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The full run of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is available in electronic format on JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). Information on both print and electronic subscriptions can be found at <http://shop.hsp.org/catalog/publications/pmhb/subscription>. Both sites can also be accessed from the journal's website at <http://www.hsp.org/node/2876>.

ERRATA: On page 369 of the July 2011 issue of PMHB, Effingham Buckley Morris's name is misspelled as "Eppingham."



THE  
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*Editorial*

This year we begin a multiyear national commemoration of perhaps the most wrenching conflict our nation has endured, the American Civil War. Thus, it seemed appropriate for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* to use the occasion of this initial sesquicentennial year to reflect upon Pennsylvania's role in this seminal event, examine the state of historical scholarship on the commonwealth's history during this era, share new work on the topic, and encourage further exploration of a subject that continues to attract both scholars and the general public and that continues to have meaning for our life today.

Pennsylvania is fortunate to have many able scholars who are expanding our understanding of the Civil War history of this state just north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Among them are the two guest editors of this issue, J. Matthew Gallman and Judith Giesberg. Matt and Judy have been involved in every step of the process, from conceptualizing the issue, to spreading the word and inviting submissions, to the final editing. To them, and to the authors whose work is published herein, belongs the credit for this special issue on Pennsylvania during the Civil War.

I've known Matt since our years together in graduate school, where Matt first began his work on Philadelphia during the Civil War. His dissertation became his first book, *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia during the Civil War* (1990). He expanded beyond Philadelphia and Pennsylvania with his second book, *The North Fights the Civil War: The Home Front* (1994). Later publications include *Receiving Erin's Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool, and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845-1855* (2000) and *America's Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (2006). Most recently Matt published a col-

lection of his previously published essays that looks back at the changes in his scholarship, and scholarship more generally, on the Civil War, *Northerners at War: Twenty-five Years of Reflections on the Civil War Home Front* (2010). Matt is currently a professor of history at the University of Florida, and he is working on a study of political rhetoric and satire in the North during the Civil War.

I first came to know Judy soon after my move to Pennsylvania and to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 2002. Judy moved to Pennsylvania in that same year, when she accepted a position as a professor of history at Villanova University. Judy's scholarship has focused on women during the Civil War. Her first book, *Civil War Sisterhood: The United States Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition*, was published in 2000. Most recently, Judy has published *Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front* (2009). She is also author of the forthcoming Pennsylvania Historical Association series book, *Pennsylvania and the Civil War*, which will be available in 2012. I am lucky to be able to draw on Judy's good sense often, as she currently serves on *PMHB's* editorial board.

Matt's and Judy's expertise on the Northern home front made them the perfect pair of guest editors for this issue. Better yet, they make a terrific team. I won't say that putting together this issue was easy; that would be a lie. But with Matt and Judy as partners, it was always fun. In the process, I also learned a great deal, from them and from our contributors. It is with much pleasure, therefore, that I now turn you over to their capable hands.

Tamara Gaskell  
Editor

## *Introduction*

**A**S THE NATION LAUNCHES into a wide array of celebrations marking the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War, we are pleased to present this special issue on Pennsylvania during the Civil War. The format we have selected is a bit unusual. Our goal in preparing this volume has been to offer the reader a taste of the vast scholarship on the Keystone State during the war, while also providing some valuable tools for future scholars of all stripes.

Mark Neely, one of the nation's leading scholars of Northern politics and political culture during the Civil War era, starts things off with a detailed historiographic reflection. As Neely demonstrates, Pennsylvania's rich wartime history has produced a diverse scholarship. Neely's essay surveys fifty years of literature on Civil War Pennsylvania, which began with the realization—at the war's centennial—that while antislavery sentiment might have had its early beginnings in the state, racist sentiment grew as slavery came to an end. The essay should give scholars a sense of where to go next in assessing Pennsylvania's significance in the history of the Civil War.

The three articles that follow, all by fairly young scholars, give the reader a window into some of the most interesting ongoing work on wartime Pennsylvania. Kathleen Shaw's essay considers youth enlistment in one particular community, illustrating the continuing power of the careful case study and allowing scholars to think about enlistment as a coming-of-age experience. Timothy Orr looks at how Pennsylvania recruits navigated the confusing terrain between local enlistment and federal authority and sheds new light on how to assess local loyalties. Brian Matthew Jordan takes us to a very familiar Pennsylvania site, the Gettysburg Battlefield, to ask provocative new questions about race and commemoration in the postwar years. Jordan's essay is well-timed to appear on the eve of the 150th commemoration of the battle and in an election year, as politicians of all stripes make their way to the battlefield for photo-ops. These essays are very different in their core concerns, but they share a fundamental insight. Each author is working outside of the

traditional framework where “military history” and studies of the home front rarely shared the same terrain. All three of these articles demonstrate the value in considering the citizen-soldier—and the commemoration of those soldiers—as intrinsically connected to affairs at home.

From these discussions of scholarship past and present, we move to what we might call scholarship yet to come. Certainly the explosion of internet-based sources has produced a dramatic change in the research landscape. Newspapers that were sometimes only available in archives, or perhaps on microfilm, can now be read online. Researchers who are interested in a particular person, event, or issue can now search hundreds of issues with the click of a few keys. Nearly every novel published in America in the Civil War era can be read (and searched) online, and the list of journals available in electronic formats continues to grow. Meanwhile, archivists are busily scanning all sorts of valuable ephemera, ranging from political cartoons, to patriotic envelopes, to rare photographs. And Civil War enthusiasts are posting material on web pages, blogs, Facebook pages, and all manner of electronic platforms. Every historian, from the energetic middle schooler to the gray-haired scholar, must figure out how best to come to terms with this overwhelming array of information. Sometimes the most difficult task is simply keeping track of what is out there. With that in mind, we think that Sean Trainor has provided us with an invaluable resource in his “Annotated Guide to Online Resources.” Sean has not only brought together a wonderful assortment of web pages, including key sources that are not exclusively dedicated to Pennsylvania history, he has given the reader a taste of what they will find when they click on that link.

When we planned this special issue we decided to devote a special section to uncovering some of the unrecognized or under-used sources that can help us understand Pennsylvania’s rich Civil War history. Our thinking was that the state is full of “hidden gems” that future historians might want to contemplate. Why not use the occasion of this special issue to assemble descriptions of these little-known sources? We cast our net as widely as we could manage, seeking contributions from archivists, librarians, students, and faculty members. We hoped for a good breadth of topics, but we had no idea what contributions might appear.

We are particularly pleased to present readers with the eighteen hidden gems. The contributors illustrate the wonderful range of professionals and students who work on some aspect of Pennsylvania history. The gems

themselves are a reminder of the many sorts of sources available to the Civil War historian. The list includes intriguing examples of familiar types of primary sources: an African American woman's pocket diary, a fascinating letter from a wartime surgeon, the memoir of the war's great financier. A few remind us of the diversity of newspapers published in Pennsylvania during the Civil War, including perhaps the war's most important—and rarely consulted—labor newspaper and an equally valuable Irish Catholic newspaper. Several authors describe wartime manuscripts that hold a wealth of information about the war experiences of diverse individuals, including muster rolls, a deserter roster, and a fascinating examination of one man's pension records. Some of our favorite gems are not traditional paper sources at all. One contributor illustrates what we can learn through the close examination of a battlefield monument; another tells the strange tale of a stuffed horse's head; a third surveys a rich collection of patriotic envelopes. Along the way these sketches remind us of the holdings in many of the state's wonderful archives. This assortment of hidden gems barely scratches the surface of the material hiding in archives across the state, and across the country. Together these sources touch on many of the diverse sorts of primary sources available to the resourceful historian.

\* \* \*

We have both especially enjoyed this project because we each have written on the Civil War home front, and between us we have wandered through many of the state's fine archives, libraries, museums, battlefields, and historical sites. We were tempted to pack the hidden gems section with our own contributions, but we opted to leave those pages to our colleagues across the state. Instead, we thought we would use the final pages of the introduction to share some of our own experiences exploring Pennsylvania in the Civil War.

MATT GALLMAN

I began my work on the Civil War with a study of wartime Philadelphia. This was back in the dark ages before the internet, when we relied on card catalogues and published finding aids to identify sources. I spent long hours in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company next door, and I made fruitful excursions to Haverford,

Swarthmore, the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia City Archives, and other local archives. For most of my time in the city I focused on the great wealth of traditional primary sources: diaries, letters, business records, annual reports, newspapers, government reports, census data, and so on. I did stumble upon a few “hidden gems” along the way. Perhaps my favorite, because it was pure serendipity, turned up when I visited a friend at Columbia University. When she went to class I wandered off to the archives, where I found the Civil War diary of Philadelphian Anna LaRoche, who I believe eventually married someone associated with Columbia. Historians interested in wartime entrepreneurs should also consult the superb records of the R. G. Dun and Company, housed in Harvard University’s Baker Library. The final reports of the district provost marshals are another particularly valuable, and still somewhat obscure, source for studying recruitment, conscription, and dissent. The originals are in the National Archives in Washington, DC, but they are also available on microfilm.

More recently, I have become interested in exploring printed materials of all sorts: novels, short stories, song sheets, poems, political cartoons, photographs, patriotic envelopes, and the occasional satirical game. The internet is invaluable in identifying and examining these sources, especially as I sit at my computer in Florida. In Pennsylvania, the web pages of the Library Company of Philadelphia and Special Collections at Gettysburg College are particularly useful. These sources offer another sort of window into what Northerners were reading and talking about during the Civil War. Of course they also illustrate a larger point: Pennsylvanians lived in a wartime world where communities and states existed within a much larger culture. How do we assess the significance of a novel or cartoon that was available in Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago? What do state and region mean in this complex world of printed public discourse?

JUDY GIESBERG

As a historian of the Civil War home front, I feel pretty fortunate to have landed in Pennsylvania, where the sources are everywhere and archivists are eager to get them into your hands. Early on, I was awarded a Resident in Scholar Fellowship at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, where I spent a glorious six weeks exploring the collections at the State Archives in Harrisburg. I’ve done work in many

places over the years, but I had never found so many “hidden gems” and such an expert and approachable staff of archivists. There a researcher will find an embarrassment of riches—everything from claims filed for lost property in the wake of the Confederate invasions of Pennsylvania (1863 and 1864) to an extensive collection of Civil War–era cartes de visite to a lovely collection of handmade mourning bonnets. The problem, of course, is reminding oneself to leave Harrisburg once in a while and look elsewhere. Like the Heinz History Center in Pittsburg where I learned about the Allegheny Arsenal explosion and the nearly eighty women who lost their lives there at an explosion in 1862 or the National Archives at Philadelphia that, as you’ll see, has correspondence and materials related to Camp William Penn, the primary training camp and rendezvous point for United States Colored Troops, and that also has an extensive collection of letters from women working as seamstresses at the Schuylkill Arsenal in Philadelphia during the war. Then there was that roster of prostitutes at the syphilis hospital during the war that turned up at the Philadelphia City Archives. Where to start? For anyone interested in exploring how the Civil War was lived on the home front, Pennsylvania provides no end to possibilities. I have only named a few.

Since I began my work here, though, I have watched with concern as many of these sites have suffered from shrinking budgets and short-sighted cost-cutting decisions. In the last few years, archives have eliminated positions and restricted their hours. Many historic sites have closed indefinitely. Ambitious digitizing efforts like the one underway at Penn State are expanding access to many items, but this work is hardly keeping up with the pace of closures that will bury some of the state’s Civil War sources and the early retirements of archivists who can lead you to that hidden gem just waiting to be discovered. Of course, *PMHB* readers are aware of these trends, but it strikes me on the occasion of the sesquicentennial—and in this special issue—that some of my best finds were made while chatting over coffee or lunch with senior archivists or as I was flipping through the (still as yet undigitized) finding aids of various largely unprocessed collections. I am thrilled to have been part of *PMHB*’s special issue, which I hope will encourage others to dig in and root around in the state’s rich archives, local historical sites, and university libraries, where you can still learn surprising things about Pennsylvanians’ Civil War experiences. I hope this issue helps to uncover and keep unburied some of the state’s rich sources.

\* \* \*

Before we leave you to enjoy this special issue, we both would like to express our deep appreciation for Tammy Gaskell and the work she does not only as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* but also for all the other things she does at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to make accessible that institution's sources to a wide public. Her duties, too, have expanded over the years, yet she continues to ensure that this magazine publishes the most timely and significant scholarship in the region. It has been a pleasure working with her on this issue.

*University of Florida*  
*Villanova University*

J. MATTHEW GALLMAN  
JUDITH GIESBERG

## *Civil War Issues in Pennsylvania: A Review Essay*

“THIS BOOK’S MAJOR THEME,” announced William Dusinger in the introduction to *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia, 1856–1865*, is “the pervasive influence in an important Northern city of the same anti-Negro views which so deeply affected the South.”<sup>1</sup> With that statement modern historical writing on the Civil War in Pennsylvania began.

The following is an assessment of historical interpretations of Pennsylvania’s Civil War in modern literature on the subject. Readers should not expect to see the results of archival discovery or of research in original sources in this article. Nor is this meant to be a bibliography. It is, rather, an appraisal of the problems of interpreting Pennsylvania’s role in the Civil War and of the solutions to the problems offered by modern historical writing on the subject. The military contribution of Pennsylvania to the Civil War is likewise beyond our reach here. The bibliography on the Battle of Gettysburg alone would swamp this little article. The focus will be decidedly on the home front—on politics, society, and the economy.

Dusinger’s book was published in 1965, not long after the appearance of Leon F. Litwack’s groundbreaking work, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860*. Litwack awakened historians to the problem of racism in the North before the Civil War and thus greatly complicated the historical problem of the causes of the war.<sup>2</sup> Earlier, historians had assumed that a steadily growing antislavery movement in the North eventually provoked the sectional crisis that degenerated into war in 1861. Litwack’s dramatic documentation of race prejudice in the northern states presented historians with this paradox: antislavery sentiment was rising in antebellum times while the opinion of the African American was falling. That was not a just a paradox; it was an impossi-

<sup>1</sup> William Dusinger, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia, 1856–1865* (Philadelphia, 1965), 16. The title of this essay is adapted from this seminal book.

<sup>2</sup> Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961).

bility. The creation of the Republican Party, an essential prerequisite in any account of the origins of the Civil War, now became vexingly difficult to explain. It had to be explained as something other than a growing anti-slavery party.<sup>3</sup>

This reality was a problem for Civil War historiography in general, but it presented as acute a problem in explaining Pennsylvania's role in the war as for any other state in the North. Taken together, Litwack's references to Pennsylvania left historians of the state with an unforgettable image: Antislavery got its start in Pennsylvania mainly from the ideas behind the American Revolution combined with the unusual Quaker heritage of the state. These forces led to the passage of a law in 1780 to abolish slavery in the state.<sup>4</sup> But as Litwack's evidence demonstrated, it was not all smooth sailing for abolitionists or free African Americans in Pennsylvania afterward, as documented by the petitions submitted to the state legislature seeking the prohibition of further immigration by African Americans into the state. A movement to amend the state constitution to prevent such immigration failed at the constitutional convention of 1837–38.<sup>5</sup> However, the convention also considered explicitly excluding African Americans from the franchise.

While the constitutional convention was deliberating, the state supreme court ruled that a 1795 law had already excluded Africans Americans from the franchise. The aggressive role played by the judiciary in the movement to restrict the vote by race is striking. The court faced the problem that the original reasoning and decision had been lost, but, as Litwack put it, the chief justice “declared that the memory of a good friend and Philadelphia lawyer was ‘perfect and entitled to full confidence’” in this matter—a remarkable citation of precedent. Then, after a contested election in Bucks County, Judge John Fox ruled that the votes of African Americans, apparently decisive in the contest, were illegal. Here is Litwack's description of the decision:

The framers of the state constitution, he [Judge Fox] declared, “were a political community of white men exclusively,” and Negroes were not even contemplated by that document, for they were then, as now, a degraded and inferior race. “What white man,” Judge Fox asked, “would not feel himself insulted by a serious imputation that he was a negro, and who,

<sup>3</sup> Historian Michael F. Holt taught me the significance of this great problem in the late 1960s.

<sup>4</sup> Litwack, *North of Slavery*, 3, 7, 12–13, 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

having believed himself to be of the white race, if he should be found to be strongly tainted with black blood, would not feel and experience that he had fallen greatly in the social scale?" Judge Fox claimed, moreover, that Negroes had never voted in the city or county of Philadelphia, where most of them lived, or in the greater portion of the state.<sup>6</sup>

The state judiciary, which here foreshadowed the infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857, would weigh in again aggressively on important issues in the Civil War.

Litwack's narrative made patterns of deep social discrimination readily apparent as well. Segregation was the order of the day. African Americans were not excluded from the legislation establishing public schools in Pennsylvania, but in any district with twenty or more black students, they were to be grouped in separate facilities. Occupational choices for African Americans were limited.<sup>7</sup> Any honest graph charting the status of African Americans in Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century would run decidedly downward from the 1780 emancipation law until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

Dusinberre's *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia* made for startling reading, quite out of the ordinary for books on Civil War subjects at the time, for it was among the first to attempt to deal with the effects historians' discovery of racism in the North would have on the study of the Civil War. Dusinberre chose Philadelphia because it was "the country's second largest metropolis [with a population of about 570,000 in 1860], a far more important city than in later years, and its location in the 'Middle States' gave it a political atmosphere probably similar to that in the large area extending from New York City and much of New Jersey, through southern Pennsylvania, to the southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois."<sup>8</sup> With devastating quotations from newspapers and from political oratory, Dusinberre documented the way the politicians of the era catered to an electorate characterized by racist views like those described by Litwack. For example, William D. Kelley, "the best-known Republican spokesman" in 1856, denounced Preston Brooks, the South Carolina congressman who had recently caned Charles Sumner on the floor of the United States Senate, because he "regards negro slavery as the only element in this contest. Think of it, my fellow-citizens, you who earn your

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 85–86.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 114, 154–55.

<sup>8</sup> Dusinberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, 11.

bread by the sweat of your brow; think of it, sons of mechanics, laboring men, niggerism is the only element in this contest, says Mr. Brooks! But there is another party in the contest—white laboring men—the Anglo-Saxon, and the whole Caucasian race—working with its own hands. Do you believe the colored race a superior race to that to which we belong? No, you do not.”<sup>9</sup> By examining such language, Dusinberre argued that the Republicans stirred “antipathy to Southern political leaders” rather than displaying “friendliness to Negroes.”<sup>10</sup>

In the year Kelley was speaking the Republican candidate for mayor, William Thomas, garnered less than 1 percent of the vote in the city.<sup>11</sup> The election occurred too early in the year to register the effects of the caning of Sumner and violence in Kansas, and there was much ground to cover before the party became politically viable. Meanwhile many in Philadelphia who opposed the Democratic Party joined the anti-Catholic American (Know-Nothing) Party—a further sign of lack of commitment to antislavery policies on the part of Philadelphians.

Dusinberre concluded his treatment of the war itself with these words, “We end, as we began, on a sour racist note.”<sup>12</sup> He described the sharp divisions over racial issues between the parties during the war, but he depicted the Democrats as aggressively anti-African American and the Republicans as a party “moved mainly by the military needs of the North” to adopt emancipation and enlistment of African American soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

Dusinberre’s was a brief book, based substantially on shrewd analysis of evidence from the newspapers. The most thorough consideration of the problem for historians of how to explain the rise of Civil War issues in a climate of prevailing racism in Pennsylvania (and the North in general) came in 1969 from political historian Michael F. Holt in *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848–1860*. Holt was an early apostle of what came to be called the New Political History, and his approach to the problem differed markedly from Dusinberre’s, though both had been students of the influential and original Civil War historian David Herbert Donald. Holt adopted the methods and tone of the political scientist. He relied primarily on statistical analysis of voting for his most telling evidence, and his work was not

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 34–35.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 178.

characterized by lengthy and impressionistic descriptions establishing the “sour racist note” left by the middle of the nineteenth century in America. This would continue to characterize the tone of his writing on the period. When, almost a decade later, he introduced yet another brilliant book on *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, while rejecting his earlier “purely behavioral model,” he stated that his concern was “more with the impact of the party system on leadership decisions than with the morality of particular decisions themselves.”<sup>14</sup> Still, Dusinger and Holt were dealing with the same bedrock problem for political historians of the causes of the Civil War: the striking degree to which politicians of the period showed “a respect for the anti-Negro prejudices of many of the people.”<sup>15</sup>

Holt chose Pittsburgh for study in part because “it gave Lincoln a larger percentage of the vote in 1860 than any other major city in the country” and in part also because a statistical study could be managed for a city with a population under fifty thousand in 1860 (Holt’s study preceded the ready use of calculators and computers).<sup>16</sup> Acknowledging the influence of Dusinger, Holt explained early in his book,

In Pennsylvania . . . the Republicans did not make slavery or even its extension their primary target. As William Dusinger’s study of Philadelphia in this period also shows, Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh Republicans apparently cared more for the rights of white men than of Negroes. They complained less about slavery in Kansas than about the attempt to force it on Northern settlers against their will. Republican appeals were aimed at the unfair power of the minority South, and its aggressions against the rights of the Northern majority, rather than at slavery. Republican rhetoric in Pittsburgh opposed slavery expansion primarily to hurt the South and preserve the territories for white men, not to help the Negro. Indeed, one reason Republicans played down their anti-slavery appeal and spoke instead of white men’s rights was a respect for the anti-Negro prejudices of many of the people in the city.

Moreover, other issues than the sectional ones revolving around slavery provided prime motivation for voters in Pittsburgh in the 1850s. “Divisions between native-born Americans and immigrants and between Protestants and Catholics, rather than differences of opinion about the

<sup>14</sup> Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1978; New York, 1983), vii, ix.

<sup>15</sup> Michael F. Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848–1860* (New Haven, CT, 1969), 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 2–3.

tariff or the morality of slavery, distinguished Whigs and Republicans from Democrats,” he argued.<sup>17</sup> Emphasis on the role of the Know-Nothings was greater in Holt’s work than in Dusinger’s, and Holt at one point stated that the “Republican party in 1856 was just as much a vehicle for anti-Catholic sentiment as it was for antislavery sentiment.”<sup>18</sup> Holt’s narrative is vivified, for example, by the appearance of Joe Barker, a candidate for mayor in Pittsburgh in 1850. Barker was a street preacher, one of a number of charismatic unschooled common men who hated Catholics and spread the word against them on the corners of city streets from Pittsburgh to New York City. Barker, running as a “People’s and Anti-Catholic Candidate,” surprisingly won the election, though he was in jail at the time for inciting a riot.<sup>19</sup>

Holt, though a champion of the ethnocultural interpretation of voting and a critic of economic determinist models of voting behavior, nevertheless paid serious attention to the economy of the 1850s. In 1857 the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad linked up in Pittsburgh, but the consequences were hardly what the city fathers who had promoted the development envisioned. According to Holt, the through line to the great West eliminated need for the transshipment services in the city, and completion of the line saw the railroads charge high short-haul rates in comparison to the low long-haul rates through Pittsburgh. The Pennsylvania Railroad, as Holt explained it, was “one of the largest corporations ever to exist in the United States.” Moreover, other local rail projects failed financially in 1857. These factors made it easy to recall old Jacksonian resentments against large and rich corporations, and Pittsburgh’s Democrats could attempt to avoid national sectional issues associated with the administration of President James Buchanan by campaigning against railroad corporations and taxes to aid them.<sup>20</sup> Republicans contained the problem, and the excitement proved only temporary, but it revealed the possibilities that lay in such economic issues and would become salient in American politics years after the Civil War.

Although he essentially endorsed Holt’s interpretation of the politics of the 1850s, the economic historian James Huston revealed more about

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 174n.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 228–30.

the state's antebellum economy in an article that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in 1989.<sup>21</sup> Huston did not confine his study to the example of Pittsburgh, and he offered a valuable picture of the impact of the railroads on the state's economy, rural and urban alike. Essentially, the completion of through trunk lines from the efficient farms of the West to the eastern markets caused wheat production to fall in Pennsylvania in the years immediately preceding the Civil War, to be replaced by livestock and dairy operations.<sup>22</sup> The number of workers involved in agricultural occupations fell with the advent of commercial agriculture, but the industries to which the workers moved were not organized on the factory system and instead used "familiar" methods.<sup>23</sup> Overall the dynamism of the antebellum economy in the state made adjustment to a market economy, more than social class or wealth, the key economic factor for workers (who were also voters).<sup>24</sup> The old verities of economic interpretations of the Civil War of the bygone days dominated by the categories of Charles Beard now vanished. Whatever else the modern historians tell us about the Pennsylvania economy on the eve of the Civil War, they argue that bewilderment and anxiety were prevalent, not a self-confident assertion of an industrialized North against an agrarian South.<sup>25</sup>

Pennsylvania's political and economic history in the antebellum period revealed the true nature of the Republican Party, which formed in the mid-1850s in a climate of pervasive racism in the North. It opposed only the expansion of slavery and stressed the violence and tyrannical disposition of the slaveholders in the South and their seeming indifference to the traditional rights of white Northerners to settle in the territories or to criticize the South. Without focusing—as Harriet Beecher Stowe had done in her gendered critique of slavery—on the plight of slaves, the separation of families, and the frustration of slave religion, the party had to rely on voters as motivated by anti-Catholicism as they were by sectional

<sup>21</sup> James L. Huston, "Economic Change and Political Realignment in Antebellum Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 113 (1989): 347–95.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 355–59.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 393.

<sup>25</sup> Thus Huston's point is that Know-Nothings were poorly adjusted to the advent of the market, unlike the Republicans, but both wound up under the same party tent by the time of the war. See *Ibid.*, 370–72. On "anxieties and frustrations" see also Michael F. Holt, "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism," in his *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1992), 283–90.

issues. That was partly because only men could vote and hold office, and their critique of slavery tended to focus on political rights, power, and economics, but it was also because of the racism of the white electorate. With an amalgam of voters, the Republicans won 56.25 percent of the vote in Pennsylvania in 1860.<sup>26</sup>

To write about Pennsylvania in the Civil War era without dealing with James Buchanan would be akin to writing about Illinois in the Civil War era without dealing with Abraham Lincoln. Buchanan was the only president of the United States to come from Pennsylvania and was therefore the most successful product of the state's politics. Indeed, it is the contrast between his solid service to Pennsylvania and the nation and his dismal performance as president that posed the problem in Jean Harvey Baker's *James Buchanan*. In this brief biography, published in 2004 in the American Presidents series edited by the Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Baker concluded that "Buchanan came closer to committing treason than any other president in American history."<sup>27</sup>

Buchanan was a pessimist and a lonely bachelor, but, Baker argued, contrary to what is often said about his timid behavior in the secession crisis at the end of his presidential term, he had a Jacksonian view of the president's powers. Buchanan believed in an aggressively expansionist foreign policy and proved willing to send the United States army into Utah against the Mormons, in one of the three great crises that ruined his presidency. In another, the struggle over "Bleeding Kansas," he wielded the patronage power of the president as forcefully as any Democrat in the mold of Andrew Jackson. But in the secession crisis, the third and most overwhelming crisis, he seemed paralyzed. Baker concluded:

The question remains why Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian educated in a free state whose wealth came from the practices of capitalism, not plantations, was so pro-southern. The answer goes beyond the political support the South extended to him in the election of 1856. Rather, it rests in his social and cultural identification with what he perceived as the southern values of leisure, the gentleman's code of honor, and what George Cary Eggleston, a Virginia writer, once called "a soft dreamy deliciously quiet life . . . with all its sharp corners removed." Throughout his life Buchanan enjoyed the company of southerners. Their grace and courtesy, even their conversational talents, attracted him. With slavery unimportant [to

<sup>26</sup> *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1865* (New York, 1865), 54.

<sup>27</sup> Jean H. Baker, *James Buchanan* (New York, 2004), 142.

him]—indeed Buchanan became convinced that slavery helped “civilize” blacks—he sought out the company of these white aristocrats and soon absorbed their ideals. He believed that southern legislators were often statesmen, protecting that icon of his faith—the U.S. Constitution.<sup>28</sup>

Like Roger B. Taney, the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, Buchanan had no direct ties with slavery at the time, but utilized extreme interpretations of the powers of his respective branch of the government to protect slavery in 1857 and 1858. When the secession crisis came in 1860–61, Buchanan, again apparently in deference to slaveholders, refused to use or create arguments for the presidential powers he had so willingly exerted earlier.

\* \* \*

Given the bedrock racism of the Northern electorate on the eve of the war, perhaps it is little wonder that the historian who most ably chronicled the history of Philadelphia during the Civil War gave the Emancipation Proclamation only incidental mention in a 350-page book. In a brief statement on the subject in *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia during the Civil War*, Matthew Gallman said that “Lincoln’s January 1, 1863, Emancipation Proclamation fueled anti-administration feeling in Philadelphia.”<sup>29</sup> In that respect Gallman still labored in the shadow of Dusinger’s pioneering work. Dusinger offered this description of the proclamation’s chilly reception even among Republicans in the city:

Although the emancipation policy was now backed by all the prestige of a wartime President, the reaction of most Peoples Party [Republicans in Pennsylvania insisted on keeping their distance from the reputation of the Republicans for radicalism and called themselves still the People’s Party] Philadelphians seems to have been extremely subdued. However much it might appeal to sentiments about freedom, the policy so abruptly ended the system of suppressing Negroes without which, many whites had assumed, anarchic racial conflicts would convulse the South—and it so completely contradicted what most Philadelphians had until recently supposed the government had any authority to do—that most Peoples Party

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 137–38.

<sup>29</sup> J. Matthew Gallman, *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia during the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1990), 182.

editors could justify it only as a way of striking blindly against the enemy. Practically all Democratic leaders arrayed themselves indignantly against what they regarded as a perversion of a justifiable if unnecessary war into a mad crusade against the most cherished traditions of the white race. Traditionally allied with Southern Democrats, and expecting to resume the alliance when the South returned to the Union, Democratic leaders naturally tended to cling to their allies' ideals. The different reactions of non-Democrats and Democrats to emancipation, in other words, had their roots not so much in their attitudes toward Negroes as in their attitudes toward Southern whites.<sup>30</sup>

In the end, Gallman left many political issues to Dusinger's previous work, including his predecessor's extremely gloomy rendering of the issue of emancipation in the city.<sup>31</sup> Gallman was more interested in the social history of Philadelphia in the Civil War.

The development of Philadelphia's economy—as well as other developments cultural and material—was richly described and brilliantly analyzed by Gallman. In fact, *Mastering Wartime* is perhaps the best single work written about the Northern home front and should by itself make Pennsylvania the envy of historians of the period in other states. The work is complex and comprehensive in its coverage, but it makes a simple point: continuity rather than discontinuity is the remarkable feature of the history of the war in Philadelphia. In other words, business, politics, and social life adjusted to the demands of war without revolutionary or dramatic change. Philadelphians, as he expressed it, “were able to maintain their peacetime routines while meeting the requirements of a major conflict.”<sup>32</sup> As for the old historical problem of the relationship between the Civil War and the rise of the industrial economy, Gallman, greatly aided by statistics compiled by the city's Edwin T. Freedley in 1866 for his book *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures* (which helped fill the gap between the census years 1860 and 1870), concluded that the trends in manufacturing in the city were substantially uninterrupted. The war did not have a greatly stimulating impact on manufacturing.<sup>33</sup>

Gallman's book goes a long way toward proving that the Civil War was not a “total war,” a paradigm of interpretation of the Civil War period that rose to dominance in historical writing in the long shadow of World War

<sup>30</sup> Dusinger, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia*, 146–47.

<sup>31</sup> Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 255, 264–65.

II. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers several overlapping definitions of the term. One is that in such a war “Every citizen is in a sense a combatant and also the object of attack.” Another describes it as “a war to which all resources and the whole population are committed; loosely, a war conducted without any scruple or limitations.”<sup>34</sup> The Civil War was not a total war that entirely absorbed the resources and energies of America’s second largest city; neither Philadelphia nor any other Northern city had an experience that matched such definitions. The war did not lead to political centralization. It did not lead to much government coercion or scientific advancement or to changing, let alone, hardening of attitudes.

One of the surprising features of *Mastering Wartime*, despite its many charts and statistics, is Gallman’s broad and anecdotal view of social history. Gallman was interested in the traditional social questions. He gave answers to these traditional questions: for example, he concluded that no new class of war profiteers was created and laborers negotiated wages as before, at a disadvantage to owners and management.

But for Gallman, people’s experience in wartime Philadelphia was also a matter of “mourning” and “responses to separation,” of private benevolence and public rituals—subjects ingeniously and sympathetically explored in the book. According to Gallman, the war did not cause people to doubt their religion or find it an inadequate consolation for wartime loss. Take issues of separation and death, for example. Some eighty thousand to one hundred thousand Philadelphians served in the war, and among those some ten thousand died from wounds or disease. Yet death had never been a stranger even to the young cohort of nineteenth-century men who served, and the death rate likely exceeded the normal peacetime rate for the age only by about three times. Religion and family consolation sufficed both before and during the war. As for separation, the United States had always been a geographically mobile society, and a transition to some sort of independence away from home had long been regarded as a traditional rite of passage. Besides, the improved military mail service did much to keep people in touch with one another.<sup>35</sup>

The war did not make philanthropy or local government seem quaint and outdated. The government did not have to create propaganda agencies, and the Fourth of July remained the same mix of patriotic oratory

<sup>34</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 18:286–87.

<sup>35</sup> See Gallman, *Mastering Wartime*, esp. 11, 54, 55–57, 60, 79, 83.

and good firecracker fun. All these points and more can be gleaned from Gallman's comprehensive coverage of Philadelphia history during the Civil War. Such a quick survey of the entirely manageable consequences the immense war had for Philadelphia hardly does justice to the richness of detail, varieties of evidence, and ingeniousness of proofs devised by Gallman to form his picture of the Civil War city. Perhaps one example will suffice to make the point: In employing the records of R. G. Dun, the credit-rating forerunner of Dun and Bradstreet, to construct both statistical tables and individual portraits of Philadelphia business firms that rose or fell with the disruptions of the war, Gallman even included the details of a company that successfully turned ploughshares into swords:

Samuel Sheble and John M. Fisher ran the Fair Mount Fork Works before the war, but in mid-1861 they began manufacturing bayonets and cavalry sabres. This transition required a substantial investment that, the credit reporter noted, had "a tendency to cramp them a little." But soon the partners began making a healthy profit on their government contracts.<sup>36</sup>

Gallman described only Philadelphia, but his book touches on most of the major themes in the study of the Civil War home front everywhere, including the experiences of women and of African Americans. "As Northern men flocked to fill volunteer regiments or to man Home Guard companies, the women left behind dominated the war-related voluntary societies," Gallman pointed out.<sup>37</sup> There were more women in more organizations, but the structures of organization (and belief) remained substantially unchanged: the women generally worked under a male board of directors.<sup>38</sup> Much of the work was done in church organizations, or began there. Most important, the organizations spread and grew, but they did not notably centralize.<sup>39</sup> The lives of Philadelphia's twenty-two thousand African Americans are discussed at greatest length in Gallman's description of their struggle for acceptance in military service. A whole company of Philadelphians served in Massachusetts's Fifty-Fourth Regiment, and Gallman characterizes the experience as typical of the North, certainly not in advance of public opinion but not notably behind it either.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 317–18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 48–49.

The wartime experience of women in Pennsylvania in general is described through looking at the familiar agencies of Gallman's work but in somewhat more revolutionary light in an article written by Rachel Filene Seidman, "We Were Enlisted for the War': Ladies' Aid Societies and the Politics of Women's Work during the Civil War." She described the work of the aid societies as protopolitical. True, the pattern of voluntary benevolence for the most part followed antebellum practice, but the link to an urgent national cause "gave women a new sense of direct participation in the nation's work," she argued.<sup>41</sup>

Identification with the nation—patriotism and nationalism—is central to the interpretation of the role of Pennsylvanians in the Civil War. The most direct and revealing treatment of nationalism in the North during the war is Melinda Lawson's *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North*, but this brilliant book only draws on Pennsylvania for some key examples. We can learn from those, however. Lawson identifies different models or styles of nationalism. One, the most conventional and familiar, is the model of self-sacrifice for the good of the nation, a form of nationalism embodied in the great fund-raising efforts for the United States Sanitary Commission. The commission, privately run but with government sanction, focused its efforts on raising medical supplies for the soldiers and sailors. The most spectacular of these efforts were the "sanitary fairs" organized mainly by women as gigantic charity bazaars, roughly on the scale of later state fairs, and the most spectacular of the fairs was the Great Central Fair held in Philadelphia. (Dusinberre, who focused on politics more than society and culture in Philadelphia, did not mention the energetically patriotic sanitary fair.) The fair, aptly named, combined the entertainment of a festival with the patriotic and charitable purpose of raising money for medical supplies for the war.

The Philadelphia fair, like others, was primarily "the project of . . . upper-class women" and, for all its fun, was based on the idea "that at its heart, membership in a nation meant a willingness to sacrifice."<sup>42</sup> Along the way, the innovative and creative women showed that this new nation in fact had a venerable past, and

<sup>41</sup> Rachel Filene Seidman, "We Were Enlisted for the War': Ladies' Aid Societies and the Politics of Women's Work during the Civil War," in *Pennsylvania's Civil War*, ed. William Blair and William Pencak (University Park, PA, 2001), 62.

<sup>42</sup> Melinda Lawson, *Patriotic Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence, KS, 2002), 21, 29.

The most original contribution of the Sanitary Fairs to the material culture of the nation was the period room: collections of the furniture, paintings, knickknacks, and clothing of a particular time, brought together for display in a room designed solely for their viewing. Philadelphia offered a Pennsylvania kitchen and a William Penn parlor, Baltimore and Brooklyn displayed New England kitchens, Poughkeepsie created an Old Dutchess County room, New York boasted a Knickerbocker kitchen, and the Chicago fair offered a New England farmhouse.<sup>43</sup>

Such exhibits “drew on existing values and beliefs. Utilizing such long-standing cultural forms as localism, domestic feminism, and Christian charity, they incorporated and at times transcended these notions, molding them into new understandings of identity and duty. At the heart of these new understandings lay a sense of the nation as a source of cultural pride and patriotism as Christian sacrifice.”<sup>44</sup>

Philadelphia offered another wholly original model of patriotism as well, Lawson argues: the war-bond drive. In this model the idea was not old-fashioned Christian self-sacrifice but progressive investment in the nation’s future. Lending one’s money to the national government for the war would bring profit—in this “classical liberal understanding of patriotism.” The nation offered gain and not loss. A whole chapter of her book on nationalism thus focuses on the innovative work of Philadelphia financier Jay Cooke. In an era when few Americans owned any product traded on Wall Street, Cooke had the novel idea of selling the nation’s war bonds—in an exclusive deal that made his trading house the broker for the Treasury Department’s debt—to middle-class people. To get them to enter the market Cooke advertised in local newspapers, and he promoted the idea of gain instead of national ideals or patriotic sacrifice or “duty” or “civic virtue.”<sup>45</sup> He sold bonds in smaller denominations and offered night hours for people who had to work in the day. Perhaps the war was winnable without Cooke’s financial innovations, but this much can be said: Many in the Confederacy counted on an internal collapse of their Union foe through the timidity and selfishness of capital. Cooke almost singlehandedly defied that Southern strategy.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–38.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 41, 43, 47, 51, 52, 54.

Judith Giesberg chooses to call the nationalism embodied in the Northern cause “free labor nationalism.” Her book, *Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front*, draws heavily on Pennsylvania history to make the case that historians’ assessments of the war’s impact on Northerners at home has been skewed by thinking about it in terms supplied by an ideal of free labor nationalism. To be sure, she says, one can say the Northern economy performed well during the war, but only on the model of “free labor nationalism.” That model, embodying northern capitalism as the ideal organization of labor (rather than the alternative model of slavery), held no particular place for women, especially poor or African American women, except on the sidelines supporting the war effort.<sup>46</sup>

Arguing that modern literature focusing on the roles of women in the war featured predominantly middle-class women, Giesberg noted the differences in depictions and memorializations of women in the Confederacy and in the North. Women of the South have been put front and center in historical writing as one of the principal factors undermining morale. They weakened the Confederate war effort by placing demands on the state (for relief) and on their husbands and sons in service (to come home). Northern women—middle-class, to be sure—seem to have been even “naively” patriotic, she argued.<sup>47</sup>

One of the problems with existing literature, Giesberg pointed out, was its preoccupation with urban women. Rural women often faced poverty of sudden and emergency proportions when men left for war, and poor women wandered the countryside seeking the rough almshouse charities of the nineteenth-century free labor economy. She reminded readers of the horrendous explosion and fire at the Allegheny Arsenal near Pittsburgh that occurred on the day of the much more famous Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. Seventy-eight people died in it, the majority poor working women who made cartridges—their work being rushed particularly at that time because of Robert E. Lee’s invasion of the North. Giesberg seems unconvinced by the essential Republican assertion that the greatest threat to the well-being of people in the North, includ-

<sup>46</sup> Judith Giesberg, *Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009), 47–57.

<sup>47</sup> Giesberg used the term “naïve” to describe the view of patriotism that depicted Northern women as stoically standing “weeping at every cottage door” as “sturdy farmer boys” marched off to save the nation. *Ibid.*, 8.

ing poor women, was the existence of slavery in the South (rather than capitalism in the North).<sup>48</sup>

She also focused attention on the Philadelphia campaign, waged by African American women in that city, to end segregation on public streetcars; the women often rode the cars seeking to reach places like churches for charitable war work or to visit African American soldiers in camp.<sup>49</sup> In a particularly ingenious section of the book, Giesberg points out the poor women's conception of military service as a period not terminated by discharge or the death of the soldier but including proper attention to the remains of soldiers killed in battle. Governor Andrew Curtin, the soldiers' friend, proved also to be the friend of the soldiers' families, providing a state program in 1865 to reimburse soldiers' families' expenses incurred in retrieving and interring the bodies at home.<sup>50</sup> In the end, she suggests a class split among Northern women on the war, with lower-class women less supportive and even taking on the role of dissenters.<sup>51</sup>

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If we need another reminder besides the work of Matthew Gallman that the war was not a total war and not totally absorbing, the Keystone State provides probably the most startling single proof: the oil boom. The traditional economic pattern of boom and bust, the familiar "gold rush" quality of resource discovery, and the continuing proof that America was a country more than anything else preoccupied with get-rich-quick schemes from the Jamestown settlement of the early seventeenth century in Virginia on, were manifest as soon as Edwin Drake struck oil in northwest Pennsylvania. Again, Pennsylvania is particularly well served in this area of history by the groundbreaking environmental history written by Brian Black: *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom*, published in 2000.

In this instance we can see the continuity of greed in American history—from the discovery of oil in 1859 through the Civil War and into the Reconstruction period, many men sought wealth largely oblivious to war and national politics. The national political affairs that interest historians

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 58, 68–69.

<sup>49</sup> These seem to have formed a national pattern, beginning with efforts to open streetcars in San Francisco in 1863. See *ibid.*, 92, 98, and, on Philadelphia, 105–10.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 150–52.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 141.

of the period today must have seemed remote from the concerns of the men searching for oil near Titusville, Pennsylvania. In those days war machines were not driven by petroleum fuels, there was no way to dress this quest up as part of the great patriotic effort, and the search was really only a distraction from the nation's battlefield ordeals. The oil sought so avidly was used mainly to replace whale oil as fuel for illumination in the home.

Despite all the oil that flowed in the region, the oil exploration area was a dark place. Fire was such a danger that illumination was allowed only indoors, and smoking was prohibited by law. The boom followed the usual pattern of male population influx, though the imbalance of sexes did not remain great for long. The sudden increase in population in the area was disproportionately made up of new immigrants, especially from Ireland. Perhaps because they remained British subjects, they seem not to have been troubled by conscription and the provost marshals.<sup>52</sup> Incidentally, Venango County was the heart of the oil boom, and in terms of political persuasion, it remained Republican despite the radical change in composition of the population. It was a close matter, though, and the Republican percentage of the vote in the county fell from about 58 percent to about 53.5 percent between 1860 and 1864.<sup>53</sup>

The most famous boomtown phenomenon of the Pennsylvania oil rush was the town given the suitably dismal name of Pithole, which grew from zero population to fifteen thousand in eight months in 1865. Events in the Civil War played a critical role in its history:

Pithole's first well had been struck and, truly, timing was everything. Similar strikes had been made in the Oil Creek valley during the first five years of the oil boom, and boomtowns took shape around them in order to provide the goods and services that would be needed. However, during the early months of 1865, thousands of soldiers were discharged from the Union Army. These men flocked to the most likely source of jobs. As if staged as an act in a play, Pithole burst onto the scene and represented the

<sup>52</sup> Brian Black, *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom* (Baltimore, 2000), 53, 84, 113–16.

<sup>53</sup> Computation based on figures in *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1865* (New York, 1865), 54. It is impossible to compute turnout, but voting numbers increased greatly between 1860 and 1864, in keeping with the trend of the total population of the county, and it would seem that the people who immigrated to exploit the oil boom did not lose their characteristically American interest in politics.

greatest possibilities available in the entire nation. Pithole was suddenly poised to boom as no town ever had.<sup>54</sup>

Yet Pithole died a quick death. By the 1870 census, Pithole had only 281 inhabitants. Community spirit was so weak that it could not sustain a volunteer fire company after 1866, and fires ravaged the town to oblivion.<sup>55</sup>

It is important to have such a reminder of the preoccupations of people in the United States other than civil war in the 1860s. Had petroleum enjoyed the potential to alleviate the national debt that it does today, President Lincoln may have looked to Pennsylvania's boom in thinking about the postwar state of the nation, but in those days gold and silver were the sovereign remedies to national debt, and he looked to the mining towns of the West instead to solve the nation's financial problems.<sup>56</sup> Lincoln, of course, had knowledge of the California gold rush of the pre-war period, and he was seemingly oblivious to the liabilities of the boom-town phenomenon perceived today. The lure of natural resource exploitation was great in wartime and out, and Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, was not exempt. He helped found the Dramatic Oil Company to dig a well south of Franklin, Pennsylvania, and he owned an interest in the Pithole Creek Company in 1864. He realized nothing from the ventures, but he lied about them, claiming to have gotten rich, and the lure of that imaginary wealth drew conspirators to his assassination plot.<sup>57</sup>

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In most ways, the political history of Pennsylvania during the Civil War era was typical, but it nevertheless stands out because of the peculiarities of the election calendar in the mid-nineteenth century. Pennsylvania's gubernatorial election during the Civil War came in 1863, not in tandem with national elections in 1862 or 1864 (the state's 1790 constitution gave the governor a three-year term). And even its national election in 1864 was peculiar, because Pennsylvania was among the states holding their state elections in October, even when the November presidential election

<sup>54</sup> Black, *Petrolia*, 150.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 167–69.

<sup>56</sup> Don E. Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, eds., *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln* (Stanford, CA, 1996), 113–14. See Gabor S. Boritt, *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* (1978; Champaign, IL, 1994), 226.

<sup>57</sup> Michael W. Kauffman, *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies* (New York, 2004), 127–28, 136.

came one month later in the same year. The results of October elections in presidential election years were widely regarded as bellwethers for the November contest, and parties worked especially hard to gain momentum in them. In Pennsylvania, which had a very large population and consequently a large electoral vote, presidential campaigns were lengthy, peculiarly intense, and well funded, and the gubernatorial election was in part a warm-up for the presidential contest a year later. Had it not been for the fact that Ohio also held a gubernatorial election in 1863 and that its Democrats chose as their candidate Clement L. Vallandigham, the leader of the Democratic Party's peace wing and a man of notorious reputation among Republicans, Pennsylvania's politics would have burned even brighter in the imaginations and calculations of the country's politicians.

The 1863 gubernatorial election in Pennsylvania was nonetheless important. Michael Holt helped recover its significance, revealing another of the major problems in interpreting the Civil War. Writing an essay on the historiography of politics during the Civil War, Holt noted that "strident antiwar Democrats such as Ohio's Clement L. Vallandigham, Pennsylvania's George Woodward, and Connecticut's Thomas Seymour. . . all . . . captured Democratic gubernatorial nominations in 1863." He suggested that "only a misreading" of the triumphs of the Democratic Party in the autumn elections in 1862 "rather like the modern Republican misinterpretation of the 1994 congressional elections—allowed Peace Democrats to surge to temporary prominence in the party in 1863."<sup>58</sup> Holt thus explains the curious and mistaken origins of the peace movement within Pennsylvania's Democratic Party in 1862–63, but not its even more curious persistence. Surely any politician could find the lesson in the results of the 1863 elections. Republicans triumphed over the Democrats in the Pennsylvania gubernatorial race with 51.5 percent of the vote, and in the much-watched Ohio race, Vallandigham lost with only 39 percent of the vote.<sup>59</sup> The peace wing of the party remained strong despite winning nowhere in 1863. There was a mighty imperative to close ranks, forget ideology, and defeat an incumbent president who was still having trouble winning the war, but peace Democrats proved reluctant and slow to do so.

<sup>58</sup> Michael F. Holt, "An Elusive Synthesis: Northern Politics during the Civil War," in *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*, ed. James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper Jr. (Columbia, SC, 1998), 123–24.

<sup>59</sup> James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 688.

Recent work on Pennsylvania's wartime politics reveals the intensity of partisan divisions, if as yet historians have not exactly offered a satisfying explanation for it. The Civil War history of Pennsylvania stands as proof that the Copperhead movement, though commonly associated with the states of the Old Northwest, was in fact nationwide in extent. Historians have known that for a long time, and historian Arnold Shankman's *The Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement, 1861–1865*, which appeared in 1980, played an important role in bringing that awareness about. "I argue," said Shankman, "that opposition to the war in the Keystone State was as intense as it was in Ohio, Illinois, or New York, states traditionally associated with peace sentiment."<sup>60</sup>

Unfortunately Shankman found it difficult to describe the exact sources and extent of peace sentiment within the Democratic Party. It was never made clear in the book why some Democrats made dispiriting and even dangerous declarations for peace and why some supported the war. In Congress, there is a sure measure of antiwar sentiment: whether the member of Congress votes supplies for the troops or not. But on the hustings, there is no such acid test. What can be said is that Shankman documented a startling strain of intensely bitter sentiment expressed against the Republican administration's war. Like most of the modern insights on Pennsylvania's history in the Civil War era, Shankman's began with the recognition of race prejudice in the North. "Sentiment against free Negroes," he pointed out, "was quite unconcealed throughout the state."

Citizens from all corners of the commonwealth petitioned the legislature to prohibit the future immigration of free blacks into Pennsylvania. Anti-black riots erupted in Philadelphia in 1834, 1848 [*sic*], 1842, and 1849; and Afro-American residents had good reason to doubt that they lived in the city of brotherly love. In Pittsburgh blacks were second-class citizens, and Republican politicians were less likely to complain about the evils of slavery than about the disproportionate power Southerners wielded in national affairs. Under the 1838 Pennsylvania Constitution Afro-Americans had been disfranchised and declared ineligible for citizenship, but some whites continued to call upon the legislature to deprive the blacks of their few remaining civil rights.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Arnold M. Shankman, *The Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement, 1861–1865* (Rutherford, NJ, 1980), 13

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

From the secession crisis of 1860–61 through the reelection of Abraham Lincoln as president in 1864, Pennsylvania Democrats offered startlingly radical proposals. Shankman documented these well. William B. Reed, a prominent Philadelphian and former Buchanan appointee, drafted a resolution at a public rally stating that the dissolution of the Union by Southern secession “may release this Commonwealth from the bonds” connecting it to the Union and “would authorize and require her citizens through a Convention to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom her lot should be cast.”<sup>62</sup> Shankman uncovered the response to secession of Charles R. Buckalew, who would become one of the state’s senators in 1863. Buckalew proposed in a private letter written early in 1861 that the person “who received the second highest number of electoral votes in a presidential election become president of the Senate and be allowed to exercise the veto power. Under this system, he argued, minority rights would be protected, secession would be prevented, and extreme sectionalism would be averted.”<sup>63</sup> Pennsylvania would be represented during the war by conservative senators, Buckalew and Edgar Cowan, perhaps the most conservative Republican in the Senate. In another striking case, after John C. Breckinridge, the nominee of the Southern Democrats, lost to Lincoln in 1860, Philadelphian George McHenry departed for Europe and wrote pamphlet propaganda for the Confederacy, such as *Why Pennsylvania Should Become One of the Confederate States of America*, published in London in 1862.<sup>64</sup>

Such material was dramatic, but Shankman’s view was that “Copperhead” was “an appropriate term for the loyal opposition to the Lincoln administration. I consciously join the ranks of those revisionist historians who reject ‘the traditional stereotype of the Copperhead as traitor.’”<sup>65</sup> Imprecise meanings for such terms as “Copperhead,” which was, after all, an epithet and not a self-conscious and self-proclaimed name of a faction, along with largely unsubstantiated guesses at the extent of support of various factions in the party, were problems in the book. Shankman accumulated numerous anecdotes documenting statements of opposition to the administration and to the war, but he attempted no systematic analysis of the party system. The accumulation was impressive, but it was difficult to describe the sincerity, extent, or purpose of the peace

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–68.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

sentiments expressed. Like the Democrats of the time, Shankman mistook for “war weariness” on the part of Pennsylvanians a political sentiment that was only *defeat* weariness.<sup>66</sup>

Shankman essentially depicted peace sentiment as a crescendo during the war. He concluded, after an engrossing parade of anecdotes of sharp conflict, bitterly worded sentiments, and arbitrary arrests:

What then was the importance of Pennsylvania Copperheadism? It is true that some wanted an armistice or a military stalemate, but they wanted it because they believed that cessation of hostilities would facilitate the reunion of the two warring sections under “the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was.” At a time when men were prone to disregard civil liberties and castigate all dissenters as traitors, Pennsylvania Copperheads stood up and reminded the nation that the Constitution applied both in time of war and in time of peace. For their actions they suffered personal attacks, imprisonment, loss of friends, and the failure of business; but had they acquiesced in the violations of constitutional rights, a very dangerous precedent would have been established.

They were not, Shankman said, “unpatriotic draft dodgers or treasonable fanatics.”<sup>67</sup>

Shankman admitted that it was “not easy to pinpoint centers of Copperhead strength” in the state, but that is one thing that historian Robert M. Sandow set out to do—give extreme opposition sentiment in Pennsylvania social and geographical roots. His book, *Deserter Country: Civil War Opposition in the Pennsylvania Appalachians*, published in 2009, brings together the history of logging and the startling pattern of opposition politics that emerged from the economic life of rural central Pennsylvania.<sup>68</sup> A careful student of nationalism, Sandow attempted to solve the problem of the peace wing of the Democratic Party by assuming that there were contesting views of the nation, not that the Republicans wanted to save the nation and that the peace Democrats did not care about the nation. Moreover, he thought that extreme Democratic opposition to the war must have had roots in society. He looked away from cities and draft riots and examined the rural areas of farming and logging.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>68</sup> Shankman could tell from mapping the steadily Democratic areas of voting that some thirty counties “mainly in northeastern, central, and southern Pennsylvania” were likely sources of the sentiments. *Ibid.*, 16–17.

Antebellum farmers in the mountains of Pennsylvania faced the challenge of industrial logging. For generations, small farmers in this poor agricultural region supported their families by cutting timber and floating large-scale rafts to markets. In the 1850s, many mountain farmers felt their livelihoods threatened by new methods of industrial logging. Armies of lumberjacks cut down the great trees and tumbled the logs into the rivers. Choked with floating logs, the rivers of Pennsylvania no longer supported rafting. They perceived state Republican leaders as behind these dramatic changes, urging on the accelerated exploitation of the forests. The thousands of raftsmen that once plied the inland waterways dwindled steadily under the expansion of industrial logging but they did not go quietly. After repeated failures to share the river, rafting lumbermen fought back. When appeals to the legislature met deaf ears, locals took up rifles and axes to redress grievance through vigilantism. A brief raftsmen's rebellion in the late 1850s represented a pattern of protest that area residents repeated during the war. . . . This underlying economic battle caused anti-Republican bitterness to simmer beneath the surface.<sup>69</sup>

During the war, however, to oppose the Republicans was to oppose the party that was running the great Civil War. Sandow concluded, "For many northerners . . . opposing the Lincoln government and its war measures did not violate their sense of nationalism."<sup>70</sup>

The area of rural Pennsylvania that Sandow studied included part of the oil boom region that Brian Black so vividly described, and Sandow noted that the men who built the boom were, essentially, exempt from typical national feeling:

Industrial exploitation of the region's coal, oil, and wood also attracted migrant wageworkers facing their own economic concerns. Coal patches, lumber camps, and the boomtowns of the oil region were chaotic landscapes devoted to extracting the rich natural resources of Pennsylvania. They drew roving young men, willing to work difficult jobs in the hopes of someday getting ahead. Their labor accommodated a certain anonymity and mobility that left little record of their efforts. When called upon to serve in the war, they effortlessly melted away. In their case, a lack of community ties freed them from the peer pressures to uphold civic duties. Cut loose from community, they were free to pursue economic self-interest.

<sup>69</sup> Robert M. Sandow, *Deserter Country: Civil War Opposition in the Pennsylvania Appalachians* (New York, 2009), 8–9.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

While wartime inflation outpaced the rise in wages, it was easy to find steady work at higher pay than before the war. Army wages were pitifully low and accompanied by the real possibility of death. In comparison, few were willing to miss the opportunity for good-paying jobs. Employers encouraged this practice by protecting them from the watchful eyes of the provost marshals.<sup>71</sup>

Indeed, Brian Black had been at pains to show that these boomtowns were not really communities at all.

The problem of the peace wing of the Democratic Party remains one of the great unsolved questions of Civil War history—in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Though we do not know exactly how large it was as a percentage of the party's leaders or voters, it was large considering the powerful national sentiment, a common denominator of the age. The desire to win the presidential election—a driving factor for the leaders of the party—should have dictated a strategy recognized by many Democrats of saying very little about issues until the election was over and simply uniting to win the presidential sweepstakes—running the sort of “hurrah” campaign in 1864 that the Republicans had run in 1860. But at the national nominating convention in 1864, the peace wing held to its principles and put a politically crippling “peace plank” in the platform.

Another book that focuses outside the cities and examines closely the social sources of political conflict during the war is Grace Palladino's *Another Civil War: Labor, Capital, and the State in the Anthracite Regions of Pennsylvania, 1840–68*, published in 1990. Palladino argued that the allegedly antiwar movement Shankman discovered was, in its most dramatic guise of draft resistance and violence directed at conscription officers, an agricultural phenomenon that should not be associated with the coalfields. Draft resistance there, she said, took the form of individual evasion, and the violence was mostly the figment of Republican imaginations enflamed by the sight of labor organization. Demand for coal rose during the Civil War—to power the blockading fleet and to fuel iron production—and the mine operators saw a chance for profit in a previously unstable industry. Unfortunately for the owners, the workers saw their chance to organize and strike to improve their poor wages and sometimes dangerous working conditions. The conflict was worsened by ethnic suspicion or hatred of the coal miners, many of whom were Irish

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

immigrants. The problem was not draft resistance but strikes.<sup>72</sup>

The owners and the Republican politicians came up with the solution to their problem. "On August 20, 1863," Palladino wrote ominously, "the Department of the Susquehanna, a division of the United States Army, established the Lehigh District, a separate military department to maintain law and order in the coal regions. Headquartered first in Reading, then successively in Pottsville, Scranton, and Mauch Chunk, this military district included Schuylkill, Luzerne, and Carbon Counties, as well as Berks, Lehigh, Northampton, and Monroe." In other words, they found a military solution to a labor problem, and Palladino argued that it looked forward to 1877 and the era of military confrontation with labor in the Gilded Age.<sup>73</sup>

She depicted the culprits vividly. One was Benjamin Bannan, former coal mine operator and editor of the *Miner's Journal*.

Although labor combinations were rarely welcomed in the coal regions, no matter what ethnic group was involved, no critic proved so harsh as Benjamin Bannan in condemning their emergence. To Bannan, who had lost money as an independent operator in Schuylkill County, there was little difference between organized labor and organized crime or between a strike and a riot. Although his was a most parochial and often paranoid view, nevertheless, Bannan's opinions had greater significance than those of other critics. The *Miner's Journal*, one of the few newspapers of its day to collect and publish industry statistics, served as the operators' trade paper, thus allowing Benjamin Bannan to influence a far wider audience than his local clientele.<sup>74</sup>

Another culprit was Charlemagne Tower, the provost marshal of Schuylkill County and the man in charge of enforcing conscription in the region. He was "skilled and sophisticated in his use of federal power." Unlike other officials Tower was not "frightened and insecure in the face of opposition." He "almost relished the idea of a showdown so that he might demonstrate once and for all the meaning of nationalism in a time of war."<sup>75</sup> In other words, ostensible conflicts over the war were in fact

<sup>72</sup> Grace Palladino, *Another Civil War: Labor, Capital, and the State in the Anthracite Regions of Pennsylvania, 1840–68* (Champaign, IL, 1990), 5.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 143.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 108–9.

matters of “class conflict.”<sup>76</sup> Military arrests kept control of the mines in the hands of the owners as the provost marshals “employed the police power of the state to undermine labor organization in the coal regions.”<sup>77</sup>

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This essay does not deal with Pennsylvania’s military history during the war, but an examination of the intersection of civil society with the army underlines the points made so far about the extremes of political conflict and divisiveness within the state. In fact, the questions raised about Pennsylvania’s soldiers proved to be so divisive that they were downright dangerous.

Jonathan W. White attempted to explain the ideology and political content of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania during the war, though he did not seek explanations of the social makeup of the party. His article “Citizens and Soldiers: Party Competition and the Debate in Pennsylvania over Permitting Soldiers to Vote, 1861–64” describes in careful detail the bitter disputes over absentee voting by soldiers. Pennsylvania was one of only two states at the beginning of the war that allowed its soldiers to vote away from home. Before the war was over, Republicans would see to it that the soldiers in most other states were not disfranchised by service. Pennsylvania might have avoided a conflict over the franchise had it not been for the aggressive state supreme court, for most of the war dominated by Democrats. In May 1862 Justice George W. Woodward, a Democrat soon to become the party’s nominee for governor, made a good case in ruling unconstitutional the old voting law that allowed absentee voting.<sup>78</sup>

Republicans in response launched a campaign to change the state constitution to allow soldiers to vote. Democratic opposition, which was awkward, mounted only slowly, but the Republicans, having reason to

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>78</sup> Jonathan W. White, “Citizens and Soldiers: Party Competition and the Debate in Pennsylvania over Permitting Soldiers to Vote, 1861–64,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 5 (summer 2004): 54. The Supreme Court would strike against the Republicans again in the autumn of 1863, ruling the United States conscription unconstitutional in a procedurally and ideologically controversial opinion—which was quickly reversed when a Republican was elected to the court and changed the party balance. See Mark E. Neely Jr., “Justice Embattled: The Lincoln Administration and the Constitutional Controversy over Conscription in 1863,” in *The Supreme Court and the Civil War*, ed. Jennifer M. Lowe (Washington, DC, 1996), 47–61 (a special edition of the *Journal of Supreme Court History*).

believe that the vote would go their way, were soon bent on going through the complicated process of amending the state constitution in time for Pennsylvania's soldiers to vote in the field in the presidential election of 1864. The amendment passed in a popular vote by the resounding margin of 199,855 to 105,352; it took the legislature ten pages of fine print to write a law implementing the measure in the field.<sup>79</sup> The soldier vote from Pennsylvania went overwhelmingly to the Republicans. White concluded that the Democrats' opposition was motivated not only by partisanship but also by "old republican ideals—ideas that pervaded Democratic thought in the mid-nineteenth century. These ideas could be traced back to the American Revolution and even the Commonwealth Tradition of the mid-seventeenth-century English Civil War."<sup>80</sup>

Such ideas had once been revolutionary, of course, and the involvement of soldiers with political life in the state proved dangerous. In his essay "A Viler Enemy in Our Rear': Pennsylvania's Soldiers Confront the North's Antiwar Movement," Timothy J. Orr examined a series of political resolutions voted on by Pennsylvania regiments in the field in early 1863—in an astonishing display of military pressure on politics—and concluded:

Given that Union soldiers possessed the physical means to quell dissent—with the muzzles of their rifles or the points of their bayonets—soldiers' public outcries against the antiwar movement were especially ominous. One could hardly imagine Pennsylvania's 30,000 soldiers serving in 1863 returning to Philadelphia or Pittsburgh to inaugurate martial law shortly before the beginning of the Chancellorsville Campaign, yet this is what their unit resolutions suggested.<sup>81</sup>

Orr linked the drastic political resolutions to frustration at being denied the franchise:

Unable to vote themselves, soldiers used these resolutions to express themselves politically. When taken as a whole, the resolutions from Pennsylvania regiments suggest a frightening dimension in Northern civil-military relations during the Civil War. Many hinted at legitimating violence toward a treasonous civilian population, which makes the Civil

<sup>79</sup> White, "Citizens and Soldiers," 60.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>81</sup> Timothy J. Orr, "A Viler Enemy in Our Rear': Pennsylvania's Soldiers Confront the North's Antiwar Movement," in *The View from the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers*, ed. Aaron Sheehan-Dean (Lexington, KY, 2007), 173–74.

War unique in American military history. In no other case has the American military collectively voiced such an angry and malevolent response aimed at quelling antiwar dissent on the home front.<sup>82</sup>

Changes in interpreting the Civil War experience in Pennsylvania have gone about as far as they could away from old assumptions about an alleged fifth-column movement in the North. As Shankman and Sandow argued, the Democrats likely constituted a loyal opposition and not a disloyal one, but Republican disgust and fear of their edgy antiwar rhetoric may have caused the Union army itself to constitute a threat to the republic and to republican government.

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It is clear from this review that the “sour note” sounded by William Dusenberre back in 1965 has set the tone for writing on the Civil War in Pennsylvania. Triumphalism is nowhere present in the writing. It has been replaced by depictions of political and class conflict, by racism and nativism, by desertion and draft dodging, by anxiety over the market economy instead of confident individualism, by desperately poor dissenting women at home, and by glimpses of near treason. The villains, if we may call them that, are memorable—Francis W. Hughes, Joe Barker, Charlemagne Tower, Benjamin Bannan—even President James Buchanan; there are few inspiring figures. Historians are not fully in agreement on the causes of the Civil War or the sources of bitter partisanship, but they do come together to paint a generally dark canvass of historical events in Pennsylvania during the Civil War era, though Matthew Gallman offers a significant exception.

The accumulated effect of such writing can be viewed in the chapter on the Civil War in the landmark multiauthor text, *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*, published in 2002. The chapter “Civil Wars, 1850–1900” is conspicuous for its theme of conflict. “The kinds of internal civil wars that marked Pennsylvania in the 1850s—involving class, ethnic, and political differences—persisted during the nation’s great ordeal of the War between the States,” contributor Walter Licht states. The conflict continued for years after the war, we are told, and the legacy of the dominant Republican Party, even by the beginning of the twentieth century in Pennsylvania, was “the bygone politics of national

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

and internal civil wars.”<sup>83</sup>

After immersion in the language of the recent literature on the Civil War in Pennsylvania it is stunning to read what was written on the subject about a hundred years ago. For example, Frank H. Taylor’s *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861–1865*, published in 1913, constituted almost a monument to the glory of the Civil War effort.<sup>84</sup> The book was funded by part of an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to erect a soldiers and sailors monument in the city. Ten thousand dollars of that fund went for publishing ten thousand copies of the book. The text was introduced by an excerpt from an address by Colonel William McMichael, given in 1882:

So the Union volunteers of the great American war came, in proud array, along the flag-draped corridors of our national history, passed on to their mission, consecrated to the cause of national integrity. Whatever may now be told of their heroism and triumph can be but an echo of the music which led them on; which stirred the souls of all loyal and patriotic men and women of that far-gone time.

Taylor’s own language and descriptions of sentiment in the city were more restrained, but even he was capable of saying, for example, that the “Union sentiment” that was a product of the 1856 presidential campaign “remained aglow through the following years.”<sup>85</sup>

Today such glowing language attached to the history of the Civil War in Pennsylvania is almost inconceivable. True, the omission of military history from this impressionistic survey of influential modern historical writing on the subject biases our image of the war against any such old-fashioned values and ideas. Still, it is very striking to confront the extreme contrast in sensibility and outlook on the war between Taylor and Dusinger. The roles of historical writing and of public monuments are, of course, different. One cannot help wondering, even so, whether the pendulum might not profitably swing back a little, in this sesquicentennial period, to a less gloomy and chilling view of our state’s past.

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<sup>83</sup> Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, eds., *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth* (University Park, PA, 2002), 216, 255.

<sup>84</sup> Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (Philadelphia, 1913).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 11.

## “Johnny Has Gone for a Soldier”: Youth Enlistment in a Northern County

LIKE MOST WARS, the American Civil War was fought by young men. Some of those young men were legally too young to serve. Nineteenth-century America was a society in which notions of childhood and children were changing, and in which the boundary between childhood and adulthood was becoming increasingly complex. Yet in a society that had decided that war was an adult experience, a significant number of boys continued to volunteer before they were legally permitted, and communities continued to allow them to fight.

This study constructs a social profile of the youngest soldiers from Franklin County, Pennsylvania. By developing a portrait of these boys, it provides a clearer picture of youth enlistment and the participation of young recruits and furthers our understanding of the boys who went to war. The cohort investigated consists of youths aged from ten to seventeen recorded as residents of Franklin County in the 1860 US census. These boys included the youngest legal soldiers in 1861, as well as those still too young to legally fight at war's end. Eighteen was the minimum age for enlistment. There are marked differences of maturity between the youngest and the oldest, and this study will identify enlistment indicators for both the underage soldiers and those who enlisted legally. It is important, however, also to note what they had in common—they all became volunteer soldiers in the Union army.

Franklin County was chosen for the case study because of the availability of political and economic resources at the Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War website, a digital archive of Civil War-era correspondence and other records of inhabitants of the county and of Augusta County, Virginia. These excellent resources are used in conjunction with the 1860 US federal census and regimental records from Samuel P. Bates's *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–5*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu>; Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–5* (Harrisburg, PA, 1869–1871); *Eighth*

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There have always been boy soldiers, and unfortunately there probably always will be, but the American Civil War was arguably the last Western conflict in which underage soldiers played a significant role. Modern day discussions of child soldiers focus on conflicts in developing countries and rightly condemn the appalling conditions under which children are coerced into military service. They conjure up disturbing images of vulnerable children manipulated by adults, and of lost childhood.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars have argued that widespread participation of children as frontline troops is a fairly recent phenomenon, while others contend that adolescents have the capacity for adult reasoning and decision making and that the “child soldier as exploited victim” is a twentieth-century construct. The “Straight 18” definition of a child soldier as anyone younger than eighteen enlisted in armed forces has also been questioned, because of changing notions of children in different times and societies.<sup>3</sup> However, while it is important not to impose twenty-first-century sensibilities onto past conflicts, minimum age regulations were in place before the start of the Civil War, and age restriction in some form had been mandated in the United States since 1802.<sup>4</sup>

Arguably the earliest study of Civil War soldiers was commissioned by the United States Sanitary Commission in 1864.<sup>5</sup> In a detailed anthropological survey of over one million Union soldiers, Benjamin Apthorp Gould constructed a portrait of the typical soldier. Gould explicitly excluded from this work those who joined after the initial organization of regiments, draftees and substitutes, black soldiers, “miscellaneous” troops (sharpshooters, engineers, and mounted infantry), musicians, and those younger than eighteen and older than forty-five. Gould estimated that only about 1 percent of soldiers were underage, but he conceded that some were not forthcoming about their age.<sup>6</sup>

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*Census of the United States, 1860* (Washington, DC, 1860) (hereafter cited as *1860 Census*).

<sup>2</sup> P. W. Singer, *Children at War* (Berkeley, CA, 2006); David M. Rosen, *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism* (London, 2005); Daya Somasundaram, “Child Soldiers: Understanding the Context,” *British Medical Journal* 324 (2002): 1268–71.

<sup>3</sup> Singer, *Children at War*, 14; Rosen, *Armies of the Young*, 135.

<sup>4</sup> Singer, *Children at War*, 13–15; Eleanor C. Bishop, *Ponies, Patriots, and Powder Monkeys: A History of Children in the Armed Forces, 1776–1916* (Del Mar, CA, 1982), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Apthorp Gould, *Investigations in Military and Anthropological Statistics* (New York, 1869), v.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

The Union army was a predominately volunteer civilian army, with a relatively young mean age of twenty-four. The soldiers were literate, from a politicized and democratized society, and, although there is some debate as to whether political awareness was a major enlistment motivator, the majority voted in the 1860 election. The typical Civil War soldier was an agricultural worker, single, Protestant, and loyal to his immediate peer group.

Studies of enlistment in Northern towns suggest differences in enlistment rates corresponding to social and economic factors. A study of enlistments in Concord, Massachusetts, found that “economic frustration and social malaise,” rather than patriotic fervor, pushed young men who were vulnerable to changes in agricultural and industrial practices into the army.<sup>7</sup> A study of Newburyport, Massachusetts, found that boys aged twelve to seventeen whose fathers had high-status white-collar occupations were more likely to enlist than sons of unskilled workers. Those who attended school were less likely to enlist than those who were already employed.<sup>8</sup> A study of two New Hampshire towns—Claremont and Newport—with similar social and economic profiles but different political sympathies found political affiliation to be an enlistment indicator. Enlistment rates across occupation and wealth were similar to those found in other studies, except for the higher participation rate for high-status white-collar occupations in Republican Claremont.<sup>9</sup> These studies provide points of comparison for a study of youth enlistment in Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

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Franklin County is in southern Pennsylvania, nestled mid-way along the state’s border with Maryland on the Mason-Dixon Line. A largely rural county, in the mid-1800s it had a growing industrial base centered in Chambersburg, the county seat. The Cumberland Valley Rail Road ran through it, linking the county to commercial centers to the north, east,

<sup>7</sup> W. J. Rorabaugh, “Who Fought for the North in the Civil War? Concord, Massachusetts, Enlistments,” *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 695–701.

<sup>8</sup> Maris A. Vinovskis, “Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations,” in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (New York, 1990), 12–20.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas R. Kemp, “Community and War: The Civil War Experience of Two New Hampshire Towns,” in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War*, 41–44.

and south.<sup>10</sup> Most people lived in rural communities, and many of these were long-established, mature agricultural areas, with little new land being developed for farming. The average farm value was approximately seven thousand dollars, and most agricultural production was in the broad swath of rich farmland that stretched from the northeast of the county down across the southwest and central areas. The value of farm production per capita in Franklin County outstripped that of the rest of the North, and indeed most of the South, in the 1850s. The population was forty thousand, with five thousand in Chambersburg. There was a sizeable African American population centered in small towns in the southern region of the county, although they remained on the fringe of white communities. The local press fostered vigorous political debate, and the county recorded high voter participation in the 1860 election. The county had a long tradition of military participation, with militia units in every conflict from the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War to the Mexican War.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1861, Franklin County became caught up in the chaos and excitement of the mobilization of the Union army following secession by Southern states and the start of the Civil War. Camp Slifer was established near Chambersburg, military hospitals were established in Chambersburg and Greencastle, and the local railroad became a major military transport artery taking men and materiel from Harrisburg to the front lines in the South.

A total of 350 white youths, almost 9 percent of the white Franklin County boys between the ages of ten and seventeen, enlisted over the course of the war, with 245 mustering in over the first two years. Thirty-eight joined in 1861, making up just over 10 percent of the total county enlistment for the year, and 207 enlisted in 1862 (approximately 9 percent of total Franklin County recruits for that year). Twenty-nine (76 percent) of the 1861 youth enlistees were underage, while ninety-four (45 percent) of the 1862 recruits from the cohort were too young. In 1861 most of the boys enlisted for three months in state militias, while others joined three-year regiments. In the summer of 1862, the youths responded to the national call for three hundred thousand more men, and many enlisted in the nine-month militia regiments, which were initially intended to be

<sup>10</sup> *Franklin Repository*, Aug. 3, 1859, June 6, 1860, and July 11, 1860.

<sup>11</sup> Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania: Containing a Copious Selection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1843), 349.

kept within Pennsylvania, but were sent further afield. Others volunteered for three-year terms.

The broad profile of the youngest Franklin recruits suggests that they were born in Pennsylvania, were white, and attended school; they lived at home with their parents, and the older boys were employed; they were farmers' and tradesmen's sons and were from rural areas. Their average age was just over seventeen years.

John Skinner was a typical young recruit from Franklin County. The second son of a farmer from Fannett, a rural township in the north of the county, Skinner worked as a farmhand, went to school, and lived with his family. When he was seventeen he joined the 126th Pennsylvania Infantry in August 1862. John lied about his age and claimed to be twenty. He enlisted with his older brother, and they served with at least seven other young men from Fannett who volunteered that summer. After he mustered out in May 1863, he returned home, and in August 1864 he reenlisted in the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry.<sup>12</sup> John Skinner was like countless other young men across the North who volunteered and served with family and peers from their home communities.

Military regulations at the start of the Civil War stated that the minimum age for combat troops was eighteen, and the minimum height was 5 feet 4.5 inches; those under twenty-one required parental consent, lodged in triplicate, and no one under eighteen was to be mustered in. While the General Orders issued by the War Department were very clear as to the procedures to be followed, correspondence between the department and state officials indicates that the regulations were amended at both the federal and local levels. By late 1862 regulations had been modified to allow young recruits to muster in with verbal consent, providing their captain was satisfied that age restrictions were met. Musicians, who were not considered combat troops even though they were in a field of battle and acted as messengers and stretcher bearers, could enlist at age fourteen.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the federal government regulations stipulating the minimum age, and clear, well-documented instructions issued to enlistment officials, approximately 20 percent of Franklin County's underage soldiers openly admitted that they were younger than eighteen. Only one openly

<sup>12</sup> 1860 Census; Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 3.

<sup>13</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880–1901), ser. 3, 2:343, 400, 434, 445 (hereafter *Official Records*).

underage recruit, William Boyles, enlisted as a musician and so could legitimately enlist at fourteen.<sup>14</sup> Others enlisted as infantry, artillery, and cavalry troops and were shown no favoritism because of their age. That so many could enlist openly underage implies significant complicity of local officials desperate to fill new regiments; the frequent reiteration of recruitment regulations suggests that they were often flaunted or disregarded.

The young recruits may have been aware that after September 1861 they could not be discharged from military service solely on the grounds of minority.<sup>15</sup> Many were already in paid employment as farmhands and apprentices and likely looked physically capable of serving as infantrymen. The medical examination that every recruit had to undergo was often less than thorough—it failed to detect numerous women enlisting as soldiers—and as long as teeth were sound enough to tear cartridge casings, right hands were strong enough to fire a gun, and recruits were close to the minimum height, they passed the examination.<sup>16</sup> Only a few were later discharged with a surgeon's certificate "for want of physical development": at age fourteen and only 4 feet 3.5 inches tall, musician William Boyles was simply a boy too young and too small. Theo Brandt, aged seventeen, was discharged six months after his enlistment because he was "not sufficiently developed for duties of a cavalry soldier."<sup>17</sup> William Boyles did not reenlist and disappeared from the records, while Theo Brandt reenlisted a few months later in August 1862 and again in January 1864.

Boys from elsewhere in the Union have left diaries, letters, and memoirs that explain and justify their decision to enlist. Theodore Upson, a sixteen year old from Indiana, simply wrote, "we must have more soldiers. This Union must be saved. . . . I don't feel right to stay home any longer." Jesse Bowman Young of Illinois perhaps spoke for other youths when he wrote that "many of the boys of that time were just as patriotic as the grownup people. They did not know much about the causes . . . they could not see all the dangers . . . but they loved their flag, and they adored the

<sup>14</sup> Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Soldiers' Records, Valley of the Shadow, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/dossiers>.

<sup>15</sup> US War Dept., *Revised U.S. Army Regulations of 1861* (Washington, DC, 1861), 511.

<sup>16</sup> David Williams, *A People's History of the Civil War: Struggles for the Meaning of Freedom* (New York, 2005), 146.

<sup>17</sup> Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Soldiers' Records, Valley of the Shadow.

Union, and they trusted Mr Lincoln, and they were ready to do their share.”<sup>18</sup>

Sometimes the call to war was simpler. Samuel B. Franklin from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on the county line with Franklin County, lived by the rail line. He reported, “every train had soldiers . . . going to the front or returning . . . and I could hardly keep from going along. I bore this up until the fall of 1861”—when he enlisted in the Seventy-Seventh Pennsylvania Infantry.<sup>19</sup>

It is likely that the youths of Franklin County responded to the war in similar ways and for similar reasons as others across the country, although very little is known about the thoughts of the county’s youngest recruits. These young men played no part in prewar decisions, in the political processes that brought America to flashpoint, or in the partisan rhetoric of community debate. Instead of making the gradual transition from adolescent to adult—finishing school, completing apprenticeships, and establishing the beginnings of a work history—they stepped directly into a decidedly adult arena.

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By the late 1850s there were over two hundred schools with about nine thousand students in Franklin County. Most children attended the public schools, with nearly 79 percent of those aged five to fifteen in class, in line with the northern average of 75–80 percent.<sup>20</sup> School attendance in the year leading up to the 1860 census was higher for underage recruits (83 percent) than for legal enlistees (60 percent) in 1861 and 1862. While most political socialization of children occurred around home and hearth, local schools were also important in instilling in children an understanding of political processes.<sup>21</sup> Students learned the fundamentals of representative government, and by the time they left school they had a basic knowledge of how the system worked. A resolution from teachers in

<sup>18</sup> Theodore F. Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea: The Civil War Letters, Diaries and Reminiscences of Theodore F. Upson* (Bloomington, IN, 1958), xxiv; Jesse Bowman Young, *What a Boy Saw in the Army: A Story of Sight-seeing and Adventure in the War for the Union* (New York, 1894), 15.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves, “*Seeing the Elephant*”: *Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh* (Westport, CT, 1989), 31.

<sup>20</sup> *Valley Spirit*, Feb. 9, 1859.

<sup>21</sup> Phillip Shaw Paludan, *A People’s Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861–1865*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence, KS, 1996), 11.

Greencastle, published in 1862, demonstrates the politicization of education in the county: “setting aside all feelings of prejudice that may have sprung out of party sentiment,” it called for support of President Lincoln and the war effort and condemned the “evil” of states’ rights and secession.<sup>22</sup> While many enlistees had left school by then, others may have absorbed their teachers’ patriotic exhortations in their lessons.

Because the economy of the county was heavily reliant on agriculture, much of the employment available to boys was unskilled labor or farm work that required a level of physical maturity. The Pennsylvania child labor laws of the 1830s and of 1849 were enacted primarily to protect children working in the emerging textile and mining industries and to ensure that working children received some education.<sup>23</sup> Although there was some heavy industry in Franklin County there were no large factories or textile mills, and child labor was not an issue, although children continued to contribute unpaid labor to rural households. Older youths in paid employment as farmhands or laborers were still able to attend school for at least a short time each year, and many youths drifted between school and paid seasonal employment.

Although most recruits had attended school, over 50 percent of the underage soldiers of 1861 were also involved in paid employment, although this dropped to just over a quarter in 1862. Almost three-quarters of all legal enlistees were employed, with most working as either unskilled laborers or farmhands or apprenticed in trades, though it is not known whether employment was part time or full time. For youths in rural areas, this may have been seasonal work.

The phenomenon of boys following fathers, brothers, friends, or neighbors into military service may have been a significant factor in youth enlistment. While some young boys did follow older brothers into service, in many cases the youngest were the first to volunteer, with sometimes tragic consequences. On February 12, 1862, fourteen-year-old Joseph Mentzer Jr. enlisted for a three-year term in Company K, 107th Pennsylvania Infantry. Four days later his father, Joseph Mentzer Sr.,

<sup>22</sup> Franklin County: “Resolutions,” by Unknown, Sept. 3, 1915, in *Valley of the Shadow*, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/mem/FM0043>. Originally published in *Greencastle Pilot*, Nov. 13, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> Dirk Krueger and Jessica Tjornhom, “Economic Inequality and the Emergence of Child Labor Laws,” Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper No. 01-36 (Stanford, CA, 2002), 4–5, <http://www-siepr.stanford.edu/papers/pdf/01-36.pdf>; Kenneth C. Wolensky and Judith Rich, “Child Labor in Pennsylvania,” *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 43* (Harrisburg, PA, 1998), [http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/things/4280/child\\_labor/478193](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/things/4280/child_labor/478193).

enlisted in the same unit, leaving behind his wife and four other children. Mentzer Sr. was killed at Antietam in September 1862, while his son survived to reenlist, to briefly desert and return to his unit, and to muster out at war's end.<sup>24</sup>

Those who followed fathers and brothers often did so not because they were left behind but because they shared the same values and beliefs as their family members, and they volunteered as equals. Joseph Michaels, a seventeen-year-old day laborer from the South Ward of Chambersburg, enlisted in Company K in early 1862, three weeks after his older brother John, and ten days after his father Christian. The three served together, leaving behind Joseph's mother and six siblings. Joseph and John fought together, were both wounded at Gettysburg, and mustered out in 1865. Christian was medically discharged in mid-1862 but reenlisted twice more. Another older brother, William, enlisted in 1864. The Michaels, as a family, felt strongly enough to potentially sacrifice four of their number, with Christian legally too old to enlist at age forty-six and Joseph too young at seventeen.<sup>25</sup>

The mass recruitment drives of 1862 saw several groups of brothers enlist on the same day and serve in the same unit: the Bowman brothers, George, fifteen, John, seventeen, and Calvin, nineteen, the sons of a poor blacksmith from Washington Township, enlisted together in Company E, 126th Pennsylvania Infantry. Eighteen-year-old Hiram and sixteen-year-old Ferdinand Senseny, sons of a wealthy carpenter from the South Ward of Chambersburg, joined the 126th Pennsylvania together, as did the Dunkle brothers, Solomon, aged eighteen, and Michael, aged nineteen, sons of a carpenter from Fannett.<sup>26</sup>

Seeing friends and neighbors in uniform undoubtedly inspired some youths to volunteer, but of the 1861 recruits, only nine had neighbors who enlisted during the war, and five of these neighbors joined in later years. As with family enlistment, it appears that the youngest often joined first, and so enlistment of neighbors had little influence on early youth volunteers. In 1862, a higher proportion of legal recruits had neighbors who were in service during the war; however, with large numbers of men enlisting in the same regiments within days or weeks of each other, it is difficult to determine the role of peer pressure in youth enlistment.

<sup>24</sup> *1860 Census*; Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 3.

<sup>25</sup> *1860 Census*.

<sup>26</sup> *1860 Census*; Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Soldiers' Records, Valley of the Shadow.

While social and economic status and other demographic details can be gleaned from the census, it is difficult to ascertain the political affiliations of the households in which the young men lived. The voting outcomes in townships across the county for the 1860 presidential election, however, may give a broad view of the political sympathies of the recruits, even though they were too young to vote in that election and some were still too young to vote at war's end.

Support for President Lincoln came largely from the broad middle section of the county—the areas with highest farm values—and from places with sizeable black populations, particularly Southampton and the South Ward of Chambersburg. Over 80 percent of eligible Franklin County voters went to the polls in the 1860 election, with 56 percent supporting Lincoln; first-time voters—young men under age twenty-five—particularly supported Lincoln.<sup>27</sup> Initial reviews suggest that regions of Franklin County with Republican sympathies sent more young men as soldiers, supporting Kemp's assertion based upon his study of New Hampshire towns that political affiliation could be an enlistment predictor.<sup>28</sup> The political outcome of the 1860 election is not always indicative of enlistment trends, however: York County, just sixty miles east of Franklin County, had an overall Democrat vote of 52 percent, yet the enlistment rate across that county was much greater than for Franklin.<sup>29</sup> Areas in Franklin County with Democrat sympathies, such as Warren in the southwest, Fannett in the north, and Lurgan in the northeast, also sent significant numbers of recruits. The relatively high number of enlistees from these areas who came from household with assets valued at over two thousand dollars—some with significantly higher value—may also support Kemp's suggestion that those with high-status employment (and therefore higher asset value) were likely to have Republican affiliations.<sup>30</sup> These households included asset-poor youths living away from parental homes and influence, residing with employers where they might be influenced by different political opinions.

<sup>27</sup> Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America, 1859–1863* (New York, 2003), 82.

<sup>28</sup> Kemp, "Community and War," 41–44.

<sup>29</sup> Mark A. Snell, "If They Would Know What I Know It Would be Pretty Hard to Raise One Company in York: Recruiting, the Draft, and Society's Response in York County, Pennsylvania, 1861–1865," in *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front: Wartime Experiences, Postwar Adjustments*, ed. Paul A. Cimbal and Randall M. Miller (New York, 2002), 72.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

Using prewar political data as enlistment determinants becomes more problematic, however, for years later in the conflict. Political debate within the county became increasingly heated, and the vigorous partisan campaigns for the state and local elections in 1862 saw a swing to the Democrats. The two major newspapers, the Republican *Franklin Repository* and the Democratic *Valley Spirit*, although extremely partisan, both supported the war and called upon the men of Franklin to do their duty.

That the Civil War armies were politically aware has been well documented in previous studies.<sup>31</sup> The young soldiers were the products of a politicized society, and strong legacies of open political debate together with a high level of literacy ensured that the vast majority were aware, at the very least, of the broad ideologies and issues at the heart of the conflict. Very few letters written by Franklin boys remain, but one letter from Samuel Z. Maxwell, of the South Ward of Chambersburg, highlights his political awareness. Samuel enlisted at the age of eighteen in the 126th Pennsylvania Infantry in the summer of 1862 and reenlisted in the 21st Pennsylvania Cavalry in 1863. He hoped to return home on furlough at election time “so as to give AGC [Governor Andrew Curtin] my little help.”<sup>32</sup> Although Samuel claimed to be twenty-one at his initial enlistment, he was only nineteen in 1863 and unable to vote, so it is unclear what his “little help” could be.

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As the winter of 1862 turned into the spring of 1863, the war to restore the Union became a war against slavery. The manner in which it was fought also changed: it became harsher and more brutal, descending into a war of attrition.<sup>33</sup> Increased use of heavy artillery inflicted terrible damage to men and horses from a great distance, and trench warfare left men lying and dying in the mud in a hail of shot and shell.<sup>34</sup> It became

<sup>31</sup> Pete Maslowski, “A Study of Morale in Civil War Soldiers,” *Military Affairs* 34 (1970): 122–26; James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Z. Maxwell to his Aunt and Cousin, Oct. 1, 1863, Valley of the Shadow, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/papers/F0673>.

<sup>33</sup> Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Conflict in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987), 7–17.

<sup>34</sup> Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command* (Bloomington, IN, 1988), xi–xii.

harder for civilians, as economic infrastructure, including private property, became targets to harm the economy and demoralize the populace.<sup>35</sup> Fewer men volunteered; quotas were imposed on towns and villages that had already sent the best of their young men, and the draft threatened to take the rest.

The war came to Franklin County. The Confederates briefly captured Chambersburg in October 1862, giving the people of Franklin County a taste of what was to come. The county endured more enemy actions than any other Northern county, with thirteen separate incidents culminating in the razing of Chambersburg on July 30, 1864.<sup>36</sup> During the Gettysburg campaign in the summer of 1863, almost the entire Confederate army moved through Franklin County and Chambersburg. General Lee established his headquarters in Chambersburg in his preparation for the battle at Gettysburg, and nearly two-thirds of the rebel infantry camped in the town's surrounds.<sup>37</sup> Franklin County was also witness to the terrible aftermath of Gettysburg as the Confederate army retreated to Virginia through Greencastle, with an ambulance wagon train carrying over ten thousand wounded men that was seventeen miles long and took thirty hours to pass.<sup>38</sup>

In July 1864, Lieutenant General Jubal Early instructed General John McCausland to occupy Chambersburg and demand payment of five hundred thousand dollars, or one hundred thousand dollars in gold, as compensation for houses burnt in a Union raid. When the town refused to pay, McCausland followed through on his threat to "lay the town in ashes." The fire razed three-quarters of the residential and business area, destroying five hundred buildings and leaving three thousand people homeless.<sup>39</sup> Chambersburg was the only Northern town burned by the rebels during the war.

The soldiers who joined in the second stage of the war, from 1863 to 1865, under the shadow of conscription and quotas, have been described

<sup>35</sup> Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865* (New York, 1995), 3–6.

<sup>36</sup> *Military Operations of the Civil War: Guide-Index to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861–1865*, vol. 2, *Main Eastern Theater of Operations* (Washington, DC, 1968–1990), section O, Checklist of Recognized Military Operation by County/Date, 376.

<sup>37</sup> Everard Smith, "Chambersburg: Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 432–55.

<sup>38</sup> Edward L. Ayers and Anne S. Rubin, *Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War* (New York, 2000), part 1, "Eve of War," 17.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, "Chambersburg," 437, 439.

by many as somehow lesser soldiers and lesser men than the volunteers of the early years—the conscripts, the draftees, and the substitutes; the bounty men who chased the dollars.<sup>40</sup> Yet while the draft continued, men of the Northern states continued to volunteer and the young men of Franklin County continued to enlist. From 1863 onwards, the recruits enlisted for three-years, or until the end of the war. In this second stage of the war, only 105 white youths from Franklin County enlisted, less than half of the number from the first years. Only 18 joined in 1863, 69 in 1864, and 18 in 1865. Forty-three of these recruits were underage.

In the second half of the war approximately 30 percent of the recruits from the youth cohort had fathers or brothers in military service, which was higher than for the earlier enlistees. Some of this increase may be explained by the fact that most of the youngest soldiers still lived in the family home, so older brothers who still lived at home at the time of the 1860 census can be traced. Boys who had been simply too young and too small at age eleven or twelve or thirteen to volunteer with older brothers were now more able, physically at least, to follow them into the ranks. Thirty-nine percent of underage soldiers joined siblings in the army. Jeremiah Bowman, too young in 1862 to join with his older brothers George, John, and Calvin, was still legally too young at fifteen when he enlisted in 1864; Benjamin Huber, aged seventeen in 1865, followed his brother Abraham who volunteered in 1861.<sup>41</sup>

The sentiments that saw brothers enlisting together continued, with several sets of brothers enlisting and serving together. John and Martin Lutz enlisted together after the destruction of Chambersburg. They were the oldest sons of a wealthy farmer from Greene, and both boys worked as farmhands. Twenty-year-old John and nineteen-year-old Martin enlisted together in August 1864 in Company G, Two Hundredth Pennsylvania Infantry. John suffered gunshot wounds to his left hand and right leg and, in March 1865, was captured at Fort Steadman. He mustered out in May 1865. There is no record of Martin's fate.<sup>42</sup>

For some young men, the bounties were little incentive to enlist. Franklin County was growing more prosperous. The local paper reported

<sup>40</sup> Adam I. P. Smith, *The American Civil War* (New York, 2007), 147; James I. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia, SC, 1988), 37.

<sup>41</sup> *1860 Census*, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Soldiers' Records, Valley of the Shadow.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

that “trade has an impetus hitherto unknown within the experience of the present active men,” and farmers “had a succession of bountiful harvests” that brought good prices.<sup>43</sup> Local wages were high and jobs were plentiful. Joseph Upperman, a twenty-two-year-old farmhand from Letterkenny, was one of the reluctant soldiers. Joseph enlisted in early 1865, in the 103rd Pennsylvania Infantry. He delayed enlistment until the final few months of the war: perhaps the threat of the draft was too close, perhaps community pressure finally forced him to enlist, or perhaps the bounties were simply too much to resist. Joseph Upperman was one of the oldest of the age cohort, and the oldest at enlistment. It is difficult to determine what set him apart from youths of the same age who enlisted in the early years at seventeen. Joseph was not the only reluctant soldier: his older brother Jacob, who had recently joined the 21st Pennsylvania Cavalry, was suspected of having “chopped off two fingers and horribly lacerated” his trigger finger in an act of self-mutilation to get a discharge from service.<sup>44</sup> Jacob’s damaged hand did not earn him his discharge, and he mustered out after the war. Joseph mustered out in June 1865, having served for three months and seen no active duty. In 1890 he received a pension. The enthusiasm or sense of duty and service that sent many family groups into the army was not shared by all. It is difficult to determine how many other youths were reluctant to enlist, but it is likely that the Upperman brothers were not alone.

No doubt peer pressure among adolescents was in effect to a degree, but with so many boys from relatively small communities enlisting at one time, it was unavoidable that they would enlist with friends and neighbors, sometimes by accident rather than design. Less than a third of early recruits from the youth cohort and only 17 percent of those youth who enlisted after 1863 had neighbors in service. Just as peer pressure was not necessarily an enlistment trigger in the early years it was not an indicator for the second stage. Pressure to enlist most likely came from the community and the press, who tried to encourage, goad, and shame the young men of Franklin County to enlist.

More of the later recruits (88 percent of underage and 79 percent of young legal recruits) had attended school in the census year, most likely because they were younger than the boys of 1861 and ’62. Fewer were in paid employment: more legal enlistees were employed, but very few

<sup>43</sup> *Franklin Repository*, Apr. 27, 1864.

<sup>44</sup> *Franklin Repository*, Mar. 30, 1864.

underage enlistees were employed, again because they were too young at the time of the census. More youths still lived in the parental home than recruits from the early years. It appears that age-dependent factors such as school attendance and residence in the parental home are not significant enlistment indicators.

While there are only slight differences in some variables between those young men who enlisted early and those who joined the war effort in later years, there are interesting differences in head-of-household occupation and household assets, which suggests a change in the social and economic status of the young recruits. There was a significant decline in the proportion of recruits from white-collar households, dropping from 15 percent in early years to 7 percent in the period 1863 to 1865. Proportionally fewer recruits from these households were underage, with 17 percent underage in 1861–1862 and 9 percent in the later years. The proportion of boys from laborers' households almost doubled, from 13 percent in 1861–1862 to 24 percent in 1863–1865, and proportionally more of the later group were underage. The percentage of youths from farming households fell marginally, from 36 percent to 35 percent: as more hired farmhands enlisted, farmers may have been unwilling to send their sons to war in times of good harvests and a labor shortage. The overall number of enlistees from tradesmen's households also fell slightly, from 30 to 28 percent, although in 1863–1865 almost one-third of legal enlistees were sons of tradesmen. The proportion of underage recruits who were tradesmen's sons fell from 31 percent to 21 percent. The overall percentage of youths from households where the head was unemployed remained steady at 6 percent, but the distribution changed markedly: in the early years 6 percent of both underage and legal enlistees were from these households, while in 1863–1865 the proportion of underage recruits from households where the head was not employed doubled to 12 percent and for legal enlistees fell to 2 percent.

The distribution of household assets was quite broad, but there was a distinct downward trend across most value categories that echoes the downward shift in occupational status. The proportion of boys from households with assets valued between \$200 and \$499 rose significantly, from 13 percent to 25 percent, while the percentage from households with assets valued between \$1,000 and \$1,999 rose marginally. The proportion of those with assets valued between \$500 and \$999 and of those with more than \$2,000 decreased. The pattern of household asset value among

later recruits confirms suggestions that the war continued to be fought by sons of working men.

The change in the objective of the war, from restoration of the Union to emancipation and abolition of slavery, fueled much of the political debate in the county, and indeed across the North. Some townships that had demonstrated strong Republican affiliation in the 1860 presidential election, such as Greene, near Chambersburg, and Metal on the western county line, sent proportionately more young men, although this was not the case for all Republican areas. The nonagricultural areas of Greencastle, the South Ward of Chambersburg, and the Borough of Chambersburg all sent considerably fewer youths than in the early years. Surprisingly, the Democratic stronghold in the north of the county, Fannett, sent proportionately more than most Republican townships. It may be that in the staunchly Democratic townships of Lurgan in the northeast and Fannett in the north, higher enlistment was due in part to the rush to fill quotas before the sting of the draft. In areas of lower farm value, the bounties may have been an attractive inducement. It is difficult to identify clear political triggers, however, as the 1862 local and state elections saw a marked swing to the Democrats. It does appear that party political issues played a less significant role than in the first part of the war.

Debate continued in the local press regarding the conduct of the war and the changing objectives of the government: although Franklin County was not a hotbed of Copperhead (antiwar Democratic) activism, four of its six neighboring counties were centers of strong antiwar sentiment, and it was inevitable that Copperhead sentiments would flow into Franklin County.<sup>45</sup> There was also an increasing disengagement from the war by the very rich and the very poor, and this was reflected in a downward shift in the social status of recruits. More middle-class and white-collar families became reluctant to send their sons and more youths from working-class and laboring households enlisted. The war had dragged on much longer than anyone had expected, Union victory was not imminent, and enlistment was being shaped by more than patriotic ideals.

It is possible that youths from economically marginal circumstances enlisted in response to increasing bounties offered by the federal government and bolstered by state and local authorities. By January 1864, enlist-

<sup>45</sup> Arnold M. Shankman, *The Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement, 1861–1865* (London, 1980), 19n4.

ment bounties were as high as three hundred dollars from federal sources, with an extra two hundred dollars from the Borough of Chambersburg.<sup>46</sup> Local papers stressed the importance of enlisting in Franklin County, as chasing higher bounties elsewhere increased the burden of quotas on fewer men and excluded families from the support of local volunteer benefit funds.<sup>47</sup>

The timing of enlistments in 1863 and 1864 suggests that the Confederate invasions were significant triggers, as all of the recruits of 1863 enlisted after Lee's invasion and the Gettysburg campaign. The areas most affected by the 1863 invasion, and which took the brunt of massive stock and property losses, however, appeared to initially send fewer young men to be soldiers, with only one youth from Chambersburg and one from Mercersburg enlisting.

The recruits of 1864 were subject to two major triggers. The increased federal bounty was offered to those who enlisted between October 23, 1863, and April 1, 1864, after which it dropped back to one hundred dollars. In Franklin County, thirty-six youths enlisted in the first three months of the year: eighteen were underage and nineteen were from households with assets valued at less than five hundred dollars. Ten of the boys were sons of laborers and ten were farmers' sons. Only three were living away from the parental home in 1860. The youths were responding more to the attraction of the bounties than to fear of conscription, as the draft called for men aged between twenty and forty-five and the majority of youths in the cohort examined were too young to be conscripted. By April 15, the recruitment push boosted by increased bounties had almost filled enlistment quotas in Greencastle, both boroughs of Chambersburg, and Mercersburg, all of which had suffered losses in Lee's invasion.<sup>48</sup>

After the destruction of Chambersburg, the borough requested an exemption from the upcoming draft, and on September 6, 1864, the request was granted "by reason of the calamity suffered by the citizens of Chambersburg from the enemy."<sup>49</sup> Despite this, enlistment increased in and around Chambersburg; more youths enlisted after the destruction of the town than in the first half of the year, with over forty boys from the

<sup>46</sup> Franklin County: "General Information for Soldiers and their Heirs, Entitled to Old Bounty," Jan. 18, 1870, Valley of the Shadow, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/mem/FM0064>; *Valley Spirit*, Jan. 13, 1864.

<sup>47</sup> *Franklin Repository*, Feb. 17, 1864.

<sup>48</sup> *Valley Spirit*, May 4, 1864.

<sup>49</sup> *Official Records*, ser. 3, 4:642, 698.

studied cohort enlisting in just six weeks. Fourteen recruits were underage, and most came from the townships on the eastern side of the county, which felt the force of the invasion.

Many of the boys enlisting in 1864 and 1865 were considerably younger than the legal age: approximately 19 percent of the recruits from 1863 to 1865 were aged twelve years or younger in 1860. The youngest, William Gruber, who was nine at the time of census, enlisted at the age of thirteen in January 1864. William was the second son of a poor laborer from the borough of Orrstown, and he enlisted in the 185th Regiment, 22nd Pennsylvania Cavalry as a bugler, claiming to be eighteen.<sup>50</sup> He did not follow family members or immediate neighbors. He might have just been chasing adventure or the increased bounties.

All those who enlisted in 1865 did so over a four-week period from mid-February to mid-March. The end of the war was imminent, and the bounties were still on offer, so for some youths, enlistment may have been opportunistic: there was little chance that the late enlistees would have to face any combat. For those looking for adventure, enlistment at this time offered a chance to be a part of something worthwhile without the extreme peril that earlier recruits faced. Eighteen boys enlisted in 1865, and only five were underage. All were from rural areas, and most were from the northern and central townships.

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Any discussion of youth enlistment in Franklin County—or indeed of any enlistment in the Union army in the later years of the war—needs to consider black military participation as both a discrete issue as well as an important part of the broader narrative. The texts that explore black military service mainly focus on the freedmen from the South and their transformation from slaves to Union soldiers and free men.<sup>51</sup> There is little or no discussion of African American youth enlistment in these texts. The presence of very young men in black regiments or as camp followers is acknowledged but—as in works on white soldiers—there is little specifically about youth or underage enlistment. Likewise, Dennis

<sup>50</sup> *1860 Census*; Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Soldiers' Records, Valley of the Shadow.

<sup>51</sup> Martin H. Blatt, Thomas J. Brown, and Donald Yacovone, eds., *Hope and Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment* (Amherst, MA, 2000); Versalle F. Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War* (Columbia, SC, 1999); Keith Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom* (Kent, OH, 2002).

Keesee's text on youth enlistment mentions the United States Colored Troops (USCT) only in the context of the white youths who became its officers and ignores the black youths who were enlisted in these regiments.<sup>52</sup> Just as white youths enlisted as Union soldiers, and found no favoritism because of their age, African American boys across the North enlisted in the regiments organized in Massachusetts in 1863 and in later USCT units raised in their home states.

At the beginning of the war African Americans were told that there was no place in the Union army for them, that they could not and would not fight, that it was a "white man's war," and that they were not wanted. In 1862, when President Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more men, they were again rebuffed.<sup>53</sup> In early 1863, as debate raged around the issue of black enlistment following President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts authorized the formation of black regiments.<sup>54</sup> These were not the first black units, as in the summer of 1862 African American troops were recruited in Union-occupied Kansas, South Carolina, and Louisiana, but they were the first to be organized in Northern states.<sup>55</sup> After the successful muster of the Massachusetts regiments, the Bureau of Colored Troops was created in late May 1863, placing the organization and recruitment of black regiments under federal authority, and on June 30 the First Regiment, United States Colored Troops (USCT) was mustered in at Washington, DC.<sup>56</sup> By the end of the war over 160 regiments had been organized, including twelve heavy and ten light artillery batteries and seven cavalry regiments.<sup>57</sup>

The young black men who enlisted did so under different circumstances, different terms, and with different expectations than their white counterparts. They were not permitted to enlist until early 1863, and even then their ability as fighters and soldiers was openly questioned. They served in segregated regiments, were commanded by white officers, and were unable to become officers themselves.

<sup>52</sup> Dennis M. Keesee, *Too Young to Die: Boy Soldiers of the Union Army* (Huntington, WV, 2001), 128, 175, 139.

<sup>53</sup> Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC, 1988), ix, 2, 10.

<sup>54</sup> Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies*, 365.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Official Records*, ser. 3, 5:255; Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers*, x.

<sup>57</sup> Noah Andre Trudeau, "Proven Themselves in Every Respect to Be Men: Black Cavalry in the Civil War," in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era*, ed. John David Smith (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 277.

Franklin County had a prewar African American population of 1,800, the fifth highest in Pennsylvania, and 80 percent of the county's black residents had been born in the county.<sup>58</sup> Nearly 440 lived in the South Ward of Chambersburg and about 330 lived in Montgomery, while nearly 100 lived in Mercersburg, an important point on the Underground Railroad.<sup>59</sup> African American men in Pennsylvania had been disenfranchised in 1838 by court ruling and by a revision of the state constitution, but the areas in which they lived demonstrated very strong support among the white population for the Republicans in the 1860 election.<sup>60</sup> It is open to speculation, however, as to whether they settled in areas that were sympathetic to antislavery or whether their presence encouraged Republican and abolitionist principles.

A recruiting officer from the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry visited Franklin County in early 1863 but, according to the local Democratic newspaper, "did not obtain a single recruit."<sup>61</sup> The paper disparaged the local black population as unwilling and unfit to fight, claiming "they will have to be drafted, if obtained at all."<sup>62</sup> Less than a month later, in April 1863, the same newspaper reported that "some forty or fifty black recruits for the Massachusetts regiments left . . . for Boston"; while the editors were "only too glad to get rid of these worthless negroes," they protested the notion that the recruits would be credited to Massachusetts quotas while "free white male citizens" would be forced to fill local quotas.<sup>63</sup>

In the spring of 1863, forty-five men from the county joined the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry, with thirty-three from Mercersburg alone, and thirteen joined the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts Infantry. Eleven more men who were born in Franklin County also enlisted, giving the county one of the highest per capita enlistment rates for the new regiments.<sup>64</sup> This contrasts starkly with the slow initial enlistments for white soldiers at the start of the war.

The act of volunteering—stepping forward to accept one's duty to defend community and country—was long considered a measure of man-

<sup>58</sup> *1860 Census*.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*; Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies*, 14–15.

<sup>60</sup> *Valley Spirit*, Nov. 14, 1860.

<sup>61</sup> *Valley Spirit*, Mar. 25, 1863.

<sup>62</sup> *Valley Spirit*, Mar. 18, 1863.

<sup>63</sup> *Valley Spirit*, Apr. 29, 1863.

<sup>64</sup> Edwin S. Redkey, "Brave Black Volunteers: A Profile of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment," in *Hope and Glory*, 27; Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies*, 367.

hood.<sup>65</sup> The roles of soldier and citizen were tightly interwoven, yet they were explicitly denied to African Americans by federal legislation of 1792 restricting militia service exclusively to white men.<sup>66</sup> Military service was long regarded as a coming-of-age experience for white youths, but for black soldiers it was an opportunity to be considered men deserving of citizenship and equality in the eyes of the white population. For African American communities, the enlistment of so many of their sons was a declaration that, although they were seen as separate from the white population, they were an important part of the fabric of Franklin County and were prepared to assume the same responsibilities as their white neighbors for the defense of their county and country.

It is difficult to apply the same criteria as for white soldiers when trying to identify the young black men from Franklin County who enlisted. The first African American regiments were credited to Massachusetts simply because black soldiers were unable to enlist at home. For this study, those black recruits who claimed Franklin County as their birthplace or as their residence at enlistment and who can be located in the county in the 1860 federal census, are included, irrespective of the place of enlistment. There were 188 black boys aged ten to seventeen recorded as residents in the 1860 census, and thirty-one became soldiers. Twenty-two youths, including eight who were underage, enlisted in 1863, with most rushing to join the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, suggesting that had they been permitted, they may have enlisted sooner.<sup>67</sup> Like black soldiers across the North, the African American youths of Franklin County enlisted at a proportionately higher rate than the white youths, with over 16 percent of the black age cohort enlisting compared to 9 percent of the white age cohort. Because only thirty-one recruits can be identified with some degree of confidence, definite conclusions are difficult, though some interesting insights about the characteristics of the youngest USCT from Franklin County can be gleaned.

Of the recruits identified, thirteen (42 percent) were underage at the time of enlistment and eighteen (58 percent) were of legal age: the youngest was twelve, but claimed to be seventeen at enlistment in 1864,

<sup>65</sup> Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York, 1993), 12.

<sup>66</sup> Ira Berlin, Joseph Patrick Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (New York, 1998), 5.

<sup>67</sup> Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served with the United States Colored Troops, Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, National Archives, Washington, DC, microfilm series M1898 (hereafter USCT Records).

and the oldest was twenty. The average age was 17.4 years, which was older than the mean age for the white cohort, but that is due in part to later enlistment. At least three of the black enlistees were among the very youngest of all soldiers from Franklin County (in the 1860 census David Little was only eight, Joseph Christy was nine, and Shadrack Campbell was ten).

Recruitment officials who had turned a blind eye to white underage recruits were often even less scrupulous when enlisting African Americans, as long as they were physically fit and close to minimum height. Seven enlistees were openly underage and only one was a musician. Isaac Williams was fifteen but claimed to be seventeen in 1864, and as a black musician in the Twenty-Fifth USCT he had to pay for the numbers and letters for his bugle, unlike white musicians.<sup>68</sup>

Very few recruits had immediate neighbors in military service: rather than follow neighbors, the nature of black communities meant that extended family groups and church congregations enlisted together. While not all enlistment documents and muster rolls are complete, it is interesting to note that all of the recruits were under twenty-one, and therefore legally minors, at enlistment, but only one, eighteen-year-old John Campbell, had written parental permission.<sup>69</sup> Although a similar consent form cannot be located for his younger brother, Shadrack Campbell, who enlisted in 1865, John's parents' consent does suggest that the decision of the Campbell brothers to enlist was not opportunistic, but well considered and deliberate. At the time of John's enlistment, verbal parental consent was adequate, so written permission indicates family endorsement. It does not appear that other Campbell brothers enlisted, however, which suggests that although there was family endorsement of John's and Shadrack's enlistments, the decision to volunteer was an individual one.

John and Shadrack Campbell were the fifth and seventh sons of William Campbell, a forgerman from Quincy, a rural township with a black population of only forty-three. The Campbell family was one of only two black families to own real estate in Quincy, and they had the highest total asset value at \$920.<sup>70</sup> John enlisted in the Twenty-Fifth USCT for three years in January 1864 and served for a time as a clerk in

<sup>68</sup> USCT Records, M1823, roll 97.

<sup>69</sup> USCT Records, M1823, roll 98.

<sup>70</sup> *1860 Census*.

the office of the acting assistant adjutant general until he mustered out in December 1865.<sup>71</sup> Shadrack joined in February 1865, aged fifteen, as a substitute for a white draftee. He was tall at five feet eight inches and most likely worked as a laborer or a forge hand with his father, so would have been physically fit. Shadrack was assigned to the Second USCT Cavalry until he mustered out in February 1866.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to the Campbell brothers, there were five other sets of brothers who enlisted, and another five recruits had older brothers in service, and as was the case for white enlistees, the younger siblings often enlisted first. The enlistment of brothers suggests that the decision to volunteer, in many cases, may have been a family decision and that families who made the commitment to participate were prepared to lose more than one son. The Krunkleton family of Mercersburg sent four sons to enlist in the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry: two older sons, William and Wesley, who had left home; Cyrus, age nineteen; and James, age seventeen. On July 16, 1863, just two months after enlistment, at James Island, South Carolina, Wesley, William, and James were wounded, and Cyrus was killed in action.<sup>73</sup> Their youngest brother, fifteen-year-old Zacharias, enlisted in early 1864 in the Twenty-Fifth USCT.<sup>74</sup>

The Watson brothers, eighteen-year-old Hezekiah and twenty-year-old Jacob, were from Mercersburg, and both were employed. Hezekiah was a quarryman, and Jacob worked with his father as a butcher. They still lived at home with their parents in 1860, and although their father owned assets worth a modest six hundred dollars, he was one of only five black men to own real estate in Mercersburg, and he was the wealthiest.<sup>75</sup> Hezekiah and Jacob enlisted within a few weeks of each other in early 1863, joining the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, and both were promoted, Jacob to sergeant and Hezekiah to corporal. The brothers both served with distinction, and Hezekiah was wounded at Fort Wagner in South Carolina in July 1863. Fortunately both survived the war, and after mustering out in 1865 they returned to Franklin County.<sup>76</sup> Their older brother, Parker, enlisted in September 1864 in the 127th USCT.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>71</sup> USCT Records, M1823, roll 98.

<sup>72</sup> USCT Records, M1817, roll 19.

<sup>73</sup> USCT Records, M1898, roll 10; Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies*, 367.

<sup>74</sup> USCT Records, M1823, roll 85.

<sup>75</sup> *1860 Census*.

<sup>76</sup> *1860 Census*; USCT Records, M1898, rolls 17, 20.

<sup>77</sup> USCT Records, M589, roll 92.

William Little of the South Ward of Chambersburg was the oldest son of a laborer of modest means who owned real estate valued at three hundred dollars.<sup>78</sup> Sixteen-year-old William enlisted in the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts in late March 1863, claiming to be twenty. He had worked as a laborer and may have passed for being older. After enlistment he was quickly promoted to corporal and then to sergeant two months later, but he was reduced in rank for incompetency a year later.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps he was just too young to be a sergeant in a fighting regiment in the Union army in wartime. His younger brother David, aged twelve, enlisted in the Forty-Fifth USCT in 1864, claiming to be seventeen. Neither of the boys attended school, but both were literate. Both survived the war.<sup>80</sup>

African American children in Franklin County had low school attendance rates—42 percent of black children attended school in 1860 compared to 79 percent of white children—and this was reflected in school attendance of the recruits. Only 31 percent of underage and 44 percent of legal enlistees in the age cohort were in school in 1860. Two-thirds of legal enlistees were employed, while only three of the underage recruits were in paid employment. Some of the legal recruits who were employed also attended school for at least part of the year.

Although nearly 85 percent of young black recruits were from households with assets valued at less than one hundred thousand dollars, twenty boys came from households that owned real estate and sixteen were sons of those households rather than employees. Though not rich, these were well-established, settled families. No recruit came from a household that had no assets. These facts suggests that, just as most white enlistees did not come from the poorest households, the young black men who responded came from relatively comfortable families; it was not necessarily the “poor and ragged” recruits who lined up to enlist.<sup>81</sup> Similar findings from Ohio, where other black regiments were organized, indicate that Northern black recruits were generally literate, employed, and from families that were well established in their communities.<sup>82</sup>

The employment opportunities for black men in Franklin County, like in most other counties in the North, were limited in general to low-

<sup>78</sup> *1860 Census*.

<sup>79</sup> USCT Records, M1898, roll 11.

<sup>80</sup> *1860 Census*; UCST Records, M589, roll 54..

<sup>81</sup> John David Smith, “Let Us All Be Grateful That We Have Colored Troops That Will Fight,” in *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 29.

<sup>82</sup> Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, 14.

status, low-paid jobs such as day laborer, or to very physically demanding and dirty trades such as butchering or blacksmithing. This reality is reflected in head-of-household occupations: no recruits came from white-collar households.

Despite there being only one farmer's son, most of the enlistees were from rural areas, as most of the African American population lived on the outskirts of towns; there were only four from the larger centers of Greencastle and the South Ward of Chambersburg. Five were from Montgomery and seven came from Mercersburg. While white enlistment demonstrated a downward shift in economic status in the latter part of the war, there does not appear to be a similar downward shift for African American enlistees. However, this may be due to the small sample size.

Although all the Franklin recruits were born in Pennsylvania, ten (32 percent) had at least one parent whose birthplace was in a slave state. The connection to slavery only a generation removed, the closeness to the Mason-Dixon Line (only five miles from Greencastle), and the constant flow of fugitive slaves through the county all served as reminders that freedom could not be taken for granted.

For those who enlisted after the Confederate invasion of the county, their decisions may have been more complex. While their idealism may not have diminished, it may have been tempered by awareness of the conditions under which the USCT served, with poor supplies and the possibly fatal consequences of capture. They were also aware of the real risks of war. To enlist also meant leaving families with fewer resources with which to endure subsequent invasions.

Later enlistees also had the opportunity to enlist closer to home: nine of the cohort enlisted in the USCT in Chambersburg, which may indicate opportunistic enlistment. Some of the younger enlistees who were entering the workforce may have faced competition for the lower-paid menial jobs from former slaves who were pouring into the North, and the bounty offered to all enlistees may have been tempting to those from poorer households. Four of the recruits, including two of the youngest enlistees—David Little and Shadrack Campbell—were substitutes for white draftees.

By the end of the war, the young USCT soldiers from Franklin County had acquitted themselves well, although some paid the ultimate price. Jacob Slider, aged seventeen, died from wounds received at New Market Heights in Virginia, and Stanley Johnson died from wounds at

Morris Island in South Carolina. Eighteen-year-old Newman Raimer died from disease at Morris Island, and Cyrus Krunkleton was killed in action at James Island, South Carolina. Thomas Phoenix, aged twenty, received a shell wound in the back at Petersburg and was admitted to the Colored Troops Hospital at City Point, Virginia. The hospital was taken by Confederates, and there is no further record of Thomas.<sup>83</sup> William Christy was first reported “wounded and missing since the battle at Olustee, Florida, February 20, 1864,” and it was later noted that he was “supposed to have died in hands of enemy.”<sup>84</sup>

Seven of the African American soldiers were wounded, and all of those who died or were wounded enlisted in 1863. Of the thirteen who enlisted in the Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts regiments in early 1863, four died and six sustained wounds, resulting in an extremely high casualty rate of 77 percent. As these two regiments were the first to be organized in the North, much was expected of them, and they were sent into sometimes unwinnable situations to prove that African American soldiers could, and would, fight. They bore the brunt of some of the most ferocious Confederate fighting and so suffered high casualties. None of the soldiers who enlisted in 1864 and 1865 were casualties, possibly because of their shorter time in military service, or possibly because they were in regiments that were assigned more fatigue duty, and so faced less combat. These regiments were also part of the occupation troops stationed in the Southern states after the end of the war, and although they faced other perils, they were not in combat.

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From across Franklin County nearly three thousand men, black and white, enlisted over the course of the war. Overall, 381 youths enlisted, with 350 white and 31 black youths. Approximately 9 percent of the white and 16 percent of the black youth cohorts enlisted. Over the course of the war 203 youths enlisted legally and 178 were underage when they volunteered; only 20 percent of underage enlistees declared their true age. These figures suggests that estimates in previous studies that rely on soldiers' self-reported information have grossly underestimated the true number of underage soldiers in the Union army.

<sup>83</sup> USCT Records, M1823, roll 51.

<sup>84</sup> USCT Records, M1898, roll 3.

Enlistment was linked to political affiliation, with townships that voted for the Republicans in the 1860 election sending more sons. However, areas that had supported the Democrats also sent significant numbers. In all, the underage and legal young soldiers of the first stage of enlistment were drawn from the broad middle of Franklin County society, perhaps especially its Republican side.

In the second stage, from 1863 to 1865, the war became more brutal and more dangerous, and its impact was felt directly in Franklin County with the Confederate invasion in June 1863 and the razing of Chambersburg in late 1864. There were fewer enlistments. Of the 106 recruits, 10 enlisted in 1863, 78 in 1864 in response to a recruitment drive and increased bounties, and 18 in 1865. Forty-three were underage, and 63 enlisted legally.

As fewer white young men enlisted, there was a downward drift in head-of-household occupation and household asset value. The most notable shift was evident in the enlistment of sons of white-collar workers, which dropped from 15 percent to 7 percent of the cohort from the first to second stage of enlistment. There was an increasing disengagement of the very rich and the very poor, and middle-class and white-collar households seemed to have become increasingly reluctant to allow their sons to go to war. It is likely that the downward occupational and economic drift in enlistment trends was in part a result of the changing nature of the war, though the precise balance between different factors is difficult to ascertain.

The study identified thirty-one young African American men in the age cohort who enlisted, with thirteen (42 percent) underage and eighteen (58 percent) legal enlistees. Seven recruits were openly underage. These young black men enlisted at a higher rate than did white youth, and they began to volunteer as soon as they were able to in early 1863. All were freeborn, and all were born in Pennsylvania.

There were few differences between underage and legal black enlistees. Although 85 percent of enlistees were from households with assets valued at less than one thousand dollars, twenty (65 percent) were from households that owned some real estate. All of the enlistees were from households that owned some assets; they were not wealthy and in comparison with white households they were poor, but these were settled and established families of some substance in their communities. The downward social and occupational drift evident in white enlistment in the second

stage of the war was not mirrored in African American enlistment.

Family enlistment was a significant factor for African American troops as well as white troops; 54 percent of underage and 61 percent of legal black enlistees had brothers or fathers volunteering. The decision to volunteer was often a family decision, and at a time when many white families were keeping their sons at home, the families at the heart of African American communities were willing to send and potentially lose their sons.

The invasion of Franklin County in 1863 had an ambivalent influence on white enlistment, although for the black community it gave impetus to enlistment. It offered a glimpse of what a Confederate victory would mean to the free black communities. The African American enlistees had a level of political awareness, and they continued to enlist despite initial inequality and poor conditions.

The young soldiers from Franklin County were politically aware, and their enlistment was in some sense an expression of that political awareness. They acted with agency, albeit limited by deference to parental and military authority. They were not sent to war, rather they were allowed to go; it was their decision to enlist, and most went with parental knowledge, if not approval. Their story gives an insight into the homes from which they came— in Franklin County these were from the broad, middle section of the community. Undoubtedly some were pushed into service by poverty and limited aspirations. Enlistees came from all social and economic groups, and from industrial and rural regions: they were pulled into the army by local community expectations, both explicit and implicit, and by their own understanding of what was required to be a man.

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KATHLEEN SHAW

# *“We Are No Grumblers”: Negotiating State and Federal Military Service in the Pennsylvania Reserve Division*

FOR SERGEANT JOHN I. FALLER, Company A, Seventh Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry, the month of April 1864 passed splendidly. The twenty-three-year-old Philadelphia machinist began serving out the final weeks of his three-year term of service inside the defenses of Washington. In March, he wrote to his sister that he liked his duty “very well,” and he assured her that, “I am well over from head to feet and from the right hand to the left.” Because he chose not to reenlist in December, Faller looked forward to returning to his parents’ house in Carlisle and instructed his sister “to have a room fixed up for me when I get home next summer.”<sup>1</sup>

As spring began, two important items escaped Sergeant Faller’s attention. First, he made no mention of Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant’s April 17 order to suspend prisoner exchanges. A few days earlier, at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, Confederate troops had refused to accept the surrender of defeated African American soldiers, killing or massacring 231 officers and men.<sup>2</sup> Grant reasoned that if Confederate troops would not offer

<sup>1</sup> John I. Faller to sister, Mar. 13 and Jan. 31, 1864, in *Dear Folks at Home: The Civil War Letters of Leo W. Faller and John I. Faller with an Account of Andersonville*, ed. Milton E. Flower (Carlisle, PA, 1963), 110.

<sup>2</sup> The exact number massacred after the surrender of the Fort Pillow garrison is unknown. A massacre definitely occurred, but the numbers killed during the battle cannot be extracted from those killed after the fort’s surrender. The garrison had 295 white soldiers and 262 black soldiers. The garrison lost 231 killed and 100 wounded, with the black units suffering the heaviest proportion of the losses, about 170. See Albert E. Castel, “The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence,” in *Winning and Losing the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, ed. Albert Castel (Columbia, SC, 1996), 35–50 (originally published in *Civil War History* 4 [1958]: 37–50); John Cimprich, *Fort Pillow, A Civil War Massacre and Public Memory* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2005), 85; Derek W. Frisby, “Remember Fort Pillow!: Politics, Atrocity Propaganda, and the Evolution of Hard War,” in *Black Flag over Dixie: Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in the Civil War*, ed. Gregory J. W. Urwin (Carbondale, IL, 2004), 104–31.

quarter to surrendering black soldiers, then it was the Union army's obligation to hold Confederates taken in battle indefinitely to ensure the safety of African American prisoners of war. Second, Faller failed to detect the uproar in his regiment's parent unit—the Pennsylvania Reserve Division—regarding the War Department's proposal to extend its term of service beyond three years. While in winter encampment at Brandy Station, Virginia, the other regiments of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division had staged a near mutiny, protesting a War Department directive that proposed to retain the Keystone soldiers two to three months beyond their expected muster-out date. Perhaps Faller disregarded this disturbance simply because it did not matter to him whether he mustered out in May—the month designated by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—or July—the month designated by the War Department. As long as Faller remained in Washington, he could avoid the enemy's bullets and merely count down the days until he went home. However, on April 18, orders came from Major General George G. Meade directing Faller's regiment, the Seventh Reserves, and another regiment, the Eighth Reserves, to join the Army of the Potomac at Brandy Station. Fourteen days later, Faller found himself marching into the Wilderness as part of Grant's historic—and costly—Overland Campaign.

Perhaps, as Faller marched to the sound of the guns in May 1864, he might have pondered the unrest that plagued the rest of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division. The division's mutinous behavior during the previous month revealed a complexity of army service that historians of the Civil War have rarely explored. The Pennsylvania Reserve Division's remonstrance outlined a fundamental problem besetting most Union regiments in 1864: on what exact date did the three-year terms of service of the 1861 volunteers conclude? This question arose from an organizational dilemma caused by the awkward progression of Northern mobilization during the first year of the war and from the conflicting use of state and federal oaths of allegiance to muster in Union soldiers. Scholars have yet to analyze the contractual nature of the oath of allegiance in the minds of Civil War soldiers and sailors and its significance in negotiating the clumsy transition from state to federal control of the militia. In 1861, state governors called out their soldiers and transferred them into federal service. Amid the zealous "war fever" that ruled the hour, eager recruits desired to reach the front as soon as possible. They mustered into state service immediately, but due to the haphazard mobilization process, they did not muster into

federal service until weeks later. This left many unanswered questions, the most important of which, perhaps, focused on the discharge of the three-year volunteers in 1864. Because many state-organized regiments waited for weeks—even months—to receive weapons and uniforms in 1861, and therefore did not come under federal control until the end of the summer, did the War Department have the right to hold them to service until summer's end in 1864? Did volunteers' state service count toward their contractual three years of military service?

This dilemma inaugurated bitter conflict within the ranks of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division, a unit whose state service lasted nearly three months. The struggle between the Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers and the War Department reveals two important aspects of Civil War soldiery. First, it discloses the contractual way soldiers viewed their service to the government. When the Pennsylvania Reserves believed the War Department had broken its agreement with them by extending their tours of duty illegally, they rebelled, wielding rhetoric of civil disobedience and republican scorn against executive corruption. The Pennsylvania Reserve Division's mutiny in 1864 confirms what historian Amy Dru Stanley concluded in *From Bondage to Contract*, that many Unionists celebrated “a cultural code that identified contract with personal freedom and social progress.” Union soldiers, it seems, represented a specific population of Northerners who glorified military contracts, the oaths of allegiance that made them soldiers and bound them to the government.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the government's duty to Civil War soldiers is a matter of some dispute. In *For Cause and Comrades*, James McPherson reminded readers that Union soldiers exhibited a “consciousness of duty” pervasive to Victorian America. He wrote, “Victorians understood duty to be a binding moral obligation involving reciprocity: one had a duty to defend the flag under whose protection one had lived.” Indeed, while a sense of duty was enormously important to Union soldiers' military service, this concept should not be overstated. Union soldiers, as Gerald Linderman once proved, rarely accepted a “status of powerlessness” when joining the army. He reminded readers that Civil War-era mobilization was premodern and that soldiers believed that “reciprocity” bound the government to respect a volunteer's willingness to serve and, for that matter, muster out at the end of his enlistment contract. Considering the deep

<sup>3</sup> Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge, 1998), 3.

origins of soldiers' contractual obligations to the government, the incidents in the Pennsylvania Reserve Division appear to have been a part of an important legacy of egalitarianism within the American military. In studying the "contractual principles and military conduct" of New England militiamen during the Seven Years' War, Fred Anderson concluded that enlistment contracts served as the foundation of colonial soldiers' military service. Anderson stated, "[N]o contract would be changed without the mutual consent of the parties involved. An enlistment contract was no exception: any unilateral attempt to change the agreement nullified it and voided the soldier's contractual responsibilities."<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the Pennsylvania Reserve Division's mutiny uncovered latent tensions that existed between federal and state governments concerning the administrative conduct of the war. For the Pennsylvania Reserve troops, the state government provided a means to subvert unjust measures perpetrated by the War Department. While the sharing of wartime powers rarely proceeded amicably early in the war, as the conflict dragged on, federalism exacerbated the struggle between competing levels of government. In this case, both the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the War Department attempted to wield an important power—the authority to discharge soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

During the Civil War, the federal and state governments awkwardly shared administrative control of the Union army. In general, three types of soldiers served: the US Regulars (the nation's peacetime army), the US Volunteers (federal troops contracted for the wartime emergency), and the militia (the armies of the individual states). When war broke out, at first it appeared that the militia would fill the bulk of the army; however, the US Constitution provided military authorities with precious little guidance when it came to managing the militia. Article 1, section 8, allowed the federal government to "provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, [of] the Militia"—meaning state militia brought under federal control—

<sup>4</sup> James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, 1997), 22–23; Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987), 39–41; Fred W. Anderson, "Why Did Colonial New Englanders Make Bad Soldiers? Contractual Principles and Military Conduct during the Seven Years' War," in *The Military in America: From the Colonial Era to the Present*, ed. Peter Karsten (New York, 1980), 42.

<sup>5</sup> Scholarship has provided limited guidance on the importance of federalism in the Civil War North. Not since the early twentieth century, with such works as William B. Hesseltine's *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York, 1948) and Fred A. Shannon's *Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861–1865*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1928), have Civil War scholars uniformly interpreted federalism as a hindrance to Union military progress.

but it did not specify how long state militia regiments could be held under federal dominion.<sup>6</sup> Sixty-nine years earlier, in May 1792, Congress had made an effort to delineate the contours of federal power. Then, fearful that “whiskey rebels” might lead a secession of the western counties of several states, Congress had passed two militia acts that better enumerated the president’s powers as commander-in-chief. However, even as these acts had strengthened federal control of the military establishment, they imposed certain restrictions on the president’s authority. Notably, section 4 of the 1792 Militia Act limited retention of the militia to a period no longer than three months from any given year. In 1795, following the Whiskey Rebellion of the previous year, Congress amended the Militia Act to allow the president to mobilize state militia without legislative authority, but this act also gave the commander-in-chief only thirty days to relinquish control once any state legislature reconvened.<sup>7</sup>

During the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War, Congress granted the president temporary authority to call up another group of soldiers, “US Volunteers,” who could augment the federal army for a contractual length of service. US Volunteers served under federal regulations; however, during the wartime emergencies of 1812 and 1846, the federal government granted state privileges to volunteer regiments. In Pennsylvania, this meant that US Volunteers could organize themselves into companies, they could elect their officers, and the governor could commission their commanders.<sup>8</sup> Still, by swearing an oath of allegiance to the federal government, US Volunteers realized that, for better or for worse, they had entered into a contractual obligation with their national government. A sergeant who belonged to Pennsylvania’s Second Volunteer Infantry—a unit that served during the Mexican-American War—remembered the day he took the federal oath of allegiance: “We have today ceased to be ‘free and independent citizens’ and are become the

<sup>6</sup> US Constitution, article 1, section 8.

<sup>7</sup> Barry Stentiford, *The American Home Guard: The State Militia in the Twentieth Century* (College Station, TX, 2002), 6–9.

<sup>8</sup> Both the February 24, 1807, law and the February 6, 1812, law allowed the president to organize companies and regiments of “volunteers” and to appoint the field and line officers, if necessary. But if volunteer units came preorganized—meaning with officers appointed by the governors—the president was bound to accept them as offered. Likewise, the May 13, 1846, law specifically decreed that unit organization and officer appointment had to follow the laws of the states. John F. Callan, *Military Laws of the United States, Relating to the Army, Volunteers, Militia, and to Bounty Lands and Pensions* (Philadelphia, 1863), 198–99, 215, 367–68.

property of Uncle Sam, who has the sole and exclusive right to our labor, lives and all our energies.”<sup>9</sup>

The US Volunteer acts of 1812 and 1846 did not outlast their respective conflicts; they were temporary measures, not permanent changes to the federal government’s mobilization policy. The federal government had no other military statutes to direct control of volunteers until 1862, when the manpower needs caused by the Civil War propelled Congress to pass legislation to supervise state-level mobilization, though this too fell short of total federal control. Drafted by Radical Republicans in the throes of military defeat, the Militia Act of July 17, 1862, granted the federal government the authority to recruit African Americans for federal service and empowered the president to demand conscription from governors if their states did not meet troop requirements. Although highly controversial and seemingly devised to increase the military powers of the president, the Militia Act of 1862 did little to tamper with state authority. Under this act’s provisions, state governors—and not the War Department—had the power to execute and regulate conscription. It was not until March 1863—nearly a year after the Confederacy had enacted its own draft law—that Congress legalized the right of the federal executive to initiate and regulate a national draft.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, between the passage of the 1795 Militia Act and the early years of the Civil War, military legislation primarily occurred at the state level. Regularly, states revised or altered their military edicts to cope with local problems arising from state defense, and Pennsylvania’s example offered few exceptions to this trend. Like the federal Constitution, the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838 offered vague language in rendering the military powers of the governor, declaring only, “He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of this Commonwealth, and of the

<sup>9</sup> Between 1794 and 1862, Congress had passed legislation that enabled the president to call up US Volunteers to augment the regular army. These statutes held Volunteers in service for the twelve months or, in the case of the Mexican-American War, for twelve months or the duration of the war. Two calls in the winter of 1812 allowed President James Madison to call 30,000 US Volunteers for one year. During this call, 4,730 Pennsylvanians served as volunteers. During the Mexican-American War, congressional legislation passed on May 13, 1846, allowed President James K. Polk to call up 50,000 US Volunteers. Although the War Department originally set Pennsylvania’s volunteer quota at six regiments, in November 1846, the secretary of war reduced that quota to two regiments, or 2,000 officers and men. These acts from the War of 1812 and Mexican-American War lasted no longer than the duration of their respective conflicts. Samuel J. Newland, *The Pennsylvania Militia: Defending the Commonwealth and the Nation, 1669–1870* (Annville, PA, 2002), 168–72, 199–203; Allen Peskin, ed., *Volunteers: Mexican War Journals of Private Richard Coulter and Sergeant Thomas Barclay, Company E, Second Pennsylvania Infantry* (Kent, OH, 1991), 13.

<sup>10</sup> James Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War* (DeKalb, IL, 1991), 35.

militia, except when they shall be called into the actual service of the United States.”<sup>11</sup> During Pennsylvania’s first seventy-four years of statehood, the legislature generated more detailed specifications, adjusting Pennsylvania’s militia law nine times between 1793 and 1861. Four revisions came in the 1850s, and another minor amendment passed on April 21, 1861, just six days after Lincoln made his first call for troops to subdue the Southern rebellion. The largest alteration of the Pennsylvania militia law occurred on April 21, 1858, and expanded the statute to more than one hundred sections.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike vague federal decrees, state militia laws—including those from Pennsylvania—offered complex dissertations on the proper procedures for the enrollment, organization, provisioning, disciplining, and administration of state-level “armies.” The 1858 revisions made it clear that Pennsylvania held sole accountability when it came to readying its militia for federal service. A section added during the 1822 legislative session, and still in effect at the Civil War’s commencement, confirmed, “Whenever any portion of the militia shall be ordered into actual service, it shall be the duty of the governor, through the adjutant-general, to notify the brigade-inspector, from whose brigade any such detachment may be required, whether the call of militia so made, is by order or requisition from the general government, or by the authority of the governor of this state, and also the time of service for which the said detachment may be required.” This section specified that the responsibility rested with the governor to appoint each officer from second lieutenant to colonel, to declare when each regiment or brigade reached a state of readiness, and to ensure that each Pennsylvania soldier—either militiaman or volunteer—swore an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth before going into federal service.<sup>13</sup>

When the Civil War began, Lincoln and his ill-prepared secretary of war, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, initially offered no challenge to the operation of state militia laws. Lincoln called for soldiers to subdue the rebellion, but left it to state executives to raise them. On April 15, 1861,

<sup>11</sup> Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838, article 2, section 7.

<sup>12</sup> Near the end of the Civil War—in May and August 1864—the Pennsylvania legislature drafted two additional expansions to the commonwealth militia law, increasing the statute to 209 sections. Frederick C. Brightly, John Purdon, and George Coode, *A Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania from the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred to the Tenth Day of July One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Two*, 10th ed., vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1873), 1038–65.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1059.

Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand militia to serve for three months under federal control. Cameron assigned Pennsylvania a quota of twenty-five regiments—approximately twenty-five thousand officers and men. Everywhere across the commonwealth, communities exploded with enthusiasm. Each town, city, and village competed to be the first to meet the president's call for troops. Community leaders feared that if they did not mobilize their militia with enough speed, Governor Curtin might not select their community to represent the commonwealth among these first twenty-five regiments. "Everywhere the wildest excitement prevailed," remembered nineteen-year-old Marshall Van Scoten of Montrose. Soon to be a volunteer himself, Van Scoten recalled, "Military preparation of guns, bell and drum filled the soul with the joy of patriotism, proclaiming freedom to the masses and obedience to the majority from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In glad response to the President's call for volunteers, business was interrupted in the rural districts; flags lazily waved along the streets to the small villages and towns of greater pretensions. . . . Recruiting officers traveled from one prominent point to another, encouraging rapid enlistments; while volunteers were quickly enrolled, at first for three months."<sup>14</sup>

The reckless enthusiasm of the war's first weeks made it clear that the provisions of the Pennsylvania militia laws needed to be followed in the strictest sense. In a foolish move, one Philadelphia officer, William F. Small, chose to leave the commonwealth before his men possessed weapons or uniforms. "General" Small (he gave himself that rank) took charge of the "Washington Brigade," two incomplete regiments organized at Military Hall, Third and Green streets. Small's unit left Philadelphia without orders on April 18. On the morning of April 19, his soldiers arrived in Baltimore by train, but they could not reach the unprotected national capital by rail. The unusual transportation system in Baltimore required all travelers to detrain at President Street Station and to make their way through the city on foot.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, an enraged

<sup>14</sup> Marshall H. Van Scoten, *The Conception, Organization, and Campaigns of "Company H," 4th Penn. Reserve Volunteer Corps, 33rd Regiment in Line, 1861-5* (Tunkhannock, PA, 1885), chap. 1.

<sup>15</sup> The Washington Brigade formed in January 1861 under the authorization of the city council. On March 2, Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin accepted the Washington Brigade for "emergency service," but did not approve its departure. On April 17, General Small claimed command of twelve partially filled companies, seven in the First Regiment and five in the Second Regiment, perhaps eight hundred men altogether. Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861-1865* ([Philadelphia], 1913), 27-9; *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 20, 1861; Scott Sumter Sheads and Daniel Carroll Toomey, *Baltimore during the Civil War* (Linthicum, MD, 1997), 13-16.

mob of Baltimore secessionists stood in the path of arriving troops. Led by a customs officer, a mob of several hundred Baltimoreans assailed Small's outnumbered, unarmed force at the station, killing at least one soldier and wounding dozens of others. During the excitement, the train departed, leaving perhaps one hundred Philadelphians to flee Baltimore on foot. Appalled by this embarrassing affair, the Philadelphia City Council launched an investigation, and on May 16, it passed resolutions of censure upon Small for his misconduct and imprudence.<sup>16</sup>

The council absolved Curtin from any blame in the incident, for he had not approved the Washington Brigade's departure. Small's violation of the Pennsylvania Militia Act demonstrated the importance of following constitutional procedure when transferring control of the state militia to the federal government. Had Curtin been allowed to exercise his duty as commander-in-chief in this instance, he might have prevented Small from taking his unarmed brigade into a dangerous city. The inglorious disbanding of the Washington Brigade showed the thoughtlessness involved in ordering a Pennsylvania regiment to leave the commonwealth without first passing inspection by the governor. The legislators in Harrisburg concurred; a revision to the state militia law, signed on April 21, reinforced the 1822 amendment that authorized only the governor to order a regiment to depart for federal service.

On May 3, 1861, the War Department added an administrative wrinkle to Pennsylvania's manpower mobilization. Lincoln and Cameron decided to depart from the system prescribed by the militia acts of 1792. Instead of relying on state militia, they now wanted US Volunteers to augment the US regular army, just as James Madison and James Polk had ordered. The president's call of May 3 asking for a new levy of forty-two thousand soldiers departed from the traditional policy of letting soldiers' elections determine promotions in the militia. Instead of relying upon enlisted men to choose their officers, Lincoln and Cameron devised a system whereby state governors appointed them. By having appointed—instead of elected—officers, the War Department hoped that the volunteer regiments would conform to a higher code of discipline than the seventy-five thousand militia then arriving at Washington. Thus, the US Volunteers became an administrative hybrid. Similar to the US regular units, they fielded appointed officers, but like the militia, they were administrated by state governments.

<sup>16</sup> *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 20, 1861.

By asking the US Volunteers to swear into federal service directly, Cameron and Lincoln circumvented Pennsylvania's intricate state-level military statute.<sup>17</sup> Lincoln and Cameron had violated other state militia laws, but Cameron allowed the other governors the authority to appoint their own choice of officers, a coveted patronage power. Pennsylvania presented a different matter entirely. Cameron believed that Lincoln's call for US Volunteers granted him the right to appoint any officers to the volunteer regiments, if he felt it necessary. As a native of Pennsylvania and a bitter rival of Governor Curtin, Cameron decided to execute this authority.<sup>18</sup> Cameron determined that Pennsylvania should provide four regiments of three-year volunteers, or four thousand officers and men. He authorized three colonels to recruit in the commonwealth, while Lincoln—who normally abstained from such matters—approved the fourth.<sup>19</sup> Because these new units—the Twenty-Sixth, Twenty-Seventh,

<sup>17</sup> The May 3, 1861, call for three-year troops appeared to violate the 1792 militia acts, and some politicians openly questioned its constitutionality. One shocking incident occurred in August 1861 when the former vice president (and a future Confederate general), John C. Breckinridge, appeared intoxicated at the camp of the First California, a regiment that had been accepted under the May 3 call. Breckinridge convinced the soldiers of Company M to stage a mutiny. In his inebriated state, Breckinridge argued that the federal government had no legal right to muster soldiers without first receiving consent from their state governor. For a time, it appeared that the soldiers of Company M planned to take Breckinridge's advice and test the constitutionality of the May 3 call, but the regimental commander, Colonel Edward Baker, used his skilful oratory to diffuse the mutiny. Later, on September 10, 1861, the Supreme Court upheld the May 3 call despite evidence against it. In July 1861, Edward Stevens, a private in the First Minnesota Infantry, demanded release from the army by arguing that at the time of his muster Congress had not validated the May 3 call. After hearing the private's case, Justice James Wayne determined that Stevens had to be remitted to duty with the First Minnesota because Lincoln's call for troops—although illegal at the time of its enactment—could be upheld retroactively since it had been "done for the public good." See Gary G. Lash, "The Cases of Private Jesse Mayberry and Captain Bernard McMahon, 71st Pennsylvania Infantry," *Gettysburg Magazine* 22 (2000): 86–87, and David M. Silver, *Lincoln's Supreme Court* (Urbana, IL, 1956), 17.

<sup>18</sup> On May 4, 1861, the day after the call for "US Volunteers," Cameron issued General Orders Number 15, which granted the state governors the right to appoint each officer in the US Volunteers from second lieutenant to colonel: "The commissioned officers of the company will be appointed by the Governor of the State furnishing it, and . . . [t]he field officers of the Regiment will [also] be appointed by the Governor of the State which furnishes the regiment." When dealing with Pennsylvania's regiments, Cameron ignored the language of this directive. Thomas M. O'Brien and Oliver Diefendorf, *General Orders of the War Department Embracing the Years 1861, 1862, and 1863*, vol. 1 (New York, 1864), 32–33.

<sup>19</sup> The Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers had once formed the nucleus of the "Washington Brigade." Although Governor Curtin eventually commissioned the field and line officers of these two regiments, Simon Cameron had awarded the regimental commanders commissions as early as January 1861. Cameron also personally commissioned Colonel John K. Murphy, commander of the Twenty-Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Lincoln personally commissioned Colonel John W. Geary, commander of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers. Reluctantly approving Lincoln's and Cameron's choices, Curtin sent state commissions to Murphy and Geary.

Twenty-Eighth, and Twenty-Ninth Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments—recruited for longer terms of service, the four federally appointed colonels filled their commands with greater speed than the state-organized three-month regiments. When he noticed his recruits deserting to the new three-year regiments, John Keys, a state-appointed recruiter in Philadelphia, complained to the governor. Keys demanded some form of confirmation to prove that his unit would eventually serve in the war. He wrote, “[I]f we do not get through [muster] immediately I shall lose my men inch by inch in other companies.”<sup>20</sup> Although ostensibly a means of raising three-year troops promptly, Cameron’s decision to call for additional volunteers no doubt emerged from his seething hatred of Curtin, who had been his longtime political rival. Ever since the controversial senatorial election of 1855, Curtin and Cameron had fought to control state politics, and as the years passed and they both joined the Republican Party, their backbiting grew increasingly mean spirited and personal and continued until Lincoln removed Cameron from his post in January 1862.<sup>21</sup>

During the war’s first weeks, the secretary saw little chance to spoil his Pennsylvania cronies with military commissions. As of May 3, the only Pennsylvania officers then serving—those in the twenty-five three-month regiments—all held commissions approved by Curtin. Not surprisingly, Cameron’s call for three-year volunteers instantly displeased the governor, who among offering other criticisms, questioned its constitutionality. Under the federal militia acts of 1792 and 1795, the secretary of war could not call upon state militia to serve longer than three months. Also, under General Orders Number 15 issued by the War Department, Cameron could not appoint officers, even to those in the US Volunteer regiments.<sup>22</sup> To be legal, each officer from second lieutenant to colonel required a

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See, Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–1865* (Harrisburg, PA, 1869–1871), 1:344–45, 382–83, 418, 484.

<sup>20</sup> John L. Keys to Andrew G. Curtin, July 11, 1861, Record Group 19, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (hereafter PSA).

<sup>21</sup> For a fuller discussion of the Cameron-Curtin feud, see Cameron’s substantial biography, Erwin Stanley Bradley, *Simon Cameron, Lincoln’s Secretary of War: A Political Biography* (Philadelphia, 1966). During the senatorial election of 1855, Cameron faced accusations of scheming to win the legislative caucus. During one of the ballots, one too many votes were cast. Curtin supporters accused Cameron of planting the extra vote to win the nomination by fraud. For a year, Cameron and Curtin deadlocked, each refusing to relinquish his claim on the senate seat, but leaving the seat vacant until 1856 when a new legislature appointed ex-governor William Bigler to fill the position.

<sup>22</sup> See note 18.

commission signed by the governor or his adjutant general. Intending to appoint officers to the three-year regiments just as he had for the three-month regiments, Curtin requested that Cameron increase Pennsylvania's quota so that, as governor, he could have his share of the spoils. Instead, on May 14, Cameron instructed him to stop organizing the three-month regiments and transfer to the three-year regiments those who had already enlisted. Cameron wrote that, "It is important to reduce, rather than enlarge this number" of new regiments.<sup>23</sup>

When it became clear that Cameron would not let him appoint the officers for the May 3 call, Curtin called for a special session of the state legislature to ask for the formation of a state-funded "reserve division" of fifteen regiments to serve for three years. In fact, due to a miscommunication between his office and the War Department, Curtin had already called up twenty-five additional regiments, all to serve for three years. Because Cameron refused to accept them, Curtin faced the embarrassment of discontinuing these unauthorized regiments and breaking his promises to the men he hoped to appoint as officers. To humiliate Cameron by making him appear obstructionist to Pennsylvania's mobilization effort, Curtin announced to the state legislature that the War Department would accept only a limited number of new regiments. In a shrewd speech, Curtin pointed out that "the army of the United States [is] wholly inadequate for the maintenance of order and for the protection of public and private property." Therefore, he remarked, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania required its own reserve force.<sup>24</sup> On May 15, the legislature approved a three million dollar loan to arm and equip the "Pennsylvania Reserve Division." Under the provisions of the Pennsylvania Reserve Act, Curtin retained sole authority to appoint officers in the division, including three brigadier generals and one major general.<sup>25</sup>

Initially, the division consisted of twelve infantry regiments and one rifle regiment distributed among three brigades. Later, Curtin authorized a cavalry regiment and a series of artillery batteries, but these units did not serve with the division in the field during the war.<sup>26</sup> The companies within

<sup>23</sup> William H. Egle, ed., *Andrew Gregg Curtin: His Life and Services* (Philadelphia, 1895), 223.

<sup>24</sup> Josiah R. Sypher, *History of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps* (Lancaster, PA, 1865), 59.

<sup>25</sup> Egle, *Andrew Curtin*, 223–30.

<sup>26</sup> Batteries A, B, E, and G of the First Reserve Artillery served with the division until 1863 when the infantry units transferred to another corps. Batteries C, D, F, and H never served with the division. The First Reserve Cavalry received an assignment to the Department of the Shenandoah in 1862 and then another to the Army of the Potomac's Cavalry Corps in 1863. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 1:944–45, 1014–22.

the division represented every county in the commonwealth. On May 16, Curtin detailed state officers to establish permanent collection points for the Pennsylvania Reserves at Harrisburg, West Chester, Easton, and Pittsburgh. At those locations, Curtin's agents administered an oath of allegiance to each company when it arrived, swearing the soldiers into service of the commonwealth. By the first week of June, all thirteen regiments had taken the oath, and in late June, General Winfield Scott borrowed two regiments—the Fifth Reserves and the First Rifles (also known as the Thirteenth Reserves)—and deployed them as sentries near Cumberland, Maryland.

The oath of allegiance to the commonwealth held especial importance to the volunteers in the Pennsylvania Reserve Division. Not only did the oath contractually bind its volunteers to the state government, but each soldier now knew that his services were no longer in jeopardy of being rejected. The oath officially made them soldiers. After several weeks of drilling, the volunteers had a chance to prove their martial qualities to Governor Curtin and his inspector general, each of whom had a final say in accepting any company that applied for commonwealth service. Once Curtin or the inspector general approved an individual company or regiment, the state mustering officer administered the oath to each enlisted soldier, one by one. The mustering officer held a Bible and read aloud the oath phrase by phrase. Each enlisted man placed one hand on that Bible, put his other hand in the air, and repeated the oath. On occasion, if time was short, the mustering officer swore in each unit as a body. The text of the Pennsylvania militia oath closely resembled that of the federal government's:

I, [insert name] do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I will obey the orders of the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania; that I make this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> None of the nineteenth-century military statutes drafted word-for-word text to define the commonwealth's oath of allegiance. Undoubtedly, it changed little over the years, and many militiamen understood its meaning as a matter of common sense. During World War I, the legislature passed an act that described the Pennsylvania's military oath of allegiance, but only for commissioned officers. That text serves as the foundation of the quoted material. *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Passed at the Session of 1917* (Harrisburg, PA, 1917), 630.

Upon completing the oath, most Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers expressed a feeling of exhilaration, knowing that they had “passed muster” and would, at some point, see battle. Private Ashbel F. Hill of the “Brownsville Grays,” a company that later became Company D, Eighth Pennsylvania Reserves, recalled, “All the boys took it [the oath] without the least hesitation; they had offered their services to their country, and they were in earnest. There was no ‘backing the patch.’ We were sworn into the service of the State of Pennsylvania with the understanding that we were subject to a call from the government at any time.”<sup>28</sup> Private John E. Lewis echoed this sentiment after his regiment, the Sixth Reserves, took the commonwealth oath in Harrisburg. Lewis recalled, “On Tuesday last our Company was sworn in to serve three years or during the war, and not a man that passed the examination faltered. When the swearing in of our Company was over we gave three hearty cheers that made the [State House] building ring.”<sup>29</sup>

However, some of the soldiers who joined the Pennsylvania Reserve Division viewed commonwealth service as a less momentous alternative to federal service. They took the oath only because they understood that Cameron’s policy of limiting Pennsylvania’s three-year volunteers to four regiments made their chance at federal service highly unlikely. When Private Hiram J. Ramsdell of the Sixth Reserves heard rumors that Cameron would not accept his company, “The Tioga Invincibles,” he noted how his comrades became despondent. He lamented, “It is rumored that some of our companies will have to be sent back. Should this prove true, there will be much dissatisfaction among the men, as of right there should be. They enlisted with the understanding that they were really needed, and not to gratify the ambition of a few officers, and if they have to go back unaccepted, the blame will go where it rightly belongs,” meaning the War Department. Ramsdell continued, “[A]ll have left home and friends, simply because we thought the country demanded our services, and we do not relish the idea of going back without a fight. The fact is, we are ‘spilin’ for a fight.”<sup>30</sup> Private John I. Mitchell of the same company expressed his dissatisfaction at being unable to muster into federal service. He wrote home, “By competent authority [we] were told ‘that the State already had more men than it wanted or could care for; that our

<sup>28</sup> Ashbel F. Hill, *Our Boys in the Army* (Philadelphia, 1865), 27.

<sup>29</sup> *Honesdale Democrat*, June 6, 1861.

<sup>30</sup> *Wellsboro Agitator*, May 8, 1861.

County would not be allowed to furnish, probably, more than three companies (and now it seems only two), that we would be honorably discharged and might return to our homes; that men were being discharged every day." Unlike Ramsdell, Mitchell could not take this disappointment, and before anyone required him to take an oath, he deserted his comrades and returned home to Tioga County. As he explained later, "We [wanted to go] for three months; . . . But we were required to enlist for three years [in another regiment], entirely unexpectedly to us, . . . [even though] the proclamation of the President was only for three months."<sup>31</sup>

For a few others, the oath of allegiance served as a last chance to nullify their decision to enlist. A typical Pennsylvania Reserve regiment often lost one or two unwilling recruits when the state mustering officer came to administer the oath. When a few recruits got cold feet, their comrades viewed it as dishonor to their company. A soldier from Washington County serving in the "Hopkins Infantry," a company that later became Company K, Eighth Pennsylvania Reserves, took pride in the fact that no one in his unit exhibited indecisiveness, although he could not say the same for the other companies in his regiment. Thus, he wrote home: "We passed inspection and were sworn in on Saturday [June 19]. In other companies there have been a good many men rejected, and some backing down when it came to taking the oath; but our company passed inspection without the loss of a man, and swore through without a flinch."<sup>32</sup>

For those who worried about missing the war, taking the commonwealth's military oath provided a sense of relief. On May 15, after the companies that eventually became the Sixth Reserves mustered into commonwealth service at Harrisburg, Private Hiram Ramsdell noted, "We are soldiers now. . . . We were sworn in to-day and have entered the State service as part of thirteen regiments of Infantry, composing the reserve corps of the State." Curtin himself visited the camp, welcoming the regiment into the ranks of the division, and he told the apprehensive soldiers that it was his determination to make the division "the finest army that ever trod the American soil." Ramsdell's earlier fear that the commonwealth and the federal government might both refuse his services made him skeptical of such acclamations. He wrote to his local newspaper, "These promises are very nice and easily made. We shall see whether they will be as easily fulfilled. But the long agony is over now, and that for

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1861.

<sup>32</sup> *Washington Reporter and Tribune*, June 27, 1861.

which we have so long patiently waited has been accomplished, and as was truly remarked today by one of our company, 'the first battle won.'"<sup>33</sup>

Still, although Ramsdell understood the importance of taking the oath of allegiance, he incorrectly assumed that he had mustered into both state and federal service simultaneously, an error that would draw his comrades' attention in 1864.<sup>34</sup> He wrote, "We have taken the oath of allegiance to the State and to the United States for three years or during the war, and are to be ordered to camp either here or at some point the Governor may designate within the State limits, subject to the order of the Federal Government."<sup>35</sup> The majority of Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers, it seems, believed that they needed only one oath to bind them to the federal government, even if that oath came at the state level. In the minds of the Reserve Division's volunteers, their military careers officially commenced at the moment they took the oath offered by the commonwealth.

As the companies and regiments of the Reserve Division came together in June and July 1861 to receive their weapons and equipage, Curtin asked Secretary Cameron if he would eventually muster the Pennsylvania Reserves into federal service. Cameron replied negatively, for he did not want to accept Curtin's choice of officers, particularly his four generals, each of whom required approval by both Congress and President Lincoln. But, on July 22, Cameron changed his mind. Following the military disaster at Bull Run, Virginia, he asked Curtin to forward as many regiments as he could to Maryland—to Sandy Hook, Cumberland, Baltimore, and Annapolis—and to Washington without delay. Throughout July and August, whenever one of the Pennsylvania Reserve regiments encountered a federal mustering officer, it swore out of state service, and then swore into federal service for another term of three years. This required the regiments to assume a new federal designation. Thus, First Pennsylvania Reserves became known as the "Thirtieth Pennsylvania Volunteers," the Second Pennsylvania Reserves became known as the "Thirty-First Pennsylvania Volunteers," and so forth. Although redesignated, the men of the Reserve Division preferred to call themselves by their state designation. Letters home almost always bore the heading, "P.V.R.C.," meaning, "Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserve Corps."

<sup>33</sup> *Wellsboro Agitator*, June 5, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> Ramsdell was not serving with the Pennsylvania Reserve Division in 1864; he received a discharge on a surgeon's certificate in December 1862.

<sup>35</sup> *Wellsboro Agitator*, June 5, 1861.

The regiments from the Pennsylvania Reserve Division experienced an awkward transition to federal control. For a brief period, each regiment existed in a nebulous state of allegiance, having sworn out of state service, but not yet having sworn into federal service. To ensure that each complete Pennsylvania Reserve regiment shifted smoothly to federal control required the US mustering officer who administered the oath to treat each regiment with a delicate hand. Because the Pennsylvania Reserve volunteers had been in commonwealth service for almost three months, those soldiers who now wearied of army life possessed a legal means of leaving the ranks. More importantly, in May and June, the War Department had rebuffed the services of these men. The state legislature and the governor—not the War Department—had come to their rescue. Now, in July, Lincoln and Cameron seemed to need their services only out of desperation, when the national capital appeared threatened. If the federal mustering officers did not act kindly toward the Pennsylvania Reserves, they could produce mutinous sentiment.

Almost all of the Pennsylvania Reserve regiments experienced an untidy switch to federal control. Each company possessed a handful of men who refused to swear. Of course, their recalcitrance damaged the good name of their company, causing those who took the federal oath to reprimand them. When the Eighth Reserves arrived in Washington on July 24, several soldiers refused to muster into federal service. Private Ashbel F. Hill recalled, “Three of our boys—I am sorry to call them . . . ‘our boys’—refused to take the Oath and that night deserted, notwithstanding that they had been sworn into State service. Their names were Victory Jones, Robert Campbell and Thomas Grace. Thus you will perceive . . . that *Victory* was ours no more, that our *Camel* (Campbell) had run away with us, and that *Grace* was no more at present with us. Pardon me for punning; but the names—they are the real names of the gentlemen—present a temptation not to be resisted.”<sup>36</sup>

Unlike with the commonwealth oath, when the Reserve Division soldiers took the federal oath, they took it as a unit, not individually. Taking the oath en masse made it difficult for unwilling volunteers to back out of federal service; those who refused to take it incurred the public wrath of their comrades. On July 25, the Seventh Pennsylvania Reserves reached Washington, DC, and encamped in a shady spot north of the city. Two days later, a federal mustering officer administered the oath. Although the

<sup>36</sup> Hill, *Our Boys in the Army*, 65.

reserves eagerly wanted to join the fray, some men refused to swear. A Lebanon County soldier wrote that, “Yesterday (Saturday) we were mustered into the United States service, when two of the [Iron] Artillerists [the nickname for Company C, Seventh Pennsylvania Reserves]—and two of the few Lebanon men composing the company, at that—at first refused to take the oath of allegiance, and thus disgraced not only themselves, but also the company.” When the intractable men refused to swear into federal service, their comrades threatened them with bodily harm. Remembered a soldier from Company C, “Had it not been for the Captain our two men [who refused to swear] would have been torn to pieces by their companions on their return to the ranks.” In all, nine of the Seventh Reserves’ ten companies possessed groups of men who refused to swear. Colonel Elisha B. Harvey ordered those men to stand in front of the entire regiment, so their comrades could get a good look at them and perhaps bully them into rejoining their companies. Eventually, all but one of those who initially refused to take the oath swore into federal service. When they resumed their places in the ranks, their comrades gave them “three cheers and a tiger.” The single obdurate soldier faced humiliation. One witness described, “The one who was bent on backing out was shown out of the regiment between bayonets, and was afterwards stripped of all of his clothing and run out of camp. He belonged to one of the Philadelphia companies.”<sup>37</sup>

Generally, each regiment in the Reserve Division lost less than a dozen men from refusals to take the federal oath—hardly enough to destroy a unit’s fighting potential. One regiment, the Second Reserves from Philadelphia, lost far more—nearly 50 percent of the regiment’s aggregate strength. The mutinous behavior in the Second Reserves occurred more from perceived mistreatment from the War Department than from indecisiveness on the part of the volunteers. Once Cameron issued the order calling the Reserve Division into federal service, on July 24, Colonel William B. Mann, the commander of the Second Reserves, by his own authority, ordered his soldiers to board cars at Philadelphia. His men proceeded to Harrisburg and swore out of service of the commonwealth. Unfortunately, no US mustering officer met them there. But Mann refused to wait, and with Curtin’s permission, he put his men on a train to Baltimore, hoping that he might find a mustering officer in that city. The regiment arrived at Baltimore on the afternoon of July 26, but since

<sup>37</sup> *Lebanon Courier*, Aug. 1, 1861.

Mann had departed “on his own hook,” as one soldier recorded in his journal, the department commander, Major General John A. Dix, refused to accommodate his unit. Secretary Cameron then redirected the regiment to Sandy Hook, Maryland, instead of Washington. Although discouraged, for it appeared that Cameron intended to send them away from the action, the soldiers of the Second Reserves boarded another train and arrived at their new destination that night. Cameron, however, neglected to telegraph their new department commander, Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, to prepare for them. When they reached Sandy Hook, Banks had made no effort to draw necessary rations. He assigned the travel-weary soldiers to a campground where they begged nearby regiments for food.<sup>38</sup>

Growing discontent flared up when the men of the Second Reserves discovered that another regiment with many Philadelphians, the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania, camped adjacent to them. Four companies belonging to the Second Reserves had earlier hoped to serve under the command of Gabriel De Korponay, a prominent Philadelphia Democrat with European military experience. In June, Curtin had ordered Major General George Archibald McCall, the divisional commander, to replace De Korponay with Philadelphia’s Republican district attorney, William Mann. Seeing De Korponay in another regiment brought back unpleasant memories for the four companies of the Second Reserves that once pledged to serve under him. Disgusted at the treatment they had received from the disorganized federal government, groups of men in each company realized that no one could keep them at Sandy Hook. If they refused to take the oath of allegiance, they could return to Philadelphia to reorganize under a new commander, presumably the ringleader of the nascent mutiny, Lieutenant Colonel Albert L. Magilton, a Philadelphia Democrat. Undoubtedly, the mutiny commenced in the regiment’s Irish companies, for not only did they have reason to despise Mann for the organizational fiasco that unseated Colonel De Korponay, but, since he was a Republican politician, they wanted to break free from his yoke.<sup>39</sup>

On the sweltering afternoon of August 1, the US mustering officer, Lieutenant Colonel Fitz-John Porter, attempted to administer the oath,

<sup>38</sup> Evan Morrison Woodward, *Our Campaigns, or, The Marches, Bivouacs, Battles, Incidents of Camp Life, and History of Our Regiment during its Three Years Term of Service: Together with a Sketch of the Army of the Potomac, under Generals McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, Meade and Grant* (Philadelphia, 1865), 26–27.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

company by company. Over one-quarter of the men refused to swear and instead registered a list of grievances. Captain Evan M. Woodward of Company G wrote in his journal:

The reasons assigned by them was that they were armed with smooth-bored muskets (the only ones the Government at the time could give them,) their crowded tents, (five in each,) bad rations, (better than some of them got at home,) not having overcoats, (in the summer,) their unwillingness to serve under Colonel Mann, (their own choice,) they, in fact, like all other men doing wrong, using every subterfuge to justify their conduct.<sup>40</sup>

Appalled at this turn of events, Porter lost his temper and directed “injudicious remarks” at the entire regiment.<sup>41</sup> The next morning, the regiment formed again and Porter ordered all men to retake the oath; even those who had sworn into federal service the previous day had to retake it. Such “injudicious proceedings,” remarked Captain Woodward, predictably infuriated the men. Now, fully one-half of the regiment—476 enlisted men and one officer—refused to swear. The other officers rounded up the mutineers, ordered them to stack arms, and unceremoniously stripped them of their uniforms. Placing eleven officers as guards, Colonel Mann sent them on a train back to Philadelphia. As the train departed, the mutineers offered three cheers for Lieutenant Colonel Magilton. Although everyone knew that a cabal of disgruntled officers had probably organized the mutiny, there was no way to punish them, for they had all sworn into federal service individually upon receiving their commissions. Thus, they did not officially participate in the refusal to swear.<sup>42</sup>

News of the mutiny surprised the people of Pennsylvania. The befuddled editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* could not comprehend why the mutineers declined federal service at the eleventh hour. “It was difficult to ascertain what these reasons were,” he wrote, “but murmurs finally assumed the shape of ‘bad arms,’ ‘bad food,’ [and] ‘want of confidence in

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 28–29.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 29. Even though they were already sworn into service by virtue of their commissions, officers usually took the oath of allegiance alongside their enlisted men as an act of good faith. Philadelphia newspapers indicated that one second lieutenant was removed for refusing to swear. Of all the mutineers, this lieutenant’s name was the only one withheld from publication. This officer was probably Second Lieutenant Francis Fox of Company C. It is not clear why Mann singled out Fox and not the other officers who likely organized the mutiny.

officers.”<sup>43</sup> Curtin expressed frustration, since the Reserve Division had been his brainchild. Curtin was in Philadelphia when the mutineers returned, and he held an audience with the eleven commissioned officers, who castigated the mutineers as untrustworthy soldiers. Two weeks later, Curtin ordered all of Philadelphia’s major newspapers to print the names, occupations, and addresses of the mutineers with a warning to recruiters to refuse to accept them for any new regiments. “We do not need their services,” Curtin announced sharply, “nor do we risk our cause in their hands.”<sup>44</sup> Predictably, Curtin’s pronouncement carried little potency, as recruiters needed volunteers to fill out new regiments forming in the city. On July 22, Lincoln demanded five hundred thousand additional three-year volunteers. In order to fill the new regiments quickly, many recruiters accepted anyone, mutinous record or not. Over one-half of the mutineers reenlisted during the war; one-third reenlisted immediately upon their return to the city. Meanwhile, back at the Second Pennsylvania Reserves’ encampment, Companies B, F, G, and I disbanded, for each company had lost over 66 percent of its enlisted men. Colonel Mann distributed these men among the other understrength companies, and in 1862, Curtin added three new companies to the regiment. The officers of the disbanded companies lost their commissions and returned to the enlisted ranks.<sup>45</sup>

When the eleven officers assigned as guards returned to Sandy Hook, they discovered that Lieutenant Colonel Porter had called the remnant of Second Reserves into line to swear them into service for a third time. When Porter realized that these eleven officers had not been there to take

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 29; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 2, 1861.

<sup>44</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 21, 1861.

<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to examine the social composition of the Second Reserves’ mutineers. The bulk of them came from Philadelphia’s unskilled or semiskilled working class, and most were Irish American. The “Governor’s Rangers” (Company B), the company that lost the most men—seventy-nine out of ninety-six—exhibited the greatest amount of socioeconomic homogeneity. This company contained thirty-two watermen and ten laborers, all of whom mutinied. Additionally, half of this company lived in Southwark, seventeen within three blocks of each other (five of whom lived in the same building, 752 South Front Street). The tugs of community loyalty were perhaps stronger in this company than in most others recruited during this time. It cannot be argued that the mutineers were disloyal soldiers; their immediate reenlistment disproved this. Rather, their occupational, ethnic, neighborhood, and political loyalties conspired to fashion a sense of entitlement that drove these men to negotiate the terms of their enlistment in a public way. This should come as no surprise. Nineteenth-century cities were havens of democratic-minded protest. This mutiny more likely reflected the unique composition of the prewar urban North than a lackluster sense of patriotism from Philadelphia’s poor, Irish American population. Andrew Curtin, raised in the rural central Pennsylvania countryside, could not have understood this. Muster and Alphabetical Rolls, Second Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry, PSA.

the oath, he flew into high passion and insisted that, for a fourth time, the officers call the regiment into line to administer the oath so that all could take it together. The eleven officers assured Porter that it was unnecessary; they had sworn into federal service by virtue of their commissions. From then on, the men of the Second Reserves bitterly joked, "It is necessary for a good soldier to carry a Bible with him to be sworn in, or he will find himself discharged before he knows anything about it."<sup>46</sup>

Philadelphia's Republicans blamed Secretary Cameron and his cronyism for causing the mass defection. As the editor of the *Philadelphia Sunday Evening Transcript* maintained, "At the bottom of the whole transaction is Simon Cameron. He has cast disrepute on his State . . . and, to a great degree, has served to impair the faith of the people in the Administration of which he is a most unworthy member."<sup>47</sup> Although this interpretation smacked of political bias, especially since it attempted to acquit Colonel Mann of any misconduct and it ignored the partisan element of the mutiny, the newspaper editor's opinion demonstrated a partial understanding of the problem disturbing all the Pennsylvania Reserve regiments. As the editor noted, Philadelphia had raised a complete regiment. Yet, at some point during the discomfited process of transferring it from state control to federal control, the soldiers became mutinous. In the editor's opinion, it was this transfer process—caused, as he thought, by Cameron's hatred of Mann—that spawned the unnecessary discontent. He argued:

But the truth of all the defection, of which so much has been iterated, is simply this: Col. Mann is a patriot at heart. As a Republican, he worked with zeal . . . to secure the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. As a true friend of Abraham Lincoln, he could be no friend of Simon Cameron. . . . Therein lies the difficulty. Petty spleen and personal spite are at the bottom of the whole trouble. Col. Mann would not, as an honest man, crook the knee to Simon Cameron. The latter, needing parasites, and bent upon making parasites of true and loyal men . . . falling in his unworthy purpose, to turn his back on the State which gave him birth, and to which he owes all that he is and can ever be—to break down everything that can add glory to the State, and destroy all who are willing to serve the nation without selfishness in its present hour of peril. To this end, there was a difficulty raised as to the acceptance of Col. Mann's regiment. It is

<sup>46</sup> Woodward, *Our Campaigns*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> *Philadelphia Sunday Evening Transcript*, Aug. 11, 1861.

true the capital of the nation, which Washington founded, was in danger. Then enemies of the country were, indeed, at its very gates; and, by one bold stroke could have taken it. At such a juncture, by direction of Governor Curtin, Col. Mann moved forward. . . . Cameron had been crying "on to Richmond," and his men had been driven back "on Washington." Still the Pennsylvanians under Mann determined to go, and went to the rescue. Apparently not a moment was to be lost. In reality Col. Mann's command was sent to Harper's Ferry. And there the insubordination began. The secret history of that insubordination is yet to be written. The present is not the time to reveal the hidden motives which brought about the trouble. It is enough to know that Colonel Mann, at a vast expenditure of time and means, completed his regiment; that that regiment elected him their Colonel; and that, after their acceptance and "mustering in," the most outrageous acts were committed to disgrace a Pennsylvanian and deprive the country of the services of Pennsylvania soldiers who had volunteered to maintain its honor.<sup>48</sup>

In any case, this incident left a troublesome question: by swearing into federal service, did the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division restart their three-year terms of service, or did the War Department accept them from the moment they swore into state service in May? Those questions remained unanswered until April 1864.

For the moment, Curtin focused his efforts on rectifying the problem made evident by the mutiny. Now that Pennsylvania had to raise an additional eighty-nine thousand three-year men under the July 22 call, Curtin wanted to remove any federal interference. He believed the problem with the reserves' muster had emerged from two simultaneous and incongruous efforts by the commonwealth and federal governments. In essence, Curtin identified federalism as the culprit. Writing to President Lincoln on August 21, Curtin pointed out that, "The direct authority of the Government of the United States having been thus set in competition with that of the State, acting under its requisition, the consequence has been much embarrassment, delay, and confusion. . . . There remains the great evil of the unavoidable clashing of two authorities attempting at the same time to effect the same object among the same people through different and competing agencies."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880–1901), ser. 3, 1:435–41.

Curtin explained that even though Congress had passed special legislation on July 22 allowing the president to call for troops to serve for three years or the duration of the war, the authority to organize, provision, inspect, and muster troops still rested with the state governments. Curtin admonished, “[the] law is so clearly in accordance with true policy and expediency, it is hoped that the Government of the United States will adhere to it.”<sup>50</sup> Other state governors registered similar complaints, usually charging that Cameron’s cronyism had stifled mobilization in their own states, thus sowing the seeds of his departure from the cabinet post in January 1862. Thanks to Curtin’s forthright complaining, control of Union mobilization remained firmly in state hands until March 1863, when Congress passed an act that allowed the War Department to initiate conscription. Four months later, the first federal draft went into effect. By appointing federal provost marshals to regulate the draft in each congressional district, the War Department took a drastic step to control mobilization of state-level volunteers. However, administrative control of the regiments—old and new—remained in the hands of the governors until the end of the war. Curtin’s August 1861 demand for noninterference from the federal government and Cameron’s subsequent dismissal proved to be one of the principal delineators of the limits of the War Department’s managerial control of the Union army. Still, although Lincoln mollified Curtin by removing his political adversary, he did nothing to address the constitutional issue at stake: which level of government—state or federal—had the power to muster in the soldiers—or muster them out, for that matter? It was the Reserve Division’s discontent in 1864 that pushed this unresolved issue to the forefront.

The Pennsylvania Reserve Division went to the front lines in December 1861 and fought eleven major battles with the Army of the Potomac between then and spring 1864: Dranesville, Mechanicsville, Gaines’s Mill, Glendale, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Bristoe Station. In the winter of 1863, as a second federal draft loomed near, the War Department offered all its veteran soldiers who enlisted in 1861 a chance to reenlist for three additional years, or the remainder of the war. If a majority of any regiment reenlisted, that regiment could “veteranize,” that is, retain its old numerical designation and its commissioned and non-commissioned staff. Additionally, all reenlisted veterans received a thirty-

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:439–41.

day furlough and a \$402 veteran bounty. As Colonel Martin D. Hardin of the Twelfth Reserves remembered, “great efforts were made to get the men, in a body, to re-enlist. Applications were made to give the division a furlough. General [Samuel Wiley] Crawford [the new divisional commander] urged the matter very forcibly, using for the first time the argument that ‘seasoned’ soldiers, as the remainder of the Reserves then were, were so very far superior to the new levies. Also stating that the men were mostly young and the best material for soldiers.”<sup>51</sup> Despite these lucrative inducements and frequent promises of a furlough, only 1,700 of the remaining 4,300 soldiers in the Pennsylvania Reserve Division reenlisted. Thus, not a single regiment “veteranized.”

Still, the War Department hoped if the president made another call for troops in the summer of 1864, the soldiers who chose not to reenlist might join new regiments that Curtin expected to organize. In the meantime, Cameron’s successor, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, gave General Grant the option to deploy all the Pennsylvania Reserves for his upcoming campaign. Stanton set the reserves’ muster out for the middle of the summer, the earliest on June 11 and the latest on August 10.<sup>52</sup>

By the end of the winter of 1863/64, Governor Curtin became aware of the discrepancy between the War Department’s muster-out date and the commonwealth’s muster-out date. On March 4, he addressed a letter to President Lincoln asking for the reserves’ term of service to “be estimated from the date of their being originally sworn into the service of the state.” Secretary Stanton—who had grown to despise Curtin almost as much as his predecessor had done—intercepted Curtin’s letter and directed Assistant Adjutant General Edward R. Canby to draft a reply to silence the garrulous governor. Canby’s message reiterated Stanton’s decision, stating that discharge dates of the reserves would be calculated from the day the regiments swore into federal service. When Pennsylvania newspapers learned of Canby’s message, they replied with livid denunciation of Stanton and the War Department. The *Harrisburg Patriot and Union* stated:

<sup>51</sup> Martin D. Hardin, *History of the Twelfth Regiment, Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps (41st Regiment of the Line) from Its Muster into Service of the United States, August 10, 1861, to Its Muster Out, June 11, 1864* (New York, 1890), 174.

<sup>52</sup> Stanton set the muster-out dates as follows: First Reserves, August 1; Second Reserves, August 1; Third Reserves, July 23; Fourth Reserves, July 17; Fifth Reserves, June 21; Sixth Reserves, July 27; Seventh Reserves, July 27; Eighth Reserves, July 29; Ninth Reserves, July 27; Tenth Reserves, July 21; Eleventh Reserves, July 29; Twelfth Reserves, August 10; First Rifles, June 11.

The United States Government, under this decision, may gain a few months service from these men at the expense of creating dissatisfaction and losing them for a new period of three years. The treatment of our gallant reserves, on the part of the government, has been shameful ever since they entered Washington four days after the battle of Bull Run. . . . Nothing short of annihilation would seem to be the fate of the gallant Reserves.<sup>53</sup>

The soldiers also grasped the dilemma. The War Department meant to squeeze one more bloody campaign out of the Reserve Division before sending it home. Fearing that their lives would be cut short by this red-tape technicality, they replied with irate vitriol. Corporal Adam S. Bright, a Pittsburgher in the Ninth Reserves, wrote to his uncle that:

The impression is now that we will not be discharged before the middle of July. Old Ed Stanton is stubborn and refuses to let us off. Governor Curtin [*sic*] is doing all he can to get us off in May, but Stanton has an old grudge against Curtin and is going to take it out on the Pennsylvania Reserves. I'm sorry we can't have a sane man for Secretary of War. The Penna. Reserves will remember Stanton. If he was here they would shoot him quick as they would a Reb.<sup>54</sup>

Naturally, the disgruntled Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers looked to Governor Curtin for support. Curtin—now widely renowned as the “soldier’s friend” for his tireless efforts to support military families—had long applauded the division for its battlefield prowess and had made strenuous efforts to reunite the errant Second Brigade, then stationed in Washington and Alexandria, with the rest of the division. One discontented soldier wrote the governor, “Knowing you to be the soldiers friend we place great confidence in you.” Similarly, a Pennsylvania Reserve officer wrote, “We appeal to you because you first conceived us, brought us into existence, our military father, and have at all times protected and defended us against assault.” One soldier humbly concluded an infuriated protest letter with: “If I have offended in writing thus to you, I ask your pardon.”<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*, Apr. 28, 1864.

<sup>54</sup> Adam Bright to Emanuel Stotler, Apr. 15, 1864, in “*Respects to All*”: *The Letters of Two Pennsylvania Boys in the War of the Rebellion*, ed. Aida Craig Truxall (Pittsburgh, PA, 1962), 54.

<sup>55</sup> William Sprague to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 20, 1864; George O'Donnell to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 18, 1864; and William Cooper Talley, Apr. 22, 1864, PSA.

In their denunciations of the War Department's decision, the Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers couched their arguments in a language of citizens' rights, arguing that by extending their tours of duty the federal government had broken its contract with the men. In a letter to Governor Curtin written on April 10, 1864, an anonymous soldier wrote, "We enlisted on the fifteenth of May [18]61 and was not sworn into the United States Service till the 28th of July[.] [N]ow I ask you is that acting fair with us[,] keeping us till that time[?] [A]re we to loose two months and better[?] I say no and the Div says no[.] [W]e will fight for our wrights if need be[.] [W]e have done our duty as well as we knowed how so far but we will do no more after the 18th of May[.] [T]hat is the voice of our Division." Private James Thompson of Company E, Ninth Reserves, warned Governor Curtin correspondingly, writing on April 20 that "should the Secretary of War attempt to keep us longer [than May 15] he may have trouble with us for we are determined that our rights shall not be disregarded by any man or set of men or my government." When Sergeant William P. Sprague, Company K, Ninth Reserves, who expected to be mustered out on May 4, learned that he would have to wait until July 28 to start for home, he stated, "We consider . . . [it] an act of injustice to us, hence the dissatisfaction."<sup>56</sup>

Thirty-four officers from two regiments in the Pennsylvania Reserve Division—the Tenth and Eleventh Reserves—drafted formal resolutions and sent them to Curtin on April 12 and 13. These two sets of resolutions argued that the retention of the reserves longer than three years "would be highly unjust to ourselves and the men under us; [we] desire to make known to your Excellency our emphatic disapproval of such a measure and moreover to petition that there may be some action taken on it at once." The officers of these regiments argued that the federal mustering officer "had nothing whatever to do with our time, that we would be governed altogether on this point by our State Muster," and that, by the transfer to federal authority, "we took no new oath or bound ourselves to no new term of service." Although the officers admitted that they had acted "hasty" by not settling the question of their muster-out date in 1861, at the time, they felt it incumbent upon themselves "to take advantage of . . . our zeal to render our country service in its darkest hour, yet we never for a moment suspected that justice would be any the tardier

<sup>56</sup> "One of the P.R.V.C.s" to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 10, 1864; James Thompson to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 20, 1864; and William P. Sprague to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 20, 1864, PSA.

in a recognition of our services.” Thus, the Pennsylvania Reserve officers believed that extension of their terms of service nullified or impugned the patriotism that had compelled them to enlist in 1861.<sup>57</sup>

Even though the Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers hinted that they would mutiny if ordered to serve until July or August, they simultaneously reaffirmed their patriotism and devotion to the cause, which they claimed had not dissipated since 1861. A letter written to Governor Curtin by “many privates” in the Sixth Reserves stated, “We are no grumblers, and you will please bear in mind the fact that the sentiment of the Penn’a Reserve Corps is that a gross imposition is about to be practiced upon us and the occasion or excuse the officials have for it is ignorance—We protest against it.” These soldiers warned that they would not abide by their newly scheduled muster-out date of July 27, but would “lay down their arms [on May 15] when their term of service expires counting from the date of their enlistment.” Private George W. O’Donnell, a Philadelphian in Company G, Fourth Reserves, argued likewise, suggesting that extending his unit’s term of service to July 17 cheapened the duty he had already done. His company had sworn into commonwealth service on May 29 at the Girard Hotel, and O’Donnell maintained that, “We needed no other oath to bind us to the United States; for we did not enlist to make street parades and make a show of ourselves around the city, but to do our country service, which we have done; or tried to do.” O’Donnell argued that when his company mustered into federal service, it took no specific oath binding it to a muster-out date of July 17, but merely “transferred into [the service of] the United States.” He added, “I am of the opinion that what Laurels we have won will be thrown away; it is a shame when men serves

<sup>57</sup> Officers of the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 12, 1864; and officers of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 13, 1864, PSA. The officers of the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry included Lieutenant Colonel Ira Ayer Jr., Major C. Miller Over, Quartermaster William R. Shippen, Captain Joseph B. Pattes, Captain P. E. Shipler, Captain Valentine Phipps, Captain C. C. Cochran, Captain John B. Gaither, First Lieutenant Charles McLaughlin, First Lieutenant David Service, First Lieutenant George E. Lehman, Second Lieutenant William McQuillen, Second Lieutenant David Farrell, Second Lieutenant N. B. McWilliams, and Second Lieutenant Charles Davis. The officers of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry included Major James C. Burke, Adjutant T. D. Libman, Quartermaster H. A. Lowrance, Captain Edward Scofield, Captain Daniel R. Coder, Captain William H. Timblin, First Lieutenant James P. Boggs, First Lieutenant George W. Heeger, Captain Hannibal Sloan, First Lieutenant Archibald W. Stewart, Second Lieutenant John S. Sutor, First Lieutenant W. R. K. Hook, Captain James A. Hayden, Captain James H. Mills, Second Lieutenant William F. Shuman, First Lieutenant Daniel D. Jones, Second Lieutenant J. G. Jackson, and Second Lieutenant Richard M. Birkman.

their time out faithfull, and then to be trampled upon.”<sup>58</sup>

By referring to their division’s past glories in their protest to Governor Curtin, the privates of the Sixth Reserves made it clear that the federal government had soiled their 1861 patriotism:

History will tell how we have done our duty—The skeleton Regiments, the tattered banners of the Division and the absence of many dear, familiar faces, whose bones are bleaching on the inhospitable soil of “old Dominion” will testify our devotion to that flag, under whose folds we were born and shall it be said that the State of Pennsylvania permitted an outrage of this kind to be practised upon that Division upon which the safety of the capitol of the nation depended at the outset of the war, and the only representative Division of the State in the Army of the United States.<sup>59</sup>

However, the Pennsylvania Reserve did not only denounce what they perceived as threats to their honor. They also expressed concern about the administration’s ability to maintain law and order in the wake of this outrage. If the War Department held the reserves until July, the survivors, many believed, would return home and refuse to reenlist in any of the new regiments then organizing in Pennsylvania. George O’Donnell pointed out that his regiment, the Fourth Reserves, had over three hundred men, and he believed, if not mustered out as soon as possible, “instead of being a profit to the Government,” it would become a “loss.” The privates of the Sixth Reserves warned that if the War Department “would let us go at the proper time, two thirds of the ‘Old Guard’ would find their way again into the army, [but] if they hold us, every man will feel himself aggrieved and will not hesitate to say so. Even now that is the common talk.”<sup>60</sup>

Filling a body of seasoned veterans with an angry resolve seemed like an imprudent idea, especially considering Pennsylvania’s turbulent inter-party competition. Colonel William McCandless, a brigade commander in the reserves, considered the “vexed question” a matter of common sense. Writing to Curtin on April 13, he pointed out, “There is another matter which I suppose has not escaped your attention. I.E. the necessity for maintaining the military spirit of the State in order that we may evade

<sup>58</sup> “Many Privates” to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 11, 1864; and George W. O’Donnell to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 18, 1864, PSA.

<sup>59</sup> “Many Privates” to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 11, 1864, PSA.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid; George W. O’Donnell to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 18, 1864, PSA.

future drafts.” McCandless suggested that the state legislature draft another bill to create a second reserve division to catch the commonwealth’s deserters and draft dodgers. He supposed the discharged soldiers of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division would form a good nucleus for this new body of state troops, but he pointed out, the veterans would only join if they mustered out in May.<sup>61</sup>

Pennsylvania Reserve soldiers also took pains to point out that their votes would be critical in the upcoming presidential campaign. Private James Thompson considered it a “sorrowful day for us to oppose any measure of the Administration,” but if left so distraught by the Republican Party, all of the loyal soldiers in the Pennsylvania Reserves would certainly vote against Lincoln in November. On April 25, Major Richard Ellis, commander of the Second Reserves, cautioned Governor Curtin that, if the War Department held the soldiers in his regiment after May, “they will be turned from ardent supporters to violent opposers of the Administration, National and State. Hold this Division in service to August, and they will carry the State against the Administration next fall in spite of fate—So much for politics.”<sup>62</sup> Major Ellis wrote a letter to Secretary Stanton the next day, asking him to reconsider his opinion, again stating that extension of the reserves’ service would change his men “into violent opposers of the Administration.” Ellis added:

I am particularly anxious with reference to this matter, as I was a member of the [Republican] Convention at Chicago, that nominated His Excellency, the President, and I desire to see him reelected. The men of this Division are of a superior class, and would wield a powerful influence in the State, and will be driven into the ranks of the opposition by retaining them in service after the time which they honestly believe they are entitled to their discharge. I regret to say, that I have frequently heard expressions of opinion of this kind from gentlemen who have heretofore been our warm political friends.<sup>63</sup>

Neither did unrest in the Reserve Division escape the attention of politicians on the home front. William Daniel of Canonsburg, whose town had raised the “Jefferson Light Guards,” now known as Company

<sup>61</sup> William McCandless to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 13, 1864, PSA.

<sup>62</sup> James Thompson to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 20, 1864; and Richard Ellis to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 25, 1864, PSA.

<sup>63</sup> Richard Ellis to Edwin Stanton, Apr. 26, 1864, Edwin McMasters Stanton papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

D, Tenth Reserves, believed the Canonsburg company should receive its discharge on May 15 rather than July 21. In his opinion, Daniel considered it quite unfortunate that the Republican Party would choose to ruin its reputation this way, especially after Curtin had so narrowly won the gubernatorial election in October 1863. Daniel believed that angering the reserves would risk losing Canonsburg to the Democrats and hinder the town's ability to meet its draft quotas. He guessed many of the reserves "were very much wedded to the fortunes of the late Gen McClelland, but I think they have all got over that now, since his imputation on them at Mechanicsville. If those men were permitted to come home at the expiration of their Com[monweal]th Service . . . I have no doubt they would reenlist almost to a man, but if the attempt is made to throw out the time they were in the Service of the State; I fear many of them will not."<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile, the commanders of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division faced a different problem: keeping discipline and preventing unrest from spreading to sympathetic units in the Army of the Potomac. On April 21, six companies of the Sixth Reserves stacked arms and refused to perform duty. The officers of Dauphin County's Company G brought their muster roll to their brigade commander, Colonel McCandless, showing him that their three years had elapsed. McCandless ordered all the mutineers arrested and preferred charges against the ring leaders. He also addressed Curtin, demanding that the governor take action. He wrote, "If this [action by the War Department] is persisted in it will place us in a disreputable position, and all our hard fighting will have gone for naught." Colonel William Cooper Talley, commander of the First Reserves, wrote Curtin the next day, upholding McCandless's decision. "Every attempt of disobedience will be promptly and firmly met," he wrote. "This, however, is only the beginning of the trouble. The cause should be removed, full justice should be done to the men; it is our duty as officers to use all our efforts to accomplish this." Talley urged Curtin to seek a personal audience with the president, because Talley guessed, "Our only hope is that you cause the President (who has the power) to see the necessity of his prompt action in the matter. . . . [T]he least disturbance among us [officers] would be magnified into mutiny by those who would be pleased to have an opportunity of staining our character." On April 24, Major General George G. Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac and also an old commander of the reserves, wrote to Curtin, adding his

<sup>64</sup> William H. Daniel to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 21, 1864, PSA.

endorsement of an early discharge: “My experience is decided that it is inexpedient and impolitic to retain men beyond the period which they honestly believe they are entitled to a discharge. . . . It is of the utmost importance that a speedy decision be made as there are symptoms of disorder and mutiny appearing in this command.”<sup>65</sup>

On April 25, armed with this support, Curtin went to see President Lincoln and agitate for the release of the Reserve Division. Curtin’s audience with the president yielded success, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* declared, “Every difficulty existing between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the National Government has been removed.” Upon his return to Harrisburg, Curtin told Pennsylvania’s citizens that the reserves would muster out in May. To ensure that Lincoln’s promise stuck, Representative Thomas J. Barger, a Philadelphia Democrat, drafted resolutions soliciting President Lincoln for a timely release of the Pennsylvania Reserves. On April 29, the legislature unanimously adopted Barger’s resolutions.<sup>66</sup>

On May 3, Major General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, the commander of the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, drafted orders returning the Reserve Division to Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the order came one day too late. The Army of the Potomac struck tents that same day and crossed Germanna and Ely’s Fords on the Rapidan River on its way to engage the Army of Northern Virginia. Over the next twenty-eight days, the reserves fought in a series of six battles—The Wilderness, Spindle Hill, Spotsylvania, Guinea’s Station, North Anna River, and Bethesda Church—sustaining 1,116 casualties. On May 5, the Seventh Reserves suffered the heaviest loss when two companies of the Sixty-First Georgia Infantry surrounded them in the Wilderness, forcing 273 officers and men to surrender.

Two Reserve Division regiments—the Eighth and Ninth Reserves—departed the front lines after the Battle of Spindle Hill and mustered out in Pittsburgh on May 24 and 13, respectively, the first two to be released from service. On May 31, staff officers read Warren’s farewell orders to the rest of the division. On June 3, the surviving Pennsylvania Reserves marched to White House Landing, boarded transport ships, and on June 6, they sailed into Harrisburg. The survivors met a grand reception at the

<sup>65</sup> William McCandless to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 21, 1864; William Cooper Talley to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 22, 1864; and George Gordon Meade to Andrew Curtin, Apr. 24, 1864, PSA.

<sup>66</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Apr. 28 and 30, 1864; *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 30, 1864; *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*, Apr. 27, 1864.

capitol and received a public thanks from Governor Curtin. Four regiments mustered out in Harrisburg, three took cars to Philadelphia and mustered out there on June 14 and 16, and two more regiments journeyed to Pittsburgh and mustered out there on June 11. The 1,700 soldiers who reenlisted in December 1863 remained in Virginia and reorganized as the 190th and 191st Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments (also known as the First and Second Veteran Reserves).<sup>67</sup> They participated in the Battles of Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad (in which 600 of them were captured), Poplar Springs Church, Hatcher's Run, White Oak Road, and Five Forks.

Only one regiment did not completely muster out: the Seventh Reserves. Instead of going home, the captured enlisted men took a long train ride to Andersonville, Georgia, where sixty-seven of them died.<sup>68</sup> Thirty-three men from Sergeant John I. Faller's Company A entered the stockade, but only nineteen came out at the end of the war. As he squatted in filth and misery, ridden with scurvy, watching his teeth fall out daily, maybe Sergeant Faller considered the curious set of circumstances that plucked him from his cushy assignment in Washington at the eleventh hour of his term of service and extended it long enough to get him captured. Maybe he even pondered the clumsiness of the transfer to federal control that lay at the root of his dilemma and subsequent anguish. But, in the words of the soldiers of the Sixth Reserves, Faller "was no grumbler"; he solemnly did his duty inside the stockade. As long as he remained a breathing prisoner of war, the Confederacy had to appoint soldiers to guard him. By merely surviving, Faller continued to serve his country. Then, in the autumn, Faller received another opportunity to take an oath of allegiance, this time to the Confederacy; the guards promised to give him food and clothing if he chose to switch sides. Faller did not accept. According to him, he and thousands of other inmates "remained faithful to their flag, although food and clothing and life were offered to them to betray their country."<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Two regiments, the Third and Fourth Reserves, had been in West Virginia at muster out. Their veteran volunteers joined the Fifty-Fourth Pennsylvania.

<sup>68</sup> A small contingent of the Seventh Reserves, numbering less than one hundred men under command of Captain Samuel King, mustered out in Philadelphia on June 16. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 1:730.

<sup>69</sup> John I. Faller G.A.R. address, *Philadelphia Record*, Jan. 7, 1906, reprinted in *Dear Folks at Home*, 137–38.

Like many other soldiers in the Reserve Division, Faller considered oath-taking a serious business. In 1861, the Pennsylvania Reserve Division volunteers viewed the commonwealth's oath of allegiance as the moment they became soldiers, as an inviolable contract that protected them from abuse of power, in this case, from federal supremacy. Of course, the War Department had its own interpretation of the oath of allegiance, viewing the federal oath as the true and official declaration of one's duty to his country. This discrepancy in interpreting the oaths ultimately produced the mutinous sentiment of 1864. Had both levels of government solved their constitutional problems in 1861, they might have avoided this unpleasant blemish on the division's stellar war record. In any event, the maladroit sharing of military power between Pennsylvania and the War Department produced a substantial amount of grumbling.

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## *“We Stand on the Same Battlefield”: The Gettysburg Centenary and the Shadow of Race*

ON NOVEMBER 19, 1962, acclaimed Civil War historian Bruce Catton delivered an address to an eager audience at Gettysburg College. That evening, instead of offering listeners installments from his popular *New York Times Magazine* series, which chronicled the “great turning points” of the Civil War, the fifty-five-year-old editor of *American Heritage* addressed the ongoing centennial commemoration of the conflict. Well aware that the very next year the greater Gettysburg community would observe the one hundredth anniversary of the conflict’s most celebrated battle, Catton came to urge both caution and careful consideration in the looming ceremonials. “If we are not careful,” he declared, “we may become prisoners of the Civil War—prisoners of its romance, of its legendry, of the odd, heart-warming, and ever-living impulses which its people, its flags, its songs and its stories send tingling along the spine.”<sup>1</sup>

What troubled Catton was not the propensity of his fellow Americans to look back on the conflict, but the “irresistible force of sentiment” that overwhelmed any discussion of the causes and consequences of the war. “As we proceed with the centennial observances, there is grave danger that a sentimental haze will cloud the landscape so that we fail to see the deep, tragic issues and the profound lessons which were involved,” he said. “If we treat the whole business as a bright and moving pageant we

The author wishes to thank Matthew Norman, the three anonymous readers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, and journal editor Tamara Gaskell for their comments on early drafts of this essay.

<sup>1</sup> See Bruce Catton, “The Irrepressible Centennial,” lecture delivered Nov. 19, 1962, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, reprinted in the *Gettysburg Times*, Centennial Edition, June 28, 1963; for further details on the lecture, see the Gettysburg College *Spectrum* for 1963 in Gettysburg College’s Musselman Library, Special Collections; on Catton’s series for the *New York Times Magazine*, see, for example, Bruce Catton, “Gettysburg: Great Turning Point,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1963. For biographical and contextual details on Catton, see Robert J. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961–1965* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2007), 19.

will waste the whole centennial period, turning what should be a time for sober reflection into a gay party at a colorful musical comedy.”<sup>2</sup>

Catton maintained that 1960s Americans could not allow the clutter of commercialism and the sentimental spectacle of reenactment to cheapen the Civil War centennial. A nation beset by a new generation of internecine conflict about race needed to reflect on the deepest meaning of the nation’s fratricidal conflict. “We are looking back at the greatest single event in American history, trying to see what it means to us today,” Catton continued. “It is that central meaning which is the real reason why we commemorate the Civil War’s centennial. The Civil War was about something. It was fought for something. And let us never forget that it won something. Under everything else, the war was about Negro slavery.”<sup>3</sup>

Despite Catton’s admonition, the sanitized commemorative exercises marking the centennial of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1963 revealed the continuing appeal of what the historian David W. Blight has called the “reconciliatory strain” of Civil War memory. Blight determined that in the half century immediately following the war, sectional reconciliation was ultimately about race. To generate national healing, both the racially prejudiced North and the formerly slaveholding South needed to wittingly forget the conflict’s ideological origins. Notwithstanding the tenacity of “emancipationists,” who faithfully remembered an “abolition war” and sued for an “abolition peace,” reconciliationists merged with white supremacists to excise African Americans from the nation’s collective memory of the conflict. The romance of the “brother’s war,” in which Union and Confederate soldiers were equally heroic, not only obscured the war’s horrific realities, but also facilitated healing at the expense of justice.<sup>4</sup>

Remarkably little had changed in the half century since Gettysburg’s fiftieth anniversary in 1913. As Blight revealed, the jubilee reunion was a neatly packaged festival of reconciliation. It was also a segregated affair, in which the only role for African Americans was distributing blankets to the grizzled, white veterans of what President Woodrow Wilson, a segrega-

<sup>2</sup> Catton, “Irrepressible Centennial.”

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; on the state of the civil rights movement in 1963, see Jack Bell, “Civil Rights Faces Rocky House Future,” *Gettysburg Times*, June 20, 1963; A. F. Mahan, “Freedom Walk Set on Sunday for Detroit,” *Gettysburg Times*, June 19, 1963; Francis Stillely, “Integration Troubles Sweeping Nation,” *Gettysburg Times*, June 27, 1963.

<sup>4</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

tionist, called a “quarrel forgotten.” In 1963, even as civil rights activists laid bare the Civil War’s unfinished racial business, centennial planners carefully omitted emancipationist memories from the Gettysburg celebration. The profit-minded planners instead embraced the enduring romance of a nationally redeeming brother’s war. Especially during the Cold War, it was reconciliation, not racial recrimination, that sold.

For many Americans, post-Civil War sectional reunion ordained the nation for global leadership—domestic racial injustices aside. Historian Mary L. Dudziak has argued that during the Cold War, as lynchings, race violence, and racial segregation marred the image of the United States overseas, the government choreographed “a narrative of race and democracy.” Attempting to defend democracy’s “moral superiority” to the world, government propagandists developed a progressive story about the history of race in America. The moral of this story was that only democratic change made social justice possible, however slow or gradual. Numerous public service announcements, films, and pamphlets disseminated at home and around the globe marveled at the progress made by and for blacks since emancipation. Cold Warriors used Gettysburg, a site of national tragedy and a site of national healing, to stage another stirring pageant of American exceptionalism.<sup>5</sup>

Admittedly, not all Americans overlooked Catton’s recommendations. Many national periodicals and newspaper editorial pages questioned the value of “celebrating” the anniversary without reflecting on the issues of race and equality. On the first day of the ceremonials, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame and a member of the US Commission on Civil Rights, demanded basic rights for African Americans in a Memorial Field Mass at the Eternal Peace Memorial. Messages delivered by progressive northern governors echoed Hesburgh’s call for Americans to become emancipators. But these pleas were drowned out in the roar of prerecorded cannons, bellowing out their own message as more than five hundred gray-clad reenactors charged toward Cemetery Ridge—rebel banners to the breeze. “A century after the last musket echoed across the green hills of southern Pennsylvania,” *Newsweek* observed, “the ceremonies at Gettysburg dramatized the

<sup>5</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 383–89; Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 11–15, 47–78; see also Deborah Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Jackson, MS, 1998). On Gettysburg’s place in the cultural nationalism of the Cold War, see Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, NJ, 2003), 142–44.

unhappy and ironic truth that many of the same passions that divided the nation 100 years ago divide it still.”<sup>6</sup>

As Americans prepared to celebrate the Civil War centennial, “emancipationists” recognized that the freedom and equality allegedly consecrated by the Civil War remained elusive. NAACP president Roy Wilkins held that the war was not the triumph of American ideals, but the nation’s unfinished race war. “As every Negro knows, the Civil War is still being fought, and play acting battles of the current centennial celebration are merely historical backdrops for the continuing action downstage.” By situating the Gettysburg centenary in the context of the Cold War and the black struggle for freedom, this essay demonstrates that the past, as Roy Wilkins recognized, is always selectively remembered and conditioned by the exigencies of the present. By providing the first detailed investigation of how the struggle over the meaning of the Civil War played out in Gettysburg during the summer of 1963, this article lends depth and texture to the growing literature on Civil War commemoration in the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup>

*“Out of the Grim Necessity”: The Making of the Gettysburg Centennial*

On April 20, 1956, preparations for the centennial celebration were set in motion with an act of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. The legislation authorized George M. Leader, governor of Pennsylvania, to appoint a nine-member state commission to consider and arrange plans for “proper and fitting recognition and observance at Gettysburg.”<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>6</sup> “Gettysburg: ‘The Task Remaining,’” *Newsweek*, July 15, 1963, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Roy Wilkins as quoted in L. Jesse Lemisch, “Who Won the Civil War, Anyway?” *Nation*, Apr. 8, 1961, 301. The Gettysburg centennial exercises have been treated by several historians, but only in passing and without the benefit of the materials housed at the Adams County Historical Society. See Jon Weiner, “Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights: The Civil War Centennial in Context, 1961–1965,” in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), 237–57, and Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana, IL, 1991), 98–100. An emerging literature on Civil War memory in the twentieth century includes Robert Cook’s history of the US Civil War Centennial Commission, *Troubled Commemoration, The American Civil War Centennial, 1961–1965* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2007); Gary W. Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008); and Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington, DC, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Pennsylvania General Assembly Act No. 487, approved Apr. 20, 1956, in *Gettysburg 1963: An Account of the Centennial Commemoration*, ed. Louis N. Simon (Harrisburg, PA, 1964), 62, copy in manuscript box 190, “Battle of Gettysburg: 100th Anniversary 1963,” Adams County Historical

governor announced his appointments over the course of the following year. In an attempt to underscore the vitality of American arms, military officers—including Lt. Gen. Milton Baker, superintendent of Valley Forge Military Academy; Lt. Gen. Willard S. Paul, president of Gettysburg College; Col. John S. Rice, chair of the seventy-fifth anniversary ceremonials; and Lt. Gen. Edward Stackpole, a military historian of the Civil War—dominated the panel. Governor Leader tapped Maj. Gen. Anthony Biddle Jr. to serve as commission chairperson.<sup>9</sup>

When the panel met for the first time on November 20, 1957, it agreed that the anniversary “should take the form of a pageant,” dedicated to the twin goals of national unity and “keeping peace through international understanding.” The panel quickly appropriated Gettysburg as a battlefield in the Cold War. “It is not only because Gettysburg was the greatest battle ever to have been fought on American soil—nor that it was the turning point of the war . . . that we commemorate it,” the commission secretary wrote. “It is rather that out of the grim necessity of burying thousands of dead, there arose an eloquent and enduring expression of these United States.”<sup>10</sup>

Alongside the specter of communism, however, racial tensions escalated across the nation. In April 1961, racial anxieties were so heightened that even the plenary meeting of the federal Civil War Centennial Commission in Charleston, South Carolina, resulted in a political imbroglio. The crisis erupted when the hotel hosting the meeting denied accommodation to an African American member of New Jersey’s Civil War Centennial Commission. Responding swiftly in the hope of salvaging a peaceful period of remembrance, President Kennedy moved the meeting to a federal naval base outside of the city.<sup>11</sup> African Americans used the incident to address the meaning and the potential of the Civil War centennial. In a public statement released after a mass meeting at

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Society (hereafter cited as ACHS), Gettysburg, PA. The Gettysburg Centennial Commission charged Simon, its secretary, with authoring this official report of activities for the commonwealth.

<sup>9</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 1–3. Other members of the commission included Postmaster J. Mark Good of Williamsport; Donald Swope, an attorney from Gettysburg; Dr. Clarence O. Walton, dean of school administration at Duquesne University; and state senator Charles Weiner of Philadelphia.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> See Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 88–103; US Civil War Centennial Commission, *The Civil War Centennial: A Report to Congress* (Washington, DC, 1968), 6; “Case Protests Segregation Rule in Sumter Civil War Centennial,” *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 1961; NAACP president Roy Wilkins to Karl Betts, telegram, Mar. 16, 1961, in NAACP Papers, box III:A76, “Civil War Centennial” folder, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 5–6.

Charleston's Emanuel AME Church on April 11, the NAACP leadership called for Americans "of democratic mind to take the occasion of this centennial as a period of national mourning . . . for the suffering and the stigma and the sin of slavery which this nation countenanced for two centuries and a half." Sober reflection would be meaningless, however, if not accompanied by substantive work to achieve racial equality. "Let the period of this centennial be a time for binding up the wounds, erasing the barriers, and for establishing that justice and equality which were the dream of the founding fathers," the statement concluded. Marked by pause instead of pageantry, the mode of Civil War commemoration favored by African Americans renewed Lincoln's appeal for a new birth of freedom—to "fulfill the present world's hope that this is, indeed, the 'land of the free and the home of the brave.'"<sup>12</sup>

The Gettysburg Centennial Commission also responded to the Charleston debacle, adopting a resolution seemingly committed to equality for all. "In programming . . . the Commission has emphasized the theme of unity and brotherhood—the unity and brotherhood that grew out of the Civil War, and that necessarily entails equality of opportunity for all. . . . It is the sense of the meeting that we insist upon equality of opportunity as a condition for our participation in any meetings or events in connection with the Civil War Centennial observance." Waging the Cold War demanded that the nation—and the Gettysburg Centennial Commission—place race relations in "the best possible light for dissemination abroad."<sup>13</sup>

Soon after the adoption of this resolution, the commission acquired a new look. That April, Chairman Biddle resigned his position to accept the ambassadorship to Spain. On July 6, 1961, Governor Leader's Democratic successor, David Lawrence, selected Maj. Gen. Malcolm Hay, the adjutant general of the commonwealth, to serve as chair. Within a few weeks, the commission's ranks diminished further. President Kennedy appointed Col. Rice ambassador to the Netherlands. Upon leaving the presidency of Gettysburg College, Gen. Paul resigned from the panel. Governor Lawrence tapped Secretary of the Commonwealth E.

<sup>12</sup> NAACP Statement, Apr. 11, 1961, issued at mass meeting, Emanuel AME Church, Charleston, SC, in NAACP Papers, box III:A76, "Civil War Centennial" folder, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>13</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 5–6; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 49.

James Trimarchi to replace Rice, and on August 21 Henry M. Scharf, manager of the Hotel Gettysburg, assumed the seat vacated by Paul.<sup>14</sup>

While members of the first Gettysburg panel permitted their martial attitudes to influence anniversary plans, the succeeding commissioners were attentive to the anniversary's market value. After World War II, as the historian Lizabeth Cohen has demonstrated, the roles of citizens and consumers converged in American culture, creating a nation dedicated to mass consumption. Thus, being a good citizen meant not only embracing a comforting narrative of America's past, but also consuming it.<sup>15</sup> "With more and more tourists coming in, we think we should look the way people expect us to look," one local booster remarked. As the historian Jim Weeks demonstrated in his examination of Gettysburg's role in American culture, the battlefield was never at odds with the marketplace; entrepreneurs and promoters began attracting pilgrims almost immediately after the battle. Gettysburg, according to one centennial-era magazine article, boasted "the mystique of a magic name" and a "great historic value to many people." By the 1960s, a Gettysburg sightseer could visit the National Park Service's newly opened Visitor Center and Cyclorama complex on Cemetery Ridge; tour the battlefield by automobile, bus, or helicopter; and purchase "Real Civil War Bullets" for thirty cents. By 1963, more than two million visitors inundated the borough each year, a statistic that caused one town official to ask, "how on earth could we do without them?"<sup>16</sup>

Consequently, at the request of Chairman Hay, Harold Swenson, who administered the Travel Bureau of the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, joined the commission at its August 24, 1961, meeting at Indiantown Gap Military Reservation. Representatives from both the

<sup>14</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg*; Scott Hart, "Gettysburg Today: A Past Worth \$10 Million," *Washington World*, Nov. 18, 1963; Robert P. Jordan, "Gettysburg and Vicksburg: The Battle Towns Today," *National Geographic*, July 1963, 4-57; John W. Stepp, "A New Look for Gettysburg," *Washington Post Sunday Star Magazine*, Feb. 11, 1962; "Gettysburg Visit Center Opening Set," *Hanover (PA) Evening Sun*, Mar. 11, 1962; "Gettysburg's Gain," *New York Times*, May 6, 1962; Benjamin Eshleman to Henry M. Scharf, Dec. 18, 1958, in manuscript box 190, ACHS. The planning for the centennial coincided with Governor Lawrence's aggressive initiative to increase tourism in the Keystone State. By the end of 1962, the governor installed some forty-five "Tourist Promotional Bureaus" across the commonwealth. See David Lawrence, "45 'On the Spot' Tourist Bureaus to Serve the Pleasure Traveler," *Penn Rambles*, Nov.-Dec. 1962, 1.

Gettysburg National Military Park and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission also attended to pledge their “complete cooperation” in luring tourists to the centennial celebration. Perhaps even more demonstrative of the new emphasis on commercialization, the panel, now officially known as the Gettysburg Centennial Corporation, asked for and received a \$100,000 operating budget from the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Some of these funds underwrote the manufacture of keepsake silver and bronze medallions, which would go on sale to the public the following summer. In addition, the commission earmarked \$12,500 to retain the services of Adele Gutman Nathan, a New York City–based children’s author and theatrical production consultant. Nathan drafted the plans for a series of live “vignettes,” intended to “bring out sidelights of human interest.” Nathan selected Betty Gifford, a Gettysburg resident and member of the Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission, to select the incidents, write the scenarios, and recruit the actors.<sup>17</sup>

With substantial funds secured from the state legislature, more comprehensive planning could proceed. By the end of summer 1962, commissioners had a tentative program in place, perfectly melding the military might embodied by the first commission with the commercial tendencies of the new panel. Each day of the planned four-day commemoration would address a larger theme. On July 1, “Our Heritage Day” would commence at the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, featuring speeches by local and state officials and performances by bands and choirs. A two-hour parade of historical reenactors and modern warriors would celebrate “Strength through Unity” on July 2. The next day, the anniversary of the battle’s “High Water Mark,” reenactors would recreate Pickett’s Charge, in conjunction with an exhibition of contemporary military equipment by the Pennsylvania National Guard. Finally, on Independence Day, following in the footsteps of two predecessors (Woodrow Wilson at the jubilee in 1913 and FDR at the battle’s seventy-fifth anniversary in 1938), President Kennedy would deliver a battle anniversary address to the nation on the theme “Forever Free.” Only this final event on the program was in doubt. “Though the White

<sup>17</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 7–9; “Battle Commission Tells How Its Funds Are Spent,” *Gettysburg Times*, undated clipping, in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, Gettysburg, PA; obituary for Adele Nathan, *Gettysburg Times*, July 24, 1986, clipping in the Gifford Family Collection, ACHS; “Symbolic Re-Enactments, Pageantry, Parade, to Be Features of July,” *Gettysburg Times*, undated clipping, in Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission Collection, ACHS.

House cannot confirm any engagement so far in advance,” commissioners noted, “it is unlikely that the precedent will not be followed.”<sup>18</sup>

Thus, when Bruce Catton arrived that autumn for the anniversary of the Gettysburg Address, the commissioners’ work was well underway. On November 20, the day after Catton delivered his remarks at Gettysburg College, the commissioners met at the Hotel Gettysburg to announce their plans to the public. Though lacking confirmation that Kennedy would come to Gettysburg, Mayor William G. Weaver was nevertheless proud to announce that borough resident and former president Dwight D. Eisenhower would speak at a memorial ceremony hosted by the Gettysburg Fire Department on June 30.<sup>19</sup>

Excitement for the observances swelled when the New Year arrived. Virtually every state and local civic organization, scouting group, and business wanted to find a way to participate in or to promote the activities. The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission printed a glossy new brochure that featured a panel on the battle. “Throughout 1963, Americans will observe the great Civil War Battle of Gettysburg, which took place during the first days of July, 1863. Turnpike exits 16 and 17 should be used to reach the site.” The American Automobile Association announced that it would cover the battlefield with tourist information booths and offered to train local citizens to staff them. Area motel proprietors also cheerfully raised the centennial banner; by April, most motor inns boasted no vacancies. “As for accommodations, that is a grave problem here,” Betty Gifford admitted in a letter to one prospective visitor. “All hotels, motels, and rooms have been reserved in and around Gettysburg for a radius of sixty miles, since early spring.” In addition to the support of the hospitality industry, Clayton Jester, president of the Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission, stated that some eighty retail merchants and places of worship promised to promote centennial activities. With the sanction of the state commission, Jester established a coordinating committee charged with maintaining these alliances and training and recruiting an army of local volunteers.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 7–9; “Kennedy Invited to Gettysburg Centenary,” *Penn Rambles*, Nov.–Dec. 1962, 1, 3; “Centennial Set at Gettysburg,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Dec. 2, 1962; preliminary program of the Gettysburg Centennial Commemoration, in manuscript box 190, ACHS.

<sup>19</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 15–16.

<sup>20</sup> See 1963 Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission brochure in manuscript box 190, ACHS; “A New Birth of Freedom,” *Reading Automobile Club Magazine*, June 1963, 6–7, 20–21; Minutes of the Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission, meeting held Mar. 19, 1963, and “To

In response to mounting public interest in the anniversary, the commissioners employed George Kabusk as a full-time press secretary. This was not the only modification in commission personnel, as the inauguration of Republican William Scranton as governor meant the departure of Governor Lawrence's cabinet officers from the panel. Scranton elevated Lt. Gen. Baker to the position of chairperson and selected Maj. Gen. Thomas R. White and John Tabor, Pennsylvania secretary of commerce, to fill the vacant seats. These newcomers would provide the logistical support required to stage an already well-choreographed pageant.

Only one program item remained unsettled: the appearance of President Kennedy. Despite dogged attempts to secure a commitment from the White House, the president disappointed the commissioners. In a letter dated April 26, 1963, the White House explained that since "the Battle of Gettysburg commemoration comes shortly after he will have returned from his trip to Europe, the President feels he just cannot promise to participate in this observance." Although his motives remain indiscernible, it is reasonable to surmise that the president wished to avoid the Civil War passions still dividing the nation. Considering that Kennedy dispatched United Nations ambassador Adlai M. Stevenson to a September 1962 Lincoln Memorial event marking the one hundredth anniversary of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, his failure to appear in Gettysburg may have been predictable.<sup>21</sup>

Consequently, the disappointed Gettysburg commissioners opted to shorten the ceremonials, abandoning "Forever Free" Day. Though the "freedom" celebration conceived by organizers was hardly the "freedom"

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Coordinate Groups for July Fete," *Gettysburg Times*, undated clipping, both in Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission Collection, ACHS; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 20; Betty Gifford to Michael West, May 6, 1963, in Gifford Family Collection, ACHS.

<sup>21</sup> It is also important to consider that Kennedy was well aware of his need to make an appearance at the Gettysburg battle site in 1963. On March 31, Kennedy drove his family and weekend guests from Camp David in nearby Thurmont, Maryland, to Gettysburg for a tour. When the presidential party arrived in Kennedy's black Mercury convertible, legendary guide Jacob Sheads interpreted the history of the battle—making stops that allowed the president to admire the North Carolina Monument, the vista afforded by Little Round Top, and the fields of Pickett's Charge. This trip suggests that if Kennedy recognized the significance of the Civil War in the civil rights movement, he chose to make that connection privately—not publicly. See "Kennedy and Family Tour Battlefield at Gettysburg," *New York Times*, Apr. 1, 1963; "President and Family Visit Field Sunday," *Gettysburg Times*, Apr. 1, 1963; "The Pressures," *New York Times*, June 2, 1963; Drew Pearson, "LBJ Carries the Ball on Rights," *Washington Post*, June 9, 1963; James Marlow, "Kennedy Faces Hottest Summer in White House," *Gettysburg Times*, July 6, 1963. On the September 1962 Lincoln Memorial event, see Weiner's marvelous essay, "Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights."

being championed by civil rights advocates, discarding this theme restricted the potential of the event.<sup>22</sup>

Just a few months before the president declined to attend, Governor Scranton announced that he was sending invitations to the twenty-eight governors whose states supplied men to Gettysburg armies. What would the second meeting of these charged forces at the crossroads of Gettysburg mean? Although the commissioners and coordinators spent years preparing for the centennial, they were unprepared to answer that question when the observances commenced.

*“Ever-Living Impulses”: Sentimentality and the Gettysburg Centennial*

“We who live here bid you welcome to history, and to more than history. Far too many see here but a collection of monuments, some magnificent, some utilitarian, marking the record and the taste of an almost forgotten generation, our great-grandfathers,” Mayor Weaver declared in a greeting to centennial goers. “We urge you not to hurry your visit, but to open your imagination and your emotions to the voice of the past. . . . We hope you find America here.” The thousands of visitors who traveled to the battlefield during the centennial summer experienced no shortage of sentimentality. Beginning in late June and continuing into July, local organizations sponsored a host of commemorative activities to frame the three-day observance—including a pageant and parade in Carlisle and reenactments of minor Civil War clashes in nearby Waynesboro, Hanover, and Westminster. No cavalry skirmish or infantry engagement was too insignificant to be staged by modern reenactors donning Sears and Roebuck blue and gray.<sup>23</sup>

On June 27, 1963, Gettysburg hosted one of these performances. Sponsored by the Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission, over six hundred Confederate reenactors attempted to recreate the scenes

<sup>22</sup> George Kabusk, “Gettysburg Prepares for 100th,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, May 1963, 20–21; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 17–18, 21; “JFK Declines Local Invitation,” *Gettysburg Times*, undated clipping, in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-45a, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; “Battle of Gettysburg 100th Anniversary July 1–3,” final brochure produced by the Gettysburg Centennial Commission, in manuscript box 190, ACHS.

<sup>23</sup> William G. Weaver, “Welcome to Gettysburg,” in *Historic Gettysburg Tourist Guide*, Centennial Issue (Gettysburg, PA, 1963), and 1963 Calendar of Events for the 100th Anniversary of the Civil War in Adams County, both in “Battle of Gettysburg—Anniversaries, 1963” lateral file, ACHS.

of a century ago. On June 26, 1863, Maj. Gen. Jubal Early's division pressed east from Caledonia, Pennsylvania, intending to cross the Susquehanna at Wrightsville. Late that afternoon, Early's men marched into Gettysburg, pushed away the Twenty-Sixth Pennsylvania Emergency Militia Regiment, and ransomed the town.<sup>24</sup> Now, with spectators watching from a reviewing stand erected at the corner of Baltimore and East Middle streets, the Confederate troops invaded the borough, demanding provisions from the grandson of David Kendlehart, the council president confronted by Early in 1863. A narrator provided the "historical context," proclaiming that the Confederates harbored "no intention of burning, or even harming Gettysburg." These mawkish tributes to the invaders, described fraternally as "handsome, brave, and true leaders," were devastating in their denial of the pillage and plunder visited on Gettysburg civilians. "The people of the town found the Confederates were just as human as they," the narration informed.<sup>25</sup>

Odes to the "brother's war" persisted as the observances continued. Bidders at an auction sponsored by the local Junior Chamber of Commerce used facsimile Confederate money to vie for prizes. The Gettysburg National Bank commissioned an original, oil-on-canvas painting of Generals Meade and Lee standing together, united by common conviction. The bank provided its depositors with keepsake postcards of the painting. General Lee, these postcards instructed, was not only "universally revered by friend and foe alike," but also "a symbol of the true spirit of America. Talented, generous, devoted to duty; persevering . . . he belongs to all of us." Around the corner from the bank, the Hotel Gettysburg added hominy grits to its menu in an effort "to make the folks from Dixie feel at home in a town where they were not exactly comfortable 100 years ago."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Early Takes Gettysburg after Sharp Fighting in the Town Square on Thursday," *Gettysburg Times*, June 28, 1963. On Early's ransom of Gettysburg, see Steven E. Woodworth, *Beneath a Northern Sky: A Short History of the Gettysburg Campaign*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD, 2008), 30.

<sup>25</sup> "Early Takes Gettysburg," June 28, 1963; "Town to Stage Early Affair Re-Enactment," *Gettysburg Times*, June 19, 1963; "County Group Plans June 27 Events Here," *Gettysburg Times*, June 12, 1963; Minutes of the Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission, meeting held May 14, 1963, in Adams County Civil War Centennial Commission Collection, ACHS; "Early Captures Gettysburg," text of the pageant narration, in manuscript box 190, ACHS.

<sup>26</sup> "Rebel Money Auction" note and Gettysburg National Bank "Meade-Lee" postcard, originals in manuscript box 190, ACHS. The remarks about Lee are taken from the Gettysburg National Bank's advertisement in the Centennial Edition of the *Gettysburg Times*, June 28, 1963; "Grits on Menu in Gettysburg," *Greensboro (NC) Daily News*, July 1, 1963.

The advertisements of a wide array of businesses and organizations, ranging from Hankey's Grocery on Washington Street to Zerfing's Hardware in Littlestown, spoke to the visitors in the distinct dialect of sectional reconciliation. "Much more is to be gained by clasping hands than by crackling guns . . . friendship and progress go hand-in-hand!" noted a quarter-page ad from the Gettysburg Retail Merchants Association. Obediently, Lee and Grant extended their hands across one bulletin sponsored by the Sico Company of nearby Mount Joy. The Adams County Democratic Party extolled the "benign," "quiet," and "prayerful" way that the armies "achieved peace," while the A&P Supermarket paid "tribute to the Blue and the Grey," Americans all who were "fighting for a cause in which they believed." The Plaza Restaurant fashioned a full-page advertisement commemorating "The Spirit of Gettysburg," a force that included a struggle of "mutual sacrifice," the peaceful convergence of "the colors of the Blue and the Gray" upon the "altar of a stone wall," and the resulting national "unity." Finally, Chambersburg's Osterman House Restaurant celebrated the erasure of "the scars of a battle that saw brother fight against brother."<sup>27</sup> Such maudlin messages carried the inevitable air of celebration. "Centennial," noted a commercial for the Bendersville National Bank, "is a word that often goes with 'celebration.'" The neighboring town of New Oxford, Pennsylvania, extended its "best wishes . . . in celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg." Bruce Catton's caution had fallen upon deaf ears.<sup>28</sup>

Yet nowhere was the cloying spirit of sectional reconciliation more pronounced than in the series of battlefield vignettes written by Betty Gifford and produced by Adele Gutman Nathan. From nine o'clock until noon on the first three days of July, "a series of episodes dealing with the daily behavior of men under the stress of battle" were "dramatized continuously." Gifford selected seven scenes—some more apocryphal than accurate—for amateur actors to stage at various locations around the battlefield. "Brother Captures Brother" recalled the afternoon of July 1, when a detail of the Forty-Fifth New York led by Corporal Rudolph Schwarz captured some Confederate soldiers—including one of Schwarz's brothers. "A Life Saved by a Gentleman" depicted Confederate general John B.

<sup>27</sup> There were 546 display advertisements in the 144 pages and eight special sections of the Centennial Edition of the *Gettysburg Times*, which appeared on June 28, 1963.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

Gordon's discovery of Union general Francis Barlow, advising the audience of their alleged postwar friendship. "Friendly Enemies" instructed that "mercy replaced violence when the battle was over," and that "the thirsty and wounded of both armies in the area of Spangler's Spring shared the common supply of water." Another scene dramatized the nest of Confederate sharpshooters ensconced between the boulders of Devil's Den on the battle's second day, while the final act of the sequence paid tribute to "A Valiant General, A Noble Man," Robert E. Lee. Only two of Betty Gifford's scenes recalled Union personalities; none of them addressed the deepest meaning of the war.<sup>29</sup>

For an estimated fifty thousand onlookers, though, the vignettes were the central attraction of the observances. "The Vignettes which you conceived, wrote and executed were, in my opinion, the finest contribution that was made to the entire affair," Louis Simon, the executive secretary of the commission, wrote in a letter to Gifford. "You and the directors who worked with you deserve special commendation for the way in which you carried out the job." The National Park Service likewise piled accolades on Gifford. "I would like to congratulate you and the members of your vignette casts for putting on such an attractive show," wrote Kittridge A. Wing, superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park. "We hear many complimentary remarks from visitors, and are also getting letters praising the presentation." Commissioner Scharf, in his capacity as manager of the Hotel Gettysburg, overheard several guests praising the vignettes: "We came in contact with many scores of people at the hotel and, without exception, they declared the 'Vignettes' to be outstanding and certainly one of the real attractions of the entire Centennial observance." Yet, perhaps Nathan best captured the meaning of the vignettes. In a March interview with the *Baltimore Sun*, the pageant producer was asked to critique the ongoing work of the Gettysburg Centennial Commission. "These people [the commission members]," she explained as she began her assessment, "They know history. But they don't know show business, and that is what this is."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> "Battle of Gettysburg 100th Anniversary July 1-3"; Betty Gifford's typescripts and handwritten notes for the "Vignettes of History," in Gifford Family Collection, ACHS; "80 Local Citizens Offer 7 Historical Vignettes during Centennial Days," *Gettysburg Times*, June 18, 1963; Adele Gutman Nathan, "Description of Events," in Adele Gutman Nathan Theatrical Collection, ser. I, box 9, folder 251, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

<sup>30</sup> "Claim 50,000 Saw Vignettes," *Gettysburg Times*, July 11, 1963; Louis M. Simon to Betty Gifford, July 11, 1963; Kittridge A. Wing to Gifford, July 9, 1963; Henry Scharf to Gifford, July 5, 1963; Adele Nathan to Gifford, July 10, 1963; see also Frank Skidmore to Gifford, July 9, 1963, and

“Strength and Solidarity”:  
*The Gettysburg Centennial as a Cold War Pageant*

Another important role of sentimentality at the Gettysburg commemoration was to express a distinct brand of Cold War American exceptionalism. “When you return home, you will have a truer, more intense feeling of how this country looks, of what it suffered trying to find out what it was, and of what it must forever be,” state commissioners suggested in one brochure. “May we be ever mindful of the heroism and dedication that have made possible America’s strength and solidarity,” admonished an advertisement for one Gettysburg clothier. In a brief column hoping to lure visitors to the battlefield, Commissioner Tabor suggested that children “will gain a new conception of the meaning of their priceless heritage of American citizenship.” He posited that the struggle at Gettysburg allowed the nation to “emerge into the bright sunshine of freedom. . . . The observance . . . is a fitting and timely reminder to all people in these days of world-wide strife that the freedoms we enjoy are not won easily nor to be taken lightly.”<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, “taking advantage of the occasion” on the eve of the battle anniversary, Gettysburg resident and former president Dwight D. Eisenhower cited modern “perils to liberty.” Speaking for nearly an hour to an outdoor crowd at Gettysburg High School, Eisenhower declared that risks, “as real in 1963 as they were a century ago,” continued to endanger democracy. “Much of the world lives under dictatorships—largely Communist dictatorships that outspokenly declare their intention of destroying the concept of individual liberty and the right of people to govern themselves,” he said. The lesson of “citizen self-reliance,” what Eisenhower called the logic of refusing favors from paternalistic governments, was the most important message from the battle, itself “a supreme example of courage, endurance, determination and loyalty that animated all the forces of the North and of the South.” In one last demonstration

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Marie C. Tressing to Gifford, July 5, 1963, all in the Gifford Family Collection, ACHS; Adele Nathan as quoted in *Baltimore Sun*, Mar. 3, 1963, in Adele Gutman Nathan Theatrical Collection, ser. I, box 9, folder 250, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

<sup>31</sup> John K. Tabor, “Gettysburg,” in *Penn Rambles*, June–July 1963, 2; “The Civil War,” centennial brochure produced by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in “Battle of Gettysburg—Anniversaries, 1963” lateral file, ACHS. The quote is from Paul Engle, “Centennial Tour of the Civil War,” *Better Homes and Gardens*, Oct. 1960. For the advertisement, see the Centennial Edition of the *Gettysburg Times*, June 28, 1963.

of the spirit of mutual respect and strength, Eisenhower concluded his remarks by presenting centennial medallions to Robert E. Lee IV, and George Gordon Meade III, descendants of the army commanders.<sup>32</sup>

Eisenhower's evasion of a direct reference to civil rights in a speech assessing contemporary threats to liberty was not lost on some observers. "Mr. Eisenhower did not mention the big issue of this 100th year after Gettysburg—the Negro and his civil rights," Jean White editorialized in the *Washington Post*. *Newsweek* complained that the former president simply made "a bland reference to the need for furthering 'equality of opportunity among all citizens.'" Rather than ceremonially presiding over the observances, Eisenhower slipped quickly and quietly out of town, returning to his boyhood home of Abilene, Kansas, for a celebration of his own.<sup>33</sup>

The commemoration that Eisenhower left began on July 1 with Our Heritage Day. Following the posting of state and national flags and opening remarks from Governor Scranton, the first day's issue of the five-cent Gettysburg postage stamp, the third in a series of Civil War centennial commemoratives, was unveiled. In his remarks, the postmaster general, J. Edward Day, declared "the deeper significance of Gettysburg" to be "the testing of the democratic idea and the endurance of government by the people." Day continued:

Gettysburg was decisive for our present day American role as the top world power. . . . In today's world of a divided Germany, a divided Europe, a divided China, Gettysburg provides a beacon light of hope for reunification. In the face of disappointments and failures in our American efforts for a nuclear test ban treaty and for disarmament, Gettysburg should remind us never to lose heart, because the stakes are so momentous in the effort for peace. . . . And we can be grateful that in today's world of uncertain, unstable, and makeshift governments, that we Americans are blessed with a stable and effective system of government as we pursue our national ideals. . . . I hope that the 130 million Gettysburg stamps we are issuing

<sup>32</sup> Edith Evans Asbury, "Eisenhower Cites Perils to Liberty," *New York Times*, July 1, 1963; Jean White, "Eisenhower Preaches Self-Reliance in Speech at Gettysburg Battlefield," and "Text of Eisenhower's Address at Gettysburg Observance," *Washington Post*, July 1, 1963; "Battle Anniversary Commemorative Service, June 30, 1963, Gettysburg, PA," in 109 Cong. Rec., 11512–13 (July 8, 1963), copies in manuscript box 190, ACHS; "Meade and Lee Receive Medallions," *Gettysburg Times*, July 1, 1963; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 10, 22.

<sup>33</sup> Jean White, "Eisenhower Preaches Self-Reliance in Speech at Gettysburg Battlefield," *Washington Post*, July 1, 1963; "Gettysburg: 'The Task Remaining,'" July 15, 1963, 19; Donald Janson, "Eisenhower Pays Visit to Abilene—General Returns Quietly to Boyhood Kansas Home," *New York Times*, July 3, 1963.

following this dedication today will remind Americans not of bitterness and internecine strife, but of the preservation of the Union and of the freedom and of the greatness of the United States.<sup>34</sup>

Nonetheless, it was the second day of the centennial exercises that literally put these ideas on the march. The afternoon of July 2, an estimated thirty-five thousand (“the biggest parade crowd in 25 years”) lined the narrow borough sidewalks to observe “the longest and most spectacular parade held in the community since the 75th anniversary of the battle.” Even heavy rains could not displace anxious spectators. The parade formed south of town at Codori Farm, its route passing through the flag-festooned town square to Eisenhower Elementary School.<sup>35</sup>

When the rain relented, the procession began. Accompanied by a fly-over of two air force jets, “the procession itself was a display of the nation’s military might from the Civil War to the present time.” Four police officers on motorcycles and six mounted state troopers escorted the parade, accompanied as far as the viewing stand by the grand marshal, Maj. Gen. Henry K. Fluck, and his aides, Brig. Gen. Herbert Vernet Jr.; Capt. Albert Kuhn; and Lt. Frederick H. Heitefuss. More than five thousand members of the Pennsylvania National Guard, including the 28th Division and the 104th Armored Cavalry, represented modern enlisted men. Depictions of contemporary military strength were wide and varied. Parade floats exhibited a rifle team in attack position; emergency surgery stations; mobile machine shops; jeeps; helicopters; tanks and mortars. For many, the most memorable float was that of the 228th Supply-Transportation Unit of the National Guard, featuring a mobile field bath

<sup>34</sup> Remarks by J. Edward Day, Postmaster General, at the Dedication of 5-Cent Gettysburg Commemorative Stamp, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in General Release No. 109, Information Service—Post Office Department, Washington DC (July 1, 1963), copy in manuscript box 190, ACHS; see also remarks in 109 Cong. Rec., 11790–91 (July 11, 1963), copy in manuscript box 190, ACHS; “Gettysburg Commemorative Stamp Is Dedicated; 20 Acres of Battle Land Given to U.S.; Scranton Talks Monday,” undated, unmarked clipping in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; see also Charles Sopkin, “Which Stamp Wins the Battle of Gettysburg?” *This Week Magazine*, Feb. 10, 1963, 10, 12; see also “Unity Is Theme of Centennial at Gettysburg,” *Minneapolis (MN) Morning Tribune*, July 2, 1863.

<sup>35</sup> Edith Evans Asbury, “Gettysburg Fete Depicts 2 Armies,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1963; “Parade Marks 2nd Day at Gettysburg,” *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, July 2, 1963; “Highlights of Centennial Parade,” and “Crowd of More Than 35,000 View Centennial Parade on Tuesday; Rain Delays Start,” undated, unmarked clippings in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; see also typescripts and schematics from the Office of the Grand Marshal, Gettysburg Centennial Parade, May 20, 1963, in “Battle of Gettysburg—Anniversaries, 1963” lateral file, ACHS.

with a soldier enjoying a shower throughout the parade. The US Navy, Coast Guard, ROTC, and Civilian Air Patrol followed behind, striding to the cadences of the US Air Force Drum and Bugle Corps and the US Air Force Band. “Many people expressed concern about a sudden military attack on Pennsylvania as unit after unit of the Keystone guardians of peace did themselves proud in a parade which was about 98 percent military,” one reporter observed wryly.<sup>36</sup>

Union and Confederate reenacting units also took part in the procession. Some reactivated Confederates collaborated on a float bearing an intricate, life-size replica of the *H. L. Hunley*, the famous Confederate submarine. Many men grew beards for the occasion, and women wore long, calico dresses. There were those who assumed specific historical identities—including Dr. Samuel Kirkpatrick of Hanover, who portrayed the purple-plumed Confederate Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart—as well as other gray-clad reenactors who moved toward the town square without shoes, impressing onlookers with Lost Cause sensibilities. According to one newspaper account, though, the “loudest applause” of the entire parade erupted when the jeep carrying Robert E. Lee IV passed by the viewing stand. The past and the present merged in this costumed celebration of valor and vitality.<sup>37</sup>

*“I’ve Got Political Enemies in Alabama, But I Haven’t Met Any Here”:  
The Gettysburg Centennial as a Gathering of Governors*

Watching the parade pass the viewing stand was a diverse collection of the nation’s governors. Nine state executives accepted Governor Scranton’s invitation: the freshly inaugurated Republican John Chafee of Rhode Island; the liberal Democrats and civil rights supporters Elbert Carvel of Delaware, Richard Hughes of New Jersey, Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts, and Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota; moderate Democrats Terry Sanford of North Carolina and Millard Tawes of Maryland; and

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. As if the parade was not enough of an exposition, the US Army also opened an exhibit, housed in the gymnasium of Gettysburg High School, which portrayed scenes of famous military exploits from the Civil War through the Korean conflict. See “Army Show Offers Prize War Display,” undated, unmarked clipping in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 31–32; see also “Reactivated Confederates,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 1, 1963; Harlan D. Unrau, *Administrative History of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery, Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC, 1991), 263; “Rebel Yells and Dixie Belles Are Part of Spectacle at Gettysburg,” *Chattanooga (TN) Daily Times*, July 3, 1963.

Democrat civil rights opponents Donald Russell of South Carolina and George Corley Wallace of Alabama. The remaining state executives sent official representatives to the ceremonials, bearing official public statements that underscored the potency of sectional differences in 1963.<sup>38</sup>

Paradoxically, by embracing the Cold War “narrative of race and democracy” to muffle racial injustice, many southern governors delivered stirring odes to the strength and unity of the United States. “We all learned a costly and tragic lesson in that conflict between *brothers*,” Oral Faubus wrote, ignoring the issues that brought Arkansas to the national limelight in 1957. “We learned that our one great nation under God is, in fact, indivisible, and that we must remain united if we are to endure as a nation in this world of turmoil and external dissension.” Ross Barnett, governor of Mississippi, conveniently overlooking his defiance during the battle at Ole Miss, declared, “Mississippians, like citizens of other states, share the common hope that peace will be eternal in a nation united—a nation united on the basic principles essential to national security and worldwide leadership.” Governor Russell acknowledged that the United States was “the leading democracy in history,” while John Connally, governor of Texas, thought the Gettysburg centenary a fitting occasion to “commemorate a century of solidarity.”<sup>39</sup>

Nonetheless, southern governors could not resist the opportunity the centennial presented to address the struggle for civil rights. “We believe that all Americans should recognize legitimate differences in problems of the states, and leave to the states the powers originally authorized by the United States Constitution,” Barnett vowed. “It is essential to our progress and security that state sovereignty be maintained . . . the same government which survived a tragic civil war and became the foundation for the greatest nation in the history of mankind.” Frank Clement of Tennessee thought he would “consider the part which Tennessee has played, both in that conflict and in the century which has elapsed.” The Volunteer State, Governor Clement alleged, merely left the Union “when

<sup>38</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 20–21; “9 Governors Will Attend Program Here,” undated clipping from the *Gettysburg Times*, ACHS; for a listing of the special representatives, see the official program, copy in “Battle of Gettysburg—Anniversaries, 1963” lateral file, ACHS; “Chafee in Gettysburg for Centennial’s Start,” *Providence (RI) Journal*, July 2, 1963.

<sup>39</sup> These messages, submitted to Paul L. Roy, the editor of the *Gettysburg Times*, were reproduced in a special section of the Centennial Edition of that newspaper, published June 28, 1963. See Oral Faubus to Roy, May 7, 1963; Donald Russell to Roy, Apr. 29, 1963; John Connally to Roy, undated message; Ross Barnett to Roy, May 13, 1963.

it became apparent that the Central Government intended to use coercion to force the seceded states back in,” and her gallant sons fought in defense of “its rightful place as a sovereign state.” The governor assured centennial goers that this “defense of the Constitution” would continue. Governor Wallace echoed Clement’s proclamation. “We must do our part to see that we remain a nation united in peace, retaining individual rights and liberties,” Wallace declared. “We must resist regimentation. Individual liberties must be safeguarded, for without freedom and liberty for each of us, we are traveling down the dead-end road of destructive centralization.”<sup>40</sup>

Unlike the other governors, Wallace’s politicking continued beyond his prepared message. Boasting of his Confederate heritage, the Alabama chief executive relished the time he spent in Gettysburg. “This is a solemn occasion,” he told a Montgomery reporter before his private plane departed for Pennsylvania. “We stand with the descendants of the brave men who fought for the North and South, and we will take our stand for the defense of the Constitution.” When Wallace arrived in Gettysburg on July 1, he promptly placed a wreath at the Alabama Monument on West Confederate Avenue.<sup>41</sup>

Later that afternoon, he took a seat with the eight other governors on the steps of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial to participate in the observance’s opening exercises. His recent “stand in the schoolhouse door” at the University of Alabama made him such a political celebrity that the Pennsylvania State Police assigned two troopers to function as bodyguards. “As the governors or their representatives were introduced at a wreath-laying ceremony under a 100-degree sun, Alabama’s chief executive easily outscored all others in applause from the crowd,” a journalist observed. When the program concluded, the spectators dotting Oak Hill mobbed the governor, pleading for his autograph. “I think I am safer here than I am at home,” Wallace commented. “I’ve got political enemies in Alabama, but I haven’t met any here.” To be sure, the following spring, though he never made a campaign stop within the commonwealth, Wallace’s long-shot bid for the Democratic presidential nomination attracted the primary ballots of more than twelve thousand

<sup>40</sup> Ross Barnett to Roy, May 13, 1963; Frank G. Clement to Roy, May 22, 1963; George C. Wallace to Roy, June 18, 1963, all in *Gettysburg Times*, June 28, 1963.

<sup>41</sup> “Wallace Honors Gettysburg Dead,” *Birmingham (AL) News*, July 1, 1963; “Gettysburg Visit Set by Wallace,” *Montgomery (AL) Advertiser*, July 1, 1963.

Pennsylvanians.<sup>42</sup>

The fawning over Wallace continued as he prepared to review the parade on July 2. “I don’t know when I have ever enjoyed anything more,” Wallace later wrote to one correspondent. In the Hotel Gettysburg lobby, “northerners and southerners alike” peppered him with requests for autographs on centennial souvenir items. Finally making his way through the crowds and out the doors, the governor advised one journalist that all “must join together to save the country from centralized socialist government.”<sup>43</sup>

That afternoon, when the parade concluded, Wallace’s personal security detail whisked him off to West Confederate Avenue once more—this time for the dedication of the newly completed South Carolina Monument. Already, the new memorial was responsible for a heated debate in the upper echelons of the National Park Service. Initially, the NPS, which sanctioned all new monuments erected on the battlefield, refused to allow construction to go forward because the South Carolinians did not submit for review the text of inscriptions proposed for the memorial. Then, when park officials finally received the text, they balked at the plan to inscribe “Confederate War Centennial” on the reverse face of the monument. After months of squabbling, the NPS yielded to the South Carolinians and allowed their shrine to be erected as planned.<sup>44</sup>

But the controversy threatened to renew itself when the Alabama governor delivered remarks at the dedication ceremony. Following introductory comments by Governor Russell and South Carolina congressman John A. May, Wallace continued his assault on centralized government. “South Carolina and Alabama stand for constitutional government and millions throughout the nation look to the South to lead in the fight to restore constitutional rights and the rights of states and indi-

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.; “Belle of the Ball at Gettysburg,” and Bill Rasco, “Wallace Popular at Gettysburg,” both in *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 2, 1963. See also “Wallace Stands Taller in Eyes of Many since His Showdown on Racial Issue,” *Birmingham News*, July 3, 1963; “Gov. Wallace Enjoys Visit,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 3, 1963; on Wallace’s 1964 campaign, see Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (New York, 1995), 202–22.

<sup>43</sup> Wallace to Pat Bailey, July 15, 1963, as quoted in Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 200; “Wallace Stands Taller,” July 3, 1963.

<sup>44</sup> On the South Carolina Monument conflicts, see Payne Williams to Kittridge A. Wing, Apr. 3, 1963; Wing to Williams, Mar. 28, 1963; Wing to Regional Director, NPS, Apr. 5 and 11, 1963; Edward Peetz, Acting Chief, Master Plan Coordination, to Regional Director, NPS, Apr. 12, 1963, in “South Carolina Monument” lateral file, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; see also digital copy in the Battle of Gettysburg Research Center, ACHS.

viduals,” he bellowed. Defending his stand in defiance of a federal order to integrate the University of Alabama, Wallace claimed that he stood in the schoolhouse door “because I know my people.” The comments earned Wallace a standing ovation. “[F]or a brief moment,” noted the *Gettysburg Times*, “it seemed as though the Civil War might start all over again.”<sup>45</sup>

That evening, Wallace made a surprise visit to the Confederate reenactors bivouac. The reactivated Southern troops immediately rushed the governor, surrounding him for a chance at an autographed kepi, drum, or flag. Wallace posed for dozens of pictures with individual soldiers. By all accounts, rebel yells abounded. “We are ready to come when you call!” one reenactor excitedly shouted. Others, imploring the governor to launch a bid for the White House, yelled, “See you in ’64!” and “On to Washington!” A distinct “Wallace for President Movement in the Confederate forces bivouac even seemed in the making Tuesday,” the *Montgomery Advertiser* commented.<sup>46</sup>

Of course, Wallace was not the only governor in Gettysburg honoring the Confederate dead. North Carolina’s J. Terry Sanford hosted a “Rebel Rally” at the Tarheel State’s monument on Seminary Ridge. A crowd of nearly one thousand people, including many gray-clad reenactors, surrounded sculptor Gutzon Borglum’s memorial honoring the thousands of North Carolinians who fell in the battle. State senator Hector MacLean, son of the governor who appropriated the funds for the monument in 1927, delivered a stirring address to a crowd waving rebel flags. The “great victory of the men who followed Gen. Lee came after they had met what the world called defeat,” MacLean began. “By following his advice and example when they set their hands to the given task of rebuilding their homes,” MacLean argued, they regained “their wasted strength and fortunes.” The South could be proud because individual states were capable of dealing with their own problems.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 32; Unrau, *Administrative History*, 263; “Gettysburg Monuments Slated,” *New York Times*, June 27, 1963; “S.C. Memorial Dedicated by Gov. Russell,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 3, 1963; “Nation Needs Southerner in White House, Says Wallace,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 3, 1963; “S.C. Memorial Dedicated,” *Charleston (SC) News and Courier*, July 3, 1963; *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 3, 1963.

<sup>46</sup> Bill Rasco, “Gettysburg Poet Praises Gov. Wallace,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 3, 1963; “Gov. Wallace Back Home; Plans Rest,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 4, 1963.

<sup>47</sup> “Rebel Rally Features N.C. Field Rites,” undated *Gettysburg Times* clipping, in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; “State Prepares to Honor Dead,” *Greensboro Daily News*, July 1, 1963; “Tar Heels Rededicate Marker,” *Raleigh (NC) News and Observer*, July 2, 1963.

*“What Does All of This Drama Mean to Us?”  
Emancipationists and the Gettysburg Centennial*

Conversely, the progressive northern governors who descended upon Gettysburg attempted to use the observance to discuss the progress of the civil rights movement. These governors, joined by several other officials, both sacred and secular, came to “rededicate themselves” to America’s unfinished promises of liberty and equality. Governor Edmund Brown of California deliberately critiqued one of the centennial’s central themes in his message. “The greatest social revolution in the history of the Free World has been taking place in America for more than a hundred years now,” he declared, “and still we have no ‘Peace Eternal in a Nation United.’” Iowa’s Governor Harold E. Hughes posited that although Americans had “attained a solidified Union of peaceful states,” they “must continue to battle for a solidified Union of men at peace with one another.” Governors Chafee of Rhode Island, Peabody of Massachusetts, Hughes of New Jersey, Nelson Rockefeller of New York, and John N. Dempsey of Connecticut commented that the time was “particularly appropriate” for America to embrace, at last, “liberty, justice and human rights for all men.”<sup>48</sup>

These very issues became the focus of a battlefield mass sponsored by the University of Notre Dame, staged before the beginning of the official ceremonials. Intended to celebrate the life and services of Father William Corby, the celebrated Civil War chaplain who gave the Irish Brigade absolution before it went into action on the battle’s second day, organizers noted that the June 29 service would be an “offering of peace to the souls of the dead.” Assisted by bishops from three neighboring dioceses, Patrick O’Boyle, archbishop of Washington, officiated under a brilliant crimson and gold canopy erected on the steps of the Peace Memorial. Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, the president of the university, delivered the sermon.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Edmund Brown to Paul Roy, May 15, 1963; Harold Hughes to Roy, undated message; John Chafee to Roy, May 21, 1963; Endicott Peabody to Roy, May 20, 1963; Richard Hughes to Roy, May 23, 1963; Nelson Rockefeller to Roy, May 24, 1963; John N. Dempsey to Roy, Apr. 29, 1963, all reproduced in the Centennial Edition of the *Gettysburg Times*, June 28, 1963.

<sup>49</sup> “Gettysburg Mass Will Honor Dead,” *Washington Post*, June 22, 1963; “Eisenhowers Will Join Catholic Dignitaries at Field Mass Here June 29,” *Gettysburg Times*, May 30, 1963; “Gettysburg Fete,” *Washington Post*, May 30, 1963; see also *Notre Dame at Gettysburg* (Notre Dame, IN, 1964), copy at ACHS; see also “Field Mass Attracts 5,000; Rev. Hesburgh Calls for Americans to Be Emancipators,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 1, 1963.

Flanked by vases of gold chrysanthemums and red gladiolas, Hesburgh made a dramatic call for all Americans to become emancipators. First, he questioned the utility of the centennial clamor. "What does all of this drama mean to us, a hundred years later, as *we stand on the same battlefield?* The least that might be expected is that we would understand today, what Fr. Corby called the noble object for which they fought." The Civil War, Hesburgh said, "was fought for the Negroes' liberty, but that remains 'unfinished business.'" The centennial summer was a time for serious reflection. "What better place to ponder our unfinished business this morning than at Gettysburg, where so much of the blood and sweat and tears, that are the price of freedom, were paid? Gettysburg is not just a battlefield," he said, "it is a sacred shrine of freedom won again, in new proportion, for a nation 'conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.'"<sup>50</sup>

Hesburgh was cognizant of the festive air around him. "It may not have occurred to you, but each one of us must be, in these our times, great emancipators, to finish up in this centenary year as completely and as dramatically as possible, in all our own communities across the land, the unfinished business of which Lincoln spoke here: the work of freedom." Hesburgh went on to lament the "appalling dearth of freedom . . . in voting, in employment, in housing, in education, in public accommodations, and in the administration of justice." This was the "true challenge of Gettysburg today." Reenactment and pageantry, Hesburgh maintained, elided confrontation with the deepest meaning of the Civil War. "The sounds of battle have died away," the minister said as he swelled toward his conclusion. "The heroic deeds are done. Gettysburg is cloaked in peace. But the issue raised and bloodily engaged here still clamors for a final answer. . . . Can we finally make freedom live for all Americans?"<sup>51</sup>

Other participants in the observances echoed Hesburgh's homily, though they rarely matched his eloquence. "For a hundred years, the equality defined on these fields has been withheld from millions of our fellow citizens," remarked John A. Carver Jr., assistant secretary of the interior, on July 1, accepting the deed to additional battlefield acres purchased for the NPS. "What they once patiently awaited, they now

<sup>50</sup> "Field Mass Attracts 5,000," July 1, 1963; *Notre Dame at Gettysburg*.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*; "Negroes' Liberty Held 'Unfinished,'" *New York Times*, June 30, 1963; "Priest Calls for Negro Freedom," *Washington Post*, June 30, 1963; Hesburgh, "Gettysburg: Yesterday and Today," speech transcript in 109 Cong. Rec., A4254-55 (July 9, 1963), copies in manuscript box 190, ACHS.

demand as a matter of right. Unrest is at large over the Nation—and over nothing that was not basically at issue here a century ago.” This was the real reason for marking the anniversary. “Man has an infinite capacity to commemorate his works of war, so a century later we gather on the same field. But surely commemoration of a battle cannot be our real purpose for assembling. . . . Americans can learn from what happened here.”<sup>52</sup>

Later that afternoon, as the official ceremonies commenced, host Governor Scranton, looking out across the first day’s battlefield, called upon his fellow Americans to drive out racial prejudice. “Life without liberty is not really life at all,” he declared. Nonetheless, the governor attempted to mediate between the divided ranks of visitors in town by embracing the rhetoric of American exceptionalism: “Those who fell on this battlefield have not died in vain because our nation today is great enough to keep trying.”<sup>53</sup>

Unlike Scranton, progressive leaders offered realistic assessments of the nation’s progress on race. Governor Peabody of Massachusetts spoke in the Gettysburg National Cemetery and placed a wreath at the base of the Soldiers’ National Monument. “The plain fact of the matter is that America . . . has failed, to date, in its expressed purpose of achieving a real democracy for all its citizens,” he said. “So I think the Gettysburg Centennial, which observes the greatest single action of disunity which this country has ever experienced, should well serve as a time for reaffirming our mutual bonds and our common interests *and* for rededicating ourselves to working together to make its victory complete.”<sup>54</sup>

A few hundred yards away, at the monument to Brig. Gen. Alfred T. A. Torbert’s New Jersey Brigade, Governor Hughes also likened the contemporary struggle for civil rights to the Civil War. The New Jersey governor charged the nation with a century of “moral failure” to aid African Americans. “The Civil War was not fought to preserve the Union ‘lily

<sup>52</sup> See Remarks of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver Jr., United States Department of the Interior Press Release, copy in manuscript box 190, ACHS; see also transcript in 109 Cong. Rec., 11790–91 (July 11, 1963), copies in manuscript box 190, ACHS.

<sup>53</sup> Raymond J. Crowley, “Crowds Flock to Centenary Battle Scene,” undated clipping in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; “Freedom’s Business Is Never Done, Gov. Scranton Says in Address Opening Centennial,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 2, 1963; “End of Prejudice Urged by Governor,” *Greensboro Daily News*, July 2, 1963; “Gettysburg Centennial Begins,” *Akron Beacon Journal*, July 1, 1963.

<sup>54</sup> C. R. Owens, “Take Up Negro Rights Cause, Says Peabody at Gettysburg,” *Boston Globe*, July 1, 1963; Peabody as quoted in “2 Saplings are Planted in Cemetery,” undated *Gettysburg Times* clipping, in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

white' or 'Jim Crow'; it was fought for liberty and justice for all." Only when racial prejudice no longer limited the opportunities afforded to African Americans, he declared, could "the warriors of Gettysburg sleep."<sup>55</sup>

Editorial comments from newspapers and periodicals around the country likewise assumed an emancipationist tone, frequently invoking the Gettysburg Address. Max Freedman's syndicated column implored readers to "listen" to Gettysburg. "The lesson of Gettysburg," he argued, "is to be found not in the glory of any soldier, no matter how brave or enduring, but in the still greater grandeur of Lincoln . . . [who] could never have been the friend of injustice and inequality. . . . Gettysburg has its admonition to all factions in the current controversy, if only they will consent to listen." The *Baltimore Sun* engaged Lincoln's flawed affirmation that the world would "little note nor long remember" what he said in Gettysburg. "The world took special note and vividly remembers what was done at Gettysburg a century ago and what was said there a few months later. . . . To think in 1963 of 1863 Gettysburg is painful on any terms, but less painful than if nothing were being done about unfinished business." Confounded by the celebration of George Wallace in Gettysburg, *Newsweek* published the most stinging indictment of the ceremonials. "Last week, as the nation paused to commemorate the centennial of the Battle of Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln's measured phrases had a faintly hollow ring. . . . The question remained: how long will it take Americans of this generation to achieve their own stillness at Appomattox and fulfill 'the great task remaining before us?'"<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> "Pledge of Equality Is Unfulfilled, Gettysburg Fete Visitors Told," *Washington Post*, July 2, 1963; Edith Evans Asbury, "Hughes Charges Moral Failure to Aid Negroes since Civil War," *New York Times*, July 2, 1963; "Hughes Sees War Promise Unfulfilled," *Gettysburg Times*, July 2, 1963; see also *Rededication Program Honoring the Memory of the 4,500 Gallant New Jersey Men Who Fought in the Battle of Gettysburg* (Trenton, NJ, 1963), copy at ACHS. In the introduction to this program booklet, Governor Hughes outlined four goals for the centenary; the first goal was to "achieve lasting values from the Centennial, notably an improved understanding and unity within our Nation, section by section and race by race."

<sup>56</sup> Max Freedman, "Listen to Gettysburg: It Has an Admonition in Today's Controversy," *Minneapolis Star*, July 4, 1963; "Gettysburg," *Baltimore Sun*, July 1, 1963; "Gettysburg: 'The Task Remaining,'" July 15, 1963, 18–19; for additional editorial comments, see also "Gettysburgh," *New York Times*, June 30, 1963; *Akron Beacon Journal*, July 4, 1963; "100 Years since Gettysburg," *Washington Post*, July 4, 1963; "A Meeting Engagement," *Boston Globe*, July 1, 1963; John McClave, "For the Next One Hundred Years," letter to the editor, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, undated clipping in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

Columnist Ted Lippman took a final swipe at Governor Wallace's appearance in Gettysburg. "His Excellency stood on a hill in Gettysburg this week and said the fight would continue," he wrote. Lippman remained confident that the civil rights movement would succeed, in spite of Wallace's stubborn determination. "You begin to lose confidence in a man when he stands at a place like Gettysburg and says the fight goes on. What would you think of a Briton who stood on a dock in Boston Harbor and said that the price of tea was going up? What would you think of Chiang Kai-shek if he said he was going to recapture mainland China?"<sup>57</sup>

Conversely, all of the major African American newspapers simply refused to comment on the commemoration. Even two regional papers boasting national readerships, the *Baltimore Afro-American* and the *Philadelphia Tribune*, overlooked the anniversary. Conceivably, this silence was strategic—a way to deny legitimacy to the entire observance. African Americans, segregated from the memory of the Civil War for so long, no longer felt the need to add their voices to the discussion or their participation to the observances. As historian Margaret Creighton observed in her account of the battle's "forgotten history," twentieth-century African American Gettysburgians avoided the battlefield "almost entirely," uninterested in monuments celebrating the Confederate cause or in consorting with tourists waving souvenir Confederate flags.<sup>58</sup>

*"One Last Charge Up at Gettysburg"*<sup>59</sup>

Considering the conclusion to the centenary, it is unsurprising that African Americans avoided mentioning the observances. In many ways, the final day of the official observances was microcosmic of the Civil War's troubled relationship with the civil rights movement. During the afternoon of July 3, over five hundred gray-clad reenactors emerged from the woods along Seminary Ridge. These modern rebels crossed the open fields undulating before the Union position on Cemetery Ridge, where an estimated forty-five thousand spectators gathered, cameras in hand. For

<sup>57</sup> Ted Lippman, "One Last Charge Up at Gettysburg," *Atlanta Constitution*, July 3, 1963.

<sup>58</sup> I surveyed the *Philadelphia Tribune*, (*Los Angeles*) *California Eagle*, *Washington Afro-American*, *Chicago Defender*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Detroit Tribune*, and *Pittsburgh Courier* without uncovering a single comment on the Gettysburg centennial exercises; Margaret Creighton, *The Colors of Courage: Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle* (New York, 2005), 227.

<sup>59</sup> Lippman, "One Last Charge Up at Gettysburg," July 3, 1963.

the first time during the observances, the weather was favorable—the clear, dry air was able to flutter some sixty rebel banners.<sup>60</sup>

In their program booklets, visitors read the sentimental stanzas of James H. Van Alen's poem about Pickett's Charge: "For two full days before from dawn till dark those flags had flown / Above sons of America locked fast in mortal strife / Each fighting for a principle, the height of courage shown / The North to save the Union and the South its way of life." In Van Alen's poem, Pickett's "gallant line" prayed to God and won "eternal fame" on the fields of Gettysburg against a Union army "dazed and drained by battle, glad to let them go."<sup>61</sup> The poem swelled to a predictable conclusion: "Americans North and South may justly think with pride / Forever on the way both Blue and Gray fought on that day. / From start until the bitter end their courage never died / Our nation's loss such bravery had so high a price to pay." Although he dedicated the stanzas to the memory of his namesake and great-grandfather, an officer in the Third New York Volunteer Cavalry, Van Alen vocalized his Confederate sympathies and opinions about the civil rights movement. "From what I know about Governor Wallace," the poet laureate of the Gettysburg centenary explained to a crowd gathered at the Alabama Monument, "he is 100 percent American, and it is nice to know someone who is a true American. I know he believes in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, and he is going to fight to protect them." Van Alen demonstrated that a century later, race and reunion remained trapped in their tragic, mutual dependence.<sup>62</sup>

At about three o'clock that afternoon, spectators turned away from their program booklets and gazed toward Seminary Ridge, as directed by the voice of film and stage actor Walter Abel. The Gettysburg Centennial Commission retained the former vice president of the Screen Actors Guild to provide a historical narrative for the audience. Spanning nearly a half

<sup>60</sup> Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 35–36; Edith Evans Asbury, "Blue, Gray Battle Anew at Gettysburg," *Atlanta Constitution*, July 4, 1963; Major Wade Lucas, "Longest Mile at Gettysburg," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 4, 1963; Jean M. White, "Small-Town Festivities Highlight Day's Celebration in Gettysburg," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1963; Robert Wallace, "Recharge at Gettysburg," *Life*, July 5, 1963, 14, 16; "Even Girls Get in on 'Pickett's Charge,'" *Akron Beacon Journal*, July 4, 1963; Jean M. White, "40,000 Watch Pickett Charge Again at Gettysburg," *Washington Post*, July 4, 1963.

<sup>61</sup> James Van Alen, "Pickett's Charge," poem, in *Official Program of the Battle of Gettysburg centennial*, in "Battle of Gettysburg—Anniversaries, 1963" lateral file, ACHS.

<sup>62</sup> Bill Rasco, "Gettysburg Poet Praises Gov. Wallace," *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 3, 1963; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 5.

mile, fifty outdoor speakers carried Abel's bright voice across the battlefield. Once his narration concluded, the charge stepped off. The plenary commission paid a New York producer \$3,500 to generate a stereophonic tape of roaring cannon, cracking rifles, and popping pistols. Elaborate machinery produced a wall of acrid, sulphurous battle smoke. "This time there was to be no struggle—not even the firing of a blank cartridge. The din of battle was to be simulated by an elaborate stereophonic system for the benefit of the audience gathered on Cemetery Ridge," an Ohio newspaper reporter observed. Military analyst George Fielding Eliot took the microphone from Abel and presented a tactical microhistory of Pickett's Charge, punctuated by artificial gunfire. "On they came, their scarlet blue-crossed battle flags waving proudly about them," Eliot announced. "It doesn't seem possible that human beings can cross over open ground and drive home an attack under the storm of shot and shell and leaden bullets that these men of General Lee's are going to face."<sup>63</sup>

The Confederate reenactors charged the historic fields, approaching the audience and former Union army position on Cemetery Ridge. "Now they've reached the rising ground that slopes up toward our position," Eliot continued. The rebels halted about fifty feet from the low, stonewall on Cemetery Ridge for the benefit of the photographers—both on the ground and circling above in a helicopter. Tempers flared as members of the crowd maneuvered to capture a photograph or two. "I wish you had directed the Pickett's Charge," visitor Dorothy Elderdice of Westminster, Maryland, complained to Betty Gifford. "Perhaps more of us might have been able to see and to hear what was going on. All I could hear was the hovering helicopter—and all I could see was flags coming through the smoke screen."<sup>64</sup>

With some photographs snapped, the Confederates advanced to the stone wall to meet their blue-clad opponents. After shaking hands, they stood at attention in a semicircle centered on the Angle. The US Navy Band offered up the "Star-Spangled Banner" as a symbol of national

<sup>63</sup> Raymond J. Crowley, "Gettysburg again Sees Rebel Charge," *Akron Beacon Journal*, July 4, 1963; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 35; see also "Battle Commission Tells How Its Funds Are Spent," *Gettysburg Times*, July 2, 1963; "Sons of Veterans Will Present Symbolic Attack on Battlefield July 3rd," and "Troopers from 24 States Staged Lively Spectacle in Full-dress Re-creation," undated, unmarked clippings in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 12-58b, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

<sup>64</sup> Crowley, "Gettysburg again Sees Rebel Charge," July 4, 1963; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 35; Dorothy Elderdice to Betty Gifford, July 8, 1963, in Gifford Family Collection, ACHS.

unity—the Union and Confederate reenactors were brothers, one and all. It was the concluding spectacle of the centenary, “an emotion filled,” dramatic climax to a complicated observance.<sup>65</sup>

And spectacle it certainly was. It was a festival of pomp and pageantry; of gushing sentiment and human feeling, a moment when Confederates were celebrated, not condemned; a moment when mutual heroism replaced ideological reflection, with rebel banners waving freely. It was a commercialized event, expensive for both hosts and guests. In the midst of the Cold War, it was a showcase of military might and national unity, broadcasting America’s greatness to the world while denying consideration of the injustices within. Such selective Civil War memories created a stark juxtaposition with ongoing racial strife. Some perceptive observers billed the ceremonies as a “mixture of corn and carnival”; a “vulgar show”; and, finally, an “outward manifestation of business.” As Adele Nathan wrote to Gifford several weeks after the anniversary, “I am afraid the town of Gettysburg came off very badly.”<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps “lost opportunity” is the most appropriate label for the Gettysburg centenary. In the shadow of the civil rights movement and the Cold War, commemoration of the war that ended slavery provided an occasion for both advocates and opponents of racial equality to reflect on what was lost and won. Yet, rather than casting a critical gaze on the “the tragedy lingering on the margins and infesting the heart of American history”—the reality that national healing after the war was achieved by resubjugating the people it purportedly freed—most white Americans continued to reduce the Civil War to mere pageantry.<sup>67</sup> A century after the war, most white Americans were unable to see through the sentimental haze, even as some progressive voices attempted to reassert the eclipsed legacy of emancipation. Thus, the Gettysburg ceremony proved the “high water mark” of the Civil War centennial; there were no rebels to fete and no uplifting tales to repeat by commemorating the horrors of the Wilderness, the miseries of the Petersburg trenches, or the atrocities of

<sup>65</sup> Crowley, “Gettysburg Again Sees Rebel Charge,” July 4, 1983; Simon, *Gettysburg 1963*, 35.

<sup>66</sup> “Editorial,” *Gettysburg Times*, July 5, 1963; “Gettysburg: The Task Remaining,” July 15, 1963, 19; John M. Cummings, “Gettysburg: Blue and Gray,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 2, 1963; Cummings, “Chickenfeed and History,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 1, 1963; “Vulgar Show at Gettysburg,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 14, 1963; Adele Nathan to Betty Gifford, July 16, 1963, in Gifford Family Collection, ACHS.

<sup>67</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 3.

Andersonville. As the sesquicentennial of the Civil War commences, we need to consider not only what transpired at Gettysburg one hundred and fifty years ago, but what did not happen a century later.

*Yale University*

BRIAN MATTHEW JORDAN

## *Pennsylvania and the American Civil War: An Annotated Guide to Online Resources*

### HISTORICAL NEWSPAPERS

*Readex, America's Historical Newspapers.* This database consists of digitized copies of many of the American Antiquarian Society's considerable newspaper holdings, including 102 Pennsylvania newspapers and 6 that span the war years. Among these are the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, *Inquirer*, *Evening Post*, *North American*, and *Illustrated New Age*, as well as the Harrisburg *Patriot and Union*. The database is searchable by keyword, date of publication, and article type. **Subscription only.**

<http://www.newsbank.com/readex/index.cfm?content=96>

*Gale, 19th Century US Newspapers.* This extensive collection of historical newspapers features eight nineteenth-century Pennsylvania newspapers, including a complete collection of the Philadelphia *North American* for the years of the Civil War. The database is searchable by keyword, date of publication, and article type. **Subscription only.**

<http://mlr.com/DigitalCollections/products/usnewspapers/>

*Penn State University, Pennsylvania Civil War Newspaper Collection.* Consisting of over fifty Pennsylvania newspapers published between 1831 and 1877, this collection features publications from major cities like Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh, as well as smaller communities throughout the state. The collection can be searched by keyword, date of publication, and article type. **Subscription only.**

<http://digitalnewspapers.libraries.psu.edu/Default/Skins/civilwar/Client.asp?skin=civilwar&AW=1274486845394&AppName=2>

*Accessible Archives, African American Newspapers.* A useful database of Civil War-era African American newspapers that includes the *Christian Recorder*, mouthpiece of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, published in Philadelphia. The database is searchable by keyword. **Subscription only.**

<http://www.accessible.com/accessible/>

*Readex, African American Newspapers.* Similar to the America's Historical Newspapers collection, this database encompasses the American Antiquarian Society's digitized holdings of African American newspapers, seven of which were published in Pennsylvania. None of these papers span the years of the Civil War, but the fifty-three issues of the Harrisburg *State Journal* cover the middle years of the 1880s. Holdings are searchable by keyword, date of publication, and article type. **Subscription only.**  
<http://www.readex.com/readex/product.cfm?product=308>

*State Library of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historic Newspapers Collection.* An impressive collection of historical newspapers from across the state, this database includes the Philadelphia *Sun* and *Christian Observer*, the Lancaster *Intelligencer*, and the Lewistown *Republican*. While none of the collected papers span the years of the Civil War, those listed above cover portions of the late antebellum period. The database can be sorted by newspaper name and publication date, and like other databases hosted by Access PA, offers an unwieldy keyword search function.  
<http://www.accesspadr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2Fsstlp-newsp>

*Pennsylvania Center for the Book, Digital Newspaper Collection.* This impressive collection of Pennsylvania newspapers includes Civil War-era editions of Philadelphia's *Saturday Evening Post*. The contents of the database are keyword searchable and can be sorted by county of publication, article type, and date of publication. **Subscription only.**  
<http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/panewsarticles.html>

*Lancaster County, Lancaster Examiner & Herald.* This database features a complete collection of one of Lancaster's leading weekly newspapers between 1855 and 1872. A sister collection offers issues of the same publication between 1834 and 1854. The database can be sorted by newspaper name and publication date, and, like others hosted by Access PA, offers an unwieldy keyword search function.  
[http://www.lancasterhistory.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1768:examiner-and-herald&catid=44:ourdigitalnewspapers&Itemid=154](http://www.lancasterhistory.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1768:examiner-and-herald&catid=44:ourdigitalnewspapers&Itemid=154)

## PERIODICALS, PAMPHLETS, AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

*Gale, Sabin Americana.* This collection includes a variety of published materials including wartime funeral orations and other sermons, publications of the Pennsylvania state government such as the *Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, and a variety of items published in Philadelphia, such as William C. Harris's 1862 *Prison-Life in the Tobacco Warehouse at Richmond*. Searches can be narrowed by publication date and location. **Subscription only.**

<http://gdc.gale.com/products/sabin-americana-1500-1926/>

*ProQuest, American Periodicals Series Online.* This collection includes more than 130 nineteenth-century Pennsylvania publications, of which 118 were published during the Civil War. Among these are such popular titles as Philadelphia's *Lippincott's Magazine*. The database features a top-notch search engine that allows users to search by keyword, date and place of publication, document and publication type, and author. **Subscription only.**

<http://www.proquest.com/en-US/catalogs/databases/detail/aps.shtml>

*University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, The Crisis of the Union.* Featuring a wide variety of sources specifically selected by the University of Pennsylvania's history faculty, this collection sheds light on the Civil War, its causes, and its aftermath in Pennsylvania and beyond. A keyword search for "Pennsylvania" yields a variety of pamphlets, books, prints, and other materials that users can view as high-resolution images. The database is keyword searchable; results can be narrowed or limited by date, subject, or graphic element.

<http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/sceti/abolitionism/>

*State Library of Pennsylvania, United States Civil War Collection.* This small database features a miscellaneous assortment of materials published by Pennsylvanians or related to the war in Pennsylvania. While many of the collection's published speeches and legislative proceedings are available elsewhere, the site includes a few obscure polemical gems, like *About the War: Plain Words to Plain People*, an 1863 pamphlet by "A Plain Man." Like other databases hosted by Access PA, the site offers a unwieldy keyword search function.

<http://www.accesspadr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=/sstlp-cw>

*Dickinson College, House Divided: The Civil War Research Engine.* This collection of Civil War–related materials provides ample rewards for those willing to master its unintuitive interface. Packed with exciting features, the site’s largest trove of material can be found by going to “Enter House Divided” and clicking on “Documents” in the left-hand menu bar under “Collections.” Here, users can explore more than 150 pages of digitized historical documents, many of which pertain to the experience of war in the Keystone State. Also interesting is Abraham Lincoln and Pennsylvania: A Virtual Field Trip via Google Earth, found under ‘Teacher’s Guide.’ The database is keyword searchable, and can be sorted by date, publication type, and source.  
<http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/>

*Women’s History Online, The Gerritsen Collection.* Featuring a huge variety of nineteenth-century women’s magazines as well as publications for and by women, this extensive database sheds light on the social context of the American Civil War and the role women played in shaping the war and its aftermath. A keyword search for “Pennsylvania” yields more than one thousand hits for the nineteenth century alone, and the database’s collection of the *Women’s Journal* is unmatched on the web. The database is keyword searchable and results can be sorted by publisher, place of publication, language, and date. **Subscription only.**  
<http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com/marketing/index.jsp>

*State Library of Pennsylvania, Abraham Lincoln Collection.* This small database features material on Abraham Lincoln published in Pennsylvania or by Pennsylvanians. Much of the material will be familiar to those studied in Lincoln’s life and career, but the collection also features a few more obscure pieces, including *A Workingman’s Reasons for the Re-election of Abraham Lincoln*, and *God Bless Abraham Lincoln!* by a Philadelphia-area preacher. Like other Access PA databases, the collection’s keyword search function is of limited value.  
<http://www.accesspadr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2Fsstlp-linc>

## MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS AND PERSONAL PAPERS

*The American Civil War: Letters and Diaries.* This immense collection of Civil War letters and diaries from Alexander Street Press features the writings of over two thousand correspondents and diarists and over one hundred thousand pages of material. It includes more than one thousand letters or diaries either written in, about, or sent to the state of Pennsylvania. The database is keyword searchable and can be browsed by author, date, battle, place, or life event. **Subscription only.**  
<http://solomon.cwld.alexanderstreet.com/>

*University of Virginia, The Valley of the Shadow.* This project provides users with an opportunity to explore the impact of mounting sectional tension, the Civil War, and Reconstruction on two American communities: one Southern and one Northern. Focused on Augusta County, Virginia, and Franklin County, Pennsylvania, the archive provides users with access to a variety of primary source documents, including diaries and manuscript materials, newspapers, print sources, and vital records like census and tax returns. The project's materials are organized by both document type and time period. Most document collections can be browsed by author, title, or type, while nearly all can be searched by keyword. The collection will be of limited value to professional historians, many of whom will find its geographic scope too narrow for their own research. For undergraduates and other nonprofessionals, however, this archive provides a brilliant introduction to the range of materials available to historians. In fact, *The Valley of the Shadow* may be ideal for advanced undergraduate courses. Using the digital archive, students can explore the historian's craft in a manageable setting.  
<http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, Abraham Lincoln Papers.* This database consists of the correspondence of President Abraham Lincoln. While Lincoln's outgoing messages are largely absent from the collection, his incoming messages are scanned, organized by date, and, in many cases, transcribed. The president's correspondents include a number of important Pennsylvania political, military, and social figures, among them Governor Andrew G. Curtin, whose letters to Lincoln shed light on the governor's career and the war in the Keystone State.  
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/alhtml/malhome.html>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, A Civil War Soldier in the Wild Cat Regiment.* This small database features the papers of Civil War soldier and Pennsylvania native Captain Tilton C. Reynolds. The bulk of the papers consist of Reynolds's written correspondence, although the collection also features several photographic images and a cartoon drawn by Tilton. The database can be browsed by type of media, topic, or proper name.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/tcreynolds/>

### MAPS, MUSIC, IMAGES, AND EPHEMERA

*Readex, American Broadsides and Ephemera.* Featuring everything from broadsides and ballads to posters, programs, and puzzles, this extensive database is the definitive site for nineteenth-century ephemera. With holdings that include over 2,500 items from Pennsylvania alone, this collection is an indispensable tool for nineteenth-century American historians of any persuasion. **Subscription only.**

<http://www.newsbank.com/readex/product.cfm?product=2>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, Civil War Treasures from The New-York Historical Society.* One of the Library of Congress's two collections of Civil War-era images, this database offers a selection of broadsides, engravings, and photos second only to the American Broadsides and Ephemera collection. From wartime recruitment posters that lined city streets to hand-drawn cartoons depicting camp life, this database offer a variety of visual perspectives on life in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Of particular relevance are the collection's extensive holdings pertaining to wartime Pennsylvania, which include materials from the state's smaller communities as well as its major cities. The database is keyword searchable and can be browsed by subject and proper name.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/nhihtml/cwnyhshome.html>

*Gettysburg College, Civil War Era Collection at Gettysburg College.* Although this database also features pamphlets and letters, its greatest strength lies in its collection of images: lithographs, maps, paintings, and political cartoons. Collected from across the northern and southern United States throughout the mid-nineteenth century, these images shed light on everything from political and social life to the experience of warfare. One of the highlights of the database is its extensive collection of

Adalbert John Volck's Copperhead engravings, made in wartime Baltimore, although it also includes a variety of materials created in or pertaining to Pennsylvania. The database is keyword searchable.

[http://www.gettysburg.edu/library/gettdigital/civil\\_war/civilwar.htm](http://www.gettysburg.edu/library/gettdigital/civil_war/civilwar.htm)

The college's collection of photographs of nineteenth-century notables can be found at

<http://www.accesspadr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2Fagett19cent&CISOSTART=1,1>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, Civil War Maps.* This excellent and extensive collection includes maps from the nineteenth century, as well as latter-day maps of Civil War-related sites. Many, but not all, depict military units' positions and movements at critical moments throughout the war. Of particular interest, the database includes 111 maps pertaining to the state of Pennsylvania. The database is searchable by place, subject, creator, and title.

[http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/civil\\_war\\_maps/](http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/civil_war_maps/)

*Library Company of Philadelphia, American Song Sheets, Slip Ballads, and Poetical Broadside Collection.* Collected from a host of localities and ethnic communities, this database contains more than five thousand lyrics sheets and one thousand pieces of sheet music, featuring lyrics in languages as diverse as English and Japanese. Especially useful is the database's collection of songs connected with the city of Philadelphia, including songs for the 195th Pennsylvania Infantry and the city's journeymen cordwainers. The database's keyword search function is of limited use, but the collection is carefully categorized and easy to browse.

<http://lcpdams.librarycompany.org:8881/R?RN=950768167>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, Band Music from the Civil War Era.* This quirky collection of materials features over seven hundred musical compositions, as well as modern transcriptions and recordings of historical brass band music from the Civil War era. While the collection lacks paeans to Pennsylvania and its brave citizenry, the database's music and lyrics offer a one-of-a-kind insight into mid-nineteenth-century popular culture. The collection is keyword searchable and can be browsed by the subject and titles of songs and compositions.

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/cwmhtml/cwmhome.html>

*Library of Congress, American Memory, Selected Civil War Photographs.* This collection of historical images includes more than one thousand Civil War-era photographs, many from the studio of Mathew Brady. While most of the images portray individual figures or military units—among them, more than a dozen images of Pennsylvania units—the collection also includes many scenes of camp life, wartime communities, and the aftermath of battle. The database is keyword searchable and can be browsed by subject. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/cwphtml/cwphome.html>

*Library Company of Philadelphia, McAllister Collection of Civil War Era Printer Ephemera, Graphics and Manuscripts.* Although this database is difficult to navigate, its considerable contents reward persistent users. Including everything from lithographic depictions of major battles to political cartoons and recruitment posters, the collection offers both familiar materials, like well-known Currier and Ives lithographs, and more obscure sources that users are unlikely to find elsewhere on the web. The images of Philadelphia's wartime refreshment saloons are well worth a visit to the collection. A keyword search function is available but of limited usefulness.

<http://www.librarycompany.org/mcallister/index.htm>

<http://lcpdams.librarycompany.org:8881/R?RN=833094369>

*Lancaster County, City Directories 1843–1900 Collection.* Spanning the years 1843 to 1900, this collection of digitized directories includes the names, addresses, and occupations of Lancaster's residents before, during, and after the Civil War. This site is a useful tool for social and local historians, as well as genealogical researchers, and the documents available here shed light on the changing face of a unique and important Pennsylvania community. Like other Access PA databases, this collection has an unwieldy keyword search function.

<http://www.accesspadr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2Fslchs-cd01>

## **MILITARY HISTORY**

*Cornell University Making of America Collection, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Originally published by the War Department, this compilation of official reports, military correspondence, and other material is an indispensable starting point for understanding the Civil War's military

history. Information on the Battle of Gettysburg can be found in volume 27. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar/waro.html>

*Pennsylvania State Archives, Civil War Veterans' Card File, 1861–1866.* This database provides a comprehensive index of the men who fought in Pennsylvania military units during the American Civil War. When available, the digitized index cards include vital statistics on Pennsylvania's soldiers, such as service history, age, rank, residence, occupation, and physical description. The collection is searchable by last name and keyword. <http://www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us/archive.asp?view=ArchiveIndexes&ArchiveID=17>

*Penn State University, The Pennsylvania Civil War Project/Pennsylvanians in the Civil War.* This impressive project lists the names and service information of men serving in Pennsylvania regiments who were wounded, killed, captured, or went missing at a number of major Civil War battles and engagements. The database also lists Pennsylvania casualties associated with major Confederate prisons and allows users to search for soldiers' muster and burial locations. <http://cairo.pop.psu.edu/cw/c.cfm>

*State Library of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Regimental Histories Collection.* This collection of more than thirty regimental histories sheds light on the service careers of some of the state's best-known military units. Like other Access PA databases, this collection offers a clumsy keyword search function. <http://www.accesspdr.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2Fsstlp-reg&CISOSTART=1,21>

## **SLAVERY**

Although Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation law in 1780 and the US Congress outlawed the Atlantic slave trade in 1807, slavery remained an important, if peripheral, influence on the lives of Pennsylvanians before, during, and after the American Civil War. Indeed, Pennsylvania shared its border with three slave states, and several thousand of the state's sons and daughters perished in the bloody conflict over the fate of human bondage. The following digital resources may prove

useful in gaining a richer understanding of the history of slavery in Pennsylvania, the United States, and throughout the Atlantic world.

*Gale, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive.* **Subscription only.**

<http://mlr.com/DigitalCollections/products/slaveryantislavery/>

*Emory University, The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.*

<http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces>

### OTHER GUIDES TO ONLINE AND DIGITAL RESOURCES

A number of other websites offer excellent guides to online resources related to Pennsylvania during the Civil War era.

*Pennsylvania Civil War 150.* The official website of the Keystone State's Civil War sesquicentennial commemorations, Pennsylvania Civil War 150 features a Resources For section that provides excellent guides to online material for visitors, teachers, scholars, enthusiasts, and genealogists. <http://www.pacivilwar150.com/>

*Access Pennsylvania.* A repository of many of the state's most valuable digital assets, Access Pennsylvania hosts several of the sites featured above, as well as the web collections of many of the state's universities, museums, and research institutions. Although the repository's navigation and search functions are primitive by present-day standards, the site features an almost endlessly valuable trove of material.

<http://www.accesspadigital.org/>

*The Civil War Collection at Penn State University.* This excellent guide spotlights many of Pennsylvania's most important Civil War-era resources, with particular attention given to those materials housed in the Penn State library system.

<http://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/civilwar.html>

*The People's Contest: A Civil War Era Digital Archiving Project through Penn State University and the Richards Civil War Era Center.* The public face of an ongoing project, this website hosts an extensive cat-

alog of primary sources available at county historical societies as well as larger archives throughout the state of Pennsylvania. In upcoming years, the site will host its own body of digitized materials, gleaned from the archives listed in the catalog.

<http://peoplescontest.psu.edu/>

*Pennsylvania Digitized Newspaper Directory.* This website offers an incomplete but useful directory of digitized Pennsylvania newspapers and information on where to find them.

[http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/colletions/8728/pennsylvania\\_digitized\\_newspapers\\_directory/524049](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/colletions/8728/pennsylvania_digitized_newspapers_directory/524049)

*Pennsylvania State University*

SEAN TRAINOR

## HIDDEN GEMS

### *Jay Cooke's Memoir and Wartime Finance*

Better known to American history as the gambling robber baron whose failed Northern Pacific Railroad triggered the Panic of 1873, Jay C. Cooke (1821–1905) was the father of modern war finance and a brilliant salesman of the fiscal obligations of citizenship. The son of an Ohio congressman, Cooke moved to Philadelphia in 1839, whetted his appetite for bond sales during the Mexican War, and “on the 1st day of January 1861 in one of the darkest hours of our country” established Jay Cooke & Co. in the heart of Philadelphia’s Third Street financial district. Cooke reflected on his wartime experiences a generation later in an unpublished memoir. Composed in the 1890s with the aid of his granddaughter and now on deposit at the Baker Library Historical Collections of the Harvard Business School, Cooke’s memoir offers invaluable insights into the history of Civil War Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

About half of Cooke’s memoir reflects on his role in Civil War finance. It is difficult to know when to trust any autobiographer, particularly one who claims to have “been—I firmly believe—God’s chosen instrument, especially in the financial work of saving the Union during the greatest War that has ever been fought in the history of Man.” God’s will aside, Cooke’s role in wartime finance is difficult to exaggerate. When Confederates attacked Fort Sumter in April 1861, federal coffers stood dangerously empty, and Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase—who believed the war would last only a few months—initially did little to raise revenue. Jay Cooke’s brother was an old friend of Secretary Chase from early days in Ohio politics, and Cooke quickly leveraged his personal relationship—and an initial success at raising three million dollars from

<sup>1</sup> The memoir appears in two forms: a handwritten manuscript from 1894, composed in part by Cooke and dictated in part to his granddaughter Elizabeth C. Butler, which is catalogued as “The Autobiography of Jay Cooke,” box 49a, Jay Cooke & Co. Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School, Boston, MA. A typescript copy appears as “Jay Cooke’s Memoir,” undated typescript, Baker Library. The typescript is decidedly easier to read and appears to be a meticulously faithful transcription.

Philadelphia bankers for the first Pennsylvania war loan—to win Jay Cooke & Co. a nearly exclusive contract for the sale of US war bonds.<sup>2</sup>

Cooke launched the most ambitious sales campaign of the nineteenth century. He hired a “large army” of 2,500 agents who fanned out across the country selling bonds, among them the so-called “five-twenties,” which could be redeemed in not less than five years or more than twenty and earned 6 percent interest upon maturity. Cooke relied on—and innovated—the most advanced media techniques of the day. He hired Samuel Wilkeson, a leading writer for the *New-York Tribune*, at a six thousand dollar salary and charged him with “keeping the press of the country supplied with interesting items anecdotes & illustrations, growing out of the loan subscriptions & all other matters calculated to enlighten, cheer & instruct the people as to the gov. loans.” Jay Cooke & Co. fed stories to newspapers and wooed editors with full-page advertisements, sweetheart deals, and invitations to Cooke’s lavish estate in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; he even urged ministers to preach of the financial responsibilities of citizenship. It worked: Cooke sold more than one billion dollars in bonds. By offering bonds in denominations as low as fifty dollars, Cooke expanded the ranks of American securities owners: across the North, about 5 percent of the population bought a bond and at least two-thirds of the Union’s revenues derived from bonds.<sup>3</sup>

Cooke’s memoir has drawn the attention of scholars of Civil War statebuilding and finance; state and local historians investigating the history of wartime Pennsylvania will also find much of interest. Cooke offers rich commentary on banking in Philadelphia—named in his memoirs as the “City of Capital”—although the memoir is largely silent about Cooke’s relationship with Anthony Drexel, his sometime partner and constant rival. Cooke touches briefly on state politics, including his efforts to engage the commonwealth’s Quaker citizens in war-bond drives while accommodating their pacifist commitments. Aside from a few reflections on his conversion to the Episcopal Church, Cooke offers disappointingly little evidence about his private life. He dispenses with his wife (a Southerner by birth) in a single paragraph; scholars seeking his deepest passions will find them in “A Chapter on Fishing.”<sup>4</sup>

More broadly, the memoir demonstrates the continuities between the economic upheavals of the Civil War and the tumult of postwar capitalism

<sup>2</sup> “Jay Cooke’s Memoir,” 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 95, 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

in Philadelphia and across the country. Cooke's success at marketing war bonds encouraged his disastrously speculative gamble on the Northern Pacific Railroad. Memories of Civil War finance lasted even longer in Washington: Woodrow Wilson's treasury secretary William McAdoo modeled the Liberty Loans of World War I in part on Cooke's fifties. Cooke's vision of citizenship has endured as well. In his memoir, Cooke explained his belief that he "could sell the loan on patriotic principles far easier than on the basis of profit & loss," and yet he filled his newspaper ads with promises of stable investments and tax exemption.<sup>5</sup> Principal and interest were patriotic principles, and his flag-waving flourishes were merely that: flourishes. For better and for worse, Cooke's coupling of individual self-interest and American patriotism forever shaped how Americans have thought about their fiscal obligations in wartime.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*    CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZOLA

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 37.

## *The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Civil War*

Civil War historians, particularly those interested in women's experiences, stand to learn a great deal by taking a new look at old sources. Among these are the minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS), housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> PFASS's minutes document the society's monthly meetings and provide a rather comprehensive list of the work the women did. The minute books record what the group accomplished between meetings, organizational correspondence, and the activities of individual members. Because the group did not disband until 1870, the minutes hold potential for scholars seeking to understand the still unexplored experiences of women of color during the Civil War and Reconstruction and how this novel group of women sought to shape the political events of the day.

An early women's abolitionist group, organized in 1833, the PFASS was the first such society to be racially integrated. For thirty-seven years, this small group of black and white women in Philadelphia worked closely together to lobby for abolition, to provide support for fugitive slaves, and to work on behalf of civil rights. Of the twenty-nine original PFASS members, at least nine were women of color: these included Margaretta, Charlotte, and Sarah Forten; Harriet Forten Purvis; and Grace and Sarah Douglass. These women worked alongside white luminaries such as Lucretia Mott and Sarah and Angelina Grimké.<sup>2</sup>

On January 8, 1863, the society's recording secretary described the women's "unutterable joy and gratitude" with President Lincoln for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. The women of PFASS took heart that they had had a hand in making this day possible. But the minutes make clear that the women did not believe that their work was done. With the outcome of the war still very much uncertain, they shifted their

<sup>1</sup> The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Minutes 1833–1870, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter PFASS Minutes). The PFASS records are part of the Historical Society's much larger Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS) Papers. The PFASS was an entirely separate organization, but the PAS Papers include the records of many related organizations, such as the PFASS. The PFASS records include correspondence files as well as minutes, though only the minutes survive for the Civil War years. Some correspondence has been incorporated into the minutes.

<sup>2</sup> Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 77.

focus to Union victory and supporting people of color in their transition from slavery to freedom. For example, the minutes reveal that once the War Department authorized the recruitment of black soldiers, the PFASS raised money and supplies to support the United States Colored Troops (USCT) training at Camp William Penn. By fall 1863, PFASS women expanded their work to supply freedmen's schools and Washington's contraband camps. In October, the women decided that "the books belonging to this Society now at the Anti-Slavery Office, be distributed to the different colored camps and schools for colored children."<sup>3</sup> With each expansion of its work—from abolitionism to helping fugitive slaves to supplying the USCT to providing education materials to contraband camps—the PFASS expanded its fundraising activities correspondingly.

The records also indicate the women's strong opposition to a proposed state law that would have prohibited black immigration to the state. Confident in their political influence, PFASS women addressed a letter to the Pennsylvania legislature insisting that, "[t]he Phila. Female Anti Slavery Society respectfully remonstrates against the adoption of a law to prevent the migration into this state, of colored persons, or any other class of unoffending people, and earnestly beseeches you today to save the state from the disgrace of such an unconstitutional and inhuman enactment."<sup>4</sup> This and other such letters demanding equal treatment for Pennsylvanians of color recorded in the minutes document the women's growing confidence in their political voices.

After the war ended, the women of the PFASS celebrated the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, again with some satisfaction in the part they had played in the momentous event. But, acutely aware of the harsh realities of poverty and racism in the City of Brotherly love, the women of the PFASS turned their efforts toward securing legislation that would secure equal rights for people of color. Toward that end, the women of PFASS dedicated their final five years to securing suffrage for black men. In September 1865 the women refocused their goals to "demand, constantly, the suffrage for the emancipated slave, as the only security of any real liberty for him."<sup>5</sup> Until the passage of the

<sup>3</sup> PFASS Minutes, Oct. 12, 1863.

<sup>4</sup> "Legislative Acts or Legal Proceedings," *Patriot*, Jan. 22, 1863; Judith Giesberg, *Pennsylvania and the Civil War*, Pennsylvania Historical Association Series (University Park, PA, forthcoming 2012), chap. 4; PFASS Minutes, Feb. 11, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> PFASS Minutes, Apr. 13, 1865.

Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, and the group's formal disbanding, PFASS minutes reveal that this interracial group of women was uniquely dedicated to securing political rights for black men as the surest way of securing civil rights for all people of color. As other groups abandoned the push for suffrage for black men in favor of white women's right to vote, PFASS women stayed committed to constitutional rights for black men. Additionally, the records at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania allow us to follow the lives of these politically active women as they became involved in streetcar desegregation protests, fundraising fairs, and freedmen's education, all the while instructing sitting congressmen in Harrisburg and in Washington as to the rights of people of color and freedmen.

Although the women members of the PFASS belonged largely to Philadelphia's elite, these sources allow historians to pose many questions about race relations and interracial cooperation during the Civil War. To what extent did the interracial membership of PFASS translate into a meaningful cooperation between women? What can the minutes teach us about the daily lives of black and white women in Philadelphia during the war? How did women without political rights act nonetheless towards political ends? A second look at the PFASS records promises to enrich historical understanding of Northern women's role in Civil War-era politics and may shed light on the everyday lives of women of color during the war years. The unique interracial nature of the group and the complete set of records it left behind make the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's PFASS collection a historically significant Civil War gem.

*Villanova University*

EMILY HATCHER

## *Preserving Pennsylvania's Civil War Muster Rolls*

Henry D. Weaver of Company A of the 121st Regiment enlisted in 1862. He survived the entire Civil War and many major battles, including Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. When the war ended, he was preparing to go home on April 20, 1865, when he was struck and killed by lightning. Samuel J. Johnson of Oswego, New York, came to Pennsylvania and joined Company A of the Eighth US Colored Troops. The last known official notice of him was that he was a prisoner at Andersonville, Georgia. Charles Fuller of Company D of the Forty-Sixth Regiment was only in the war for a few months when he was kicked out of service in the fall of 1862. Charles Fuller was “detected as being a female.”

The Pennsylvania State Archives maintains all of the records created by the regimental units raised by the commonwealth during the Civil War. Unit holdings include muster in and muster out rolls, casualty and deserter lists, official communications, and other records. Most valued among these are the mustering out rolls, which briefly give each soldier's war story at his time of discharge and, in many cases, beyond it. They are, as historian John B. B. Trussell has noted, “essential for the study” of any regiment's or company's actions during the war. In October 2005, the State Archives began an ambitious project to conserve the 2,500 muster out rolls that are part of Records Series 19.11, “Muster Rolls and Related Records” of the Adjutant General's Office.

Each roll, one to a company, is a preprinted federal government form that was distributed to and used by the army in all Northern states. It contains columns reading left to right with spaces for entering each soldier's name, age, enlistment data, and payment history. The last column on the far right, titled “Remarks,” is the official statement on the final disposition of each soldier. Typical entries here are brief written notations such as: “mustered out with Company,” “held prisoner at Libby Prison,” or “wounded in action at Chancellorsville.” Those soldiers not present at mustering out had entries recorded for them like “recovering in hospital,” “died at Antietam,” “died of disease,” “deserted,” “lost,” or “status unknown.” Though written quickly and dispassionately in a kind of army shorthand by the company's clerk, perhaps not far from a field of battle, some entries are quite dramatic and poignant to the modern reader. Take,

Muster out roll for Company I of the Fifty-Third Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers before conservation treatment. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

for example, the entry for General Strong Vincent: "Died July 8th 1863 of wound received July 2 1863 Battle of Gettysburg, PA. Made Brig. Gen'l." This one brief sentence encapsulates the last days of the Erie hero's life: mortally wounded July second, he was made a brigadier general for all of six days before his death on the eighth.

"Remarks" were created for most of the over 360,000 men who served

Muster out roll for Company I of the Fifty-Third Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers after conservation treatment. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

the commonwealth. Upon completion, the large sheet of paper, or “roll,” averaging thirty-one-by-forty inches, was neatly folded into a rectangle of about five-by-eleven inches, combined with the other records of the regiment, and eventually sent to the State Adjutant General’s Office in Harrisburg for safekeeping.

Collectively, the rolls are portraits of Pennsylvania’s military manpower

in the most seminal event in US history. Pennsylvania was one of the most important states in the North in terms of industrial might and one of the first to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops in the spring of 1861. More Pennsylvanians fought for the Union than from any other state except New York. Commonwealth regiments distinguished themselves throughout the war and in many cases directly affected the outcomes of critical battles: the Fifty-First at Burnside Bridge at Antietam, the Eighty-Third at Little Round Top at Gettysburg, and the anthracite miners of the Forty-Eighth who dug the tunnel and laid the explosives at Petersburg before the Battle of the Crater are but a few of the Keystone State's storied regiments whose contributions are recorded in these rolls. The rolls bear the names and stories of the commonwealth's famous military leaders—Reynolds, Hartranft, Geary—as well as of famous and not-so-famous rank-and-file soldiers, from Medal of Honor awardee George Mears, who distinguished himself the second day of Gettysburg, to Charles Fuller, a woman who disguised herself as a man. The individuals listed represent a microcosm of the diverse ethnic and cultural population of the North. For example, regiments such as the Seventy-Fourth from Pittsburgh, comprised largely of German-speaking soldiers, and the 116th, consisting of Irish from Philadelphia and attached to the famed Irish Brigade are represented. Additionally, the ninety-seven muster out rolls present for the United States Colored Troop units raised in Pennsylvania reveal that at least half of the 8,600 African Americans who enlisted were not from out of state. In early 1863, Pennsylvania became the second state after Massachusetts to recruit African Americans, and many flocked from its border states to join. However, many black Pennsylvanians served in regiments formed outside the state, most notably in Massachusetts, and their names are not recorded here.

In the years following the conflict, the state adjutant general's staff frequently referred to the muster rolls for purposes of verifying service for pension claims by veterans or their widows. The staff also updated the rolls, sometimes years, even decades, after the war. The updates are noted in red ink on the State Archives' rolls and are the key difference from the information provided in Samuel P. Bates's *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*. Bates used the muster rolls as the basis for publishing information about each regiment. His five-volume set was rushed into print right after the war and published between 1869 and 1871, but Bates did not have time to verify all of the massive information he collected, leading to mistakes in enlistment

and mustering in locations and similar data. Information added to the rolls after 1871 obviously does not appear in Bates's volumes. There is a set of Pennsylvania muster out rolls at the National Archives, likely the Department of the Army's copies, which apparently were never updated in this fashion. These updates make the set at the Pennsylvania State Archives a unique and a more nuanced evidential source. For example, Bates describes Elijah Huntzman from Wilkes-Barre, of Company C, 143rd Regiment, simply as "Deserted February 5, 1863." The roll for Company C at the State Archives for Huntzman states that he specifically deserted from Camp Slocum in Washington, DC, then in red ink next to "Deserted" is written, "Charge erroneous see letter from War Department January 19, 1892." Mr. Huntzman, who was not present at mustering out, evidently had not deserted, and it appears that he spent several decades trying to clear his name. In a similar case, Thomas Kocher of Company F of the 192nd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, is listed by Bates simply as having "deserted June 6, 1863." Again, on the roll in red ink, next to the original notation, is written, "charge removed, discharged June 6, 1863. See letter from War Dept. Sept. 15, 1892." These additions reveal that many soldiers were officially listed as deserters at discharge because they were not present to make their case or had no one to speak for them. Some were perhaps wounded and recovering in a hospital, some were languishing in a rebel prison. Regardless of the reason, it would take Privates Huntzman and Kocher nearly thirty years to change their status and thus qualify for veteran's benefits.

As the large sheets of paper aged and were folded and unfolded by the adjutant general's staff for reference purposes, they broke along fold lines. The unique records were literally being handled to death. Most were broken into twelve or more rectangular pieces, some much worse, and needed to be reassembled like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle just to be readable. Often the well-intentioned staff would duly repair the rolls with whatever was at hand: glue, cloth tape, and later cellophane tape. When the old soldiers passed on, a new research generation, genealogists, and scholars wanted access to the records for purposes of historical and family research. The 135 cubic feet of records were transferred to the State Archives in the 1960s and after fifty years are still the most requested of all of the archives' holdings. During this time archivists constantly worried about the rolls' overworked condition and hesitated to handle them for fear of contributing to their disintegration. An alphabetical three-by-five card

file prepared by Works Progress Administration workers in the 1930s helped allay somewhat harmful browsing and handling.<sup>1</sup>

A new kind of “war” began to be waged, one against time and overuse. Thanks to a \$375,000 grant from the federal Save America’s Treasures Program and an additional grant of \$450,000 from the Pennsylvania General Assembly, the State Archives, in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Heritage Society, began to conserve the rolls in October 2005. The ones in worst condition were conserved at the Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts in Philadelphia. The remainder was cared for at the State Archives. The goal is to repair all to the point where they can be reproduced easily. The rolls could not be photographed in their preconservation condition; they were too fragmented and fragile. Ultimately, all 2,500 mustering out rolls will be scanned and placed on a free database so that researchers from around the world can access them. The archives is presently making arrangements with Ancestry.com to develop this database.<sup>2</sup>

The State Archives anticipates the demand on these records to increase, given the current popularity of the Civil War and its sesquicentennial celebration. This project will ensure the precious details of the legacy of the 360,000 men who fought and died for the commonwealth are preserved.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*      LINDA A. RIES

<sup>1</sup>This card file is now part of a free searchable database at <http://www.digitalarchives.state.pa.us>.

<sup>2</sup>By 2009, only about 1,600 of the 2,500 muster out rolls had been conserved. Work slowed when the archives realized the number of mends needed was far greater than originally estimated. Funding ran out when a promised third year of appropriation from the Pennsylvania General Assembly did not materialize. In 2010–11, a Keystone Heritage Grant of \$150,000 and some private sector funding helped conserve another 250. An additional \$300,000 in Keystone funding was appropriated in 2011–12, enough funding to complete the project by July 1, 2012. At that juncture, the treated rolls will be scanned by Ancestry.com and placed on an online public database sometime in 2013. More information about conserving the rolls can be obtained by contacting Linda Ries at [lries@state.pa.us](mailto:lries@state.pa.us) or 717-787-3023. Ries is also available to organizations to speak about the project.

## *A Record of Pennsylvania Deserters*

A number of years ago Sally McMurry of the Pennsylvania State University came across an intriguing item while digging in the tax records in the basement of the Centre County Library and Historical Museum in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Sitting on an open metal shelf was a sheaf of papers bound in deteriorating leather. The item was twenty-seven inches long and seventeen inches wide. Curious, McMurry opened it and discovered that it contained 274 pages of information on the men who had deserted from Pennsylvania infantry, artillery, and cavalry regiments during the Civil War. Why did such a document exist? What was its purpose? And how did such an extensive federal record come to Bellefonte?

The answers lead to a larger story: the use of loyalty as a criterion to determine eligibility to vote. The list of names was employed by judges of elections to prevent deserters, presumed to be disloyal, from voting after the war. Even though this particular document fell out of use within a relatively short time, the record that has been left behind—and which has been digitized for open access as part of a special project at Penn State—provides a wealth of details concerning the men who chose to leave the ranks.

“The Descriptive List of Deserters, Supplied by the U.S.” consists of typescript pages printed by the Office of the Provost Marshal General in Washington. Each page contains nineteen tabulated columns of material, dealing with such things as name, rank, physical description (including age, height, complexion, eye color, hair color), residence, occupation, nativity (foreign or native born), and where and when the men deserted. When massaged by historians, the data could reveal regional patterns of desertion in the state, the social status of the men (working or middle class), whether foreigners deserted more than native born (or vice versa), and the peak times for desertion. Historians may discover other ways to employ the information in the future.

The Pennsylvania legislature requested the document in September 1866, just before the 1866 gubernatorial election. John White Geary, a Democrat turned Republican, faced off against Heister Clymer. Black suffrage formed a central component of the campaign, with Democrats proclaiming that they stood for the white man. Pennsylvania’s Republican-dominated legislature amended the election code on June 4, 1866, to allow denial of the rights of citizenship to deserters. This measure was intended to give every possible advantage to the Republican Party in the race. The

party was accused of trying to use this means to deny the suffrage to Democrats, since they had been the principal critics of the war.<sup>1</sup>

The list of deserters was circulated to election districts (county courthouses such as Bellefonte), where judges of elections used the information to scrutinize voters at polling places. Having a name on this document became prima facie evidence of guilt. The men were treated similar to criminals—stripped of citizenship during incarceration, but without the same opportunity to defend themselves in court or before a military tribunal. Individuals blocked from voting had little recourse except to sue in courts, which delayed a resolution until well after the votes could count in an election. The lack of due process became the law's downfall, and it was finally struck down by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1868.<sup>2</sup>

The extent of screening using this technique is yet unknown. Preliminary research reveals that a few contests for mayors, township officials, district attorneys, and the state senate featured instances in which votes were overturned or forbidden because the men exercising the franchise had deserted from the Union army.<sup>3</sup> Besides Pennsylvania, legislatures in Massachusetts, Louisiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Tennessee put similar measures into effect.<sup>4</sup> Pending further inquiry, the best one can say is that it was not implemented uniformly or systematically, but episodically.

The deserter roster is part of a larger project by University Libraries and the Richards Civil War Era Center at Penn State to document the lived experience of Pennsylvanians during the era. It appears on the website The People's Contest, under the "PA Civil War Collections" link via the Resources Center, at <http://peoplescontest.psu.edu/psul/peoplescontest/resource.html>. It is a bit cumbersome to use now; we plan to make it easier to search the materials and to conduct inquiries about particular research questions. We are grateful to the Centre County Museum, which donated the descriptive list of deserters to Penn State for safe keeping.<sup>5</sup>

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WILLIAM BLAIR

<sup>1</sup> *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Nov. 4, 1865.

<sup>2</sup> *Erie Observer*, July 30, 1868. For the court case, see *McCafferty v. Guyer et al.*, 59 Pa. 109 (May 18, 1868).

<sup>3</sup> *Lancaster Intelligencer*, Oct. 3, 1866.

<sup>4</sup> *Agitator*, June 21, 1865; *Albany Evening Journal*, Oct. 27, 1866.

<sup>5</sup> List of Non-Reporting Drafted Men and Deserters, Eberly Family Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA; also at <http://collection1.libraries.psu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/digitalbks2&CISOPTR=90175&RE>

## *The Catholic Herald and Visitor and the Catholic*

Roman Catholic newspapers are important but overlooked sources providing an intimate window into Catholic thought in Civil War–era Pennsylvania. A sizeable portion of Philadelphia’s and Pittsburgh’s Civil War–era populations were Roman Catholic, mostly recent Irish and German immigrants. Indeed, an estimated 225,000 Philadelphians were Catholic; the diocese included 160 churches, 158 priests, and three colleges by 1861. In Pittsburgh, there were an estimated 50,000 Catholics, 86 priests, 77 churches, and one college.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the conflict, Philadelphia’s Catholics found a voice in the *Catholic Herald and Visitor*.<sup>2</sup> Catholics in western Pennsylvania published their own weekly in Pittsburgh named the *Catholic*. For most of the war, the *Herald* was the “official organ” of Bishop James Wood of Philadelphia, while the *Catholic* was published with the approbation of Pittsburgh’s Bishop Michael Domenec. These weeklies were the only locally edited English-language Catholic papers in the state, a fact that gave them an important role in shaping Catholic opinion in Pennsylvania during the Civil War.<sup>3</sup>

Not only are the *Herald* and *Catholic* good sources for Civil War historians seeking to understand similarities and differences between Catholics and Protestants during the war, they also prove that there was some variety of opinion among Northern Catholics themselves. For example, many of New York City’s Catholic newspapers, such as the *New York Freeman’s Journal* and the *Metropolitan Record*, were strong opponents of both the war and emancipation, and their editors openly called for an immediate peace and supported the Democrats. Similarly Philadelphia’s *Herald* favored

<sup>1</sup> *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity’s Directory* (Baltimore, 1861), 68, 72.

<sup>2</sup> The *Herald’s* full title changed to the *Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor* at the beginning of 1864. “Change of Heading,” *Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Jan. 2, 1864. Part of the reason why these sources have been overlooked is that it is very difficult to obtain a complete run of either paper on microfilm. While the *Herald* has been recently digitized, the only partially microfilmed years readily available on loan are 1860, 1862–1864. Pittsburgh’s *Catholic* is available for 1861–1865 on microfilm at the University of Notre Dame Archives. In addition, Duquesne University has begun to digitize it and make it available online. The best places to find what remains of the *Herald/Universe* (1861–1864) are Villanova University and the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center. For an overview of the *Herald’s* coverage of the Civil War, see Joseph George Jr., “Philadelphia’s Catholic Herald: The Civil War Years,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1979): 196–221.

<sup>3</sup> The *Herald* lost its status as Wood’s “official organ” early in January 1864, henceforth it styled itself the “Oldest Catholic Paper in the United States” or a “Catholic Family Paper.” *Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Jan. 23, 1864.

the Democrats and was not afraid to criticize Lincoln's wartime policies. Unlike antiwar Catholics in New York, however, the paper approvingly noted and celebrated the loyalty of Catholics and their clergy to the Union cause. Pittsburgh's *Catholic* was even more vocal in its support of the administration against "unjustifiable rebellion." Its editor called upon citizens to "rally around the old flag," and soon Old Glory was raised over several Catholic institutions and churches in Pittsburgh.<sup>4</sup>

Both papers cheered the successes of Northern armies while taking a somewhat hostile or indifferent attitude towards emancipation. The *Herald* extolled Catholic patriotism manifested through the sacrifice of Irish Catholics who gave their lives for the American cause in battles such as Gaines's Mill despite the anti-Catholic prejudice. The *Catholic* closely followed (and praised) the career of the Union army's most devout Catholic major general, William S. Rosecrans. While both papers opposed radical abolitionists, neither blamed the war on them alone (as the New York Catholic papers often did), and both were careful to denounce the South as "wanton" and the "aggressors." Even as the *Herald* justified Irish Catholics' dislike for abolitionists by linking them to prewar nativism and anti-Catholicism, it took a comparatively enlightened view on race, stating that it was "openly against Catholic morals to hate the African in the heart." Indeed, the *Herald* was one of the few Catholic papers in the nation to support the use of black troops in the Union army. The *Catholic*, which carefully avoided discussing the Emancipation Proclamation directly, blamed the war on national "vanity" rather than slavery. Both papers showed signs of war weariness in 1864. And yet, even as the *Herald's* editor hoped for peace, he refused to acquiesce in Southern independence and faithfully supported nothing less than the restitution of the Union. These papers contain much invaluable information about Civil War-era Pennsylvania Catholics that should not be overlooked by Civil War scholars.<sup>5</sup>

*University of Virginia*

WILLIAM KURTZ

<sup>4</sup> "How Can We Escape Ruin?" and "Lincoln's Abolition Proclamation," *New York Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 23, Oct. 4, 1862; "Peace" and "A Dishonorable Trick of the 'Catholic Telegraph,'" *Metropolitan Record*, Apr. 25, July 11, 1863; "New Year's Day," *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Jan. 4, 1862; "The Loyalty of Our Priests," *Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Jan. 2, 1864; "The Duty of the Citizen" and "During the last week a large flag . . .," *Catholic*, Apr. 20, 27, 1861.

<sup>5</sup> "Glorious Union Victories!!" "Irish Patriotism," and "Abolition and Secession Overthrown," *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Feb. 22, July 19, 1862, Dec. 16, 1863; "The Duty of the Citizen," "Victory," "The Cause of the War," "Gen. Rosecrans in Battle," and "The Campaign," *Catholic*, Apr. 20, 1861, Feb. 22, 1862, Apr. 18, 1863, Jan. 24, 1863, May 21, 1864; "The Irish and Slavery," "The Black Soldiers," and "Peace," *Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Apr. 2, 30, Aug. 27, 1864.

## *Dr. Benjamin Rohrer's Artifact Collection*

The National Museum of Civil War Medicine in Frederick, Maryland, houses numerous letters, maps, medical supplies, and other artifacts pertaining to medical developments during the Civil War. Among these collections are the personal possessions of Dr. Benjamin Rohrer, a surgeon with the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves. Dr. Rohrer's artifacts, donated by Dr. Gordon Dammann, include his leather surgeon's shoulder bag, a carte de visite, saddle bags, a spur, a Bowie knife, and a collection of twenty-seven letters and one map of Gettysburg showing the position of hospitals after the battle there. Rohrer's Civil War story begins in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he left in August 1861 to fight for a "righteous cause," as mentioned in a letter to his brother dated August 18, and ends in the furthest reaches of Florida four long years later. Dr. Rohrer's experience encompasses almost every phase of the medical system, ranging from time as a regimental surgeon to charge of a general hospital. He treated the wounded soldiers of the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves at battles such as Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. Later he was transferred to Germantown, Pennsylvania, to operate the general hospital there. The final letter in the collection, dated May 9, 1865, reassigned Dr. Rohrer to Key West, Florida.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most interesting pieces of the collection is Dr. Rohrer's carte de visite. With this picture, we can see and appreciate the Union major's visage and bearing. Rohrer looks out at us dressed in a double breasted coat and wearing a full beard. Rohrer's medical kits, although not complete, provide further evidence of his life and of medical practice during the war. The different leather containers provide tangible examples of how surgeons carried medicine in the field. Rohrer's collection includes a shoulder bag with the number "10" on the flap, identifying him as a member of the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves. Rohrer would have carried this bag on his person at all times to treat wounded soldiers at one of his unit's

<sup>1</sup> Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5* (Harrisburg, PA, 2005), 1:823, May 31, 1864; Third Division Headquarters orders ordering Surgeon Benjamin Rohrer to take charge of Fifth Corps wounded on June 1, 1864, L3.2003.028; Department of Pennsylvania Medical Director's Office Special Orders No. 123 regarding Acting Assistant Surgeon Benjamin Rohrer being reassigned to Key West, May 9, 1865, L3.2003.031, both National Museum of Civil War Medicine, Frederick, MD.

treatment areas before, during, and after the battles. The spur and saddle bags suggest that Dr. Rohrer rode horseback to quickly make his rounds to attend to his injured comrades.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the Civil War is not only the story of battles, politics, and generals. A seldom-mentioned but important aspect of the war's history is its medical history. Countless lives were saved by medical innovations and experienced surgeons, such as Dr. Benjamin Rohrer of the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves, were vital in treating the wounded soldiers not only on the battlefields, but in the many hospitals around the country, days or weeks after the initial injury. The National Museum of Civil War Medicine presents these practices and advancements in medical science on both sides of the conflict by tracing the care of wounded soldiers from battle to recovery at long-term-care hospitals. While the museum emphasizes the significance of the achievements of Dr. Jonathan Letterman, a Pennsylvania native who revolutionized battlefield medicine forever, it also recognizes that the individuals who treated the wounded, like Dr. Rohrer, are an integral part of this important history. Only a small portion of this history can be told through Dr. Rohrer and his possessions. The rest can be found somewhere in the collection of the National Museum of Civil War Medicine, waiting to be discovered.

*Birmingham, Alabama*

BRIAN J. MAST

<sup>2</sup> Carte de Visite, L3.2003.003; spur, L3.2003.002; and field medical case, L01.2000.075, all National Museum of Civil War Medicine.

## *The Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry “Lancers” Monument*

Visitors to the Gettysburg National Military Park who venture down Emmitsburg Road to South Cavalry Field will discover a cluster of commonly overlooked monuments. Nearly lost in the midst of the Battlefield RV Sales Lot and a nearby “Battlefield”-themed resort stands the haunting and evocative battle monument that honors the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, known as “Rush’s Lancers.”

As a work of art, the monument is surely worthy of consideration. The Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry’s monument is a six-sided granite shaft. The rough quarry-faced texture attests to the Sixth’s flinty resolve. To each facet of the marker is attached a lance, cast in bronze and with its pennant extended in a breeze that never dies. One face tersely proclaims “Gettysburg July 3 1863, Number engaged 365, killed 3 wounded 7 missing 2.” On other faces, the number of the unit—6—and the emblem of the unit—the lance—are fused in fact and in memory.

Like so many monuments scattered across the battlefield, the Lancers’ monument has a rich history. Formed in Philadelphia in the first year of the war, the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry attracted the sons of the city’s elites, including many veterans from the historic First City Troop. The distinctive lances were the suggestion of Philadelphia native son General George McClellan. An anecdote in the regimental history describes the young Lieutenant Frank Furness comparing the effectiveness of the lances with that of the more customary saber, with a saber-wielding cavalryman impaling but one while the lancer impaled six.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps more importantly, the lances evoked the pageantry of *Ivanhoe* and quickly captured the public imagination. Winslow Homer captured the Lancers in a quick ink sketch in the spring of 1862, just before they first saw action, but the use of the ancient weapon in modern combat proved catastrophic. On May 25, 1862, near Hanover Courthouse, Virginia, the troop charged with set lances into an entrenched Southern line. The resulting slaughter demonstrated that romance had no value in an age of mechanized killing. Henceforth the lances were used ceremonially in parades and were

<sup>1</sup> Reverend S. L. Gracey, Chaplain to the Regiment, *Annals of the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry*, (Philadelphia, 1868), 353–54. Furness’s career is described in George E. Thomas, et al., *Frank Furness: The Complete Works*, rev. ed. (New York, 1996).



Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry "Lancers" monument, near South Cavalry Field, Emmitsburg Road (Business US 15) south of Ridge Road near Gettysburg. Courtesy of George E. Thomas.

stacked for identity at the camp sites of the unit.

By the summer of 1863 the Lancers had seen much hard fighting in the eastern theater, including action at Chancellorsville and Brandy Station. A portion of the troop had spent the days before Gettysburg shadowing Lee's cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart, drawing them away from the battle in the critical early hours when the Union forces established their superior position along the principal ridge of the field. On July 3 the Lancers took part in the final action of the great battle at the south end of the battlefield—near this monument—shortly after Pickett's Charge.

Among the men of the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, the one who would achieve the most fame—both on and off the battlefield—was Captain Frank Furness (1839–1912). A native Philadelphian and the son of the noted Unitarian minister and abolitionist William Henry Furness, Furness studied architecture in the New York City atelier established by one of the first Paris-trained American architects, Richard Morris Hunt. When war broke out, Furness did not follow the route of his peers to Paris (Henry Hobson Richardson) or Canada (Henry Augustus Sims). Instead he joined the Lancers. Furness remained with his unit from its organization until the fall of 1864, when he was mustered out at the end of his three-year enlistment. In 1864, at Trevilian Station, Furness carried a box of shells on his head across an open battlefield to resupply other troops, an act that earned him the Medal of Honor.

After the war, Furness went on to become one of the leading architects of his age. Instead of relying on traditional designs, he drew on the forms of the rising engineering and mechanical culture of his native city to forge an architecture that could represent the power of industry in the age of the great machines. Following the dictum of Philadelphia industrial designer William Sellers, who claimed that "If a machine is right, it looks right," Furness created a new strategy for design that ignored historical sources and the classical orders and instead made buildings with the same direct reflection of function as the great machines for which Philadelphia was famous. In commercial buildings such as his great banking houses along Chestnut Street, each shouting their individuality, and in a remarkable array of buildings, some one thousand in total, ranging from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (1871–1876) and the University of Pennsylvania Library (1886–1891) to steamship interiors, Furness staked out and defended his position and by extension the values of Philadelphia's engineering-based culture.

As the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg approached, it naturally fell to Furness to design the monument to the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Dedicated on October 14, 1888, the monument is a brilliant summation of what Furness had learned and what he taught students who would continue to advance his positions. One hundred and twenty years after the monument was installed we can still feel its power. Circling the monument in the small clearing on the east side of the Emmitsburg Road south of Gettysburg, it is likely that we are standing where its designer stood at its dedication. The road itself is part of the story, for it was along its route south that the main Confederate force retreated after the battle and where the South Cavalry Field battle took place when Union cavalry units were ordered into defended stone walls overlaid with wood rails and posts.

Like the Tenth Massachusetts image in bronze of stacked arms, Furness's work took an elegiac stance, remembering the comradeship of the camp as much as the battle. Other monuments represent the soldiers' diverse cultural allegiances: the numerous Irish crosses and shamrocks, for example, denote the role of the Irish in the nation's military and their rising political power in the decades after the Civil War. Political power itself is the message of the splendid bronze Sachem Tammany in front of a plains tepee erected to honor the New York Tammany Brigade. Some monuments pay tribute to the professional work of their units, as in the case of the stone castle of the Fifteenth and Fiftieth New York Engineers, on which is a bronze panel that depicts a pontoon bridge of their construction. A few units were still fighting the war. Just north of the Furness monument on the Emmitsburg Road is the now sadly disfigured Eleventh Massachusetts Infantry monument, erected in 1885, that until 2006 was topped by a sword-wielding arm—there was still anger in New England. Its base carries a title from Shakespeare—"All's well that ends well"—conveying the cool irony of educated Boston and still calling on the images of classical learning at the end of the first modern war. Furness's marker is part of a remarkable array of battle monuments that make Gettysburg a splendid record of the evolving cultural and political issues of late nineteenth-century America.

*University of Pennsylvania*

GEORGE E. THOMAS

## *The Records of Camp William Penn*

Federal records offer tantalizing evidence of the struggle for freedom in Civil War–era Pennsylvania. Among the more recent additions to the holdings of the National Archives at Philadelphia are records of Camp William Penn. Situated just outside of the city, Camp William Penn was the first camp built exclusively for the training of African American soldiers and the largest training facility for the US Colored Troops. It trained African American men from both Union and Confederate states who enlisted in the Union army. Surviving records detail conditions at the camp and the personal and familial circumstances of many of the men who enlisted. The records offer glimpses into race relations in Philadelphia as a whole, and Pennsylvania more broadly.

One particularly interesting record is a letter written in July 1864 to Major C. W. Foster at Camp William Penn. It describes the life circumstances of William H. Moore, a very young man and aspiring soldier attached to Company F of the Forty-Third Regiment of the US Colored Troops. Moore was left behind when his company departed, the letter indicates, because he was allegedly underage. The letter describes how Moore spent most of the previous three years in the House of Public Refuge after being placed there by his mother. After being discharged for good behavior, Moore worked for a farmer near Harrisburg and then enlisted as a waiter. Military officials noted Moore's age and what they perceived to be either his inexperience or inability to serve in a combat role. Some officials believed that Moore, despite his eagerness to serve, was—at best—suited merely to be a drummer.<sup>1</sup>

This letter opens up new questions about the lives of the men who enlisted as Colored Troops. We know from other surviving records from the camp that African American men serving there contended with poor sanitation and generally inadequate facilities. Were conditions in the camp better or worse than those they faced in childhood? How did the soldiers perceive and experience care by inadequately trained medical staff, the lack of a chaplain, and diseases like typhoid and pneumonia? How might Moore's expectations of life as a soldier for the Union army—and his underlying motivations behind enlisting—have aligned with the

<sup>1</sup> Louis Wagner to C. W. Foster, July 10, 1864. All citations are from Letters Sent to Camp William Penn, Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110, National Archives at Philadelphia.

harsh day-to-day realities of life at Camp William Penn?

Other documents from the records of Camp William Penn offer glimpses into yet other aspects of the lives of African American soldiers. For example, a set of letters about the August 1863 death of a white civilian in the vicinity of the camp suggests the ways in which local residents interacted with African American soldiers. Camp guards allegedly shot a white man by the last name of Fox. Fox apparently sat on a camp fence—a practice that he had been told was prohibited—and an argument ensued when he refused to do as black soldiers asked. While some of the details surrounding the shooting are sketchy, the case nonetheless opens up questions about the broader context of a war-torn and racially divided community.<sup>2</sup>

Another letter reflects on the presence of women at Camp William Penn. In a March 1864 letter, Lieutenant Colonel Louis Wagner, the commander in charge of Camp William Penn, complained about 120 African American women present at the camp the day of his visit. Many of these women, he believed, were prostitutes or under the influence of alcohol. Wagner noted, “the number of female visitors is large as nearly all the men at camp.” Yet he also cautioned against a proposed order that would have forbidden women from visiting the camp entirely. The intersection of race and gender in these and other documents in the records of Camp William Penn invite closer examination.<sup>3</sup>

One final example, a letter to President Lincoln, raises questions about the religious lives of African American Union soldiers. In February 1864, officials at the camp wrote to President Lincoln requesting that he appoint a chaplain for Camp William Penn. They claimed that a chaplain would benefit the 1,500 troops, especially those hospitalized, and they suggested that the school building on the grounds would be the best place to hold religious services and instruction. Only one regiment had previously enjoyed the services of a chaplain while at Camp William Penn. It remains unclear why the camp went without a chaplain for so long.<sup>4</sup>

*National Archives at Philadelphia*  
*University of Delaware*

COLLEEN F. RAFFERTY

<sup>2</sup> Louis Wagner to C. W. Foster, Aug. 8, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Wagner to C. W. Foster, Mar. 22, 1864.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Wagner and M. R. Hammond to President Lincoln, Feb. 22, 1864.

## *Old Baldy: A Horse's Tale*

Among the more curious of Pennsylvania's Civil War artifacts is the head of Major General George Gordon Meade's horse, Baldy, now on display at the Grand Army of the Republic Museum and Library in the Frankford section of Philadelphia. In life, Baldy was a warhorse and honored for his service. His celebrity reminds us of the strong bond between man and mount and of the important role that animals, particularly horses, played in this pre-automotive world. In death, Old Baldy's stuffed and mounted head has become contested property, suggesting that even in the twenty-first century, a horse, or even a horse's head, can elicit strong emotions and help connect us to one another and with our past.

During the Civil War, horses were not only transportation for officers, but they were extensions of rank and visual representations of authority. Baldy, named for the white patch on his face, was the favorite mount of Major General George Gordon Meade of Philadelphia and was an animal representation of the battlefield heroics and cool leadership under fire of his owner. Meade rode Baldy in at least ten battles. His gait, which fell somewhere between a gallop and a lope, made staff officers on slower horses quite envious. Historians speculate that Baldy was wounded between four and fourteen times over the course of the war, which means that he likely received more wounds than many of the war's most notable battlefield heroes. In most incidences this resilient horse made a quick recovery and returned to the line of duty.

Baldy was wounded most severely at the battles of First Bull Run, Second Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg. One of the most intriguing stories related to Baldy's wounding at Antietam recounts the horse being shot in the neck and left for dead. When soldiers came to bury the horse a couple of days later, they found him grazing along a hillside. This story added to Baldy's legendary mystique, but is also severely flawed. In a letter written by Meade to his wife only one day after the battle, Meade wrote, "I was hit by a spent grape-shot, giving me a severe contusion on the right thigh, but not breaking the skin. Baldy was shot through the neck, but will get over it. A cavalry horse I mounted afterwards was shot in the flank."<sup>1</sup>

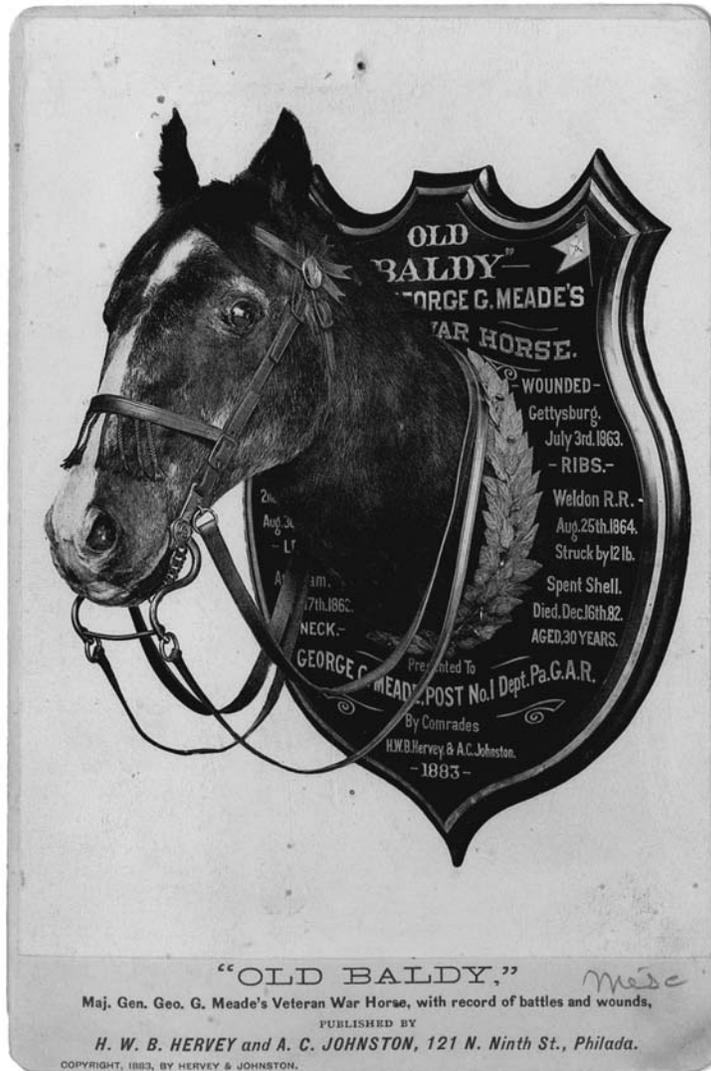
<sup>1</sup> George Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade, Major-General United States Army*, ed. George Gordon Meade (New York, 1913), 1:310-11.

On the second day of the battle of Gettysburg, Baldy received a stomach wound that put him out of commission for the rest of the war. Meade sent Baldy back to Philadelphia to recuperate. The horse was later removed to the Chester County farm of Meade's former quartermaster, Captain Samuel Ringwalt. During Reconstruction, when Meade served as commander of the Department of the Atlantic and as commissioner of Fairmount Park, he often rode Baldy around Philadelphia. Baldy paraded, riderless, in Meade's 1872 funeral procession and outlived his owner by ten years. The beloved "Old Baldy" died on December 16, 1882, at over thirty years of age, on the farm of Jenkintown blacksmith John Davis.

Perhaps the most intriguing stories connected to Old Baldy relate to the horse's experience as an artifact of the war after death. During the holiday season of the year of Baldy's death, Union veterans and Meade admirers Albert C. Johnson and H. W. B. Hervey took a trolley to the Jenkintown farm where Old Baldy was buried and exhumed his head and neck. One can only imagine what the return trip to Philadelphia was like. At the February 26, 1883, campfire of Philadelphia's Meade Post #1 of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), Johnson and Harvey presented the stuffed and mounted head and neck as a relic of the war linked to their post's namesake.<sup>2</sup> Out of jealousy, Philadelphia's GAR Post #2, which claimed to represent the common soldier and had battled with Post #1 over the designation as the first post in Pennsylvania and the Meade name, mounted an army mule's head to commemorate the animal that won the war for their vets. The possession of Old Baldy became further complicated when Meade Post #1 disbanded. GAR policy required all records to go to the Pennsylvania Department headquarters, which was then Post #2. In 1926, the last veterans in Post #2 turned both heads and several other artifacts over to members of the newly organized Philadelphia camp of the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, who established a museum and library in honor of the GAR. The collection was moved to its current location in the Frankford section of northeast Philadelphia in 1958.

Old Baldy's head has received considerable media attention in recent years—perhaps more than his rider for his victory at Gettysburg. In the late 1970s, the board of Frankford's GAR Museum loaned both Old Baldy and the mule's head to Pine Street's Civil War Museum of

<sup>2</sup> "Old Baldy": A Memento of General George Meade's warhorse presented to Post #1, Grand Army of the Republic," *Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph*, Feb. 27, 1883.



Old Baldy's mounted head, George G. Meade Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, which had overseen a collection of Civil War artifacts that had been gathered by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS), a veteran's organization for Union officers. The Civil War Museum was to preserve the artifacts and make them more accessible by displaying them six days a week. In 2000 and 2001, when the financially struggling museum tried to lend its collections to the Tredegar National Civil War Center in Richmond, Virginia, the National Civil War Museum in Harrisburg, MOLLUS officials, the GAR Museum, the Meade family, and supportive Philadelphia politicians filed suit in the city's Orphan's Court in order to keep the collection in Pennsylvania. The settlement required the Pine Street museum to keep the collection in Philadelphia although many alternative sites for relocation in the city were considered. In March 2005, the court settled the dispute over the horse's head by allowing the Civil War Museum to keep Old Baldy but directing it to return the mule's head to the GAR Museum. When the Civil War Museum closed its doors due to a complete loss of state funding in August 2008, plans were proposed to move the collection to the new Gettysburg Visitor's Center, the National Constitution Center, the National Museum of American Jewish History, and the African American Museum. Lawyers representing the GAR Museum convinced the court to keep the head at their facility in Frankford for at least three years. In March 2010, Old Baldy was returned to the GAR Museum, although one of Baldy's front hooves still remains in the collection of the Old York Road Historical Society in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.

*Bangor, PA*

DANE DiFEBO

## *The Church Advocate*

During the nineteenth century, religious newspapers served as an integral source of information for numerous churchgoing individuals. Articles about the finer points of theology, minutes of denominational meetings, and developments regarding domestic and foreign missions filled the pages of these organs and kept ministers and laity informed about current ecclesiastical issues. The Civil War, however, caused editors and correspondents to include matters related to war and politics in addition to typical religious fare. The *Church Advocate*, the Church of God's national weekly published in Lancaster, is a little-known source that reveals aspects of daily life on the Pennsylvania home front and relates the experiences of soldiers in camp and on the battlefield. It underscores how numerous Northern citizens interpreted the war as a contest permeated with religious meaning. Like other religious weeklies, the *Church Advocate* reprinted the latest war news from the *New York Times* or other national papers, but it never lost sight of its primary purpose to promote the beliefs of the Church of God throughout the country. Although more prominent denominational organs such as the Methodist *Western Christian Advocate* included matters of local interest, the *Church Advocate* generally devoted more space to publishing letters of soldiers and civilians. Anyone interested in the religious and social history of the Civil War will find this paper to be a real treasure.

While a few Church of God members claimed that believers should not engage in warfare, most correspondents to the *Church Advocate* and the paper's editors gave their wholehearted support to the Union war effort. For instance, Carlisle resident S. M. Hoover boldly asserted that "the army of our Lord, and the army of our beloved country . . . are so closely allied . . . that the latter cannot exist independent of the former."<sup>1</sup> This confidence in the ultimate success of Union arms rarely wavered, even when the home front felt the hard hand of war. Firsthand descriptions of rebel armies invading the Keystone State, a graphic account of a tragic arsenal explosion in Pittsburgh in September 1862 that took the lives of scores of children who assembled cartridges and shells, and scenes from a field hospital in York after the battle of Antietam all attest to the brutalities of war witnessed by these religious Pennsylvanians.

In addition to presenting perspectives from the home front, the

<sup>1</sup> *Church Advocate*, Sept. 26, 1861.

*Church Advocate* published numerous letters from soldiers, typically three to five each week. Some enlisted men focused on spiritual themes and depicted incidents at prayer meetings, recounted their striving against sins endemic to camp, or admonished readers to pray for them. Others supplied detailed accounts of battle, such as one member of the 3rd Pennsylvania who reported felling several rebel standard-bearers during the Seven Days' battles. A soldier in the 103rd Pennsylvania who survived the fighting at Williamsburg, Virginia, in May 1862, afterwards marveled, "The shot fell thick and fast all around me, but it pleased God to spare my life, perhaps for some purpose unknown to me."<sup>2</sup>

Denominational papers such as the *Church Advocate* provide valuable insights into the lives of religious citizens by revealing their beliefs and values while drawing attention to the challenges they faced because of the momentous changes brought about by the Civil War. Perhaps nothing demonstrates the real tensions of that period better than a description of a New Year's watch night service in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. After reading scripture and praying until 1862 had passed, minister H. L. Soule directed the congregation to rise and, as the first act of 1863, sing "The year of jubilee is come." Most members heartily obliged, but a few kept silent. Soule was troubled that these "professed Christians" could be so insensitive to the plight of slaves, a telling sign to him that these "misguided souls" were "filled with gross darkness" and had their vision obstructed by "political blindness."<sup>3</sup> Nearly 150 years later, students of the Civil War need not stumble in historical darkness, for an understudied resource such as the *Church Advocate* ably illuminates the lives and experiences of religious correspondents from Pennsylvania to Iowa. Obtaining a copy of the paper, however, is challenging. I perused microfilmed copies of the *Church Advocate* at Bowling Green State University's Center for Archival Collections. In 1979 publication of the weekly shifted to Findlay, Ohio, and BGSU's copies were filmed from originals held at Winebrenner Theological Seminary in Findlay. Although a few other libraries have two or three nonconsecutive issues published during the Civil War, no archives apart from these two locales in western Ohio possess a complete run of this valuable source.

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SEAN A. SCOTT

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1863.

## *In Their Dreams: The S. Weir Mitchell Papers*

Civil War battlefields required the evacuation of large numbers of wounded to Northern cities. As the second most important hospital city in the North after Washington, DC, Philadelphia sheltered about 157,000 injured soldiers. The large number of amputees presented an opportunity to army contract surgeon S. Weir Mitchell, MD (1829–1914), who was already emerging as a physician of note in Philadelphia before the war. Mitchell asked his friend US Army Surgeon General William Hammond to set up a special hospital to treat and study injuries to the nerves. During the last year of the war, Hammond assembled one of the most unusual and important temporary hospitals at Turner's Lane in Philadelphia. Mitchell and his hand-picked associates, William W. Keen, MD, and George R. Morehouse, MD, collectively known as "the Firm," found at Turner's Lane an unparalleled opportunity to study diseases and wounds of the nerves. The team was conscious of the history-making nature of their work: "The opportunity was indeed unique and we knew it . . . it was exciting in its constancy of novel interest." In addition to seeing patients, Mitchell and his team found time to publish a systematic study of peripheral nerve injuries among injured soldiers, *Gunshot Wounds and Other Injuries of Nerves* (1864). The first hospital to treat nerve injuries, Turner's Lane created a body of work that effectively founded American neurology.

The Historical Medical Library of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia retains personal and professional papers and publications of Keen and Mitchell (with online finding aids) and houses hand-copied clinical records from Turner's Lane, approximately one hundred pages of notes hastily copied from official records when, at the war's end, the army ordered that all records be sent to Washington. One set of Mitchell files containing about fifty items of correspondence and medical questionnaires furnishes an unusual record of the health of Civil War veterans. This record, borne of Mitchell's pioneering work on nerve injuries, had its origin in the Firm's fascination with how the nervous system responds to amputations, particularly the phenomenon of the "phantom limb," a term Mitchell coined. After the war, Mitchell continued to treat war veterans and became so interested in their sub-

sequent health that, with his physician son John Kearsley Mitchell as his partner and in collaboration with the War Department, Mitchell tracked down amputees to elicit the information in the College of Physicians archive.<sup>1</sup>

In a form letter dated October 1892, Mitchell wrote to his former Turner's Lane patients, "I have now obtained your address in order that I might have the pleasure of understanding your case as it now exists. . . . I desire in the interests of medicine and science to get an exact account of your case." The letter posed seven questions, asking about sensitivity near the injured area, movement of limbs, odors, even "the character of hair upon the injured part." Although amputees responded in narrative form, Mitchell also mailed four-page questionnaires that elicited data about the circumstances of the initial wound, the amputation, recovery, long-term effects on health, appearance, behavior, and mobility. The completed forms reveal a detailed, intimate, reflective moment as veterans revisited their battlefield experiences and considered their life-altering injuries. Henry A. Kircher of Belleville, Illinois, age fifty-two, described his wounding on November 27, 1863, from several bullets that passed through his kneecaps and elbows and resulted in the amputation of an arm and a leg. He asserted confidently, "I enjoy good health can not say that loss of limbs made any changes in health." Nevertheless, he wrote that his digestion was "not as perfect as formerly," that he was given to "quick temper," and that he avoided eating bananas. He walked with a prosthetic leg but noticed that his stump responded to changes in weather. The constant pressure on his stump from the prosthesis caused sleeplessness, twitching, and discomfort from long periods of walking and standing, but he experienced the phantom symptom within his missing arm. He could move his missing fingers but could not "clinch them to make a fist nor strengthen the fingers altogether." In a note, Kircher referred Mitchell to the army physician who amputated his limbs (and was now in St. Louis, Missouri, address supplied), and he "thank[ed] him for his knowledge, kind heart, and [Kircher's] sound constitution all of which combined brought [him] through all right."

Of the surveys and correspondence between Mitchell and veterans at the College of Physicians, one letter, from a veteran in Philadelphia, dated February 10, 1906, is among the most poignant and clinically interesting.

<sup>1</sup> The S. Weir Mitchell (1829–1914) materials are located as Papers, 1788 (1850–1928) 1949 MSS 2/0241-03, College of Physicians of Philadelphia. The questionnaires are found at series 4.5. See finding aid at [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/detail.html?id=PACSCL\\_CPP\\_CPPMSS2024103](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/detail.html?id=PACSCL_CPP_CPPMSS2024103).

The sender, HSH (who asked for anonymity), described his wounding at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, and the subsequent amputation of his right arm. Despite some healing difficulties, he recovered, observing, "At home, I drove every day while regaining strength. When a gust of wind would make it possible that my straw hat would blow off, an attempt was involuntarily made to catch my hat with my right hand." Eventually, though, the feeling of the phantom hand lessened. "The fingers however remain in a half closed condition," he reported, "and never have I been able to feel them extended or fully closed." HSH's concluding observation is remarkable from a Gettysburg veteran forty-three years after the battle:

Now for the curious part. I was 24 years old when I lost my arm, and am now 67. Almost two-thirds of my life has passed without thought of the possible use of my right arm, and yet never have I dreamed once, that I was not without two arms, and only last night I dreamt that I was holding a paper up with my two hands. When I ride, or drive, or cling to limb on the trees, or write, in my dreams I always have the use of both of my hands. . . . I write often in my dreams, but always with the right hand I used over forty years ago. To do this, I attempt to use the tendons which would hold and guide the pen, and this is done with so much fatigue . . . that I suffer great pain in my finger tendons, even to wakening me up from the most profound sleep, because of the pain in the lost hand. Thus, in my dreams, I remain a man with a perfect frame, but which awake, I never think of myself otherwise than a one-handed being. And this after two-thirds . . . of my life had fully accustomed me to being with one hand only.

*The College of Physicians of Philadelphia*      ROBERT D. HICKS

## *“A Remarkable Case”: A Surgeon’s Letter to the Huntington County Globe*

It would have taken an extraordinary set of wounds to surprise a Union surgeon four years into the bloody war. A remarkable letter buried in the pages of the Huntington County *Globe* in August 1865, however, details just such a case and gives us a glimpse into the rigors of life as a soldier and into the practice of medicine during the Civil War. Orderly Sergeant Michael Logan of the Sixteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry had the misfortune of being treated for so many grievous battle injuries that in August 1865, a week after Logan’s company had mustered out in Richmond, Virginia, J. E. P., the surgeon of the ward at the York, Pennsylvania, hospital wrote a letter to Logan’s local newspaper describing the case.

Orderly Sergeant Michael M. Logan of Orbisonia, Huntingdon County, a member of Co. M, 16th Pa. Cav., who enlisted on the 19th day of September, 1862, and who is at present a patient in the Ninth Ward of this hospital, has received no less than 14 wounds in the service of his Country. At the battle of Middleburg, in Loudon County, Va., which took place on the 19th of June, 1863, he received 11 wounds. While acting as a dismounted skirmisher, he became detached from his comrades, and was assailed by a mounted Rebel who ordered him to surrender, which he refused to do; and five more Rebels rode up shouting, “Kill him.” The Sergeant bravely defended himself for a time, until finally he fell, having received 11 wounds, as above stated, and was left for dead by the “chivalrous” Southerners. He has subsequently been wounded in other engagements, as the following statement will show. Notwithstanding all these wounds, the Sergeant is not seriously disabled.<sup>1</sup>

As the surgeon related, Logan suffered fourteen wounds in three different engagements. At the battle of Middleburg in Virginia in June 1863, Confederate soldiers surrounded a dismounted and isolated Logan. Rather than take him captive, the “chivalrous southerners,” as the surgeon satirically called them, shot him once with a pistol and hacked at him with their sabers. The wounds looked deadly enough to cause the Confederates to leave him. After seven months of hospitalization and

<sup>1</sup> “A Remarkable Case,” letter from J. E. P., *Huntington (PA) Globe*, Aug. 23, 1865; Military Service File Michael M. Logan, National Archives and Record Administration.

recuperation he rejoined his unit. Then, in late May 1864 the Sixteenth Regiment saw action at Haw's Shop, Virginia, where a minié ball struck him in the elbow. Another six months of medical treatment left him with a permanently limited range of motion "of about 45 degrees." How a cavalryman could continue to ride and shoot with such a limitation is not clear from the documentary record. Still, Logan returned to the Army of the Potomac at the end of November 1864 at its entrenchments near Petersburg for the final stage of the war in the Eastern Theater. Ever the target for secessionists, he now took another pistol ball, this time through the left shoulder and into the neck, "producing paralysis of the left side of the tongue." This wound came in the Battle of Amelia Springs on April 5, 1865, two days after Richmond had fallen and four days before Lee would surrender.<sup>2</sup>

Logan's return to duty each time speaks to the perseverance of Union soldiers—an important factor in Union victory, as historians have shown. An experienced cavalry soldier would have been hard to replace by late 1863. Certainly a new draftee could not step into his stirrups and be his equal. When Logan returned to the Sixteenth Regiment, the Army of the Potomac needed all the support it could garner. One suspects that Logan may have been inspirational, having suffered, survived, and yet come to serve until the end of the war.<sup>3</sup>

The letter also gives interesting insight into Civil War medicine. Popular perception of Civil War medicine is based on a brutal caricature of surgery as little more than butchery and a belief that hygiene put all who were treated in danger of greater harm than if left alone. Yet, while J. E. P. does not describe how Logan was treated, he almost certainly was treated with anesthesia, as that had become the standard of care before the war. Moreover, the treatment Logan received in 1863, 1864, and 1865 represented a system of military medicine getting progressively better and attending to patients more quickly thanks in part to soldiers such as Logan who provided surgeons with plenty of experience, as well as to the Army of the Potomac's director of medicine, Pennsylvanian Jonathan Letterman.<sup>4</sup> Other documents tell us that after his experiences in Lincoln

<sup>2</sup> "A Remarkable Case."

<sup>3</sup> Reid Mitchell, "The Perseverance of the Soldiers," in *Why The Confederacy Lost*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (New York, 1992), 109–32.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine: Challenges and Triumphs* (Tucson, AZ, 2002), 1–5; Ira M. Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray: Civil War Surgery and the Evolution of American Medicine* (New York, 2005), 120–27.

hospital, Mount Pleasant hospital, Summit House, Satterlee hospital, and York General Hospital, Logan returned to active duty and lived a long life, which speaks to the skill and attention of medical corps staff. Indeed, J. E. P.'s concern for his "remarkable" patient extended to his interest in increasing Logan's reputation at home. Michael Logan lived a reasonably long life despite his wounds and close calls in battle. He died in late 1918 having survived his first wife and three of his children.<sup>5</sup>

Pennsylvania's newspapers remain wonderful sources for local perspectives on this great national trauma of the Civil War. Published letters from soldiers and others updated locals on companies or regiments formed in the area, brought the grievous news of lost comrades and friends, or described the quotidian camp experience. These public letters are quite distinct from the professional reporting and editorializing that dominated newspaper content and from more private letters sent to family members. And they are all there and widely available, not only in local libraries and county historical societies but digitally through Access Pennsylvania, Penn State University Libraries' Pennsylvania Newspaper Collection, and subscription databases from Gale and Readex, Nineteenth-Century US Newspapers and Early American Newspapers. Historians may feel that newspapers are well pored over, but Pennsylvania produced over 1,500 titles during the decade of the 1860s. In them are many more gems hidden in plain sight.<sup>6</sup>

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JAMES H. TUTEN

<sup>5</sup> Pension Claim Report 60034. Apr. 20, 1887, Civil War Pension Claims, National Archives and Record Administration.

<sup>6</sup> The 1,500 figure comes from searching in <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/>. The Pennsylvania State University collection has over fifty papers digitized and is available at <http://digitalnewspapers.libraries.psu.edu/>

## *Reconstructing the Life of a Colored Woman: The Pocket Diaries of Emilie F. Davis<sup>1</sup>*

*Thursday, January 1, 1863: To day has bin a memorable day and i thank God I have bin sperd [spared] to see it. The day was religously observed, all the churches were open. We had quite a Jubilee in the evens. I went to Joness to a Party, had a very Blessest time.<sup>2</sup>*

On January 1, 1863, the day the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed all slaves in Confederate states under federal control, went into effect, Emlie F. Davis, a twenty-one-year-old freeborn black woman, sat in her room in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pulled out her pocket diary, and proceeded to write about her feelings and activities. From January 1, 1863, to December 31, 1865, Davis recorded her private thoughts, hopes, concerns, and fears, as well as gossip, news, and information about local and national events in three leather-bound pocket diaries, which are currently housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> Through her simple act of recording her daily experiences, Davis has left us with a much-needed lens through which to glimpse the everyday experiences of a free black woman in Philadelphia during the Civil War.

Emlie Davis was born on February 18 in either 1841 or 1842 and was raised in the lower section of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward, near the shipyards. By the age of twenty, Davis lived in the upper section of the Seventh Ward, either in an established boardinghouse or a private home that took in borders. Her home was within walking distance of the Institute for Colored Youth, where she took evening classes, and of her

The author would like to thank Dr. Christine Mallinson and Dr. Kriste Lindenmeyer for their notes and comments on this article; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and, the National Endowment for the Humanities.

<sup>1</sup> In the 1860 US census and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Emlie Davis's name is spelled "Emilie"; in the 1863 *Report of the Ladies Union Association of Philadelphia*, her name is spelled "Emily"; but, in the front of her 1863 pocket diary where she writes her name in ink and in cursive, she spells it "Emlie." Thus far, I have been unable to locate a birth certificate to confirm the spelling of her name; therefore, I have elected to use her own spelling of her name. In the title of this article, I have used the spelling used in the 1860 census and preferred by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for cross-referencing purposes.

<sup>2</sup> Emilie Davis Diaries, 1863–65, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Punctuation has been added; spelling has not been altered, except that the beginnings of sentences have been capitalized.

<sup>3</sup> The diaries are also available online in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's digital archive, <http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/> and also at <http://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/davisdiaries.html>.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1863.  
 To day has been a memorable  
 day and I thank God I have been  
 spared to see it. The day was  
 religiously observed all the  
 churches were open we had  
 quite a number in the evening  
 I went to Jones to a party had  
 a very pleasant time.  
 FRIDAY 2  
 Beautiful day I felt  
 was up and spent part  
 of the day reading was  
 here I had an engage-  
 ment and had to go home  
 I stayed home a few  
 minutes the girls were  
 SATURDAY 3  
 all there here I went  
 this morning I was  
 all day reading and  
 his well her to see me  
 I went down home to  
 see if father had come  
 and was very sorry when

First page of Emlie Davis's 1863 diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

church, First African Presbyterian, located at the corner of Seventh and Shippen (now Bainbridge) streets. Davis worked both as a seamstress, making dresses for women in her community, and as a short-term live-in domestic for two families.

Davis's pocket diaries are small, approximately three to five inches in length—small enough to fit under her pillow, in her pocket, or in her tote bag. Each volume has nearly one hundred sheets: there are three days per page and a section of blank pages at the end of each book. Davis's entries were typically short—three to five sentences—and were written in ink or pencil. She wrote in cursive, and her penmanship consisted of small slanted letters. Davis did not waste any space on the page, filling every inch of it by crowding the words together, writing smaller at the bottom of the page, writing into the creases, and sometimes writing words on top of each other. Her text is illegible in many places, particularly on the days when she wrote in pencil.

Davis rarely discussed any event or activity in detail. On most days, she began by recording the weather. Her entries contain frequent disparaging and humorous comments about her family, friends, and church members, suggesting that she viewed her pocket diary as a private space in which to record her personal emotions. Nevertheless, from her daily pocket-diary snapshots, we gain a rare insight into life in Philadelphia's nineteenth-century free black community.

Davis witnessed and recorded many historic events that happened throughout the city, including the day on July 31, 1863, when the city drafted black men in the Seventh Ward into the United States Colored Troops. Emlie was spending the summer working as a live-in domestic for the Harris family outside of the city, but she kept up-to-date on events nonetheless. Her brother, Alfred, whose wife, Mary, was expecting their first child, did not want to serve. "To day is the eventful day they begin to Draft in the Seventh Ward. Alfred and E[lijah] J [Emlie's uncle] are both Drafted. Mary is quite worried, i hope he will not have to go. Elijah is over the age," Emlie wrote. A month and a half later, she reported, "I had a letter [from] EJ to informing me that Alfred had gone to Cannada. I am very sorry. Mary is still quite sick."<sup>4</sup>

In her diaries, Davis also recorded how she learned of President Abraham Lincoln's assassination, and she described the experience and her feelings as she viewed his funeral procession. On the day when

<sup>4</sup> July 31 and Sept. 14, 1863.

Lincoln was assassinated, Davis was at a meeting of the Ladies Union Association, an organization of black women who worked on behalf of sick and wounded colored soldiers. "Very sad news was received this morning of the murder of the President," she wrote. "The City is in Deep mourning."<sup>5</sup> A week later she wrote about viewing his funeral procession. "Lovely morning. To [day] is a day long to be remembered. I have bin very busy all morning. The President comes in town this afternoon. I went out about 3 in the afternoon. It was the grandest funeral i ever saw. The Coffin and hearse was beutiful."<sup>6</sup> During the days surrounding Lincoln's assassination and burial, Davis recorded her activities as well as those of her friends and the members of the community around her. Because Davis attended lectures given by Frederick Douglass, listened to the preaching of Rev. Jonathan Gibbs, and was actively involved in both her church and her ladies group, she must have understood on both the personal and the political levels what Lincoln's assassination meant to black people.

Davis came of age during a time of antislavery activism and resistance within the free black community, and during that time, black women were beginning to find and claim their voices. For three years, Emlie F. Davis wrote in her pocket diary every day, briefly detailing her feelings and experiences on the days when black men were drafted, when Confederate soldiers invaded Gettysburg, when General Robert E. Lee surrendered, when President Lincoln was assassinated, and when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified. Amid her thoughts about the momentous political events of the day, Davis included references to her own personal joys and pains, including her father's ongoing illness, her pastor's very public and messy divorce, her trips in and around the city, and the deaths of friends, church members, her sister-in-law, her nephew, and finally, her brother. For the first two years, Davis's diaries provide an insider's view of free black life in Philadelphia and allow us to watch as the young Emlie Davis discovers her own voice. After Lincoln's assassination, and after Davis's brother dies while serving in the United States Colored Troops, Emlie fills her diary with thoughts about the impact of the war and the high cost of freedom to Philadelphia's free black men and women.

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<sup>5</sup> Apr. 15, 1865.

<sup>6</sup> Apr. 22, 1865.

## *The John A. McAllister Civil War Envelope Collection*

By June 1861 an “Envelope Mania” had taken hold of the Union, which, according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, was an economic boon for engravers, stationers, and printers who had “no cause to complain of a lack of business” while others struggled to adjust to the new wartime economy.<sup>1</sup> This collecting fad was made possible by recent innovations to methods of graphics printing. Civil War-era printers in the North fed the frenzy by producing patriotic, sentimental, and satiric illustrations that covered the entire fronts of wrappers and rendered them nearly unusable as anything other than collectors’ items. Consequently, many of these pieces never made it into circulation, but rather were saved in the scrapbooks of “collectors of curiosities” like Philadelphian John A. McAllister (1822–1896), who gave his collection of Civil War ephemera to the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1886.<sup>2</sup>

These envelopes, engraved and lithographed with images of soldiers engaged in heated battle, African American slaves depicted as human contraband, and the stoic visage of Abraham Lincoln, appeared within weeks of the start of the conflict.<sup>3</sup> Over six thousand envelope designs flooded the market during the war; the majority (about four thousand) between 1861 and 1862. These “queer devices” (as described by the *Inquirer*) that proved an economic windfall for Northern stationery printers and purveyors not only document the politics of the nation, but also provide valuable information about mid-nineteenth-century consumer and visual culture and the social and technological changes that impacted it during this critical period in our nation’s history.

John A. McAllister voraciously collected ephemeral material documenting the culture of the war-torn country. He may well be the gentleman described by the *Inquirer* who had “no less than four hundred different varieties [of envelopes], and . . . is ready to purchase new lots, or exchange with Collectors abroad for duplicates.”<sup>4</sup> In all, McAllister

<sup>1</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 29, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> The John A. McAllister Collection of Civil War Era Printed Ephemera, Graphics and Manuscripts, <http://www.librarycompany.org/mcallister/>.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 29, 1861.

collected over seven thousand of these envelopes, many of which illustrated the volatile themes of gender, race, and sectionalism.

The large number of envelopes in the McAllister Collection attests to their ubiquity and to the visual literacy of society by the 1860s. The designs suggest that mid-nineteenth-century Americans had a sophisticated comprehension of graphics. The envelopes employed symbolic vignette images—such as a Jim Crow–like caricature representing the South—to instantly convey, visually and emotionally, volumes about the causes and understandings of the war. These ephemera, an early form of political propaganda, contained images that ranged from the commonplace (symbols of patriotism, such as liberty, flags, eagles, and military scenes) to the provocative (allegorical imagery of a white baby nursing on a black mammy’s exposed breast). In addition, Victorian-era touchstones of popular culture, such as the Niagara Falls tightrope walker Blondin or a camera obscura, served as inspirations for these visuals, which were conceived and perceived as iconographic messages rather than as mere illustrations.

Not all of the envelopes in the McAllister Collection are illustrated, nor were all primarily for collecting. The use of these envelopes, as well as their imagery, tell us much about the culture of the wartime North. The collection contains an interesting series of envelopes printed with women’s addresses. A brief inscription on the back of one (probably by McAllister) notes that for a fee, a bureau would send men in the military these envelopes commissioned by “women who were desirous of corresponding with soldiers.” These preprinted pieces of stationery served as a not-so-veiled nineteenth-century version of a dating service that was an offshoot of the “correspondence craze” prompted by personal newspaper advertisements by Union soldiers.<sup>5</sup> These deceptively mundane pieces of ephemera add another dimension to scholarly studies about the changed gender roles during the Civil War.

The marketing of the envelopes tells us even more about the rules of Civil War society. To produce the wide array of imagery to satisfy the appetites of consumers of illustrated envelopes, printers often co-opted, duplicated, and made slight variations to designs already in circulation, and, consequently, they did not include an imprint on their pieces. Others, like noted Philadelphia publishers Samuel C. Upham and King

<sup>5</sup> Nancy L. Rhoades and Lucy E. Bailey, eds., *Wanted—Correspondence: Women’s Letters to a Union Soldier* (Athens, OH, 2009).



Civil War envelopes from the John A. McAllister Collection. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

& Baird, originated their own designs and advertised their wares through circulars and specimen sheets. The printers' advertisements, which detail wholesale prices and capture marketing rhetoric, document the economics of a nineteenth-century fad.

Civil War envelopes provide a variety of evidence about the visual, consumer, and political culture of their era. This rich source of political propaganda expands our understanding of the lives of wartime consumers caught by eye-catching visuals, printers who sold patriotism for a profit, and women who bent the rules of courtship. These ephemera that caused the Civil War-era printer to have "no cause to complain" do the same for the contemporary researcher seeking insight into the mores of a society in upheaval from war.

*The Library Company of Philadelphia*

ERICA PIOLA

## *Mayer Frankel: A Tale from the National Archives' Service and Pension Records*

Like so many other Civil War researchers, I have come to trust and even anticipate digging through a variety of sources to uncover the experiences of individual soldiers. And I've learned that for real hard-core facts and maybe even some deep, dark secrets, the service and pension records at the National Archives are an invaluable, and fun, trove of information. Service records give basic facts—muster in and out dates, whether or not a soldier was there for the monthly roll call. They sometimes note whether a soldier was killed or wounded at a particular battle. Pension records include even more details. When a veteran applied for a pension, he had to submit an affidavit, get a physical, and provide much other information. The pension records for one veteran show that he made a deathbed conversion to Catholicism. The records of another include comments from a doctor saying the veteran was very thin and obviously undernourished. And yet another veteran's files reveal that he became mentally ill at the end of the war: every document thereafter refers to him as "last name, first name (Insane)."

An interesting example of the value of these records is the case of Mayer (or Meyer or Myer, depending upon the source) Frankel. Frankel's descendants had much information on him, most gleaned from his 1907 obituary and from a 1977 taped interview with his daughter. Mayer Frankel was born in Bavaria in 1837, arrived in Philadelphia in 1860, enlisted in the Twenty-Seventh Pennsylvania, was wounded at Gettysburg, and suffered from an open wound on his leg throughout the war. On April 14, 1865, the night Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, Frankel was on guard duty at the White House. Following the Civil War, he moved to the "Bad Lands" region of Missouri where he served as a US Marshal until he relocated to Fremont, Ohio. There he joined the local Grand Army of the Republic post and remained active in it until his passing in 1907.<sup>1</sup>

Frankel's family enlisted my help to learn more about his life. The information they had seemed straightforward enough, but my knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Obituary, *Fremont (Ohio) Weekly Messenger*, Mar. 22, 1907; Transcript of audio taped memories of Amelia Frankel, daughter of Mayer Frankel, 1977, in possession of the Frankel family; Roster, Eugene Rawson Post 32, Grand Army of the Republic, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio.

of the history of the regiment did not match with his history. The Twenty-Seventh enrolled as a three-year regiment in 1861 and mustered out of service in 1864. A little research in Samuel P. Bates's *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–5* told me that Mayer Frankel was actually discharged in early 1862.<sup>2</sup> This tale became more and more curious. It was time to head to the National Archives.

Service records for Mayer Frankel are sparse, consisting of only a few microfilmed cards. He mustered into the Twenty-Seventh with many other German immigrants on May 30, 1861, and was discharged only seven months later. There are no other comments or notations. Frankel's pension records, however, answered many of the vexing questions. He never saw battle. While walking picket duty at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, in November 1861, he suffered "frozen feet"—specifically frostbite on his right foot—and was given a medical discharge at Hunter's Chapel, Virginia, on January 11, 1862. Obviously, he had not been on guard the night of April 14, 1865. He may, however, have been in Washington. After his discharge, Frankel found work with sutlers who set up shop near military camps and catered to the needs of the soldiers, and he eventually found employment with one as a clerk and bookkeeper in Washington. In 1865, Frankel headed west and worked in various communities near St. Louis, usually in the clothing trade. In 1870, he was an enumerator for that year's census, which was supervised by the US Marshals Service.<sup>3</sup>

Frankel settled with his wife and children in Fremont, Ohio, in 1875, where he joined the GAR post. In 1889, he made his initial pension application due to his foot problems, which was approved. Three years later, now suffering from rheumatism and heart disease, he applied for and received a pension increase.<sup>4</sup>

In his later years, Frankel regaled family and friends with his stories of life-and-death struggles on the front lines of the fight against the Confederacy, his exploits in the Indian-infested "Bad Lands" of Missouri, and general tales of humanity at its most desperate. On March 22, 1907, Mayer Frankel died following a stroke, leaving a wife, two daughters, and a son.<sup>5</sup> He was buried in Fremont's Oakwood Cemetery, not far from the Grand Army of the Republic Highway.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861–5* (Harrisburg, PA, 1896), 1:393, 397.

<sup>3</sup> Pension file of Mayer Frankel, pension deposition, Nov. 9, 1889, pg. 2–4; and discharge certificate, Jan. 11, 1862, National Archives, Washington, DC.

<sup>4</sup> Pension file of Mayer Frankel, deposition, 3; invalid pensions increases, Dec. 12, 1892.

<sup>5</sup> *Fremont Weekly Messenger*, Mar. 22, 1907.

Frankel's obituary celebrated a popular and well-respected member of the community who had served his country, albeit for a brief time. His family remembered his "storied" history and carried those tales long after his death. Mayer Frankel will always be in someone's memory dodging bullets on East Cemetery Hill turning back those desperate rebels—no matter what I found. But those who are willing to do some digging into dust-covered service and pension records at the National Archives and who have more than a little perseverance are likely to uncover some liberties with the truth and some very interesting details about the experiences of Pennsylvania's Civil War veterans. And that is what historic research is all about.

*Washington, DC*

STEVE HAMMOND

## *Philadelphia's Fincher's Trades' Review: Labor, War, and History*

Philadelphia has always had a rich working-class tradition and it seems appropriate that it was home to one of the nation's largest and most progressive labor newspapers during the Civil War. Published by machinist Jonathan C. Fincher, the first issue of *Fincher's Trades' Review* appeared on June 6, 1863, and the paper continued to report on both labor and the war through 1866. The weekly, which cost subscribers two dollars a year, was headquartered at the corners of Fifth and Chestnut streets. In its first edition, Fincher declared that his paper was "An advocate of the Rights of the Producing Class" and much needed, as his readers deserved "A free, untrammelled, outspoken press." Fincher had "been wanting to rouse the workingmen to a full sense of the injustice done them."<sup>1</sup> Fincher's topics proclaimed the ideals of "The Self-Made Man" and "Fair Play," which workers demanded from their employers. Small wonder that the second edition of the *Trades' Review* had sections devoted to "Strikes," "Wages," and "Current Rates." Fincher protested that since government neglected "the real rights of labor," and in doing so forgot the underpinning that holds "the very principle of society" in place, his paper would articulate the mood of working men and women.<sup>2</sup>

*Fincher's Trades' Review* is a valuable source for studying not only the labor movement in the mid-nineteenth century but also other issues of the day. While known to labor historians, the paper has tended to be overlooked by Civil War scholars. Yet it was more than simply a labor voice, as it contained important information regarding the "news of the day," locally, nationally, and internationally and, due to the primacy of the American Civil War, it paid especial attention to that conflict. The *Trades' Review* published articles that dealt with wartime issues, from troop movements to suspicious government contracts. Articles drew readers' attention to the relationship between labor and the wartime economy. "The Struggle for Bread! The Up-heaving Masses in Motion! Workingmen's Movement!" headlined issues detailing a variety of labor organizations, movements, and demonstrations by tradesmen in the context of a wartime economy. In its pages, one can find both an extensive

<sup>1</sup> *Fincher's Trades' Review*, June 6, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Fincher's Trades' Review*, June 13, 20, 1863.

“Trades Union Directory” listing more than one hundred union meeting places devoted to various crafts, as well as articles on military activities, such as one detailing the “Rebel Raid in Pennsylvania,” which foreshadowed the Battle at Gettysburg.<sup>3</sup>

Fincher pushed for the eight-hour work day for laborers and, though he did not support women working in trades dominated by men, he petitioned for higher pay for both teachers and seamstresses. “The excitement in relation to the Working-women’s movement continues without abatement,” he reported.<sup>4</sup> He covered mining strikes from England to Scranton but still devoted portions of the paper to the “Progress of the War.”<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately for its readers, and a generation of historians later, the paper’s last issue appeared not long after the war ended; yet Jonathan Fincher left a treasure trove waiting to be discovered by those interested in labor history and the Civil War.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Fincher’s Trades’ Review*, June 20, 1863. Some of the trades included cabinet makers, carvers, printers, painters, plasterers, tailors, upholsterers, assemblers, curriers, tin plate and sheet iron workers, axe-makers, bricklayers, boilermakers, garment cutters, bookbinders, shoemakers, cigar-makers, cabinet makers, cordwainers, chairmakers, engineers, stonecutters, brush-makers, shipwrights, seamen, glass blowers gilders, harnessmakers, saddlers, trunk and bag makers. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1864.

<sup>4</sup> *Fincher’s Trades’ Review*, May 7, 1864.

<sup>5</sup> *Fincher’s Trades’ Review*, Apr. 23, May 14, 1864.

<sup>6</sup> There are gaps in the paper, but its last issue under this title appeared March 10, 1866. It continued under the name *National Trades’ Review* until August 18, 1866. Unfortunately, this paper is hard to find. In Pennsylvania, hard copies can be found at East Stroudsburg University, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the University of Pittsburgh. The nearby Hagley Library in Delaware also holds copies. The paper has not yet been digitized.

## *Painting and Politics: The Journal of John Henry Brown*

“My business is now dwindling to nothing. I cannot lose sight of the fact, but for this odious war I would now have plenty of employment at increased prices. Aside from any personal or selfish feeling in the matter, I regard this war as most unholy. I think it madness to attempt to settle our troubles by the sword.”<sup>1</sup>

As his comments of August 31, 1861, make clear, Philadelphian John Henry Brown was among those Pennsylvanians who did not approve of the Civil War. The forty-three-year-old Brown was a painter of watercolor-on-ivory portrait miniatures, a financially precarious business in the era of photography. A year earlier, in August 1860, Brown had actually received a commission to travel to Springfield, Illinois, and paint the Republican presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln. He noted in his journal at the time that “I hardly know how to express the strength of my personal regard for Mr. Lincoln. I have never seen a man for whom I so soon formed an attachment. I like him much & agree with him in all things but his politics.”<sup>2</sup>

However much Brown liked Lincoln personally, he steadfastly opposed the politics and policies of the war. Brown’s journal, which records both personal and professional events and doubled as his account book, is preserved at the Rosenbach Museum & Library in Philadelphia and provides a fascinating glimpse into the thoughts and daily activities of a Pennsylvanian on the home front who viewed the war not as a patriotic calling but as a national tragedy.

Interspersed between notes about portrait sittings, church visits, and the health of his family, Brown’s journal records his fears about military despotism, the suspension of habeas corpus, inflation, the draft (for which he was eligible), and the destructive potential of abolition. He noted the tenor of Philadelphia’s reactions to the events of the war and reported war news coming from the front, but was disgusted by newspaper accounts that he considered propaganda and engaged in a “game of

<sup>1</sup> John Henry Brown, autograph journal/account book, Aug. 31, 1861, AMs 573/14.1, Rosenbach Museum & Library.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. 26, 1860.

brag.”<sup>3</sup> He repeatedly vowed that “the war news is so unreliable that I have concluded not to notice it regularly in this journal,” but he could not escape history, and in his journal he continued to record his thoughts and notes about the conflict.<sup>4</sup>

Brown continued to ply his painting trade through most of the war and his journal is also a valuable record of the ways in which the war inserted itself into both art and business. Although most of his clients were Philadelphians, he also had Southern patrons from whom he was cut off by secession. In August 1861 he noted, “I have two pictures to paint for a family in Georgia, but for which I will in all probability not be paid until the close of the war.”<sup>5</sup> He blamed the war for a general downturn in his business, although new photographic techniques probably also played a part. But the war also created new situations that required his skills. In August 1862 he “Rec’d a note from Mrs. Alex Biddle, begging me to paint a picture of her Husband immediately, on account of the probability of his going to War very soon,” while in May 1863 he “made arrangements to paint a picture of Gen: Henry Bohlen dec’d who was killed in battle.”<sup>6</sup>

Brown’s experience of the war was bracketed by his painting of Lincoln in 1860 and Lincoln’s death in 1865. Despite his animosity towards Lincoln’s policies, Brown outlined the April 1865 pages in a black band, and he recorded standing in line for two hours in an unsuccessful attempt to view the president’s body when it passed through Philadelphia. He concluded the month with a statement that would have been echoed by all Pennsylvanians, “The War is now certainly over, for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful to God.”<sup>7</sup>

*Rosenbach Museum & Library*

KATHERINE HAAS

<sup>3</sup> June 29, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> June 29, 1861, see also Aug. 3, 1861, Apr. 15, 1862, and June 30, 1864.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. 16, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> Aug. 8, 1862, May 28, 1863.

<sup>7</sup> Apr. 22, 1865.

## *The Civil War Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

The sesquicentennial commemoration of the American Civil War is drawing deserved attention to Pennsylvania's and Pennsylvanians' involvement in and connection to this tumultuous period, as academics and the general public explore the diverse contributions and experiences of the state and its residents from scholarly or familial perspectives. Of the twenty-one million manuscripts, seven hundred thousand publications, and over five hundred thousand graphic items housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a significant portion are primary and secondary sources pertaining to the Civil War.<sup>1</sup>

The Historical Society did not wait until the war's termination to begin collecting or preserving memorabilia related to the conflict. On September 28, 1863, while meeting at the Athenaeum in Philadelphia, the society resolved to approve "the proposed plan of organization of the Gettysburg Battlefield Association" in order to "secure and perpetuate" the site as it appeared during the famed battle itself, "fought on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd days of July, 1863."<sup>2</sup> The society formed a committee of nine members to meet with the Executive Committee of Gettysburg. It also began to actively collect Civil War material, accepting into its collections a "photographic plan of the battle-field" and "a series of relics from the

<sup>1</sup> Consult the Historical Society's website, <http://www.hsp.org>, and peruse under "Research & Collections" for a wide variety of teaching tools and topical essays on various Civil War related topics the collections, including the "Guide to the Civil War Manuscript Collections at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania" and "Guide to Women during the Civil War." For many years, the Historical Society collected art and artifacts as well as documents as part of its Civil War memorabilia. These items are now in the collection of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent in Philadelphia. HSP's current location at Thirteenth and Locust streets in Philadelphia also has significance to Civil War history as the former site of the Robert Patterson mansion. Patterson (1792–1881) served as an officer in the War of 1812 and Mexican-American War and was major general at the First Battle of Bull Run in Manassas, Virginia, in July 1861. His martial decisions at the battle brought him much censorship and ridicule from his military peers, though he made a staunch defense of his actions. One of the general's son, Brigadier General Francis Engle Patterson, died accidentally during the Civil War by the discharge of his pistol and "was found dead in his tent," at Occoquan, near Fairfax Court House, Virginia, on November 22, 1862. His funeral was held at the residence of his father, at 1300 Locust Street in Philadelphia. Civil War Papers (1861–1902), coll. 1546, box 6, folder 10; Robert Patterson Order Book (May 29, 1861, to July 31, 1861).

<sup>2</sup> Hampton L. Carson, *A History of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1940), 1:306–11.

battlefield of Gettysburg.”<sup>3</sup> On May 11, 1865, Richard Eddy, Historical Society librarian, reported to the press, “I crave the privilege of stating that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania sometime since established a Department of Memorials of the Civil War, which already contains many valuable books and documents—some of which it will, perhaps, be impossible to find elsewhere.”<sup>4</sup>

Today, the Civil War resources at the Historical Society are unique in their type and diversity. Examples include a significant collection of illustrated patriotic cartoons with slogans printed by Samuel C. Upham of Philadelphia to mock or belittle the Confederate leaders and their war efforts.<sup>5</sup> A particularly unusual item in the society’s manuscript collections is the poem “My Right Arm,” penned by Sergeant Louis J. Boos, who was serving in Company B, Seventieth Regiment, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry when he lost an arm during the Battle of the Wilderness, in Virginia, on May 7, 1864. An excerpt from his poem reveals the humor as well as the horror of Civil War service, along with the patriotism of its participants:

The knife was still, the surgeon bore, the shattered arm away.  
 Upon his bed in painless sleep, the noble hero lay.  
 He woke and saw the vacant place, where limb of his had lain.  
 Then faintly spoke: Oh let me see, my strong right arm again.  
 Goodbye-old arm! The soldier said as he clasped the fingers cold.  
 And down his pale but manly cheeks, the tear drops gently rolled.  
 My strong right arm no deed of yours, now gives me cause to sigh.  
 But it’s hard to part such trusty friends, good bye, old arm, good bye  
 . . . . .  
 I do not mourn to lose you now, for home and native land.  
 Oh proud am I to give my mite, for Freedom pure and grand.  
 Thank God no selfish thought is mine, while here I bleeding lie,  
 Bear, Bear it tenderly away, Good bye, old arm, good bye.<sup>6</sup>

Other documents challenge common notions about the war and remind us that in Pennsylvania, the southernmost Northern state, opin-

<sup>3</sup> “The Historical Society—An Interesting Meeting,” *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 29, 1863.

<sup>4</sup> “Historical Records,” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, May 13, 1865.

<sup>5</sup> Civil War Envelopes Collection, coll. 1605.

<sup>6</sup> “My Right Arm,” Louis J. Boos, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Civil War Papers, ser. 4, box 7, folder 3.

ions on slavery and Southerners were not monolithic. Lieutenant Colonel Frank T. Bennett, of the Fifty-Fifth Pennsylvania Infantry, recorded in his diary the details of his life as a Union prisoner of war from March 1862 to October 1864. Bennett hailed the hospitality of his captors. He praised Confederate colonel John Cunningham of the Seventeenth South Carolina Regiment of Militia, who “first introduced the bill of secession into the South Carolina legislature” and who treated Bennett and his fellow captives with “many civilities.” “I should like to meet [him] under other circumstances,” Bennett wrote. In an entry dated May 19, 1862, Bennett emphatically expressed his opinion on the driving issue of the war, which was at odds with Northern antislavery sentiment: “I have yet to see the evils of slavery, the sufferings of the slave, and their desire to be freed from their masters. . . . Their condition [is] preferable to that of pauper whites of New England.”<sup>7</sup> Neither does Bennett’s document conform to the normal idea of what a diary should look like in appearance: paper was evidently a scarce commodity, so his daily journal was written in between the lines of *Lotus-Eating: A Summer Book* (New York, 1852).

The Historical Society’s holdings are not restricted to Pennsylvania regiments or Union concerns during the war, but also include a considerable amount of Confederate material, including correspondence, data on Southern prisoners of war, Confederate army Morning Reports, Southern currency, and many examples of the divided loyalties that existed within such Philadelphia families as the Pembertons, Draytons, and Sinklers.<sup>8</sup>

The Historical Society also holds much material related to the home front and women’s involvement in war efforts. The diaries of Emilie Davis provide the perspective of an African American civilian during the conflict. Journals by Susan Ritter Trautwine MacManus, a Philadelphia Moravian evangelical who aided Union soldiers at Turner’s Lane and other area hospitals, document her belief that what we today call post-traumatic stress disorder could be cured by simply accepting Christ. Family papers document the life of Anna Maria Ross, who nursed

<sup>7</sup> Frank T. Bennett Diary, 1862, coll. 3041.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection, Confederate Generals, Civil War series 66–69 (8 boxes); Confederate Officers, Civil War series, 69 (2 boxes); Simon Gratz Collection: Civil War Confederate Generals & Military Letters, case 5, boxes 11–19; case 5, box 29 on the Confederate Navy. See also, Civil War: Confederate Army Morning Reports, box 14B, folder 4b, Society Miscellaneous Collections; Civil War Papers, Miscellaneous Letters: Confederate, box 6, folders 13–15. For correspondence between brothers on opposite sides, see letters of Confederate Brigadier General Thomas Fenwick Drayton and Union brother Percival Drayton, US Navy, in Drayton Family Papers: 1796–1896, coll. 1584, ser. 4, vol. 34, folders 2–5.

wounded soldiers in 1862–63 and died of paralysis on the same day as the dedication of the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon Soldiers Home—an institution for which she had tirelessly campaigned and fundraised throughout the Delaware Valley. Particularly poignant are the twenty-six letters by Fannie H. Titus, a nurse at Columbia College Hospital in Washington, DC, to the mother of patient Edwin (or Edward) C. Mullin, of Company F, Thirty-Fourth Pennsylvania Infantry, up to and after the soldier's death on September 13, 1864.<sup>9</sup>

Another significant collection of civilian wartime materials is that of Jacob and Eliza Stouffer, residents of a farm in Guilford Township, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, near the community of Chambersburg. Jacob's journals give details about the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, President Abraham Lincoln's famed address, the Confederate invasions of Pennsylvania, and the burning of the town of Chambersburg in 1864.<sup>10</sup> In his 122 letters, William Roberts Jr., an aide to future Pennsylvania governor Colonel John W. Geary of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, wrote not only about the war and significant battles, but of the home front, giving insights into African Americans as both workers and soldiers within the Union army.<sup>11</sup>

These are only a few scattered examples of the rich and varied material that awaits scholars and Civil War enthusiasts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. We invite all to enjoy these hidden treasures during this sesquicentennial of the Civil War.

*Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

DANIEL N. ROLPH

<sup>9</sup> Emilie Davis Diaries (1863–65), coll. 3030; Susan Ritter Trautwine MacManus Diaries (1863–64), coll. 1995; LeBosquet Family Papers, Society Collection, Aug. 1862 to Mar. 1863; Fannie H. Titus & Edward C. Mullan Collections, Civil War Papers, coll. 1546; unprocessed material.

<sup>10</sup> Jacob and Eliza Stouffer Journals, 1843–80, coll. 3051, 1 box, 54 vols.

<sup>11</sup> Letters of William Roberts Jr. (1861–1864), coll. 3069. See for example, letters dated Apr. 21 and 23, 1864.

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