PENNSYLVANIA RAISES AN ARMY, 1861

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The military system of Pennsylvania before the Civil War had atrophied into a system of mere social prestige; it was entirely devoid of power. Very few military companies of the state were fully armed and equipped, and those were to be found mainly in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The decay of Pennsylvania's militia was but a projection of disinterest from above; the military committee of the Senate had not met for literally years. The state laws said that all citizens subject to military duty should meet once a year for military drill and review; but the spirit of such drills took on a farcical nature adequately lampooned in various newspapers.

Thus in 1860 there were in the United States two forms of military organizations: the regular army number 16,402 men and the state militia. The state militia was an ambiguous unit, bearing the character of a state and Federal institution all at the same time. It was drilled, governed, and commanded by state authority; yet it could be called out by the president through the state governors. Then it took on a national character since it was under the authority and pay of the national government.

The militia system had its powers defined by the national government under the militia acts of 1792 and 1795; under the act of 1795 the president was designated with power to call out the militia whenever the laws of the United States should be opposed in any state. This provided the framework for Lincoln's call of April 15, 1861. Also

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2 Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 3, V, 605, hereafter designated as O. R.; United States Statutes at Large, I, 119, 403, 576; II, 207. It should be noted that the regular army was reduced from 16,402 men to about 13,000 when the southern states withdrew from the Union. See James B. Fry, Report of the Provost Marshal General. House Executive Documents, 39th Cong., Appendix, part 1, p. 102.

3 United States Statutes at Large, I, pp., 271, 424; William A. Itter, "Conscription in Pennsylvania during the Civil War" (Los Angeles, 1942), 38.
as a heritage of the act of 1795 the governors were privileged to select all officers, from major generals to corporals.  

Pennsylvania's quota under the militia call of April 15, 1861, was sixteen regiments to serve for three months. Not only were the regiments raised, but the number was increased to twenty-five. So many civilians responded to this first call that thirty additional regiments from Pennsylvania were refused by the national government. The accepted troops of twenty-five regiments comprised a force of 20,979 officers and men, with the regiments numbered from one to twenty-five. Generally these troops guarded the routes leading into the South, kept Maryland within the loyal territory, and determined that Virginia should be the chief theater of war.

One can readily see that there was ground for conflict between the national and state governments in the matter of recruiting, for the regular army, throughout the war, was of negligible proportions. Thus the military power was raised and officered in the states and then mustered into Federal service. In the hands of the state was vested the power to raise, organize, equip troops for war; it was only when troops were sent to the front or to some camp rendezvous outside the state that the troops were said to be under Federal jurisdiction. It became evident that the national government was shirking its responsibilities.

The conflict of jurisdictions between Pennsylvania and the national government was evident from the very beginning of the war. Simon Cameron in the war department constantly placed obstacles in Curtin's path, for Cameron was not content to play Washington politics only; he persistently kept his finger in Pennsylvania politics through his men in the state legislature. Cameron used Pennsylvania as special recruiting grounds for political favorites; here was created an enlisting

4 One can thus understand that 3,549 commissioned officers were assigned under the first militia call; briefly there was one officer for each group of twenty men called. O. R. Ser. 3, I, 69; Fred A. Shannon, "State Rights and the Union Army," Mississippi Historical Review, XII (1925), 57.


6 D. A. B., I, 113 O. R., Ser. 3, I, 69; Fred A. Shannon, The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, I, 34, 45; All officers, even to major-generals, were to be furnished by the states; indeed Pennsylvania was asked to furnish two major-generals  

agency outside of the control of the state and yet not quite within the direct management of the national government. Colonels armed with Cameron's commissions went to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, or some other likely town. In these communities efforts were made by these officers to raise what were called "independent regiments." The urgency of the job was mitigated by its pleasantness; furthermore, pay and adequate rations were always forthcoming so that the job of recruiting these regiments was apt to take longer than necessary. By August 6, 1861, the war department had accepted twice as many regiments raised by commissioned Cameron agents as by state governors. Rivalries and skull-duggery were encouraged in the raising of "independent regiments." Political colonels bribed subordinate officers to transfer themselves with their men from one regiment to another. The destruction of the "independent regiments" was accomplished when Governor Curtin challenged Cameron's authority. Thus by September all persons raising "independent companies" in the states were ordered to report to the governors, and the governors were the only legal authorities for raising volunteers.

The ineptitude of the war department, and the general government in particular, had a debilitating effect on war sentiment. The state government had to provide for the recruit's needs until he was mustered into the service of the United States. Soon there evolved the system of the state supplying the needed items, from mess kits to guns, and presenting its bill to the national government. This chaotic plan gave birth to an even more chaotic system of Pennsylvania bidding against her sister states and even against the national government to secure supplies; there was no standardization of material, and what is worse, rivalry among states in buying equipment only encouraged profiteering and the manufacture of sub-standard materials.

8 O. R. Ser. 3, 1, 390, 898; Itter. op. cit., 49; Shannon The Administration and Organization of the Union Army, I, 261; Davis op. cit., 189.
9 New York Tribune, September 11, 1861; Philadelphia Press, September 16, 1861; Pittsburgh Gazette, August 16, 1861.
10 O. R., Series 3, I, 998; McClure, Old Time Notes, I, 387-390; Hesseltine, Lincoln and the War Governors, 172; Pennsylvania Archives, 4th Series, VIII, 717, 718. Curtin said that the war department or Lincoln had authorized fifty-eight people to raise regiments, but had called on him for only fifty-four; thus Pennsylvania had seventy regiments being recruited at the same time and only enough recruits for ten of them. See O. R., Series 3, I, 224, 269, 290, 439-441, 448, 474; Hesseltine, op. Cit., 184.
On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called upon Pennsylvania for sixteen regiments of volunteers. As in other towns and cities, the local companies and regiments became lodestones that drew young men into service, and in Philadelphia at this time the number of uniformed militia of Philadelphia numbered about 4,500. By April 15 the National Guard Regiment, the Buena Vista Guard, and the Monroe Guards were taking on recruits, and the First Brigade, First Division of Pennsylvania Volunteers was already organized. In keeping with this alacrity of spirit a subscription book was circulated to raise money to pay the incidental expenses of the recruiting stations; in less than an hour several hundred dollars was raised. As was to be expected, the wards were the military units for recruiting.

Those companies that had a high Democratic party membership were suspect; one can understand the rapidity with which these units pledged resolutions of loyalty to the union. The Scott Legion and the Philadelphia Greys were such groups. As one newspaper described the situation:

Of this number [of the Scott Legion and Philadelphia Greys] five hundred are known to be antagonistic to the Government, and would prove treacherous if ordered upon any important duty.

The fife and drum summoned the men to soldiering, and recruiting was brisk; mainly the question of party politics was sunk. By April 18, 1861, excitement had risen to a fevered pitch and companies, regiments, and brigades were filling up. On that day many of the women of Philadelphia wore symbols of loyalty—bows or rosettes of red, white, and blue. On the following day a meeting of the select council of Philadelphia passed an ordinance offering five hundred dollars for the apprehension and conviction of traitors in the city; also one million dollars was appropriated for the belief of families of volunteers.

In the meantime recruits drilled in the public squares; troops from Massachusetts and New York were received and entertained, usually at the Girard House, before leaving for Washington. Troops coming in

12 Philadelphia Inquirer, April 15, 1861; Scharf and Westcott op. cit., I, 753; Frank H. Taylor, op. cit., 13
13 Philadelphia Inquirer, April 15, 1861; Taylor, op. cit., 14; Philadelphia Public Ledger, April 16, 1861; Philadelphia North America and United States Gazette, April 17, 19, 1861; Philadelphia Press, April 22, 24, 1861; Philadelphia Commercial List and Price Current, April 26, 1861.
14 Philadelphia Inquirer, April 15, 1861.
15 Philadelphia Press, April 19, 22, 1861; Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette, April 19, 24, 1861; Philadelphia Sunday Mercury, April 21, 1861; Philadelphia Public Ledger, April 17, 1861.
from the interior of Pennsylvania were quartered in places of temporary shelter such as the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad depot and the "building adjoining the Custom House upon the west." Cards were published in the newspapers advertising for volunteers. The various armories and rendezvous were continuously crowded. By April 22, 1861, the total number of men enrolled up to that time in the three Philadelphia brigades was 7,600. This figure was exclusive of General William F. Small's "Washington Brigade" which numbered about 2,000 men. This estimate does not include the independent companies. By this time General Robert Patterson had been appointed to the chief command of Pennsylvania troops, and General Cadwalader commanded the First, Second, and Third Brigades.

In the counties east of the Susquehanna troops organized with enthusiasm and alacrity. In Carbon County, for example, Eli T. Connor enlisted three full companies in twenty-four hours; this county furnished more men in proportion to her voting population than any other county. Even when later Carbon County men were refused on the three months basis, they enlisted for three years as part of the "Bucktail Rifles." This enthusiasm was indigenous not only in the agricultural and mining communities in the eastern part of the state but in all sections.

16 Taylor, op. cit., 344.
17 Philadelphia Public Ledger, April 19, 1861; Philadelphia Daily News, April 22, 24, 1861; Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper, April 23, 1861; Philadelphia Sunday Transcript, April 21, 1861.
18 Philadelphia Inquirer, April 22, 1861; Philadelphia Public Ledger, April 22, 1861; Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette, April 24, 1861.
19 Jacob D. Laclair, Patriotism of Carbon County, Pennsylvania, and What Her People Contributed During the Preservation of the Union (Mauch Chunk, 1867), 3-6; Matthews, Carbon County, 630-631.
20 For a study of eastern Pennsylvania see W. W. H. Davis, The History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Doylestown, 1876), 852; Theodore W. Bean; History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1884), 195-205; Cliften Swenk Hunsicker, Montgomey County, Pennsylvania (New York, 1923), I, 62; John Hill Martin, Chester Delaware County (Philadelphia, 1877), 103; Chester Delaware County Republican, April 23, June 21, 1861; Wilkes-Barre Luzerne Union, April 24, 1861; Easton Daily Evening Express, April 17, 19, 1861, New York Tribune, April 27, 1861; John G. Freeze, A History of Columbia County, Pennsylvania (Bloomsburg, 1883), 237; Stewart Pearce, Annals of Luzerne County (Philadelphia, 1866), 562; H. C. Bradsby, History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1891), 223, 227; Blackman, Susquehanna County, 634; Doylestown Bucks County Intelligencer, May 7, 1861; Media Delaware County American, April 24, 1861; Norristown Republican Democrat, August 23, 1861; Lebanon Courier, April 18, 1861; Robert B. Keller, History of Monroe County, Pennsylvania (Stroudsburg, 1927), 257.
Harrisburg became a strong rallying point for all state troops from east and west as well as north and south. However, as a preliminary point of organization, troops from western Pennsylvania rendezvoused at Pittsburgh; men from as far east as Somerset, Cambria, Clearfield, Elk, and McKean counties came to this focal point. Soldiers from the Allegheny Mountains eastward usually grouped at Harrisburg. Philadelphia was also a focal point for gathering troops from adjacent counties.

The pattern of raising soldiers in the region from the Allegheny mountains to the Susquehanna River was not different from that of the Philadelphia region. Within a week after the war news hit the counties of Bedford, Blair, Centre, Clinton, Fulton, Huntingdon, Franklin, Mifflin, Adams, Cumberland, Perry, and Lycoming, troops were raised first at the county seat or adjacent towns and then sent on to Harrisburg.21

The quiet of Harrisburg was destroyed by the constant arrival of troops after April 18. This dusty little town of 16,000 inhabitants, having been designated the rendezvous of the state's quota of volunteers, did not have sufficient accommodations to take care of the influx of strangers and volunteers. Even with the creation of Camp Curtin there were not sufficient living quarters. By April 24, 1861, about 7,000 young volunteers had come into the capital, the majority of whom came from the Lebanon and Cumberland Valleys. Three churches had to be appropriated to provide accommodations for troops.

On Tuesday, April 23, a rumor raised fear in the town when it was vociferously stated that the water of the city reservoir had been poisoned by southern spies; a guard was immediately placed around the basin, and that evening a vigilance committee was created. All the telegraph lines from Harrisburg and from all points in proximity to the order were placed under state control. These lines were used almost

21 Altoona Tribune, April 19, 1861; George A. Wolf, ed., Blair County's First Hundred Years 1846-1946 (Altoona, 1945), 12; New York Times, April 22, 1861, Chambersburg Valley Spirit, April 24, 1861; Huntingdon Journal and American, April 17, 24, 1861; John F. Beginness, History of Tioga County (Chicago, 1897), 217; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, April 20, 22, 1861; Thomas G. Housey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond, 1939), 220; Benjamin Mathias Nead, Waynesboro (Harrisburg, 1900), 187; Lancaster Daily Evening Express, April 17, 1861; Lewistown True Democrat, April 18, 1861; Columbia Democrat, April 20, 1861; Media Delaware County American, April 20, 1861.
exclusively for the transmission of state and national dispatches.22 By April 27, 1861, over ten thousand troops had come into Harrisburg.23 Thus the capital city of Pennsylvania took the aspect of a crowded armed camp.

Carlisle shared in this aspect of troops and strangers crowding in upon the town. On April 18, 1861, 250 dragoons arrived from Texas. Other troops arrived in Carlisle Barracks from the West and Southwest. As was to be expected Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks had a strong southern tinge. Some of the men of the barracks resigned from the army and took up the Confederate cause.24 Probably no other military post in the North was so well known by the military leaders of the Confederacy as Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks. Thus the sentiment of southern sympathy was strong in Carlisle. In fact this pro-southern element molested single soldiers from the garrison. Even so the dominant loyalty of the people of Carlisle was manifest in the fact that in the first half year Carlisle sent four companies to war: the Carlisle Fencibles, the Carlisle Guards, the Carlisle Light Infantry, Captain Christian Kuhn's Company.25 The barracks became a supply depot for the American army during the Civil War and was designated as the mounted recruiting service for the entire northeastern United States.

Throughout Pittsburgh and Allegheny City the fever of war enthusiasm burned brightly. On April 15, 1861, General Negley was authorized to muster into the service of the state and the United States all companies west of the mountains desiring to tender their services. Word went out for all troops of this region to report to Pittsburgh.26

Pittsburgh and Allegheny City had ten volunteer companies when the war broke out, companies that were unarmed and mainly disorganized. Their names were typical of a flamboyant age: Jackson Independent Blues, Duquesne Greys, Washington Infantry, Allegheny Rifles, Pennsylvania Dragoons, Pittsburgh Turner Rifles, Lafayette

22 New York Times, April 26, 1861; Harrisburg Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, April 19, 26, 1861; Harrisburg Patriot and Union. April 24, 27, 1861.
23 Ibid., April 27, 1861.
24 An example of this was Col. George B. Crittenden's resignation as post commander and eventual commission in the Confederate army. Thomas G. Toussey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond, 1939), 220; see also Carlisle American Volunteer, April 18, 25, 1861.
26 Pittsburgh Gazette, April 15, 1861; Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, April 16, 1861; Pittsburgh Post, April 15, 17, 1861; Pittsburgh Saturday Dollar Chronicle, April 20, 1861.
Blues, Pennsylvania Zouaves, National Guards, and United States Zouave Cadets adjacent to Pittsburgh there were also a few volunteer organizations: Pennsylvania Infantry of East Liberty, Alliquippa Guards of McKeesport, Turtle Creek Guards, St. Clair Guards, Union Artillery, National Lancers, and one or two others.27

When news of war was confirmed in Pittsburgh, militia companies began to hold meetings from April 14 to 16 to see what members were willing to tender their services to Governor Curtin. If the companies were not completed at these meetings, roll books were opened up and recruiting began. The Wide-Awakes, the young men's Republican organizations that had recently campaigned for Lincoln, were being converted into new militia units. The Pittsburgh Zouves under R. Biddle Roberts was the first group to tender its services to the governor on Saturday evening, April 13.

The German population of Allegheny County provided an excellent source for young volunteers; their gymnastic groups called Turner Societies enlisted immediately in the Union cause. On April 17, the first detachment of Turned Rifles, eighty men, under Captain Amlung left for Harrisburg. Outstanding in the Turner groups of Allegheny county were Alexander von Schimmelfenning, Captains Hadtmener, F. Gerard, Gus Schleiter, Louis Hager, Baidel Gelisath, Conrad.28

The troops raised at this time were in various stages of accounting. For example, the Zouave Cadets had no arms or equipment; the Duquesne Greys and Washington Infantry were fully armed but needed overcoats, blankets and haversacks.29 A measure of war enthusiasm is found in the fact that many other companies were formed, and in a short time were filled. The Allegheny Railsplitters in less than four hours had sixty-four names; on Sunday, April 14, the Pennsylvania Zouaves had a hundred men on its muster rolls, and the United States Zouave Cadets had 125 names by April 16. Even the Duquesne Greys, mainly of the Democratic Party, had tendered their services to the governor three months previous to the war. The propaganda of war was used effectively in Pittsburgh newspapers; calls were made for companies and regiments. Recruiting posters made their blatant ap-

27 Under the Maltese Cross: Antietam to Appomattox, The Loyal Uprising in Western Pennsylvania 1861-1865. (Pittsburgh, 1910), 4-5; Sarah H. Killikelly, The History of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, 1906), 433; Pittsburgh Gazette, April 15, 18, 1861.
28 Under the Maltese Cross, 17; Pittsburgh Gazette, April 15, 17, 18; Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, April 16, 23, 30, 1861 Killikelly, op. cit., 424.
29 Pittsburgh Gazette, April 16, 1861; Pittsburgh Post, April 19, 1861.
peals in the villages and towns of Allegheny County, and in Pittsburgh they rivaled the enlistment appeal of fife and drum. By April 17 ten companies from Pittsburgh and Allegheny had received marching orders. In Birmingham the glass-blowers formed a company, and the employees of the Fort Pitt Foundry created the Fort Pitt Light Artillery.

The size of the various companies had no conformity, ranging from fifty men to one hundred and fifty; therefore, General Negley issued an order on April 17, 1861, stating that each company was to consist of seventy-seven men—seventy privates and seven officers. If a company had more men than this, then the excess was forced to transfer to other companies. On April 18, the Pittsburgh Gazette announced, "The various companies previously alluded to in our columns are now filled up, with one or two exceptions." On that day the startling news was revealed that only two regiments were to be called at that time consisting of twenty companies, and on the following day General Negley received a telegram from Simon Cameron, refusing to accept cavalry from western Pennsylvania at that time.

Within less than a week the state quota was filled. Those companies that the national government refused to accept numbered over forty in Allegheny County alone. These unaccepted companies held together by sheer will, receiving no pay from the state or national government; they had to pay for their own keep. Finally on April 27, 1861, the governor decided to form a camp at Pittsburgh fair grounds, mainly to receive the unaccepted companies; these companies received only rations. Nevertheless, of the forty-five unaccepted companies meeting at the Girard House in the latter part of April, only ten of them were accepted into Camp Wilkins; the rest eventually disbanded.

On April 24, 1861, eleven days after the President's call for troops, the last detachment of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Regiments left for Harrisburg. One newspaper pictures the scene:

At an early hour that morning the city was all astir, and great excitement prevailed. The troops assembled on East Common, Allegheny city, for the review, and notwithstanding the rains fell in torrents, the streets on the route of the parade were crowded . . . the cars, twenty-nine in number, were divided into three trains; the first, of sixteen, drawn by two locomotives, and reached from Wood street to beyond the canal bridge. On either side the space was filled with people as well as every available position in the buildings. . . Before their departure the ladies had prepared and placed on each man's seat a day's rations of bread and meat. The

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whole detachment consisted of about 1,200 men. At twenty
minutes past eleven the trains started,31 followed with
shouts of the assembled thousands.
Therefore, between April 14 and April 24, 1861, there had been re-
cruited, armed and sent to Washington two thousand volunteers from
Allegheny County.32
Not only did Pittsburgh serve as a temporary rendezvous point for
Allegheny County, but also for all of western Pennsylvania. In April
and May troops arrived in Pittsburgh from Uniontown, Washington,
Beaver, New Castle, Mercer, Meadville, Erie, Greensburg, Kittanning,
Clarion, Warren, Ridgeway, Brookville, Indiana, Somerset, Ebensburg,
Hollidaysburg, Butler, Johnstown.33 The method for raising troops
seems, in western Pennsylvania as in other sections of the state, to have
followed a pattern of close union between the county seats and towns of
the counties. From all evidences there seems to have been a distinct
channel for collecting troops from the towns into the county seats,
forming them into companies, then forwarding them to Pittsburgh, and
then on to Harrisburg.
Perhaps the enlistment fervor can be gauged by the fact that in
some places in Pittsburgh as high as fifty dollars was being offered by
recruits for places in a favored company. Also in Cambria County a
Colonel Peiper was offering a thousand dollar bonus to the state if he
and his companies were accepted.34
Thus from the study of available sources it must be concluded that
the Federal government let the enthusiasm of the northern states wither
away. In Pennsylvania during the spring and early summer of 1861
work was scarce and men were plentiful. War sentiment was at its
height. The idea of a short war was prevalent throughout the state,
and young men were fearful least the war end too quickly. So why

31 Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, April 20, 1861.
32 Under the Maltese Cross, 5; George H. Thurston, op., cit., 74-75;
Pittsburgh Gazette, April 26, 1861; Killikelly, op., cit., 479.
33 Pittsburgh Gazette, April 17, 1861; A. J. Davis, History of Clarion
County, Pennsylvania (New York, 1887), 236; Robert C. Brown,
History of Butler County, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1895), 231; Ebens-
burg Democrat and Sentinel, April 24, 8, May, 1861; J. S. Schenck
and W. S. Rann, History of Warren County, Pennsylvania (Syracuse,
N. Y., 1887, 163-164; 167; Earle R. Forrest, The History of Washington
County (Chicago, 1925), 1, 1019; Uniontown Genius of Liberty, April
18, 25, 1861; Erie Weekly Gazette, April 18, May 2, 1861; Indiana
Weekly Register, April 23, 30, 1861; Washington The Reporter and
Tribune, April 26; 1861; New Castle Lawrence Journal, April 27, 1861;
Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, May 14, 1861.
34 Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, May 4, 1861; Ebensburg Demo-
crat and Sentinel, May 8, 1861; Blairsville Record, May 15, 1861;
Pittsburgh Gazette, May 3, 1861; Pittsburgh Post, May 8, 1861.
object to three years service? In Pittsburgh alone enthusiasm for enlisting was so great that companies continued to be formed even when the national government refused to accept more men, and captains went into debt trying to maintain their companies as units in hopes of being accepted. And still the companies were not accepted. If our war department ever reached the nadir of disgrace, that point was reached in April, May, June, and July of 1861.35 Even in the training of the troops, if there developed any degree of proficiency at arms in the early part of the war, that proficiency was through chance mainly, for the Federal government continuously refused to transfer officers of the regular army to the volunteer forces as a cadre to teach military tactics and discipline. That any degree of unity and efficiency was achieved is a miracle of the Civil War. Yet war correspondents such as Edward Dicey, an Englishman, were able to say:

It is remarkable to me how rapidly the new recruits fell into the habits of military service. I have seen a Pennsylvania regiment, raised chiefly from the mechanics of Philadelphia, which six weeks after its formation, was in my eyes equal to the average of our best-trained volunteer corps, as far as marching and drill exercise went.36

The enthusiasm for war from April through July took on eccentric lines in some parts of Pennsylvania. There were attempts made to raise troops on racial, occupational, sentimental or freakish lines. In Philadelphia the Irish tried to raise complete companies and even regiments; in Pittsburgh and places in the east, German companies were raised, mainly as outgrowths of the Turner gymnastic societies. Even though negroes in organized companies were not acceptable in the early part of the war, nevertheless companies of negro volunteers were enlisted in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.37

35 Ebensburg Democrat and Sentinel, May 1, June 5, 1861; Erie Weekly Gazette, May 2, 9, 16, 1861; Indiana Weekly Register, May 7, 21, 1861; Harrisburg Patriot and Union, May 8, 9, 29, June 5, 1861; Altoona Tribune, May 9, 16, 1861; New York Tribune, May 10, 1861; Pittsburgh Gazette, May 25, 28, 1861; Franklin Venango Spectator, May 22, 1861; New York Times, June 9, 1861; Meadville Crawford Democrat, June 25, 1861.


37 Captain Samuel Sanders to Brigadier General J. S. Negley, Pittsburgh Daily Gazette, April 18, 1861. In June negroes were being accepted as part of companies. Company I, the Zouave Cadets, organized in Pittsburgh on June 22, contained negroes; on July 18, the Hannibal Guards, a complete negro company of Pittsburgh, was accepted into the Union Army. See George L. Davis "Pittsburgh's Negro Troops in the Civil War," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXXVI (June, 1953), 101-112; Altoona Tribune, April 25, 1861; Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, April 22, 24, 1861; Pittsburgh Press, April 18, 23, 1861.
Many attempts were made to enlist troops along occupational lines. In Pittsburgh alone companies of railroaders, glassblowers, iron workers were raised. In Philadelphia members of the bar tried to raise a company of lawyers, and some young men of the Quaker faith put on uniforms and drilled as a company. Harrisburg was complaining about a scarcity of canal boatmen because of the number who had entered military service as a company. But the strangest military organization was a company of blacksmiths from Phoenixville, Pennsylvania.\(^38\)

 Probably the greatest unit for encouraging enlistments in the state was the volunteer fire companies. These fire companies were both civic and social organizations, possessing a great measure of homogeneity. When war broke out the fire halls furnished in all communities a rallying point for young men. Furthermore, there is strong evidence that the aim in many communities was to create military companies consisting entirely of firemen. In many cases a fund was raised to supply their own military equipment.\(^39\)

 The war spirit for soldiering made itself felt in the colleges of the state. Western University of Pennsylvania, Jefferson College, Bethany College, Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania all raised companies of students in April and May. The crisis in many Pennsylvania colleges was caused by the great number of southern college students that went home. A large proportion of Dickinson College returned home to serve in the army. Bethany College was “almost abandoned” by students going South, and a number of Jefferson College students left immediately for the South.\(^40\)

 The war enthusiasm was not lost on the women. Almost immediately after the war began women throughout the state began to band together to give their services as Ladies Aid Societies or nurses. In Pottsville on April 23, 1861, twenty-one ladies tendered their services to Simon Cameron as nurses. On the previous day a number of ladies

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\(^{38}\) Harrisburg *Patriot and Union*, May 6, 1861; *Altoona Tribune*, April 25, 1861; Harrisburg *Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph*, April 23, 1861; Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army*, I, 42; New York Tribune, June 20, 1861; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 19, 25, 1861.

\(^{39}\) Shannon, *Organization and Administration of the Union Army*, II, 181; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 16, 18, 1861; Carlisle *American Volunteer*, April 18, 25, 1861; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 19, 23, 1861; Harrisburg *Patriot and Union*, April 22, 1861; Milton E. and Lenore E. Flower, *This is Carlisle* (Harrisburg, 1944), 50.

\(^{40}\) Blairsville *Record*, May 8, 1861; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 17, 19, 1861; *Philadelphia Press*, June 18, 1861; Washington (Pa.) *Reporter and Tribune*, May 23, 1861; *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, June 4, 1861; Carlisle *Volunteer American*, April 18, 25, 1861.
met at 912 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia and organized the "Military Nurse Corps." This organization prescribed the following flamboyant uniform: "a dress of blue canada flannel and a Shaker bonnet trimmed with red, white, and blue." Within a week of organization this group was hearing lectures on first aid. Similar groups, but smaller in size, were created in Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, and in the smaller towns and villages sometimes one or two women would leave for the front.

The Pennsylvania troops that answered the nation's call in April, May, June, and July of 1861 were thoroughly untrained, even in fire arms; and, equally as bad, most of them were improperly equipped. Many times the civilians could not be satisfactorily molded into the soldier's regime; this was evidenced in the great number of complaining letters to be found in the newspaper of the times. A conservative Philadelphia newspaper sums up the situation in the following manner:

It is greatly to be feared that the raw troops we are hurrying forward to the seat of war are not likely from the condition they are in to reflect much credit upon their state or prove very serviceable as soldiers. At Camp Curtin near Harrisburg . . . all is disorganization, and the gathering has more the appearance of a mob than an Army.

. . . troops are discontented, insubordinate and swearing at the city, their officers and everyone else . . . a number of companies from Schuylkill looked as though taken fresh from the mines.

Part of the disorganization within Pennsylvania's military system can be found in the methods of choosing officers. Usually all officers below that of colonel were elected by the soldiers; the names of the successful candidates receiving the majority votes were reported to the governor. In effect company officers were filled by the commissioned officers.
officers of the regiment. This system of officering regiments was made permanent by an act of Congress, July 22, 1861. Under such a plan it is evident to the eye that the discipline and morale of the state troops were apt to be disrupted. The farcical nature of such a system was adequately lampooned in such magazines as Harper's Weekly: the sergeant pleading with his squad to obey orders and the captain being patronized by a private. That the army sometimes became a political sanctuary for prominent Pennsylvanians is best demonstrated in the family of Morton McMichael, editor of the North American and United States Gazette. Morton McMichael Jr., without previous military background, was commissioned lieutenant colonel by Curtin; Walter McMichael was given a clerkship in the office of the House of Representatives; Clayton McMichael was commissioned first lieutenant in the regular army; William McMichael was commissioned assistant adjutant general of volunteers with rank of captain. One can understand why McMichael defended the Cameron clique when Cameron was removed from office. Nevertheless, the Philadelphia Inquirer constantly protested against the appointment of "presumptuous politicians and raw civilians" as army officers.46

The national government through April, May, June, and July tended to quench the patriotic feeling that raised thousands of men in Pennsylvania alone. Secretary Cameron, in his arrant stupidity, made the following statement:

The government presents the striking anomaly of being embarrassed by the generous outpouring of volunteers. . . . One of its main difficulties is to keep down the proportions of the army.47

In May, 1861, adjutant-general Biddle gave an estimate that 283 companies from Pennsylvania were not accepted because the requisition for troops had already been filled; in round figures these 283 companies equaled 22,100 men.48

In Western Pennsylvania recruiting continued through April and May. On April 23 1861, Brigadier General James S. Negley reported that Pennsylvania's quota was more than full and that no more com-

45 Francois Marchand Philippe Louis Marie d'Orleans, prince de Joinville, Army of the Potomac (New York, 1861) 132; United States Statuts at Large, XII, p. 270.
48 Altoona Tribune, May 9, 1861, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, May 6, 1861.
panies would be accepted.\(^49\) The war spirit was so intense in western Pennsylvania that recruiting still continued. On April 26 no less than twenty-six companies, not home guard units, reported to the committee of public safety as ready for duty. Soon, by May 1, 1861, there were forty to fifty unaccepted companies.\(^50\) These companies measure the intense fervor of the western area, for these military units were supported either out of the pocket-books of the individual captains or through appeals to the citizens of Pittsburgh. All evidence indicates that contributions were generous and provided subsistence for the unaccepted companies. As would be expected Pittsburgh was overcrowded since no adequate quarters existed for such troops.

Finally delegations to Harrisburg made a telling impression on Governor Curtin, for in the latter part of April the governor decided to establish a camp on the Pittsburgh fair grounds, a camp to be named Camp Wilkins. But this proved only a stopgap, for on May 1 only six companies out of approximately forty-five were ordered into Camp Wilkins by Colonel P. Jarrett, camp commander.\(^51\) The selection of the six companies stirred up a hornets nest of discontent. From May 1 to about May 15 meetings of the officers of the unaccepted companies were held every day. On May 1, at a meeting in the common council chamber, an earnest appeal was made to stick together:

> Captain Armstrong advised the gentlemen present to use every effort to hold their men together as a committee of influential men, among them were Ex-Governor Johnson and Thomas M. Howe, had just gone to Harrisburg, for the purpose of making some arrangements by which all companies here can be encamped, uniformed, and equipped.\(^52\)

The refusal of the state and national government to accept these troops aroused the indignation of Pittsburgh. Business men discussed the possibility of creating an independent camp, under local jurisdiction, but the cost of five thousand dollars a week to run such a camp early discouraged the fruition of such a plan.\(^53\) Newspapers protested the unfairness in rejecting these troops. One paper said:

\(^{49}\) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 24, 1861; *Pittsburgh Post*, April 25, 1861; *Pittsburgh Saturday Dollar Chronicle*, April 27, 1861. *Pittsburgh Evening Gazette*, April 23, 24, 1861; *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, April 25, 1861.

\(^{50}\) Killikelly, *op. cit.*, 448; *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, May 1, 1861; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 26, May 1, 1861, *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, May 7, 1861.

\(^{51}\) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 1, 1861; *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, May 1, 1861.

\(^{52}\) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 2, 1861.

\(^{53}\) *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 1, 1861.
Hundreds of dollars have been expended in the organization of the various companies now offering themselves, and as the men from whose pockets it came are but illy able to bear it, the decision under which they must now disband their men; or continue to support them at their individual expense till called for bears heavily against them.54

The problem of the unaccepted companies especially rankled the citizens when it was seen that the favored companies, consisting mostly of units without the full complement of men and without uniforms, were ordered into Camp Wilkins, while other groups, long organized, well-officered, and in some instances uniformed, were rejected. This problem became a nagging question that tended to quench the fires of patriotism.55 As might be expected, the meetings of the officers of the unaccepted companies degenerated into gatherings for venting spleen against local, state, and national authority.

Still the unaccepted companies refused to be rejected and continued to maintain their units finally twenty-four of the companies organized themselves into two regiments, called the Cameron Guards, and elected Alexander Hays as colonel. Appeals were made to the committee of public safety to maintain these organizations if the community of Pittsburgh would furnish the necessary supplies and shelter for the men; Linden Grove was even selected as a camping ground. The committee of public safety refused to undertake such a responsibility.56

The last meetings of the unaccepted companies took place on May 22, 1861.57 The outcome was evident, for shortly after this meeting companies began to disband. However, one possibility remained that offered service to the men of the unaccepted companies. New York state and the counties of western Virginia offered military service to men from western Pennsylvania. On May 14 the first squad of thirty men left for Camp Carlisle on Wheeling Island. As an inducement to Pennsylvania troops it was announced that all companies would rendezvous at Wellsville and there on Virginia soil organize as Virginia companies by electing their officers. Shortly thereafter fifty volunteers from Pittsburgh organization at Wheeling, and on May 22 the Scanlon Guards, the Woods Guards, and the Jackson Guards left for Wheeling,

54 Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, May 1, 1861; see also May 3rd issue, Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, May 7, 14, 1861.
55 Killikelly, op. cit., 448; Pittsburgh Gazette, May 22, 23, 1861; Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, May 7, 9, 14, 17, 24, 1861; Pittsburgh Post, May 24, 1861.
56 Under the Maltese Cross, 13; Pittsburgh Gazette, May 23, 24, 1861; Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, May 25, 1861; Pittsburgh Saturday Dollar Chronicle, May 25, 1861.
followed by the Plummer Guards and the Anderson Infantry on June 5. Thus these troops that were refused service in the state of Pennsylvania were readily accepted in the army of western Virginia.\textsuperscript{58} The remarkable point about these men securing service in other states was the great attempt made to keep these military units intact. Many hundreds of men from Allegheny County alone left for service in neighboring states, and an equally large number left singly or in small detachments.

The Friend Rifles under Captain Jacob Brunn and the Pittsburgh Zouave Cadets under Captain John P. Glass were promptly mustered into the famous “Excelsior Brigade” of Daniel E. Sickles, to serve for three years.\textsuperscript{59} Other companies left Pittsburgh for New York service; most of these units were accepted into service. However, a second company of Friend Rifles which left Pittsburgh June 21, 1861, were refused service in New York City and returned to Philadelphia to take service in Geary’s Regiment.\textsuperscript{60}

The counties of western and northwestern Pennsylvania had also the problem of unaccepted companies. Fayette, Washington, Greene, Westmoreland, Butler, Erie and Warren Counties had companies that were refused by the state and national governments. Even the “wildcat district” of McKean, Elk, Cameron, and Potter Counties in their small enlistments had men who were refused for service.\textsuperscript{61}

Thus the unaccepted men of Beaver, Washington, Fayette, Greene, and Westmoreland Counties disbanded or sought service in western Virginia singly or in small units, but rarely as companies; men of the northwestern counties that were refused by the state took service in New York regiments. In the relatively small county of Warren, for example, the Tidioute Rifles joined Daniel Sickles brigade at Staten Island; scores of men crossed into New York state to become part of the Chautauqua County companies, and Company B of the Ninth New York Cavalry was recruited almost entirely from Sugar Grove township.

Philadelphia also shared the bitterness that went with the unac-

\textsuperscript{58} Pittsburgh Gazette, May 24, 25, 30, 1861; Washington Reporter and Tribune, May 16, 23, 30, 1861.

\textsuperscript{59} Under the Maltese Cross, 13; Killikelly, op. cit., 450-451.

\textsuperscript{60} This unit is credited to be a complete Philadelphia unit, but it did have a Pittsburgh contingent in it. Pittsburgh Gazette, June 21, 24, 1861; Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, June 25, 1861.

\textsuperscript{61} Greensburg Herald, May 22, 29, June 5, 12, 19, 1861; Ebensburg Democrat and Sentinel, May 15, 29, June 12, 19, 26, 1861; Leeson, History of the Counties of McKean, Elk, Cameron, and Potter, 1025; Washington Reporter and Tribune, May 30, June 13, 20, 27, 1861; Ellis, History of Fayette County, 191; Samuel P. Bates, History of Greene County Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1888), 231.
accepted companies. In the latter days of May enthusiasm for enlisting projected itself into the creation of new companies. The streets, public squares, and suburban areas resounded to the drilling of recruits. Philadelphia newspapers viciously criticized the national government for allowing New York to send fifty-two regiments into the field while accepting from Pennsylvania only twenty-six regiments.62 Fear that local enlistments at Philadelphia would be stopped led hundreds of men to flock to New York City to enlist; this enlisting fervor that caused the exodus of Philadelphians from Pennsylvania did not keep the companies of this city together as a unit, such as happened in Pittsburgh. The flight to enlist in New York was by individuals, not units. So fruitful did Philadelphia prove in supplying troops that agents of other states opened recruiting offices in Philadelphia. Nevertheless, the regular army, marine corps, and navy were able to get many of the best young men.

Philadelphia had a blatant showmanship that attracted many tentative companies through handbills, daily papers, and the ruffle of fife and drum. As a result many companies were created on paper that later had to be merged into more complete units. Others of the great number of surplus troops either disbanded or became identified with the home guards.63

When the Pennsylvania legislature met on April 30, 1861 in special session, Governor Curtin requested that a law be passed organizing the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps and creating a loan to defray expenses of such an undertaking.64 On May 2, 1861, the select committee of the state legislature reported a bill which provided for a loan of three millions of dollars and gave the governor power to appoint a major-general, two brigadier generals, and staff officers; vested in the governor also was power to establish camps of instruction and to organize state forces. The bill passed both branches of the legislature and on May 15, 1861, became the law of the commonwealth.65 Fifteen regiments were to

63 Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 18, 22, 1861; Philadelphia Press, June 27, 29, 1861.
64 Legislative Record of Pennsylvania, 1861, pp. 956-957, 1154-1156; Journal of the Senate, 1861, extra session, 8-9, 16-17, 73-75; Pennsylvania Archives, 4th Series, 371.
comprise the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps: thirteen regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and one of light artillery; their organization was based upon that of the Army of the United States, with a term of service for three years or the duration of the war. Possibly the most important part of this act creating a state military force was the following:

No troops shall be kept in camp longer than three months at any one time, except the Governor shall, upon the expiration of said three months, deem the longer continuance of said troops necessary for the protection of the Commonwealth, or shall have a requisition for troops from the President of the United States.66

Pennsylvania's credit rating at this time was in disrepute, for in the early 1840's this state had repudiated its bonds. Thus the primary question of the summer of 1861 was whether bankers, business men, and the common man would buy state bonds. It was thought that the state bonds at six per cent interest might be forced to sell under par, probably as low as seventy-five. Jay Cooke and Company and Drexel and Company were appointed general agents for the sale of this loan. It was mainly through the work of Jay Cooke that Henry D. Moore, treasurer of Pennsylvania, and other state officials were influenced to sell the loan at par.67 In the selling of this loan Jay Cooke evolved a system of propaganda that later became a trade-mark of his activities.

Agents of Cooke were sent throughout the state to see bankers and business men. Henry D. Moore and a Mr. Weir, a cashier at the Harrisburg bank, were sent into western Pennsylvania to preach the loan. H. C. Fahnestock, who had been treasurer of the Franklin Railroad and was a nephew to Mr. Weir, visited the bankers of Gettysburg, Carlisle, Chambersburg, Lebanon, York, Columbia, Lancaster and Reading and concentrated his efforts at Harrisburg; Jay Cooke worked the bankers of Philadelphia.68 Augmenting the effectiveness of this work, advertisements were inserted in newspapers, and circulars were scattered throughout the state. Circulars with blanks upon which banks and

private citizens could make subscriptions were widely distributed throughout the state. One salient part of these circulars read as follows:

It is a six per cent loan free from any taxation whatever and bidders can have the privilege of taking certificates of $50, $100, $500, $1,000 or larger sums and either coupon or transferable loan. A special tax amounting to about $300,000 per annum is by this loan bill levied and is to be applied to the payment of the interest on the loan to the purpose of a liberal sinking fund. . . . The number of taxable inhabitants within the State is now nearly 700,000, thus showing that the above loan, added to our debt, only amounts to the trifle of four dollars and fifty cents for each taxable; and besides it is confidently expected that most of the funds now disbursed being really in aid of the general government, will be in due time returned to our treasury.69

The reaction of the financial interests to such appeals was phenomenal. City and country banks, insurance companies, transportation companies as well as private capitalists wired their bids either to the agents in Philadelphia or to the state treasurer directly. Pittsburgh banks subscribed $400,000; in Philadelphia alone the Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Bank, the Philadelphia Bank, the Girard Bank, the Mechanics’ Bank, the Commercial Bank, the Bank of North America contributed over $905,000, and this figure does not include the bids of the insurance companies. The Pennsylvania Railroad subscribed $300,000. When all bids were in, the loan was oversubscribed, having reached the figure of $3,300,000, but Jay Cooke pared this figure down to exactly three million. Twenty-four counties were represented on this subscription list, and, of the twenty-four, a vast majority came from the eastern counties, eighteen to be exact. In the west only Fayette, Washington, Allegheny, and Armstrong Counties took part in the bidding.70 Jay Cooke saw to it that the results of the bidding, giving the names and amounts of all the subscribers, received full notice in the newspapers; furthermore Cooke sent a copy of the subscription list south to Jefferson Davis by way of Kentucky.71

69 Circular of Drexel and Company, 34 South Third Street and Jay Cooke and Company, 114 South Third Street, June 1, 1861 in Jay Cooke Papers. See also Oberhaltzer, op. cit., I, 110; Henrietta M. Larson, Jay Cooke Private Banker (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 105; Ebensburg Alleghanian June 6, 1861.


71 Ebensburg Alleghanian, June 20, 1861; Indiana Weekly Gazette, June 18, 25, 1861; Bellefonte Democratic Watchman, June 20, 1861; Franklin Venango Spectator, June 21, 28, 1861; Erie Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1861; Chambersburg Valley Spirit, June 20, 27, 1861; Harrisburg Patriot and Union, June 15, 20, 22, 1861; Unlontown Genius of Liberty, June 27, 1861; Carlisle American Volunteer, June 20, 27, 1861; Lancaster Daily Evening Express, June 18, 22, 26, 1861.
Having failed to secure the services of McClellan or William B. Franklin to head the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, Governor Curtin appointed George A. McCall of Chester County as major-general on May 15, 1861; his appointment was approved by the Senate the next day. To facilitate matters of organization camps were established at West Chester, Easton, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. Enthusiasm was so intense at this time that Eli Slifer, secretary of the commonwealth, and the assistant secretary Samuel B. Thomas endeavored to apportion the companies throughout the state in an equitable ratio.

On May 27, 1861, troops mustered into the service of the state at Philadelphia were ordered into Camp Washington at Easton. Thirty companies were ordered to rendezvous there by General McCall for the purpose of forming three regiments. Troops from the central part of the state met mainly at Harrisburg; some were ordered to Camp Wayne at West Chester. In western Pennsylvania Camp Wilkins at Pittsburgh and Camp Wright at Hulton on the Allegheny Valley Railroad became points of organization.

At first the original strength of each company, in conformity with army regulations, was limited to seventy-seven men, including officers and privates, but on June 20 instructions were issued by General McCall at camp headquarters at Harrisburg to fill the companies to maximum strength of one hundred and one men, according to the number authorized by the general order of the national government for May 14. In the organization of the fifteen regiments of the Pennsylvania Reserves all regimental officers from the rank of colonel down to surgeon were elected by the companies. When these regiments were completed they numbered a total of 15,856 men.

It would become a repetitious ordeal to list the organization of these regiments according to companies; needless to say they came from all

73 Killikelly, op. cit., 441-442.
74 For information on army camps see Meadville Republican, November 16, 1861; Harper’s Weekly, April 27, 1861; Harrisburg Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, April 22, 1861; Jacob Mathiot to Davies Mathiot, September 29, 1861, Armor Collection of Civil War Letters (in Library of Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh); Pittsburgh Gazette April 29, May 2, 3, June 1, 1861; Pittsburgh Christian Advocate, May 7, 1861; Blairsville Record July 17, 1861; Under the Maltese Cross, 12-13; Altoona Tribune May 30, June 13, 20, 27, 1861, New Castle Lawrence Journal, May 11, 1861.
75 Ebensburg Democrat and Sentinel, June 12, 1861.
counties of Pennsylvania. However, one regiment deserves special mention, because of its unique background—The Bucktails. Its history goes back to the beginning of the war. Thomas L. Kane, brother of the famous arctic explorer, got permission from Governor Curtin to raise a company of mounted riflemen from the “wildcat district” of Pennsylvania; this area comprised Forest, McKean, Elk, and Cameron Counties. By April 17 this organization decided to change its make-up from cavalry to infantry. The men comprising this unit were for the most part lumbermen clad in red flannel shirts, carrying rifles, and wearing bucktails on their hats. The test of membership to the Bucktails was skilled marksmanship. By April 24 a hundred men had assembled at the rafting place on the Sinnemahoning. Two days later the entire force, now three hundred and fifteen men embarked upon three rafts. Each raft had as its guidon a bucktail surmounted on a green hickory pole. Because of the surplus troops coming into Harrisburg, a telegram was sent to General Jackman at Lock Haven to tell the Bucktails to go home, but General Jackman never gave the telegram to the officer commanding the Bucktails. Thus these militia units from the “wildcat district” arrived at Harrisburg.

This unit of men gave Harrisburg a case of nerves. On May 5 a riot almost took place after a member of the Bucktails was arrested by a policeman. A furor broke out in the vicinity of the mayor’s office and Walnut Street. The area was completely blocked with citizens and members of the Bucktails; the mayor ordered the mob to disperse and backed up his order with fifty muskets loaded with buckshot. That evening three companies from Camp Curtin, got about forty of the recalcitrant Bucktails in a hollow square and marched them back to camp.76

Needless to say General McCall gave his personal attention to the organization of Bucktails into the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps. This rifle regiment, which was the second unit organized for the corps, was numbered the Thirteenth Regiment. Although Thomas L. Kane, at his own request, became second in command to Charles J. Biddle, the official designation of this command was “Kane Rifle Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps.” However, this contingent entered service under a variety of titles such as the Forty-second of the Line, the Thirteenth Reserve, the Rifle, the First Rifle, the Kane Rifles, and the

76 Harrisburg Patriot and Union, May 6, 1861; Harrisburg Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, May 6, 7, 1861; Ebensburg Democrat and Sentinel, May 8, 1861.
PENNSYLVANIA RAISES AN ARMY

The units comprising this unusual regiment were: Anderson Life Guards of Tioga County, Morgan Rifles of Perry County, Cameron County Rifles, Raftsmen's Guards of Warren County, Tioga Rifles, Irish Infantry of Carbon County, Elk County Rifles, Wayne Independent Rifles of Wayne County, Company H of Chester County, McKean Rifles of McKean County, Raftsmen's Rangers of Clearfield County.

By early June, when it became known that General McDowell was planning to move against Manassas Junction, Governor Curtin wrote the war department that the services of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps were at the disposal of the United States government, but the offer was rejected. At this time the organization of this corps was almost completed, a force of about 15,856. It was fully as well trained as any corps of McDowell's army and just as well armed.

On June 22 two regiments of the corps, under Colonel Charles J. Biddle and Seneca G. Simmons and two companies of artillery under the command of Colonel Charles Campbell were sent to the relief of Colonel Wallace at Cumberland, Maryland. When McDowell was defeated at Bull Run and thrown back to the defenses of Washington, the national capital was a city demoralized and afraid. William H. Russell described Washington the day after Bull Run:

There is no provost guard, no patrol, no visible authority in the streets. . . . Why Beauregard does not come I know not, nor can I well guess. I have been expecting every hour since noon to hear his cannon.

The impact of this fear animated the leaders at Washington to call for help. Lincoln sent over a hundred telegrams to Governor Curtin begging him to send the Pennsylvania Reserves in immediate haste to Washington, D. C. Thus the state corps, that had been rejected a number of times before, was in Washington four days after the disaster at Bull Run. They were hastily mustered into the national service.

The whole expense of raising, clothing, equipping, subsisting, and paying the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps was $855,444.87; the whole average expense per man was $53.95; the state was reimbursed in full.

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77 Ebensburg Alleghianian, June 13, 1861; Erie Weekly Gazette, June 20, 1861; Harrisburg Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph, June 13, 14, 1861; Harrisburg Patriot and Union, June 14, 15, 1861.
78 Michael A. Leeson, History of the Counties of McKean, Cameron and Potter, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1890), 128; Pittsburgh Gazette, June 7, 21, 26, 1861; Harrisburg Patriot and Union, June 28, 1861; Ebensburg Democrat and Sentinel, June 19, 26, July 3, 1861; Philadelphia Inquirer, June 12, 20, 27, July 2, 3, 1861.
79 William Howard Russell, My Diary North and South, (London, 1863), 152.
by the national government for the expenses incurred in organizing, drilling, and supporting these troops.80 The troops of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps formed the only division in the Union Army all of whose soldiers came from a single state. Of this division Governor Curtin was inordinately proud; as this unit was depleted by engagements, Governor Curtin wrote countless telegrams to the department requesting that it return to Pennsylvania to replenish its full force. Mainly, almost totally, these requests were refused. The battles in which Pennsylvania Reserve fought sounds like a roll call of some of the major battles of the Civil War: Dranesville, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, Harrison's Landing, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Chantilly, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the invasion of Pennsylvania and Gettysburg, Mine Run, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court- house, North Anna, Bethesda Church. It is little wonder that when the Reserves entered upon Grant's campaign on May 1, 1864, the entire force of this famed division was 3,460 officers and men. One understands why the Pennsylvania Reserves was looked upon with pride by all counties, for it truly represented all of the state.

Another measure of Pennsylvania's contributions to the Civil War is to be found in the realm of hard statistics. At the opening of the Civil War there was no scarcity of men from which to create a formidable army in either defensive or offensive as far as Pennsylvania was concerned. The report of the adjutant-general of the state of Pennsylvania for January, 1861, estimates the number of men subject to service as being 350,000, although of the entire number only 19,000 men were members of organized companies; at this time there were 476 of these companies with an average membership of forty men.81

The total number of soldiers in the Union army according to Cazenove G. Lee was 2,778,304. However, such a figure is problematical, because of the wide variations of service, for in Pennsylvania the period of service was from three months to three years. Many instances were on record where whole regiments reenlisted; so that it would be possible for a three months soldier to re-enlist for nine months and then re-enlist for a year, thus counting as an enlistment of three men. The agreement as to the number of soldiers in the Union army is apt to be open to dis-

80 Pennsylvania Archives, 4th Series, VIII, 422; Egle, Life of Curtin, 270-278; Journal of the Senate, 1862, January 8, 1862, 102; McClure, Old Time Notes, I, 476; Davis op. cit., 181.
81 Adjutant General, Annual Report . . . for the year 1860 (Harrisburg, 1861), 56; Frank H. Taylor, op. cit., 16-17; lists the men subject to service as being 355,000.
pute. T. L. Livermore maintains that there were 2,898,304 enlistments in the Union army; Col. W. F. Fox holds that 2,000,000 people were actually in service in the Union army; other sources place the number at 2,400,000.82

Statistics on Pennsylvania's part in the Civil War, in summary of men participating, is an enviable one. The Keystone State contributed 254 Regiments, 95 companies, and 19 batteries to the Civil War; other sources place the number at 270 regiments and several unattached batteries.83 The breakdown of the number of Pennsylvania troops furnished during the rebellion may be given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>130,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>71,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>43,046</td>
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<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>91,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>25,840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aggregate of 362,284

This statement is exclusive of emergency militia and enlistments for the United States Army.84 A total summary of the troops furnished by the four leading states may be broken down into the following units.85


84 Ibid., 723; Samuel M. Evans, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in the War for the Suppression of the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (Pittsburgh, 1924), 606 lists the number of troops furnished by Pennsylvania as 297,197, not including emergency militia; McClure says 367,482 soldiers were furnished not including 87,000 for domestic defense.

85 Frederick Phisterer, Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States (New York, 1890), 10.
To understand the difficulty of estimating the number of Pennsylvanians contributed to the national armies it would be best to take a county as an illustration. Warren County is said to have contributed three thousand men to the Civil War, but this figure is an error for a number of reasons. First, each time a soldier re-enlisted he was counted as an additional man to the credit of his county. Second, the purchase of a substitute, the payment of commutation, or securing of rebel substitutes each counted as a man supplied by the county. One conclusion is possible, the number of men in actual service from various counties was less than the number accredited on paper to each county. Thus in a conservative estimate Warren County contributed probably less than two thousand men to the Civil War.

86 A point in proof of this statement is the overall picture of Federal conscription from 1863-1865. The provost general in summarizing the results of the Civil War draft stated that 86,724 escaped military service by paying commutation, leaving 168,649 actually drafted. The number of substitutes was 117,986, leaving 50,653 “whose personal service . . . was conscripted”; but of this number only 46,347 actually entered the ranks of the army. See J. G. Randall, *op cit.*, 411-412 footnote; O. R., Series 3, V. 720, 730 ff. In regards to Warren County it is rather interesting that President Lincoln permitted Federal agents to enlist soldiers from the rebel prisoners at Rock Island, Illinois, and part of the enlistment of these rebels was credited to Warren County!