daughters of Pastor Norcross, Marianne Moore.[23] Most of her early poems were written in Carlisle, and her verse, like that of her friend, Wallace Stevens, echoes with allusions to the Western tradition. While she surely used the library, a comparison of the notes to her poems and the catalogue of the library's books reveals only two possible connections. One is Richard Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, a devotional book first published in 1650 and often reprinted, and Walter Dwight Wilcox's *The Canadian Rockies*. Of course, caution is in order: Moore's grandfather was a Presbyterian minister and may have had Baxter's book in his library; moreover, Moore spent much of her working life as a librarian. Also, the book by Wilcox cited by Moore has no exact match in *The National Union Catalogue*. She may be quoting from memory, confusing the various editions of Wilcox's once popular travelogue.

The published poems of Marianne Moore are now part of the Bosler Library's collection, and were memorial busts to be added to the library, one of her would certainly be among them. As the addition of new books by new authors implies, the library grew with the century. In 1946 it changed its name, becoming the Bosler Free Library; the fee of a dollar a year was rescinded.[24] Forty years later, the building itself changed, growing to the west. Two townhouses next to the library were bought and razed to make room for a new wing.

This wing, even before it was built, caused controversy. *The Sentinel* editorial board condemned the proposed addition as "a boxy, modern structure—no shape, no style." [25] Stephen O. Smith, local surveyor and draftsman, offered suggestions for more graceful lines,[26] but Nancy Van Dolsen, architectural historian, praised the proposed new wing. "The new addition," she held, "picks up key elements in the original building...and incorporates [them] in a modern and appropriate fashion."[27] The addition was built as planned, and it is deliberately utilitarian and unwittingly symbolic. The original library building represents an era when knowledge was sacred and mysterious; the old building was meant to be a Temple of Learning. (One of the early acquisitions was a print of Otto Knille's painting "The Education of Athenian Youth."[28]) Whereas one

entered the old building after ascending ten marble steps, one enters the new building right from the concrete pavement. Here again, though, is the ideal of the founders of the library, books accessible to all. Needless to say, though, the Boslers and Biddles and Himeses could not have imagined a day when declining literacy coincided with the worship of "information technology."

The new part of the Bosler Library reflects concerns of the late twentieth century, such as the possibility that a patron might be on crutches or in a wheelchair. Some of these concerns have been codified into federal law, but the original intent of J. Herman Bosler to have a public library was, as suggested above, innovative. In 1886 in Baltimore Enoch Pratt established his public library, an act of civic generosity inspiring Andrew Carnegie. Whereas Carnegie wrote in 1889 about Pratt and the ideal of a wealthy man donating money for public libraries, Carnegie himself did not begin endowing public libraries (starting in New York City) until 1902, and J. P. Morgan's library, private during his lifetime, began that same year.[29] It is worth repeating that by 1900, the generosity of the Bosler family had provided Carlisle with two libraries, one at the college and one down town.

The Boslers made such generous provisions partly from a sense of *noblesse oblige*, partly from a love of learning. It was the world evoked so movingly by Edith Wharton in her novel *Summer* (1918), where small-town lawyers honed their forensic skills by reading the speeches of Daniel Webster and where their daughters ran the library. For this *milieu* in real life, one need look no farther than the Bosler in-laws: Edward W. Biddle delivered eloquent historical addresses; Sylvester Sadler collected manuscripts for a history of Cumberland County he never lived to write. Widening the circle, there is Charles Francis Himes, son-in-law of an eminent local historian and himself "an amateur in history, but the very best kind of amateur."[30] Whether ensconced in their mansions in Carlisle or secluded on their ranch in Wyoming, the Boslers could understand the man who said he had "volumes that/I prize above my dukedom." (*The Tempest* I:2) For a century "the citizens of...and sojourners" in Carlisle have benefited from the Boslers' humane interests and regal philanthropy.

A version of this paper was given at the Bosler Free Library, 23 February 2000.

Notes

1. Cumberland County Miscellaneous Book 18, page 545.
2. "Mrs. E. W. Biddle Dies in Ardmore." *The Evening Sentinel* (20 July 1950) 2.
3. Jeremiah Zeamer, ed., *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: The Genealogical Publishing Co., 1905) 212.
4. "Death of J. Herman Bosler, Esq.," *The Evening Sentinel* (19 November 1897) 3.
5. *Ibid.*
6. "Mr. Bosler's Funeral," *The Evening Sentinel* (23 November 1897) 3; *cf.* "To Rest at Ashland," *Carlisle Daily Herald* (22 November 1897) 4.

7. "Mr. J. H. Bosler," *Carlisle Daily Herald* (19 November 1897) 1.
8. Cumberland County Miscellaneous Book 3, page 417.
9. *Biographical Annals*, 214; *cf.* Baldwin & Pennington, Architects, "Specifications for J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library Building, Carlisle, Pa.," (Baltimore, MD: 26 May 1898) 7.
10. *Biographical Annals*, 213.
11. "A Valuable Document," *Bulletin of the J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library* II:2 (June 1905) 1. Thompson's commission is now on permanent loan to the Cumberland County Historical Society.
12. "The Isles of Greece," in Paul Elmore More, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of Byron* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1905, 1933) 812; *cf. McGuffey's Sixth Eclectic Reader* (New York: American Book Co., 1879, 1921) 206. For Byron's fame in America, see Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Portrait* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970) 375-376.
13. *Book List*: *The J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library* (Carlisle: The Cornman Press, 1903) 2; *cf.* [W. Homer Ames], *Catalogue of the J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library* (Carlisle: n. p., 1913) 3.
14. "The New Busts," *Bulletin of the J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library* II:2 (June 1905) 1.
15. See *Rules of the Carlisle Library Company; with a Catalogue of Books Belonging Thereto* (Carlisle: George Kline, 1797); also, MSS minutes, Himes Papers, Dickinson College Archives.
16. "Regular Annual Meeting, June 24, 1884," Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Dickinson College Archives, page 235.
17. For this point I am indebted to John C. Fralish, Jr.
18. George Arms, *The Fields Were Green* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953) 1.
19. Ibid.
20. See *McGuffey's Sixth Eclectic Reader*, 339, 429.
21. Mrs. James Hertzler, "A History of the Bosler Free Library," a typescript paper read before the Carlisle Fortnightly Club (n. d.) and circulated by the Bosler Library, 11.
22. "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," in Horace E. Scudder, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of Henry* Wadsworth *Longfellow* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1902) 236.
23. Charles Molesworth, *Marianne Moore: A Literary Life* (New York: Atheneum, 1990) 11.
24. Hertzler, "A History of the Bosler Free Library," 12.
25. "The Look Is Too Modern," *The Sentinel* (5 August 1985) A-5.
26. Dan Miller, "He Draws Own Plan for Bosler," *The Sentinel* (16 July 1985) A-5.
27. Nancy Van Dolsen, "Addition Shouldn't Imitate Past Look," *The Sentinel* (16 August 1985) A-6.
28. "The New Pictures," *Bulletin of the J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library* I:2 (June 1904) 1. Also acquired, a framed photograph of the Laocoon in the Vatican. The bulletin said, "...both [prints] are classical subjects and together may be taken as representing the art and education of Greece."
29. See Andrew Carnegie, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," *The North American Review* CXLIX (December 1889) 689-690; Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co., 1900) 27-31; Louis Auchincloss, *J. P. Morgan: The Financier as Collector* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990) 96-102.
30. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Charles Francis Himes: Local Historian," published with Charles Coleman Sellers, "Charles Francis Himes and the Amateur Photographic Exchange Club," (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, n. d.) 5.

A Youthful Friendship: Smead and Bache

Raphael S. Hays, II and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.

Captain Raphael Cummings Smead, after serving some months with the army in Mexico, was ordered to Carlisle Barracks in 1847. He brought his wife Sarah Radcliff and their family of five children to the town, and enrolled his oldest son, John Radcliff, in the local Dickinson College. But a liberal education appears to have had few attractions for either father or son; a commission in the army or even a job as a surveyor or engineer on one of the railroads under construction in the West promised higher social rank and income. Captain Smead after considering how he might get his son an appointment to West Point, resolved to ask an old West Point classmate to use his influence.

Alexander Dallas Bache was, like Smead, a graduate of West Point in 1825. A great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, a native of Philadelphia, Bache had left the army in 1829 to become a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, and soon acquired a great reputation as a scientist and a leader in educational reform: he was founder and president of Girard College in Philadelphia in 1836 and of Philadelphia Central High School a few years later, and since 1843 he had been chief of the United States Coast Survey. He would become a president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a founder and first president of the National Academy of Sciences in 1863.

The story of Bache's friendship and support of the Smead family is contained in letters preserved by Captain Smead's great-great grandson. They are reprinted here:

Raphael C. Smead to Alexander Dallas Bache

Fort Monroe, Va. Octr. 18, 1847

Dear Sir: I take the liberty of presuming so far upon our old acquaintance & companionship, as to ask your assistance in behalf of my son John R. Smead, who is now a stout lad of 17 years. I have applied to get him a cadets appointment & have received tolerably fair assurances of success, but as I cannot bring much political influence to bear & particularly as I am now on my way to Mexico for the second time, where I shall be for a long time to come & cannot give the matter my personal attention I have not much expectation of success.

Raphael C. Smead. From a daguerreotype. Courtesy Raphael S. Hays, II.

My objects are, first, to ask if you have any influence in that quarter, that you will exert it to procure him the appointment of cadet, & in the second place, in case that fails to ask if you cannot find a place for him on the Coast Survey, be it ever so humble, but one where he can learn the business & rise according to his merits & at the same time with a sufficient emolument to support him. He is a youth of good habits & principles, I flatter myself & believe, & has good abilities. He is now at the College in Carlisle where I shall leave my family during my absence. He learns mathematics easily & has made considerable proficiency in them. He entered this year in the Junior Class in mathematics & by the time the term is out (1st Ap[ri]l) will have acquired a pretty good knowledge of the lower branches [*in the margin:* that is—He has been through and understood pretty well Davis' [not identified] Algebra as far as Equations of the 2nd. Degree, has been through Le Gendry [Adrien-Marie Legendre] Geometry & has a very respectable knowledge of it, surveying &c--& is now prosecuting such studies as are taught in the Junior class], but of course very far below what he would learn at West Point.

My friends could probably procure him a Situation on a Rail Road, but I would prefer the Coast Survey, as well on account of the confidence I have in your ability & willingness to forward him in the profession (for old lang syne) as on account of the permanence of the employment it will give those who devote themselves to it.

I shall be happy to receive a few lines from you on the subject-but as I shall be where there will be great uncertainty in receiving letters (I shall be with Genl. Scott) to save the time which would be lost by communicating through me, I will be much obliged to you if you will write on the subject either to my Wife or Son John at Carlisle, or to my Brother in law David Van Ness Radcliff at Albany, N.Y. who is the only person I have to look to, who commands any influence & who is exerting himself to procure John's appointment. If you will have the goodness to state to Mr. Radcliff what you can do in the matter, whether to forward the application for West Point or to procure a position in the Coast Survey, he will be able to shape his exertions so as to unite & cooperate. I think I know you too well to suppose any apology necessary for making this application for your favor towards an old class mate & companion.

I remain with the highest regard & esteem

Very truly Yours, R. C. SMEAD

[*Addressed:*] Profr. A. D. Bache/Superintdt. Coast Survey

* * *

To this appeal Professor Bache replied at once in a letter warm with remembered friendship and with assurance that he would do what was possible for the young man.

Alexander Dallas Bache to Raphael C. Smead

Coast Survey Station near South Berwick, Maine, Oct. 27, 1847

My dear friend: The sight of your once familiar handwriting is truly grateful, & I recognize it in spite of the years that have rolled by since I last saw it. The compliment you pay me, of assuming that I care for you as of old time, & of course for yours is most grateful indeed, & I will try to show my self worthy of it by meeting your wishes in any way that I can. No politician, I have no political influence & have recognized on various occasions that social influence does not replace political, but the Coast Survey is my own province, & here if you are disappointed in the West Point matter you may rely upon me to receive your Son, for the Sake as you say of auld lang syne first, & nothing doubting that he will work his way ahead as his Father did before him, & prove a chip of *that* old block which made so good a man. As I write what floods of recollections pour over me--Music, some sweet, some comical is floating about, mixed up with x's and y's & crayons & pens—Bowman, McMartin, Irwin, Brown, Huger, all as they were from 1821 to 1825.

I have written to Mr. Radcliff to ascertain precisely how the land lies. If we do not Succeed in the West Point matter, I advise by all means that John be allowed to graduate at College before joining me. He cannot learn too much. It is capital to trade upon. If he means to rise he cannot know too much nor study too hard during the years of preparation. The first years of practical knowledge have but small gain in them for the future & smaller emolument, but as age increases, if there is a store laid up to meet opportunity as it comes, he may do well with us. I hope there are no circumstances to prevent this, for I know they are sometimes impervious.

I cannot help hoping that this may reach you: it is next to a hearty shake of the hand to get a letter from you. Commend me to West Point, with Genl. Scott--& especially to 1825. I could hardly read their exploits & their sufferings near Mexico without making a baby of myself.

Yours ever truly, A. D. BACHE

* * *

Thus two careers were opened to young John Smead, who was then an undergraduate in Dickinson College—the Army, in which he would follow his father, and the Coast Survey, of which his father's friend was superintendent. During the next two years discussions and arguments about each of these prospects filled the family's correspondence. Johnny's New York relatives were untiring in efforts to get him an appointment to West Point. Before that could be obtained, however, it seemed imperative that he find a position whose income would relieve the family of a financial burden. He accepted Professor Bache's offer of a position in the Coast Survey. But

West Point's allure and benefits were still attractive, and after spending some months with the Coast Survey in Washington, John Smead received an appointment as a cadet at the Military Academy.

John Radcliff to (his son-in-law) Raphael C. Smead

Rhinebeck [New York] January 20th 1848

Sir: . . . I will briefly state what my son David & myself have done to procure his [Johnny's] appointment for a Cadetship at West Point. I renewed his application as a Candidate for a Cadetship at West Point this winter at the War Office, wrote to our Representative in Congress soliciting his aid and influence, also to another representative in a District adjoining ours who I happen to be acquainted with also to assist. I took the liberty besides to write to Genl. Jno. A. Quitman now in Washington with whom I was well acquainted and all his father's family as they all attended in this place for a long period & very intimate with them, soliciting his aid and asking his assistance to get Johnny appointed a Cadet as a personal favor to me. It is a considerable time since I have seen him but I have no doubt if he can assist in the matter he will. Whether he has any infuence at Court I cannot say but from his character and office I think he must have. My son David has written our Senators & procured letters form influential politicians in Albany for the same object and says he will spare no pains or labour toeffect it if he can. Genl. Marcy last summer advised him to send out where there is a vacant District as each Member of Congress had the right to fill up such vacancies; besides there were 10 or 12 what he calls general vacancies in each state at the disposal of the President & the Secretasry of War to be filled by them as they think best. David has written he says twice to the Department to ascertain these vacancies but in his last letter to me he has as yet not obtained the desired information, but he feels sanguine Johnny will succeed.

About a Month after you left Point Comfort David recd a letter from Mr Bache at the Head of the Coast Survey which he (Mr Bache) wrote as you requested, saying that if Johnny did not succeed in obtaining a Cadetship he could give him a place in the Coast Survey, so that I think he is sure of one or the other. I suppose Sarah has written you this information and I believe has sent a copy of Mr B letter to her & to me. I can only add that we will do all in our power to procure a Cadetship and advise you of the result. I have no great confidence in the promises of the Secretary of War as he is a mere tool of the [word undecipheerable] & will do his bidding, but he as much assured David last summer that Johnny should be appointed this winter & hope he will. . . .

[January] 21st. After writing this far last evening I recd a letter from David enclosing one from Mr Bache to him, copies of both of which I enclose. It appears there are 7 vacant Congressional Districts which if the former practice is continued will be filled by the Representatives from those districts. I know Mr Wm. Nelson of the 7th District; he was formerly from Poughkeepsie, a

respectablke Lawyer now residing in the Village of Peakskill [*sic*]. Westchester & Rockland Counties comprise his District. I wrote Mr. Nelson nearly a week since not knowing there was any vacancy in his district—probably shall receive an answer next week & if any way favorable will write him again. . . . I do not understand that part of Mr Bache's letter in which he says the President will appoint the sons of officers slain in battle in Mexico & will disregard Congressional Districts. If he does then there will be no appointments from this state or probably any other as the Military Academy will probably not contain one fourth of such Sons. Neither do I understand why he marks 3 of the 7 vacant Districts as containing Johnny's name or mark as a Candidate. Will find out & write you. I can see no use in Johnnys going to Westchester County a few weeks as David suggests to obtain a residence but will enquire of Mr Nelson & do as he advises. An officer in the Army & particularly when on duty out of the country can have no fixed residence even in his native state. . . .

Yours with respect JN RADCLIFF

* * *

Raphael C. Smead to (his wife) Sarah M. Smead

Toluca Mexo. Jany. 26, 1848

My dear Wife: . . . There were but three of my class mates who remained my warm & true fiends & who I have found unatt[aint]ed by time & prosperity. These three were Dallas Bache, Ben. Huger & Jim Irwin. There are now but two & like the Sybils Books, as they decrease in numbers they increase in Value. This reminds me of the letter from Dallas Bache which you enclosed to me. I was never more gratified then when I recd. it, as it shows a readiness to serve me which I can rely upon under all circumstances & that although one of the most eminent men in the country, enjoying a most enviable reputation as a scientific man, with a salary of some $5,000 a year & courted by all, he is still true to his old friends who remain in the shade. I hope if John gets employment under him, it will be his study to please him as well for his own sake as for mine. If he does so it is in his power to make his fortune, but it will require the utmost care, perseverance, & study at first, to succeed. If he does not succeed in getting to West Point, I am of the same opinion with Mr. Bache, that having this situation in view, it would be best for him to continue at college at least as long as you remain at Carlisle & study all the branches of Mathematics taught there, & astronomy & Descriptive Geometry, & study them faithfully; but if he can get to West Point, by all means go, as he will have more Mathematics there than he could in all the colleges in the U. S. & be prepared to enter on the duties of the Coast Survey in a much higher capacity.

* * *

John's future career remained undecided for some months and a subject of further discussion in the family. Although a position in the Coast Survey was attractive, so was the army, in which his father was serving with distinction. The lad's mother wrote her father about the matter, and he replied.

John Radcliff to (his daughter) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck [New York], April 25, 1848

Dear Sarah: Your two letters—one enclosing one from Mr. Smead were received. Was gratified to hear you were all well & very much gratified with Mr. Smead's letter; he writes a most elegant letter. I would have replied sooner but have been waiting to hear from David—perhaps he is sick. As soon as I received your letter I wrote Mr. A. Stewart as you requested—also wrote Mr. Nelson of our state to call on Mr. Stewart & endeavor to prevail on him to assist Johnny to a Cadetship—but I have little hopes from that quarter as Mr. Stewart no doubt has his own friends to provide for—besides his being a Whig the President will use him as he did Nelson—not appoint the person he recommended. What chance there will be by the rejected ones I do not know, but it is a slender one. I think as Mr Smead writes Johnny had best continue his Collegiate studies and qualify himself for the Coast Survey. It is far more desireable than West Point if a place can be had particularly under so warm a friend as Mr. Bache appears to be. I wrote David by all means to write to Mr. Bache and as soon as he got an answer to let me know. I expect daily to hear from David. . . .

* * *

By June of 1848 the decision was taken: Johnny would take a position in the Coast Survey under his father's friend. Worried, like most mothers, that her son should be properly outfitted, Sarah Smead wrote Professor Bache to ask what clothing might be required. Bache replied on June 12.

Alexander Dallas Bache to Mrs. Sarah M. Smead

Coast Survey Station, near Annapolis, June 12, 1848

Dear Madam: Yours of June 7 is duly received & to its inquiries I reply, that the Coast Survey Stations will be capital places for wearing out *old clothes*, a single smart suit being all that can possibly be needed. A very few summer clothes & a winter equipment are required & these of a coarse description, except a summer suit fit for travelling. Roundabouts are preferable to coats for station use & a coarse pilot cloth coat is needed. From the 10th. of July to 1 Aug. I expect to leave Washington, but as my movements depend upon the adjournment of Congress I am necessarily indefinite on this point.

I shall inform you in time to send your son to Philadelphia to join me, & all the money he will require will be to take him to that place as from thence I shall pay his travelling expenses. Our young men are economists from

necessity generally & some from injunction & I hope he will fall into this way. I am very much opposed to supplies from home & think the *self-supporting* spirit is the one to encourage. Pray remember me to your good husband when you write.

Very truly yours, A. D. BACHE

* * *

John Radcliff to (his daughter) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck June 15, 1848

Dear Sarah: . . . I am gratified to hear Johnny is preparing to go with Mr. Bache & that too without delay. David said [?] several officers in Albany who are acquainted with Mr. Bache & the Coast Survey. They say his berth in worth double or treble that of a Cadet—that in two years if he is diligent his pay will be greater than Mr. Smeads now and the duties less laborious. Mr. Bache's pay is they say $5000 per year & in winter always ashore & at home. I hope you have heard from Mr. Bache when Johnny will be required to be at his quarters & let me know. I suppose not till July. . . .

* * *

"I suppose Johnny is ready for a start on the Coast Survey," John Radcliff wrote his daughter six weeeks later on July 28, 1848, rejoicing also to hear that Captain Smead was on his way home from "this miserable war. . . I think Professor Bache if asked by him will take an interest in getting him [John] a good station & good berth. I am informed Mr. Bache stands very high at Washington & that his interest & influence is great."

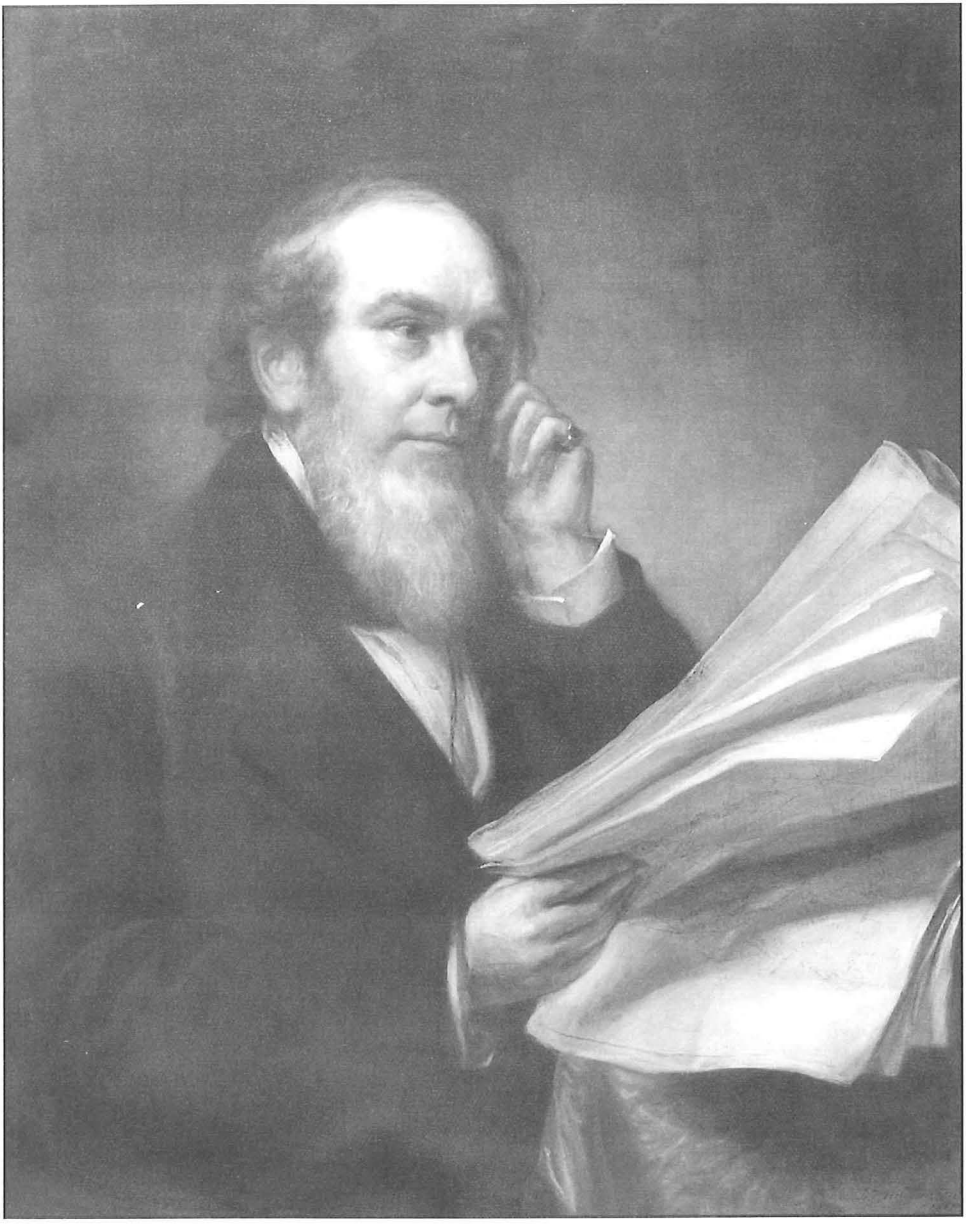
But John Smead did not join the Coast Surveythat summer, as he had planned. His father fell ill with yellow fever and his mother brought Captain Smead home from Old Point Comfort in Virginia as she expected, to convalesce. He died on August 20. John explained the matter to his patron, who replied on August 28.

Alexander Dallas Bache to John R. Smead

Manchester, N.H. August 28, 1848

Dear Sir: Yours of August 19 is received. I have heard through your pastor from Carlisle the reason why you did not join me. I need hardly express to you the deep regret which the news of your father's illness caused me. I cannot help hoping that he may recover, for when the yellow fever allows a respite it is often conquered. It was necessary for me to fill your place without delay as otherwise my work would have been retarded. I shall, however, take the first opportunity to put you into any vacancy which may occur. Remember me affectionately to your father if his convalescence permits & kindly to your mother. Let me hear what Providence has decreed.

Yours truly, A. D. BACHE



Alexander Dallas Bache, By Daniel Huntington. Courtesy American Philosophical Society

[*Addressed*]: Mr. J. R. Smead/Old Point Comfort, Virginia

* * *

Left a widow with six children, including a baby boy born on March 24, 1848, and her income cut off by her husband's death, Mrs. Smead's position was desperate. She appealed to her brother David for help with the rent; she sought a pension for the Captain's military service; she even had to decide what to name the baby. Some assistance came from Captain Smead's fellow officers, who held him in high regard and understood something of his domestic affairs. And young Johnny Smead, who had seemed destined for a career in the Coast Survey, now wanted to follow his father into the army. Seeking an appointment to West Point, he travelled to Washington, where Professor Bache, with characteristic understanding, found him a modest position in the Coast Survey. All these considerations are expressed and reflected in the correspondence between Sarah Smead, her father, her son, and Professor Bache.

John Radcliff remained strongly of the opinion that Johnny should not lose the opportunity to join the Coast Survey. Not knowing that Professor Bache had had to fill the post he had in mind for Johnny Smead, Radcliff wrote Bache "informing him of the calamity & that Johnny might probably be delayed a few days."

Sarah M Smead. From a daguerreoptype. Courtesy Raphael S. Hays, II.

John Radcliff to (his daugher) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck, August 30, 1848

Dear Sarah: . . . . About Johnny I have no doubt it is best that he goes with Mr. Bache. David writes that in two years his pay will be equal to that of a Captn. besides it is not a wandering commission to be constantly sent from one station to another—and every winter he can be home with you.—I think it far preferable & proper he has gone on. It is due to Mr. Bache [after ?] the friendship he has shown. I think too it is right to name the child Dallas Bache as far preferable to Eugene. Dont alter it & by all means send Johnny on at once.

* * *

The next day John Radcliff wrote his daughter even more urgently.

John Radcliff to (his daughter) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck August 31, 1848

Dear Sarah: We received your letter about 1/2 an hour before before John started for Carlisle & I had only time to reply in a few words--but I feel so worried about Johnny and what you say that I cannot refrain writing you at once and say & beg and entreat of you not to have him apply for or accept of any situation in the Army let it be what it will. I think you have had experience enough of the miseries of an army life that you could not be so cruel & thoughtless as to put a child in it. I would sooner follow him to his grave, let the commission or pay be what it may. See what a life your poor Husband has led and his sad & melancholy end. He has been moved from pillar to post through life and never scarce a day of enjoyment. So it will be again whoever is in the army--one year in Mexico-next in California-next Oregon-next New Hampshire & probably half his lifetime out of your reach or hearing, while on the Coast Survey he will be home or near home every winter. I am astonished you would so anything or suffer any thing to be done to impair his place with Mr. Bache after the friendly part he has acted & which no doubt will be encreased by the sad event that has occurred. I regret to hear that Johnny has gone to Washington. There is no business he could do but what could be better done by others, and all this haste is wrong & I fear will cut you short in what you have a right to expect. Your Judge Hepburn must be a crazy man [word or words undecipherable] devoid of Judgment or consideration to advise you to delay sending Johnny at once. Do, I entreat of you, do not delay one day or an hour. Let him go on and find Mr. Bache no matter where he is. What will Mr. Bache think if you ask another appointment at Washington when you had agreed to accept of Mr. Bache's; he will consider it very ill usage & with great reason & you forget all his friendship. For Gods sake send John on to Mr. Bache without waiting any answer. I had written him & so had Mr. Lillie & so had David and no more was required but to send Johnny on. Mr. Bache wrote David his pay in two years would be better that any pay in the Army & the

employment infinitely more respectable & permanent. As to the Rulers at Washington they are a sett of political scamps who have sacrificed your Husband in their infamous war and will treat you no better. They will pretend to a great deal of sympathy & perhaps do a trifle to help along at present but theirs are Crocodile tears--the tears of Negro Drivers who care as much & no more for you than the Africans. If they were all Gullitined [sic] they could not answer the misery they have caused their own citizens—and they will continue this game for ever. See what a miserable life Smead has led in the Army. Any other employment would have made him among the first men in our State. His talents & character would have commanded the first stations in society--while he has been a miserable drudge for Negro Rulers—& died an obscure death & this shameful Adminstration do not so much as to publish an acct of his death. No doubt there is a good deal of sympathy but it will soon wear away. Now think of the folly of asking a Commission for a boy because it will give some temporary pay—they wont give it & if they do it will be subject to conditions & limitations; besides it will ruin Johnny & make him miserable for life & do you no good.

Do not be in such haste to apply for a pension; even if obtained it cannot commence paying until 6 mths after Mr. Smeads death. We think we can obtain a pension under the amt of $400 certain & probably $600-why then talk of $20 a month. . . .

Dont call your Boy Eugene Van Ness- the whole Van Ness family are a disgrace. In Hudson [New York] they are quarelling like fools & ought to be drummed out of the place. . . . Call him A. D. Bache is my advice & be [word illegible] Mr. Smeads wishes. . . .

Do send Johnny at once to Mr. Bache.

Yours affectionately JN RADCLIF

* * *

John Radcliff to (his daughter) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck September 4, 1848

Wednesday afternoon 3 oclock

Dear Sarah: . . . I am also gratified to hear that Johnny is going with Mr Bache. I know it is best and much better than Government can do for him. I trust he will conduct himself discreetly and get into the good graces of Mr Bache. Also gratified to hear Mr Bache has written him that he can either go into the office at Washington, or come on Ship board. Which is most eligible I dont know; you must enquire of those who do know. I am inclined to think that going on ship Board would be preferable but I dont know. . . .

Yours affectly JN RADCLIFF

[Addressed]: Mrs Sarah M. Smead/Carlisle/Pennsylvania

* * *

John R. Smead to (his mother) Mrs. Sarah M. Smead

Washington, October 2d. 1848

Dear Ma: I received your letter some time since and would have answered it before but thought I would wait until I could send some money. I got paid last Saturday for the half month that I have been here, and will enclose 5 dollars of it in this letter to you. At the end of this month I will send you ten dollars more. I have spent a good deal since I have been here as I have had to get a number of little things. I bought a pair of gloves and they gave way the first day I wore them and I have been mending ever since. I had also to get my boots mended and they charged me a dollar and a quarter for half soleing and heeling one pair of boots. I had to pay for my board when I left my boarding house, which I did last Saturday, also my wash bill. By the by I have one of the best washerwomen I ever came across; she beats Mrs. Brown.

I told you in my last letter I was going to change my boarding house and go to Miss Janneys. I did so last Saturday and I am very glad of the change as I meet the very best of company there, and Miss Janney gives as good board as the very best Hotel in the City, but at the same time I have to dress better than I did before.

I have not been able to see Major Van Ness since I have been here, because the Coast Survey office is beyond the Capitol on one side, and the Paymaster's office is beyond the Presidents House on the other, more than a mile apart; and besides he leaves his office before I do mine and goes up to Georgetown and I dont know where his house is; but the first chance I get I will go and see him.

I wish you would write and let me know whether you have got the pension and the back pay or not. If not I will go and see about them. About the house rent you must write to uncle David yourself and hear what he says about it.

No time to say more. . . .

Yours Affectionately, J. R. SMEAD

[*Addressed*]: Mrs. S. M. Smead/Carlisle/Pa

* * *

John Radcliff to (his grandson) John R. Smead

Rhinebeck October 31, 1848

Dear Son: Your letter of the 25th inst was duly recd and quite a *treat* in my old days. Not receiving a line from you in so long a time I supposed you had forgotten me. Your letter is highly creditable to you both as to the composition and the handwriting. Your handwriting is greatly improved and with a little more practice will be excellent. You say you dislike letter writing; this I regret to hear as it is the greatest accomplishment for a Gentleman or Lady you can possess and the want of it very inexcusable. I hope therefore you will soon take pleasure in it.

I am gratified to hear you have got into so respectable an office and one which in time will afford you a competency for life. No doubt at first it is

laborious and often tedious as the younger Clerks are always saddled with the drudgery at first but after a time younger ones come in and it is transferred to them. You will find it so and that your duties will diminish as you progress. Permit me to caution you against the young company in the City of Washington. It is overcrowded with Clerks and many of them profligate young men who spend their time & money like water. Do avoid them.

I wrote you Ma and enclosed her Marriage Certificate. I want her to apply at once for her Pension—that is, to get her Pension Certificate as there is danger by delay she wont get it. There is some doubt as to her being entitled to a Pension as the Law now stands but your Ma wont understand it. Now while there is a favorable feeling it is best to get it, that is to be placed on the Pension List but she cannot draw any money till 4th of March next. . . . I feel anxious to hear what was made up for your Ma at Old Point by the officers. I hope your fathers funeral expences were paid by them-also his debts which your Ma wrote about as then she will be entitled to the back pay due your father when he died—say 1 2/3 month which must be over $200. Your Ma seems reluctant to have it known but you cannot conceal it--the officers themselves tell of it; we hear of it from different ones that it is in progress. Until we know how it is & how much I am sincerely glad to hear it.

You mention that David (my son) should help your Ma pay the rent due. I wrote your Ma advising not to ask him if she could avoid it as it happened at a bad time when he had met heavy losses by Fire—not less that 3 or $4000—mostly Insurance stock which he had to make up & pay in or lose his remainng stock and what troubled him greatly to do as money in Albany by these frequent fires was scarce & difficult to be got. Besides David is in very bad health both in body & mind--the latter almost as much impaired as the former & he was going south-probably to Savannah. When she needed it more would be a better time & then she could rely on it. . . .

When Congress meet I want you to call on Mr. Wm Nelson Represenative from this State, the only Member of my acquaintance and an old friend. He took great pains to promote your application for a cadetship & he wrote me if you came to Washington you must call on him. Inform him who you are & that it was my request you called. I will write you under cover to him & he will frank any letter from you to me you wish & that will save postage to both. Write me when you expect Mr. Bache to be at Washington & how you like & progress in your business. . . .

Write me soon & let me know how your Ma's Pension application comes on—also how much is raised for her at Old Point. . . .

Yours, JN RADCLIFF

* * *

John Radcliff to (his grandson) John R. Smead

Rhinebeck Decembr 9th 1848

Dr Son: . . . We had a letter from your Ma about a week ago. She & the Children are well. She writes she has got her pension Cerificate which I am glad to hear as I feared they would refuse it. She likewise says she thinks she will get your Pa's back pay & that Mr. Eugene Van Ness would see to it. Let me know how much it is. I think too she is entitled to bounty Lands, Do enquire of Eugene if she is not & how much.

You see the President says nothing abt. compensating the regular Army or to provide pensions for the widows & disabled persons--on the contrary recommends a reduction of the Army & the pay. I hope Genl. Taylor will counteract that & do something to compensate the unfortunate in this infamous war.

I hear your Ma is again talking about getting a better situation for you. An Officer from Carlisle told this at Pokeepsie [sic]. I hope & trust you will not listen to such suggestions or think of altering from the vain expectation of a few more dollars at present. Your Ma is forever changing—even to the most trifling article of merchandise & never suited. A rolling stone gathers no moss. You have a good respectable birth [sic] and one for life. It is a branch of the Navy and that must & will be kept up after the army is disbanded—and you can at any time get into it if desireable but your place is better every officer we see says. But if Mr. Bache should hear of this project how would he feel & act towards you--certainly not friendly. There is a great deal of sympathy for your Ma's disconsolate situation & dreadful affliction & all these projects are suggested without judgment to soothe her feelings. I am gratified to see these good feelings but this advice without judgment is often ruinous. Dont think of it or listen to it I beg of you. . . .

I enclose this to Mr. Nelson Esq. Member of Congress, an old friend & the only member from this state I know. Go & see him & tell him it is my request and any thing he can do for you he will. Altho he did not know your father he had the very greatest friendship & regard for him from his great reputation. Your Pa had many friends-more than any of you were aware of. Majr. Genl. Scott happened to be at Kingston Point (accidentally) where he was informed of your fathers death. He wept like a child and lamented it more than almost any event, proclaimed him to be the most pure, most honorable & talented officer in the Army. . . .

Yours JN RADCLIFF

* * *

Before the end of 1848 Sarah Smead had resolved one of her problems: she decided that her baby son should be named Alexander Dallas Bache for its father's friend and his elder brother's benefactor.

Alexander Dallas Bache to James Lillie

Washington. Jan. 5, 1849

Rev. & dear Sir: Your very kind & acceptable letter of Jan. 3d is just received. I beg that you will say in reply to Mrs. Smead that I appreciate highly the compliment which she has paid me—the highest a mother can pay & that it will make me happy whenever I can in any way be useful to her or her interesting family. I shall look upon my young namesake as a connecting link & hope that he may be & might not forget his "father's friend."

With great respect very truly,

Yours A. D. BACHE

[Addressed]: Rev. James Lillie/Carlisle/Penna.

* * *

John R. Smead to (his mother) Sarah R. Smead

Washington, Feby. 1st. 1849

Dear Ma: I am glad to inform you that I have got the pay accounts settled at last, after a great deal of trouble and that you will receive the money in a few days. They have passed through the 4th. auditors Office and will be sent to Major Van Nes [sic] today or tomorrow, who will forward them to you together with the $25 of the recruiting money, when you can get them cashed as soon as you sign a receipt which will be sent at the same time, and which you must send back immediately. I am very glad that this troublesome business is over.

Now about West Point I will tell you what I have done. After I received your letter the other day, I called on Mr. Bache who gave me a letter of introduction to Gen. Totten. I went to see him and he told me that the best thing I could do would be to get a petition to the President, signed by all the delegation from New York (both Senators and members of Congress). I then went to Mr. Bache who gave me a letter to Mr. Dix the Senator from N York. I took it to him and he said he could not sign any petition as he had made a promise not to do so, but he told me he took great interest in my case, and he said he would go and see the President personally and urge my case, and he also told me that if Mr. Bache would write the petition he thought he could get the rest of the delegation to sign it. Mr. Bache is now preparing it for me, and it will be done in a few minutes when I am going to take it over to the Senate and give it to Senator Dix. I will write you soon what success I meet with. By the way, I went to see Senator Cameron and he told me that he had not received any letter from Judge Hepburn about my case, but he said that if he did receive a letter from him he would write a strong letter to the President in my favour. Now I wish you would see Judge Hepburn and if he has not written to Mr. Cameron ask him to do so immediately as there is no time to be lost. I wish you would not mention

to any one in Carlisle my prospects as I dont wish them to know anything about it. No time to write more as I have to go to Mr. Bache. Give my love to all.

P.S. I only had a few minutess to write this, therefore it is very bad. Dont show it to anyone.

Yours affectionately, J. R. SMEAD

* * *

The pension eased but did not solve Mrs. Smead's financial problems. At this juncture or soon afterwards Professor Bache performed a generous act for the widow of his old friend. Thereafter, to the end of his life, he sent her $50 a month towards her expenses.

John Radcliff to (his daughter) Sarah M. Smead

Rhinebeck, Feby. 2, 1849

Dear Sarah: . . . It is strange I dont hear a word from Johnny. I wrote you if it was your & his wish I would do all in my power to assist in getting a Cadetship but I thot you should do nothing without the approbation of Mr. Bache & give no offence. How is it abt. your furniture at Old Point. Dont

JOHN R. SMEAD. From a photograph. Courtesy Raphael S. Hays, II.

you calculate to get it this spring. Is there no one at Old Point you could write to abt. it. . . .

Yours affectionately, JN RADCLIFF

* * *

John R. Smead to (his mother) Mrs. Sarah M. Smead

Coast Survey Station
Blackstrop Hill
near Portland Me. Oct. 15 [1849]

My dear Mother: . . .I have the pleasure to inform you that Prof. Bache told me the other day that he intended to send me home at the end of this Station, with work to do at home. I will probably stay with you untill [sic] he returns from the Soiuth, which will be a month or six weeks. So that we will have plenty of time to attend to all matters. . . .

Prof. Bache is driving work to set through with this Station as soon as possible, & we are pretty nearly used up, all hands of us. I have been up so many nights lately that I hardly know whether I am asleep or awake & myhand trembles so, for want of rest, that I can hardly write legibly. . . .

Yours truly J. R. SMEAD

[*Addressed*]: Mrs. S. M. Smead/Carlisle/Pa.

* * *

John Smead received an appointment to West Point and entered the Academy on July 1, 1850, and was commissioned four years later. With the outbreak of war in 1861 he was commissioned a captain of volunteers on April l5, 1861 and a captain in the artllery on May 14. He was killed at the Second Battle of Bull Run on August 30, 1862.

Young Alexander Smead was now 14 years old, he was attending the Dickinson grammar school and academy, and his mother was concerned for his future education. Accordingly she wrote Professor Bache, informing him of her son's progress and requesting his advice on the lad's future.

Alexander Dallas Bache to Mrs. R. C. Smead

Washington, July ll, 1862

My dear Mrs. Smead: I am much obliged by the High School Programme, by which I see that my young namesake has been doing well. Will you hand him the inclosed from his Godfather. I would be glad to hear from him & to receive some account of his Studies. What is his age? Col. Harry Brown probably explained to you the view which I had in regard to him. If as I infer he is thro' the High School what do you next proposed to do with him?

Very truly yours, A. D. BACHE

[*Addressed*]: Mrs. R. C. Smead/Carlisle/Penna.

* * *

What Alexander Smead and his mother wanted was an appointment at the Military Academy like his brother. Alexander wrote his family's friend, who replied.

Alexander Dallas Bache to A. D. Bache Smead

Washington, March 11, 1863

My dear young friend: The public business under my care has prevented me from replying at an earlier date to your letter of Feb. 26th.

The gift of an appointment at the Mil. Acad. at West Point is with the representative of your district. You will be old enough before June 1864 to enter the Academy & should make interest at once with your representative. Let me know what he says to you when you see him.

If you cannot obtain one of the district appointments the President has ten at large, which, by rule, are given to the Sons of Army officers. This year they have been appointed from drummer boys of the army who have shown bravery in action.

There are so may applications for these appointments at large that it is very difficult to obtain one of them.

I will advise you & do any thing in my power, but have no political power or influence & hence can aid you better by advice & knowledge of people than by direct assistance.

Make my best love to your mother, & let me hear soon.

Truly Yours, A. D. BACHE

* * *

An appointment to West Point was no easy matter. Apparently Bache Smead's solicitation of support from a Senator or Member of Congress was not successful, and the young man decided to apply for one of the "at large" appointments in the gift of President Lincoln. Professor Bache was not sanguine about this course. He offered the suggestion that Smead should enlist in the army and, by heroic conduct in battle, qualify for appointment as a cadet. Failing that, as well as the Navy, Bache offered his namesake a post in the Coast Survey.

Alexander Dallas Bache to A. D. B. Smead

May 13, 1863

Dear Bache: I see by your statement that you are thrown [upon ?] the thorny path of trying to reach West Point by the road at large.

Ascertain from your Mother who were your father's best friends in the Army & write to them. The friends of either your father or brother would help you.

You will have to come here & work for yourself & your time of coming should be [ ] by advice from here. It must be at some time when I am not absent. You can stay at my house & I will advise you how to proceed. So as not

Alexander Dallas Bache Smead. From a photograph. Courtesy of Raphael S. Hays, II.

to press upon your mother's limited means I will pay your expenses to this place & back again.

Tell me how you are going on in your studies.

There is no chance for the class in June at West Point. You should then try for Sept. if there may be a vacancy & if not for next February when the whole class, with certain exceptions, is appointed.

The President has appointed most of the "at large" boys of this year from boys who have behaved well in the army in battle. What would your mother say to your trying "that road"?

If you cannot get to West Point, have you any taste for the Navy?

If not, would you like a beginner's place in the Coast Survey?

What progress have you made in Mathematics? Have you your father's talent for drawing?

Remember me kindly to your Mother & believe me

truly Yours, A. D. BACHE

[*Addressed*]: A. D. Bache Smead/Carlisle

* * *

Alexander Dallas Bache to A. D. B. Smead

Washington Dec. 30,1863

My dear young friend: Let me have a letter of application addressed to the Prest. reciting your father's services & I will forward it to the proper authority for you. About the middle of this month I think you had better come on with the letters which Dr. Johnson will give you to Mr. Bates & Mr Todd will give you to the Secty. of War & Senator Cowan. Any other letters you can obtain from your teachers or leading political friends.

I shall be happy to see you at my house any time after the adjournment of the Academy of Sciences, say about the middle of Jany. I would not leave it later than that.

What is your precise age?

A happy new year to your mother & family.

Very truly yours, A. D. BACHE

* * *

Alexander Smead's application for a presidential appointment to West Point was also unsuccessful. He was disappointed, as was Professor Bache, who wrote him a brief note.

Washington March 21, 1864

Dear Sir: I too am very muc disappointed, but am called away by the decease of Dr. Franklin Bache of Philadelphia.

I shall try to ascertain from Genl. [Ethan Allen] Hitchcock how the matter stands, & write to you.

Yours truly, A. D. BACHE

[*Addressed*]: Mr. A. D. Bache Smead

Alexander Dallas Bache Smead never went to West Point. He entered Dickinson College in the fall of 1864 and was graduated four years later in a class that included William Trickett, later dean of the Dickinson School of Law, John Franklin Goucher, founder of Goucher College in Baltimoire, Jesse Bowman Young, who had fought in the Civil War and became an outstanding religious leader and author, and Alexander Crawford Chenoweth, who had a distinguished career as an engineer, preparing the foundation of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor and serving as engineer to the president of Peru.

Professor Bache suffered a stroke in the summer of 1864, soon after his brother's death, and died on February 17, 1867.

As for young Smead, he achieved his ambition for a military career. Upon graduation from college he received a commission as a second lieutenant in the Third Regiment, United States Cavalry, was promoted to first lieutenant in 1871, and served in the Indian wars in the West. He resigned from the army in 1880 and, having studied law and been admitted to the bar, practiced in Carlisle until his death in 1931. In 1898 he served briefly in the Spanish-Amercan war as a captain of United States Volunteers in the Signal Corps.

Book Reviews

John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland.* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1998) viii, 273, maps, index. Hardback $55.00 (ISBN 0-271-01766-X) Paperback $19.95 (ISBN 0-271-01767-8).

The simplicity of some sound ideas makes them go unnoticed. Such is the case with this volume, a succinct study of how the War for Independence affected the various counties of Pennsylvania, one of the largest colonies in the British Empire. It is a wonder no one thought of such a study before 1990, but until then the field lay fallow.

The result is a sleek, scholarly work of nine chapters by various professors of history, mainly at Penn State University. Five of the chapters address the rural counties "beyond Philadelphia"—Berks, Bucks, Chester, Cumberland, and York—and three the great river valleys of the Juniata, Lehigh, and Wyoming. There is a chapter on "Soldiers and Violence on the Pennsylvania Frontier," about how soldiers dealt with the Indians, and the editors themselves survey recent scholarship in an informative but inelegant introduction. The entire book is dedicated to the memory of Robert Grant Crist, late editor of this journal and professor at Penn State, Harrisburg. It is to Crist's chapter—not surprisingly, on Cumberland County—that we now turn.

Crist provides a standard account of the issues and events leading to the American Revolution. He describes the role played in the Revolution by men from Cumberland County—whether military men such as William Thompson or politicians such as James Wilson—and he addresses the more anonymous figures, such as the German immigrants who began to settle in Cumberland County during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is a brief but thorough account, keeping in mind religious and economic factors and taking into consideration not only the revolutionaries but also the Proprietors and the Loyalists.

The editors in the Preface say that Crist's "was the first chapter finished," but one senses that Crist's chapter remained unfinished when he was fatally stricken.

It lacks the crispness of his classic studies of Lowther Manor, for example, and those students of local history familiar with Crist's characteristic precision and clarity will see sad traces of a work left undone. Vocabulary is unvaried, and sentences such as this betray an absence of revision: "In the period 1750-76, Cumberland County courts of oyer and terminer tried eleven people for murder between 1776 and 1799." Is one to infer that someone arrested in the 1750s was not tried until the 1780s? Such vagueness is not Crist's hallmark. To use an architectural term, though, Crist's essay is "substantially complete," and here and there one finds vintage Crist: "[John Montgomery's] sketchy spelling suggests the typical rough-and-tumble Scots-Irishman who loved both Johns (Calvin and Barleycorn) and kept the Ten Commandments and everything else he could lay his hands on." Concise, accurate, and amusing—the traits that endeared Robert Grant Crist to his students and to the service clubs and commemorative gatherings at which he often spoke.

So, this book is a useful if at times pedestrian collection of learned essays. Within its covers stands a rather poignant legacy of a great local historian.

Carlisle, Pa. Daniel J. Heisey

Merri Lou Schaumann, ed., ***Pictorial History: Shippensburg Area, Big Spring Area, Carlisle Area, Mechanicsburg Area and West Shore Area*** (Carlisle: Cumberland County 250th Anniversary Committee, 2000). 5 volumes, 96 pp. each. Photographs, maps. $16.95 each volume, $75.00 set.

This series is a treasure trove of images that reveal our county's rich history during the age of photography, as well as before. It is not an attempt to expose in depth any particular subject or place, but rather offers a broad, sweeping overview of scenes, both remarkable and mundane, that one might have seen about the county in decades and centuries gone by. In these days when we are so inundated by written information at work and home that many people forego reading as a pastime in favor of television and the like, what a splendid way to make the past easily and visually accessible to all age groups and to encourage interest therein!

The arrangement and layout of the books is well thought out. Divided into five affordable, soft cover volumes - one each for the Shippensburg area, Big Spring area, Carlisle area, Mechanicsburg area and West Shore area - the series spans the county, offering chapters on each township and borough. An 1872 map at the beginning of each volume shows the geographical locations of the municipalities and at least some of the villages featured therein. Within each municipality's chapter, photos documenting particular villages, hamlets, streets, institutions, families, or events are usually grouped together, and within that grouping, displayed in chronological order. This allows the reader to view the

progression of time, and to get a sense of how the passing years affected the people, buildings, and landscapes of each locality. One can watch with fascination the local evolution of family and community life, architecture, commerce, industry, transportation, technology, aesthetics, fashion, and forms of recreation.

The collection of images is quite comprehensive, being drawn not only from the archives of the Cumberland County Historical Society and other local repositories, but also from the private collections of residents. The generosity of the individuals who contributed these photographs, whether to historical institutions or directly to this project, cannot be overstated. Hopefully, many others who view and appreciate these images will realize the benefits of donating historical materials in their own possession to appropriate local repositories, where the information can be permanently preserved and shared with the public.

The positive effects of this project are already being felt at local historical institutions, as people viewing the *Pictorial History* volumes have begun submitting information about unidentified subjects in the photographs. Another obvious benefit is that the photographs themselves, while being made accessible to thousands, remain physically protected within their collections and can be spared the danger of further handling.

These volumes should make a treasured addition to any family library, as well as to educational institutions. The glimpses they afford of life in days gone by should spark the interest of young and old alike, and may well encourage further research into the local history of any number of heretofore unconsidered sites and topics. If a picture is worth a thousand words, then these five volumes, containing close to 200 photographs each, are well worth their modest purchase price.

Pennsylvania State Archives Sharon R. Nelson

Supplemental History

Readers of this journal should be aware of two recent supplements to local newspapers. Each focuses on Cumberland County's 250th anniversary and provides handy vignettes on the county's past. On 27 January 2000, *The Patriot-News* (Harrisburg) and on 27 February *The Sentinel* (Carlisle) published separate sections to their respective newspapers; *The Sentinel's* is in tabloid form, as was its supplement commemorating the 200th anniversary of George Washington in Carlisle (6 October 1994).

These newspaper supplements draw heavily upon the researches of local historians (*The Patriot* having squibs by two local authorities), although the reporters also rely on interviews with persons who recall some of the more recent people or events. People or events: the distinction between the two supplements. *The Sentinel* features 50 influential residents of the county; *The Patriot* focuses on significant events. Each approach is valid, and each whets curiosity. Students of history will enjoy debating the merits of the choices or decrying favorites omitted; on the whole, though, each newspaper gives a good survey of the county's past.

While one could easily envision *The Sentinel's* biographical sketches reprinted *sans* advertisements (thus becoming a worthy descendant of J. Zeamer's *Biographical Annals* [1905]), the supplements will become historical documents in their own right. Historians a century hence may well value these supplements more for the sociological and economic implications of their advertisements than for the selection of and emphasis on certain individuals or actions. After all, the city directories of a century ago are of interest now for their commercial notices, not their telephone numbers. A cautionary tale for all who put ink on paper, a lesson in the Law of Unintended Results.

* * *

The invasion, occupation, and shelling of Carlisle in June and July 1863 have been subjects of many personal memories and published memoirs and historical accounts. The burning of the United States army barracks, shell damage

to several buildings and their interiors, and an illustration in *Harper's Weekly* of panic-stricken women and children fleeing from the center square still provide evidence of the terrifying experience of the citizens on the occasion.

But Carlisle was not the only Pennsylvania town that experienced occupation and destruction. Chambersburg witnessed scenes as terrifying as Carlisle's, and destruction and loss of property much greater. Closer to the Pennsylvania-Maryland border, Chambersburg was raided in 1862 and 1863; and in 1864, in retaliation for General David Hunter's destruction in the Valley of Virginia, Confederate troops deliberately set fire to the town. Most of the buildings, public and private, in some 20 blocks were burned.

These events are fully related in *Southern Revenge! : Civil War History of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania*, by Ted Alexander and others, and published by the Greater Chambersburg Chamber of Commerce and White Mane Press of Shippensburg, Pa., in 1989. The book contains a full account of the destruction, extracts from contemporary letters and diaries, and a full photographic documentary record of the burned-out town and of its reconstruction.

The work is noted here, ten years after its publication, to provide the basis for comparing the experiences of the two towns, and thus produce a more balanced perspective in future accounts of Carlisle on July 1, 1863.

Publications In Print

THE COUNTY HERITAGE SERIES

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

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

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

Cloth and Costume, 1750–1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania (1995). Tandy and Charles M. Hersh $34.95

Taverns of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1750–1840 (1994). Merri Lou Schaumann $34.95

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

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

Other Books

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

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

Booklets and Pamphlets

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

Confederate Invasion of the West Shore, 1863. Robert G. Crist (1963, reprint 1995) $6.50

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

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

Cumberland County History. Single issues, as available $5.00

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

A complete list of Society publications in print is available on request.