

1994

"A handsomely improved place" : economic, social, and gender-role development in a backcountry town, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1750-1810

Judith A. Ridner
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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**“A handsomely improved place”: Economic, social, and
gender-role development in a backcountry town, Carlisle,
Pennsylvania, 1750–1810**

Ridner, Judith Anne, Ph.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1994

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"A HANDSOMELY IMPROVED PLACE":
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND GENDER-ROLE DEVELOPMENT
IN A BACKCOUNTRY TOWN, CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA,
1750-1810

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Judith Anne Ridner

1994

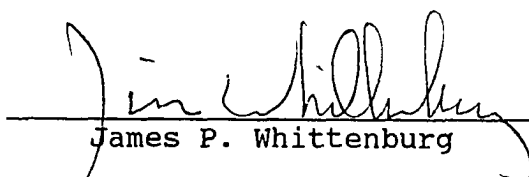
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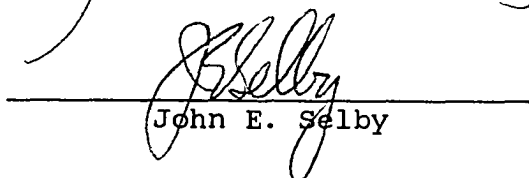
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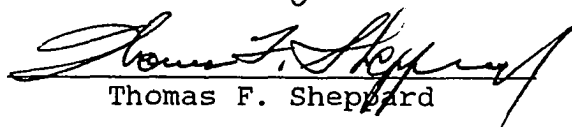
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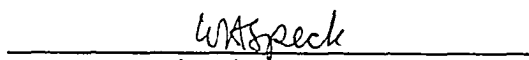

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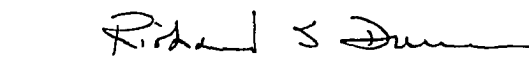

Richard S. Dunn
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like most dissertation writers, I have had a love-hate relationship with this long-term project. While the process of researching, writing, and conceptualizing my dissertation has brought many valuable intellectual rewards, challenges, and moments of euphoria that have pushed me to mature as a scholar as well as an individual, this process has also been punctuated by periods of intense frustration, anxiety, and stress.

Having finally reached the end of my career as a graduate student, I would like to thank those individuals who have been particularly instrumental in helping me to appreciate the good in my life and my work and overlook the bad. First and foremost among them is my husband, Tom Legg, who more than anyone else, gave me the encouragement and confidence I needed to exceed my own expectations and do the best work I could possibly do. Ready with comforting words as well as warnings to "get tough" when I needed it, he has always been by my side as a constant source of support and understanding.

Several other individuals have known me since I arrived in Williamsburg as a naive, but enthusiastic, twenty-two year old, ready to embark on what then was to be a finite year of study at the M.A. level. Among them is my advisor, James P. Whittenburg, who lured me into early American history and was instrumental in my decision to remain at William and Mary for the Ph.D.. Aside from being a truly great human being, he has been a wonderful advisor--forthcoming with advice and counsel when I needed it, but willing to let me go off by myself to get the job done. Also among these people is a friend from my M.A. year--Amy Kowalski--who has been an on-going source of companionship and entertainment. Although we both came to realize that there was no dissertation or thesis "fairy" as we had hoped, we weathered the personal traumas of getting our works completed and made few shopping expeditions every now and again to preserve our sanity.

Another group of colleagues at William and Mary has also been a ready source of advice, companionship, and commiseration over the many years we have all been together. They include: John Barrington, Suzanne Coffman, Chris Hendricks, Ann Smart-Martin, Julie Richter, Wade Shaffer, and Susan Wiard.

I would also like to thank Richard Dunn, Director of the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, for not only giving me the opportunity to spend a year in Philadelphia as a Dissertation Fellow at the Center, but also for giving some of his own time to serve as the outside reader for this work. My year in Philadelphia was professionally and personally rewarding, as I had the chance to get to know a truly wonderful group of people who I hope will be friends and colleagues for life. Special thanks must go to Rose Beiler, Donna Rilling, Anne Verplanck, and Jim Williams for sharing their wisdom, friendship, and gossip with me. They, along with my other colleagues at the Center--Wayne Bodle, Thane Bryant, Allen Guelzo, John Hart, Roderick McDonald, and John Majewski--deserve many thanks for not only the prodigious amount of historical information they offered, but also for the many entertaining lunches we all spent together.

The final completion of this project would not have been possible without the input, comments, and thoughts of many other scholars and colleagues. I wish to extend special thanks to the other members of my dissertation committee, John Selby, Thomas Sheppard, and William Speck, for taking time from their own busy schedules to read and comment upon my work. Parts of this work were presented at the Philadelphia Center Seminar, the Shenandoah Valley Regional Studies Seminar, and the Institute for Early American History and Culture Colloquium. I would like to thank all those who attended these seminars for their valuable insights and comments.

Since no project of this scope is completed without the assistance of many librarians and archivists, I want to thank the staffs at Dickinson College Archives, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and the Presbyterian Historical Society for their advice, help, and patience. I also wish to extend my personal thanks to the very friendly and helpful staff at the Cumberland County Historical Society, who allowed me virtually free rein in their manuscript collections for one summer. Thanks must go as well to the Society of the Cincinnati for part of the funding needed to complete this work.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Anne and Will Ridner, for their long-term support, both emotional and financial, through my years of graduate school. Although they did not always understand the full complexity of "my paper," they nonetheless consistently supported and encouraged my endeavors.

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ABSTRACT

As a social history of the town and people of Carlisle, Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1810, this dissertation traces the evolution of communal identity in the early American backcountry. By focusing on the growth and development of one urban community, this work details not only how and why one group of backcountry inhabitants took pride in their town's outward accomplishments and material prosperity, but also explains how Carlisle's evolutionary growth prompted the town's people to see themselves as key players in an economic and social universe that stretched far beyond the geographic boundaries of their localized realm.

Using state and county records, personal correspondence, business account books, and material evidence to delineate expanding networks of association on the local and regional levels, this study demonstrates that it was the combined expectations and aspirations generated by personal interactions and economic exchanges that governed how the men and women of Carlisle defined themselves and their roles within the rapidly changing worlds of colonial, revolutionary, and early national America.

In Carlisle, as in the rest of the American backcountry, communal identity was ultimately determined by the convergence of several competing, but nonetheless complementary, developmental forces. Carlisle's sense of itself was profoundly shaped by the independent and highly localized social, economic, and personal associations forged among the town's men and women in the private sphere of backcountry homes and in the public realm of frontier marketplaces. Carlisle's identity was also derived, however, from the town's gradual social, economic, and cultural integration into the metropolitan realms of the eastern port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

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INTRODUCTION

In his 1989 article, "Breaking Into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800," Gregory Nobles challenged historians "to redefine the nature--and the true significance--of the frontier in American history."¹ Suggesting that the historical study of the early American backcountry had been characterized by competing themes of independence--studies that emphasized the formation of a distinct backcountry culture, separate and often in conflict with the eastern frontcountry--and integration--works that underscored the increasing cultural, economic, and political affinity between regional elites--Nobles asserted that these themes had yet to be woven into a comprehensive account of the social processes of backcountry settlement and development.²

This dissertation, a study of the town and people of Carlisle, Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1810, attempts to meet Nobles's challenge. In order to assess how the competing

¹Gregory H. Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XVI, #4 (1989), 643 (hereafter cited as WMO).

²Ibid.

desires for independence and integration converged in the evolution of one backcountry town, this work examines how a community of individuals fashioned a collective identity for itself by means of the combined expectations, experiences, and interactions of its members on the local, regional, and national levels.

First and foremost, this dissertation focuses upon the development of Carlisle's communal identity on the micro-level. After all, at its essence, "identity" implies a sameness of being or a unity of character which would be most readily discernible in the microcosmic world of a town and its adjacent hinterlands. Indeed, in Carlisle, the town's collective notion of its own distinctiveness--or independence--evolved over time by means of the complex, but generally consistent set of personal, social, and economic interactions which transpired among local individuals. Communal self-definition was a theoretical construct the town's inhabitants crafted to reflect their common networks of alliance and friendship, as well as to express their shared aspirations and goals as a community.

In and around Carlisle, the networks of personal association that so influenced identity formation developed not only as direct responses to the dictates of particular spatial and temporal circumstances, but as reactions to the unique social, political, economic, and spiritual settings of the Pennsylvania backcountry. In the first decades of

the town's existence, when settlement in the Cumberland Valley was still sparse and warfare combined with a constant fear of Indian attack to forge an ad-hoc unity in the town, a diverse group of individuals and their families were drawn to the relative safety of Carlisle's urban environment to seek refuge from their perils. Later, as the frontier moved westward and as the town and its inhabitants matured, personal associations more often arose within the clearly delineated domains of home, church, courtroom, school, and marketplace. While in the private realm of love and marriage, men and women joined together to form intimate relationships that reflected not only their love of each other, but their shared notions of social order and gendered hierarchy as well, in the public setting of the town's churches, courtrooms, and schoolrooms, interactions among individuals of varying social and economic circumstances fostered the growth of a more overtly hierarchical and status-conscious society in the town.

It was in the local economic sphere, however, where much of Carlisle's identity as a backcountry community was fashioned. As the economic hub of its county, the town offered a host of both specialized and non-specialized services which bound the town's inhabitants to their rural-dwelling neighbors in the surrounding hinterlands. Because relationships among community members were often kindled by economic circumstances in the backcountry, the economy

provided a common ground of interaction. While networks of friendship and kinship were no doubt important in shaping local associations, residents of differing ethnic or social backgrounds often interacted with one another because the practical concerns of their business or trade dictated that they do so. The settings of market, mill, and shop--the semi-public spheres where the region's producers, processors, and retailers came together to form cooperative networks of exchange--fostered a collective interdependence which bred group affinity and encouraged communal solidarity in and around the town.

On the macro-level, this dissertation also examines how the people of Carlisle worked both directly and indirectly to integrate themselves into the dominant economic, social, and cultural systems of the eastern frontcountry. While the town's collective identity as a community was shaped by the range of personal contacts that developed among various local individuals, it was also profoundly affected by a variety of external cultural forces. Indeed, the combined coercive power of local group expectations coupled with long-standing social, economic, and personal affiliations with the eastern and western regions of the province configured Carlisle's interactions with the world beyond its borders and heightened the town's definition of self.

From the earliest decades of the town's existence, historical happenings converged with the sweeping social

aspirations and far-flung economic enterprises of many Carlisle residents to encourage interaction with other regional communities and promote the active assimilation of eastern cultural values within the town. External events like the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution propelled Carlisle and its residents into the fray of international political conflicts as soldiers or statesmen and fostered the local adoption of national political principles. At the same time, however, ambitious townspeople reached outward to forge their own social and economic alliances with contacts in the east and west. The desire to emulate the gentry of Philadelphia inspired Carlisle's elites to assert their elevated status through conscious displays of their material wealth and social power, while the founding of Dickinson College in 1783 brought the "civilizing" forces of frontcountry education to Carlisle. Yet it was a common craving for profitable trade, combined with an intense and widespread local yearning for manufactured consumer goods that pulled all members of the Carlisle community--both rich and poor--into a more expansive and regionally integrated cultural realm. Economic interests, perhaps more than any other factor, fostered unity between east and west by establishing networks of exchange expansive enough to permit the exchange of not only agricultural commodities and manufactured goods, but social and cultural values as well.

Although the competing themes of independence and integration run throughout the history of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Carlisle, these impulses cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomy because they so frequently converged to operate in unison. Ultimately, the account of Carlisle's founding, growth, and development is the story of how one backcountry community and its inhabitants came to identify themselves in relation to one another as well as to a rapidly evolving outside world. As Gregory Nobles reminded us in 1989, it was in communities like Carlisle where European immigrants--presented with new physical and social contexts--were given the unique opportunity "not only to recreate their culture but to reshape it" as well.³ As both a local center of socio-cultural transmission and as an urban site of social, political, and economic exchange, Carlisle was the location where a diversity of cultural values and practices converged to be diffused, adapted, and reshaped to suit the unique demands of the American backcountry.

³Ibid.

CHAPTER I
THE SETTING

"Pennsylvania is much the best country of any I have seen since I have been upon the continent" marvelled British Gen. Edward Braddock upon his arrival in the colony in 1755.¹ Braddock's expressions of awe and admiration were not unlike the optimistic sentiments articulated by many eighteenth-century immigrants to Pennsylvania. By the middle decades of the century, opinions regarding the colony of Pennsylvania had become enshrouded in an idealistic mythology of semi-reverence that elevated William Penn's "holy experiment" to the status of one of the "best poor man's countries" in all of British North America.² Indeed, to the throngs of western European arrivals who hungered for the taste of a better life, the colony of Pennsylvania seemed to possess all of those natural gifts deemed necessary for the achievement of an economically

¹Gen. Edward Braddock, September 23, 1755, "General Braddock's Campaign," William Johnston, ed., The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XI, #1 (1887), 93-97 (hereafter cited as PMHB).

²A phrase borrowed from William Moraley, The Infortunate, Susan Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds., (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1992), 89.

comfortable, if not wholly prosperous, lifestyle.

Captivated by the mystique of their new land, colonists marvelled at the colony's seemingly unlimited abundance of land, its preponderance of naturally productive soils, its generally favorable climate, and its wealth of untapped mineral resources.

Although the colony of Pennsylvania was populated by a considerable number of Englishmen by 1700, it was in the decades after 1717 that many German and Scotch-Irish individuals and their families made the initial voyage across the Atlantic Ocean to the mid-Atlantic port cities of Philadelphia and New Castle. In the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s, these new, non-English immigrants continued their westward journeys into the less densely populated and agriculturally promising regions of Pennsylvania's interior.³ To these migrants, the lush hardwood forests and fertile limestone fields of the colony's south-central Cumberland Valley were among the most visible physical indications that they had indeed reached the legendary land that Braddock termed America's "best country." In contrast to the crowded living conditions often found in western

³Scotch-Irish immigration to Pennsylvania began in 1717 and continued through the 1750s. In contrast, German immigration did not begin in earnest until the 1730s and peaked in the 1750s, see Mark Haberlein, "German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experience," WMQ, 3rd ser., L, #3 (1993), 555-574; Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania (New York, 1988), chapter 4.

Europe and the port cities of eastern America, the sparsely inhabited, but densely resourced interior of south-central Pennsylvania must have seemed like an earthly paradise.

European settlement in the Cumberland Valley remained sparse during the first half of the eighteenth century. Although those European traders and farmers who made their homes there had to share the local land and natural resources with the Algonquin-speaking Delaware and Shawnee Indians, the backcountry's white settlers nonetheless basked in what they perceived of as a seemingly endless, open topography of gently rolling green hills, lush vegetation, grass-covered fields, and densely mixed hardwood forests--all of which appeared to be free and ready for the taking. The fields, forests, and numerous streams of the Cumberland Valley teemed with enough wild game, fowl, and fish to supply both European and Indian inhabitants quite comfortably. White-tailed deer populated area woods in plentiful numbers, along with bears, wolves, wildcats, squirrels, and turkeys. The Susquehanna River and its numerous tributaries teemed with vast quantities of shad, as well as the otter and muskrat which were among the staples of the fur trade with the Indians.⁴ The forests of the Valley contained densely packed hardwood varieties of oak,

⁴History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Company, 1886), 32 (hereafter cited as Warner and Beers, Cumberland); Conway P. Wing, History of Cumberland County with Illustrations (Philadelphia, 1879), 10.

walnut, chestnut, hickory, and maple interspersed with beech, hemlock, and pine.⁵ The Cumberland Valley had not only the "good soil, good air and water, lots of high mountains, and lots of flat land" necessary to sustain human habitation, but more importantly, its fertile soils, on which "all kinds of grain flourish[ed]," offered settlers the hope of future economic abundance.⁶ Like Pennsylvania's most "healthy" southeastern corner, the geography, topography, and physical characteristics of the Cumberland Valley combined with the powerfully positive mystique of Pennsylvania to offer settlers a seemingly tangible promise of future economic growth, prosperity, and personal happiness. After all, the Valley was said to be "the finest country, as to scenery, fertility, and situation, in [what would become] the United States."⁷

* * * * *

⁵John Florin, The Advance of Frontier Settlement in Pennsylvania, 1638-1850: A Geographic Interpretation, Papers in Geography, #14 (State College, 1977), 27; Raymond E. Murphy and Marion Murphy, Pennsylvania: A Regional Geography (Harrisburg, 1937), 75-76; Sylvester K. Stevens, Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation (New York, 1964), 14.

⁶Gottlieb Mittelberger, circa 1750-1754, Journey to Pennsylvania, Oscar Handlin and John Clive, eds. and trans., (Cambridge, 1960), 43.

⁷Anne Newport Royall, 1827, The Black Book; or, A Continuation of Travels in the United States... 3 vols. (Washington, 1828-29), I:297.

Pennsylvania's Cumberland Valley forms one small segment of a remarkably continuous geographic feature of eastern North America known as the Great Valley. This formation, although not a true valley in geologic terms, is nonetheless a striking, naturally-formed topographic lowland of a regular 12-15 mile width. As one part of the larger Appalachian Mountain system, the Great Valley extends northward and eastward through the eastern United States from the present-day state of Alabama to New York's St. Lawrence River. In Pennsylvania, the Valley is generally divided into three distinct regional sections: the Lehigh Valley to the north, the Lebanon Valley in the center, and the Cumberland Valley to the south.

The Cumberland Valley extends southwestward from the Susquehanna River at Harrisburg (formerly Harris' Ferry), across south-central Pennsylvania, and through Maryland, until intersecting with the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia (Maps 1 and 2). This lowland, one portion of the geologically-termed "Newer Appalachian province," is tucked snugly between two mountain chains: South Mountain to the east--a part of the older Appalachians known as the Blue Ridge--and what is called North, Blue, or Kittatinny Mountain to the west--a feature of the Allegheny plateau.

Of greater influence on the course and pattern of early settlement in the region, however, were the Valley's two distinct geological or soil zones (Maps 3 and 4). In the

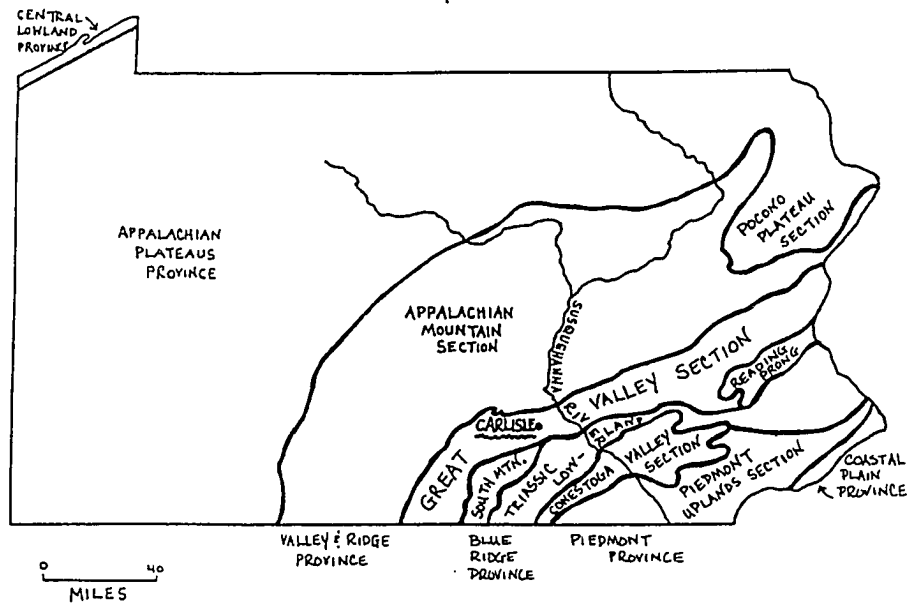
MAP 1

LANDFORMS OF THE NORTHERN COLONIES



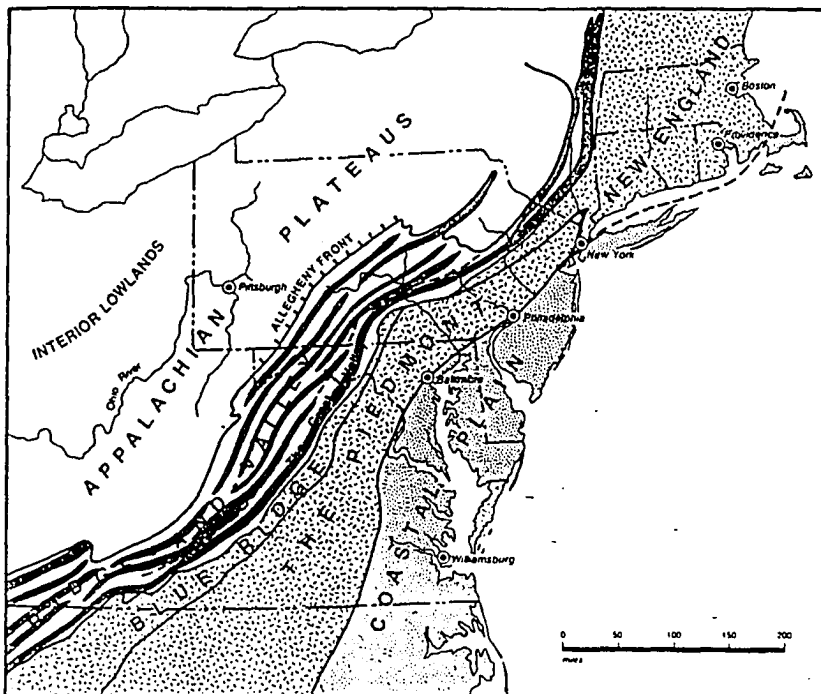
MAP 2

PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA







MAP 3

GEOLOGIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT OF THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC



Key

Bedrock Geology

-  Weak young Coastal Plain rocks, nearly flat-lying. Often sandy.
-  Crystalline igneous and metamorphic rocks along the main axis of the ancient Appalachians.
-  Sedimentary rocks, of varying resistance, crumpled and folded along the western flanks of the ancient Appalachians.
-  Nearly flat-lying sedimentary rocks, slightly warped, but otherwise untouched by Appalachian mountain-building.

*Includes small but important sections of sedimentary rock, interbedded with igneous rock.

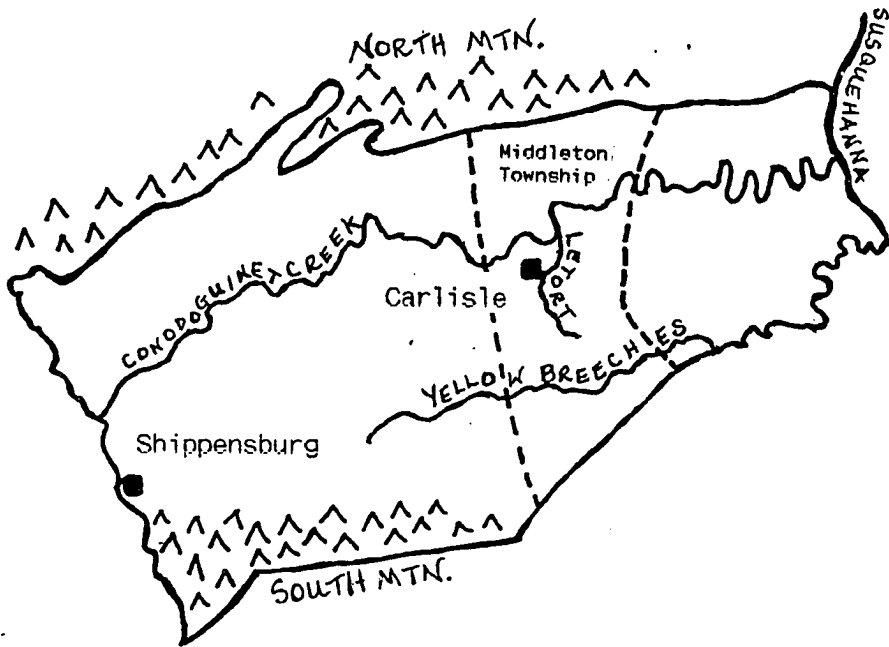
Landform Regions

Note that boundaries (heavy black lines) conform almost exactly to geologic boundaries.

- COASTAL PLAIN:** Very low relief, often poorly-drained, soils often sandy and quite infertile; glaciated from New York City northeastward.
- PIEDMONT:** Rolling, well-drained surface, soils range usually between good and excellent.
- BLUE RIDGE:** Low but rugged mountains; steep slopes; rocky, infertile soils.
- RIDGE-AND-VALLEY REGION:** Extremely long, linear ridges, aligned with linear valleys. Ridges commonly about 1,000 feet from foot to crest, rocky and infertile. Valley soils range from poor to excellent.
- APPALACHIAN PLATEAU:** Table-land, deeply dissected by streams, especially along eastern margin. Soils variable, but often sandy and infertile. Slopes often steep. Western margins grade imperceptibly into Interior Lowlands.

MAP 4

GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY



eighteenth century the northwestern half of the Valley--the area bordering North Mountain--was characterized by its less fertile bluish-black slate and shale soils and steeply-sloping topography of rolling hills and swift-flowing streams.⁸ Acknowledged by settlers of the time as the area "where the gravel soil begins, on which is found a fine growth of trees, interspersed with Pines and Locusts," the northern portion of the Valley contained less expensive lands of more marginal quality, which could be made productive only with more intensive farming efforts.⁹

In marked contrast, the distinctive bluish-gray limestone which swept across the Valley's southeastern floor, symbolized one of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania's finest and most productive agricultural regions. Indeed, this belt of rich limestone soils was probably equal in quality to the best lands found in Chester and Lancaster counties at the time. This well-watered area of gently sloping topography and generally low relief, where "limestone rocks everywhere protrude[d]," offered settlers the promise of fertile terrain for the production of such

⁸Thomas C. Cochran, Pennsylvania (New York, 1978), 12; Murphy and Murphy, Geography, 22-27, 257-259.

⁹Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, 1797, "Notes of Travel of William Henry, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, to Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum, in the early Summer of 1797," John W. Jordan, ed., PMHB, X, #2 (1886), 128.

profitable crops as wheat, corn, rye, oats, flaxseed, and hemp.¹⁰

In addition, the southeastern half of the Valley also possessed valuable rock and mineral deposits. Aside from the large quantities of limestone available for the construction of buildings and the making of mortar, nearby South Mountain offered even more potentially profitable natural riches. In contrast to the coarse, grey-red sandstone hills of North Mountain, the hard, silicious sandstone ridges of South Mountain contained rich metallic mineral deposits of hematite and iron ore. These valuable natural resources would serve as the future fuel for central Pennsylvania's highly lucrative iron manufacturing industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹¹ South Mountain's hills also contained ready quantities of attractive stone for the construction of town buildings and homes. Some decades later, in 1800, Carlisle stonecutter, Pat Cheveney, would brag about how "[h]e hath found a Quarry of Stones in the South Mountain, equal in quality to any Marble, and of different colours," which could be cut and carved by him into solemn tombstones or fanciful chimney pieces for his customers in Carlisle.¹²

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Murphy and Murphy, Geography 56, 258-262; Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 5-6; Wing, History, 10.

¹²The Carlisle Gazette, May 16, 1800.

Clearly, geological and topographical differences within the Valley were readily distinguished by most eighteenth-century settlers. It evidently took no more than a keen eye and a momentary glance for most settlers to identify the tangible topographic differences of the region. Even westward-bound travelers, such as the Moravian missionary Abraham Steiner, could quickly detect the obvious physical disparities in the land they saw before them. As Steiner perceptibly observed: "The ... surrounding countryside, especially in the direction of Yorktown and the Susquehanna, is rich and beautiful." He also noted that "[i]t is only towards the Blue [North] Mountains, which can be seen in the distance, that it [the land] is not so good."¹³ It was no surprise, therefore, that with its offerings of rich soils, abundant mineral resources, and ready supplies of stone, the southeastern half of the Cumberland Valley lured many settlers onto its potentially prosperous lands. Although these limestone lands were more costly to purchase or rent than those to the north, farm families undoubtedly recognized that they had a better chance of receiving a positive return on their financial investments and personal labors there.

Aside from its geological resources, however, the eastern Cumberland Valley was also distinguished by its

¹³Abraham Steiner, 1789, Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder, Paul A. Wallace, ed., (Pittsburgh, 1958, reprint 1985), 236.

three notable waterways--each of considerable size and historical significance (Map 4). First and foremost among the three stood the semi-navigable and always unpredictable Susquehanna River, which although said to be "a large, broad, and beautiful river," was "extremely dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the current, and innumerable small rocks that just make their appearance above the surface."¹⁴ The Susquehanna--flowing south from New York's Lake Otsego--cut through central Pennsylvania on its way to the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁵ In the earliest years of Pennsylvania's existence as a colony, the Susquehanna had been envisioned as a potentially lucrative transportation route from the rich fur trading lands of New York and Pennsylvania to the Atlantic commercial centers of the Bay. It was quickly discovered, however, that the Susquehanna was among "the least useful," of all area waterways "as it [wa]s not navigable above twelve or fifteen miles at the farthest, for ships of any burthen [sic], and above that scarcely so for canoes."¹⁶ While the river was passable during the spring freshets by arks or rafts, it was never navigable by larger craft or steamboats as many in Pennsylvania had first hoped. By the eighteenth century, the Susquehanna River

¹⁴Thomas Anburey, December 25, 1778, Travels Through the Interior Parts of America, 2 vols. (New York, 1923), II:273.

¹⁵Stevens, Pennsylvania, 11.

¹⁶Anburey, Travels, II:258.

was, at its best, regarded as a valuable source of water for the farms of central Pennsylvania. At its worst, however, the River was a troublesome physical barrier to the eastern regions of the colony and the metropolitan markets of Philadelphia.¹⁷ Eastward and westward-bound travellers "cross'd the Susquehanna [near Harris' Ferry] with considerable difficulty". The river was not only "a mile wide," but said to be "so shallow that the boat would scrape across the large stones so as almost to prevent it from proceeding."¹⁸

In contrast, the smaller Conodoguinet and Yellow Breeches Creeks were among the most valuable water systems of the eastern Cumberland Valley. The Conodoguinet--rising in present-day Franklin County--cut a sharply winding course through the middle of the upper Valley until reaching the Susquehanna. It was not only the Valley's largest stream, it also served as the dividing line between the region's slate and limestone soils.¹⁹ The smaller and more southerly Yellow Breeches, "a River one crosses ... remarkable for never swelling much, tho' there is ever so much rains," also rose in the south-west portion of the county and flowed into

¹⁷Stevens, Pennsylvania, 10, 12.

¹⁸Margaret Van Horn Dwight, 1810, A Journey to Ohio in 1810, Max Farrand, ed., (New Haven, 1912), 26.

¹⁹I. Daniel Rupp, "Cumberland County," in William H. Egle, ed., An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Civil, Political, and Military,... (Philadelphia, 1880), 613-614.

the Susquehanna.²⁰ Both of these waterways not only provided water for the irrigation of local farms, they also offered the power and energy needed to stimulate the growth of processing industries in the vicinity of the future town of Carlisle. Although both creeks were far smaller than the Susquehanna, they nonetheless contained enough rapidly-flowing water to power the many future mills, forges, and furnaces of the area.²¹ The Cumberland Valley also offered its settlers the added advantage of an ideal climate for the production of cereal crops.²² Since it was situated in America's mid-Atlantic region, the Cumberland Valley enjoyed relatively moderate temperatures. While the Valley's distance from the Atlantic coast and the prevailing westerly winds gave the area a rather humid continental climate, the 5-7 frost free months and average yearly rainfall of 27-38 inches, made the Valley a perfect location for the growth and development of a prosperous backcountry agricultural community.²³

²⁰Col. William Eyre, 1762, "Colonel Eyre's Journal of His Trip from New York to Pittsburgh, 1762," Frances R. Reece, ed., Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXVII, #1 & #2 (1944), 40 (hereafter cited as WPHM).

²¹Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 4; Wing, History, 8.

²²Stevens, Pennsylvania, 13.

²³Murphy and Murphy, Geography, 60, 63; Samuel T. Wiley, ed., Biographical and Portrait Cyclopedia of the Nineteenth Congressional District Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1897), 12.

To the newly-arrived German and Scotch-Irish immigrants who were unaccustomed to the wide temperature fluctuations and variable weather patterns of eastern America, "Pennsylvania" it seemed, "ha[d] a very changeable climate," which was not always very agreeable.²⁴ While in "the summer," it was said to be, "so hot and, ... airless, that one comes close to suffocation," the "wintertime [wa]s marked by frequent penetrating cold spells which come so suddenly that human beings as well as the cattle and the birds in the air are in danger of freezing to death."²⁵ Although the local climate certainly favored the production of grain, the variable weather conditions did not always sit well with the region's new settlers. For those inhabitants not long distanced from Europe, the Valley's weather was a source of constant complaint and frustration. Seasons were, as one well-known Carlisle resident later complained, "far from healthful," with "the Weather alternately cold and rainy these three Months past."²⁶

Ultimately, the physiography of the Cumberland Valley--its topographic contours and its geologic composition--had a profound impact upon the eighteenth-century settlement and

²⁴Mittelberger, Journey, 78.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Charles Nisbet, June 2, 1797, "Dr. Nisbet's Views of American Society," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, II, #3 (March 1898), 80, from a photocopy held by Dickinson College Archives, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (hereafter DCA).

development of central Pennsylvania. After all, while the region's favorable climate and abundance of open, fertile, and well-watered lands offered many newly-arrived German and Scotch-Irish immigrants the promise of future agricultural prosperity, the Valley's plentiful supply of mineral resources and ample water power sources virtually guaranteed that future processing and manufacturing enterprises would also flourish. The Valley's geography not only set the stage for the future evolution of the Pennsylvania backcountry, it also determined the economic and social contours of the soon-to-be town of Carlisle.

CHAPTER II

THE TOWN IS TO BE CALLED CARLISLE

The town of Carlisle was one of six county seats founded before the Revolution by the proprietary administration of John, Thomas, and Richard Penn.¹ Described by one historian as "a border town, a mere hamlet with log court house and jail," in its earliest years of existence, Carlisle had a somewhat slow, but nonetheless promising start.² "Located 140 miles from Philadelphia,"³ "about 50 miles from ye Town of Lancaster,"⁴ and 18 miles southwest of the growing town at Harris' Ferry, "on a route which leads over the mountains to the western regions, and

¹Joseph E. Illick, Colonial Pennsylvania: A History (New York, 1976), 174; Donna Bingham Munger, Pennsylvania Land Records: A History and Guide for Research (Wilmington, Delaware, 1991), 88-99. The list of these county seats in chronological order is as follows: York (York County), Reading (Berks), Carlisle, (Cumberland), Easton (Northampton), Bedford (Bedford), Sunbury (Northumberland).

²William Brewster, The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier (Philadelphia, 1954), 41.

³Michel-Guillaume St. Jean De Creveceour, Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York, Clarissa Spencer Bostlelmann, ed. and trans., 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1964), I:24.

⁴George Craig, 1751, "Letters of Rev. Richard Locke and Rev. George Craig, Missionaries in Pennsylvania of the 'Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts'," Benjamin Owen, ed., PMHB, XXXIV, #4 (1900), 477.

very near the Susquehanna,"⁵ the ideally situated frontier town of Carlisle with its "exceeding good Land and Meadows about it"⁶ at once gave an "impression of youth to the traveler."⁷ Although in 1751, the year of its founding, the lots of Carlisle's 16 square block radius were largely vacant and its population still fledgling, the "near fifty Houses built, and building" gave some tangible indication of the town's future role as one of the most socially prominent and economically significant urban places of backcountry Pennsylvania.⁸

At the time of its establishment, at least one provincial official optimistically advanced that "[i]f any" town of backcountry Pennsylvania "ever comes to be considerable, ... Carlisle stands the best chance."⁹ Over the course of the following sixty years, the auspicious predictions of Governor James Hamilton proved to be largely correct, as the town of Carlisle quickly came to serve as far more than just the local administrative hub of

⁵Creveceour, Journey, I:24.

⁶Gov. James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, November 29, 1751, Penn Family Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Penn Papers, HSP).

⁷Creveceour, Journey, I:24. See also I. Daniel Rupp, The History & Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties (Lancaster, 1846), 411.

⁸James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, November 29, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

⁹James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, April 17, 1753, *ibid.*

Cumberland County's political, judicial, and religious institutions. Because the town was so conveniently situated in the center of the vast natural corridor known as the Great Valley and because it was located along one of the major overland routes leading from Philadelphia to the west and to the south, Carlisle quickly became one of several key and highly symbolic terminus points on the long and difficult journey into America's western and southern interiors. In the eighteenth century, it was readily acknowledged that Carlisle would "allways [sic] be a great thorough fare to the back Countries, and the Depository of the Indian Trade," because it was there that the westward-bound traveler symbolically departed from the more "civilized" methods of transport by wagon or coach and embarked on a journey into the often uncertain wilderness of the Allegheny Mountains via packhorse.¹⁰

The story of the founding, planning, and establishment of the town of Carlisle is inseparable from the more general history of the eighteenth-century settlement, growth, and development of the Pennsylvania backcountry. One historian asserts that in Pennsylvania, as in the other British North American colonies, "the westward advance was in two stages--

¹⁰James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, April 17, 1753, *ibid*; Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "Carlisle to Pittsburgh: A Gateway to the West, 1750-1815," *WPHM*, 35, #3 (1952), 159-163; Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840 (Harrisburg, 1950), 245.

the hunting and trading frontier and the farming frontier."¹¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest European settlements in Cumberland Valley consisted largely of those traders and merchants lured into the region by the chance of profits from the lucrative fur trade with the Indians. The Cumberland Valley, after all, formed the southern portion of a far-reaching and highly profitable regional network of trade with the Indians which extended northwards along the Susquehanna River Valley into the neighboring colony of New York.¹² Published histories of the Valley contend that in the earliest years of the eighteenth century, a small number of independent traders crossed the Susquehanna River and established the first semi-permanent European presence in the Cumberland Valley. These early arrivals to what later would become Cumberland County were said to have been primarily French Huguenots. Among them was one James LeTort, the proprietor of a small Indian trading establishment in the immediate vicinity of

¹¹Fletcher, PA Agriculture, 60.

¹²Illick, Colonial PA, 109-110. According to Illick, the profitable fur trade of the southern Susquehanna River Valley was controlled largely by the Shawnee Indians--a tribe defeated and ruled by the Iroquois. Although trade with the Indians of the region had begun with the earliest European contacts, it was not until the 1720s that the Lower Susquehanna River Valley took on great economic importance to Pennsylvania and became a point of intense rivalry among the colonies of Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland. For more information about the early fur trade of the Susquehanna Valley, see Gary B. Nash, "The Quest for the Susquehanna Valley: New York, Pennsylvania, and the Seventeenth-Century Fur Trade," New York History, 48, #1 (1967), 3-40.

the future town of Carlisle along what later would be named Letort's Spring.¹³

Although trading outposts, not farmsteads, dotted the Cumberland Valley in the early part of the eighteenth century, more permanent agricultural settlements followed closely behind the establishment of this formal regional network of trade with the Indians. Gradually, after 1720, farmers and their families were drawn into the area by the tangible promise of agricultural prosperity that the lush and fertile lands of the Valley offered. By 1731, there were several hundred families--largely Scotch-Irish, but some Germans as well--settled in the Valley as squatters on land that was still not possessed in formal legal title by

¹³Robert G. Crist, The Land in Cumberland Called Lowther (Lemoyne, 1957), 7; Frederic A. Godcharles, Chronicles of Central Pennsylvania, 4 vols. (New York, 1944), I:61; George P. Donehoo, ed., A History of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, 1930), I:33. According to Donehoo, LeTort was granted a license to trade with the Indians in 1713, located to the area sometime between 1713-1719 and disappeared circa 1727 when he probably moved westward into the Ohio country with the Shawnee. Warner & Beers, Cumberland, 8, claim LeTort was of French-Swiss descent and cite him as the first European to have a formal dwelling in the future Cumberland County. Letort was one of six traders that the Shawnee "desire[d] may have a Licence to come & trade with us," in a note they presented to the provincial government on May 1, 1734. See Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1852), 1st ser., I:425. In "Quest for the Susquehanna," 17, Nash asserts that since 1685, Philadelphia's Quaker merchants had employed French agents to trade with the Indians on the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers. For information about James Letort's ancestors, see Evelyn A. Benson, "The LeTort Family: First Christian Family on the Conestoga," Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society, LXV (Spring 1961), 92-105.

the Proprietors of Pennsylvania.¹⁴ The Penn family unofficially sanctioned the establishment of these technically illegal settlements because they knew it was in "thy [economic and political] Interest to keep fooling on the west Side of Sasquehanah [sic]." ¹⁵ Thomas Penn and his provincial advisors shrewdly reasoned that only a western frontier inhabited by settlers loyal to Pennsylvania would give the Penn family the added leverage it needed to finally and successfully conclude its on-going border dispute with the colony of Maryland. Penn also hoped that the establishment of permanent European settlements in the Cumberland Valley would enhance the colony's negotiating strength with the Iroquois by undermining Indian authority in the region.

Penn and his advisors wisely recognized, however, that there would be a price to pay for the beneficial services being provided unwittingly by the settlers of the Valley. Provincial officials knew that "it will be Necessary by all Civill [sic] means to protect and Encourage those [settlers] who are brought into trouble by maintaining it."¹⁶ Thus in 1734, Penn expressly told the province's deputy surveyor,

¹⁴Wayland F. Dunaway, The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania (Chapel Hill, 1944), 60-61; Guy S. Klett, The Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania (Gettysburg, 1948), 7-8.

¹⁵Samuel Blunston to Thomas Penn, July 25, 1733, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

¹⁶Ibid.

Samuel Blunston, that "I desire thou wilt give Licences to the Persons settled on the other side [of the Susquehanna]." ¹⁷ With these words, Penn assumed full responsibility for those squatters already entrenched in backcountry Pennsylvania's south-central region and gave the official permission needed to authorize further settlement and survey west of the Susquehanna River. With the support and encouragement of the colony's Proprietor, settlement of the Valley continued. By 1735, the northern portion of the Cumberland Valley was divided into two sprawling townships for administrative purposes--with Pennsboro in the east and Hopewell in the west--both under the political and legal jurisdiction of neighboring Lancaster County. ¹⁸

While Penn and his officials actively promoted settlement of the Pennsylvania backcountry for their own political and economic advantage, it is ironic that they did

¹⁷Thomas Penn to Samuel Blunston, January 10, 1734, *ibid*; Alan Tully, William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726-1755 (Baltimore, 1977), 8, 11-12. Tully asserts that the Penns' intentionally promoted settlement in this area to draw the allegiance of settlers away from Maryland to the provincial interests of Pennsylvania. The Blunston licenses required no monetary payment and were offered with an implicit guarantee that they would be converted into regular titles when Penn obtained legal title to these lands from the Indians. For examples of how settlement in the backcountry was used as bargaining tool against the Iroquois see "Instructions to Wright and Blunstone," September 2, 1728, in Hazard ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., I:229-232.

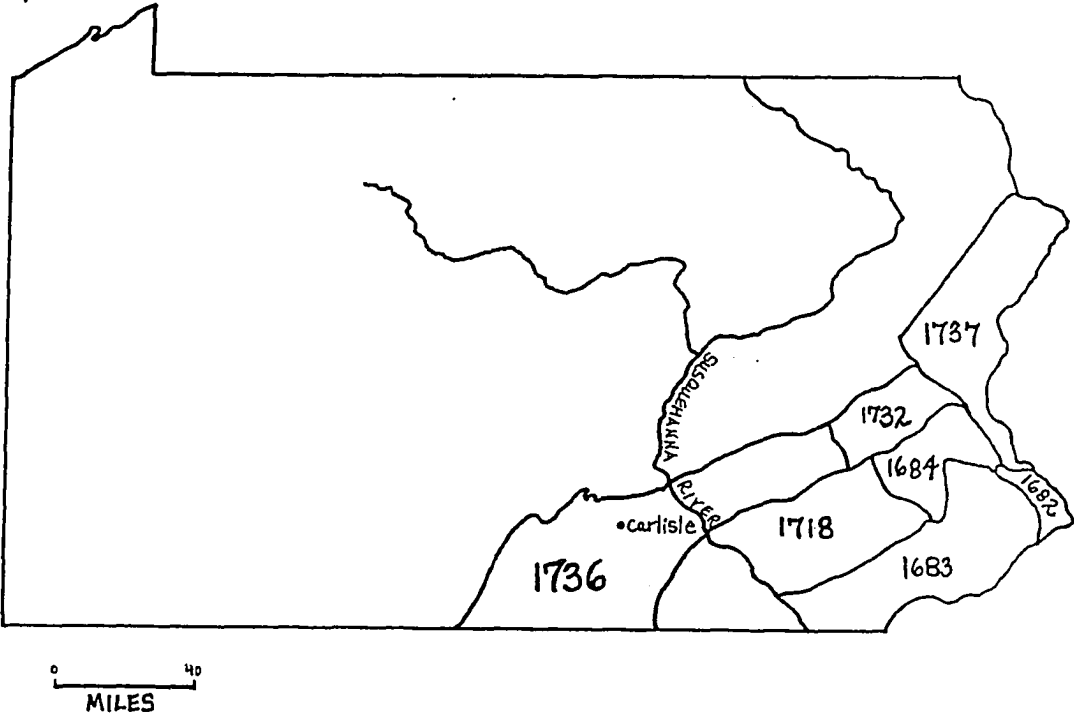
¹⁸Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 8-10. According to Donehoo, History, I:chapters 5-8, Samuel Blunston issued approximately 250 licenses for settlement on the west side of the Susquehanna.

so without the ownership of full legal title to these lands. Penn, after all, did not wrest formal ownership of the lands which included the Cumberland Valley from the Iroquois until October 11, 1736--fully two years after he gave Blunston the authorization to issue licenses. In an official meeting with twenty-three chiefs of the Five Nations, Thomas Penn, along with his advisors, Council President James Logan, and interpreter Conrad Weiser, exchanged a vast assortment of trade goods for the legal title to an estimated 2 million acres of land (approximately 41,000 square miles).¹⁹ This extensive purchase encompassed "all the said River Susquehannah, with the Lands lying on both sides thereof, to Extend Eastward as far as the heads of the Branches or Springs," but most important, included "all the lands lying on the west side of the said River to the setting of the sun," from the mouth of the river northward to the Blue

¹⁹Deed signed October 11, 1736 by 23 chiefs of Five Nations [Iroquois] in presence of 17 Pennsylvania gentlemen. In exchange for the title to their lands the Indians received: "500 pounds of powder, 600 pounds of Lead, 45 Guns, 60 Strowd water match Coats, 100 Blankets, 100 duffle match Coats, 200 yards of half-thick, 100 Shirts, 40 hatts, 40 pair of Shoes and Buckles, 40 pair of Stockings, 100 hatchets" plus an assortment of knives, kettles, houghs, needles, looking glasses, and "25 Gallons of Rum, 200 pounds of Tobacco, 1000 Pipes, and 24 dozen of Galtering..." see Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., I:494-497.

MAP 5

THE 1736 LAND PURCHASE



Mountains." Along with all the land were the "Ways, Waters, Watercourses, Woods, Underwoods, Timber and Trees, Mountains, Hills, Mines, Valleys, Minerals, Quarries, Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, Hereditaments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging" (Map 5).²⁰

Once Penn was in possession of the full legal title to these lands, settlement of the Cumberland Valley by European traders, merchants, farmers, artisans, and their families preceded at a rapid pace. By the late 1740s, the "great number of the inhabitants of the western part of Lancaster county," felt sufficiently isolated from the political and judicial center of their county to request a permanent respite from the many inconveniences under which they labored. These men and women, being tired of "how hard and difficult it is for the sober and quiet" inhabitants "to secure themselves against thefts and abuses frequently committed amongst them by idle dissolute persons" made a formal request to the provincial government for the creation

²⁰Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., I:495-497; Brewster, PA and NY Frontier, 13; Donehoo, History, 79; Crist, Lowther, 9; Rupp, History and Topography, 30-31. The 1736 Purchase was completed for several reasons. It was a move intended to gain formal control over the fur trade of the Susquehanna River Valley. It was also a direct attempt to extend and formalize the settlement frontier. Penn intended to use his deed to the region to prevent the invasion of settlers from Maryland as well as a bargaining tool in the on-going boundary dispute with the colony of Maryland. For more information see Alan Tully, Legacy.

of a new western county.²¹ On January 17, 1749/50, a bill entitled "An Act for Erecting Part of the Province of Pennsylvania, Westward of Sasquehannah and Northward and Westward of the County of York into a County" was presented to Governor James Hamilton. After being read twice and approved, it was returned to the Assembly for consideration.²² The political and judicial entity of Pennsylvania's sixth county, Cumberland, was created by a legislative act passed and signed into law by the Provincial Assembly on January 27, 1749/50.²³

Once the formal boundary lines were drawn, Cumberland County comprised a far-reaching geographic expanse which included all Pennsylvania territory lying west of the Susquehanna River and north and west of York County. While the county was clearly bounded on the north by the Blue Mountains, on the east by the Susquehanna River, and on the

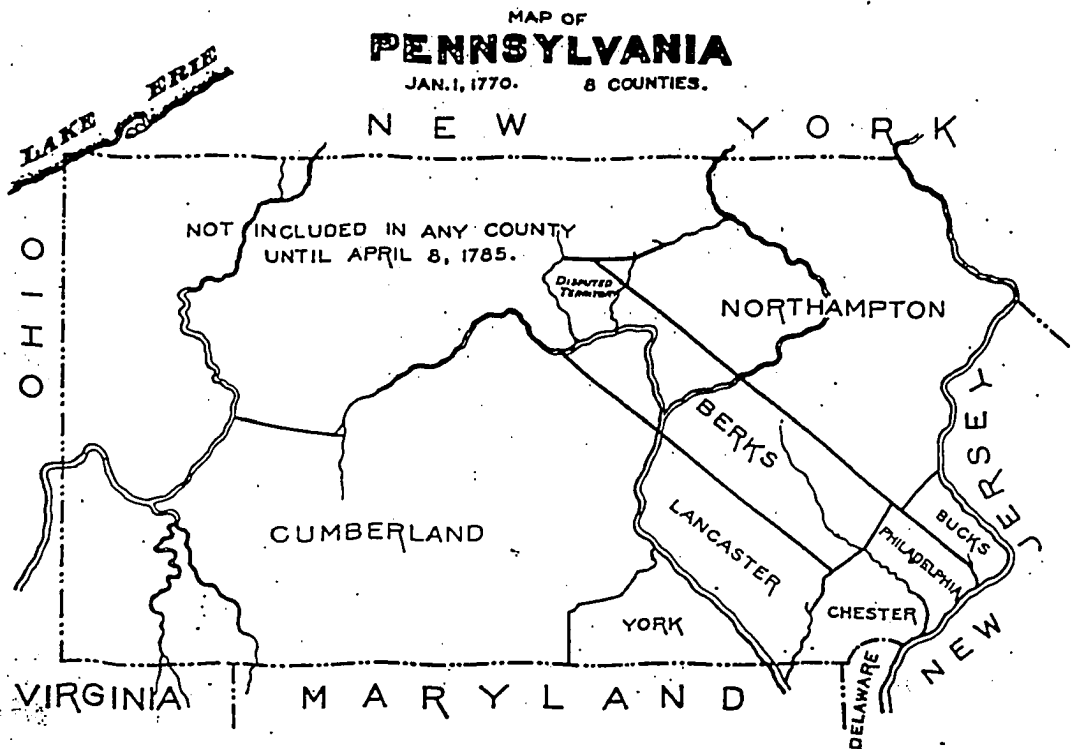
²¹James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, eds., The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801, 32 vols. (Harrisburg, 1896-1919), V:87-93. In 1749, there were 807 taxable residents of the future Cumberland County, see Samuel Hazard, ed., Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, 16 vols. (Philadelphia, 1828-1835), V:115.

²²Council meeting held at Philadelphia, January 17, 1749 in Samuel Hazard, ed., Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, 10 vols. (Harrisburg, 1851), V:426 (hereafter cited as Colonial Records).

²³Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, V:87-93; see also Donehoo, History I:259; Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 66. As Pennsylvania's sixth county, Cumberland fell in line behind Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester--all founded upon the formation of the colony in 1682, Lancaster--founded in 1729, and York--founded in 1749.

MAP 6

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, 1770



south by York County and the colony of Maryland, it extended westward for an indefinite span to the yet-undetermined line of the province. For the first two decades of its existence, Cumberland County was a truly immense territorial entity; it included all or part of what are now the counties of Bedford, Northumberland, Franklin, Mifflin, Juniata, and Perry (Maps 6 and 7).²⁴

While Cumberland County was little more than a vast wilderness, crucial administrative decisions were made at the provincial level regarding the selection and location of the county seat. Although the creation of counties was a responsibility held by the Assembly in Pennsylvania, the formation of many towns, and specifically the location and planning of county seats, was an important privilege retained by the Proprietors. In the mid-eighteenth century, the proprietary administration of Pennsylvania was managed almost exclusively by Thomas Penn--one of William's three sons from his second marriage to Hannah Callowhill and possessor of three-fourths of the proprietary rights after

²⁴Boundary was outlined in "An Act for Explaining and Ascertaining the Boundary Line Between the Counties of York and Cumberland, in the Province of Pennsylvania," passed February 9, 1750/51, Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, V:105-108. Also see: Donehoo, History, I:259; Godcharles, Chronicles, III:94; Mary Ann and Barbara Jean Shugart, History of the Courts of Cumberland County (Carlisle, 1971), 3. These boundaries remained for two decades. Gradually, after 1770, new counties were formed (Bedford 1771, Northumberland 1772, Franklin 1784, Mifflin, 1789, Perry 1820). By 1820, Cumberland had been trimmed down to its current boundaries--a much more reasonable and politically manageable size.

1746. During his tenure, Thomas was particularly active in planning and supervising the landed affairs of the colony. He, like his father William before him, had a clear vision of how settlement generally, and urban development specifically, should proceed in Pennsylvania--a vision that at once mingled utopian-like idealism with a shrewd economic awareness.²⁵ To Thomas Penn, the location of county seats was of vital consequence to the economic and political direction of the colony as a whole as well as to his personal economic interests as principal Proprietor.

Plans for what would become the town of Carlisle began in 1750, when Gov. James Hamilton directed Thomas Cookson, one of the province's deputy surveyors, to view the proposed county of Cumberland and to recommend an appropriate site for the county seat. Cookson complied with Hamilton's request and responded: "In Pursuance of your Directions, I have viewed several Places spoke of as commodious Situations for the Town in the County of Cumberland." In his letter to Hamilton, Cookson outlined several possible locations, but most heartily endorsed the "Situation ... on Le Torts Spring," explaining that "this place is convenient to the New Path to Alleghenny, ... being at the Distance of four miles from the Gap in the Kittochtinny [Kittatinny] Mountain." This location, however, was more than just

²⁵Lucy Simler, "The Township: The Community of the Rural Pennsylvanian," PMHB, CVI, #1 (1982), 47.

readily accessible to the west. Cookson also favored the Letort's Spring site because it possessed those essential natural qualities that he believed would insure a future of growth and prosperity for the town. As he explained to Hamilton, "[t]here is a fine Stream of Water and a Body of good Land on each side, from the Head [of the Spring] down to Conedogwainet [Conodoguinet] Creek."²⁶

Decisions regarding the location of county seats were serious matters in colonial Pennsylvania. As the political and judicial focal point of a county, the county seat was guaranteed a steady flow of local residents coming to do business in the county courts. To local traders, farmers, and land speculators who eagerly awaited commercial growth, designation as a county town often meant the difference between a future of prosperity or one of economic stagnation. In the mid-eighteenth century, the final placement of a county seat was determined only after the careful consideration of several key factors. A county seat was generally expected to occupy a relatively central and convenient location in its respective county. To foster the future growth and development of each county town and to prevent any unproductive competition among them, each town was also expected to be situated outside the immediate geographic range of Philadelphia (at least 55 miles away)

²⁶Thomas Cookson to Gov. James Hamilton, March 1, 1749-50, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:42-43.

and of each other (at least 24 miles apart). Finally, and most importantly to Proprietor Thomas Penn, the location of county seats was carefully calculated to foster a profitable trade relationship with the colony's most eminent city-- Philadelphia.²⁷

In the particular case of Cumberland County, it was clear from the time of its founding that "the Inhabitants of the different Parts of the County are generally partial from the Advantages that would arise from a County Town in their own neighbourhood."²⁸ Nor did these "Inhabitants" hesitate to express their locational preferences to the Proprietor; prompting a lengthy debate between county locals and Penn and his provincial representatives over the final location of the county seat. Few Cumberland County residents agreed with Thomas Cookson's endorsement of the site near Letort's Spring and made every effort to discredit his choice. According to one historian, Benjamin Chambers--founder of the settlement near the future town of Chambersburg--went so far as to assert that the Letort's Spring tract was regarded

²⁷Illick, Colonial PA, 174-175; James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, 1972), 132-134; Munger, Land Records, 88-89.

²⁸Thomas Cookson to James Hamilton, March 1, 1749-50, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:42. See also: R. Eugene Harper, "The Class Structure of Western Pennsylvania in the late Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1969), 169-170; R. Eugene Harper, "Town Development in Early Western Pennsylvania," WPHM, 71, #1 (1988), 15; Lemon, Best Poor, 132.

locally as a "sickly" site, because there were so many widows residing along its banks.²⁹ In the early spring of 1749/50, the "Inhabitants of the West Part of Cumberland County" formally expressed their fears about the proposed location of the county seat in a petition to Governor Hamilton. They contended "[t]hat if the county town [wa]s not some place near the Center of the County," that "it wo[ul]d have been much better for us ... to [have] continu[e]d in Lancaster County." After all, as the westernmost residents of Lancaster County, they "had very small taxes to pay[,] were not required to attend Courts ... and were but very little trubled [sic] with aney [sic] of the publick affears [sic] of the County." They complained that now, as residents of the new county, they would have "near as fare [sic] to travel to Courts as we had in Lancaster without aney hopes left us of its ever being better." Concerned that many of their frustrated neighbors were "in danger of leaveing [sic] and Joining themselves to the Provance of Maryland," these petitioners warned that they would be "much discouraged from improveing in the town and our part of the Countey [sic]," because any money spent at the county seat would be at "too great a distance to Circulate back to us again." As they reminded Hamilton,

²⁹William Thomas Swaim, "In 1751 was Carlisle a 'Sickly' Place?," typescript essay, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 4-6. One presumes that it was not the presence of women, but their status as widows, which imparted the area with its supposedly "sickly" reputation.

without a county seat that was accessible to all inhabitants of Cumberland, many westerners would "in great Measure loss [lose] the benefits of the Good Laws of the Provance[,], being as so great a distance from the place of Justice," that "very few will bring Criminals to Court." Thus, these men and women would miss out on "all the benefits ... the Assembly Intended Us by being Made a County."³⁰

While this petition expressed the widespread desire for a centrally located county seat, other Cumberland residents had more precise objectives. Many, in fact, touted the small and still fledgling town of Shippensburg as the most logical choice for the county seat. As Provincial Secretary Richard Peters gently reminded Thomas Penn, Edward Shippen, proprietor of Shippensburg, advocated the selection of his town because of its convenient central location. Shippen, Peters noted, was very willing to "exchange or sell you three hundred Acres of Land in that place," for the establishment of a county town.³¹ Shippensburg resident David Magaw expressed similar sentiments when he wrote to Peters explaining that "[t]he advantage to the Proprietors and the Inhabitants of the valey [sic] is the reason I give

³⁰"Petition from the Inhabitants of the West Part of Cumberland County" (Hopewell, Antrim, and [illegible] townships) to Governor James Hamilton, March 24, 1749/50, Penn Papers, Receipts for Beaver Skins for Tenure, etc., 1752-1780, HSP, XII:40

³¹Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 12, 1749/50, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

you the trouble of my thoughts of this being the most central place and properest Situation for the County town."³² Despite the formal protests and Shippen's most generous and self-interested offer, however, Shippensburg and the lands surrounding it were quickly dismissed by Penn and his advisors for their "[w]ant of Water."³³

Still other residents of the county favored the south-westerly settlement along Conegocheage Creek pioneered by the brothers Benjamin and Joseph Chambers (the future town of Chambersburg) as most the advantageous location for the county seat. This site too, was deemed by Penn to be "not so proper a Place," for purely practical economic reasons.³⁴ Penn and his advisors greatly feared the possible upset of the delicate balance of competition for the markets and products of the Indian trade in the region. As Penn reasoned it: "I cannot think it will be of any advantage to have the Town so near those ... to be Laid out by Mr Dulany [in Maryland] and my Lord Fairfax [along the Potomac]."³⁵

³²David Magaw to Richard Peters, February 1, 1749/50, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:39-40.

³³Thomas Cookson to Gov. James Hamilton, March 1, 1749/50, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:43. See also Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:310

³⁴Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, *ibid*, II:309.

³⁵Thomas Cookson to Gov. James Hamilton, March 1, 1749/50, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:43; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:309-310.

Thomas Cookson reiterated these worrisome sentiments when he so neatly concluded that if the Conegocheage Creek settlement were made Cumberland's county town, it would pose a real threat to Pennsylvania's lucrative Indian trade, as "it wou'd be no Advantage to our Philadelphia Merchants too [sic] have their seat of Trade too near that of their neighbours." This, after all, might "only give the People concern'd the Choice of two Markets, ... in which we cannot possibly be any Gainers."³⁶

By 1751, with the disputes largely put aside, the site of the county seat--"the Town ... to be called Carlisle"--had been finally chosen and surveyed by agents of the Proprietor.³⁷ In the end, Thomas Penn, in close consultation with Governor Hamilton, had "determined" after fairly considerable debate and some controversy "to place the Town somewhere on the Waters issuing from Letort's Spring into the River Conedoguinnet," as Thomas Cookson had first advised.³⁸ As Penn explained, after reviewing the drawings made by Cookson and the information provided by Peters: "We think Letort[']s Spring as well Situated for

³⁶Thomas Cookson to James Hamilton, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:43-44.

³⁷Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:309.

³⁸As quoted in D.W. Thompson, ed., Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County, (Carlisle, 1951), 18; Donehoo, History, I:437; Milton Embick Flower and Lenore Embick Flower, This is Carlisle: A History of a Pennsylvania Town, (Harrisburg, 1944), 3; Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 69.

the Town as any other place."³⁹ This location did indeed offer a seemingly ideal site for the town of Carlisle. It was set beautifully "on a plain," with the "blue hills to the north, and a range of mountains south."⁴⁰ More important, this site also had numerous practical advantages to recommend it. It was selected not only because of "[i]ts commodiousness to the great Road leading from Harris' Ferry to Patowmec [Potomac] and to other necessary Roads," but specifically "because it is the nearest Situation to the Centre of the County on the East side" that would "admit proper Supplys of good Water, Meadows, Pasture, Timber, Stone, Lime and other necessaries and conveniences for such a Town."⁴¹

³⁹Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, February 24, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:38.

⁴⁰Manasseh Cutler, August 3, 1788, "Journal of Rev. Manasseh Cutler of a Journey from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to the Muskingum, in 1788," William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins, eds., Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1888), I:401.

⁴¹Instruction to Nicholas Scull and Thomas Cookson, n.d., unsigned, Pennsylvania Land Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (hereafter PHMC), microfilm reel 5.117; Instruction to Lay out Carlisle, April 1, 1751 from Gov. James Hamilton to Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General, and Thomas Cookson, Esqrs, from "Old Returns of Manors, Cumberland and Other Counties," Carlisle Town Map Folder, #48-3, PHMC. Even after this decision was made there were protests from many in the county that took the form of an initial refusal to build a court house and prison in Carlisle. Ultimately, this matter was solved by the election of local officials who favored the town and the construction of public buildings, see Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, November 18, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

While Letort's Spring was considered "the most commodious place" for Cumberland's county seat, the selection of this site meant that Carlisle was situated on the far eastern edge of the county.⁴² Although this location seemingly violated Penn's desire for "centrally" located county towns, Carlisle was positioned quite purposely by the Proprietor to serve precise and well defined economic aims. Specifically, Penn and his agents hoped that this readily accessible eastern site would promote the evolution of friendly and profitable trade relationships with Penn's city of Philadelphia, while thwarting the development of any advantageous economic associations with Philadelphia's rival city of Baltimore.⁴³ In the end, it was explained that Letort's Spring was chosen as the final site for Carlisle, because "it answers best to the paths over the Blue Hills, to the two large Rivers of Conedoguinet and Yellow Breeches running in its neighborhood into the Susquehannah," but, more importantly, because it served the economic interests of both the colony and the

⁴²James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, September 24, 1750, *ibid.*

⁴³Illick, Colonial PA, 174-175; Lemon, Best Poor, 132-134; Munger, Land Records, 88-99. Lemon argues that the emphasis on an accessible eastern location for Carlisle ultimately helped to establish Chambersburg and Shippensburg as other important central places and transport centers in the more western and southern portions of the county. York Town, was also positioned on the eastern side of its county.

Proprietors by answering "to the Trade, both with the Indians and with the City of Philadelphia."⁴⁴

Once the final choice of locale was agreed upon, plans for Carlisle began in earnest. Penn issued specific instructions to his agents "to purchase two or three Plantations upon the spring for the seat of the Town;" lands amounting to some 1200 to 1300 acres.⁴⁵ Thomas Cookson again complied with these proprietary requests. As he later explained in an exhaustive letter to Penn: "I took a Ride to the Place, and bought Patrick Davison's & Willlliam Davison's Plantations, which are very good ones, and the most convenient for the centre of the Town. I then bought James Gilcore's" and later Peter Wilkie's.⁴⁶ Cookson's only dilemma was that all of the owners, apparently aware of their advantageous bargaining position, demanded "very high"

⁴⁴"Instruction to Lay out Carlisle," in "Old Returns of Manors, Cumberland and Other Counties," Carlisle Town Map Folder, #48-3, PHMC. See also Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:309.

⁴⁵Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, February 24, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:38; Thomas Cookson to Thomas Penn, June 8, 1752, in John Linn and William Egle, eds., PA Archives, 2nd ser., VII:256. Total acreage estimated by James Hamilton in letter to Thomas Penn, February 3, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP. By 1760, the amount had evidently increased, as it was remarked that "Five thousand Acres were also set down as proprietary appropriated Lands near the Town of Carlisle." See Richard Hockley and Richard Peters to James Hamilton, March 1, 1760, Penn Papers, Pennsylvania Land Grants, HSP, IX.

⁴⁶Thomas Cookson to Thomas Penn, June 8, 1752, Linn and Egle, eds, PA Archives, 2nd ser., VII:256-258.

prices for their lands. While Cookson "imagined you wou'd think them [the prices] very extravagant in that Part of the Country," unfortunately "cheaper I cou'd not get them."⁴⁷ These lands, he quickly assured Penn, "were purchased as speedily and as cheap as was in my Power," and done so, because both he and Governor Hamilton "thought it would be for your Interest to have those Lands even at the rates they insisted on rather than leave them in their Possessions" (Map 8).⁴⁸

With the necessary lands for the town finally acquired, Carlisle was formally surveyed according to the wishes and specific instructions of the Proprietor. Thomas Penn's plan for Carlisle followed the typical design of most colonial Pennsylvania towns. Town surveys in eighteenth-century

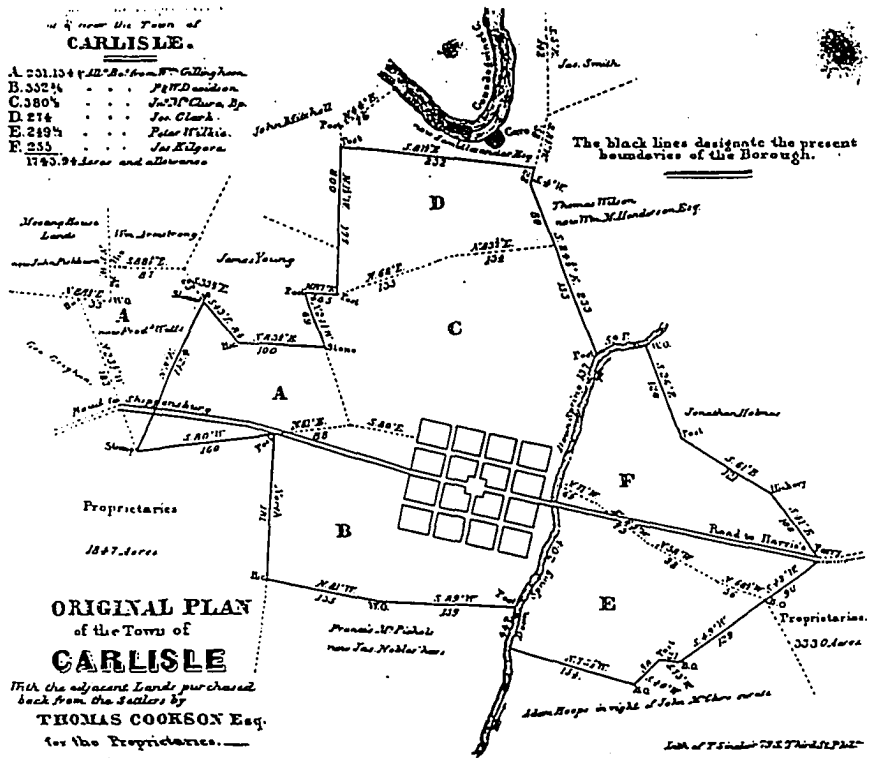
⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid. Clearly, Cookson was responding to the accusations of many in the provincial establishment, including Penn, that Cookson had not acted fast enough in making the necessary land purchases for Carlisle and, hence, had delayed the progress of the town. As Penn stated to Peters, "I think Mr Cookson should sooner have purchased the Lands, which he might have had eighteen months since, perhaps for two thirds of the money." Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, September 28, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:97.

MAP 8

ORIGINAL PLAN OF THE TOWN OF CARLISLE
WITH THE ADJACENT LANDS PURCHASED BACK FROM THE SETTLERS

THOMAS COOKSON



Pennsylvania varied little; Penn and his surveyors tended to mimic the geometrical shape, symmetrical pattern, and seemingly rational design of Philadelphia. Carlisle, like most other eighteenth-century county seats in Pennsylvania, followed a standard rectilinear plan characterized by its symmetrical gridiron pattern of parallel streets and alleys punctuated by a central square.⁴⁹ Although its design was in essence quite simple, historical geographer James Lemon asserts that its graceful symmetry and carefully measured regularity placed Carlisle, along with the towns of York, Reading, and Easton, among "the most elegant examples of Thomas Penn's planning."⁵⁰

According to historian John Reps, "[f]or the many towns [like Carlisle] that sprang up later during the westward march of urbanization, Philadelphia served as the model. The regular pattern of streets and one or more public squares were features that became widely imitated" (Map 9).⁵¹ Philadelphia, after all, was Pennsylvania's largest and most conspicuous urban place. It was also the first sizable colonial American city to be laid out on a gridiron

⁴⁹Flower and Flower, Carlisle, 3; Illick, Colonial PA, 174; Munger, Land Records, 88-99; Warner and Beers, Cumberland, 229.

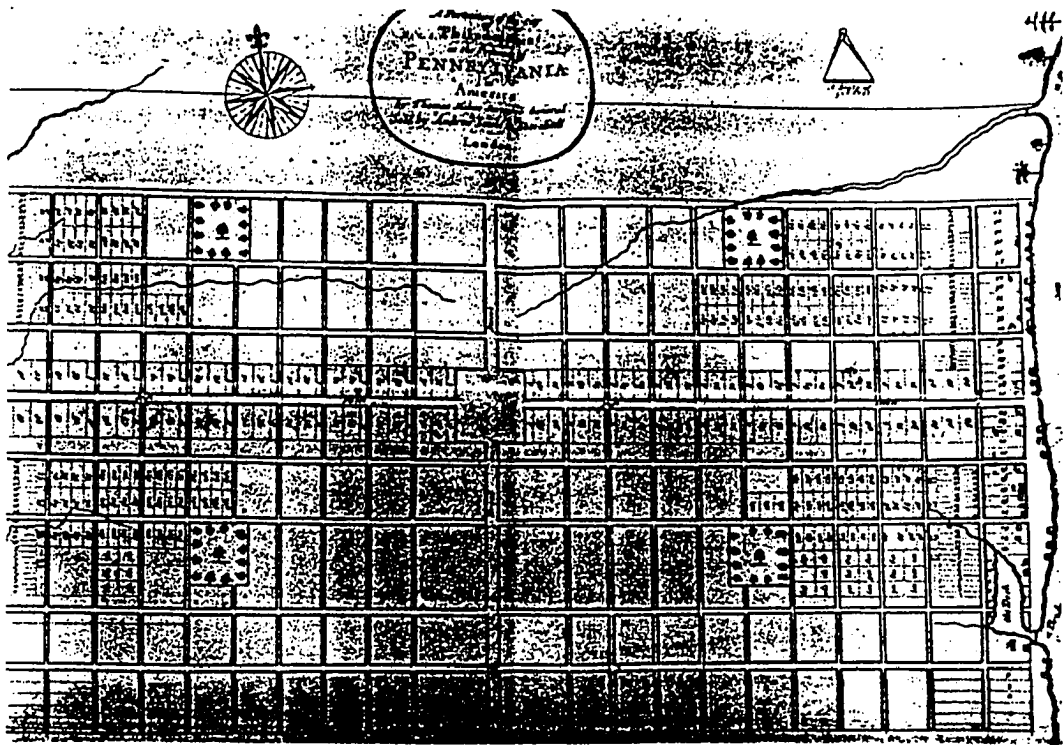
⁵⁰Lemon, Best Poor, 134.

⁵¹John W. Reps, Town Planning in Frontier America (Princeton, 1969), 222.

MAP 9

"A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia ..."

Thomas Holme



Source: The Charles Morton Smith Papers, HSP, II:123.

pattern. Meticulously planned by William Penn and his Surveyor General, Thomas Holme, Philadelphia contained a series of parallel streets that bisected each other at right angles. The city landscape featured one large central square with four smaller squares located near each of the city's four corners. As Pennsylvania's most eminent city and as the home of the colony's Proprietors, Philadelphia was the inspiration for a great era of rectangular town planning that began during the eighteenth century and carried on well into the nineteenth.

Carlisle's grid patterned streets with a single open square in the center of town, was the most common physical expression of the Philadelphia plan in the backcountry. Generally, as the Philadelphia pattern was gradually transferred to newly-established frontier towns like Carlisle, the design was scaled-down somewhat to accommodate the more limited physical demands of a smaller inland place.⁵² Unlike the more elaborate design strategy employed in the city of Philadelphia, Carlisle's grid plan was constructed around only three principal features. The town contained two rather striking 80 foot wide main streets, the north-south Hanover (York) and the east-west High (Main) that intersected with Carlisle's most visible physical focal point--its central square. From there, the "wide and well laid out" streets of Carlisle extended two blocks in each

⁵²Ibid., 210-213, 221-223, 426-427.

direction with the town bound respectively by North, South, East, and West Streets.⁵³

Philadelphia's geometric pattern was more, however, than just an easy and graceful design for Thomas Penn to copy. Rather, for those planned county towns like Carlisle that were designed and surveyed according to the specific instructions of the Penn family, the grid plan offered several distinct practical advantages which at once increased a town's potential for economic growth and boosted the likely profits to the Proprietors. The gridiron or checkerboard pattern, with its clean right angles and highly regular spaces, was relatively easy to survey, quick to build, and simple enough for even the most uneducated of persons to understand. It was the plan that would lead most quickly to the profitable subdivision, sale, and subsequent transfer of property in the backcountry.

Furthermore, in a region like Cumberland County, where population was expanding rapidly, the grid plan was also an extremely convenient and universal design which could be carried out virtually anywhere on the natural landscape. This plan took no account of topographical features. Rather, the grid was a pattern man imposed over nature--a wholly two-dimensional scheme that took no account of the

⁵³Theophile Cazenove, Cazenove Journal 1794: A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove Through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, ed., (Harrisburg, 1922), 56. See also Flower and Flower, Carlisle, 3-4; Rupp, History & Topography, 388.

elevation or the natural lay of the land and implicitly assumed that a given location was entirely flat.⁵⁴ The gridiron pattern was an exceedingly utilitarian design mechanism that could be employed effectively almost anywhere on the Pennsylvania landscape. To Thomas Penn, a proprietor particularly interested in maximizing his returns from the sale of land and the collection of quitrents while also fending off Maryland's claims to the southern end of his colony, the gridiron pattern ensured that frontier towns like Carlisle would be surveyed and established quickly and that settlement would proceed without delay.

The grid plan also encouraged the evolution of orderly and regularized urban communities in the backcountry at a period in the eighteenth century when most provincial officials visualized the western frontier as an open land characterized by its wild and tumultuous society. At a time when it was most sincerely believed that "[t]he County of Cumberland [was] in great Disorder" with "numbers in Defiance of Law ... gone or going over the Blue Hills," the standard rectangular plot of the grid pattern town was both the most convenient and most efficient method for eastern provincial elites to quickly impose a sense of order and

⁵⁴Emrys Jones, Towns & Cities (New York, 1966), 31-32; Blake McKelvey, The City in American History (New York, 1969), 40-41; Reys, Frontier, 426-427; Dan Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town," The Geographical Review (January 1946), 106.

authority over what they viewed as a course and chaotic land.⁵⁵

The planned physical layout of Carlisle had a deliberate precision and regularity about it. When the town was first surveyed and a plan drawn, it was said that the "Messrs. Penn" systematically, "divided the land in the city into lots"--312 of them in all--each one measuring "60 feet front by 240 feet deep"--"ten feet longer than those at York."⁵⁶ Penn also specifically instructed his agents that "in laying out the Town you will reserve every fourth or at least every fifth Lot [for the Proprietaries] as was ordered for the Town of Reading."⁵⁷ Although town lots were initially sold by "tickets" issued by the surveyor, Penn made it clear to his agents that Carlisle's town lots were to be distributed only in the most orderly and methodical fashion. He ordered that "[t]he Persons that settle in the Town are to have Patents for their Lands as soon as they begin to build and they may have two years time given them

⁵⁵Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, June 12, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

⁵⁶Cazenove, Journal, 56; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:309. See also Charles Gilber Beetem, Colonial Carlisle: Plans and Maps for the Design of its Public Square (Carlisle, 1959), 17; Munger, Land Records, 88-99. According to Penn, lots 60 foot in width would be "no doubt ... sufficient for any House." Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:308.

⁵⁷Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, February 24, 1750, *ibid.*

from the time of taking up to pay the Rent."⁵⁸ Ticket holders were under the express obligation to improve their properties by building some "substantial dwelling house" on them within 3 years.⁵⁹ All of these plans and regulations were purposely intended to foster the evolution of an organized urban community at Carlisle by promoting the structural growth of a town based on highly regularized grid plan.

Urban characteristics did not evolve spontaneously in Carlisle. Rather, they were the intended outgrowth of Penn's proprietary control over the development of his colony. In his design for the town, Penn made certain that well-defined, if implicit, assumptions about the course urban life would take root in Carlisle. The theoretical and spatial nature of the grid plan Penn chose for the town

⁵⁸Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, *ibid*, II:308. According to Munger, Land Records, 89, all of Pennsylvania's proprietary town lots were initially issued by "ticket"--a piece of paper specifying terms of sale--discharged by the surveyor on site. This application to build upon and improve the lot was replaced by a formal deed to the property when all terms of purchase were met by the holder.

⁵⁹This "substantial dwelling" was to be a minimum of 20 ft. by 20 ft. and have a chimney, see Beetem, Colonial Carlisle, 16; Flower and Flower, Carlisle, 4; Munger, Land Records, 88-99. These provisions carried on in Carlisle and evidently were applied to all vacant lots. Even in 1760, when John Armstrong granted Barnabas Hughes lot #112, it was on the express condition that "he build thereon a House of at Least twenty feet Square of Stone[,] Brick[,] or Frame work with a Stone or Brick Chimney Within one year from this present date." See John Armstrong's grant of land to Barnabas Hughs, March 15, 1760, John Armstrong Papers, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (hereafter CCHS).

negated all possibility of casual growth. Instead, it presumed that Carlisle would be characterized by a measured regularity of space with the uniformity of lots, buildings, and functions necessary to generate a distinct urban living environment noted for its spatial order, social harmony, and communal qualities. In the grid patterned town of Carlisle, where all lots except those on or surrounding the central square were similarly shaped rectangles--measuring a standard 60 by 240 feet--and where even the lots reserved for the Proprietaries were spaced at regular intervals from each other, political and social order would prevail. Unlike the backcountry towns of other, non-proprietary colonies, Carlisle's lots were neatly shaped and highly regularized. In Carlisle, townspeople would live and labor in a distinctly defined community that was both planned and carefully regulated by the power and authority of Penn's provincial establishment.

Carlisle's planned central square best exemplified Penn's quest for order in the backcountry. Located at the physical midpoint of the town and at the intersection of the town's two main streets, the square was the indisputable center of the town. It was also the physical feature of the town with which Thomas Penn was most concerned. As Penn originally instructed in May 1750, "the Center" of Carlisle, was to be "an inverted Square of about the size of the common ones," which would measure "six hundred by five

hundred feet with a Twenty feet [foot] Alley running in the middle of the five hundred feet." According to Penn, "the Court House may be in the middle of one side and the Gaol in any place near," and "there may be a Place I think in the Middle of the Center Square for a Market."⁶⁰

While Carlisle's square "was intended to be Like the Squares in Philadelphia"--a scaled-down copy of an already highly effective plan--it was to be located in a newly-founded town situated a considerable distance from the political and the cultural influence of Philadelphia. Carlisle's square therefore included some inherent originalities of design which were specifically intended to remedy the troublesome conditions of its seemingly lawless and chaotic frontier surroundings.⁶¹ The square was intended to be the spatial compliment to the geometric and symmetrical grid pattern of the Carlisle's streets. It was also, however, the most clearly identifiable physical symbol of order, hierarchy, and authority in the town.

Penn's original plan for Carlisle's square called for the construction of a market house, a court house, and a

⁶⁰Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, May 30, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, II:309. Penn's "inverted square" was not a figure with four sides of equal length, but a rectangle. It should be noted that to date, I have been unable to locate any map of Carlisle which corresponds to the outlines of the square Penn described in this letter.

⁶¹Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 29, 1751, *ibid*, III:78.

prison. His order for a central market house on the town's square was no surprise; it only highlighted his already manifest economic motives and reinforced his profit-minded intentions with regards to Carlisle specifically and the whole of the Pennsylvania backcountry generally. It was, however, the most conspicuous architectural presence of the public buildings of court and prison on the center square which most clearly symbolized the great emphasis Penn and his provincial advisors placed on orderly political and social progress in a backcountry district "where there is no Gaol and a Pack of Banditti over the Hills."⁶² Indeed, Penn and his Provincial Secretary, Richard Peters, shared the conviction that a situation of general disorder and lawlessness prevailed in Cumberland County--an area where Peters said the world's most "stubborn and perverse People" abounded."⁶³ The establishment of courts and jails--the public symbols of order, authority, and deference in colonial society--were one way these provincial officials sought to impose the structured community life necessary to

⁶²Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 16, 1752, *ibid.*

⁶³Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, June 12, 1752, *ibid.* To Peters, it was the Scotch-Irish who were most to blame for any disturbances. Governor Hamilton echoed such sentiments when he remarked, "I hope it will flourish under the management of the Irish, but the Dutch are the most laborious." See James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, November 29, 1751, *ibid.*

ensure the future growth and economic prosperity of Carlisle.⁶⁴

Due to several apparent misunderstandings and miscommunications during the planning of the town, however, Penn's "most beautiful and commodious" original design for Carlisle's center square was never fully implemented.⁶⁵ While "the Lots[,] Streets and Alleys are Laid out as I intended them," Penn was initially disturbed by what had been made of his careful plans for the center square.⁶⁶ The lots bordering the square were not fronting inward as he had called for. Penn explained that "the ends [of these lots] should have fronted the Square to run backwards, which would accomodate a far greater number of Houses." "Instead of returning the Plan," Penn remarked, "I enclose you one of the middle of the Town, in which there is an inverted Square of four hundred by three hundred and sixty feet." Penn explained to Hamilton that "in this I have taken every fourth [lot for the Proprietaries], and Laid the Alleys open to the Square;" leaving an unobstructed lane around this central feature. "[I]f the Ground for the Court House[,]

⁶⁴For a discussion of the symbolic importance of courthouses in colonial Virginia, see Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill, 1982), chapter 5.

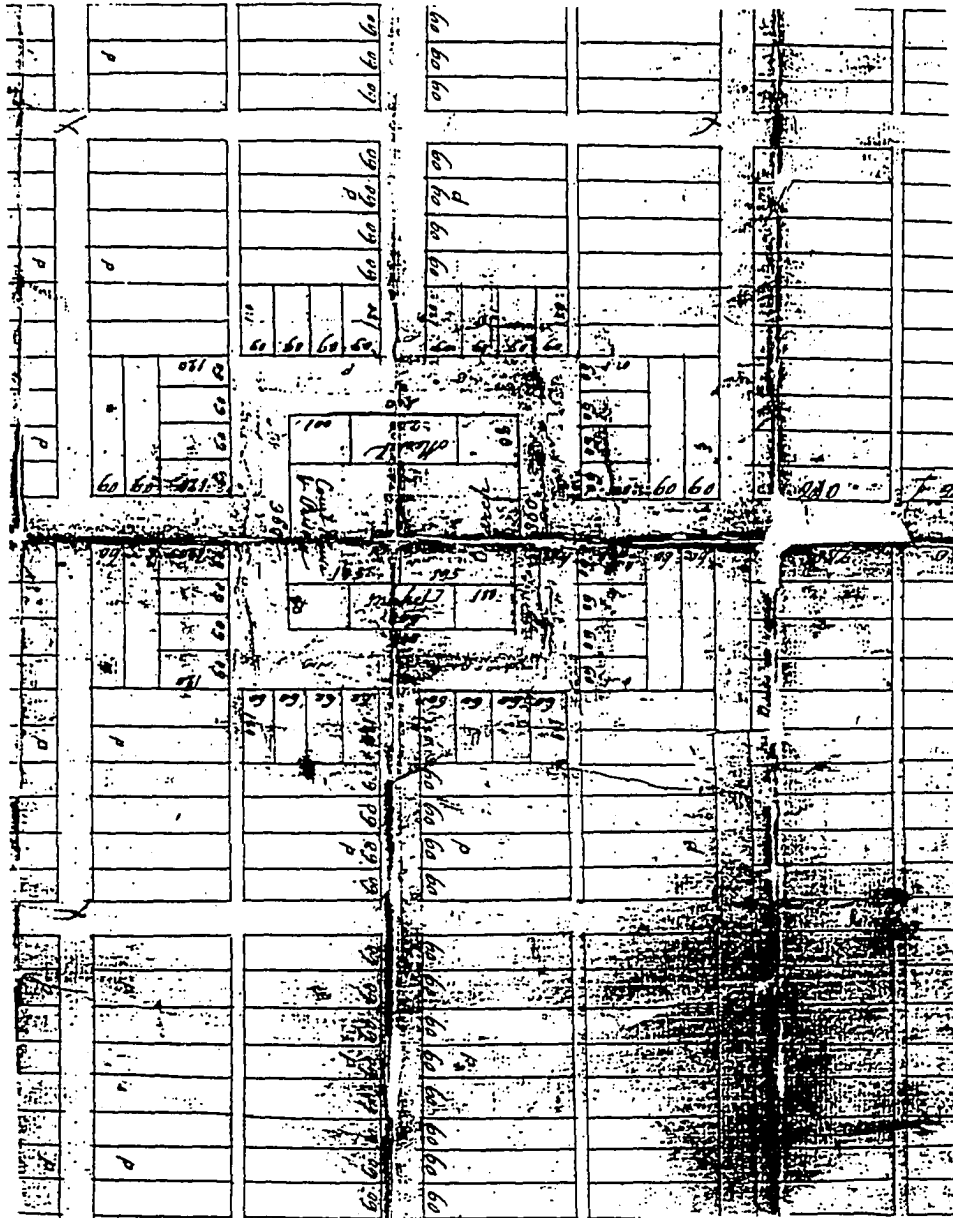
⁶⁵Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 16, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

⁶⁶Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 29, 1751, *ibid*, III:78.

MAP 10

"Plan of Carlisle Town"

n.d.

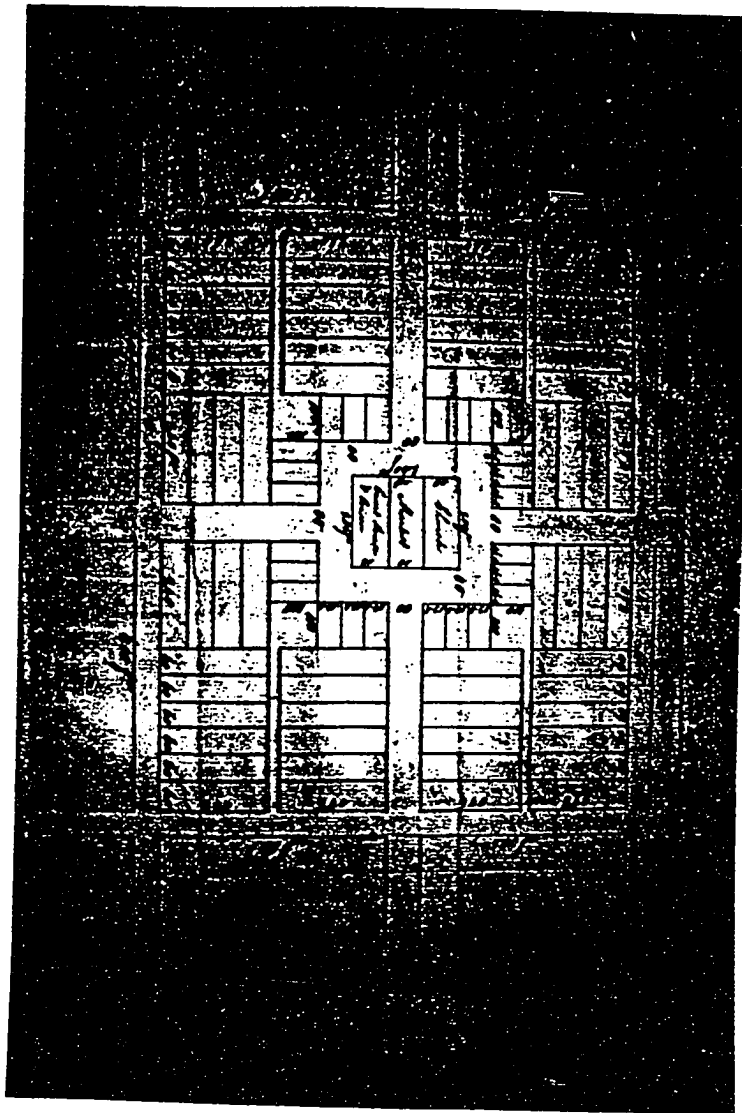


Source: Carlisle Town Map Folder, #48-3, Land Records, PHMC.

MAP 11

"Plan of the Town of Carlisle According to the New Design"

n.d.



Source: Penn Papers, Pennsylvania Land Grants, HSP.

Prison[,] Market[,] or Church is not large enough, the four corner Lots marked P may be added" (Map 10).⁶⁷

Clearly, over the course of a year, Penn's first ideas for Carlisle's square had changed. Instead of the twenty-foot alley through the center of the square as he had originally called for, an eighty-foot path or alleyway circumscribed the square and joined together each of the two halves of the main Hanover and High streets (Maps 10 and 11). While the court house, prison, and market maintained their physically prominent positions on the square, Penn had conspicuously reserved one side as the future site of the town's Anglican "Church" (Maps 10 and 11). Although space had been clearly designated as he first planned for the public architectural symbols of law, order, and commerce, Carlisle was the only proprietary town where Penn also provided such a prominent site for a church. Indeed, with the addition of the Anglican church lot, Penn had included a new and highly visible symbol of religious and spiritual authority in Carlisle's central plan which significantly refocused the order and hierarchy its prominent public buildings had heretofore embodied.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 29, 1751, *ibid*, III:78.

⁶⁸Merkel Landis, The "English Church" in Carlisle (Carlisle, 1949), 4-6. According to Landis, the inclusion of an Anglican church was not all that surprising, considering that Thomas Penn, Richard Penn, Thomas Cookson, and James Hamilton were all Anglicans.

After several pointed letters to his officials in the colony, Penn finally resigned himself to what had become of Carlisle's square. In March 1752, he wrote to Hamilton and exonerated him of any wrongdoing in the affair, stating that "[y]ou could not possibly have taken more care to follow my directions in the plan of the Town, tho' your endeavors did not succeed[,] your account of the Lands about the Town is very acceptable to us."⁶⁹ Several months later, Thomas Cookson issued his formal apologies to the Proprietor. "I am sorry," he wrote, that "we had not the Plan of the centre square in time. I think it a very beautiful one. But we could, none of us, hit upon it, and the Town having been long kept back, the Governor directed Mr. [Nicholas] Scull to form the Plan upon your letter, as near your design as he cou'd, which was done, and carried into execution."⁷⁰ The end result was a somewhat improvised version of Penn's plan. Although Carlisle's square remained the town's real and symbolic center, it was not the physically imposing feature Penn had envisioned. An unidentified and undated map of Carlisle's center square (apparently depicting the final design fixed on by the surveyors, Cookson and Scull) and a nineteenth-century copy of John Creigh's 1764 map of

⁶⁹Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, March 9, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:116.

⁷⁰Thomas Cookson to Thomas Penn, June 8, 1752, Linn and Egle, eds., PA Archives, 2nd ser., VII:257. For more about the evolution of Carlisle's town square, see Beetem, Colonial Carlisle, 6-8, 21; Landis, English Church, 4.

Carlisle, both show a square which deviated significantly from Penn's original drawings (Maps 12 and 13). Instead of Penn's wholly self-contained central square, the lots for the courthouse, markethouse, and church were placed on the square's four corners with proprietary lots surrounding.

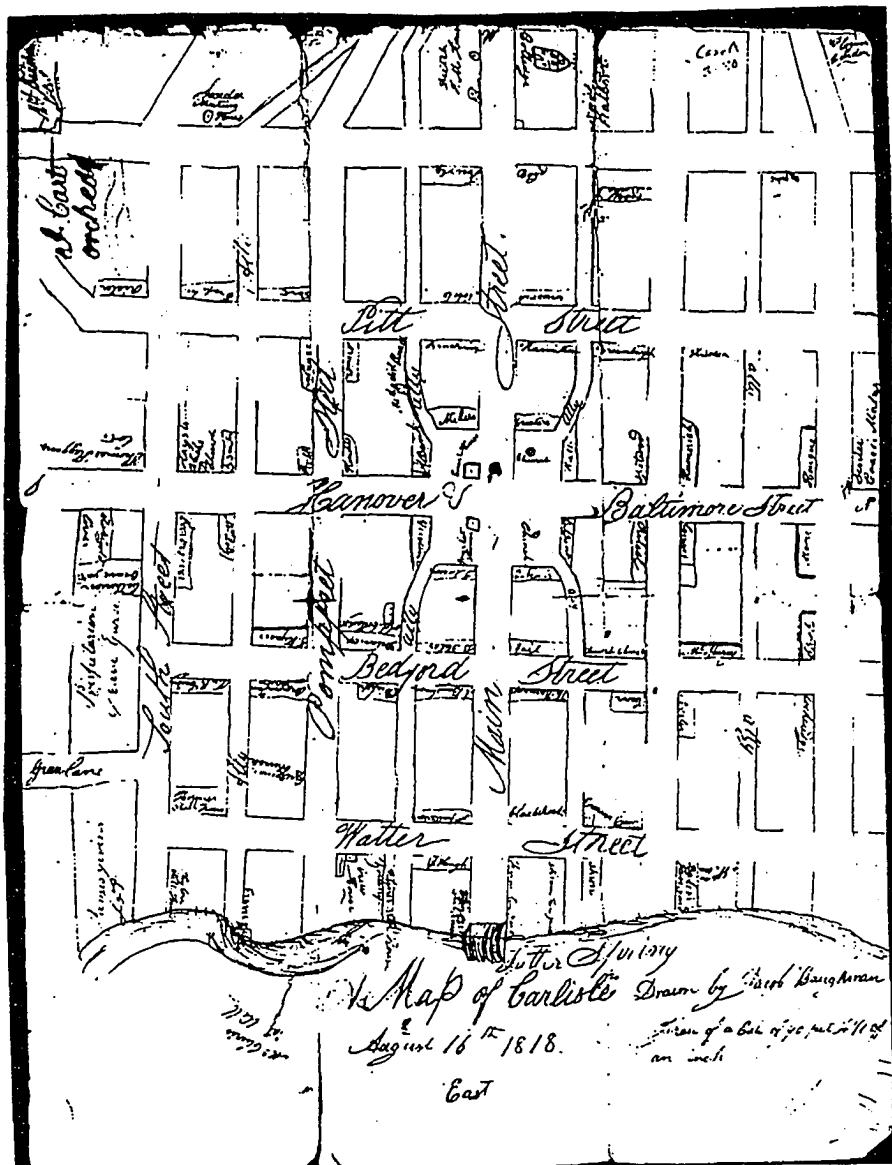
Over time, the pragmatic needs of residents prevailed over the spatial schemes of Penn's agents. As it evolved between 1752 and 1766, Carlisle's square was further reconfigured and its symbolic functions redefined as Hanover and High Streets were resurveyed to run directly through the square and intersect with each other at its center (Map 14).⁷¹ For town residents, these physical modifications provided more ready access to the public buildings of the square and made for easier transportation through the center of town. More important, however, these physical changes fragmented the square into four distinct quarters, dramatically altering the visual focus and spatial hierarchy of the town. No longer did Carlisle's two main streets dramatically end at the town's self-contained central square--the real and symbolic heart of the town's (and Cumberland County's) political, judicial, economic, and

⁷¹The September 17, 1766 patent awarded to the Trustees of "the Presbyterian Society in the said Town" of Carlisle, for the remaining lot of the center square, clearly demonstrates that by 1766 Carlisle's square had been divided into four separate quarters. As stated, the land awarded the Presbyterian church was "Rounded Northward and Westward by the Proprietaries Ground, Southward with High Street and Eastward with Hanover Street." See Returns of Survey for Patent, Carlisle, Land Records, PHMC, microfilm reel 5.117.

MAP 14

"Map of Carlisle"

Jacob Baughman
August 16, 1818



Source: CCHS.

religious institutions and the visual highlight of the town. Instead, the intersection of Carlisle's two main streets--the primary transportation routes through town--became the most conspicuous physical feature of Carlisle. The convergence point of these two roads moved into the spatial foreground of the town, while Carlisle's now-quartered central square with its highly symbolic political, judicial, and religious institutions moved metaphorically into the undifferentiated grid-patterned background of the town (Map 10).⁷²

While such alterations to Carlisle's square undermined the symbolic authority of Penn's provincial establishment, these changes also demonstrated the inherent physical flexibility of the grid plan. As the passage of time confirmed in Carlisle, the town's square could be modified to suit the needs of the local community without significantly reconfiguring the shape or scope of the town's basic grid plan. The grid pattern was a readily adaptable urban form that could be made to accommodate an infinite variety of physical circumstances. With its rectangular blocks, parallel streets, and neatly measured central square, the basic layout of the grid plan could be retained through an indefinite number of outward physical expansions. Unlike the medieval cities of Europe whose physical walls symbolized a more static concept of urban life and

⁷²Beetem, Colonial Carlisle, 6-8, 21.

constrained outward expansion, the grid-patterned town of Carlisle illustrated the more abstract concept of a boundless urban entity. The grid pattern could easily accommodate a small and fledgling backcountry population by concentrating settlement around the immediate environs of the town square and the two main streets, as Carlisle did during its first years. The grid plan could also meet the increased spatial and demographic demands of a more mature settlement by allowing for continuous external expansion.

The grid plan was the prototype for swift, orderly, and profitable urban settlement in the Pennsylvania backcountry. This design model was also the most tangible emblem of Thomas Penn's highly utilitarian and economically strategic attitudes towards urban planning. The grid pattern suited Penn's purposes. The very spatial nature and theoretical suppositions of the grid plan presumed a future of urban growth and expansion--much the way the Penn envisioned the future progress of his colony.⁷³

Penn had an unwavering faith in Carlisle's future and eagerly anticipated that the town would undergo the busied physical expansion and measurable population increases needed to generate hefty profits for himself and his

⁷³Sylvia Doughty Fries, The Urban Idea in Colonial America (Philadelphia, 1977), 27-28; Eric H. Monkkonen, America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780-1980 (Berkeley, 1988), 56; David J. Russo, Families and Communities: A New View of American History (Nashville, 1974), 27.

province. His reminder to Governor Hamilton, "do not Lay them [the outlots] out so near the Town as to render it probable they should be wanted for building upon," was an indication of Penn's obsessive concern over the future of his county town.⁷⁴ Indeed, from the beginning, Penn was intensely concerned about the fate of his lands both inside and outside Carlisle. When Nicholas Scull and Thomas Cookson surveyed the town, he forewarned them "to have a special regard to the Situation of the Proprietary Lands, so as that upon the Encrease [sic] of the Town, the Lots may all be within Lands belonging to the Proprietaries, and the Roads to the Town [should] pass thro' them in the most advantageous manner."⁷⁵ By September 1751, Penn was "well pleased to find [that] so much Land has been surveyed about the Town, which tho' not valuable in itsel[e] [sic], wil[l] become so by its situation if the Town encreases [sic]."⁷⁶

The on-going and meticulous planning for the survey and distribution of Carlisle's outlots was among the activities which best symbolized Penn's most considerable interest in Carlisle's future. Once Penn had acquired formal possession over all of the valuable pasture and agricultural lands

⁷⁴Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 13, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:142.

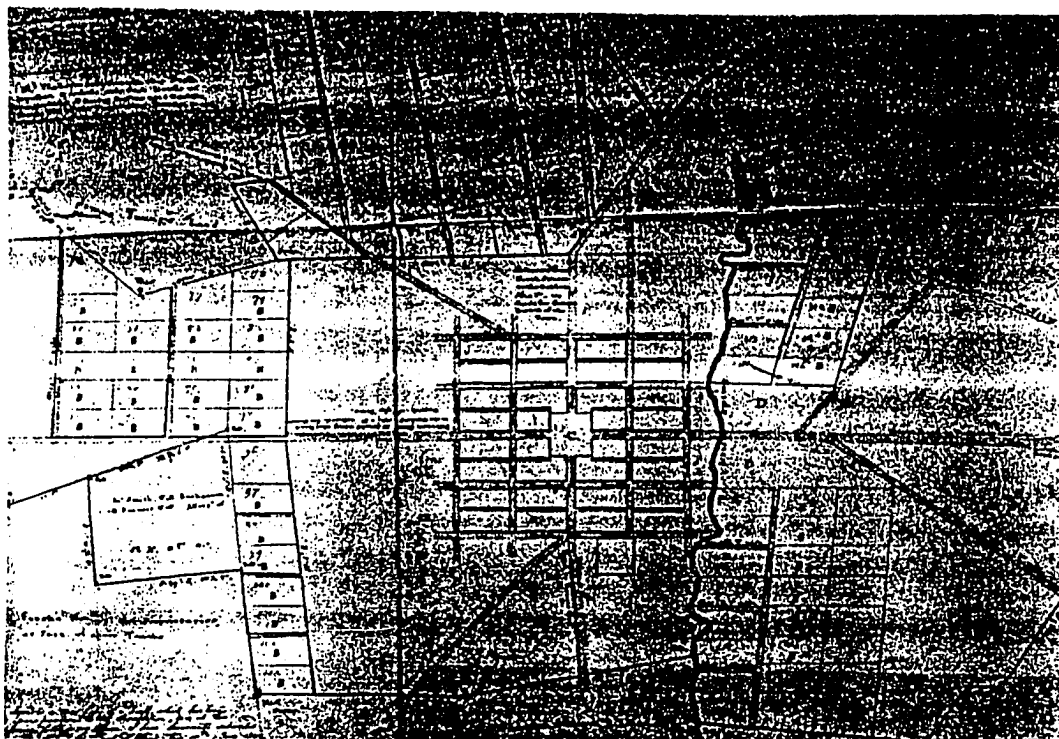
⁷⁵Instructions to Nicholas Scull and Thomas Cookson, n.d., unsigned, Land Records, PHMC, microfilm reel 5.117.

⁷⁶Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, September 28, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:97.

MAP 15

"Draft of Carlisle and Environs"

John Armstrong
1768



Source: This is a June 19, 1789 copy of Armstrong's original map. See Penn Papers, #38, HSP.

surrounding Carlisle, his proprietary agents swiftly surveyed and disposed of the out-lots on a grid pattern of rectangles much like the town (Map 15).⁷⁷ Penn was most concerned with these pasture lands on the town's outskirts and devoted a sizable segment of his correspondence to the question of their disposal. From the earliest stages of planning, Penn was most determined to retain formal control of these pasture lands. He questioned Hamilton, "whether you think it absolutely necessary to grant them," (in fee simple) and expressed his marked displeasure at such a prospect: "if any are to be granted I would not have them nearer than about half a mile of the Town."⁷⁸ Penn much preferred that these lands should be leased to the local residents for up to three lives, reasoning that "if some were granted on Lease, as they are wanted only for Pasture, it will be sufficient encouragement."⁷⁹ Although Penn most heartily wished to retain ownership, he ultimately allowed

⁷⁷Cazenove, Journal, 56; Harper, "Class Structure," 155. According to Harper, outlots (of varying sizes) were a typical feature of most Pennsylvania towns and served several important functions. They provided pasture land for livestock, offered room for future town expansion, and served as investment land for interested persons.

⁷⁸Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 29, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP, III:78-79; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, September 28, 1751, *ibid*, III:97.

⁷⁹Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, March 9, 1752, *ibid*, III:116.

Governor Hamilton to grant these lots to residents in parcels not to exceed five acres.⁸⁰

In his own mind, Penn had a clear vision of Carlisle's future. Much of his interest, however, stemmed from his anticipation of financial profit from the town's growth. Economic motives played a preeminent role in the debate over Carlisle's outlots. Penn wanted to "encourage" the rapid settlement of Carlisle by offering residents additional acreage for the pasturage of their livestock just outside of town on terms that would be "[l]ikely to be accepted," even though "it [was] necessary" for one "to move there with abundance of caution."⁸¹ With his own financial future foremost in his mind, Penn sought actively to discourage Carlisle residents from taking outlots on more beneficial fee simple terms. To accomplish this goal, Penn sought to retain formal control over those more conveniently situated and more desirable outlots closer to town, all the while knowing, as Richard Peters informed him, that "the Towns People will chuse [sic] to hold their City Lots and Out Lots by one Kind of Tenure," so "that when they want to sell they may be convey[e]d together."⁸²

⁸⁰Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 13, 1752, *ibid*, III:142.

⁸¹Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, July 29, 1751, *ibid*, III:78-79; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 16, 1752, *ibid*.

⁸²Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, March 16, 1752, *ibid*.

The history of the creation, formation, and evolution of the grid-patterned town of Carlisle represents the interplay of highly dynamic and wholly conscious forces. Grid patterned towns like Carlisle did not grow spontaneously. Rather, the physical plan of Carlisle was the tangible physical manifestation of a comprehensive and highly ordered scheme for urban living that was first conceived and then imposed on the backcountry by the cognizant human action of Pennsylvania's Proprietor, Thomas Penn. Unlike the more spatially haphazard urban settlements which resulted from the natural concentration of people at a particularly advantageous geographical, economic, or social location, the highly uniform spatial arrangement of living and working spaces incorporated into the plan for Carlisle was conceived of as an organic whole long before the town was first established. In the end, according to one scholar of town planning, "some form of centralized control, political, religious, or military, is certainly indicated for all known grid-pattern towns."⁸³ In the specific case of Carlisle, that "centralized control" took the form of an active proprietor who eagerly awaited the hefty financial profits to be reaped from the rent and sale of Carlisle property.

⁸³Monkkonen, Urban, 3; see also Arthur E. Smailes, The Geography of Towns (New York, 1953), 103-104, 106; Stanislawski, "Grid-Pattern," 108.

CHAPTER III

SHALL THE TOWN BE PEACEABLE AND FLOURISH?: WAR AND SOCIETY IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In the early 1750s, it was the most sincere "hope" of Proprietor Thomas Penn and his provincial officials that with the passage of time, "the County" of Cumberland "w[ould] become peaceable and the Town" of Carlisle would "flourish."¹ In the minds of these eighteenth-century political leaders, war was negatively associated with persistent social turmoil and economic disruption, while peace, they believed, would enhance the development of all of the communal virtues they so admired: political order, social harmony, physical growth, and, the most-coveted of all--economic prosperity.

The optimistic wishes of Pennsylvania's leading men would not be fulfilled, however, as imperial wars, revolution, and armed insurrections played fundamental roles in the eighteenth-century history of the Cumberland Valley. First the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's Rebellion and, later, the American Revolution and the Whiskey Rebellion, combined to make armed conflict a virtual way of life for

¹Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, November 18, 1752, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, HSP.

more than four decades in Pennsylvania's central and western backcountries.

It is ironic, then, that Carlisle and its hinterland expanded, diversified, and even "flourished" much the way Proprietor Penn had originally intended in the midst of nearly-continuous warfare. War, it appeared, was not always as socially tumultuous and economically disruptive on the local level as Penn and his advisors had presumed. In the case of Carlisle, the two major armed conflicts of the late eighteenth century, the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution, actually acted as catalysts of the town's growth and development.²

In a town characterized by high rates of demographic transiency throughout the eighteenth century, it was during war-time that Carlisle's population demonstrated its highest measures of persistence. While warfare caused intense dislocation on Pennsylvania's rural frontier, it also fostered population growth in Carlisle in both the short and the long term (Tables 1 and 2). Warfare at once discouraged outward migration from the town by temporarily undermining the appeal of Pennsylvania's landed frontier, while it simultaneously accelerated population growth; as rural

²After all, John Shy in A People Numerous and Armed (New York, 1976), defines war "not as a set of military operations, ... but as a recurrent activity, always intense, sometimes traumatic, which closely touches national identity," or, in the case of Carlisle--local identity.

TABLE 1

POPULATION GROWTH IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1753-1808

Time Span	Beginning Population	Ending Population	Number Increase	Percent Increase
1753-1764	105	182	77	73.3%
1768-1779	148	222	74	50.0%
1782-1795	222	265	43	19.4%
1795-1808	265	383	118	44.5%

Source: Cumberland County Tax Rates, CCHS. Population calculations based upon taxable heads of households only. Figures do not include those individuals labelled "freemen." Freemen were generally tradesmen who had recently completed their apprenticeships. They were not taxed on property, but paid only a flat rate tax. For a more comprehensive description of tax lists in Pennsylvania, see George W. Franz, Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry (New York, 1989), 14-16; James Lemon and Gary Nash, "The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century America: A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693-1802," Journal of Social History (1968), 1-24.

TABLE 2

LONG-TERM PERSISTENCE IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1753-1808

Time Span	Starting Populatn	Ending Populatn	# Persist	% Persist	% Depart
1753-1764	105	182	46	43.8%	56.2%
1768-1779	148	222	61	41.2%	58.8%
1782-1795	222	265	74	33.3%	66.7%
1795-1808	265	383	113	42.6%	57.4%

Source: Cumberland County Tax Rates, CCHS. Lists were selected on the basis of available documents, hence the time spans between them are only roughly comparable. Calculations are based on direct comparison of individuals names on the lists. These figures do not take account of the natural departure of people due to death, nor do they account for the many family groups who remained in town over the long term. Thus, these statistics represent Carlisle's absolutely lowest rates of persistence.

refugees fleeing Indian attacks and military personnel engaged in defensive operations flocked to the town.

Furthermore, these temporary, war-induced concentrations of population fostered a commercial dynamism in Carlisle which ultimately accelerated the town's long-term economic growth and development. Despite the widespread financial crises precipitated by each conflict, Carlisle weathered each well because it served as a backcountry hub of productive and commercial activities. During both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution, town residents mobilized local resources for war, crafted tools and arms, manufactured war-related supplies, and served as cooks, hosts, hostesses, and landlords to refugees and soldiers alike. Ultimately, these war-time functions helped the town diversify, grow, and prosper in the long term.

Warfare also brought an unanticipated regional prominence to Carlisle as war-related services and activities--not peaceable development--made the town a place of real importance in the backcountry. During both wars, Carlisle's most convenient and highly advantageous geographical location in the midst of a natural corridor west of the Susquehanna River, its accessibility to roads and waterways, as well as its fertile and productive hinterlands, made the town a natural site for a military rendezvous and supply center. As such, Carlisle

increasingly attracted people to its borders, while its military support and supply functions fostered the economic growth and social diversity needed to set the stage for the town's future urban development.

While warfare did generate considerable social disorder in the short term, it nonetheless acted as a largely progressive economic force in the long term. Ultimately, it was not the peace and tranquility imagined by Penn, but the complex and multiple effects of war, which fostered the population growth and economic development necessary to make Carlisle one of the premiere urban focal points of backcountry Pennsylvania by the end of the eighteenth century.

* * * * *

For Carlisle, the Seven Years' War took place at a critical juncture in the early stages of its urban maturation. Focused upon an intense and long-standing struggle between the British and the French for control over the lands and waterways of the Ohio River Valley, the war had a dramatic impact upon the course and direction of settlement in the neighboring and newly-settled backcountry county of Cumberland.

Indian attacks as far eastward as the Susquehanna River Valley gave rise to serious concerns about the continued

survival of central and western Pennsylvania's rural settlements. Gov. Robert Hunter Morris was not alone when he expressed his fear in 1756 that the fledgling "[c]ounties of York and Cumberland w[ould] be entirely Evacuated, and the River Sasquehannah" would certainly "become the frontier on that side" if the conflicts in the west were not held in check by British and colonial military forces.³ By all accounts, the situation in Cumberland County was desperate in the 1750s. It was widely reported in the east that "the People of the Frontier Counties" beyond the Susquehanna, were so "[d]istressed by the Cruel Ravages of the Indians," that they have already "lost Great numbers of their fighting men," and were quickly "being drove from their Habitations into the interior Parts of the Province," abandoning large sections of Pennsylvania's interior for the safety of the more densely populated east.⁴ Perhaps most distressing to those Philadelphia elites following the progress of the war to their west was the alarming report that in the backcountry towns of Carlisle and York, could be "seen Men[,] Women[,] and Children who had Lately Lived in great

³Message of Gov. Robert Hunter Morris to House, May 11, 1756, Colonial Records, VII:121.

⁴Ibid.

affluence and plenty," much like themselves, "reduced to the most extreme poverty and distress."⁵

Easterners, however, were not alone in their belief that Pennsylvania's western frontier was in danger of being reclaimed by the Indians. The rural dwellers of Cumberland County were also acutely aware of their tenuous circumstances. In their 1756 petition to Pennsylvania Gov. James Hamilton for "Relief" from their sufferings, the "Inhabitants of Cumberland County" testified that they were "now in the most Eminent danger by a Powerful Army of Cruel[,] Merciless[,] and Unhuman Enemies by whom our Lives[,] Liberties[,] Estates ... are in the utmost danger of dreadful destruction."⁶ While this petition was obviously a bit of propaganda designed as a call to arms in a Quaker-dominated and peace-loving colony, it also illustrated the real senses of desperation and fear that permeated the lives of residents on Pennsylvania's agricultural frontier. Faced with the possibility of losing their lives, their lands, and their freedoms--the tangible articles and abstract ideals that most settlers held dear--

⁵Report of Benjamin Chew, Alexander Stedman, William West, and Edward Shippen, Jr. to the Governor and Council, April 21, 1756, Penn Papers, Assembly and Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, HSP, 82.

⁶Petition from the Inhabitants of Cumberland County to Gov. James Hamilton, July 15, 1754, Conarroe Papers, HSP, X:60; see also Colonial Records, August, 5, 1754, VI:130-131.

these frontier residents wanted protection from an enemy not even worthy of being deemed human.

In other petitions, the residents of Cumberland County made direct appeals to Pennsylvania's provincial government for specific forms of "Relief" from "their very Mallengolly [sic] Circumstances."⁷ With ardent assurances that they were ready and willing "to Defend our selves," these men sought the arms and ammunition necessary "to help in a Ruining Country."⁸ After all, as Philip Davis and the other residents of Peters Township, Cumberland County, reminded the Governor in 1756, without "speedy assistance," they would be "obliged to Quit ... and leave all their valuable Plantation[s] to the Savages"--abandoning both their property and the lucrative profits of their grain.⁹

In response, Pennsylvania's provincial Governor, Robert Hunter Morris, called upon the Pennsylvania Assembly to enact what he termed "a Just and Equal Militia Law." With thinly-disguised references to Pennsylvania's potentially dim economic future, Morris cautioned eastern Assemblymen

⁷Petition of Philip Davis and other inhabitants of Peters Township to Gov. William Denny, 1756, Simon P. Gratz Autograph Collection, HSP, case 15, box 18 (hereafter cited as Gratz Papers).

⁸Petition of William Rankin, John Armstrong, Nathaniel Wilson, and others of Cumberland County, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, November 10, 1755, Provincial Council Records, HSP, case 74, folder 7.

⁹Philip Davis Petition, 1756, Gratz Papers, HSP, case 15, box 18. Peters Township was located on the southern edge of the county, bordering Maryland.

that so many people "ha[d] quitted the County of Cumberland[,] one of the most firtille [sic] settlements in North America" and had left such "great quantities of grain at the Mercy of the Enemy" that the whole of Pennsylvania's profitable grain trade would soon be ruined.¹⁰ Worst of all, was the likelihood that without an adequate defense, "it was to be feared" that with "the first alarm the Inhabitants of those two frontier Counties [Cumberland and York] would remove themselves into the interior parts of this Province" and become burdens upon the residents of Philadelphia and the other eastern counties.¹¹

For Carlisle, an urban settlement located on the eastern periphery of this western conflict, the war between Britain and France's Indian allies did not have such overtly devastating effects. Although Indian attacks wreaked havoc upon much of Cumberland County's extensive agricultural countryside and drove many farm families from their plantations, in the eastern regions of the county, and especially in the immediate vicinity of Carlisle, most residents and their properties remained relatively secure. Despite the perceptions of imminent danger, Carlisle

¹⁰Draft of letter by Gov. Robert Hunter Morris, n.d. (probably 1756), Gratz Papers, HSP, case 15, box 18. Much of this activity is part of the larger struggle within the provincial government to get the Quaker dominated Assembly to allocate money for defense.

¹¹Benjamin Chew, Alexander Stedman, William West, Edward Shippen to Governor and Council, Penn Papers, Assembly and Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, HSP, 82.

remained safe throughout the war. Indeed, it reaped the benefits of serving as a local refuge point and military supply center.¹²

Outside Carlisle, chaos reigned. Gen. John Forbes reported in 1758 that "they [the Indians] are scalping every day and have broke up all the settlements in [the] neighborhood."¹³ The town, however, retained a measure of orderliness distinct from its distant rural surroundings. During the war, Carlisle acted as what the historian Emrys Jones calls a "protective" place--serving as a physical haven from the turmoil of the war-torn countryside, much in the style of its ancient English ancestor the medieval town --a walled compound, which met local needs for protection during times of armed conflict.¹⁴ While Carlisle was never the stone-walled city of medieval Europe, it nevertheless offered its residents and county refugees the tangible promise of safety in numbers as well as the security of a military encampment located just beyond its borders. As the

¹²This picture contrasts rather sharply with Paul Doutrich's description of Yorktown during the same period. Although Yorktown, like Carlisle, was never attacked, Doutrich emphasizes that perceptions of danger made the period from 1755-1758 the bleakest in Yorktown's early history, see Paul E. Doutrich, "The Evolution of an Early American Town: Yorktown, Pennsylvania, 1740-1790," (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1985), 78-86.

¹³Gen. John Forbes to Abercromby, April 22, 1758, Writings of General John Forbes, Alfred Procter James, ed., (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1938), 69.

¹⁴Jones, Towns, 25-26.

trader and soldier William Trent reported to Provincial Secretary Richard Peters in 1756, "all the People have left their Houses betwixt this [Carlisle] and the Mountain, some come to Town and others gathering into little forts."¹⁵ By the conclusion of hostilities in the 1760s, Carlisle was one of the few remaining urban settlements on Pennsylvania's western frontier. While "[t]he whole Country to the West of this place is chiefly abandoned" and beyond "this Town" has "entirely become the Frontier on that side," Carlisle remained intact.¹⁶

The visible presence of British and provincial military forces undoubtedly added a sense of security to life in Carlisle. From 1754, when the town was first used as a military base and troop rendezvous point, through 1759, when the British army headquarters of the southern district under the command of Col. Henry Bouquet was established at the barracks (or encampment) just to the north-east of town, Carlisle acted as an important military station and supply

¹⁵William Trent to Richard Peters, February 15, 1756, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., II:575. Although both William A. Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758 (Harrisburg, 1960), 436-450 and Joseph J. Kelley, Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years, 1681-1776 (Garden City, 1980), 342 (among others), claim that a small wooden stockade was erected inside downtown Carlisle sometime after 1755, I have found no conclusive evidence that such a structure was ever completed. See Charles Morse Stotz, Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and English in Western Pennsylvania: Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People, 1749-1764 (Pittsburgh, 1985), 109.

¹⁶Col. Henry Bouquet to Gov. James Hamilton, July 13, 1763, in Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 32.

center for British armed forces fighting in the west.¹⁷ With "[t]he barracks for the Soldiers ... built and some Proficiency made in the Stockade" by 1756, Carlisle was strategically secured as one of the strongest positions held by the British west of the Susquehanna for much of the 1750s.¹⁸ Thus, as an urban settlement and as the temporary home to a sizeable military force, Carlisle became a backcountry sanctuary for those families fleeing from the threat posed by Indian attack on their isolated frontier plantations.¹⁹

Carlisle's war-time experiences were unique in backwoods Pennsylvania. Most scholars have seen the Seven Years' War as one of two periods (along with the American Revolution) when the Pennsylvania backcountry experienced what geographer John Florin termed "widespread settlement retreat"--a dramatic reverse to the trend of dynamic growth and development that had marked the frontier during the

¹⁷Col. Henry Bouquet to Gen. John Forbes, June 7, 1758, The Papers of Henry Bouquet, S.K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, Autumn L. Leonard, eds., 5 vols. (Harrisburg, 1972), II:47-51; Stotz, Outposts of Empire, 109.

¹⁸John Armstrong to Governor Denny, December 22, 1756, Gratz Papers, HSP, Case 15, box 18.

¹⁹Brewster, PA & NY Frontier, 75; Rupp, History & Topography, 137-138. In a petition from the inhabitants of the town and county of York, August 27, 1756, Colonial Records, VII:233, it was reported that "the County of Cumberland is mostly evacuated."

preceding decades of the eighteenth century.²⁰ In contrast to the rural regions about it, however, Carlisle did not experience any population decline. Rather, its taxable population continued to grow at a dynamic rate throughout the war. In the eleven years between 1753 and 1764, a time of intense social and economic disruption in Pennsylvania, the town's taxable population continued to increase at a markedly high rate. The 105 taxable inhabitants in 1753 had increased to 182 by 1764--a demographic expansion of a substantial 73.3% (Table 1).

Carlisle's dramatic population growth was clearly the product of war-time conditions. Frontier uprisings discouraged outward migration and literally "trapped" people in town. From 1753 to 1764, for example, rates of population persistence held steady in Carlisle--fully 43.8% of the 105 taxable inhabitants of 1753 reappeared on tax lists in 1764 (Table 2).²¹ The town, however, remained an incredibly dynamic urban community whose significant increase in population could be sustained only by long-term

²⁰Florin, Advance of Frontier Settlement, 11; Jack M. Sosin, The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783 (New York, 1967), 82-83.

²¹Comparing the 43.8% persistence rate for 1753-1764 with the average persistence rate of 40.2% for Carlisle from 1753-1808, demonstrates that persistence was only slightly higher than average during the Seven Years' War.

natural growth coupled with rapid inward migration.²² While war brought frontier refugees to Carlisle out of desperation and soldiers out of necessity, other newcomers were lured to the town by the promise of economic opportunity. After all, just as the war generated an intense need for supplies and services on the local level, it also created new demands for the creation of a transportation infrastructure stretching from east to west. Surely the 1755 advertisements placed by backcountry leaders James Burd, John Armstrong, and William Buchanan for "[t]wo Hundred Labourers ... to work on Cleaning the new Road, ... thro' Cumberland County towards the Ohio" drew many men to the town in the hope of acquiring work for the pay of two shillings six pence per day plus "their Victuals" and was vivid testimony to the positive effects of the war on the town.²³

²²When these demographic figures are compared to Richard Beeman's findings for Lunenburg County, Virginia, they demonstrate how transient Carlisle's population was over the long term. Although Beeman found that only 20% of Lunenburg's heads of households persisted from 1750-1769, from 1764-1769 some 60% remained, see Richard R. Beeman, The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832 (Philadelphia, 1984), 67; see also George W. Franz, Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry (New York, 1989), 161-165. Franz noted that nearby Paxton Township, Lancaster County, was in a stage of rapid population growth during this period. Like Carlisle, its overall increase occurred because of inward migration and despite outward migration.

²³Advertisements concerning the construction of roads in Cumberland County, April 29, 1755, May 22, 1755, Shippen Papers, HSP, I:181-185. Philadelphia also experienced similar benefits from the Seven Years' War, for a discussion of these, see Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: The

There were short-term drawbacks to Carlisle's rapid population growth, however. It was despair and fear of Indian attacks that pushed many people from their plantations and forced them into town. As British commander Col. Henry Bouquet reported sadly, the "[d]esolation of so many Families reduced to the last Extremities of Want and Misery" was most evident in Carlisle. It was the place where "the cries of distracted Women and children who fill the streets, form a scene of horror painful to Humanity."²⁴ The speedy influx of people also increased demands for food and shelter, inflating local prices for those and other commodities. While in a town described by one traveler in 1762 as a place "mostly compos'd of People who keep Shops and Public Houses," local businessmen surely welcomed the sustained inrush of population, others, like the Quaker Indian trader James Kenny, did not. Kenny observed in 1761 that it was such "[c]ostly living at Carlisle" that one had to go north of the town to find a reasonably priced place to lodge for the night.²⁵ Colonel Bouquet as well, was not entirely pleased with Carlisle's war-time situation. He complained in 1758 that military discipline was being

Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution
(Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1986).

²⁴Col. Henry Bouquet to Gov. James Hamilton, July 13, 1763, Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 30-31.

²⁵Colonel William Eyre, March 12, 1762, "Journal," WPHM, 40; James Kenny, April 23, 1761, "Journal of James Kenny, 1761-1763," John W. Jordan, ed., PMHB 37, #1 (1913), 2.

undermined, because "[a]ll these new recruits are getting debauched in the taverns."²⁶

In the end, however, Carlisle weathered the Seven Years' War relatively unscathed by the conflict. Throughout the war it remained a substantial town by frontier standards--an urban place both large enough and secure enough to attract many newcomers to its limits.

* * * * *

In many respects, the first years of the American Revolution appeared to be an exact replication of the tragic events of the 1750s and 1760s. Once again in Cumberland County, defense against Indian attacks on frontier settlements was a major political issue. As "[t]he Indians Continue their Savage cruelty upon our frontiers," reported County Lieutenant John Carothers in May 1778, "[n]umbers of families are obliged to fly and Leave their all to the Mercy of a Savage foe."²⁷ Carlisle's John Armstrong, too, attested to the sad state of backcountry affairs when he wrote the following month: "That the Indian depredations

²⁶Col. Henry Bouquet to Gen. John Forbes, May 25, 1758, Bouquet Letters, Stevens et al., eds., I:362.

²⁷John Carothers to the President of Pennsylvania's Executive Council, May 28, 1778, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775-1790, Record Group 27, PHMC, on microfilm at The David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania, microfilm reel 14, frame 139 (hereafter cited as PA Rev Govt).

are still increasing is beyond a doubt and the devastations of country now much greater than when I wrote the delegates."²⁸ Indeed, by the summer of 1778, when John Bosley of neighboring Northumberland County testified before the Justices of York County, the situation west of the Susquehanna had assumed proportions reminiscent of the crisis of the 1750s. According to Bosley, farmers like himself living near the county seat of Sunbury, "were generally fled or flying," and that "on his way towards Croghan's gap (six miles north of Carlisle) he saw the Road Crowded with men[,] Women[,] [and] Children" carrying "what they cou[ld] move." Although his estimates were likely exaggerated, Bosley calculated "that there was not less than four thousand Souls ... flying" south towards the safe boundaries of Carlisle.²⁹

With "the Country exposed and naked," a general state of alarm prevailed across Pennsylvania's western interior.

²⁸John Armstrong to George Bryan, Esquire, Vice-President of the State of Pennsylvania, June 23, 1778, Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, HSP, II:33.

²⁹Testimony of John Bosley before Justice William Scott of York County, July 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, National Archives, Washington D.C., on microfilm at The David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania, microfilm reel 102, XX:279; Sosin, Rev Frontier, 82-83. According to Sosin, these attacks were part of an unofficial civil war between Whigs and Tories and whites and Indians in the Revolutionary backcountry--a conflict which was most acute in Pennsylvania; see also Anne M. Ousterhout, A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution (New York, 1987), 229-231, 271.

Frontier defense was again an issue of much debate between east and west. While eastern elites struggled to wage a rebellion against Great Britain, residents of Pennsylvania's backcountry sought protection for themselves, their lands, and their crops from attacks by "disaffected" Tories and their Indian allies. Foremost among the concerns of Cumberland County residents was the widespread lack of arms and ammunition west of the Susquehanna. Although John Byers, a local, had warned Pennsylvania's provincial authorities as early as March 1776, that "there w[ould] not be a sufficient Number [of arms] left to furnish more than the one third of our County Militia," by 1778, when frontier uprisings and the war in the east had assumed climactic proportions, the arms situation looked even more bleak.³⁰ According to John Carothers, "in the way of arms & ammunition the one third of those [from Cumberland and Bedford counties] who ought to be armed are not yet supplied." Indeed, with "no Lead to be had here [in Carlisle], nor any rifles in repare [sic]," Carothers warned "that without ... Large assistance from the interior parts of this State, the frontier would by no means be able to save their crops" and the 1778 harvest of the precious grains that farmers and soldiers alike needed to stay alive

³⁰John Byers of the Cumberland County Committee to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, March 29, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 414.

would be lost.³¹ While many of Pennsylvania's state authorities were convinced by 1778 of "the urgent necessity of defending our frontiers ag[ain]st the Indians," like "those of the Southern States," they nonetheless had to "beg the assistance of Congress" for the relief of those western settlements "deficient in the article of Arms, and especially ammunition and flints" before any action of substance was undertaken.³²

Despite all apparent similarities in the conditions of Cumberland County in the 1750s and 1770s, key differences distinguished Carlisle's Revolutionary war experience from that of the earlier Seven Years' War. The convergence of a complex combination of social, economic, and demographic factors profoundly shaped the way the town weathered the events of the American Revolution. In 1776, Carlisle was a dramatically different place from 1754. No longer a fledgling settlement on Pennsylvania's western periphery, Carlisle was located in the midst of a territory that stretched from the Delaware River in the east to the Allegheny River in the west. The town itself had matured over time and was increasingly distanced from its tenuous

³¹John Carothers to Council Vice-President George Bryan, June 28, 1778, *ibid*, microfilm reel 14, frame 321.

³²Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania at Lancaster to Lt. John Carothers, May 21, 1778, *ibid*, reel 14, frame 86; Pennsylvania Council of Safety to the Pennsylvania delegates, November 14, 1777, Papers of Continental Congress, microfilm reel 83, I:433.

frontier beginnings. Its population was larger--increasing 22.0% in the fifteen years from 1764 to 1779 from 182 to 222 taxable inhabitants (Table 1). Its urban development was more advanced. Carlisle was dotted with a host of public buildings, churches, business establishments, and homes by the 1770s. By the eve of the Revolution, 74 (24%) of Carlisle's 312 lots had already been patented. Although these lots were equally dispersed among the town's four geographic quarters, settlement was most heavily concentrated along Carlisle's two main streets and in the vicinity of the center square.³³ Carlisle's society was also more diverse and more stratified. A group of doctors, lawyers, merchants, farmers, and county officials formed a nascent social elite in the town. It was these men who would assume key leadership roles at the local, state, and national levels during the Revolution. By the 1770s, Carlisle was also increasingly integrated into the larger commercial and social spheres of the eastern metropolitan centers of Philadelphia and Baltimore--a trend that would only accelerate during and after the Revolution.

The demographic patterns of the Revolution further distinguished this war from the Seven Years' War. During the conflict of the 1750s, Carlisle had experienced enough inward migration and natural population increase to offset

³³Returns of Survey for Patent, Carlisle, Land Records, PHMC, microfilm reel 5.117, 5.118.

any population loss and sustain a substantial overall increase in inhabitants. During the Revolution, however, wholly different demographic conditions prevailed. While long-term persistence rates continued to hold steady at slightly above the town's 40.2% average, in just the three years between 1779 and 1782, short-term persistence rates rose to a remarkable high of 63.1%--suggesting that outward migration from the town had slowed dramatically during the second half of the war (Tables 2 and 3). At the same time population persistence increased, Carlisle's population growth also subsided. The town's taxable population held remarkably steady at about 222 heads of household throughout the war--implying either that migration into the town had decreased or that war-time death rates (or a slowed birth rate) had had some measureable impact on the town's demographic structure (Table 1). All of Carlisle's official measures of population remained remarkably stable throughout the Revolution. Clearly, on the local level, uncertain and often threatening circumstances discouraged relocation and resettlement, undercut the appeal of available land on the frontier, and ultimately encouraged families to continue in their present circumstances for the short term--thus furnishing Carlisle with an ample work force of men, women,

TABLE 3

SHORT-TERM PERSISTENCE IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1764-1808

Time Span	Begin Pop.	End Pop.	# Persist	% Persist	% Depart
1764-1768	182	148	68	37.4%	62.6%
1779-1782	222	265	140	63.1%	36.9%
1802-1808	287	383	154	53.5%	46.5%

Source: Cumberland County Tax Rates, CCHS. Because of their varied length, time spans are only roughly comparable.

and children to provide for its needs.³⁴

Moreover, during the first years of the Revolution, there were many significant social, economic, and political continuities with the immediate pre-war period of the early 1770s. For some people in and around Carlisle, the daily routine of work and family life continued virtually uninterrupted by the war. While perceptions in the county were shaped by reports that "the Indians continue to murder Men, Women and Children, on our Frontiers," and that these same "[s]avages ravidge [sic] all Parts of our Frontiers in a very public manner," Carlisle residents nonetheless maintained some sense of distance from the conflict.³⁵ Some people in the town still functioned as if little of any significance had occurred. For example, in February 1779, Assistant Quartermaster John Davis cheerfully assured local farmer and official Ephraim Blaine, that "[y]our son Jamey is Well and Every Thing Goes on here as Usual." Six months later, Davis's assistant, the merchant Samuel Postlethwaite, wrote to his Philadelphia business contact Joseph Scull, that there was "[n]othing new since you went away." Postlethwaite even sent Scull some "four Hundred Dollars to

³⁴Beeman, Lunenburg, 138, 162, noted similar population trends. In Lunenburg, the Revolution also witnessed a stabilization of the population with persistence rates at 48% for the period from 1769-1782, coupled with slowed population growth, which Beeman attributed to war-time suffering.

³⁵Arthur Buchanan to Lt. John Carothers, May 11, 1778, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VI:487.

buy me a few Articles which Please to purchase and send by Ralph Nailer[']s Team." During this desperate season of conflict, Postlethwaite's list included a seemingly frivolous array of luxury items and consumer goods, including: "One Loaf of sugar[,], one umbrella[,], a p[ai]r womans shoes, ... 1 1/2 yards of Gause [sic], and a Couple of Fans."³⁶

To others in Carlisle, the beginning of the war and the novel presence of soldiers just outside town only increased and diversified the number of pleasurable entertainments available. Recruiting officer John McDowell reported that Mrs. Lukens, the wife of Maj. Charles Lukens of the Artillery Artificers regiment stationed at Carlisle, "seems to like Carlisle better and better, and I think that the People are more social now [in 1777] than they ever were before."³⁷ The war also brought a new liveliness to local society and enhanced the intensity of interactions between the sexes. McDowell himself took full advantage of the local feminine community about him. Stationed at Carlisle to recruit soldiers from the area, McDowell was perfectly willing to socialize with the young and single daughters of

³⁶John Davis to Ephraim Blaine, February 19, 1779, Ephraim Blaine Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (hereafter LC), microfilm; Samuel Postlethwaite to Joseph Scull, July 27, 1779, Samuel Postlethwaite Revolutionary War Papers, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP, box 64.

³⁷John McDowell to Col. David Grier, May 28, 1777, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 12, frame 363.

Carlisle's leading men. He and Lukens, along with Mrs. Lukens and "two of the first young Ladies of this Place," Miss Sidney Montgomery, and Miss Nancy Gibson, planned an outing to nearby York in an attempt to combine business with the pleasures of socializing. McDowell taunted Colonel David Grier with news of this trip, threatening that "I have a great Mind, if you don't soon order me to Camp--to marry some of those Angels for Spite."³⁸

Some public entertainments were enlivened by the war as well. In 1778, Lancaster's Edward Burd reported that he had recently returned from Carlisle "where I had been to see the Races." While he outlined the activities of the event, Burd also described the rowdiness of the sidelines. The race atmosphere was evidently intensified by the presence of soldiers in Carlisle. On the first day of the races "[t]here was a great deal of fighting with Clubs," he explained, because "an Officer was struck with a Club on some Difference w[hi]ch arose between him and one Gillespie." Although this fight was finally stopped, it was "not without the Expence of some bloody Heads," according to Burd. On the following day, guards were ordered to the race grounds to preserve the peace.³⁹

³⁸John McDowell to Col. David Grier, May 21, 1777, *ibid*, microfilm reel 12, frame 346.

³⁹Edward Burd to Jasper Yeates, June 28, 1778, Edward Burd Papers, in the Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection, HSP.

Even many functions of local government continued relatively unaffected during the initial years of the conflict. Cumberland County patriot Robert Galbraith proudly reported to Pennsylvania Council President Wharton in 1778 that "[t]he Courts at Bedford, Carlisle and York, are held with great regularity and propriety, and more business done in the sessions in a week, then used formerly to be done under the Old Constitution."⁴⁰ Taxes, too, were collected in most sections of the county with reasonable regularity during the first stages of the war. In May 1778, Samuel Laird, a county commissioner, reported that "in most parts of the County[,] the Collectors are Collecting the % Tax, and hath paid a Considerable part thereof to the Treasurer"--only in the Township of Lack, considerably north and west of Carlisle, were there any problems with those assistant assessors appointed to collect the tax.⁴¹ By all indications, it was not until later, in the 1780s, that revenue collection became a real problem in the area. The commissioners of Cumberland County wrote to "assure your Excellency [Council President John Dickinson] in 1783, that

⁴⁰Robert Galbraith to President Wharton, May 16, 1778, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VI:511. Galbraith is likely related to James Galbreath "gent. of Lancaster Co.," in 1767, went on to become a county judge in the early 1760s. Cumberland County Deeds, Cumberland County Court House, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, (hereafter CCCH), Book B, 65-66.

⁴¹Samuel Laird, one the Commissioners of Cumberland County, to Secretary Matlack, May 23, 1778, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 14, frame 109.

we are determined to do what is in our power to raise the taxes of our County," but they urged him for "indulgence," due to the general scarcity of cash which hampered their task.⁴²

Still, the Revolution did wreak fundamental change in Carlisle's internal economic and social structures and, in the process, reordered its external relationship with other places in the mid-Atlantic.⁴³ The intense need for supplies to sustain both an army and a county militia placed new economic burdens on the town. Carlisle became a regional warehouse of supplies and a coordinator of the hinterland's production of foodstuffs. Manufacturing and other creative enterprises received a war-time boost in activity. These demands, in turn, promoted the long-term growth of a more

⁴²The Commissioners of Cumberland County to Council President John Dickinson, January 11, 1783, *ibid*, microfilm reel 20, frame 43. Earlier, in 1781, past Council President Joseph Reed had not been very sympathetic to the county's pleas for relief. He wrote: "Fair and punctual Payment of Taxes must not be considered among the good Qualities of your County--tho in Whiggism & Bravery I think it may vie with any County in the State or even in America. I wish our Friends there were more sencible [*sic*] of the Importance of their Duty ... Time & Experience will[,] we hope[,] improve & amend it." See Pres. Joseph Reed to unknown recipient, March 20, 1781, The Papers of Brigadier General William Irvine, HSP, IV:40.

⁴³The war produced similar effects in other areas of the Pennsylvania backcountry, see Doutrich, "Yorktown," 10; Peter C. Mancall, Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800 (Ithaca, 1991), 130-155.

diversified and dynamic economy on the local level.⁴⁴ The war also focused renewed attention on the town. As a strategically secure and geographically accessible place, Carlisle gained prominence on the national level as an important troop rendezvous point and supply depot in the backcountry. It was this attention that gradually altered the town's external associations with other towns in the region as well as with the port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Carlisle was among the best known backcountry supply centers for the Continental Army. The town and its people acted as a multi-faceted hub of supply and manufacturing activity. As a supplier of livestock and foodstuffs, as an essential manufactory of arms and munitions, as a local center for the processing of raw materials, and as a regional storage and distribution point, Carlisle and its residents made significant contributions to the American war effort.⁴⁵ Indeed, from the beginning it was clear that Carlisle would have some role to play in the war effort. In December 1775, it was resolved that "Carlisle, ... as well as the three towns of Reading, Lancaster and York" be assigned "for the disposition of the prisoners taken at St.

⁴⁴This expansion and diversification is much like that experienced in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, see Robert Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville, 1977).

⁴⁵Thomas G. Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond, 1939), 113.

John's."⁴⁶ Once the war began in earnest, Carlisle acted as a regional supplier of goods and services and served as the headquarters of much quartermaster and commissary department activity. In 1777, Assistant Quartermaster, Maj. John Davis established his headquarters at Carlisle. His region--west of the Susquehanna River and north of Maryland and Virginia--was assigned the task of organizing and gathering materials and foodstuffs in the backcountry for delivery to the headquarters of the Quartermaster General in Philadelphia. The activities of Davis and his assistants (including local merchant and trader, Samuel Postlethwaite) only further linked Carlisle to the war-time needs of Pennsylvania's premier coastal metropolis.⁴⁷

A considerable number of arms and supplies were also manufactured at Carlisle. Evidence of such activity is found in a letter written by the county commissioners, tavernkeeper James Pollock, and joiner Samuel Laird, to Benjamin Franklin and the Committee of Safety in 1776. Pollock and Laird most heartily assured Franklin "that we have engaged a number of Workmen to Compleat [sic] the full Complement of Muskets by the first of April next," even though they were apparently having some difficulty "urg[ing] the Workmen to their duty and Interest." In their letter,

⁴⁶December 4, 1775, Gaillard Hunt and Roscoe Hill, eds., Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, 34 vols. (Washington D.C., 1936), III:404.

⁴⁷Tousey, Barracks, 68, 70, 84-88.

they also reported that "[t]he Cartouch [sic] pouches and belts are finished" but, because "there is no Cloth here suitable to make the Knapsacks of, We would therefore be glad [if] you would order them to be made in Philadelphia."⁴⁸ There is further evidence to suggest that saltpetre, a key ingredient of gunpowder, was also manufactured in the Carlisle vicinity in the late 1770s. In 1776, Cumberland County Committee members William Irvine, Ephraim Blaine, John Byers, and John Montgomery wrote to their fellow members in Philadelphia "of your request made to us to sen[d] down to Philadelphia some persons who might obtain such a knowledge of the method practised at the Salt-Petre Works there, as to be qualified to communicate the Process to any others amongst us who might ... be desirous of serving their Country."⁴⁹ The Carlisle Committee recommended local merchant Jonathan Kearsely as "a Gentleman" who from his knowledge "and his Zeal to serve his Country," would make "a very suitable person, both to instruct others and to carry on the manufactory of the same [saltpetre]" at Carlisle.⁵⁰

⁴⁸James Pollock and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Carlisle, to the Committee of Safety, February 9, 1776, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., V:713.

⁴⁹"Committee of Carlisle to the Committee of Safety, 1776," January 26, 1776, *ibid*, 1st ser., IV:706.

⁵⁰*Ibid*. The merchant Jonathan Kearsley of Carlisle, see Deeds, CCCH, Book E, 50-51, should not be confused with Dr. Jonathan Kearsley of Philadelphia, who was imprisoned by 1777 in the Carlisle jail for being a Tory conspirator

Carlisle and the backcountry generally assumed even greater roles in the war effort after Philadelphia was captured by the British in 1777. Located west of the Susquehanna River and along one of the most direct overland routes to Fort Pitt, the town was both a secure and readily accessible site for many war-related activities.⁵¹ In 1777, Carlisle was made an official depository for the storage of ammunition when the Continental Congress gave the orders for the "immediate removal of the powder and military stores" at Annapolis and Baltimore "to the town of Carlisle, in Pennsylvania," to be carried out "with all possible expedition."⁵² Not long afterward, the town took on further ordnance manufacturing functions when an armory and nailery

(where he eventually died). See Ousterhout, Divided, 112-130; M.L. Schaumann, A History and Genealogy of Carlisle, Cumberland County Pennsylvania, 1751-1835 (Dover, PA: photocopied pamphlet, 1987), 207-208; see also the letter of complaint about conditions in Carlisle's jail, "[a] Letter, from Richard W. Stockton and others, prisoners in the Carlisle gaol, ... with one enclosed from Dr. John Kearsley, ... representing the uncomfortableness of the gaol, on account of the windows not being glazed," October 25, 1777, Hunt and Hill, eds, Journals of Continental Congress, IX:840.

⁵¹Wayland F. Dunaway, The Susquehanna Valley in the Revolution (Wilkes-Barre, 1927), 19-20; Tousey, Barracks, 63-64.

⁵²April 2, 1777, Hunt and Hill, eds., Journals of Continental Congress, VII:219. In a letter dated April 29, 1778, Tim Pickering Jr., at the War Office, wrote to Col. John Davis in Carlisle, that "[t]he board desire you with all convenient Speed to erect a barracks sufficient for about one hundred men" who were being sent to guard the public stores at Carlisle, see John Davis Papers, General Correspondence, LC, microfilm reel 1.

were set-up at the old Public Works just north-east of town. Here, cannon, shot, harness, barrels, nails, and gun carriages were manufactured for the Continental Army by one of the companies of Artillery Artificers under the command of Col. Benjamin Flower.⁵³

In 1780, Carlisle's status as a backcountry manufacturing center was further formalized when the Board of War, as directed by Congress, ordered that "all the Artificers in Philadelphia" and the rest of the state be "sent to Carlisle," because "[t]he services of the Artificers are exceedingly wanted to prepare for the next Campaign."⁵⁴ Carlisle, the Board reasoned, was among the most convenient places for such manufacturing activity, "as

⁵³Flower and Flower, Carlisle, 17; Tousey, Barracks, 61, 96-98. In preparation, John Davis at Carlisle was ordered to purchase a plantation near Carlisle "[i]n order to carry on an extensive Nail Manufactory." On this land, Davis was to "have such Buildings erected as will be sufficient for Twenty Nailers." See Mr. Irwin & Melcher to John Davis, December 27, 1777, Davis Papers, General Correspondence, LC, reel 1. Although it is not entirely clear, it appears that one company of Artificers was stationed at Carlisle before 1780, see John B.B. Trussell, Jr., The Pennsylvania Line, Regimental Organization and Operations, 1776-1783 (Harrisburg, 1977), 226-229.

⁵⁴Board of War to Pres. Joseph Reed, December 2, 1780, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VIII:8, 632; see also Col. Ephraim Blaine to Pres. Joseph Reed, December 1, 1780, *ibid*, 630. According to Trussell, Pennsylvania Line, 226-229, by April 1780 there were two companies of Artillery Artificers stationed at Carlisle performing depot and laboratory duties--both commanded by Capt. Thomas Wylie. Each of these companies was composed of approximately 30-35 men, see Return of Nathaniel Irish's Company, Records of the Comptroller General, Military Accounts, Line, Record Group 4, PHMC, microfilm reel 145, frame 1190.

the public are already possessed of very considerable buildings at that place; and as almost every article necessary for the support of a post can be obtained there on much better terms than in this City [Philadelphia]." It was the wish of the Board to "depend entirely upon that post [Carlisle] for all the principal supplies, keeping in Philadelphia only an issuing store, and an Elaboratory [sic] for fixing ammunition."⁵⁵ In all, it was estimated that some 250 to 300 men would be stationed at the Carlisle post, including officers.⁵⁶ In anticipation of moving men and materials, Carlisle's Ephraim Blaine, as Commissary General, was ordered to prepare an extensive Magazine of salt provisions and other foodstuffs at Carlisle to support of this operation for some 152 days. The Board sought to avoid the mistakes of the past--specifically, the problem that so many of the Artificers previously had been "frequently idle for Want of Provisions, whereby much Loss and Dissappointment have ensued."⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Blaine did his

⁵⁵Board of War report read before Congress, November 25, 1780, Hunt and Hill, eds., Journals of Continental Congress, XVIII:1093.

⁵⁶By all indications, this was a highly exaggerated figure. According to Trussell, Pennsylvania Line, 226-229, there were only 2 companies of Artificers stationed at Carlisle by 1780. At most, possibly two other companies could have been added later in the year for a total of some 70-140 men. For information regarding the size of these companies, see Muster Rolls, Records of Comptroller General, Military Accounts, Line, PHMC, microfilm reel 145.

⁵⁷Board of War to Congress, November 25, 1780, Hunt and Hill, eds., Journals of Continental Congress, XVIII:1093.

best to follow orders by making careful preparations for the influx of artisans to the works.⁵⁸

These war-time supply and manufacturing activities had direct affects upon the town and its residents. While demands for foodstuffs effected local supplies of grain and livestock, war-related manufacturing needs reordered the local economy. The demands of war generated new sources of employment for some local craftsmen and laborers. Job opportunities abounded for both skilled and unskilled workers. These economic opportunities--and the short-term financial incentives they offered for residents to remain in town--were one of the factors which held outward migration in check from 1779 to 1782. Carlisle's reputation as a manufacturing center also lured new artisans seeking work into the town. As a recognized hub of regional activity, Carlisle could attract at least some newcomers to its borders even during times of war. Enough new people entered the town between 1779 and 1782 to off-set any population losses from war-time deaths or outward migration and sustain Carlisle's taxable population at a remarkably even level (Table 1).

⁵⁸These carefully laid plans did not work as expected. By December 29, 1780, the War Office was writing to Congress to warn them that they "ha[d] done every thing in their power to have supplies at the post." They carefully warned that "if any disappointments happen, they hope they shall not be deemed responsible." January 2, 1781, *ibid*, XIX:14.

By all indications, local craftsmen particularly benefitted from Carlisle's war-time status as a backcountry supply center. While many artisans crafted arms and other items for the Continental Army, many others, like Carlisle saddler Charles Cooper, were employed by the County Committee during the first years of the war to outfit the local militia. Cooper, for instance, was paid 1 pound, 7 shillings in April 1776 for making 12 scabbards for the Army's French guns.⁵⁹ He was also engaged "to make a Number of Cartouch [sic] pouches, bayonet belts, and Scabbards, for the use of the Militia of this County," while fellow Carlisle gunsmith, George McGunnege, received payment of 2 pounds, 12 shillings, 4 pence in 1776 for cleaning and servicing several guns for the militia.⁶⁰ McGunnege even used his work for the county as a way to pay off debts incurred at Samuel Postlethwaite's Carlisle store and

⁵⁹For Cooper's activities, see 1776 ledger account of Col. William Irvine, Samuel Postlethwaite Account Book, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

⁶⁰James Pollock and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Cumberland County, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, October 7, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 1091. For further evidence, see George Bryan, Vice-President, Pennsylvania Council of Safety to the Pennsylvania Delegates, November 14, 1777, Papers of Continental Congress, microfilm reel 83, I:433, in which he explained that a "Mr Thomas Galbreath will call ... on his way to ligonier, the supplies should be furnished to him from Carlisle to be carried from thence on packhorses"; Receipt for repairs made by George McGunnege, September 10, 1776, Nead Papers, HSP, case 36; see also: Receipt for cartouch boxes and belts from John Camble (Cambell), August 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 943.

tavern. In 1776, McGunnegele paid for the gallons of beer, quarts of whiskey, and other drinks purchased at Postlethwaite's store by providing the Quartermaster's Assistant with 22 muskets for the Army and by "[c]leaning and Repairing 60 Muskets for Col[one]l Irvine[']s Battalion."⁶¹ Cooper and McGunnegele were not the only local craftsmen employed by the county, however. In 1776, "the best Gunsmiths in this County" were contracted by the County Committee to make "one hundred Rifle-Guns" for the local militia.⁶² For the "[s]undr[y] Repairs Done to Muskets for Col[one]l Irvine[']s Bat[talio]n in April 1776, Abraham Morrow received some 35 pounds cash and a steady supply of tody, egnog, beer, whiskey, and wine from Samuel Postlethwaite's Carlisle store. This pattern continued through 1777, as Morrow performed various rifle repairs in exchange for a mix of cash and credits for liquor at Postlethwaite's store."⁶³ As these examples suggest, in this cash-poor economy, credit for merchandise at local retail establishments was one way county officials tried to resolve their debts with area craftsmen.

⁶¹1776 ledger accounts for George "Magonegal," Postlethwaite Account Book, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP.

⁶²George Stevenson, Chairman of the Cumberland County Committee of Inspection and Observation, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, October 18, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 32.

⁶³Ledger accounts for Abraham Morrow, Postlethwaite Account Book, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP.

In some cases, however, there were long stretches of no pay at all for those workers hired by the county. In the summer of 1776, County Commissioners James Pollock and Samuel Laird explained that "the Workmen employed here [in Carlisle] in making Muskets and Cartoutch Poutches [*sic*] & c, st[and] in Need of some Money to enable them to Carry on the Work." Pollock and Laird hoped to obtain some 600 pounds cash from the Council of Safety to pay them.⁶⁴ By the autumn, the "Mechanicks" who had outfitted local Associators with arms were less patient. They "have called on us for their Pay," explained Committee Chairman, George Stevenson, "they say they are in Want of it, and that all such People are paid in the other Counties in this State." The problem was, as Stevenson explained, "[w]e have neither Order to pay them, nor Money for that Purpose."⁶⁵

Carlisle's tavernkeepers, too, were presented with similar opportunities for profit and loss during the war. With troops stationed just north of the town and many others passing through enroute from east to west, money-making opportunities for innkeepers abounded. Perhaps it was the

⁶⁴James Pollock and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Cumberland County, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, July 25, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 844.

⁶⁵George Stevenson to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, September 4, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 988; for additional problems paying gunsmiths, see James Pollock and Samuel Laird, Cumberland County Commissioners, to the Council of Safety, August 21, 1776, *ibid*, microfilm reel 10, frame 928.

lure of quick profits which inspired Carlisle carpenter John Pollock and cooper William Rainey to begin tavernkeeping in the 1770s in addition to their trades.⁶⁶ Clearly, some innkeepers in Pennsylvania capitalized on the needs of the militia "by exacting [the] most extravagant prices" for lodging and board. Others, however, "greatly distressed the Militia on their March, by refusing to supply them with necessary provisions."⁶⁷ In Cumberland County, tavernkeepers refused to serve and house troops because of personal financial concerns. Carlisle's tavernkeepers and gunsmiths faced the same predicament--numerous war-time employment opportunities, but a very uncertain pay schedule. As the County Committee reported to Congress in 1776, as "[n]o Commissary having been appointed in this County to provide Victuals for the Men, they have been supplied mostly by the Tavernkeepers, many of whom cannot well wait for their Pay." The County Committee was "much press'd to pay off those victualing Accompts" in 1776, "becaus[e] We have not Money nor Directions, nor do We know how much is allowed

⁶⁶For more complete descriptions of the careers and lives of these two men, see Chapter VI below, 341-345.

⁶⁷Resolution of Pennsylvania Council of Safety regarding Innkeepers, n.d., PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 759. In this resolve a maximum price was set for meals and innkeepers were required to provide forage for horses. Ronald Hoffman, in his essay, "The 'Disaffected' in the Revolutionary South," in Alfred F. Young, ed., The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (DeKalb, 1976), 300, describes how the difficult decisions of the war resulted in frustration and the choice by many to defy the orders of one side, then the other.

for a Meal of Victuals."⁶⁸ By the end of the year, Chairman Stevenson reported that local "[t]avernkeepers are unwilling to accommodate the Men, unless the Price of a Meal is increased, because every kind of victualing is become dearer." These proprietors were in desperate need of "the ready Cash" to meet the increasingly high costs of the beef, mutton, coffee, brown sugar, and butter needed to continue their establishments.⁶⁹

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During the first years of the Revolution, Carlisle seemed poised to survive the conflict virtually unscathed by the turmoil and destruction that raged elsewhere in America. In the 1770s, the economic dynamism of war production

⁶⁸Cumberland County Committee of Inspection and Observation to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, August 17, 1776, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 83, I:209.

⁶⁹George Stevenson, Chairman of the Cumberland County Committee, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, December 29, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 643; Cumberland County Committee to Hancock, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 83, I:209; Thomas M. Doerflinger, in his essay "Farmers and Dry Goods in the Philadelphia Market Area, 1750-1800," in Ronald Hoffman, John McCusker, Russell Menard, and Peter Albert, eds., The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790 (Charlottesville, 1988), 192-193, describes how many Pennsylvania farmers were equally unwilling to sell or rent wagons or livestock to the Army for dubious IOU's; see also Ousterhout, Divided, 169-170, who describes how many people refused to supply the Army at Valley Forge, because they could get better and more secure money for their produce in Philadelphia.

generated a sense of optimism as Carlisle teemed with war-time activity. Nowhere was this hopefulness better illustrated than in the correspondence of Cumberland's County Committee. In July 1776, only ten days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Committee "assure[d]" Continental Congress President John Hancock "that a noble Spirit appears amongst the Inhabitants here." Indeed, "[t]he Spirit of marching to the Defense of our Country is so prevalent in this Town, that We shall not have Men left sufficient to mount Guard."⁷⁰

The high expectations accompanying the first days of the war did not prevail, however. Despite the initial promises made by county committee members that "you may depend we have the welfare of this country at heart" and their firm assurances "of the readiness of the good men of Cumberland County to March on the shortest Notice," there were signs from the beginning that many county residents were loath to actively support the war effort.⁷¹ Even

⁷⁰Cumberland County Committee of Inspection and Observation to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, July 14, 1776, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 83, I:185.

⁷¹John Byers, Cumberland County Committee, to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, March 29, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 10, frame 414; George Stevenson to Council at Philadelphia, November 16, 1776, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., V:68. For Stevenson's appointment as Chairman, see PA Archives, 1st ser., V:77-78. George Stevenson, "Esq., of York" and his wife Mary (widow of surveyor Thomas Cookson) begin to appear in county records in 1760s, see Deeds, CCCH, Book B, 66-68.

before the war began, there were subtle indications that not all locals would voluntarily participate in the effort. In May 1775, local John Armstrong was "Sorry" to inform James Wilson that "the Spirit and use of a vigorous resistance is not yet Sufficiently imbibed by the populace."⁷² County Committee Chairman, George Stevenson, also remarked on the languorous state of local affairs in December 1776, when he explained that "[t]he Inhabitants of this Town were assembled yesterday afternoon at our Court House, by their militia Officers, but little [was] done to Purpose, the Spirit which animated them in Summer did not appear yesterday."⁷³ It was Lt. John Carothers, however, who delivered the most comprehensive indictment of his backcountry neighbors. In his letter to Council President Thomas Wharton in April 1778, Carothers was "heartely Sorrey" that "this County in particular, should be found So extreamly [sic] backward in marching out in Defence of

⁷²John Armstrong to James Wilson, Carlisle, May 17, 1775, Gratz Papers, HSP, case 4, box 11; According to Jack Greene, in "Independence, Improvement, and Authority: Toward a Framework for Understanding the Histories of the Southern Backcountry During the Era of the American Revolution," in Ronald Hoffman, Thad Tate, and Peter Albert, eds., An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution (Charlottesville, 1985), 31, recruiting was no easy task in the backcountry, where the pursuit of independence made it hard to comprehend that mobilization was even necessary. Indeed, these people of the interior wanted to be left alone as consensus threatened their personal aspirations.

⁷³George Stevenson, Chairman, to Pennsylvania Council of Safety, December 2, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 377.

rights so invaluable as those for which the [A]mericans are now contending." Having "done every thing in my power to induce them to turn out," Carothers explained, he and the "many other Spirited friends to our [A]merican Cause," were "[g]reatly Disappointed" by the general lack of response.⁷⁴

Carothers was not the last official to complain about the patriotic indifference of locals. "Recruiting comes on slowly" in Carlisle, John McDowell noted in 1777. "Men are not to be had hardly at any Rate in this State."⁷⁵ Disorganization on the county level accounted for some of these difficulties in the first years of the war. After all, in 1775, John Armstrong had observed that while "[o]ur Volunteering Schemes have a generous appearance, ... they are freight [fraught] with confusion and lyable [sic] to the greatest uncertainty."⁷⁶ Once the conflict began in earnest, however, aggregate changes in Pennsylvania's grain economy accounted for much of the recruiting problem in the backcountry. As war-time demands for wheat accelerated,

⁷⁴John Carothers to Pres. Thomas Wharton, April 24, 1778, Nead Papers, HSP, case 36; see also Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VI:438; Isaac, Transformation of Virginia, 256-258, 275-276. Isaac describes a similar situation in tidewater Virginia, where leaders having trouble organizing resistance against the British finally solved the problem by making a direct appeal to popular sensibilities--with the adoption of the backcountry-style hunting shirt as militia uniform.

⁷⁵John McDowell to Col. David Grier, May 21, 1777, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 12, frame 347.

⁷⁶John Armstrong to James Wilson, May 26, 1775, Gratz Papers, HSP, case 4, box 11.

prices rose, as did wages on the local level. With profits to make and wages to earn while at home, there were few economic incentives for farmers or laborers to risk their lives by enlisting in the war effort. In a 1777 letter from Carlisle, John McDowell summarized the army's predicament in the backcountry. "[T]here is no such thing as getting Men whilst Wages in the Country are so high," McDowell explained, "Farmers are giving L5 pr month for common plough men." Local "Men", he reasoned, "will not be so foolish, ... as to list for 50%" when "they can get double and stay at home."⁷⁷

Wages were not the only economic factor affecting military enlistments, however. A general lack of funding at the county level plagued militia operations from the start of the war. In December 1776, George Stevenson, Chairman of Cumberland's Committee of Safety, had lamented to the Pennsylvania Council that "our Stock of Cash is run very low" and requested, "[p]lease send to us Money by the first

⁷⁷John McDowell to Col. David Grier, May 28, 1777, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 12, frame 363; Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier, 172-174, details how the Revolution's demand for flour and bread expanded the wheat market in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. For a description of the rise in grain prices in Pennsylvania between 1776-1778, see Anne Bezanson, Blanch Daley, Majorie Denison, and Miriam Hussey, Prices and Inflation During the American Revolution: Pennsylvania, 1770-1790 (Philadelphia, 1951), 20-21.

Hand you can trust."⁷⁸ These questionable financial circumstances raised many concerns about how the county's militia was to be paid and provided for over the long-term. As James Gregory and others wrote to Council President Wharton in 1777, "[y]ou will also please, ... inform us at [the] same time how the Militia are to be paid their Subsistence", for this was, they reminded him, "a Matter of Much Inquirey by the Militia who have far to march before they can draw Rations."⁷⁹ While some militiamen were worried only about their own welfare, many others had families to support as well. On this issue, the county made some effort to provide enough additional assistance to encourage enlistments. Requesting 200 pounds cash from Pennsylvania's Council of Safety in 1776, the Committee explained that this was "the necessary Sum of Money for the maintainance of the Familys [sic] of our Associators as are called into actual Service" and whose families "are not of [the] Ability to maintain themselves in the Absence of such Associators."⁸⁰ Despite such efforts to placate fears and increase recruitment, there were few economic or personal

⁷⁸George Stevenson, Chairman, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, December 29, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 643.

⁷⁹James Gregory, Benjamin Blyth, George Sharp, John Harris, and John McDowell to Pres. Thomas Wharton, September 5, 1777, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 12, frame 973.

⁸⁰George Stevenson to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, August 17, 1776, *ibid*, reel 10, frame 909.

incentives to enter into the service of the county or state. Hence, many men chose not to do so.⁸¹

Even in the 1780s, after specie shortages, high inflation and other war-time pressures had eroded the American economy and severely undercut the profits of the backcountry grain trade, recruiting continued to be a problem in Cumberland County. After his arrival in Carlisle, Lt. Col. William Butler "made some observations which I think proper to communicate" to Pennsylvania's provincial authorities. Namely, Butler complained: "There is nothing doing in this County by the Classes for the recruiting Service."⁸² Brig. Gen. William Irvine, a respected military leader and well-known Carlisle physician since the 1760s, also complained bitterly of the small number of recruits and provisions being supplied by Cumberland County. Irvine was a fervent patriot who was thoroughly dismayed at the general lack of response elicited by his friends and neighbors. Local residents "are very slow, indeed," he complained. In fact, "they seem quite

⁸¹According to Sosin, Rev Frontier, 106, this situation only further undermined backcountry defense--where few Continental troops were stationed and local militias bore the burden of waging both defensive and offensive operations.

⁸²Lt. Col. William Butler to Pres. Joseph Reed, February 28, 1781, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VIII:747.

indifferent about the matter."⁸³ According to Irvine, the biggest obstacle the Army faced was that "[t]he people in general seem as easy and secure as if there was no War in the Country."⁸⁴

The nature and scope of the Revolution in central Pennsylvania certainly influenced the enlistment decisions of men in the backcountry. Carlisle was, after all, quite distant from the ravages of the war. While "the people of some of the frontier Townships" in western Pennsylvania were "drove by the Savages into Forts to defend themselves and [their] families" and some "fear[ed] for Carlisle and the

⁸³Brig. Gen. William Irvine to President Reed, July 16, 1781, *ibid*, 1st ser., IX:285. For an historical sketch of Dr. William Irvine, see Schaumann, History and Geneology, 207. As a professional, Irvine was quite successful at establishing himself in Carlisle. Tax records show a steady progression in landed wealth--landless in 1768, by 1779, Irvine had acquired both a lot in Carlisle and the military rank of General, by 1782 he had 2 lots, and by 1795, fully 3 lots, see Cumberland County Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1768, 1779, 1782, 1795. In the 1780 Return of Slaves, the General reported ownership of Tom, a "Negro Slave for Life," giving some further indication of his economic circumstances, see Clerk of Court, Return of Slaves, CCHS, box 37.

⁸⁴William Irvine to Joseph Reed, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., IX:285. All of these observations contradict the thesis advanced by Charles Royster, A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783 (Chapel Hill, 1979), 268, 374-375, who argues that recruits were motivated by both self-interest and self-sacrifice. In contrast, for many in Cumberland County, the self-interest of economic survival came far ahead of the ideals of the Revolution; see also Sosin, Rev Frontier, 94, who posits that the neutral response of some backcountry areas, like Cumberland, was the result of earlier exclusions from politics at the provincial level--these people did not feel a part of the larger political system overseeing the Revolution.

Stores, if the Enemy are not retarded in their March", war-induced Indian raids plagued only the remotest areas of Cumberland County to the far distant north and west of town.⁸⁵ The organized American military campaigns against the British were equally far removed from Carlisle.

Although a general perception of "[e]minent [sic] Danger, from the Savages" prevailed in many parts of the county, in the immediate environs of Carlisle, the engagements of the Revolution presented no immediate physical threat to one's life, liberty, or property.⁸⁶

While recruiting may have been tough in Cumberland County, there was no lack of soldiers in Carlisle. The military had a strong and visible presence in and near the town. Unfortunately, along with the benefits that Carlisle's merchants and tavernkeepers enjoyed from this new

⁸⁵John Agnew and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Cumberland County, to Pres. John Dickinson, January 11, 1783, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., IX:736; James Smith of York to the Pennsylvania Council, July 15, 1778, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 102, XX:275; Beeman, Lunenburg, 129-132. According to Beeman, Lunenburg was also distanced from the conflict, but its people came to life with the Revolution. There, even the rank and file were willing to make sacrifices.

⁸⁶Petition of Peters Township, Cumberland County, to the Pennsylvania General Assembly at Lancaster, May 14, 1778, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 83, I:523. Peters was substantially south-west of Carlisle--situated on the Maryland border. According to Hoffman, "Disaffected" in Young, ed., Explorations, 275-276, 278, 300, the real reason for recruiting problems was the conflict between notions of equality and deference during the Revolution. Indeed, deference was critically undermined by the popular appeals of the Revolution and a common resentment of authority developed. see also Isaac, Transformation, 320-322.

stream of patrons, the sudden, war-provoked influx of men into this small town generated its own set of problems.⁸⁷ As spinning wheel maker George Logue testified in 1778, the soldiers could be both nuisances and dangers. Logue explained that "he heard a great noise at the House of the weaver Peter Smith," and "when he entered the House ... he found there a certain Sergt[.] Geo. Dalzell ... with four other men which he supposed to be Privates, Drag[g]ing and pulling P. Smith about." While assaulting his friend Smith, the soldiers also had the nerve to call Logue "a Tory Rascal."⁸⁸ Although Logue was personally angered and insulted by the incident, his testimony also illustrated how the war-time presence of soldiers generated a host of complex social tensions in this small backcountry town.

Perhaps the most pressing issue faced by town residents was how to maintain order among the young soldiers arriving for their temporary stay in Carlisle. Daniel Brodhead, commander of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, recognized this problem. During his troops' stay in Carlisle on the way to Fort Pitt, Brodhead demanded strict discipline in camp. He

⁸⁷It is difficult to estimate how many soldiers were actually stationed in Carlisle during the war. It appears that some 70-140 Artificers were stationed at the Works by 1780. In addition, various regiments and companies moved through town sporadically on their way east or west.

⁸⁸Testimony of George Logue, July 10, 1778, John Davis Revolutionary War Papers, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP, box 65. The weaver Peter Smith is identified as the possessor of a house and lot in Carlisle in 1779 Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS.

requested that his officers "be particularly careful that no disorder happen in camp." Soldiers were expected to respect their quarters. "Any soldier who shall be found guilty of destroying property," he ordered, "must Expect to meet Exemplary punishment." Brodhead also acknowledged his responsibility to the town and community in which he and his troops temporarily resided. He ordered that no officer or soldier "shall presume to leave the Camp to the distance of half a mile, without leave from the commanding Officer," and then called for a sergeant and ten men each evening to patrol and "to Examine the streets of Carlisle." If any Soldier "not having a written permission from a Command[ing] officer shall be found in the town, such soldier shall be made a prisoner & punished."⁸⁹

Unfortunately for the people of Carlisle, not every commander kept his troops as tightly reined as did Brodhead. William Cochran and Thomas Swaine of Cumberland County petitioned the Continental Congress in 1778 about their problems with another contingent of soldiers in Carlisle. According to their testimonial, in the spring of 1777, Cochran had let his house and lot in Carlisle to Swaine for one year. Soon afterwards, Swaine purchased his own house and lot in town and let the rest of his year on Cochran's

⁸⁹Orderly Book, 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, under the command of Daniel Brodhead, Carlisle, July 8-10, 1778, Draper Manuscripts, 2NN5-8, microfilm reel 96, at The David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania.

property to Godfrey Christian "one of Capt[.] Isaac Coren's Soldiers, who took into the same House about a Dozen more of the same Company." Cochran, "being aged, sickly and in want of money," sold his Carlisle property to Captain Coren, commander of one of the Artillery Artificer regiments. When Coren could not come up with the 300 pound selling price agreed upon, Cochran "ended that Bargain" and sold the property to Swaine. The house, however, remained full of soldiers and Coren, in "Defiance to all civil Authority ... Sw[ore] he will cut the Ears off any Constable or other civil Officer whatsoever who shall attempt to molest him or any of his Soldiers." After applying to Colonel Flour [Benjamin Flower] to provide quarters for the men residing in the house, Cochran and Swaine applied to Congress for relief, reasoning that Congress had "the supream[e] Command of all military people."⁹⁰

As these instances illustrate, Carlisle did not survive the war altogether unscathed by inconvenience, tragedy, or hardship. Despite the economic expansion and employment that war-time supply and production functions brought, by

⁹⁰Petition of William Cochran and Thomas Swaine of Cumberland County to the Continental Congress, June 1, 1778, Continental Congress Papers, microfilm reel 53, II:40-41. For further evidence of problems with the Artificers regiment stationed outside Carlisle, see Orderly Book, 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, William Irvine Commander, August 25, 1781, Draper Manuscripts, 2NN181, microfilm reel 96, regarding the court martial proceedings of "Wm White, a soldier of the artificer department," who "was tried for robbery and desertion" at Carlisle. White was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to receive 100 lashes.

1780 war-induced shortages of goods and worsening fiscal problems were a fact of life in this town just as in many others across the backcountry. In and around Carlisle, the plague of small annoyances and more severe economic hardships intensified over the short run. While war with the British had ended the colonial system of mercantilism and altered the order of production and exchange within the American economy, skirmishes with the Indians had undermined the normal workings of the backcountry grain economy. With the system of British credit destroyed and the long-standing colonial import and export markets severely disrupted by the conflict, Americans placed a new emphasis on the development of viable domestic markets--and specifically, on the development of American methods and systems of manufacture.⁹¹

Among the most pressing problems that America and Carlisle faced during this period was a severe credit and specie shortage. While specie always had been in short supply in the colonies, war-time demands and the separation

⁹¹Thomas M. Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia (New York, 1986), 204; James Henretta, The Origins of American Capitalism (Boston, 1991), 231, 234-235, 241-242, 254-255; Jacob M. Price, "Reflections on the Economy of Revolutionary America," in Hoffman et al., eds., Economy, 321. Some of this new emphasis on developing American systems of manufacture was illustrated by Carlisle's experience. War-time production needs reorganized Carlisle's workforce.

from Britain only worsened the situation.⁹² In Cumberland County, as elsewhere by the 1780s, the County Commissioners reported that "there is Such a Scarcity of money of all sorts in this County that we can get but little done."⁹³ While hard currency in the form of specie had never been plentiful in the colonies, with the war-time disruption of colonial commercial patterns and the massive inflation which accompanied it, money, like so many other valuable commodities, was scarcer than ever before.

Fiscal problems on the national level carried over directly to local areas like Cumberland County to produce hardships in the short term. While employment opportunities for local artisans and tavernkeepers abounded, the earnings of gunsmiths, innkeepers, and county militiamen were undercut by the widespread cash shortage. The salary and support of the several companies of Artillery Artificers sent to Carlisle was also undermined. Despite the intense desire of Congress not to repeat the regiment's poor record

⁹²Leighton P. Stradley, Early Financial and Economic History of Pennsylvania (New York, 1942), 16-23; Bezanson et al., Prices During Rev, 319, describes how the changing value of money--and particularly the circulation of several currencies simultaneously--warped all aspects of local trade during the Revolution.

⁹³Abraham Smith to Pres. Joseph Reed, September 12, 1781, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., IX:401. Such sentiments were echoed by John Agnew and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Cumberland County, in their letter to Pres. John Dickinson, January 11, 1783, ibid, 1st ser., IX:736 and by Lt. Col. William Butler in his letter to Joseph Reed, February 28, 1781, ibid, 1st ser., VIII:747-748.

in Philadelphia, financial problems and numerous inefficiencies plagued the Artificers in Carlisle as well. Less than a year after the move of several companies to town, Gen. William Irvine was requested to make a report on the activities at the Public Works. In a letter to the Board of War, he observed, "tis true the Men are uneasy for want of pay [and] Cloathing," but the real problem was that "they apprehend themselves as not belonging to nor adopted by any body[;] consequently that they will be neglected."⁹⁴ Richard Peters, now at the War Office, received Irvine's "[a]ccount of the Ill temper of the Artificers at Carlisle." Peters agreed completely with Irvine's assessment, admitting that "[i]t is really lamentable that the Public should be in this Situation." Unfortunately for the Artificers, there was little that he or the Board could do because "it is not in our Power to remedy it"--the Board simply did not have the money to pay them.⁹⁵ As a result, discord with the Artificers only intensified as their output continued to decrease over time.

The real issue at the Works, however, was not salary, but the notable lack of food and provisions. There had been problems with feeding the troops at Carlisle even before the

⁹⁴William Irvine to the Board of War respecting the Artificers Regiment, March 9, 1781, Irvine Papers, HSP, IV:36.

⁹⁵Richard Peters at the War Office to William Irvine, March 27, 1781, *ibid*, IV:44.

additional companies of Artificers arrived in 1780. In 1779, Capt. Charles Lukens, the commander of one Artificer company stationed at Carlisle, wrote to Quartermaster John Davis' assistant, Capt. Samuel Postlethwaite: "We are all starving for want of bread" and desperately implored, "Please ... furnish the bearer with a Waggon and Horses to go about 20 Miles for a load of Wheat."⁹⁶ The situation at the Works only intensified with addition of several other artificer companies from Philadelphia. By April 1781, it was reported that the supplies of meat had been exhausted at the magazines at Carlisle and York, because "[t]he Artificers Regiment at this place has always kept the County bare." Although the troops were in desperate need of meat, many locals were unwilling to part with what stock they had on questionable terms of credit, while others in the area asked "a mos[t] scandalous price" for their goods.⁹⁷ As a result, as William Irvine reported, "[t]he Artificer Regiment at this place is kept in a very odd kind of way," subsisting for several months on a combination of "Flour and

⁹⁶Charles Lukens to Capt. Samuel Postlethwaite, February 12, 1779, Postlethwaite Papers, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP, box 64.

⁹⁷William Irvine to unidentified recipient, April 10, 1781; and Unidentified letter, March 11, 1781, Irvine Papers, HSP, IV:39, 47. Perhaps such shortages are what prompted soldiers Charles Jones and John Perry to go "to Mr Callender's Still House" and take "a quantity of Bacon Out of said House in a Felonious Manner." See Orders by John Agnew and Samuel Laird to take Charles Jones and John Perry into custody, April 11, 1781, Postlethwaite Papers, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP, box 64.

Whiskey." Because "they had not meat," Irvine explained, they "did not think themselves obliged to Work--they have therefore been an amazing expense for nothing."⁹⁸

Short term economic hardships also impacted many individuals on the local level. In a regional economy governed by grain agriculture and its associated commerce, nothing was worse than the falling prices of wheat and corn during the final years of the conflict.⁹⁹ As Abraham Smith, a county lieutenant, explained to President Reed in 1780, one matter "that seem[s] to give much uneasiness to the Inhabitants of this County, ... is the lowering the Price of grain." After all, some "of the oldest of the people had before Sold so much of their wheat at ten Shillings p[e]r Busshell as wou'd pay their publick tax."¹⁰⁰ The war generated a "lowness of Markets," that disrupted trade on the local level. These economic circumstances combined with the long-standing local problem of "the peoples distance from any Market for their Produce," to make it "very difficult for them [local residents] to be in a better

⁹⁸William Irvine to unidentified recipient, August 19, 1781, Irvine Papers, HSP, IV:97.

⁹⁹Bezanson et al., Prices During Rev, 93-94, 112, describes the drop in grain prices in 1781 and outlines the overall trend: grain prices consistently high in pre-war period and consistently low in the postwar.

¹⁰⁰Abraham Smith to Pres. Joseph Reed, August 25, 1780, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 16, frame 1053.

Situation."¹⁰¹ In his autobiography, Carlisle tavern and storekeeper, John Wilkens, described some of the currency problems local people experienced during the war. Upon the receipt of a captain's commission in the Continental Army, Wilkens described how he left his wife and family in Carlisle with "about six thousand hard money," and specific instructions to his wife "to trade upon it and what of my debts she could collect." To keep the money "good, as the continental money was then beginning to depreciate," his wife did exactly as he told her to, "but the paper money depreciated so rapid," that, in the end, he regretfully related, "she could not keep the money good" no matter how hard she tried.¹⁰²

Carlisle-area farmers were especially hard hit by the devastating economic effects of the final years of the war. Cumberland's County Commissioners described how "[t]he Farmer[,] who hath been frequently called from his Family to Military Service and unable to obtain Labourers to Cultivate his Farm," was caught by 1783 in vicious cycle of tax debt, as he was unable "to make mony [sic] of his present Crop

¹⁰¹John Agnew and Samuel Laird to John Dickinson, January 11, 1783, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., IX:736; Abraham Smith to Joseph Reed, September, 12, 1781, *ibid*, 1st ser., IX:401.

¹⁰²John Wilkens, "The Autobiography of John Wilkens," in Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 56.

before he hath put in his Seed."¹⁰³ As we have seen, tax collection was difficult by the 1780s, due to the general lack of available funds in the County. According to Lt. Col. William Butler, the situation was only worsened by what he saw as the irresponsible actions of local officials. He complained bitterly of the county treasury that "has not money ... principally owing to the People having it in their Power to pay their Taxes in produce."¹⁰⁴ For a military man intent on supplying the needs of his men, the local coffers were not only devoid of cash, they were needlessly overstocked with "Wheat[,] Rye[,] Oats--all of which" was said to be "of the worst quality." With even "the people at the Mills and other repositories not being interested therein," this stock of poor quality grain was completely useless.¹⁰⁵

Natural disasters further aggravated war-induced economic dislocations. On a return trip to his home on Carlisle's main street in 1779, John Armstrong "was much surprised," when "coming into the country ... to find the lightness of our last winters crops"--a problem he "thought

¹⁰³John Agnew and Samuel Laird, Commissioners of Cumberland County, to Pres. John Dickinson, August 14, 1783, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 20, frame 626.

¹⁰⁴William Butler to Pres. Joseph Reed, February 28, 1781, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VIII:747.

¹⁰⁵Unidentified letter, March 11, 1781, Irvine Papers, HSP, IV:39.

to be occasioned by the Frost and afterward a mildue."¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately for locals, inclement weather caused more than one natural calamity in 1779. Sometime that summer, "the greatest Flood in Conedeguinnet [Creek] ever known by the Oldest Lives" also occurred near Carlisle. For those farmers cultivating the fertile and highly desirable lands along the creek, "[e]very Day br[ought] fresh accounts of the Damage done by the Flood," including the loss of corn, potato, and hay crops and the destruction of many buildings, fences, mills, and stills.¹⁰⁷

By the 1780s, the combined effects of natural disasters, an altered export economy, high rates of inflation, and the absence of those local men involved in the fighting war, had dramatically affected the output and productivity levels of many Cumberland County farmers. While these problems were short term, they nonetheless caused the temporary dislocation of many individuals. If the testimony of one John Irwin before the justices of Cumberland County's Orphan's Court in 1780 is any

¹⁰⁶Gen. John Armstrong to Pres. Joseph Reed, November 27, 1779, Hazard, ed., PA Archives, 1st ser., VIII:31. According to 1779 tax rates, Armstrong was the possessor of two lots in Carlisle. John Creigh's 1764 map of the town, shows Armstrong as the holder of lots #237, #245 at the corner of High and Bedford streets--presumably Armstrong had built a home on one of these lots, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1779; John Creigh's 1764 Map of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, CCHS.

¹⁰⁷Samuel Postlethwaite to John Davis, August 23, 1779 and August 27, 1779, Davis Papers, General Correspondence, LC, microfilm reel 3.

indication, the county's "working poor"--a transient and diverse collection of day laborers--were perhaps the economic group most adversely affected by these changes in the local grain economy.

Irwin identified himself as "a Poor Man praying the Court to order him a subsistence" from the overseers of the poor in Middleton Township. He carefully explained to the justices that "he was brought into Philadelphia a Servant by a Certain William Blair many years a Go." After he had served his time and was let go, he came to live with his brother Robert Irwin in Middleton Township.¹⁰⁸ Since then, he "ha[d] not been either as a servant or hireling" employed for "one whole year in anyone Township." The court granted Irwin's plea for subsistence, ordering the overseers of the Poor "to Support the said John Irwin[,] he being an Old infirm Decriped [sic] Man not able to earn his Living."¹⁰⁹ War-induced shortages and hardships meant cutbacks in the number of laborers local farmers could afford to hire to work their fields. In the midst of a more competitive, and even desperate, war-time situation, farmers had no room for

¹⁰⁸Robert was evidently a planter in the county. Appearing on the Middleton Township tax rolls in 1764 with no land to his name, Robert apparently moved from the township to other areas of the county. In 1766, Robert Irwin, identified as the "yeoman of East Pennsborough Twp." sold 130 in Fermanagh Township, Deeds, CCCH, Book B, 32-33. In 1775, a deed names Irwin as a bordering neighbor to lands in Rye Township in Sherman's Valley, *ibid*, Book D, 248-251.

¹⁰⁹Petition of John Irwin, May 23, 1780, Cumberland County Orphan's Court Records, CCCH, Docket Book #2, 269.

the addition of one more "old" and "infirm" laborer like John Irwin. As a result, self-respecting men like Irwin, who had made the overseas journey to Pennsylvania and worked through their indentures to freedom, were released into a world that did not have an economic role for them to fill. In the end, Irwin and others like him, were reduced to begging for public assistance from the courts in order to survive the final years of the Revolution.

The case of William Irwin illustrates how changes in America's aggregate economy were experienced directly on the local level. The documented dislocation of individuals at the bottom of the local economic scale demonstrates how difficult it was for county farmers and businessmen to make the transition from the booming pre-war export economy to the tenuous domestic-centered production of the war. These changes, especially during the latter years of the conflict, were most acutely felt by those already on the "margins" of Carlisle society--transient laborers like Irwin, disabled soldiers, and women--those individuals who had the most tenuous hold on the reins of economic power before, during, and after the conflict.

In Carlisle, the American Revolution was about more than macroeconomic changes and political struggles on a grand scale. It was also about the ways in which warfare temporarily or permanently affected the lives of many ordinary people. Between 1778 and 1787, eleven men appeared

before the Cumberland County Orphan's Court to petition for economic relief as a result of injuries sustained in battle. Although they represented only an infinitesimal percentage of Cumberland County's total white population of 18,020 in 1790, these petitioners are symbolic illustrations of how war impacted a handful of men in and around the town.¹¹⁰ These men, too, were victims of the Revolution and its dislocations. As physical casualties of the war, they were reduced to a fiscal and social marginality that was the direct result of battle injuries that hindered their formerly productive capacities. Despite their lack of economic power and social status, these men did not appear in court to beg for pity, but to receive their just financial compensation from the very system responsible for their marginalization.¹¹¹

Edward Oneil of Middleton Township was a typical petitioner. He was awarded a pension of 5 dollars per month after detailing his physical hardships to the court. Oneil,

¹¹⁰Federal Census of 1790, General Return, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, National Archives, Washington D.C., microfilm.

¹¹¹Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, X:64-65, section XI, "An Act for the more effectual supply and Honorable reward of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States," passed March 1, 1780, stated that "all the officers and soldiers who have been or shall be regularly transferred from any of the regiments...into the invalid regiment and such transfer duly certified by the commanding officer ... shall be ... entitled to all the benefits, privileges, and advantages which are by this act granted to any officers or soldiers belonging to this state."

an "Invalid," was only 29 years old, but was said to be "so Disabled by wounds which he received at the Gran[d] Springs in Virginia ... as a private soldier[,] that he is not able to earn any part of his livelihood by Labour."¹¹² So too, were James Alcorn of Middleton, a member of the "Corps of Invalids" and John Woods of Carlisle, a sergeant of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, who was discharged "as unfit for Duty" after being declared "an Invalid." Like Oneil, both Alcorn and Woods received pensions of 5 dollars per month and were reduced to living as boarders in the homes of others.¹¹³ Their lives were profoundly affected by their war-time experiences. Like county militiaman Moses Kirkpatrick, whose wounds "in Both arms and also his back" in 1778 made it very likely that he would be "rendered Incapable of Getting a living by his Labour during his life," all of these men suffered disabling battle injuries. While they were permanently incapable of earning steady wages, their injuries had also made them dependent on the sympathy of the local courts for their future livelihoods.¹¹⁴

¹¹²Petition of Edward Oneil, February 2, 1786, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket #2, 379.

¹¹³Petitions of James Alcorn and John Woods, March 25, 1783, *ibid*, Docket #2, 321-322; see also Return of Invalids, Cumberland County, September 22, 1783, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 20, frame 724.

¹¹⁴Petition of Moses Kirkpatrick, November 18, 1778, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket #2, 233. Kirkpatrick, a member of Captain Denny's militia company, "was wounded in General

Women's lives, too, were dramatically affected by the Revolution. For many, the war meant the extended physical and emotional absence of the male head of household.¹¹⁵ The Revolution also brought wives and mothers a host of new challenges and roles.¹¹⁶ The letters written by young James Blaine to his father Ephraim Blaine "at Camp" in White Marsh in 1777, yields an intimate glimpse into the daily life of one family left to manage without its male patriarch. Most likely writing from his father's extensive 900 acre working plantation in northern Middleton Township, James reported

Lacey[']s Surprize the first of May." The court ordered that he receive a sum of 2 shillings, 1 pence per day.

¹¹⁵After all, George Stevenson had estimated in 1776 that "not less than 1,500 Men" from Cumberland County would march off across the Susquehanna River, see George Stevenson, Chairman, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, December 29, 1776, PA Rev Govt, microfilm reel 11, frame 643. While it is possible that Stevenson exaggerated his estimates to win the favor of the Council, according to the estimates presented by Evarts Greene & Virginia Harrington in American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1932), 117, 119, of the 3521 taxables in 1770 the loss of these 1,500 men would have left some 2021 remaining--a substantial loss of men. Stevenson's estimate is also supported by William Irvine's comments on recruiting in 1777: "They all think after this Circuit it will be in Vain for them to go out again--I am of this opinion, at least till after Harvest, there is scarce a man left." William Irvine to Lt. Col. David Grier, May 27, 1777, Irvine Family Papers, HSP, box 1.

¹¹⁶For a more comprehensive discussion of these changes, see Linda K. Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (New York, 1980, reprint 1986); Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston, 1980), 155-256. For a more complete examination of evolving gender roles in Carlisle, see Chapter VI below.

that "Mamy is well."¹¹⁷ Both he and his brother "Boby" (Robert) were sick, however, although "Boby" was "getting well," James complained that he had "[n]ott [sic] Recover[e]d my sickness properly" and "have a Constant headcke [sic] Night and Day."¹¹⁸ With his father gone, he and his brother ill, and "Uncle Alex," Ephraim's brother, "gone to [F]ort Pitt," James conceded that "there is not a Boy about the house but Alex to doo anything." Indeed, his poor "Mamy" was left with temporary charge of the daily workings of Blaine's extensive plantation home and business enterprises in Middleton Township, as well as two parcels of land totalling 1200 acres, and his three lots in Carlisle.¹¹⁹

From young James's letter it is clear that the homefront situation of his "Mamy," Rebecca, was far from ideal.¹²⁰ Not only did she have two sick children to care for at home and little male help around the plantation, her

¹¹⁷Tax Rates, Middleton Township, CCHS, 1779, Blaine is listed as the holder of two parcels of land--900 and 300 acres each.

¹¹⁸James Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, October 21, 1777, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC, microfilm.

¹¹⁹James Blaine to his father Ephraim Blaine, November 12, 1777, *ibid*, LC, microfilm. On the 1779 tax list for Carlisle, Blaine is listed as having three lots rated at 450 pounds, while possessing 1200 acres in two separate parcels in Middleton Township, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, Middleton, CCHS, 1779.

¹²⁰Rebecca was Blaine's first wife and mother to his sons James and Robert.

typical "womanly" domestic duties of cook and housekeeper had also been disrupted by war-time conditions. As James explained, "Mamy has not one single grain of Tea[,] Coffy [sic] is 20 Shillings a Pound[,] Brown Sugar is 15 Shillings[,] Loaf Sugar 30 Shillings." Clearly, war-induced shortages and high prices for commonly used goods made the normal chores of shopping, baking, and tending to one's family even more difficult for this "deputy husband". Although "Mamy" cheerfully sent her "best Compliments" to her husband Ephraim, James's words surely echoed her most heartfelt sentiments when he reminded his "Dear Dady," "don[']t forget your Promis[e] of Coming home in two weeks."¹²¹

The Revolution surely added to what was already a busy daily routine of child care and domestic chores for Rebecca Blaine. For other women in and around Carlisle, however, the Revolution meant far more than just hard work and added responsibilities. For those individuals like Isabel Neily of Middleton Township, the war brought relocation, family disruption, and intense economic hardship.

Sometime before the war, Neily, widowed in the early 1770s, had "removed" herself and her two youngest children from "one hundred Acres of poor Land situate on the North

¹²¹James Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, November 12, 1777, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC, microfilm; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York, 1980), chapter 2.

Side of Conedogwainet Creek" to the Kishoquillas Valley--on land settled by her older son, David. Sometime in 1778, after several war-provoked Indian uprisings nearby, Neily and her children "were obliged to fly" from the frontier "and return'd to their Place in Middleton Township."

Unfortunately for her and her family, when neighbor David Christy made a claim to part of her Middleton land, a fight ensued between Christy and Neily's son--in the end, Christy was killed and her son was jailed on charges of manslaughter.

Neily, portraying herself as a powerless and infirm woman, petitioned the Pennsylvania Council "to remit the Confinement of her Son that he may labour to procure Bread for his aged ... Mother." While war-induced conditions had forced Neily to flee the frontier for the refuge of her lands in Middleton, the subsequent absence of her jailed son only worsened what were already difficult war-time economic circumstances. Without her son to run the farm, Neily and her daughter were left helpless. She was destitute, she explained to the Council. Since her son's absence, "the procuring of Firewood and taking Care of my two Cows and an old Mare and an Horse devolved on my Daughter" and in doing "she got Colds by which she has contracted female Disorders which your Petitioner expects will terminate in her Death." Neily's future livelihood was most uncertain. What "little Wheat and Rye which your Petitioner had growing ... is

almost destroyed by Creatures." Furthermore, she explained, without her son, "she has no Spring Crop in the Ground, nor a Way to procure any Person to fallow the Grains for a Fall Crop." With her "temporal Circumstances" in ruin, Neily asked the Council to free her son from jail so that he could farm her land and earn the money necessary both to support his mother and sister as well as pay his debts to the court.¹²²

Other women used the county court system to protect themselves, their property, and their future livelihoods from war-time ruin and destruction. Elizabeth Ross, widow of the late Jonathan Ross, a militia private killed at the battle of Crooked Billet in 1778, came into the county Orphan's Court in 1787 in what appeared to be a last desperate attempt to obtain some basic subsistence for herself and her family. As she explained, her husband's death left her and her "[s]even Children in a Distressed Situation" as several of her "[c]hildren were very young and totally incapable of Supporting themselves." "Since her husband[']s death," some nine years ago, she "hath Laboured under real Difficulties and Distresses to procure a bare Subsistence for herself and the Children." Although she was anxious for herself and her family, Elizabeth nonetheless displayed pride in her efforts when she made it clear to the

¹²²Petition of Isabel Neily to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, August 25, 1780, PA Rev Govt, Clemency Files, 28-30.

justices that in the nine years she had been widowed she "hath never obtained any relief from the state." Although impoverished much like Neily, Elizabeth was not begging for a handout. Rather, she "hath been informed that relief has been granted to many widows" in the state and sought her just compensation for the suffering of her family by having the court "extend the Provision of the act of assembly ... for her Relief." In response to her petition, the Court granted her an award of 12 shillings, 6 pence per month from the time of her husband's death--for a total of some 67 pounds.¹²³

Unlike Neily and Ross, some Carlisle women took full advantage of war-time circumstances and the county courts to obtain their just due from a legal system which so often closed them off from economic opportunity and responsibility.¹²⁴ In the early spring of 1783, Catherine Thompson, "Widow" and "Relict of the honorable William Thompson" of Carlisle, appeared before the judges of Cumberland's Orphan's Court to present her petition for the half of his military pay she was entitled to "during her Widowhood" under the provisions made by the Pennsylvania

¹²³Petition of Elizabeth Ross, February 21, 1787, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket #3, 18.

¹²⁴For a comprehensive discussion of the legal restrictions on eighteenth-century women, see Marylynn Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America (Chapel Hill, 1986).

General Assembly.¹²⁵ Her husband William, she explained, had been appointed Brigadier General in the Army of the United Colonies in March 1776. He served faithfully until he "died in actual service," in September 1781. After hearing her request, the Court granted her request for annual payments of 281 pounds, 5 shillings and agreed to pay her all that was due her in arrears for a total of some 421 pounds, 17 shillings, 6 pence.¹²⁶

Catharine Thompson was not the typical woman of Carlisle. Educated enough to be able to sign her own name to her petition, Thompson was clearly one of Carlisle's more economically and socially privileged residents. The daughter of Reverend George Ross and his second wife, Catharine, had sat for the portrait painter Benjamin West in Lancaster in 1755. Later, young Catharine Ross had married the Irish-born William Thompson, a prominent man of Cumberland County and a Carlisle resident by the 1770s, who rose to the rank of Brigadier General in the Continental

¹²⁵Catherine was evidently responding to the supplement of the act entitled: "An Act to settle and Adjust the Accounts of the Troops of this State, in the Service of the United States, and for other purposes therein mentioned," passed October 1, 1781, Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, X:372. Section IV stated that "the widows and children of the officers of the said regiments, ... who have fallen in battle or died in captivity, shall be and are hereby entitled to receive the half pay of such officers from and since the time of their death"

¹²⁶Petition of Catherine Thompson for Widow's Pension, March 1, 1783, in the William Thompson Papers, CCHS. For the presentation of her petition in court see: April 23, 1783, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket #2, 323.

Army.¹²⁷ William Thompson was prosperous enough to own 310 acres of fertile farm land on the south side of Conodoguinet Creek in nearby West Pennsboro Township as well as 200 acres of well-situated land, equipped with a saw mill, in Middleton Township. His Middleton estate functioned as a working plantation with 60 acres of cleared land and a slave and a servant to work it.¹²⁸

Unlike Neily or Ross, Catharine Thompson lived far above poverty at the time of her husband's untimely death in 1781. While she sought to elicit sympathy and understanding from the court, she made no pretense to being a helpless victim of war-time poverty and destitution. Rather, Thompson appeared before the justices of the Cumberland County Court in 1783 to insure a financially comfortable and independent future for herself during her widowhood.

Catherine made the most of her widow's pension. She continued to live comfortably in Middleton as the proprietor of two parcels of land totalling 439 acres and as the owner of one "Negro Jacob."¹²⁹ She was able to transport herself

¹²⁷William Sawitzky, "The American Work of Benjamin West," PMHB, LXII, #4 (1938), 449.

¹²⁸William and Catherine mortgaged this land to James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, in 1772. See Deeds, CCCH, Book C, 252-53(2).

¹²⁹"Negro Jacob" is the slave named in Catharine Thompson's will of March 8, 1808, in which she states that "It is my will and desire that Negro Jacob shall at my decease become free"--presumably as a reward for a long period of service extending back to before 1780 when Pennsylvania passed a law for the gradual manumission of all

around the county fashionably in her stylish phaeton and made two additional court appearances in 1784 and 1787 to renew her pension.¹³⁰ By 1790, however, Catharine was sending one Galbreath Patterson to court on her behalf. Patterson reported that even though Thompson now lived in Pittsburgh, she remained William's widow and thus deserved the continuation of her pension. The court, in agreement with his argument, again awarded 210 pounds, 18 shillings, 9 pence to Thompson in payment for three quarters. Thereafter, the court continued to award payments to her on a quarterly or annual basis until 1794. Throughout this time, it was said that "Catherine" remained "in full life, unmarried and the Widow of the said Brigadier General."¹³¹

its slaves. Will of Catharine Thompson, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, in the William Thompson Papers, CCHS.

¹³⁰For information about Catharine Thompson's material status, see Tax Rates, Middleton Township, CCHS, 1787.

¹³¹September 13, 1792, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket #3, 108. For Catharine Thompson's many appearances in court after 1783, see *ibid*, Docket #2, April 23, 1784, 240, Docket #3, September 28, 1787, 34, April 27, 1790, 73, July 18, 1791, 92, February 16, 1792, 101, September 13, 1792, 108, April 6, 1793, 111, August 6, 1793, 117, September 10, 1793, 118, February 11, 1794, 131, and May 14, 1794, 141. Catharine was one of the relatively small number of women, who at her death, bequeathed large amounts of property to her living relatives. With a 287 acre plantation called "Hamilton Hall" in Allegheny County, a 266 acre tract called "Liberty," a 98 acre tract referred to as "Sugar Bottoms," and another 300 acres known as "Chatsworth" in Westmoreland County, Catharine Thompson remained an exceptionally well-situated women even at her death. See Will of Catharine Thompson, March 8, 1808, in the William Thompson Papers, CCHS.

There were winners and losers in revolutionary Carlisle. As the experiences of these men and women demonstrate, many individuals--through economic hardships, battle injuries, increased domestic responsibilities, or the loss of a spouse--were physically hurt and emotionally scarred by the war and its complex and often devastating effects. There were, nonetheless, aggregate gains made during the Revolution, which in the long term, greatly benefited Carlisle's economy, its physical composition, and its people. Despite all of the short-term fiscal problems, the Revolution wrought important and positive structural changes in Carlisle's economy and its regional status. The war made Carlisle's service economy boom. Tradesmen, tavernkeepers, and merchants alike all benefitted from the employment opportunities generated by Carlisle's war-time status as a supply and manufacturing center. Perhaps more importantly, the town itself expanded in a physical sense. New structures dominated the local landscape. The Public Works, described as "an immense pile of building, far exceeding anything in this part of the country" in 1788, occupied a prominent position on the local landscape as the symbol of Carlisle's war-time activity.¹³² The town assumed economic functions with regional and national implications. It became the focal point and coordinator of the agricultural production of its hinterland. Carlisle also

¹³²Cutler, August 3, 1788, Life, Journals, I:401.

merited considerable attention during the war. For a time in the 1770s and 1780s, Carlisle was a place of importance-- a backcountry town worthy of assuming key military supply and manufacturing functions. Although the war produced temporary inconveniences, suffering, disorder, and disruption on the local level, it had also permanently changed the way Carlisle looked at itself--as well as how Americans looked at Carlisle.¹³³

* * * * *

By 1781 and 1782, with the war nearly over, Carlisle's heyday as a supply and manufacturing center had passed and operations at the public works were scaled back. Carlisle, no longer the backcountry commercial hub that it had been during the conflict, returned to a more peaceable and productive existence. In 1785 "the public buildings, ... or such parts thereof as are not wanted for the public stores ... and are most remote from the Magazine," were leased to

¹³³For a similar transformation in revolutionary Concord, Massachusetts, see Robert A. Gross, The Minutemen and Their World (New York, 1976, reprint 1986), 190-191; or in Pennsylvania, in the towns of York or Reading, see Doutrich, "Yorktown," 10, 143-148; Laura L. Becker, "The American Revolution as a Community Experience: A Case Study of Reading, Pennsylvania," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978).

the trustees of Carlisle's newly established Dickinson College.¹³⁴

The end of the war brought a host of mixed emotions to local residents. While Gen. William Irvine at Fort Pitt celebrated Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown with the firing of nineteen pieces of artillery and a display of troops in their colors, others, who saw only the short-term havoc the war had wreaked, were less optimistic.¹³⁵ With peace at hand in 1782, long-time resident merchant John Montgomery wrote from Philadelphia to Capt. Samuel Postlethwaite in Carlisle of his fear of a general drop in prices with the conclusion of the conflict.¹³⁶ By 1784, Montgomery's apprehensions had become reality in Carlisle. While attorney James Hamilton, openly lamented the fact that "[l]ands in this County have fallen in price very much since the Peace--a great number of ... Sales are expected next term," others, like John Armstrong, even worried that the widespread financial crisis was setting the foundation for the creation of an aristocracy in America. Amazed that "[t]here are no less than ten new houses of Stone or Brick going on in this town" even though "money is almost

¹³⁴February 7, 1785, Hunt and Hill, eds., Journals of Continental Congress, XXVIII:44.

¹³⁵Orderly Book, 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, under the Command of William Irvine, Fort Pitt, November 6, 1781, Draper Manuscripts, 2NN196, microfilm reel 96.

¹³⁶John Montgomery to Capt. Samuel Postlethwaite, August 12, 1782, John Montgomery Papers, CCHS.

invisible," and labelling "some Storekeepers--Lawyers & Speculators" as "the Nabobs of this county" for their irresponsible economic practices, Armstrong lamented what he estimated as a 25,000 pound debt on the books of local storekeepers. In frustration, he exclaimed "is it not high time that all ranks should change their gates"?¹³⁷

In the immediate aftermath of the war, Carlisle's status appeared somewhat precarious. The early 1780s brought an uncertainty and instability to the region which produced a host of mixed emotional reactions from local individuals. Between 1782 and 1795, Carlisle's population grew at a mere 19.4%--caused by a mass exodus of a remarkable 66.7% of its taxable population (Tables 1 and 2). Although the loss of so many residents was attributable to a combination of factors--including renewed demands for western land--it was also symbolic of other temporary post-war dislocations. Economy and society were "in too

¹³⁷James Hamilton to John Brown, July 2, 1784, James Hamilton Papers, CCHS; John Armstrong to William Irvine, Carlisle, August 16, 1787, Irvine Papers, HSP, IX:84. This situation was evidently repeated elsewhere in Pennsylvania. In a letter to his wife, William Irvine reported that in Philadelphia as well, "the Merchants, are pressing goods on many people on Credit" and observed in much the tone of Armstrong that "every Man who values his reputation or the property he now possesses, is cautious of entering into business at this time." William Irvine to Ann Irvine, June 12, 1784, Irvine Papers, HSP, VIII:105; Mancall, Valley, 160-216 talks of how the Susquehanna Valley reverted back to an unsettled state in the years immediately following the war. By the 1790s, however, things had returned to more typical patterns of growth.

unsettled a state" for the taste of many.¹³⁸ "Trade" especially, "present[ed] a Dull aspect, on acco[un]t of the Scarcity of Money," reported a Philadelphia contact of William Irvine in 1784. "Country produce is so high that remittances are difficult, if not impracticable." Although "[g]oods of all Kinds" were "[v]ery Plenty", and "any quantity might be got upon Very good terms, and long Credit", the astute businessman had to be cautious. After all, as many realized, "the Same Motives which Induce[d] the whole sale merch[an]t to such sacrifices for a little Cash ... Ought to make every man tender of his honor" and "cautious of Contracting Engagements."¹³⁹

In the end, however, not everyone was disappointed by the effects of war on eighteenth-century Carlisle. By 1785, some people at least, could even rejoice in "the flourishing Situation" of the town.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, it is ironic that it took not peace, as Thomas Penn had anticipated, but war, to bring about the circumstances needed for the nascent town of Carlisle to prosper. Warfare brought an unanticipated dynamism to Carlisle. Although both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution wrought hardships on Carlisle

¹³⁸B. Lincoln to William Irvine, October 30, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, VII:39.

¹³⁹N. Lacassagne to William Irvine, May 15, 1784, *ibid*, VIII:101.

¹⁴⁰Samuel Hay to John Agnew, October 8, 1785, John Agnew Papers, CCHS.

and destruction on Cumberland County, these wars also awakened those economic and social forces which would carry Carlisle into the nineteenth century. War restructured the local economy and brought people into the town. Carlisle had a role to fill which went beyond the localized duties of a backcountry county seat. For the first time in its history, Carlisle was a place of real significance.

CHAPTER IV

"ALMOST ALL TRADES ARE CARRIED ON HERE:" OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

"[B]usiness is good, and there are many stores" in Carlisle, the Moravian missionary Abraham Steiner reported in 1789. "There is a good printing press, and almost all trades are carried on here, in particular the making of nails and good beer."¹ A balance of continuities with the past and dynamic strivings towards the future characterized Carlisle's post-war economy. In 1789, the year Steiner passed through town, Carlisle was at once a complex fusion of its past history, its present reality, and its future potential. A product of its colonial heritage as Thomas Penn's proprietary town, Carlisle was also one of the early republic's emerging array of more specialized regional urban economic communities. Although the immediate post-war years were difficult for Carlisle, with the town's slowed rates of population growth, low rates of population persistence, continued shortages of cash, and high retail prices, unmistakable structural changes were altering the scope and

¹Abraham Steiner, 1789, in Wallace, ed., Heckewelder, 236.

conduct of the local economy in ways both subtle and dramatic.

In the wake of the American Revolution, Carlisle, the once small market town of Pennsylvania's colonial backcountry, was gradually transformed into the regional hub of Cumberland County's increasingly complex and far-reaching economy.² While Carlisle remained a retail center, its residents nonetheless displayed a remarkable diversity in the scope and variety of their post-war enterprises. By 1790, Carlisle's economy had a vigorous manufacturing and consumer-goods sector oriented towards the production and distribution of goods and commodities for consumption on the local, regional, and national levels. No longer just a town of innkeepers and storekeepers, Carlisle was the home to an increasingly well-defined and well-integrated urban community of individuals whose diverse economic activities not only cemented the links that bound the town to its rural hinterland, but also integrated the backcountry of central

²While I would argue that Carlisle's economy had always had significant commercial qualities, there were nonetheless important changes occurring during the early national period. Recently, several scholars have argued that these changes were part of a larger transition to a more "modern" variety of capitalism, see Christopher Clark, The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860 (Ithaca, 1990); Henretta, Origins; Allan Kulikoff, "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America," WMQ, 3rd ser., XXXVI (1989), 120-144; Mancall, Valley; Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Emergence of a Capital Market in Rural Massachusetts, 1730-1838," Journal of Economic History, XLV, #4 (1985), 781-808.

Pennsylvania into the metropolitan frontcountries to its east and south.³

* * * * *

Carlisle's post-war occupational structure was not only diverse, but also highly fluid. According to the returns of Pennsylvania's Septennial Census, between 1793 and 1807, an average of sixty-nine different trades were practiced in Carlisle (Table 4).⁴ When these tradesmen advertised their businesses in Carlisle's local newspaper from 1785 to 1810, however, they depicted an even more vibrant economic portrait--naming some ninety-four unique occupational categories in and around the town. Occupational specialization in the town increased over the same period, as the number of different trades practiced in Carlisle declined from seventy-three to sixty-five and as the number

³As T.H. Breen suggests in "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," Journal of British Studies, 25, #4 (1986), 468, Carlisle, like all other local places of colonial America, was part of a larger "empire of goods" which was directly linked to Great Britain's expanding manufacturing sector.

⁴Septennial Census Returns, PHMC, Cumberland County, 1793, 1800; Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 170-174, includes reprint of Septennial Census Return, Carlisle, 1807. This Pennsylvania state census was taken every seven years after 1776 for the purpose of legislative apportionment. It recorded the name and occupation of every householder. For Carlisle, records exist for 1793, 1800, and 1807--for Middleton Township only 1793 and 1800 are extant.

of individuals per occupation rose from an average of six to seven (Table 4).⁵

In a town long known for its strong retail sector, it is not surprising that merchants and tavernkeepers continued to occupy a consistently prominent position in the ranks of Carlisle's employed even after the Revolution. Although their numbers fluctuated over time, these trades remained as two of the most frequently pursued occupations in Carlisle until 1807. Indeed, the categories of retail and food and liquor trades combined accounted for a substantial 17.4% of the town's employed in 1793, 14.8% in 1800, and 17.2% in 1807 (Tables 5 and 6).⁶ As a testimony to the links between the town's economic past and present, the preponderance of merchants and tavernkeepers in Carlisle

⁵In comparison, Lemon, Best Poor, 141, calculated that there were 4.8 persons per occupation in Carlisle in 1781--based on figures from county tax lists. While Carlisle was witnessing increased occupational specialization, Middleton Township was moving in the opposite direction. According to Septennial Census returns, between 1793 and 1800, Middleton witnessed a slight increase in the number of different occupations practiced in the township (from thirty to thirty-three) and a decrease in the average number of persons per occupation (from 13.3 to 12.0)--perhaps indicating that urban and rural places were experiencing the war's aftermath differently, see Septennial Census Returns, Middleton Township, PHMC, 1793, 1800.

⁶Compare these figures to Lancaster in 1788, where the food processing trades of baker, brewer, butcher, and distiller accounted for 11.1% of all artisans, see Jerome H. Wood, Jr., Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1790 (Harrisburg, 1979), 124-125. In Reading, the food trades of baker, butcher, and miller accounted for 5.5% of the town's taxable population, see Becker, "American Revolution as Community Experience," 110-111.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1793-1807

	<u>1793</u>	<u>1800</u>	<u>1807</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Total # Enumerated Individuals	437	362	429	409
# Different Occupations Present in Carlisle	73	68	65	67
Average # People Per Occupation	6	5	7	6
Total # Artisans* in Carlisle	227	158	204	196
% Artisans* in Workforce	52.0%	44.0%	48.0%	48.0%

Source: Septennial Census Returns, PHMC, Carlisle, 1793, 1800; Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 170-174, includes Septennial Census Return, Carlisle, 1807.

*includes only those men and women with a skilled trade

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA
1793-1807

	1793		1800		1807		Mean
	#	%	#	%	#	%	%
<u>Agricultural Trades</u>							
Farmer	7	1.6	5	1.4	15	3.5	2.2
Miller	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Millwright	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Yeoman	0	0	20	5.5	0	0	1.6
	8	1.8%	26	7.2%	17	3.9%	4.1%
<u>Book/Print Trades</u>							
Book Merchant	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Bookbinder	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Printer	1	0.2	1	0.3	5	1.2	0.6
	1	0.2%	2	0.6%	7	1.6%	0.9%
<u>Cloth/Apparel Trades</u>							
Bluedyer	5	1.1	2	0.6	2	0.5	0.5
Breechesmakr	2	0.5	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.3
Hatter	9	2.1	7	1.9	9	2.1	2.0
Heelmaker	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Hosier	4	0.9	4	1.1	0	0	0.7
Reedmaker	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2	0.2
Seamstress	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Shoemkr/Crdwnr	25	5.7	17	4.7	20	4.7	5.0
Stockingweavr	0	0	0	0	3	0.7	0.2
Tailor	15	3.4	10	2.8	17	4.0	3.4
Weaver	19	4.4	11	3.0	19	4.4	4.0
	81	18.5%	53	14.7%	72	16.8%	16.5%

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN CARLISLE, 1793-1807 (Continued)

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>1807</u>		<u>Mean</u>
<u>Construction/Building Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Bricklayer	1	0.2	2	0.6	3	0.7	0.5
Brickmaker	4	0.9	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.5
Carpenter	26	6.0	19	5.2	21	4.9	5.4
Mason	20	4.6	4	1.1	8	1.9	2.6
Painter	3	0.7	0	0	1	0.2	0.3
Plasterer	2	0.5	2	0.6	3	0.7	0.6
Stonecutter	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Well Digger	0	0	2	0.6	0	0	0.2
	<u>56</u>	<u>12.9%</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>8.7%</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>8.6%</u>	<u>10.2%</u>
<u>Food/Liquor Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Baker	8	1.8	3	0.8	3	0.7	1.1
Barkeeper	0	0	0	0	2	0.5	0.2
Brewer	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Butcher	9	2.1	5	1.4	9	2.1	1.9
Distiller	3	0.7	2	0.6	6	1.4	0.9
Tavernkeepr	18	4.1	18	5.0	19	4.4	4.5
	<u>39</u>	<u>8.9%</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>8.1%</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>9.3%</u>	<u>8.8%</u>
<u>General Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Barber	2	0.5	1	0.3	2	0.5	0.4
Basketmaker	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Chandler	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Combmaker	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Gardner	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Hostler	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Laborer	73	16.7	41	11.3	49	11.4	13.3
Potter	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Ropemaker	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Wigmaker	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
	<u>78</u>	<u>17.8%</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>12.8%</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>12.9%</u>	<u>14.7%</u>

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN CARLISLE, 1793-1807 (Continued)

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>1807</u>		<u>Mean</u>
<u>Leather Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Saddler	8	1.8	6	1.7	8	1.9	1.8
Skindraper	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	0.2
Tanner	4	0.9	6	1.7	8	1.9	1.5
	<u>13</u>	<u>2.9%</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3.7%</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3.8%</u>	<u>3.5%</u>
<u>Metal Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Blacksmith	13	3.0	14	3.9	15	3.5	3.4
Clockmaker	5	1.1	0	0	0	0	0.4
Coppersmith	4	0.9	1	0.3	4	0.9	0.7
Farrier	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Gunsmith	1	0.2	3	0.8	1	0.2	0.4
Miner	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Nailer	5	1.1	1	0.3	3	0.7	0.7
Ploughmaker	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Saddletreemkr	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	0.2
Screwsmith	2	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.2
Silversmith	0	0	5	1.4	2	0.5	0.6
Tinner	1	0.2	3	0.8	0	0	0.3
Watchmaker	3	0.7	0	0	0	0	0.2
Whitesmith	2	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.2
	<u>38</u>	<u>8.6%</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>8.4%</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>5.8%</u>	<u>7.6%</u>
<u>Professionals</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Attorney/Esqr	6	1.4	26	7.2	9	2.1	3.3
Clerk	10	2.3	5	1.4	0	0	1.2
Doctor	6	1.4	4	1.1	5	1.2	1.2
Gentleman	9	2.1	2	0.6	0	0	0.9
Minister	3	0.7	3	0.8	4	0.9	0.8
Schlmstr/Tchr	7	1.6	7	2.0	9	2.1	1.9
Student	2	0.5	8	2.2	2	0.5	1.0
Surveyor	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
	<u>43</u>	<u>10.0%</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>15.3%</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>7.0%</u>	<u>10.4%</u>

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN CARLISLE, 1793-1807 (Continued)

	1793		1800		1807		Mean
<u>Public Servants</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Bellman	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2	0.2
Coll Revenue	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Constable	1	0.2	2	0.6	2	0.5	0.4
Cryer	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Gaoler	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
Judge	1	0.2	0	0	3	0.7	0.3
Justice Peace	2	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.2
Membr Congress	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Postmaster	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Prothonotary	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2	0.2
Regstr & Recdr	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.1
Treasurer	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
	<u>11</u>	<u>2.3%</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1.2%</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2.0%</u>	<u>2.1%</u>
<u>Retail Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Merchant	30	6.9	18	5.0	31	7.2	6.4
Peddler	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Storekeeper	0	0	2	0.6	0	0	0.2
Tobacconist	7	1.6	3	0.8	3	0.7	1.1
	<u>37</u>	<u>8.5%</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>6.7%</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>7.9%</u>	<u>7.8%</u>
<u>Soldiers/Military Officials</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Captain	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Colonel	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2	0.2
General	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	0.2
Major	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
	<u>2</u>	<u>0.4%</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.9%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.2%</u>	<u>0.6%</u>

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN CARLISLE, 1793-1807 (Continued)

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>1807</u>		<u>Mean</u>
<u>Transportation Trades</u>							
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Carter	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1
Packer	2	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.2
Wagoner	6	1.4	5	1.4	4	0.9	1.2
Wagonmaker	2	0.5	2	0.6	2	0.5	0.5
Wheelmaker	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	0.2
Wheelwright	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	0.2
	<u>13</u>	<u>3.0%</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2.6%</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1.6%</u>	<u>2.4%</u>
<u>Wood Trades</u>							
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Cabinetmaker	0	0	0	0	3	0.7	0.2
Chairmaker	0	0	0	0	3	0.7	0.2
Cooper	7	0.6	9	2.5	11	2.6	2.2
	<u>7</u>	<u>1.6%</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2.5%</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>4.0%</u>	<u>2.6%</u>
<u>Women (without specified trades)</u>							
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Singlewoman	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Widow	0	0	24	6.6	35	8.2	4.8
	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>6.9%</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>8.2%</u>	<u>4.9%</u>

Source: Septennial Census Returns, Carlisle, PHMC, 1793, 1800; Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 170-174, includes Septennial Census Return, Carlisle, 1807.

TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONAL PREDOMINANCE IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA
1793-1807

TEN MOST NUMEROUS TRADES/OCCUPATIONS

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>1807</u>			
	#	%	#	%	#	%		
Laborer	73	16.7	Laborer	41	11.3	Laborer	49	11.4
Merchant	30	6.9	Attorney	26	7.2	Widow	35	8.2
Carpenter	26	6.0	Widow	24	6.6	Merchant	31	7.2
Shoemaker	25	5.7	Yeoman	20	5.5	Carpentr	21	4.9
Mason	20	4.6	Carpentr	19	5.2	Shoemaker	20	4.7
Weaver	19	4.4	Merchant	18	5.0	Tavrnkpr	19	4.4
Tavrnkpr	18	4.1	Tavrnkpr	18	5.0	Weaver	19	4.4
Taylor	15	3.4	Shoemaker	17	4.7	Taylor	17	4.0
Blksmth	13	3.0	Blksmth	14	3.9	Blksmth	15	3.5
Clerk	10	2.3	Weaver	11	3.0	Farmer	15	3.5
TOTALS	249	57.0%	208	57.5%	241	56.2%		

illustrated that the town continued to function as a transit point between east and west during the first decades of the early republic.⁷ As tavernkeeper James Wallace explained, "all Gentlemen Travellers and others" could "expect to receive civil usage" in Carlisle as they had before the Revolution.⁸ In 1802, at George Weise's tavern, the Sign of the United States Eagle travelers as well as stage riders from the towns of Lancaster, Harrisburg, and Shippensburg could expect to receive proper accommodation in Carlisle, as Weise was "provided with good Liquors, and convenient and good Stabling" at his house.⁹

Merchants and tavernkeepers were symbols of the town's post-war economic status as well as its functions. In many respects, these two trades embodied the changes occurring in Carlisle's economy in the early national period. In their daily business activities, merchants and tavernkeepers served as a unifying force in the community by fostering the continued growth of networks of economic and personal

⁷By all indications, most Carlisle "merchants" would be what Thomas Doerflinger, Jackson T. Main, or Edward Papenfuse classified as "storekeepers"--retail middlemen who purchased goods wholesale from either Philadelphia or Baltimore importers, see Doerflinger, "Farmers and Dry Goods," Hoffman et al., eds., Economy, 166-195; Jackson Turner Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, (Princeton, 1965), 86; Edward C. Papenfuse, In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805 (Baltimore, 1975), note 148, 166-167.

⁸The Carlisle Gazette, April 9, 1788.

⁹Ibid, February 24, 1802.

association on the local and regional levels. They enhanced the developing relationship between Carlisle and its agricultural hinterland, and perhaps most important, they fostered the growth of an increasingly competitive consumer economy on the local level.¹⁰

With strong retail and service components, the trades of store and tavernkeeping shared much in common aside from their sheer numerical predominance. By meeting the marketing needs of a network of local producers and processors, each occupation united town with countryside in a series of symbiotic economic associations on the local level. Carlisle merchants and storekeepers had many direct ties to local producers and processors. Like John Arthur, many continued to act as middlemen in the grain trade much as their predecessors had before the Revolution. The highest cash would be paid for wheat, rye, and corn at his "NEW STORE" in 1795.¹¹ The activities of one unidentified Carlisle merchant in the seven months from June to December 1789 helps to illustrate the complex nature of Cumberland's grain trade. While some of this unidentified merchant's

¹⁰Elizabeth A. Perkins, "The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky," Journal of American History 78, #2 (1991), 494; Daniel B. Thorp, "Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina," WMO 3rd ser., XLVIII, #3 (1991), 391-392. According to Thorp, backcountry retailers acted as agents for the delivery of exports and imports, as local distribution centers, and as quasi-banks.

¹¹The Carlisle Gazette, June 24, 1795.

customers paid for their goods in flour--John Harper, for example, earned 15 pounds credit with the seven "Barrels Sup.[er] fine flower" and five barrels of "Com[m]on" flour he brought to the store in June--this merchant also received bushels of unprocessed wheat on eleven occasions as payment for merchandise. On these occasions, a miller had to be hired to grind the wheat into the flour which could then be transported and sold. On an average of once per month during this seven month period, a local miller earned credit for performing such services. Middleton Township farmer and miller, Charles McClure, was most often the recipient of such patronage. In September 1789 alone, he was credited on four separate occasions for grinding a total of 76 barrels of "flower" at "[d]iff[eren]t times."¹²

Carlisle retailers not only purchased and processed grain on the local level, they also transported and marketed it for export in the port cities of Philadelphia and

¹²Anonymous Account Book #1, June 1789-November 1790, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP. This daybook, from an unidentified Carlisle dry goods merchant and grocer, includes daily listings of both debit and credit transactions. Although anonymous, there is some indirect evidence in the book to suggest that it might have belonged to merchant Joseph Givin, who operated in the town from approximately 1788 until his death in 1791. For the purpose of this study, data was gathered comprehensively from only the first seven months of the book, from June 1789 through December 1789. For more information regarding miller Charles McClure, see Tax Rates, Middleton, CCHS, 1795. McClure was listed as the holder of five parcels of land totalling 1388 acres, as well as a grist mill and a saw mill.

Baltimore.¹³ In just the last seven months of 1789, for example, this same Carlisle merchant engaged a local man to haul produce to Baltimore or Philadelphia on thirty-three separate occasions. Fully 7% of the credits issued in his daybook during this period were awarded to men like David Williamson, employed in June 1789 for "[h]alling [sic] 12 Barrels flower [sic] to B[alti]more" and for "[h]alling 12 Bushels Salt from Baltimore" to Carlisle. This Carlisle merchant maintained extensive economic connections with merchants in other cities. To his well-established Baltimore contact, merchant John Holmes, he sent 126 barrels of locally milled flour from June to December 1789. In return, he received 212.5 bushels of salt--both course and fine--3 barrels of herring and 1 barrel of mackerel. During the same period, he sent an additional 43 barrels of flour and 6 kegs of butter to unnamed merchants in Philadelphia in return for shipments of dry goods and other unspecified "sundries."¹⁴

¹³For information regarding the rivalry between Philadelphia and Baltimore in the post-revolutionary period, see Jo N. Hays, "Overlapping Hinterlands: York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, 1800-1850," PMHB CXVI, #3 (1992), 295-321; Diane Lindstrom, Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850 (New York, 1978); James W. Livingood, The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860 (Harrisburg, 1947).

¹⁴Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP, see June 1789 account for David Williamson, in which Williamson was credited 5 pounds, 8 shillings for his services.

In addition to wheat and flour, Carlisle retailers regularly accepted a great variety of other agricultural products for credit at their stores. Joseph Givin, like so many other merchants and storekeepers in Carlisle, advertised that he was willing to sell his assortment of dry goods "at the most reduced prices, for Cash or Country produce."¹⁵ In the seven month period from June to December 1789, some 21.3% of this one unidentified Carlisle merchant's credit entries included payment in some form of country produce. While payments in wheat or flour were certainly common--accounting for some 4% of the credits issued--tobacco was even more so--accounting for 5% of the sample. Butter (3.2%) and beeswax (3.0%) rounded out the most common forms of agricultural commodity payment. In addition, this merchant also accepted hay, rye, flaxseed, and the medicinal root, ginseng, as well as a variety of meats--including beef, mutton, and pork--as payment for purchases.

With only 24% of the credit entries of this one post-war merchant involving cash payments, Carlisle retailers evidently had to be particularly flexible in issuing credit at their stores. Comparing this unidentified merchant's

¹⁵The Carlisle Gazette, June 24, 1795; May 21, 1788; Shopkeepers in Kentucky followed similar practices. They accepted country produce including: hides, hemp, tobacco, wheat, military pay, land warrants, cattle, hogs, butter, cheese, eggs, locally-made linen, see Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 506.

daybook with an earlier ledger kept by merchant Samuel Postlethwaite, the percentage of accounts paid in cash in 1789 had actually fallen since the mid-1770s, while those paid in goods, services, and produce had risen.¹⁶ There was no dominant cash economy in post-revolutionary Carlisle. Economic patterns continued to focus on the localized exchange of a great variety of goods and services. In addition to agricultural products, local residents offered numerous services as payment for the wares they purchased in local stores. In Carlisle, even one's occupation was a kind of fiscal commodity that served as informal collateral for purchases. While miller Charles McClure earned credit at one Carlisle store by grinding wheat into flour, others, too, used their occupational skills to win much-desired credit. In July 1789, Middleton Township cooper, Melchor Hoffar, earned some 18 shillings of credit by "Lining and Coopering" twelve barrels, Carlisle tailors, William Petrikin and William Levis, earned unspecified amounts by "[m]akeing" a coat, jacket, and greatcoat, while in August 1789, Carlisle skindraper, Jacob Singer, was credited 1 pound, 10 shillings for "[d]ressing 15 Buck Skins." Other

¹⁶Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. Of the credits issued from June-December 1789, 24% were in cash, while 57.5% involved payments in produce, goods, or services. In comparison, in the 1774-1778 ledger of merchant/tavernkeeper Samuel Postlethwaite, 27.5% of the accounts involved cash payments, while only 38% involved payments in produce, goods, or services. See Samuel Postlethwaite Account Book, 1774-1787, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

artisans earned store credits by filling specific customer orders. Carlisle hatter, John Isett, for example, earned 1 pound, 15 shillings for the "[f]urr Hatt Sold [to] Sam[ue]l Pickring" on August 24, 1789.¹⁷ Still others earned credit by providing a regular stock of much-needed merchandise. In a store where tobacco was among the best selling items, Carlisle tobacconist, John Morrison, paid for his purchases by acting as a localized wholesaler--offering quantities of "course" and "fine" tobacco in exchange for valuable economic credit.¹⁸

Carlisle tavernkeepers, too, performed many similar economic functions. While they, like town's merchants, acted as informal creditors on the local level, their activities also enhanced the existing economic associations among the region's producers, processors, and artisans and fostered the reciprocal exchange of goods, services, and other commodities on the local level. Indeed, much like their counterparts in backcountry North Carolina, Carlisle's tavernkeepers obtained their retail "wares" from the town's bakers, brewers, butchers, and distillers--the artisan

¹⁷Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. See July 1789 credits to "Melcar Hoffar," "Wm Patriken," William Levis, and Jacob Singer. See also the August 1789 credit entry for John Isett.

¹⁸Ibid. See numerous credit entries for John Morrison, June-December 1787.

processors of local agricultural commodities.¹⁹ For example, Carlisle tavernkeeper Jacob Crever, proprietor at the Sign of President Jefferson, the "large and commodious House" near the northeast corner of the public square, presumably obtained all or part of his supply of "Porter and Beer" from his relative and fellow tradesman, John Crever, a brewer, who advertised in 1804 that he "ha[d] for Sale low for Cash or short credit[,] BEER and MALT."²⁰ Evidence of these patterns of commodity exchange dated back to the Revolution, if not earlier. In 1776 and 1777, in repayment for the bowls of toddy, slings of whiskey, and servings of cordial, cherry brandy, and beer Carlisle malster, John Pollock, enjoyed at the store and tavern of Samuel Postlewaite, Pollock provided his neighbor with several barrels of beer and some thirty gallons of whiskey.²¹

¹⁹Thorp, "Doing Business," 399. According to Thorp, "The county supplied ... most of the drink sold in the Lowrance tavern."

²⁰The Carlisle Gazette, December 29, 1802; December 21, 1804.

²¹For the account of John Pollock, "malster," see the third section of the Postlethwaite Account Book, HSP. Postlethwaite was evidently one of many merchants in the backcountry who was also a part-time tavernkeeper. Although there is no evidence that Postlethwaite ever formally applied for a tavern license, the vast majority of entries in his account book involve the sale of small and very regular quantities of liquor--much like the pattern Thorp found in North Carolina. For more information on the patterns of retailing in the backcountry, see Thorp, "Doing Business," especially 390-392. Main, Social Structure, 90, also found that many tavernkeepers sold goods other than liquor or food.

Likewise, in exchange for sixteen pounds borrowed in 1776, distiller Michael Myers supplied Postlethwaite with some of the principal commodities of his retail sales--forty-three gallons of cherry brandy and twenty-two gallons of cordial.²²

Merchants and tavernkeepers did more than just promote the exchange of goods and commodities on the local level, however, they also did much to advance Carlisle's burgeoning consumer economy. After all, unlike other artisans who sold the products of their skilled labor, merchants and tavernkeepers did nothing more than market the wares of skilled tradesmen as retail middlemen. They had a pressing need to cultivate consumer demand because their businesses were so dependent on the patronage of others. Moreover, in a town where retail establishments were abundant and competition for business was certainly intense, merchants and tavernkeepers shared a mutual desire to cultivate a niche of the local market for themselves and their particular wares or services. To do so, proprietors not only tailored their establishments and their wares to suit

²²Entry for Michael Myers, "distiller," Postlethwaite Account Book, in the Hamilton Papers, HSP. Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 496-498, 506, found similar patterns of commodity exchange in Kentucky. While in Cumberland County, locals made cherry brandy, in North Carolina, peach brandy was the local product, see Thorp, "Doing Business," 399; see also Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy (Chapel Hill, 1992), chapter 8, for his discussion of localized exchange in the deerskin trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

consumer demand, they also tried to manipulate that demand in subtle ways to match their supplies. In frequent advertisements in The Carlisle Gazette, these retailers sought to distinguish themselves from their competitors.²³

In a town where an average of twenty-six merchants operated between 1793 and 1807, merchants were eminently concerned with public relations. These retailers typically informed the public of any change in their businesses. Merchants like Samuel Gray regularly announced the receipt of new shipments of merchandise. Have "just returned from Philadelphia with a fresh assortment of GOODS" advertised Gray in August 1794.²⁴ Because they were dependent on the patronage of outsiders as well as locals, tavernkeepers were especially concerned about preserving their ties to the

²³Doerflinger, "Farmers and Dry Goods" in Hoffman et al., eds., Economy, 169-173, argues that in small towns, dry goods merchants sought to increase business by carefully planning advertisements and displays in their stores as well as by engaging in price competition with local competitors.

²⁴The Carlisle Gazette, August 20, 1794. In a letter to his father, Samuel Postlethwaite, in Carlisle, John Postlethwaite included an interesting commentary on the competitive nature of the merchant business in Lexington, Kentucky. "To be candid," John wrote, "I never was captivated with this business--and I am now very well convinced that unless a man has an assortment of every thing--or confines himself to one particular branch--[he] will never do here." John Postlethwaite to Samuel Postlethwaite, November 29, 1795, Samuel Postlethwaite Papers, CCHS. Of course, John had also not been very happy in Kentucky and these views may have clouded his opinion of his enterprise. I "am sorry" he wrote in 1790, "that this Cuntry [sic] will not afford anything worth Writeing [sic] you[.] [I]t is a Cuntry [sic] i do not like[.] i fully determind if ever I get back never to visit it again." John Postlethwaite to Samuel Postlethwaite, March 9, 1790, *ibid*.

consuming public. Like Carlisle's merchants, most tavernkeepers usually ran advertisements when they opened for business as well as whenever they relocated or renamed their establishments. William Eaken's notice was typical of many. In 1794, Eaken announced that he had moved his tavern to the Sign of the Black Horse, the tavern formerly kept by Robert Grayson opposite William Wallace's Sign of the Bear.²⁵ In his advertisement, Eaken informed his customers of his recent change of address and oriented his new business in relation to other well-known establishments.

As T.H. Breen explains, because "[c]onsumer demand was the driving force of economic change" and "[k]nowledge of the availability of these goods sparked desire," Carlisle's merchants and tavernkeepers, like their enterprising counterparts in England, had "to inflame consumer desire" in order to sell their wares.²⁶ In Carlisle, retailers willingly played upon a host of individual loyalties and national political symbols to generate consumer interest. It was no accident in 1805, for instance, that merchant Nicholas Ulerich advertised that "he ha[d] opened Store in the house formerly occupied by George Cart, deceased."²⁷

²⁵The Carlisle Gazette, April 30, 1794; see also April 27, 1803, in which George Heikes says that "he has taken that large and well known Tavern House" on the corner of York and Louthier streets, last owned by William Heigel.

²⁶Breen, "Empire of Goods," 476.

²⁷The Carlisle Gazette, August 30, 1805.

Ulerich, like many other retailers in post-revolutionary Carlisle, assumed proprietorship over a well-established venture in the hope of capturing most, if not all, of the former owner's business. Nor was it coincidence that in the first decades of the early republic there were Carlisle taverns known by the highly recognizable political symbols of President Jefferson, General Washington, or the United States Eagle.²⁸ Furthermore, in a region with sizeable Scotch-Irish and German populations, some merchants also clearly played upon ethnic and cultural loyalties as a way to peddle their merchandise. In their published notices, first Joseph Givin, and later his brother James Givin, repeatedly advertised that they had just imported their goods "in the last vessel from Ireland." "IRISH LINENS Just Imported", advertised James Givin in 1804--"a large quantity of COLERAIN LINENS."²⁹ Indeed, for some twenty years, the Givin brothers not only maintained strong trading contacts with Ireland, they consistently used these contacts as a way to sell their goods to the many Scotch-Irish inhabitants of Cumberland County. If one unidentified merchant's daybook

²⁸Ibid, Jacob Crever, December 29, 1802; John Hunter, November 18, 1801; George Weise, February 24, 1802.

²⁹Ibid, for Joseph Givin, see May 21, 1788; September 28, 1791; for James Givin, see October 10, 1792; November 6, 1799; November 9, 1804; August 23, 1805; January 30, 1807. The presence of such advertisements confirms that in backcountry Pennsylvania, like in Kentucky, there was a demand for imported linen--local production of fabric did not and could not fulfill all needs, see Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 502.

from 1789 is any indication, Carlisle retailers maintained direct ties with Irish suppliers in Dublin and Colerain, because, in their purchases, local customers readily distinguished the fine Irish linen from the common "tow linen" produced by their neighbors.³⁰ There is evidence to suggest that German retailers, too, used ethnicity as a way to market merchandise. The German merchant brothers David and Benjamin Herr behaved much like the Irish Given brothers by actively appealing to their fellow German neighbors in their advertisements. It was with the clear intent of capturing German customers, when in 1785, "[i]n their new store, in York-Street" the Herrs advertised that they had for sale "a large and general assortment of Goods . . . , which they have imported from Germany."³¹

* * * * *

While storekeeping and tavernkeeping were common pursuits in Carlisle, artisans overwhelmingly dominated the town's occupational structure in the post-revolutionary period. This "community" of tradesmen, if it can be labelled as such, was composed of diverse individuals whose

³⁰Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. For information regarding this merchant's accounts with Irish suppliers, see entries for Thomas Kinane, Dublin; John and James Stewart, Dublin; and Samuel Lawrence, Colerain; on August 20, 1789.

³¹The Carlisle Gazette, November 16, 1785.

differing occupational pursuits, wealth holdings, and levels of social status precluded them from forming any coherent interest group in the town.³² Yet most of these artisans shared one important characteristic. In Carlisle, the production of goods was most often a household affair, as few tradesmen maintained shops separate from their homes. In 1798, with forty-five structures identified as shops in the town, only 29% of the Carlisle's 158 artisans enjoyed the privilege of a workplace wholly distinct from their living quarters.³³ Thus for most of these tradesmen and tradeswomen, business presumably mingled with family life on a daily basis.

The cloth production and apparel trades, although declining slightly, remained the most numerically prominent group of artisans in Carlisle's post-revolutionary economy. Dominated by shoemakers, weavers and tailors, these artisans accounted for an average of 16.5% of Carlisle's workforce from 1793 to 1807 (Table 5).³⁴ These tradesmen, much like

³²Gary B. Nash, "Artisans and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Ian Quimby, ed., The Craftsman in Early America (New York, 1984), 62-63.

³³United States Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, National Archives, Washington D.C., microfilm. Of the 45 shops existing in Carlisle, 30 were identified with specific functions. 10 were identified as "smith" shops, 5 as "work" shops, 4 as "hatter" shops, and 3 as "carpenter" shops. The remainder (8) were identified as cooper, weaver, wheelwright, joiner, and saddler shops.

³⁴In 1788 Lancaster, textile crafts accounted for 21.4% of the town's artisans. Unlike Carlisle, however, there were no fullers, see Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, 124-125; in 1773

Carlisle's merchants and tavernkeepers, operated on several distinct levels within the local economy. Although these artisans were easily divisible by function into cloth production and apparel production sectors--with one processing wool and cotton into finished cloth and the other using cloth or leather to manufacture wearing apparel--their connections to the region's economy were actually more complex. Based upon how these artisans interacted with other tradesmen and the public on the local level, they can be divided into two tiers of production and intent.

The first group of tradesmen--fullers, dyers, breechesmakers, hosiers, and some weavers--were highly localized in the scope of their economic activities and the breadth of their commercial contacts. Their businesses focused largely on the processing of raw materials and the manufacture of goods for local consumption. These tradesmen were intimately connected to the agrarian economy of Cumberland County, because they were directly dependent on the production and processing capabilities of individual farm households. In many respects, these processing-manufacturing trades united town with countryside. Not only did these artisans transform the goods of area farmers into

Reading, cloth trades accounted for 13.7% of the taxable inhabitants, see Becker, "American Revolution as Community Experience," 110; in 1759 Rowan County, North Carolina, clothing trades (including shoemaking) accounted for 42.74% of all the county's artisans, see Johanna Miller Lewis, "Artisans in the Carolina Backcountry: Rowan County, 1753-1770," (Ph.D. diss., The College of William and Mary, 1991), 159.

finished products for consumption, they also linked the more informal home processing of wool, linen, and even cotton, to their skilled processing services--winding together a network of production which extended across the county from rural farmsteads into the shops of Carlisle.³⁵

Nor was cloth production an exclusively urban or rural phenomenon. Rather, many of these tradesmen, and especially weavers, were numerically well represented in Carlisle as well as Middleton Township (Tables 5 and 7). Once wool, linen, or cotton fibers were carded and spun by individual families, these processed materials were delivered to one of the increasing number of local "diaper and coverlid" weavers located both inside and outside Carlisle.³⁶ Robert M'Bride

³⁵This in no way implies that Carlisle's cloth economy was wholly self-sufficient. While local cloth was being produced, there also continued to be a thriving business in sales of imported fabrics. Furthermore, from newspaper advertisements placed by local weavers, it appears that much local cloth was intended for coverlets and other bed furnishings--not clothing. For information on the importance of British textiles in the backcountry, see Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 501-502; see also Breen, "Empire of Goods," 484. For a glimpse into the importance of imported textiles in Cumberland County in the colonial period, see purchases of Robert Callender, Stephen Duncan, William Lyon, John Holmes, John Kinkead, Robert Miller, and Ephraim Steel from Philadelphia merchant William West, in William West Wastebooks #1 and #2, in West Account Books, HSP.

³⁶Rolla Milton Tryon, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (Chicago, 1917), 190. Asserting that farmers were self-sufficient, Tryon argues that cloth was the most important and consistent product of the "family factory." I do not agree. While some families in Cumberland County may have woven their own cloth, the large number of local weavers suggests that most weaving was done professionally. This view is supported by Adrienne Hood, "Organization and Extent of Textile Manufacture in Eighteenth-Century Rural Pennsylvania:

was one of Carlisle's many weavers. In 1795 he announced that he "[h]a[d] commenced his business" in town. M'Bride hoped to attract the patronage of locals with the "Loom" he "ha[d] purchased ... for raised work ... for weaving double and single Coverlids[,] Diaper and White Counterpains."³⁷ Fourteen years later, weaver George Stuart emphasized the localized scope of his trade when he advertised in 1809 that he had "commenced" his business in Carlisle "for the purpose of Weaving all kinds of Country work, which will be done with care and expedition."³⁸

Even fullers (the only truly "rural" tradesmen because of their dependence upon water-powered mills) operated in close conjunction with the town and its retail establishments. Many fullers designated Carlisle as a central deposit point for locally produced cloth awaiting fulling. Vincent Gribble, for example, resident fuller at Major Gilson Craighead's mill on the Yellow Breeches, four miles south of Carlisle, advertised in 1801 that he took cloth at John Hunter's tavern in Carlisle.³⁹ He was much

A Case Study of Chester County," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1988), 11, 123-157. Hood emphasizes that weaving required large, specialized equipment which few households could afford. She asserts that in Pennsylvania weaving was the domain of male professionals, not women.

³⁷The Carlisle Gazette, November 18, 1795.

³⁸Ibid, November 18, 1795; May 5, 1809.

³⁹Ibid, November 25, 1801; According to Tryon, Manufactures, 249, fulling was one of the first cloth operations turned over to professionals, because it required

like Peter M'Cann, fuller at Mr. Quigley's mill, three miles above Lisbon toward Carlisle, who advertised in 1804 that he would pick-up cloth every three weeks at Jacob Crever's Carlisle store.⁴⁰

The symbiotic relationship between town and countryside was further preserved in the final stages of this localized cloth production network. While fulling usually took place at a rural mill site, the finished cloth often returned to Carlisle for dying. Many dyers, like Jacob Miller, operated independently of the fulling mills at their own shops in Carlisle. Miller advertised in 1796 that he "carrie[d] on the BLUE-DYING Business, in all its Branches, in York Street" in Carlisle. As an incentive to potential patrons, he added that "[h]e has an excellent way of preparing and dying the TURKEY-RED, which colour he makes as good as any man in that line in America."⁴¹

While cloth production trades had a long history in the Cumberland Valley as highly localized occupations intimately tied to the agrarian economy, there were some noticeable changes in their scope and nature in the decades following the Revolution. Before the war, several Carlisle merchants

equipment not readily available on most farmsteads.

⁴⁰Ibid, October 19, 1804. According to Hood, "Textile Manufacture," 157-174, the existence of fulling mills and fullers further demonstrates that in Pennsylvania the final stages of cloth production were controlled by a group of male artisans with highly specialized skills and equipment.

⁴¹Ibid, August 31, 1796.

purchased supplies of wool and tow cards for their stores from Philadelphia wholesale merchant William West. The eight dozen wool cards and one dozen tow cards purchased by merchants Stephen Duncan, Abraham Holmes, John Kinkead, and Robert Miller between 1770 and 1771 were presumably sold to numerous Cumberland County farmers for the household processing of the wool and linen fibers which would be subsequently woven, fulled, and dyed by local tradesmen.⁴² In the decades following the war, however, there were several strong indications that cotton cloth was being manufactured locally as well. In 1789, one Carlisle merchant recorded selling both cotton and wool cards at his store, while in 1801, upon the death of merchant Henry Goeble, three pairs of cotton cards were listed in the inventory of his Carlisle establishment. Some locals also purchased quantities of cotton by the pound from one of the town's merchants. In 1789, Middleton farmer John Steel was one of eight store customers who left with cotton. While Steel purchased some 10lbs., Carlisle hatter, John Iset [Isett], bought 6lbs., and Carlisle tavernkeeper, Nathaniel Weakley, took 2lbs.⁴³ Artisans were equally involved in this new productive activity. At his 368 square foot

⁴²William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, see entries for Stephen Duncan, May 22, 1770, 339-340; Abraham Holmes, January 10, 1771, 478; John Kinkead, May 7, 1770, 323-324; Robert Miller, May 17, 1770, 334-335.

⁴³Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP; Inventory of John Henry Geoble, December 11, 1801, CCHS.

"COTTON FACTORY" in 1795, weaver Robert M'Bride--one of only two Carlisle weavers to possess a separate workshop--produced an assortment of "[s]triped Cottons" among other things.⁴⁴ Clearly, as imported raw materials infiltrated local productive activities and as the nature of textile production changed on the local level, economic associations between local artisans and the area's agrarian producers were being fundamentally reordered in the post-revolutionary period.⁴⁵

In contrast to those craftsmen engaged in cloth production, a second group of artisans manufactured finished articles of clothing and other forms of apparel. These hatters, tailors, seamstresses, and shoemakers were overwhelmingly urban centered. They had few direct connections to the agricultural economy of the Cumberland Valley--utilizing largely imported, and not local, materials for their products. As the producers of finished goods, all of these artisans also acted as retailers. Many of them also shared a common desire to market their wares among the

⁴⁴The Carlisle Gazette, November 18, 1795; U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798. M'Bride was listed as the occupant of a house, shop, and stable owned by Hugh McCulloch. His one-story weaver shop measured 16' x 23' and was constructed of stone and brick.

⁴⁵Curtis P. Nettels, The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775-1815 (New York: 1962), 274-277. According to Nettels, the changes witnessed in Carlisle's cloth industry were most likely part of the large-scale changes in textile production taking place across America--led by technological innovations in cotton manufacturing. According to Nettels, the domestic supply of cotton increased rapidly after 1794.

county's increasingly status-conscious and consumer-oriented elite. To do so, they emphasized the cosmopolitan origins of their trades. Unlike their fellow cloth producers, these artisans did not speak of doing "country work," but instead flaunted their ties to larger and more cultured metropolitan centers of fashion in Europe and America. Many, in fact, used their urban connections as clear testimony to their legitimacy as skilled craftspeople. Tailors were especially adept at this practice. Alexander Biggs, for example, was a "[t]aylor [sic], from London" whose work was "performed as well as any master in Philadelphia."⁴⁶ William Petrikin was also a "Taylor" and a "Ladies Habit-Maker from Britain," who, like Biggs, had already pleased many customers in Philadelphia. Andrew Murray advertised himself as a tailor from Dublin, as if European experience was a sign of both quality of product and awareness of the current tastes in fashion.⁴⁷

This collection of hatters, tailors, seamstresses, and shoemakers formed a key segment of Carlisle's local consumer economy. Although these tradesmen were all skilled artisans in their own right, their business activities nonetheless mirrored the practices of local merchants and tavernkeepers. As enterprising salespeople, these artisans, like other Carlisle retailers, actively marketed their goods to the

⁴⁶The Carlisle Gazette, October 19, 1785; April 19, 1786.

⁴⁷Ibid, September 7, 1785; April 22, 1795.

local consuming public. They advertised that they made only the highest quality goods, "in the most fashionable manner," from largely imported textiles and supplies.⁴⁸ Tailor Alexander Biggs, for instance, claimed that he performed "every branch of the business in the most elegant taste, newest fashion and on the most reasonable terms."⁴⁹ As retailers, these artisans also made direct appeals to the discriminating tastes of the county's most status-conscious ladies and gentlemen. At his shop opposite Robert Miller's, hatter Jacob Shuler executed only "LADIES and GENTLEMEN'S HATS in the newest fashion" and "of the best materials."⁵⁰ Ladies habit-maker, William Petrikin, made equally bold appeals to the local gentry. Having set up shop in 1785, "[h]e solicit[ed] the patronage of the ladies of Carlisle and the country adjacent, which he hope[ed] to acquire by his care and punctuality" as well as his discriminating taste in fashion.⁵¹

⁴⁸Ibid, advertisement of Andrew Murray, tailor, April 22, 1795. For an interesting twist on this form of advertising, see the advertisement of Crain and M'Gunnigal, shoemakers, *ibid*, April 21, 1809. They did "not boast, like the rest of our brethren, ... that 'our work shall be equal to that of the cities;' but we invite you to come and try for once, and if we have not a sufficiency of honesty and skill to please you, we consent ... to you withdrawing your custom."

⁴⁹Ibid, October 19, 1785.

⁵⁰Ibid, October 4, 1797.

⁵¹Ibid, September 7, 1785; Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 502, 508, confirms this notion. She explains, "backcountry entrepreneurs emphasized choice and metropolitan style to increase their trade."

Like tailors, some dyers also solicited the patronage of Carlisle's rising gentry. In the 1790s, a few dyers began to offer a wider range of exclusive services on finished clothing as a sideline to their routine duties of dying finished cloth. Bluedyer Thomas Stephens evidently expanded his business in 1791. While he continued to dye cloth as usual, he began to clean clothing as well. He "scoures and cleans gentlemen[']s cloaths [sic] without ripping the seams" and rids "Ladies silks and ribbands from spots and stains." Stephens, expecting to capture the interests of the local elite, "hope[d] the ladies and gentlemen will give him encouragement" as "this business has never before been carried on in Carlisle."⁵² Several years later, dyer George Gray, "[l]ately from Baltimore," followed on Stephens's lead. Like his predecessor Gray, he not only dyed, but "SCOUR[ED] all kinds of Silks, Satins, Cotton, Woollen and Linen Yarn, Gentlemen's Cloths, Cordurouys, Jackets and Pantaloons, ... in the most elegant, fastest, and best manner."⁵³

Interestingly enough, women artisans in the clothing trades (seamstresses and milleners) conducted their

⁵²The Carlisle Gazette, May 4, 1791. According to Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman (New York, 1950), 71, the service of cleaning was a "necessary adjunct of the clothing trades," regularly practiced in cities like Philadelphia. The presence of this trade in Carlisle suggests that the town's population was growing wealthier and more status-conscious.

⁵³The Carlisle Gazette, February 2, 1803.

businesses in much the same manner as their male counterparts. Although many of their skilled services were directed at other women in town, they, too, sought to capture the patronage of Carlisle's wealthiest and most consumer-conscious families.⁵⁴ Like other seamstresses and milleners in town, the milliner and mantua-maker, Miss Patty Stuart, played upon the intensifying fashion consciousness of local elites to market her skills. In 1790, Stuart advertised that she was from Philadelphia and "[w]ishe[d] to inform the Ladies in Carlisle and its vicinity," that she was "acquainted with the Newest Fashions."⁵⁵ Fellow milliner Mary M'Cormick, who operated out of various houses in the town from 1788 to 1794, also "acknowledge[d] herself obliged to those Ladies who have favoured her with their Custom." M'Cormick advertised that she continued to make "[n]ew Fashioned Bonnets; Wire Caps; Cloth and Silk Cloaks; ... Ladies Caps, and Head Dresses" along with her regular

⁵⁴Public records are virtually silent on working women. Although Septennial Census returns listed widows and singlewomen, no attempt was made to describe their occupations. Likewise, neither Becker, "American Revolution as a Community Experience;" nor Mary Schweitzer, Custom and Contract: Household, Government, and the Economy in Colonial Pennsylvania (New York, 1987); or nor Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, noted any seamstresses or milleners in their samples.

⁵⁵The Carlisle Gazette, November 3, 1790

variety of millinery work, "which", she added, "she can form in the newest and neatest modes."⁵⁶

Clearly, whether male or female, virtually all artisans in the clothing and apparel trades shared a common desire to meet local consumer demand for apparel which was more equal in quality and style to that produced in either Philadelphia or Baltimore. Indeed, as the purveyors of imported materials and styles, these artisans not only boosted their own sales, they also facilitated the gradual integration of Carlisle's backcountry consumer economy into the economic world of the metropolitan frontcountry to the east.

Not surprisingly, Carlisle's leather tradesmen--whose work so often resembled that of their cloth and apparel producing brethren--displayed similar occupational structure. Composing an average of 3.5% of Carlisle's workers between 1793 and 1807, they also were divisible into sectors of processors and finished good producers (Table 5).⁵⁷ Leather craftsmen were also completely dependent on

⁵⁶Ibid, August 20, 1788. M'Cormick placed regular advertisements for her business from 1788 to 1794. From the frequency of her relocations (almost yearly), it appears that she rented small sections or rooms of houses for her business. For other milleners, see *ibid*, July 4, 1792, in which milleners Mary and Isabella Cochran advertise that they "execute the above business in the neatest and most elegant manner."

⁵⁷Compare this figure with 1788 Lancaster, where leather crafts accounted for an astounding 17.7% of the town's artisans, see Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, 124-125; and with 1773 Reading, where they accounted for 8.7% of the town's taxable residents, see Becker, "American Revolution as a Community Experience," 110.

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN MIDDLETON TOWNSHIP, 1793-1800

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>Mean</u>
<u>Agricultural Trades</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Farmer	186	46.7	254	64.1	55.4
Miller	7	1.8	10	2.5	2.1
Overseer	0	0	2	0.5	0.3
Renter/Tenant	95	23.9	0	0	12.0
	288	72.4%	266	67.1%	69.8%
<u>Cloth/Apparel Trades</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Fuller	2	0.5	2	0.5	0.5
Hatter	1	0.3	2	0.5	0.4
Hosier	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
Shoemkr/Crdwnr	6	1.5	8	2.0	1.8
Taylor	1	0.3	2	0.5	0.4
Weaver	6	1.5	13	3.3	2.4
	16	4.1%	20	7.1%	5.6%
<u>Construction/Building Trades</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Carpenter	2	0.5	5	1.3	1.0
Mason	2	0.5	3	0.8	0.6
Plaisterer	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
	4	1.0%	9	2.4%	1.7%
<u>Food/Liquor Trades</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Distiller	0	0	3	0.8	0.4
Tavernkeeper	1	0.3	4	1.0	0.6
	1	0.3%	7	1.8%	1.0%

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN MIDDLETON, 1793-1800 (Continued)

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>Mean</u>
<u>General Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Cooper	3	0.8	2	0.5	0.6
Jobber	43	10.8	0	0	5.4
Laborer	4	1.0	39	9.8	5.4
Potter	2	0.5	0	0	0.3
	52	13.1%	41	10.3%	12.0%
<u>Leather Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Tanner	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
	0	0	1	0.3%	0.1%
<u>Metal Trades</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Blacksmith	7	1.8	11	2.8	2.3
Collier	5	1.3	1	0.3	0.6
Forgeman	3	0.8	7	1.8	1.3
Forgemaster	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Founder	4	1.0	1	0.3	0.6
Gunsmith	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Hammerman	2	0.5	0	0	0.3
Ironmaster	3	0.8	2	0.5	0.6
Silversmith	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
Stitler/Stithy	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
	27	7.1%	23	6.0%	6.1%

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS IN MIDDLETON, 1793-1800 (Continued)

	<u>1793</u>		<u>1800</u>		<u>Mean</u>
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Professionals</u>					
Attnry/Esquire	1	0.3	2	0.5	0.4
Clerk	2	0.5	1	0.3	0.4
Gentleman	1	0.3	0	0	0.1
Schlmstr/Tchr	1	0.3	2	0.5	0.4
	5	1.4%	5	1.3%	1.3%
<u>Soldiers/Military Officials</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Captain	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
Major	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
	0	0	2	0.6%	0.2%
<u>Transportation Trades</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Carter	0	0	2	0.5	0.3
Waggoner	2	0.5	0	0	0.3
Wagonmaker	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
Wheelwright	0	0	1	0.3	0.1
	2	0.5%	4	1.1%	0.8%
<u>Women (without trades)</u>					
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Widow	0	0	5	1.3	0.6
	0	0	5	1.3%	0.6%

Source: Septennial Census Returns, PHMC, Middleton Township, 1793, 1800.

local livestock farmers for their materials. Carlisle skin-dresser, breechesmaker, and glover, Robert Wright, for example, advertised in 1798 that he "continue[d] to carry on the Skin Dressing" business in the yard outside his two-story brick house and would be happy to purchase buck and sheep skins from neighboring farmers.⁵⁸ Unlike cloth producers whose businesses were scattered across town and countryside, leather artisans, as an occupational group, were overwhelmingly concentrated in Carlisle. From the processing trades of ferrier, skindraper, and tanner to the manufacturing trades of breechesmakers, glovers, shoemakers, and saddlers, leather work of various sorts took place in an urban setting in worksites often located in the yards outside homes. While artisan John McKnight hoped "to merit the patronage of all who wish to encourage this country manufacture" in 1788, his "Breeches and Glove Making" business, like the establishments of most other leather tradesmen, was nonetheless located in Carlisle at the Sign of the Breeches on the town's main street.⁵⁹

The structural divisions of function displayed by most artisan groups were closely replicated in Carlisle's metal trades as well. These artisans were also divisible into processor-manufacturers, who worked with raw materials, and

⁵⁸The Carlisle Gazette, June 20, 1798; for information on Wright's property, see U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798.

⁵⁹The Carlisle Gazette, September 10, 1788, underlined emphasis mine.

higher level craftsmen, who produced finished goods for the local consumer market (Table 5).⁶⁰ In the metal trades, however, there were far fewer symbiotic exchanges between the urban and rural sectors of Cumberland's economy. Local metal tradesmen were neatly sorted into rural and urban sectors which operated within largely separate economic spheres. A substantial number of local processors resided in two tight enclaves in Middleton Township, while a wholly distinct assortment of processors, manufacturers, and more specialized craftsmen operated in Carlisle (Tables 5 and 7).⁶¹

In the decades following the Revolution, Middleton's metal trades were dominated by a small, but apparently thriving, iron industry (Table 7).⁶² By 1795, there were

⁶⁰In Lancaster in 1788, metal crafts made up a staggering 19.2% of all the town's artisans when the luxury crafts of clockmaker, watchmaker, silversmith, and organmaker were included, see Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, 124-125. The figures for Reading's taxable population were more like Carlisle's. In 1773, Reading's metal tradesmen accounted for 4.6% of the town's taxables, see Becker, "American Revolution as a Community Experience," 111.

⁶¹Nettels, National Economy, 264-265, argues that post-revolutionary industries can also be viewed in another way. One sector was beginning to move towards mechanization, while in the other, artisans continued to work in small shops with a limited range of equipment. This developmental model is especially appropriate for both the metal and cloth trades in Cumberland County.

⁶²Metal trades composed the third most prevalent occupational group in Middleton between 1793-1800 and accounted for an average of 6.1% of the township's workforce for the period. They fell behind only agricultural occupations (69.8% average) and general tradesmen (12.0% average), see Table 7.

two forges and one furnace operating in the township. One forge was operated by "ironmaster" Michael Ege, while the other forge and furnace was owned by Stephen Foulk, a well-known political figure and mason who had been among the first settlers of the county.⁶³ These two establishments evidently employed most, if not all, of the Township's metal tradesmen--from ironmasters, like Ege, to forgemen, founders, hammermen, blacksmiths, and colliers--in highly centralized rural workplaces, which "preshadow[ed] ... the nineteenth-century company town," according to Mary Schweitzer.⁶⁴ Indeed, these large tracts of land supplied the much-needed raw materials of the industry: iron ore, timber for charcoal, limestone, and sufficient water power. Unlike local cloth producers, however, who depended upon the highly dispersed processing activities of local farm households for the materials of their trade, Middleton's metal craftsmen operated in a wholly distinct and highly concentrated production world where skilled professionals and an assortment of wage laborers performed all productive

⁶³In 1795, Michael Ege is listed as the owner of two parcels of land totalling some 4212 acres in the township. He had 16 horses, 42 cattle, and 3 servants. In addition to the forge, there was a grist mill, saw mill, and rolling mill on his properties. Stephen Foulk, identified as a farmer on the 1793 Septennial Census Return, is listed as the owner of two parcels of 1150 acres. In addition to his forge and furnace, he had a grist mill, 8 horses, 4 cows, and 2 slaves. See Tax Rates, Middleton Township, CCHS, 1795; Septennial Census Returns, PHMC, 1793; Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 202-203.

⁶⁴Schweitzer, Custom and Contract, 79.

functions. Although directly dependent on the region's natural iron resources, the iron industry was never well integrated into local grain and livestock economy. In many respects, therefore, Middleton's metal artisans remained wholly detached from the larger agricultural exchange economy of eastern Cumberland County.⁶⁵

Carlisle, in contrast, contained a wide range of metal tradesmen, from processor-producers like blacksmiths, whitesmiths, and nailers to more specialized and high status metalworkers, like clockmakers, coppersmiths, silversmiths, tinsmiths, and watchmakers. Many of these artisans were integrated into a complex professional network where it was not uncommon for an artisan to practice more than one of these skilled trades at a time. In 1787, for example, Guthrie and Smith announced that "they ha[d] just opened shop opposite Mr. Semple's tavern, where they carry on the clock and Watch-making and Silversmith Business in all their various branches," while Thomas Johnston, "lately c[o]me from Baltimore" in 1809, practiced both "the COPPER-SMITH and TIN MAKING BUSINESS" in his Carlisle shop.⁶⁶

⁶⁵Nettels, National Economy, 270-271; for more information on the iron industry of Cumberland County, see Godcharles, Chronicles, II:260-261, 270-272.

⁶⁶The Carlisle Gazette, August 15, 1787; December 8, 1809; see also October 20, 1790 for Joseph Steel's announcement that "he has commenced business" and "intends carrying on the Clock, Watch, and Silver Smith Business, in all its various branches."

Metal tradesmen represented a sizeable proportion of Carlisle's total workforce from 1793 to 1807--accounting for an average of 7.6% of the town's workers (Table 5). Many of these craftsmen, like blacksmiths, were present in Carlisle well before the Revolution and served as symbolic reminders of the town's frontier past. These men also played key roles in the town's post-revolutionary present. While many, like blacksmith John Smith, participated in the local exchange economy by providing skilled services, such as horse shoeing, for store credit, many--like their counterparts in the clothing and apparel trades--were active champions of Carlisle's expanding consumer economy. Some metal tradesmen, like long-time resident coppersmith Joseph Young, marketed their wares to Carlisle's middling consumers.⁶⁷ In the mid 1780s, Young sought to profit from selling a assortment of household and business goods. While he made "excellent Copper Stills, of his own manufacturing" and "Fuller's-kettles" for his fellow tradesmen at his shop on south Hanover Street, he also offered a range of more common household items geared to the domestic interests of Carlisle's middling sorts. These items included, "[f]ish

⁶⁷Credit entry for John Smith, September 1789, Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. Young first appeared in Carlisle sometime before 1779--when he was taxed as the occupant of a house and lot in town, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1779.

and Tea Kettles, Coffee-Pots, Sauce-Pans, Bake-Pans, [and] Tea-Kitchens."⁶⁸

Other metal artisans, like clockmakers, watchmakers, and silversmiths, served a more elite clientele. These craftsmen produced higher status items which they then marketed to Carlisle's most status-conscious public.⁶⁹ Clock and watchmaker, Jacob Hendel, was certainly among those artisans best able to meet the demand for luxury craft items in Carlisle. Moving to Carlisle from Lancaster in 1796, Hendel quickly established himself as a well-known artisan and political figure in the town.⁷⁰ In his shop in his two-story stone house on High Street in the late 1790s, "CLOCKS of all kinds are executed by him, ... Watches repaired, and all manner of JEWELLRY and SILVER WORK done." Indeed, as clockmaker, watchmaker, jeweller, and silversmith, Hendel made every effort to cater his skills and his products to the consumer interests of the county's emerging elite. Not only did he make "Eight day and Thirty hour Clocks" to grace local halls and parlors, Hendel also crafted more specialized pieces "shewing [sic] the rising

⁶⁸The Carlisle Gazette, August 24, 1785; July 19, 1786.

⁶⁹For a discussion of goldsmiths--high status craftsmen like silversmiths, see Barbara McLean Ward, "Boston Goldsmiths, 1690-1730," in Quimby, ed., Craftsman, 126-157.

⁷⁰For a more complete description of Hendel's multi-faceted public career, see Milton E. Flower, "The Hendel Brothers," in Made in Cumberland County: The First Hundred Years, 1750-1850 (Carlisle, 1991).

and setting of the Sun, the increase and decrease of the Moon" and did "[a]ll kinds of Gold and Silver work" as well.⁷¹

* * * * *

While Carlisle's artisans distinguished themselves both by their integrated dependency on the local agricultural economy and by their active participation in the region's expanding consumer economy, other occupational groups in Carlisle represented exclusively urban interests.

Carlisle's post-war economy was characterized by both its variety and its distinctly urban qualities. Some occupations were unique to Carlisle's town setting.

Although these tradesmen and professionals served the needs of all in the county, their businesses were nonetheless firmly centered in Carlisle.

As the political seat of Cumberland County, Carlisle's workforce naturally included a considerable number of professionals and public servants. These two occupational groups combined accounted for an average of 12.5% of all of

⁷¹The Carlisle Gazette, September 7, 1796, April 3, 1799. For one example of an "Eight Day Clock" in a Carlisle home, see Inventory of Carlisle merchant Joseph Knox, December 13, 1827, CCHS. Although there is no way of telling whether Knox's clock was made by Hendel--neither is it entirely implausible--as both men appeared as taxpayer's in Carlisle in 1808. See Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1808. For information regarding Hendel's property holdings in Carlisle in 1798, see U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798.

the town's workers from 1793 to 1807 (Table 5).⁷² Unlike the scattered agrarian settlements of Middleton Township, Carlisle had an urban concentration of doctors, ministers, schoolmasters, clerks, and other professionals within its boundaries. Attorneys and those gentlemen labelled "Esquires" (the two categories were evidently used interchangeably in the returns of the Septennial Census) attained some numerical prominence among the ranks of employed as well. These professions, along with a host of part-time and full-time political positions, from "bellman" to county treasurer, exemplified Carlisle's urban status as well as its political and educational functions within the County. More important, as symbols of the elevated economic and social rank enjoyed by ever greater numbers of Borough residents, this collection of professional social, political, religious, and educational leaders attested to Carlisle's increasing stability as a backcountry urban community.

Carlisle also contained concentrated numbers of craftsmen in the construction and woodworking trades not found in rural Middleton. The building trades--numerically dominated by carpenters and masons--accounted for an average of 10.2% of Carlisle's workforce, while woodworkers--

⁷²In Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, professionals and government employees accounted for a sizeable 19.44% of the town's taxable inhabitants in 1783, see Papenfuse, Pursuit of Profit, 250-256.

including cabinetmakers, chairmakers, and coopers--made up 2.6% of the town's workers (Table 5)⁷³. The noticeable presence of these two occupational groups suggests important things about the nature and structure of the post-revolutionary economy. Clearly, much as in Philadelphia, backcountry construction and woodworking artisans were urban centered. Moreover, the consistently large number of carpenters suggests that Carlisle and the rest of eastern Cumberland County continued to expand after the war--on both a petite and a grand scale. While William Irvine could hire Carlisle carpenter Casper Croph in 1793 to oversee the construction of his "excellent house" on his "fine farm" in Middleton, some three miles from Carlisle, larger scale urban improvements inside Carlisle kept many other artisans busy during this period. In 1799, for example, John Creigh placed a call for "[s]uch Masons, Bricklayers and Carpenters as are inclined to undertake building a House for Dickinson College at Carlisle."⁷⁴

⁷³In contrast, Middleton Township had only an average of 1.7% of its population involved in the construction trades from 1793 to 1800 and had no woodworking artisans, see Table 7.

⁷⁴William Irvine to Callender Irvine, January 12, 1793, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:65, in which he includes instructions for their new House. Tell Mr. Krypt, he says, "that White Oak Board is what I wish the lower floors to be laid with." See also Robert Callender Jr. to William Irvine, February 15, 1794, *ibid.*, XII:2, in which Robert explains that "Mr Crop has a great many hands now at work. [H]e has finish[e]d the windows, the floors ... [and] Somepart [sic] of the Staircase The Plaisterers have begun to lath in one of the back Rooms."; see also Theophile Cazenove's description of Irvine's

The occupational group that best distinguished Carlisle from both its frontier origins and its rural surroundings, however, was the handful of individuals involved in the still small, but rapidly-expanding world of print culture. These tradesmen were not only urban centered; they, like so many other artisans and retailers in the town, were also active participants in the growing consumer economy. Carlisle did not have its own newspaper until 1785, but with the start of George Kline's Carlisle Gazette, Carlisle's book and print tradesmen enjoyed a steady increase in both numbers and economic significance. In just the fourteen years from 1793 to 1807, book and print tradesmen increased from 1 to 7 practitioners--a small, but notable, expansion from 0.2% to 1.6% of Carlisle's total workforce (Table 5). These individuals were immersed in backcountry print culture and were involved in not only the printing and retailing of books and newspapers, but the related enterprises of book binding and paper making as well.

The appearance and subsequent increase in the highly specialized print trades illustrates the true scope and depth of the social and economic changes occurring in Carlisle after the Revolution. Carlisle had become an important central place in the backcountry. As a regional marketplace and the seat of local government, its community

new house in 1794, in Cazenove, Journal; The Carlisle Gazette, April 24, 1799.

structure had stabilized enough to benefit from the local and provincial news that a newspaper would bring. As printer and editor, George Kline, publicly announced his intentions in the first edition of the Gazette printed on August 10, 1785: "The numerous advantages, which will evidently result to the public in general, and in particular to this Western World, in establishing a well-directed press at Carlisle, are sufficient to inspire every generous and public spirited person with just sentiments of its important utility." The newspaper would serve important political and social functions. For the first time in the town's history, Kline explained, "every member of the community has it in his power to scrutinize, with candour, the characters of men in office, and to examine, ... the measures of government."⁷⁵ Kline's Gazette would act not only as a "western repository of knowledge," it would also serve as a mechanism of cultural integration between backcountry and frontcountry in Pennsylvania.

George Kline was Carlisle's first active printer. Arriving in Carlisle sometime between 1782 and 1785, he quickly established himself as a prominent tradesmen and political figure in the town.⁷⁶ At the "ENGLISH and GERMAN PRINTING-OFFICE" that Kline ran out of the two-story stone

⁷⁵The Carlisle Gazette, August 10, 1785.

⁷⁶For information regarding Kline's history in Carlisle, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1785-1810.

and brick outbuilding that also doubled as his family's kitchen, "[p]rinting in General is Executed in a Neat, Correct, and Expeditious Manner."⁷⁷ Aside from acting as editor and printer of The Carlisle Gazette, however, Kline was also involved in a variety of other print-related trades. "At his BOOK-STORE, in Carlisle" Kline sold an assortment of school, morality, and history books, biographies, children's books, and stationary. Like so many other Carlisle tradesmen, once established, Kline began to broaden his retail interests, offering a general array of consumer goods for sale at his shop. In September 1795, Kline announced he had "just received a Variety of BOOKS, and a very great Variety of ladies and childrens SHOES, all of which he will sell on very moderate profit." Later in the month, he added that "Doctor Anderson's famous Scotch Pills" would also "be sold" by him at his shop. By 1798, Kline was also an active partner in a "paper manufactory" in nearby Southhampton Township to supply himself with the necessary raw materials for his trade.⁷⁸

⁷⁷The Carlisle Gazette, April 8, 1795; for information about Kline's property holdings, see U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798.

⁷⁸The Carlisle Gazette, May 2, 1792; September 9, 1795; September 30, 1795; March 14, 1798; March 21, 1798. Kline's career closely resembles the pattern Bridenbaugh described for urban printers in the 1730s: "Besides supplying his community with printed blanks, legal forms, business papers, and handbills of all sorts, the colonial printer usually acted as postmaster [as Kline did in Carlisle]. He also printed pamphlets and books on a variety of subjects, often conducted a bindery, and, not infrequently, invested in the local paper

Book merchant, binder, and printer, Archibald Loudon, was Carlisle's other leading print tradesman. The oldest son of a Scottish immigrant printer who had first settled in Baltimore in 1754 and relocated shortly thereafter to the frontier lands of Sherman's Valley (north of Carlisle), Loudon had grown up in Cumberland County and had served as an ensign in the county militia during the Revolution.⁷⁹ Although it is not clear when he actually moved to Carlisle, in December 1790, Loudon announced that "he ha[d] commenced business" on Bedford Street, "where Books, of all sorts and sizes are neatly bound, old ones rebound, and Blank Books of any demensions [sic] bound upon the shortest notice." Following the occupational pattern of Kline, Loudon was a jack-of-all-trades, who actively pursued several careers in addition to book selling and binding. In 1793, Loudon advertised his "New Tobacco Manufactory" on the south side of the public square, "where he manufacture[d] Tobacco from inspected Leaf" and, at the same time, "still carrie[d] on the Book Binding [business] as usual."⁸⁰ Later, his business interests expanded even further afield. In 1801, presumably the same Archibald Loudon was granted a tavern license after testifying that he "hath provided himself with

mill." See Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, 98.

⁷⁹Biographical Annals of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1905), 818-821.

⁸⁰The Carlisle Gazette, December 1, 1790, February 20, 1793.

every necessary for the purpose of keeping a Tavern on the Baltimore Road in the Gap of the Mountain" in Middleton Township, because a public lodging place was "very much required ... As travellers have been in the habit of stopping there."⁸¹ In addition to his many other economic pursuits, Loudon, the bookbinder, merchant, stationer, tobacconist, and tavernkeeper, also officially became a printer in 1804, when he announced that "having set up a Printing Office in Carlisle," he would carry on "the PRINTING BUSINESS in ALL ITS VARIOUS BRANCHES" at his new establishment.⁸²

While Kline and Loudon shared a common occupational interest, they also symbolized the dynamic economic climate of post-revolutionary Carlisle. Not only did these two men introduce a new occupational field to one backcountry community, as local entrepreneurs and as active participants in the local consumer economy they embodied economic diversity on the individual level.

Carlisle's economic diversity was evident from other perspectives as well. Aside from the town's assortment of retailers and artisans, Carlisle also served as the home to an assorted and constantly fluctuating number of itinerant

⁸¹Hotel and Tavern License Applications, Middleton, CCHS, 1801.

⁸²The Carlisle Gazette, June 6, 1804. According to Biographical Annals, 820, Loudon was "the first and most extensive publisher of books that Carlisle ever had."

artisans and professionals who performed a variety of high-status service functions for local residents. These specialists--an assortment of tradesmen from portrait painters and jewellers to professionals like dentists or music and dance teachers--passed in and out of town on a periodic basis, often setting up a temporary shop in one of Carlisle's many taverns. The dentist, Mr. Dubuisson, who arrived in Carlisle from Philadelphia in 1810, was typical of these travelling specialists. He advertised that he "will reside a few days at the House of Mr. Foster" where he "cleans, separates, files, plugs and extracts teeth" as well as "cures all disease of the gums."⁸³ Equally representative was music teacher, S. Balentine, who "propose[d] staying in town" for only "a few months" in 1792. He announced that "during his stay" at William Wallace's tavern, he would "TEACH" the violin, [G]erman flute, Hautboy [oboe], clarionet [sic], bassoon, trumpet, [F]rench horn, and guitar.⁸⁴ Only the portrait miniature artist, Mr. Peticoles, "from France," was uncertain about the actual length of time he would spend in Carlisle. He "arrived in this Town" in the summer of 1796, and

⁸³The Carlisle Gazette, April 13, 1810; see also advertisement for Mr. Hamilton, surgeon dentist, who resided at Nathaniel Weakley's tavern where "he cleans and removes the tartar from the Teeth so effectually as to restore them to their native whiteness, without the least injury to the enamel." *ibid*, October 10, 1798.

⁸⁴*Ibid*, September 5, 1792

"intend[ed] to stay" at Doctor Stinneckie's "as long as he me[t] with encouragement in taking likenesses."⁸⁵

Although as itinerants none of these individuals had any long-term impact on Carlisle's economy, they nonetheless shaped the town's occupational structure and expanded local consumer consciousness. These artisans added diversity to the occupational composition of the town. As practitioners of highly specialized urban trades, they also added new and surprising dimensions to Carlisle's consumer economy. As the range of their services and products suggests, Carlisle was clearly more than a crude frontier market town by the latter decades of the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Rather, it had become a local hub of a regional backcountry economy, offering a variety of high-status professional services and products to the county's increasingly well-articulated elite.

Women also participated in the post-war diversification of Carlisle's occupational structure. Between 1793 and 1807, women--both single and widowed--accounted for an

⁸⁵Ibid, June 29, 1796. Peticoles' arrival in Carlisle is significant because it suggests further expansion of the local consumer economy. Evidently, some locals sought to acquire personal status items like portrait miniatures. See Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, 101, for his discussion of the increasing social status of the portrait painter in the late colonial period.

⁸⁶As Carl Bridenbaugh suggests, highly specialized and high-status trades appeared in rural towns as the economy "matured" after 1750, see Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsmen, 43.

average of 4.9% of those counted by census takers (Table 5).⁸⁷ Although some of these enumerated women did not pursue any formal employment and participated in the local economy only as consumers, many others took a more active role by working at some kind of craft or retail activity. Whether as consumers or workers, however, it is clear that women, and particularly widows, played an integral role in Carlisle's urban economy at the close of the eighteenth century.

Representing a wide range of age and economic circumstances, Carlisle's working women were nonetheless a remarkably cohesive group. Few were married. Most were widows who either had chosen or were forced by unfavorable economic circumstances to assume a trade or business upon the death of their husbands. Widow Elizabeth Vanlear, for instance, apparently willingly assumed proprietorship of her husband, Christopher's, tavern upon his death and presided over the establishment for several decades.⁸⁸ While there

⁸⁷Middleton's workforce was far more male-dominated. Women there accounted for only 1.3% of the township's occupational structure in 1800, compared to 6.9% in Carlisle for the same year. These figures suggest that economic opportunities for women, and especially widows, were greater in urban settings like Carlisle.

⁸⁸Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS. Although it is presumable that Elizabeth assumed control of her husband's tavern business soon after his death in 1783, there is no direct evidence of her role until August 1801, when she applied to the court for a renewal of her tavern license, explaining that she had had such an establishment "for several years past." She received a renewal of this license every year from 1801 to 1809.

is no way of ascertaining Elizabeth's motives for certain, it can be inferred that she was left in an economically comfortable position as a widow. Her husband Christopher had been well established as a wagoner and tavernkeeper in Carlisle, falling into the eighth decile of wealth in 1768 and rising to the ninth decile by 1779.⁸⁹ He left an estate totalling some 357 pounds in 1787 "subject to Distribution according to Law." As his widow, Elizabeth presumably inherited at least one-third of this rather tidy estate.⁹⁰ There were other reasons as well to suggest that Elizabeth willingly assumed authority over Christopher's business. It is presumable that Elizabeth had considerable experience running her husband's tavern long before his death. After all, in Christopher's extended absences as a wagoner, Elizabeth was the person most likely responsible for the continued daily workings of his well-established Carlisle business.

Other widows in Carlisle were not as financially fortunate or as personally independent as Vanlear. Isabella

⁸⁹Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1768, 1779. For more information about Christopher Vanlear's activities as a wagoner, see Chapter V below.

⁹⁰On March 26, 1786, Elizabeth and Matthew Vanlier [Vanlear], administrators of Christopher's estate, came before the court and reported that there was a balance of 937 pounds, 1 shilling, 7 pence, "Subject to further Settlement." See Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket Book #3, 1. By January 29, 1787 they reported that the balance remaining was 357 pounds, 11 shillings, 10 pence. See Docket Book #3, 12. For more information regarding Christopher Vanlear, see Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 219-220.

Bell explained to the court in 1802, that "being Left destitute by my Husband on account of his Embarrasment [sic], since which the little property which was by him Left me has been sold for his debts," Isabella requested that she be granted a formal license to sell liquor. Since being widowed, she explained, she "ha[d] devised the mode of selling Beer and Cider in order to be some assistance[,] ... my Industry ... used to support myself and family."⁹¹ Although retailing liquor was a financial necessity for Bell, she nonetheless became an active member of Carlisle's retail sector upon her widowhood.

The number of occupations open to women in Carlisle was small. The majority of identifiable working women acted as either tavernkeepers, milleners, seamstresses, or teachers. Virtually all of these occupations incorporated some kind of domestic skill or duty--from cooking and housekeeping, to hostessing, sewing, or acting as a motherly instructor--as their primary focus. Although these occupations brought women into the realm of the town's public economy, women workers continued to operate in close accordance with the feminine domestic sphere. Clearly, when necessitated by

⁹¹Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS, March 1802. Although the exact details of her husband's financial "embarrassment" are not clear, Bell's petition was allowed by the court. She was issued a license to sell beer and cider "and no other" only after Carlisle doctor, Samuel McCoskry, and others certified "that her General Character is honesty, Sobriety, and Industry" with McCoskry explaining that: "During one Year Residence in my House[,] Isabella Bell supported the Character of an Industrious and Honest Woman."

economic circumstance, women employed domestic skills as a way to provide for themselves and their families. In so doing, they at once committed themselves to the public economy while never straying far from familiar domestic territory.

A feminine sub-economy existed in Carlisle, controlled and upheld by women. Limited to a narrow range of occupations, many businesswomen sought other women as their primary customers. Milliner Susan Brownlee, for example, wished to "inform the ladies" in Carlisle "that she mean[t] to carry on the MILLENER and MANTUAMAKING BUSINESS" in town.⁹² Women artisans, like Brownlee, frequently solicited the patronage of female consumers by making direct appeals to feminine interests. Indeed, many female proprietors offered a range of goods or services designed specifically to suit the needs or desires of their female neighbors. Storekeeper and millener, Agness Jordan, reminded her local female customers that she not only sold "[b]onnets in all the Fashions which are now worn in the City of Philadelphia, by young and elderly ladies" she also had in stock a variety of other women's clothing, including "HATS, CLOAKS, CAPS, TURBANS, [and] MUSLIN SHAULS [sic]."⁹³ In this way, businesswomen directly fostered the growth of an exclusively feminine economy which closely paralleled the town's

⁹²The Carlisle Gazette, November 13, 1793.

⁹³Ibid, December 13, 1797.

predominantly masculine system. One female innkeeper even took direct steps to foster a feminine presence in the male preserve of the tavern. At Elizabeth Vanlear's tavern in 1789, teacher Mrs. Grisky ran "a SCHOOL for Young Ladies," where the male rituals of drinking and socializing were temporarily suspended so that Grisky could instruct a small group of local girls in "Drawing, Tambour, Embroidery and every branch of ladies Needle Work."⁹⁴

Perhaps no one was better at cultivating the local feminine economy than merchant-storekeeper, Susannah Thompson, who arrived in Carlisle in 1793 as the forty-six-year-old widow of the late Parson Thompson of Maryland and New Jersey. Susannah set up a dry goods and grocery store in town that focused largely on retailing consumer goods to local women.⁹⁵ In a town where retailing was a very competitive business dominated by men, Thompson found a comfortable niche for herself because she had a firsthand understanding of what other women wanted. She attained legitimacy as a businessperson by highlighting her own femininity. She advertised that she had "a great variety of

⁹⁴Ibid, August 26, 1789.

⁹⁵While Bridenbaugh argued that "much urban retailing fell into the hands of women" because "it was one of the few means for the sex to earn a living," see Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776 (New York, 1955), 78, in Carlisle, storekeeper Thompson was the exception to the rule. Although numerous women worked as tavernkeepers or in the clothing trades, few kept stores.

articles for ladies, chosen by herself."⁹⁶ In 1795, at her "new store," Thompson advertised that she had "received a fresh assortment of DRY GOODS, chosen by herself in Philadelphia, particularly adapted to Females." Thompson consciously noted that she carried "a variety of articles in the FANCY and ORNAMENTAL way for ladies," including beaver hats, ostrich feathers, and all sorts of jewelry. In addition, she claimed that she also offered the more general assortment of wines, spirits, teas, and chinaware carried by most local grocers.⁹⁷ When Thompson evidently sold the contents of her store to one John Oliver in 1798 for 638 pounds cash, she indeed had a select array of groceries and dry goods. While she had many items specifically designed for women, like "Sister[']s Buckles," "Ear drops," and "Lady's whips," she carried relatively few specifically "male" items, such as "Mason's Trowels" and "Men[']s ribbed hose" Indeed, in the large lot of goods Oliver purchased from Thompson, there were no guns or ammunition, no liquor, and little of the hardware found at many other male-operated stores. This lot of merchandise was overwhelming composed of those sewing, household, and kitchen items more often used by women--at once reinforcing Thompson's own claims to

⁹⁶The Carlisle Gazette, June 11, 1794.

⁹⁷Ibid, April 3, 1793; March 20, 1793; June 26, 1793; February 11, 1795.

serving a largely female clientele.⁹⁸ Perhaps most interesting, however, Thompson's activities were apparently accepted by many male residents. Upon her death in 1801 at the age of 54, Susannah Thompson was honored in The Carlisle Gazette as a highly-regarded resident who would "be long remembered with affectionate regard by all her acquaintance," for "[h]er exemplary Religious temper" her "native cheerfulness" and, above all else, "her integrity and truth."⁹⁹

As Thompson's case suggests, women played increasingly important roles as consumers in post-revolutionary Carlisle. While few women pursued occupations outside the home, virtually all women--young and old, single, married, or widowed--acted as consumers. The daybook of one unidentified merchant from 1789 shows wives and daughters were frequent shoppers in Carlisle.¹⁰⁰ While women generally purchased either sewing supplies--such as fabric, scissors, or thread--or groceries--such as sugar, tea, coffee, or chocolate--a few purchased decorative items such

⁹⁸John Oliver Account Book, HSP, 1798. An account of what John Oliver "Bought of Susannah Thompson."

⁹⁹The Carlisle Gazette, obituary of Susannah Thompson, March 4, 1801.

¹⁰⁰Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 495; Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. During just the months of June and July 1789, there were 71 entries for purchases involving women. Wives accounted for 34% of these, while daughters followed closely with 28%. The remaining identifiable entries included non-specified "girls" with 13%, and mothers with 10%.

as beads and string or handkerchiefs, while others bought quantities of whiskey, rum, and tobacco for themselves and their families. During just the months of June and July for example, blacksmith John Henry's daughter and "girl" purchased numerous quarts of whiskey his account. Women almost always charged their purchases to their husband's or father's account, but there were exceptions to this practice. Betsey Gordon, daughter or wife of Carlisle tailor, Alexander Gordon, often had items credited to her name. While in one instance in August 1789, she bought 6 7/8 yards of "Callico" on the account of "Allex[ande]r Gordon," on another instance during the same month, she bought "cloath" and linen under her own name. Although Betsey paid cash for several purchases, she often offered homemade items, such as butter and bonnets, in exchange for the merchandise she chose.¹⁰¹ Clearly, as Elizabeth Perkins suggested in her study of the Kentucky economy of the 1790s, "shopping represented a limited area of authority for a married woman" at this time, "providing an opportunity to venture outside her own home and transact business on an equal basis with men."¹⁰² In Carlisle, however,

¹⁰¹Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP, see entries for Alexander Gordon and Betsey Gordon, 1789.

¹⁰²Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 496. The evidence from Carlisle and Kentucky contrasts sharply with Thorp's portrait of North Carolina, where he found few women shoppers in the period from 1755-1776, see Thorp, "Doing Business," 398. Such dichotomies may confirm a redefinition of gender roles and responsibilities--somewhat like Linda Kerber's description of

opportunities for consumer authority extended beyond married women to daughters, mothers, and female servants. According to T.H. Breen, the consumer revolution that Carlisle and the rest of America experienced in the eighteenth century gave women new choices and new economic power in the marketplace.¹⁰³

In Carlisle, the conspicuous presence of women shoppers generated intense competition for their business. Susannah Thompson was not the only Carlisle retailer who courted the patronage of female consumers. Rather, a whole host of male retailers and artisans actively marketed their wares and services to local women.¹⁰⁴ As further evidence that shopping was becoming a female activity, many artisans made direct appeals to women in their advertisements. Hatter George Rowan reminded his customers in 1794 that "ladies" could be "supplied with Hats as light as any imported and in the newest fashion" at his shop. Shoemaker John Smith sought to "further inform the Ladies" in 1803, that he had "an assortment of kid and Morocco skips" for sale at his

"Republican Motherhood"--in the decades immediately following the Revolution, see Kerber, Women of the Republic.

¹⁰³Breen, "Empire of Goods," 489.

¹⁰⁴As T.H. Breen reminds us, in an age when merchandising became increasingly aggressive, "[t]he eighteenth-century shopkeeper ignored women at his peril," see Breen, *ibid*, 493.

store.¹⁰⁵ Other businessmen adopted a more indirect approach. John Fry called himself a "Ladies Shoemaker" and gave notice in 1799 that he had "commenced business" on York Street and "hope[d] by the neatness of his work and attention to business to give some satisfaction to those Ladies, who may employ him."¹⁰⁶

* * * * *

In the final decades of the eighteenth century, Carlisle's economy was characterized by structural diversity and increasing consumer orientation. While the town preserved strong symbiotic links to its hinterland, it was also developing its own distinctly urban qualities. Through the first decade of the nineteenth century, career boundaries remained highly fluid in the town. While it was not uncommon for an individual to switch from one occupation to another, many people in Carlisle pursued several occupations simultaneously. Artisans were especially likely to follow this pattern. Over the course of their lifetimes, many Carlisle craftsmen used their skills to branch out into closely related fields of production: fullers were often

¹⁰⁵The Carlisle Gazette, August 6, 1794; December 14, 1803; for a discussion of women and shopping, see Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 496.

¹⁰⁶The Carlisle Gazette, November 13, 1799.

dyers, clockmakers and watchmakers were often silversmiths, and printers were often book retailers or paper makers.¹⁰⁷

In Carlisle there were those artisans who went well beyond what Carl Bridenbaugh characterized as the pursuit of a trade "in all its branches."¹⁰⁸ Whether as part of an enterprising effort to be multi-functional, or as a way to beat seasonal fluctuations in employment, these individuals worked at several different and, at times, wholly unrelated, occupations with the assistance of their wives and children.¹⁰⁹ Clearly, the notion of pursuing a "career" in

¹⁰⁷Similarly, in rural colonial Chester County, Mary Schweitzer spoke of "[d]iversification of [household] production" as "the strongest hedge ... against risk." She found that local farm families engaged in a variety of agricultural pursuits and craft activities, see Schweitzer, Custom and Contract, 61; see also Paul G.E. Clemens and Lucy Simler, "Rural Labor and the Farm Household in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1750-1820," in Stephen Innes, ed., Work and Labor in Early America (Chapel Hill, 1988), 111. Clemens and Simler noted that by 1800, over one-half of all landowners made their living by more than farming alone, because industry provided new opportunities for profit. Bridenbaugh observed a similar pattern of enterprise in York, see Colonial Craftsmen, 57.

¹⁰⁸Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, 65.

¹⁰⁹Billy G. Smith speaks of the tough material circumstances endured by Philadelphia's laborers and artisans because of seasonal variations in employment, see Billy G. Smith, The "Lower Sort" Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800 (Ithaca, 1990), 144-149, 184-186. It is presumable that in Carlisle, where there was less occupational specialization than Philadelphia, that many artisans were able to find year-round employment by pursuing several careers at once. These findings contradict Bridenbaugh's assessment that these individuals were not jack-of-all-trades, but farmer-craftsmen, see Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, 36. Henretta, Origins, 214, argues that such occupational diversity was a sign of the new economic order emerging in the wake of the Revolution.

eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was a family affair, dependent upon the household unit for its constant support and continued survival.¹¹⁰

It appears that certain occupational groups in Carlisle were more likely than others to follow such practices. Artisans in the clothing and apparel trades were particularly inclined to pursue several craft functions at once.¹¹¹ Adam Mattheis, for example, was both a blue dyer and coverlet weaver. At his shop on Louthier Street, Mattheis did "Blue Dying, Calicoe Printing, and Stamping of Linen" and "likewise intends carrying on at the same place, the Coverlet Weaving, single and double."¹¹² While dying and weaving were clearly related cloth production trades, these two occupations nonetheless required that Mattheis possess wholly different skills, tools, and equipment. Artisan John Brownlee was much like Mattheis. He actually marketed his varied skills as the reason to patronize his establishment. "As he is both Weaver and Reed-maker,"

¹¹⁰Smith, Lower Sort, 184-192, especially 185. According to Smith, Philadelphia's laborers and artisans worked closely with their wives. Most spouses "were intimately involved in the economic affairs of most laboring families" and often helped their artisan husbands make and sell goods.

¹¹¹Richard A. McLeod, "The Philadelphia Artisan, 1828-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, Columbia, 1971), 22-23, 91-94, found considerable vocational mobility among the handloom weavers of Philadelphia. These artisans alternated between their craft and some other pursuit as a way to combat the problems of seasonal unemployment.

¹¹²The Carlisle Gazette, April 1, 1789.

explained Brownlee, "he flatters himself that he can make the best advantage for the purchaser."¹¹³

The wood crafts of cabinetmaking, chairmaking, coopering, wheelmaking also fostered the growth of multi-skilled craftsmen. Carlisle wheelwright Moses Bullock was no exception. Arriving from Ireland in 1797, Bullock first opened a wheelwright and canemaking business on Louth street. By 1798, he advertised himself as both a "Wheelwright" and a "Windsor Chair Maker". Several years later in 1802 he announced that in addition to his numerous other trades, he had "commenced the Brush-making Business in all its branches ... to serve the merchants and private families" of the area. While Bullock continued to identify himself as a wheelwright in his advertisements and in public records, he was increasingly a multi-skilled tradesmen, who, in a most enterprising fashion, was trying to capture local consumer interest by offering a great variety of goods and services.¹¹⁴ Although the number of Bullock's skills made him somewhat unusual, there were nonetheless plenty of other artisans like him. William Graham Jr. of Middleton, for instance, was a wheelwright and chairmaker, who did canemaking, varnishing, and house painting as well at his shop some three miles from Carlisle. Like Bullock, Graham

¹¹³Ibid, October 12, 1791.

¹¹⁴Ibid, January 18, 1797; April 11, 1798; November 10, 1802; see also February 15, 1804; December 6, 1805.

portrayed himself in the most enterprising terms. While he carried on his settee and chairmaking business as usual in 1804, he was also prepared to "furnish Weavers with many necessary articles in their various branches" as well as sell some of his ready made chairs for use and display at two Carlisle taverns.¹¹⁵

While there were many artisans in Carlisle who practiced several skilled trades, it was far more common for Carlisle's craftsmen and professionals to expand their interests into more general forms of retailing.¹¹⁶ For some individuals, retailing was the best way to access Carlisle's expanding consumer economy. Among professionals, for example, there were many Carlisle physicians who sold patent medicines on the side. As Dr. Peter Fahnestock suggested, it was accepted "as usual" that he would offer "Patent and other Medicines for sale at his Doctor shop" in addition to providing medical attention for his patients.¹¹⁷ For the Gustine family, such business customs were even handed down from one generation to the next. In 1792, Dr. Lemuel

¹¹⁵Ibid, March 3, 1802; February 22, 1804. Perhaps Graham's behavior can be partially explained by some unfortunate personal circumstances. The Gazette, October 26, 1803, reported that Mrs. Margaret Graham, wife of William, had died in childbed "in the 40th year of her age, and has left behind her a husband and six small children to bewail her loss."

¹¹⁶A trend similar to that noted by Mary Schweitzer in Chester County, where many city artisans were also shopkeepers, see Schweitzer, Custom and Contract, 62.

¹¹⁷The Carlisle Gazette, May 18, 1810.

Gustine, one of several practicing physicians in Carlisle at the time, advertised that he had "received a Quantity of DRUGS and MEDICINES, Of the best Quality" at his shop. While he was ready to retail these drugs to local individuals, he added, that "Physicians may be supplied on the lowest terms" at his store as well.¹¹⁸ After Gustine's death in 1805, his sons, James and Samuel, followed the venturesome lead of their father. Dr. James Gustine readily assured the patients and patrons of his late father Lemuel, "that the same unwearied assiduity in his profession which distinguished his father, will be undeviatingly pursued by him." Therefore, Doctors James and Samuel, "in connection with their professional occupation," would carry on "the Druggist and Apothecary Business on a much more extensive scale than formerly"--offering for retail or wholesale such patent medicines as "Doctor TISSOT[']S celebrated gout and rheumatic drops."¹¹⁹

A considerable number of artisans also took on store or tavernkeeping as a secondary occupation. Hugh Holmes was both a tailor and a grocer. In 1789, he "opened [a] shop in

¹¹⁸Ibid, September 12, 1792.

¹¹⁹Ibid, November 1, 1805; May 30, 1806; October 24, 1806. According to James's account he had trained with his father, gone to lectures in Philadelphia, and then had practiced "for a considerable time in one of the Southern States." He had been called home due to father's illness and gradually took over the practice. His brother, Samuel, was also a doctor practicing in the south. He apparently returned to Carlisle to practice jointly with James, see *ibid*, November 1, 1805.

Louther Street" where he sold grocery items in addition to a selection of ready-made coats, jackets, and breeches, while he still "follow[ed] his trade" as a tailor.¹²⁰ Shoemaker John Webber followed a similar occupational pattern. In 1787, he announced that "A NEW STORE is opened in Carlisle" where merchandise "In the Dry and Wet Good Line" was sold. Yet, in addition, Webber also "carrie[d] on the Boot and Shoe making, and Leather-cutting business in all the different branches." Webber continued this business combination for nearly a decade, expanding his retail line in 1794 to include a stock of books and almanacs.¹²¹ Although much like Holmes and Webber, John Moser chose the alternative route of tavernkeeping. He "carrie[d] on the shoe and Boot making business in the neatest manner" at his shop in Carlisle, while he "continue[d] to keep an House of Entertainment" at the Sign of the Ship on Pomfret Street.¹²² It was weaver's reedmaker, Charles Bovard, however, who perhaps took occupational diversity to its greatest lengths. Bovard began as a rather typical Carlisle artisan. In 1792, he advertised that at his shop, at the sign of the Weaver's reed in York Street, he "[c]ontinue[d] to MAKE and SELL weaver's REEDS, of every description." By the following

¹²⁰Ibid, November 18, 1789.

¹²¹Ibid, August 1, 1787; November 19, 1794; November 25, 1795. Webber maintained his dual occupations until his death in 1795.

¹²²Ibid, April 20, 1803.

year, however, Bovard had expanded his reedmaking business to include a retail store, "[w]here he ha[d] for sale, a general assortment of DRY GOODS, HARDWARE, and GROCERIES" in addition to his craft items. Although in 1802 he apparently sold off his "Mercantile Business," it was not long before he was again involved in retailing as the proprietor of John Hunter's former tavern, the Sign of General Washington, "where due attention" would be paid "to travellers, as well as town and country customers."¹²³

As direct participants in the regional economy of Cumberland County, the working men and women of Carlisle shared an enterprising desire to shape various facets of their local economy and refashion Cumberland's economic landscape.¹²⁴ Indeed, the diversity of their interests--from processing, manufacturing, to retailing--as well as the variety of their pursuits--from craft trades, professional occupations, to tavern or storekeeping--not only illustrates the complexity of Carlisle's local economy, it also suggests some general conclusions about the nature of the economy in

¹²³Ibid, May 16, 1792; August 21, 1793; July 7, 1802; May 8, 1807. This pattern is quite different from colonial Chester County, where "[t]he typical Pennsylvanian was not a jack-of-all-trades, but rather a master of two," see Schweitzer, Custom and Contract, 62.

¹²⁴Carlisle residents behaved much like their counterparts in the Upper Susquehanna Valley. According to Peter Mancall, "These hinterland residents did more than adopt market-oriented strategies; they reshaped their physical world in response to the transatlantic commercial system." See Mancall, Valley, xiii-xiv.

the post-revolutionary backcountry.¹²⁵ Clearly, backcountry towns were not simple and undifferentiated economic places.¹²⁶ Nor were they immune to the trends of the increasingly nationalized economy. Rather, as Carlisle demonstrates, these towns were regional centers of intense service activity and retail consumption. Although they remained intimately linked to the processing and production capacities of their hinterlands, towns like Carlisle, were nonetheless developing their own independent economic identities as urban places.

In the early national period, Carlisle's working men and women showed great willingness to experiment with a host of new business arrangements which would gradually reshape their personal workplaces into larger, more specialized environments geared for the production of specific goods. While they branched out into new trades and new retail activities, many locals also began to employ a new language to symbolize their expanding economic horizons.¹²⁷

¹²⁵According to Henretta, Origins, 261, as part of the larger transition to capitalism between 1790-1820, many merchants, land owners, and artisans became aggressive entrepreneurs on the local level to exploit expanding markets and new supplies of labor.

¹²⁶Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, 33-65.

¹²⁷Tryon, Manufactures, 245. Tryon speaks of the transition from shop to manufactory as a change in scale--whereby more tools or equipment could be used to employ more workers. For a discussion on the importance of technology in this transition, see Stuart Bruchey, The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1607-1861 (New York, 1965), 160-177.

Artisans, in particular, used new terms to describe their productive activities. Samuel Criswell was no longer a gunsmith, but the proprietor of a gun "factory" by 1798. Likewise, Lewis Foulke was no longer a nailer, but the proprietor of a "Nail Factory," where in 1788, there were "all sorts of Nails Manufactured" as well as an assortment of groceries and dry goods available for purchase.¹²⁸ Other Carlisle tradesmen, like tobacconist Andrew Crouse, no longer ran shops, but "manufactories" by the late 1780s and 1790s.¹²⁹ In 1798, Misters Hanna and Martin announced that they had "[c]ommenced and intend[ed] carrying on the Boot and Shoe-making, in all its various branches." By 1803, after John Hannah had gone solo, however, he labelled himself by the more professional sounding title of Boot and Shoe "Manufacturer."¹³⁰ Tallow Chandler and Soap Boiler John Gray was no different. In 1802 he announced that "he ha[d] commenced and carries on the Tallow-Chandling and Soap Boiling Business" in Carlisle. By 1805, his business had grown to become a more extensive "Soap and Candle MANUFACTORY," where he not only "mould[ed] and dipped"

¹²⁸The Carlisle Gazette, May 30, 1798; March 26, 1788; see also weaver Robert M'Bride's advertisement for his new "COTTON FACTORY" in Carlisle where he wove "double and single Coverlids[,] Diaper[,] and White Counterpains." *ibid*, November 18, 1795.

¹²⁹*Ibid*, October 30, 1793.

¹³⁰*Ibid*, April 25, 1798; August 10, 1803.

candles and sold "Soap white and brown," but had a "handsome assortment" of dry goods and groceries as well.¹³¹

While some artisans probably employed the terms "factory" and "manufactory" as convenient labels to market their wares in new and more appealing ways, many others used these titles as a symbolic indication of the reorganization of their workplaces and the evolution of an increasingly commercialized mindset. For many Carlisle tradesmen, this new language reflected their enlarged sense of production possibilities on the local level. As Bruce Laurie has argued for early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, the terms "factory" and "manufactory" had specific economic meanings which signalled the growth of larger workplaces and the introduction of more mechanized forms of production.¹³² The businesses of late eighteenth-century Carlisle showed few

¹³¹Ibid, May 26, 1802; April 5, 1805. Gray continued to call his establishment a manufactory through at least 1808, see *ibid*, January 22, 1808, when he advertised that at his "SOAP & CANDLE MANUFACTORY" he would buy tallow and candlewick. See also Isaac Martin's advertisement for his "SPECTACLE MANUFACTORY" where he sold spectacles "of the first quality, mounted with silver, tortoise shell and steel" as well as "a handsome assortment of Jewelry," *ibid*, April 21, 1809. According to Douglass C. North, The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860 (New York, 1961), 159, the patterns displayed by Carlisle businessmen were part of a larger trend towards what he terms the "[l]ocalization" of industry, in which large numbers of small manufacturing operations became increasingly specialized in their functions as the national market expanded.

¹³²Bruce Laurie, Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850 (Philadelphia, 1980), 15, 20. According to Laurie, "factory" represented a more industrialized workplace--with a concentrated workforce and mechanized methods of production. "Manufactories" were non-mechanized factories.

indications of becoming large mechanized workplaces of nineteenth-century Philadelphia, still these new terms reflected important structural transformations of the town's economy. Production was becoming both more specialized and more professionalized with time as artisans' workplaces gradually moved into more specialized and separate shops.

John Duncan's activities are representative of many in Carlisle. In 1787, Duncan, the proprietor of a dry goods store and a nailery, embarked on an ambitious plan to enlarge his manufacturing enterprise. Advertising that he sought to employ additional nailers, he boastfully stated that "[h]e has it now in his power to supply the country at his NAIL FACTORY, with Shingle Nails, Flooring Brads, Double Tens[,] Lathing and Cask Nails, and Sprigs of any size."¹³³ For Duncan, "factory" was used in a symbolic sense to illustrate the ambitiousness of his plans as well as the enlarged scope of his enterprise.¹³⁴

In the end, Carlisle's post-revolutionary economy mirrored many of the larger economic trends affecting America as a whole. The town and its hinterland displayed a great diversity of occupations, a variety of participants,

¹³³The Carlisle Gazette, May 30, 1787; August 26, 1795.

¹³⁴It is very possible that Duncan's expansion is part of what Nettels, National Economy, 272, describes as a revolution in the production of iron manufactures. According to Nettels, the invention of a nail-making machine meant that cut nails could be made at one-third of the cost of wrought nails and resulted in a rising number of established nail factories in America.

and a dynamic embrace of the consumer revolution. Yet Carlisle also reflected its unique backcountry circumstances. Separated from America's eastern metropolises, Carlisle was only just beginning to see the changes in the workplace which would eventually usher in the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER V
TRADE, TRANSPORT, AND ECONOMIC MENTALITE

In a province where, it was said, "[t]hey grow chiefly rye, wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, flax, hemp, cabbage and turnips" along with raising "good cattle, fast horses, and many bees," farmers and town dwellers alike shared a well-defined sense of economic purpose.¹ Residents did not act in isolation in Pennsylvania, but were acutely aware of the links of exchange that bound their local markets to the wider economic and social worlds of America's eastern metropolises and western frontiers.

To the people of Carlisle, the "economy" was far more than just a localized structure in which residents exchanged cash and a variety of commodified goods and services for an equally diverse array of imported wares and specialized services. While various local individuals, families, and businesses were knit into an increasingly sophisticated web of urban and rural interests which served as the foundation of the region's economy, the notion of the "economy" also had other real and symbolic connotations to the people of central Pennsylvania. Throughout Carlisle's early history,

¹Mittelberger, circa 1750, Journey, 48.

conceptions of the "economy" also embodied a consciousness that illustrated how members of the community defined themselves and their role in the larger economic world. From the time of the town's establishment in 1751, residents brought with them mental images of an expansive economic universe which shaped the development of the town and configured its interactions with other communities and other regions. To use the now famous term of James Henretta, Carlisle residents consistently displayed an economic mentalité, or worldview, that placed them and their community in the center of an economic realm which extended far beyond the geographical confines of the Susquehanna River to the east and the Allegheny Mountains to the north and west.²

* * * * *

²James Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Preindustrial America," WMO, 3rd ser., XXXV (1978), 3-32. According to Henretta, Pennsylvania farmers were not agrarian entrepreneurs concerned with maximizing profit, but instead were adherents of more traditional, communitarian values. Indeed, in Origins, xxxii-xxviii, Henretta argues that Americans had no "market mentality" before 1800 and had ambivalent feelings about the credit and market sources available to them. In contrast, I argue that the economic consciousness of Carlisle residents was very much attuned to larger commercial forces and very much interested in participating in local and regional markets both directly and indirectly. For support of this argument, see Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism; Kulikoff, "Transition to Capitalism," 120-144; Winifred B. Rothenberg, From Market-Places to a Market Economy (Chicago, 1992).

In eighteenth-century Carlisle, community values and goals were closely linked to the structure and conception of the economy. While the area's first settlers waged a continual battle against the geographical isolation of the backcountry, they never suffered any comparable mental seclusion. From the earliest days of settlement, local farmers, retailers, and artisans knew that they could not survive in economic isolation, but were dependent upon continuous interaction with other markets on the local and regional levels. While locals quickly formed themselves into a series of unified networks of economic and personal association, Carlisle's merchants, millers, and traders simultaneously worked to extend these local networks from the backcountry eastward into the port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore and westward onto the frontier, where, as the agents of local economic aspirations, they completed the commercial exchanges that furthered Carlisle's economic growth and development and facilitated its integration into the frontcountry as well as the frontier.³

Because "Carlisle," as one traveller observed, was "not located in a spot to be a commercial city; it [was], however, the market where the grain from the surrounding

³For one of many examples, see Carlisle merchant Ephraim Blaine's exchanges with merchants Jonathan and Joel Evans of Philadelphia, April 26, 1771, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC. In exchange for the "ten Barrels Flour" received from Blaine, the Evans's sent a quarter cask of "Mad[ier]ja Wine" and "two cheeses."

area [wa]s brought to be transported from here to Philadelphia by wagons," the town required direct access to its own hinterlands as well as to the Atlantic port cities of America's eastern seaboard.⁴ During the colonial period, Carlisle's centrality to Cumberland County's grain trade demanded that local farmers, millers, and merchants have contact with each other as well as with external export markets. Roads, in particular, were "deem'd of Infinite use" to locals "on account of" making "passing and Repassing to the Different Mills" and markets of the area possible.⁵ During the 1750s and 1760s, while the young town of Carlisle was still growing, a firm foundation of internal and external economic contacts was quickly laid. The large number of road petitions approved by Cumberland County's Court of Quarter Sessions reflected the growth of an expanding transportation network that helped to realize the imagined economic goals of local residents.

To the people of Cumberland County, roads were far more than just cleared dirt pathways through the wilderness.⁶ Rather, as the physical manifestations of an immense

⁴Count de Colbert Maulevrier, circa 1794, Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 90.

⁵Petition for Road from Carlisle to Craighead's Mill and from thence to the Forge Gap, from unidentified individuals, January 1771, Cumberland County Road Petitions, Clerk of the Court's Office, CCCH (hereafter cited as Road Petitions).

⁶George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860 (New York, 1951), 15. Taylor reminds us that roads in pre-1815 America were of very poor quality.

economic universe that extended far beyond the borders of the county, roads were measures of the growing economic associations which existed both locally and regionally. Roads were meant to serve the public utility. Especially during the colonial period, when settlement in the county remained highly dispersed, many roads were, as one petition stated matters, "much wanted and ... of great Use to the Publick" to carry the produce of their plantations to market and to provide ready access to destinations of economic activity or exchange.⁷ "That a Fulling Mill[,] Grist[,] and Merchant Mill have been lately Built near the mouth of Letart [Letort] Spring to the Benefit of your Petitioners and Others," it was explained by several residents of Middleton Township in 1769, they now wanted a public road to be erected "to Places of this Nature," because it would be of great economic advantage to all who lived in the area.⁸

Roads served individual purposes as well. Millers and other owner-operators of rural processing facilities regularly sought permission from the Court to erect roads at their personal expense to boost local patronage of their establishments. Others in the county, like the Seven Years' War hero and local politician, John Armstrong, sought

⁷Petition of the sundry inhabitants of Middleton and West Pennsboro Townships for a road from Carlisle to the Reverend William Thompson's Mills, 1769, Road Petitions, CCCH.

⁸Petition of several inhabitants of Middleton Township, January 1769, *ibid.*

permission in 1773 to construct a private road from his new "Meadow Plantation" in West Pennsboro Township to Carlisle for personal convenience. Like many other politically prominent residents who maintained residences in both town and countryside, Armstrong sought ready access to the social and political life of Carlisle as well as its markets and services.⁹ Much like Armstrong, Middleton residents Jonathan Holmes and his son, John Junior, came before the court in 1773 because they wanted a private road constructed from their 400 acre farm to James Wilson's nearby gristmill to ease the transport of their grain from farm to mill.¹⁰ In all cases, self-interested desires to engage in business, society, or politics coupled with an expansive economic worldview to make these individuals "[w]illing to Clear and Maintain" a road at their "own proper Cost and Charges."¹¹

On the otherhand, when the construction of a road infringed upon the welfare of the general public or the individual, protests were voiced loudly and publicly. Roads were intended to occupy a course that was "the least injurious to private property and [the] most conducive to

⁹Petition of John Armstrong, Esquire of Carlisle, April 1773, *ibid*.

¹⁰Petition from Jonathan Holmes and John Holmes Junior, inhabitants of Middleton, January 1773, *ibid*; For information regarding Holmes' landholdings, see Tax Rates, Middleton Township, CCHS, 1768.

¹¹Petition of Andrew McBeath of Middleton for private road linking his house to the road from Croghan's gap to Carlisle, April 1771, Road Petitions, CCCH.

publick Utility."¹² A "detrimental" road, which was "to my great hurt and Damage in going through my orchard," or a thoroughfare that would "be very Injurious" to any one individual was usually deemed needless by the court.¹³ While roads were intended to end isolation by establishing formal links with the economic world outside Cumberland County, they could do so only when they were not an "unnecessary charge on the Inhabitants of the said Townships."¹⁴

In an area that was said to "produce not only great plenty, but also a great variety of grain," the rapid establishment of formal pathways between Carlisle and the grist mills of the surrounding countryside was essential to the economic livelihoods of farmers, merchants, and millers

¹²Order certifying that the public road from the end of North Mountain to Kelsoe's Ferry was laid out, July 1781, *ibid.*

¹³Petition of sundry inhabitants of Middleton and Carlisle to ask for review of road from Bedford Street, Carlisle to Creane['s] Gap, because it would be "detrimental" by "run[ning] thro' fields," January 1772, *ibid.*, CCCH; Petition of Alexander Irwen [Irwin] to protest the road from Walnut Bottom to James Smith's mill, because it "is to my great hurt and Damage in going through my orchard," September 1767, *ibid.*; Petition of Ephraim Blaine to protest road ordered last session from Andrew Holmes' to Carlisle, because there are many other ways that will answer the purpose without damaging him, January 1775, *ibid.*

¹⁴Petition of Middleton Township residents opposing road from Croghan's Gap. They protested that there was already a good wagon road there and that a new one would be of "very little Use" to the county, April 1771, *ibid.*

alike.¹⁵ The 1753 petition requesting that a road be built stretching northward from Carlisle to James Chamber's mill on the Conodoguinet and then onto the Path gap in North Mountain, was only one of many early statements of the need to establish an adequate transportation network "to Mill and [to] Market."¹⁶ Road petitions from people like Middleton Township miller, Thomas Evins--who sought in 1751 to have a road erected from Carlisle to his mills--were among the clearest ways that local residents publicly expressed their hopes and aspirations for the county's economic future.¹⁷ When the residents of nearby West Pennsboro Township asked for a road to be constructed southwestwards from Carlisle through their township to the Walnut Bottom and then to Shippensburg, for example, it was "for the Convaniency [sic] of Your Petitinors Comeing [sic] to Market with their products."¹⁸

The grain trade was not the only economic sector that demanded a local transportation network, however. A road

¹⁵Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760 (London, 1798), 62.

¹⁶Petition of the inhabitants of Cumberland County, April 1753, Road Petitions, CCCH; For information regarding Chamber's holdings, see Deeds, CCCH, Book 2A, August 1756, 15-17; Petition of the inhabitants of Middleton for a road from Matthew Laird's Field to William Moor's Mill, May 1802, Road Petitions, CCCH.

¹⁷Petition of Thomas Evins of Middleton, July 1751, *ibid.*

¹⁸Petition of inhabitants of West Pennsboro, April 1759, *ibid.*

petition filed in January 1760 made it clear that those engaged in lumber production also saw a critical need for roads to connect rural producers with processors and urban retailers. This request for a road leading southeastward from Carlisle to Mr. Craighead's saw mill on Yellow Breeches Creek and from there to York County, was "on account," the petitioners explained, that there was "no Straight Road from Mr. Craighead's to Carlisle."¹⁹ In a local economy where the exchange of commodities, rather than cash, often prevailed, producers like James Duncan, John Davis, and the wagoner, William Johnston, needed ready access to processing centers like saw mills so that they could pay for their purchases at John Agnew's Carlisle store with wagon loads of lumber.²⁰ As the inhabitants near McClure's gap explained in the summer of 1753, direct access to Carlisle was essential to their economic as well as their spiritual and political well-being. These residents sought a road "from our places of Abode near the North Mountain ... to the town of Carlisle" because they wanted to be able to travel easily to Carlisle, "there being as yet no Straight road" from

¹⁹Petition from unidentified inhabitants of Cumberland County, January 1760, *ibid.*

²⁰Anonymous Account Book #2, 1769-1790, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP. Although officially unidentified, various clues inside this ledger strongly suggest that this belonged to Carlisle merchant John Agnew. See 1774 credit entries for James Duncan, 1773 and 1775 credit entries for John Davis, and March 1774 credit entry for William Johnston, wagoner.

their homes to the markets, churches, and courts of county seat.²¹

From the first decades of settlement, roads--the physical manifestation of residents' expansive economic consciousness--did more than serve purely local functions. Early on, many locals made concerted attempts to connect Cumberland's economy to the other local economies of neighboring areas. Behaving much the way Thomas Penn had hoped when he and his officials planned the town in 1751, local townspeople and farmers sought to construct a coherent network of roads to link Carlisle to other market towns in the backcountry. In particular, early efforts focused on establishing economic ties to the adjacent county and town of York to the south. In 1751, the construction of a public road leading from Carlisle to Wakely's or Moore's gap in South Mountain "[wa]s much wanted by the Inhabitants," because it would coordinate so well with the recently-opened York County road stretching from McCallister's Mill into York Town.²² For many Cumberland county traders and merchants, ready access to the markets of York and other places further south was seen as vitally important to Carlisle's future economic growth, because York, like Lancaster, was quickly becoming a hub of colonial

²¹Petition from the residents of McClure's gap, July 1753, Road Petitions, CCCH.

²²Petition from various inhabitants of Cumberland County, April 1751, *ibid.*

transportation routes.²³ Local resident, Robert Hammilton, voiced some of these concerns in his petition before the court in the autumn of 1752. Expressing the views of many in the county, Hammilton complained that the public road from Carlisle to the York County line had not been completed "to the great Obstruction and Hindrance of Trade to York Town and Pattapsco in Maryland[.] [F]or which Design, the said Order was [originally] granted."²⁴

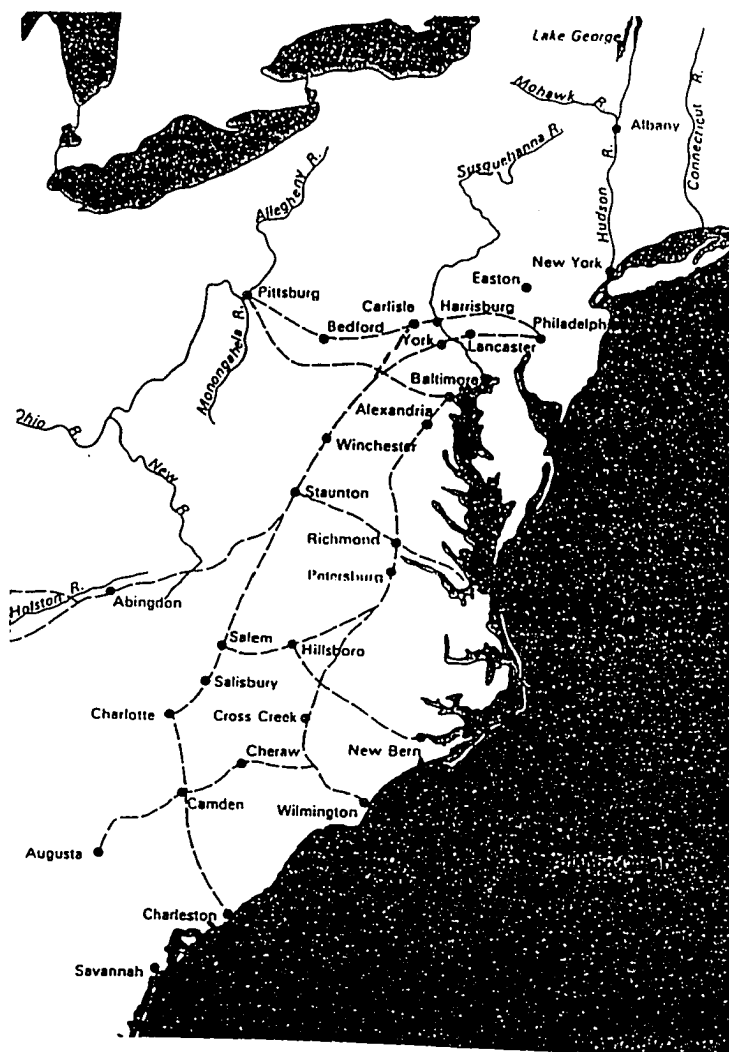
The establishment of trade networks within the backcountry was not the only economic issue confronting the court. The region's dependence on the exportation of a variety of agricultural commodities as well as its demand

²³See circa 1775 map in Lester J. Cappon, ed., Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760-1790 (Princeton, 1976), 4. According to this map, by 1775, there were roads heading out of York in all directions, including three major routes into Maryland. One of these roads followed the Susuquehanna, another went to Joppa on the Chesapeake Bay, and one went directly to Baltimore.

²⁴Petition of Robert Hammilton, October 1752, Road Petitions, CCCH. The Patapsco River flows into Baltimore from the northwest. According to Clarence P. Gould in "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," in Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students (New Haven, 1931), 235-236, 239-241, Cumberland's early interest in the Patapsco River area probably stems from the fact that, at a time when Baltimore was just beginning to expand as a city, some grain shipments to the West Indies were arranged by individuals living along the River. After all, according to Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce During the Confederation Period," Maryland Historical Magazine, 62, #2 (1967), 119-120, Baltimore did not begin its period of greatest growth until the mid-1750s.

MAP 16

COLONIAL ROADS



for various imported British manufactured goods, dictated that Carlisle merchants and their consuming customers have ready access to the metropolitan markets and overseas merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore. With the virtually unnavigable Susquehanna River as more of a hindrance than a help to the movement of men and materials, locals focused on roads as their primary paths of access to places east, south, and west of the town.²⁵ The 1758 request for a road leading from John Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna River to Carlisle was meant to meet some of these needs by connecting Cumberland's county seat and primary market with points east of the river--most especially, the port city of Philadelphia. As the petitioners from East Pennsboro and Middleton Townships explained, this road "[wa]s very much wanted" by many residents of the county and "would be very beneficial to such persons as Travel from [the] said Ferry and other parts of this province."²⁶ For Carlisle merchants Stephen Duncan, John Kinkead, and Robert Miller, this road would serve as one of the primary arteries to Philadelphia by which they transported the bales of flour, bushels of flaxseed, and pounds of beeswax produced by Cumberland

²⁵Lemon, Best Poor, 37; Carlisle's dependence on overland transport contrasts sharply with G.R. Taylor's notion of water transportation's dominance. Taylor's assertion that "rivers proved the only economical routes of commerce for early inland settlements," seems to be entirely wrong for eastern Cumberland County, see Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 56.

²⁶Petition from sundry inhabitants of East Pennsboro and Middleton Townships, January 1758, Road Petitions, CCCH.

County farmers and returned carrying hefty shipments of the English dry goods and manufactures demanded by local residents.²⁷

The journal kept by the Susquehanna River ferry master, John Harris, attests to the intense interest Cumberland County residents had in fostering the growth of a transportation network between west and east. From the 1750s until the early 1770s, Harris recorded the movements of numerous Carlisle people and their goods back and forth across the river. For example, in the early spring of 1761, Robert Sample of Carlisle paid 2 shillings, 6 pence for the "ferridge" [sic] of unspecified goods across the River, while in 1770, local trader and merchant, Ephraim Blaine, paid 7 shillings, 6 pence for the "Ferryage" of his "Team."²⁸ It was Carlisle merchants and traders, Barnabus Hughs and Robert Callender, however, who utilized Harris's transportation services most extensively. In the years between 1760 and 1772, they were charged varying amounts for

²⁷William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, May 31, 1769, 26; June 8, 1769, 37; September 15, 1769, 118; February 21, 1771, 502; West Wastebook #2, July 25, 1775. West was a Philadelphia dry goods merchant who maintained economic ties with a several Cumberland County retailers. According to Cappon, ed., Atlas of Early America, 4, by 1775 there were two routes to Philadelphia via Harris's Ferry. Both roads followed the "Great Road" from Carlisle to Harris's landing, one veered slightly northeast via Reading, while the other headed directly east to Lancaster before turning southeast towards Philadelphia.

²⁸John Harris Journal, HSP. Entries for Robert Sample, March 1761, 5, and Ephraim Blaine, May 1770, 174.

the "Ferryage" of numerous wagon loads of millstones, "Barr Iron," "Brick & Tyle," along with several shipments of unspecified "Goods" and "Stuff," across the Susquehanna.²⁹

Motivated by an expansive and ambitious economic worldview, many locals also sought easy and direct connections to Baltimore, just as merchants in that city on the Chesapeake were looking to profit from the wheat growing lands to their north and west.³⁰ In contrast to the assertions of several scholars, Philadelphia was not the only destination of Pennsylvania's backcountry trade during the colonial period.³¹ Rather, at least one Carlisle merchant, Ephraim Blaine, was actively engaged in exchanges with Baltimore merchants before the Revolution. In a 1770 letter to Blaine, his Philadelphia friend William Miller

²⁹Ibid. See entries for Barnabus Hughs and Robert Callender, February 1764-January 1772, 109.

³⁰Jane N. Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1790-1840: A Study of Intra-Regional Unity," Maryland Historical Magazine 55, #1 (1960), 2-3. Garrett asserts that just as central Pennsylvania was "susceptible" to Baltimore's influence, Baltimore's economy faced north as early as the 1750s. See also Dorsey, "Baltimore Commerce," 119-120 and Livingood, Trade Rivalry, 12-13, who explain that Baltimore's rapid growth in the 1750s and 1760s was the result of its proximity to expanding wheat lands in central Pennsylvania and northwestern Maryland.

³¹Both Livingood, Trade Rivalry, 161 and John F. Walzer, "Colonial Philadelphia and Its Backcountry," Winterthur Portfolio #7 (1972), discount Baltimore's economic influence in the region west of the Susquehanna before 1780. Both claim that during this period Philadelphia maintained a near monopoly on the region's trade. The commercial rivalry between these two cities did not begin in earnest until after the Revolution.

remarked, "I hope you have got your goods all safe from Baltimore ..., I sincerely wish you good success with them."³²

Cumberland County farmers were also intensely interested in establishing economic contacts with the promising young city to their south. Like their counterparts in neighboring York County, who were equally discouraged by high ferry toll rates on the Susquehanna and Schuylkill Rivers, these residents sought to establish direct overland routes to Maryland.³³ As the "Divers" inhabitants of Middleton Township explained, they "greatly Wanted" a road to run conveniently from Carlisle to the York County line (via Mahaffy's Gap in South Mountain) which would connect with the road to Baltimore.³⁴ From this and other petitions, it was clear that many Carlisle residents sought the creation of a transportation network which would

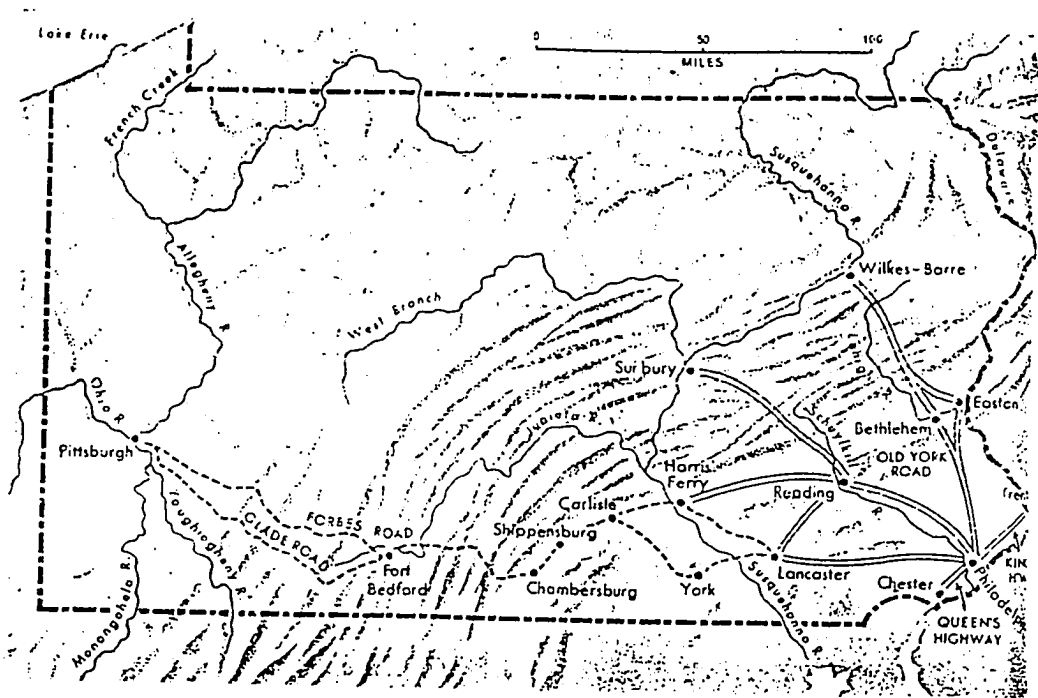
³²William Miller to Ephraim Blaine, December 6, 1770, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC.

³³Walzer, "Colonial Philadelphia," 171, asserts that by the 1760s ferry rates were yielding high profits, thus raising the cost of travel to Philadelphia. At Harris's Ferry, in 1770, the possessor of a loaded waggon paid 7 shillings, 6 pence to cross the Susquehanna. Walzer notes (p. 168), however, that York County residents were petitioning for roads into Maryland as early as the 1750s--a pattern I have also observed in Cumberland County.

³⁴Petition of the "Divers Inhabitants" of Middleton, October 1761, Road Petitions, CCCH.

MAP 17

TRAVEL ROUTES IN PENNSYLVANIA, CIRCA 1775



augment trade on a broad regional level. To those residents identifying themselves as the "Sundry Inhabitants" of Middleton and Allen Townships, they "labour[ed] under great Disadvantages for Want of a Road from Capt. Robert Callender[']s and Chamber[']s Mills at the mouth of Letart Spring," just east of Carlisle, "to fall into the Baltimore Road," because "at present," in 1771, they had "no direct Road from [the] said Mills to the Baltimore Markett [sic]."35

Aside from facilitating profitable trade connections with cities in the east, roadways served other economic functions as well. During the colonial period, many Carlisle merchants were also actively engaged in trade with western Indians for deerskins and furs. It is clear from available correspondence and account books that in the two decades before the Revolution, Carlisle served as a key midpoint in the transport of valuable trade goods from remote Indian trading posts in the west to the Atlantic export markets of Philadelphia. The establishment of roadways only aided this process. By permitting easy movement through the county, roads allowed a handful of

³⁵Petition of the sundry inhabitants of Middleton and Allen Townships, January 1771, *ibid.*

Carlisle's merchants to cleverly position themselves as middlemen in this process.³⁶

Carlisle's role in the deerskin trade was mediated by a handful of the town's colonial merchants. While one merchant, Francis West, was well connected to Philadelphia by familial ties--he was the brother of Philadelphia merchant William West--most of Carlisle's merchant-traders developed their own independent contacts with Philadelphia firms. Carlisle's Ephraim Blaine and his brother, Alexander, for example, acted as factors in the western trading ventures of Philadelphia merchants John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan in the mid-1760s. Clearly, to many merchants in Carlisle, the Indian trade in skins and furs was perceived as a risky, but often lucrative endeavor. Although most of Carlisle's merchant-traders also maintained dry goods stores that served the local market, they simultaneously participated in a wider economic realm which extended outward from the city of Philadelphia into the westernmost reaches of the Ohio River Valley.³⁷

³⁶Mancall, Valley, 205-206. Mancall speaks of how roads ended isolation by allowing movement both within and through the region. For deerskin traders in Carlisle, it was the ability to move east and west through Cumberland County which proved to be so important.

³⁷Carlisle's role in the trade was much like that of Lancaster. There, as in Carlisle, few men were actual traders, but many acted as merchants, who in partnership with Philadelphia firms, selected and relayed goods westward to those traders in direct contact with the Indians, see Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, 113-120.

By the 1760s, Carlisle was already a well-established link in a complex chain of public and private trade between east and west. Some Carlisle merchants, like Francis West, were closely associated with the long-standing provincial trade establishment.³⁸ West, in conjunction with the Quaker trader, James Kenny, acted as one of the representatives of Pennsylvania's Commissioners for Indian Affairs. While trader Kenny, operating out of the official "trading house" at Pittsburgh, acquired "[t]hree Hundred & Eight fall Deer skins, Weight fifteen Hundred & Six Pounds," his "Friend West," stationed in the centrally located town of Carlisle, acted as official middleman. West not only received shipments of skins and furs from Kenny via the Forbes Road and then "forward'd" them on "to ye Commiss[ione]r for Ind[ia]n affairs in Phila[delphia]," he also stored and shipped English trade goods sent from Philadelphia onto Kenny in Pittsburgh.³⁹ West outlined his role as intermediary in a 1763 letter to Indian Commissioner, William Fisher, of Philadelphia. "Inclosed is a Bill of Loading for ten Hors[e]load of Deer skins, & two Bears," he

³⁸For a perspective on Pennsylvania's seventeenth-century fur trade and its close connections to Proprietor William Penn, see Nash, "The Quest for the Susquehanna Valley," 3-27. Pennsylvania's regulation of the trade contrasts sharply with the "unmanageable character" of French Louisiana's trade, see Usner, Frontier Exchange Economy, chapter 8, especially 249-252.

³⁹James Kenny to Francis West, March 19, 1763, Indian Commissioners Correspondence, HSP; also see Joseph Morris to Francis West, April 13, 1763, *ibid.*

explained. "[Y]ou'll please to--observe that some of the skins seem'd damaged by being too long kept either in the cellar at Pittsburg[h] or on the Road between there and here [Carlisle]." ⁴⁰ According to West's description, he ran a warehouse establishment at Carlisle where English trade goods from Philadelphia and skins and furs from the western Indians were temporarily deposited while awaiting transshipment.

West was more than just a powerless intermediary who forwarded goods between east and west, however. He was also an influential broker who routinely made decisions affecting the scope and profitability of the trade. West sorted and packed the skins for transshipment, he assessed the range and quantity of European goods to send westward, and he regularly sold off what he saw as damaged or unusable wares in Carlisle. As West explained in a letter of November 1763, his responsibilities were considerable. "As the "Deerskins[,] Furrs[,] and Sundry Goods ... brought here from Bedford in the Beginning of the Snow [were] very wet and without any Invoice, I was obliged to spread out the skins and Furrs in the Store House." The "thirty five old Pack Sad[d]les whose Lads were cut and destroyed by rats in the Store House ... I sold for nine shill[ing]s each."⁴¹

⁴⁰Francis West to William Fisher, Commissioner for Indian Affairs, May 26, 1763, *ibid.*

⁴¹Francis West to Joseph Morris and the other Commissioners for Indian Affairs, November 25, 1763, *ibid.*

According to West, at one point in the summer of 1763, he presided over an extensive array of English trade goods. "[I]n Store Here" [at Carlisle] were some "two half Faggots of Steel," an assortment of "Matchcoats," and "Seventeen Barrs of Iron," in addition to an assortment of fabric, thread, sealing wax, bed lace, wrist bands, arm bands, "ear Bobbs," "Hair plates," gunlocks, wampum, ink powder, and quills--all "Sundry Goods and Mdze ... design'd for [the] Pittsburgh Trading House."⁴²

Aside from Francis West's highly politicized contacts with merchants in the east and Indians in the west, there were a host of other Carlisle merchant-traders actively engaged in private branches of the Indian trade. Ephraim Blaine, with the assistance of his brother, Alexander, was involved in one of the most grandiose western trading ventures ever undertaken by any Philadelphia firm in the 1760s. Hoping to capitalize on the provincial struggle for control of the fur trade in the 1750s, the merchant firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan sponsored several large-scale trade expeditions into the Illinois country of the Upper Mississippi Valley in 1765 and 1766. According to official

⁴²Francis West to John Reynall, August 16, 1763, *ibid*; Inventory of Goods brought from Carlisle to Philadelphia intended for the Pittsburg Trading House, August 22, 1763, Gratz Papers, HSP, Indian Affairs, case 14, box 10. The trade patterns described by West were very much like those Wood found in Lancaster, see Conestoga Crossroads, 114-115. The goods warehoused in Carlisle were similar to those described as "English" goods by Wood, 113 and Usner, Frontier Exchange Economy, 270-271.

correspondence, Blaine had a "Contract with Us" [Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan] to provide his skilled assistance in the expanded expedition of 1766. In this ambitious venture, some sixty wagon loads of English goods were to be hauled first from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, where they would then be reloaded onto river boats heading down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi to an Indian trading area situated just south of modern-day St. Louis.⁴³

Blaine served as one of many key intermediaries in the 1766 expedition, presiding over a warehouse in Carlisle where he sorted the skins and furs received from the west and then numbered and repacked them into wagons for the final journey to the east. Blaine outlined his progress in a August 1766 letter to his employers. As he explained,

Thomas Day is come Down and has Deliver'd me Twenty one loads of Deer Skins, which came from the Beaver[.]⁴⁴ [T]here is one of the Girtys with five Loads that is not come Yet[,] but I Daily Expect him, Day has been a Good Deal Careless in not Worming the Skins he Brought Down--there is forty Skins which I think Quite Damag'd, & Several Other a little Touch'd with the Worms[.] ... I have this Day Rec[eive]d Ten Loads of Dress'd Leather and Parchment, which I have Examin'd and

⁴³The fur trading activities of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan are described by Doerflinger, Vigorous Spirit, 148-151 and Albert T. Volweiler, George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782 (New York, 1926), 179, 190-192. See also Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Ephraim Blaine, October 16, 1766, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC.

⁴⁴"Beaver" most probably refers to the Indian territory near Big Beaver Creek--a tributary of the Ohio River--where the Indian trader George Croghan had established a trading house in the mid 1750s, see Volweiler, Croghan, 34, 296-297.

find them all Verry [sic] Safe[.] I have about four wagons to load off which I hope will be Done the first of next Week.⁴⁵

By his own account, Blaine was charged with considerable responsibility and oversaw a large-scale operation at Carlisle. Yet he did more than just pack "peltry" in "Waggon Loads." Blaine also acted as an active broker in the trade, making business trips to Fort Pitt to buy and sell as one of the firm's many representatives. "I am going up to Fort Pitt Next Week," Blaine reported in August 1766 and have "left my Brother here who will take care till I Return." "[I]f any Letter should be wrote by you with Directions to me about your Peltry[,] Direct [it] to me[,] as my Brother will Receive it and take care to comply with them."⁴⁶

Blaine and his brother were not the only Carlisle merchants involved in the deerskin trade, however. Robert Callender, a well-known captain during the Seven Years' War and a long-time resident of the town, was perhaps Carlisle's

⁴⁵Ephraim Blaine to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, August 16, 1766, Society Collection, HSP, Ephraim Blaine folder, 1765-1781.

⁴⁶Ibid. Blaine's "Brother" was Alexander, a local merchant and farmer in his own right. See also the "Account of Goods and Liquors delivered by the Sundry Contractors for Carriage," 1766, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, Correspondence, PHMC, microfilm reel 3 (hereafter cited as BWM Papers), in which Ephraim Blaine is credited with delivering numerous bales of an unidentified commodity, boxes of vermillion, and bushels of salt.

best known Indian trader. In partnership with fellow traders Michael Teaffe (or Taiff) and George Croghan in early 1750s, Callender's firm had suffered heavy financial losses with the onset French and Indian hostilities in the Ohio Country.⁴⁷ By the 1760s and early 1770s, Callender, apparently operating independently, was once again active in the trade--delivering regular supplies of skins and furs to both William West and the firm of John Baynton and Samuel Wharton, his merchant contacts in Philadelphia. From the frequency and size of his shipments to these merchants, it was clear that Callender had largely recovered from his earlier losses and had resumed an extensive involvement in the trade as well as a renewed interest in western land speculation.⁴⁸ For example, in December 1762 Callender informed Baynton and Wharton that he was sending some 1928 pounds of "dressed leather," 900 raccoons, and 346 pounds of

⁴⁷Volweiler, Croghan, 40-48; Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York, 1988), 59. For more information regarding Callender's earlier activities, see documents dated August 8, 1752 and July 14, 1753, Gratz Papers, HSP, case 14, box 19. This collection includes bonds binding Robert Callender and Michael Teaffe to Philadelphia merchant Jeremiah Warder for 1352 pounds and 321 pounds.

⁴⁸According to Volweiler, Croghan, 261-277, Robert Callender, along with fellow Carlisle neighbor and merchant, Samuel Postlethwaite, were among 23 merchants and traders who formed the basis of the "Indiana Company" in 1765. These men sought an extensive western land grant from the Crown to make up for the monetary losses suffered during the Seven Years' War. At the time of his death, in 1776, Callender willed that his rights to "lands now called Indiana and my Lands in Florida near the Natchees be sold." See Will of Robert Callender, July 26, 1776, Will Books, CCCH, Book B, 235-239.

fall skins to Philadelphia and would "send" them "Six or Seven Waggon load[s] more as Quick as Wagons Can be got to take them."⁴⁹ By the summer and fall of 1769, Callender was forwarding even more sizeable shipments of skins and furs to William West. While in July, West received some "2250 lb Deer skins from Carlisle" (an estimated 1125 pelts), in the following month, he received two more shipments from Callender.⁵⁰ In August, West reported that Callender had "2008 lb Deer skins" (some 1004 pelts) transported "from his House to this place [Philadelphia]," while another "Load" was also sent directly "from Fort Pitt."⁵¹ By the end of the month, when an "accompt" was made of Callender's account, it was reported that some 3549 "fall deer skins" and 328 "short hair" skins had been received, valued at 1488 pounds, 16 shillings.⁵² This pattern of exchange continued through 1770, when Callender branched out into shipments of "Otter", "Ordinary Cats", "Mushquash" [muskrat], "Culling",

⁴⁹Robert Callender to Baynton and Wharton, December 1, 1762, BWM Papers, Correspondence, PHMC, microfilm reel 2.

⁵⁰William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, July 21, 1769, 75. Calculations of the number of pelts are based upon Daniel Usner's finding that deerskins averaged 2 lbs. each, see Frontier Exchange Economy, 246.

⁵¹William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, August 12, 1769, 87; August 4, 1769, 82.

⁵²Ibid, August 26, 1769, 97.

and "Beaver", in addition to his regular supply of deer skins.⁵³

By all indications, Callender had shrewdly positioned himself as a high-powered broker in the trade with the western Indians.⁵⁴ Stationed at Carlisle, Callender--aided by unidentified agents in the west--relayed large shipments of skins and furs from Pittsburgh to Carlisle and then onwards to Philadelphia. In exchange for these deerskins and furs, merchants like West offered him valuable credit and a steady supply of English trade goods. During Callender's lengthy association with this one Philadelphia backer and creditor, he received cash payments and a host of manufactured goods. These items included: beads, barleycorn, Indian awl blades, Jew's harps, matchcoats, red

⁵³Ibid, May 4, 1770, 322; June 16, 1770, 359; August 1, 1770, 381. Callender's shipments to West closely resemble those forwarded from Joseph Simon in Lancaster to Barnard Gratz in Philadelphia, see Wood, Conestoga Crossroads, 117. In his study of Philadelphia merchants, Doerflinger discounts the importance of western trade in skins and furs as a risky interest of some city merchants and adds that William West was engaged in this business as a "sideline," see Doerflinger, Vigorous Spirit, 148. I would argue, however, that while this trade might have been a peripheral interest to West, in his dealings with Carlisle merchants, the trade was central, accounting for many of his exchanges with them.

⁵⁴Both Jennings, Empire of Fortune and Mancall, Valley, 77 argue that traders like Callender were also British imperialists--bringing new goods and an altered culture to the Indians they dealt with.

striped blankets, brass kettles, as well as an extensive array of cloth and ribbons.⁵⁵

For Robert Callender, "Indian trader of Carlisle"--a man who depended on the profits of the highly speculative western fur trade for a sizeable portion of his income--Carlisle clearly served as the most advantageous location for the conduct of his business. A resident of the town from 1753 until his death at age 50 in 1776, Callender evidently found the town--with its ready access to both the Indian trading posts in the west and the export merchants in the east--to be a convenient hub for his far-flung economic enterprises. To him and to other local men engaged in these speculative endeavors, Carlisle was the real and symbolic mid-point--or middlecountry--of an expansive economic universe that stretched from the furthest reaches of the Ohio Valley to the export markets of western Europe.⁵⁶

Unlike Callender, fellow Carlisle merchant Stephen Duncan engaged in the deerskin trade as a sideline to his local dry goods business.⁵⁷ Duncan was active as both a merchant and a trader in Carlisle by the mid-1760s. At this

⁵⁵William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, July 7, 1769, 60-61; August 6, 1770, 384.

⁵⁶Deeds, CCCH, Book 2A, 126-127; Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 197.

⁵⁷Part-time trading was even more common in French Louisiana where many settlers periodically exchanged peltry as a temporary livelihood, see Usner, Frontier Exchange Economy, 252-253.

time he also appeared in the records of the Philadelphia merchant firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan as one of several Cumberland County residents purchasing unspecified imported goods from them for sale in Carlisle and the west. In 1763, Duncan noted that having "sent Down" from Carlisle "Two Orders" of an undetermined nature, he certainly "Expect[ed]" that John Baynton and Samuel Wharton would "give me Credit in Y[ou]r Book for the Same." He had hoped, after all, "to have been Down [to Philadelphia] before now[,] But hearing there was No goods come in this Spring that Stopt [sic] me."⁵⁸ In the autumn of 1766 Duncan again wrote his Philadelphia suppliers: "Please to give the Bearer ... One Waggon Loge [Load] of the Goods that I Agreed with you for when I was in Town Last to go to Fort Pitt." Although he signed himself as their "Humble Servant" on this, as on other occasions, there is little evidence to suggest that Duncan was formally employed as one of their agents. Rather, he was likely acting as a semi-independent operator in the trade.⁵⁹

By 1769 and 1770, with the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan in bankruptcy, Duncan had shifted his economic allegiances and was making many purchases from another Philadelphia merchant--William West. West's shipments to

⁵⁸Stephen Duncan to John Baynton and Samuel Wharton, May 14, 1763, BWM Papers, Correspondence, PHMC, microfilm reel 2.

⁵⁹Stephen Duncan to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, October 9, 1766, *ibid*, microfilm reel 3.

Duncan were extensive and included a wide range of English imports, including a variety of fabrics, sewing supplies, apparel, combs, buckles, and ammunition. It was not until July 1775, however, that any mention was made of Duncan's involvement in the western trade in skins and furs. It was at this time that West made a record of "Stephen Duncan's Sale of Skins" in his books. By June 1776, West gave the first complete description of the peltry he received from Carlisle, noting that Stephen Duncan had been paid 18 pounds, 12 shillings, 6 pence for 82 "Raccoons," 5 "ordinary Foxes," 19 "Good" foxes, 1 "Red fox," 9 fall foxes, 3 "otters," 8 3/4 "Beaver," and 3 "Rubbish Raccoons."⁶⁰

In Duncan's case, there some evidence to suggest that he did not act alone in the fur trade of the 1770s, but instead, worked in conjunction with a larger economic network involving at least one other experienced Carlisle trader. Aside from his contacts with the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, he was also involved in several other unspecified trading ventures. The receipt signed with the mark of wagoner Ludwick Ferry in October 1774, reported that while at Pittsburgh he had "Received of" Carlisle's Ephraim Blaine, "Eighteen Be[a]ver skins and one muskratt ..., Seven otters[,] twenty two Raccoons[,] Eight Foxes[,] Eleven Catts[,] and four summer deer skins," which Ferry

⁶⁰William West Wastebook #2, West Account Books, HSP, June 21, 1776.

"Promise[d] to deliver ... in like good order to Mr[.] Stephen Dunkin [Duncan] in Carlisle, for his use."⁶¹ In this case, Blaine, a merchant and trader in his own right, was acting as Duncan's agent and partner in the field. Although Blaine continued to maintain a residence in Carlisle as well as a farm in Middleton, he had also acquired property in and near Pittsburgh. The purchaser of two town lots with houses in Pittsburgh, along with 300 acres "on both Sides of the great Road Leading from Fort Pitt to Carlisle" in 1769, Blaine had a propertied base of operation in the west.⁶² Presumably, he spent part of the year at one of his Pittsburgh residences, trading English goods for the skins and furs he then transported to Stephen Duncan in Carlisle.

In all likelihood, Duncan and Blaine, rather than Robert Callender, were more typical examples of Carlisle's Indian traders. For these men--as for William Lyon, another "merchant of Carlisle"--the western-based trade in deerskins and furs was a part-time speculative pursuit that supplemented the income they obtained from their lands and local dry goods businesses. While the deerskin trade allowed them to act in a more broad economic realm, it also

⁶¹Receipt of Ludwick Ferry, Pittsburgh, October 23, 1774, Blaine Papers, Misc. Accounts, LC.

⁶²Deeds, CCCH, Book B, 355-357. In December 1768, Alexander McGregor, "farmer of the District of Fort Pitt," mortgaged this three properties to Blaine for a total of 146 pounds, 17 shillings, 5 pence.

provided a ready outlet for the exercise of their expansive and ambitious economic mentalité.⁶³

While early road networks through the backcountry laid the foundation for Carlisle's pivotal position in the deerskin trade, and the inquisitive spirit of Carlisle's merchants mediated the town's economic alliances with merchants in the east and Indians in the west, it was ultimately the task of those men engaged in the carrying trades to solidify those connections. Traders brokered with Indians and creditors, but Carlisle's wagoners and packhorsemen actually moved trade goods and peltry between locales. These men were more than just ordinary laborers. Rather, as key participants in a broad geographic network, these tradesmen heightened local economic expectations and acted as important agents in expanding Carlisle's economic horizons.

For those men engaged in the carrying trades, the deerskin business generated particularly numerous demands. Few merchants transported goods or peltry themselves.

⁶³Deeds, CCCH, Book 2A, 251-252. Much like Duncan, William Lyon shows no evidence of being involved in the fur trade until 1770, when he began to send William West an assortment of skins and furs which included: substantial numbers of deer, as well as bear, "Cullen," "Mushquash," foxes, racoons, beaver, "Cats," "Fishers," and otter, see Willaim West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, January 5, 1770, 245; February 22, 1770, 255; May 17, 1770, 333; June 12, 1770, 355. From West, Lyon purchased a fairly typical array of dry goods and notions--goods presumably sold at his Carlisle store, see *ibid*, HSP, June 26, 1769, 54-55; November 27, 1770, 441; April 12, 1771, 523; William West Wastebook #2, May 2, 1776.

Rather, most traders (or their agents) usually employed local wagoners and packhorsemen to make the frequent overland journeys to and from Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Cumberland County resident, Joseph Rigby--one of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan's many backcountry agents--testified to the often difficult task he faced in engaging a sufficient number of local carriers to transport the firm's goods westward. In the spring 1768, the job was particularly onerous. In a letter to his Philadelphia employers he noted that,

There is[,] at this Time[,] but Twelve Horses to be got in this County, all the rest being on the Road with Your Goods and those of the Contractors--Ralph Nailor [of Carlisle] returned a few days since from Fort Pitt, but his Horses will not be in for some Time, and after they are arrived, they must rest 10 or 12 days before they are sufficiently recruited for making another Trip, ... As pack Horses are so scarce[,] Dobson [another agent] and I have thought It would be as well to employ two or three Waggons, to Load from this place, with [the] many Bulky articles that are here.⁶⁴

Several days later, Rigby apparently took the steps necessary to put his plan into action, noting that he had been "at Shippensburgh on Monday last to enquire of Dan[ie]l Duncan whether he knew of any Waggons [sic] that would take

⁶⁴Joseph Rigby to John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan, May 28, 1768, BWM Papers, Correspondence, PHMC, microfilm reel 5.

Loads to Pittsburgh," Duncan told him that "he would look out for some."⁶⁵

Shortages of men and horses were not the only problem that those involved in the western trade had to contend with, however. As Rigby quickly discovered, carriers were also very particular about the quantity, size, and weight of the goods they consented to transport and, in this way, informally regulated the ebb and flow of goods between east and west. For Rigby, the large and weighty "[h]alf Barrels of Sugar and Coffee" his Philadelphia employers sent him were the most considerable obstacle. As he explained, it was "vast trouble to engage the Packhorsemen to meddle with them," because, as he had pointed out in an earlier letter, most carriers "say they will cut the Horses Hips and through their Sides." He noted, however, that in the end, "after one or two had taken them, the rest came into it with Less Reluctance, though they complain[ed] of the extraordinary size of the Casks."⁶⁶

The accounts kept by Philadelphia merchant William West provide an even more detailed account of how one Carlisle wagoner--Christopher Vanlear--was routinely called upon to haul goods and peltry between east and west. By all indications, Vanlear was among the most steadily employed

⁶⁵Joseph Rigby to John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan, June 4, 1768, *ibid.*

⁶⁶Joseph Rigby to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, May 28, 1768 and June 11, 1768, *ibid.*

wagoners in colonial Carlisle. Working as both a wagoner and a tavernkeeper, Vanlear was able to amass a sizeable estate valued at 937 pounds, 1 shilling, 7 pence by the time of his death in the early 1780s.⁶⁷ According to West's records, in 1763, "a Waggon Load of Peltry from Pittsburgh" was "received from Chris[tophe]r Vanlear[,] Waggoner."⁶⁸ Several years later, in 1769, Vanlear was paid 6 pounds, 6 pence for transporting a load of deerskins from Robert Callender's house to Philadelphia. In June 1770, Vanlear received another 1 pound "towards [the] Carriage of a Load of Skins from Carlisle."⁶⁹ While fellow wagoners Ephraim Hunter and Paul Long were also paid for the "Carridge [of] one Load Deerskins from Carlisle" in 1769, Vanlear enjoyed the most frequent employment. On those occasions when his

⁶⁷Administrative account of estate of "Christopher Vanlier", presented by Elizabeth and Matthew Vanlier, March 26, 1786, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket Book 3, 1; Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1768, 1779. There is substantial evidence that Vanlear, like so many of his fellow neighbors in Carlisle, pursued more than one occupation, see discussion of him in Chapter V above. While he clearly earned money from transporting goods, he also operated a tavern in town which his wife Elizabeth continued after his death, see Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS. In July 1771, Christopher Vanlear appeared before the court to request a renewal of his license as he was "still desirous to continue in that Business."

⁶⁸Invoice of goods received from Christopher Vanlear, June 8, 1763, Gratz Papers, HSP, Indian Affairs, case 14, box 10. In this occasion, Vanlear was paid 4 pounds, 13 shillings, 8 1/2 pence for transportation.

⁶⁹William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, August 12, 1769, 87; June 16, 1770, 359. According to Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 134, charges for carriage by wagon varied greatly, even in the same region.

Carlisle patrons relied on him to act as both transporter and purchaser of goods, Vanlear himself acted as an independent broker in the trade.⁷⁰ In these instances, Vanlear hauled skins and furs into Philadelphia and then filled his wagon with a variety of imported goods he purchased for others. In 1768, for example, Ralph Nailer dashed off an urgent letter Ephraim Blaine in the hope that "If you [Blaine] overtake" Christopher Vanlear while in Philadelphia, tell him not to buy rum, but to buy "English Chew and frute [sic] and Loaf Sugar" instead.⁷¹

* * * * *

During the colonial period, a basic transportation network laid the necessary foundation for an increasingly complex series of exchanges on the local and regional levels. With the onset of the American Revolution, came changes, both subtle and dramatic, in the ways Carlisle residents defined their economic community and their role in the larger world of the mid-Atlantic. Although the Revolution wrought few fundamental changes in the expansive economic mentalite of town residents, it nonetheless refocused local ambitions and reshaped economic values.

⁷⁰William West Wastebook #1, West Account Books, HSP, July 21, 1769, 75; October 14, 1769, 152.

⁷¹Ralph Nailer to Ephraim Blaine, July 8, 1768, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC.

With the deerskin trade nearly terminated and with Baltimore playing an increasingly important role in the town's economy, residents paid new attention to safeguarding those local structures which would provide for more permanent and predictable economic associations in the future.

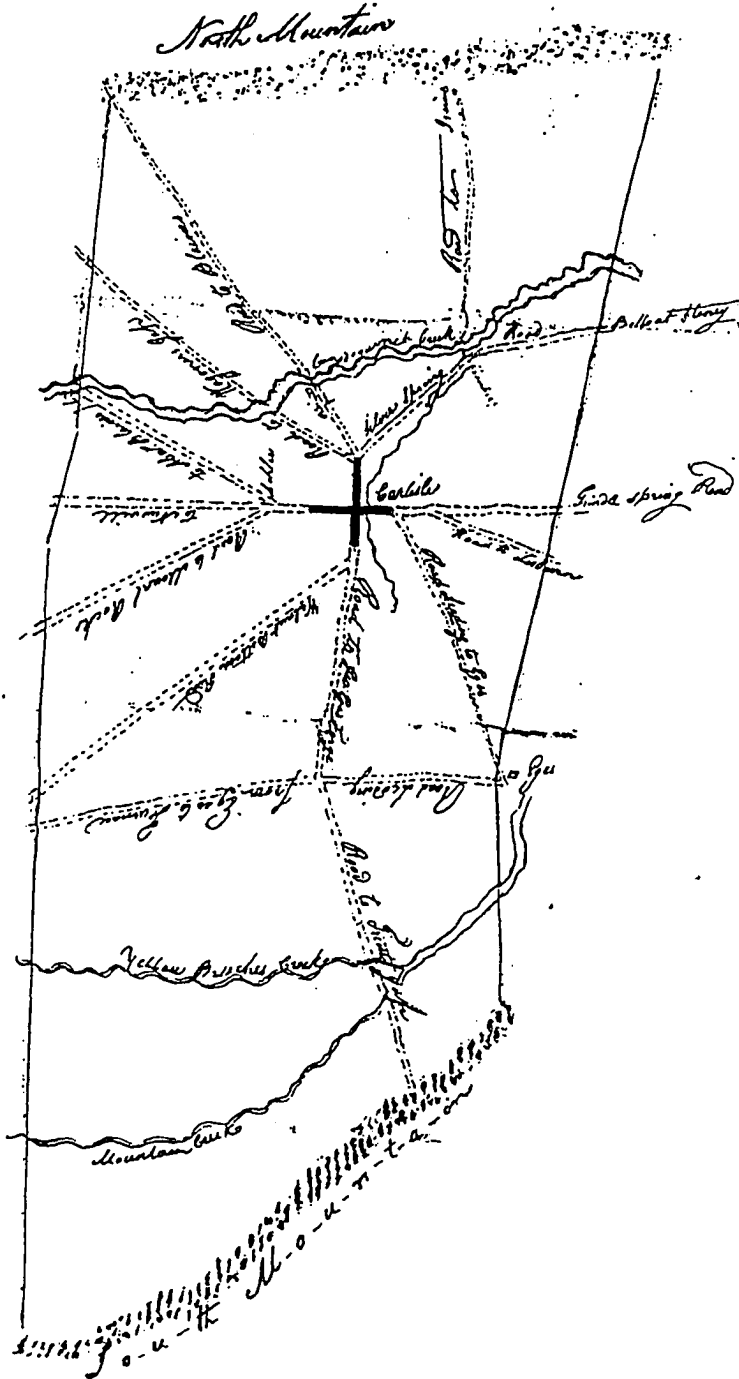
In the aftermath of the war, county residents built steadily upon the basic transportation system laid out during the colonial period. The construction of roads, of both local and regional significance, continued to generate considerable interest. Moreover, as in earlier decades, locals petitioned the county court for what they deemed as useful roads which would best "Benefit" the economic interests of "the Publick at large." For many, the roads erected "from their Farms to Carlisle" would help to more fully integrate town and countryside.⁷² In the post-war period, residents made important strides towards the creation of a stable and permanent network of roads that would enable all county residents to travel "to meeting[,] to Market[,] and to Mill."⁷³ Samuel Laird was one of many townspeople who desired an easy and direct route between his Middleton farm and Carlisle. In July 1782, Laird explained to the court that he was "in great Want of a Waggon Road

⁷²Petitions from unidentified individuals, January 1789, December 1803, Road Petitions, CCCH.

⁷³Petition of David Hoge, April 1791, *ibid.*

MAP 18

MIDDLETON TOWNSHIP, CUMBERLAND COUNTY, 1810



Source: from an original map in the Cumberland County Courthouse.

from his Meadow ... [on Conedoguinet Creek] to the Public Road leading from Hurly's Gap to Carlisle."⁷⁴ He was little different than John Pattan (Patton), a farmer of Middleton, who sought permission the following year to construct a private road from his 300 acre farm to Carlisle. "My Neighbours," he explained, "having Stoped my Antient [sic] Road."⁷⁵

In Carlisle, too, residents built upon the economic past, while forging a new and more expansive future. In an effort to perpetuate Carlisle's long-standing role as a transit point between east and west, locals continued to petition for roadways which would further Carlisle's contacts with other towns and other regions. It was clear, for example, that the economic interests of town residents played a major role in the 1785 petition from the "sundry inhabitants" of York and Cumberland Counties. Their request for a road running from the well-known Quigley's Mill to the main road heading west from Toasses Ferry on the Susquehanna River into Carlisle was made, because it would provide a "more convenient as well as safe" path "for travellers."⁷⁶

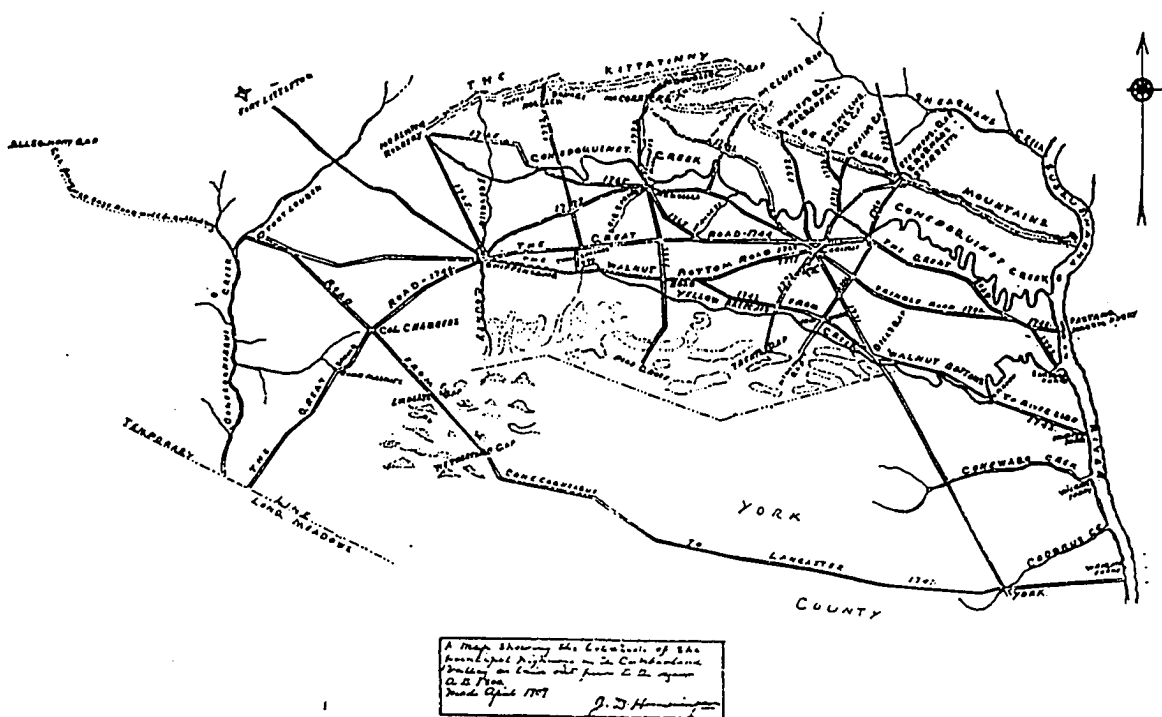
⁷⁴Petition of Samuel Laird of Carlisle, July 1782, *ibid.*

⁷⁵Petition of John Pattan (Patton), Middleton, July 1783, *ibid.*; for information on Patton's landholdings, see *Tax Rates, Middleton, CCHS, 1787.*

⁷⁶Petition of sundry inhabitants of York and Cumberland Counties, January 1785, *Road Petitions, CCCH.*

MAP 19

PUBLIC ROADS IN THE CUMBERLAND VALLEY PRIOR TO 1800



For Carlisle residents, this route not only facilitated movement through the town, it also offered yet another direct connection with points east of the river.

Carlisle inhabitants remained fiercely protective of their premiere position in the county as well. In their 1797 petition for a road leading from the west end of High Street to the Walnut Bottom Road just south of town, residents displayed their competitive disposition.

"[O]bserving that the Walnut bottom road"--heading towards the rival town of Shippensburg--"has of late become the rout[e] frequented by the public stages and most Travellers to the West," Carlisle residents wanted to protect their economic interests by having full access to this path.⁷⁷

Residents hoped that this new road would deflect some of the commerce heading towards Shippensburg to Carlisle. By the late 1790s, townspeople were greatly concerned that Carlisle remain the hub of the county transportation network. Many townspeople worried that some of the roads leading westward from Carlisle were "[n]ot being sufficient[ly] layd [sic]." As a result, "[t]ravellers, come frequently led astray or labour under great uncertainty" as to the direction of their actual destination--reflecting adversely on the town and its business people.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Petition from unidentified individuals, August 1797, *ibid.*

⁷⁸Petition for road from west High Street to intersect with the Waggon Road, August 1797, *ibid.*

In contrast to the colonial period, however, Carlisle residents demonstrated a new community consciousness along with an intensified concern for local development. Clearly, the town's war-time experiences had refocused local economic ambitions and altered the town's commercial connections to the seaports of Philadelphia and Baltimore. As a result, in the decades following the Revolution, residents paid greater attention to boosting the town's ability to serve as a viable and economically diverse service center for the county and the region. For the first time in the town's history, Carlisle's economic development became an end in itself.

In the years following Carlisle's incorporation as a borough, local officials demonstrated a new interest in improving the town's physical appearance.⁷⁹ In 1793, nine Carlisle merchants, artisans, and political figures presented an official protest to the court, because "they consider[ed] as Nuisances[,] certain Ponds or Quarry Holes situate[d] on the East Side of the public square."⁸⁰ Although the petitioners admitted that this unsightly mess

⁷⁹Carlisle was chartered as a borough on April 13, 1782, see Flower and Flower, Carlisle, 30; Wing, History, 232.

⁸⁰August 1793, Road Petitions, CCCH. The petition was signed by: William Alexander (Justice of the Peace), George Anderson (cordwainer), Ephraim Blaine (merchant), Thomas Buchanan (sheriff), Charles Cooper (saddler), John Creigh (merchant), John Holmes (either the cooper or the merchant--there were two men by that name in town), John Hughes (merchant), and one unidentified individual.

had been caused by individuals long since gone or dead, they and the Court agreed that it was "the Duty of the [borough] Supervisors," as the town's official representatives, "to repair ... the Streets" and spuce-up the town's landscape.⁸¹

A more significant show of concern for the town's structural appearance came in the spring of 1801, when County Commissioners--David Robb, Jacob Crever, and John Moore--recommended that they be "[e]mpowered to Cause to be Erected a Suitable Building or Buildings of Brick or Stone ... to avoid the ravages of fire ... for the reception and safe keeping of the records and other papers" of the Cumberland County courts. Although a brick courthouse had been erected in the mid-1760s, another structure appropriate for the long-term storage of county records was also greatly needed. It, like the town's other public buildings, would stand as a symbol of Carlisle's permanency as a place and coherence as a community. After requesting that the court allot the necessary public funds "to defray the Expence of Erecting a Suitable building in the public square," the justices complied, assigning no more than \$6000 of county money for the purpose.⁸²

⁸¹Petition from sundry inhabitants of Carlisle, August 1793, *ibid.*

⁸²Representation of the Commissioners of Cumberland County to the Court and Grand Jury relative to Erecting a Building for the public records, March 1801, *ibid.*

Several years later, local public officials again demonstrated considerable interest in making structural improvements to the town. In 1801, a tax was levied on town residents to raise some \$640 for "the erection of a Suitable Building for a Market House" on the public square.⁸³ While a market had been held there for some time on the first Wednesday of each month "for the Sale of all kinds of Grain, Horses and Cows, together with every Article of Country Produce," a permanent structure to house this event had never been built.⁸⁴ Some nine years later, in 1810, improvements were made to the new market house when a Grand Jury recommended "the appropriation" of county funds "for the purpose of repairing the Public Pump near the Market House," because it was of "great Utility to the Market People--and the People attending Court" as well as serving protective purposes "for the supply of Water for the Public Offices in case of Fire."⁸⁵ The construction and improvement of the market house offers further indication

⁸³Petition of the Corporation of Carlisle, December 1803, *ibid.*

⁸⁴Announcement of new ordinance passed by the Corporation of Carlisle, The Carlisle Gazette, December 9, 1801.

⁸⁵Recommendation regarding the appropriation of public funds made to the county court by the Grand Jury, November 1810, Road Petitions, CCCH. The pump had originally been installed on the square in 1799, when County Commissioners, John Montgomery, John Creigh, and Lemuel Gustine, ordered a well and pump be installed on the northwest corner of the square "in order to Secure the public Buildings from the accident of fire." See Cumberland County Commissioner's Minutes, PHMC, November 3, 1799, microfilm.

that the town's public officials perceived their community in increasingly stable and permanent terms.

Attention to the town's physical space was not the only way inhabitants expressed their interest in local affairs. In the years following the Revolution, townspeople also demonstrated greater interest in new forms of internal improvements. While roads remained of central importance, bridges and other structural improvements captured larger segments of the collective consciousness. In August 1792, county Grand Jurors issued a report lamenting "the decayed and ruined state" of the bridge passing over the Letort Spring on Carlisle's eastern border. As the bridge over which High Street passed going eastward towards York Town, the Susquehanna ferries, and other points east of the river, it was of vital importance to the economic livelihood of town dwellers. After the Grand Jurors called for the "immediate necessity of erecting a new strong and lasting Bridge ... to be built of Stone and Lime" over the Letort, a contract was issued for its construction in April 1795. In it, county commissioners were allotted \$200 for the specific purpose of "[b]uild[ing] and erect[ing] a bridge of stone over the letart [sic] Spring" in no more than nine months time.⁸⁶

⁸⁶Grand Jurors report respecting the bridge over Letort Spring, August 1792, Road Petitions, CCCH; Contract for bridge over Letort Spring, April 1795, *ibid.* As further indication of the county's changing attitudes towards internal improvements, such as bridges, in the post-Revolutionary

While this event is significant because it resulted in the construction of a more substantial bridge over the Letort, it also had more widespread implications for the future economic development of Cumberland County. After all, the Grand Jurors report contained one of the first public statements advocating large-scale structural improvements to the county's existing transportation infrastructure. According to these officials, it was to the general advantage of the county as a whole to erect and maintain suitable public bridges over all local waterways. Bridges, they recognized, not only facilitated more direct overland travel, they also promoted the growth of more extensive and long-term networks of exchange inside and outside the county. Like the new public buildings in Carlisle, these new and more long-lasting bridges symbolized the evolution of a more stable and permanent community in and around Carlisle.⁸⁷

Notions of the "public utility" were also being subtly modified over time to accommodate the changing economic aspirations of local residents. The 1803 request for the construction of a bridge over Conodoguinet Creek near

period, the original petition for a bridge over the Letort was rejected by the court in January 1779, despite pleadings that it was "absolutely necessary to erect a Bridge there." See Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 52-53.

⁸⁷Grand Jurors report respecting the bridge over Letort Spring, August 1792, Road Petitions, CCCH. Bridge building was going on in other areas of backcountry Pennsylvania as well, see Mancall, Valley, 208-209.

Blaine's mill confirmed the increasing intensity of local sentiment favoring large-scale improvement of the region's transportation infrastructure. In this case, the petitioners explained that because they "often meet with great difficulty" and were "sometimes totally unable to cross said creek [the Conodoguinet] at the Common crossing place ... occasioned by high waters and ice," they and their fellow inhabitants were "[g]reatly hindered in carrying their produce to Market and in attending at the County town." These men asked for the construction of a permanent public bridge over the creek which would alleviate their difficulties and aid in the more efficient transport of local commodities of exchange.⁸⁸ While the court agreed and granted their request, when it was found that the expence of building the bridge was too great for one township to bear, the justices ruled that it "ought to be Erected at the Public Expence of [the] said County," because it was of such "great Public Utility" to the county as a whole.⁸⁹

Interest in local transportation improvements was reflected on the state level as well. In two acts regarding the Susquehanna River in 1771 and 1785, the river was "deemed and taken to be a public highway" in the expectation

⁸⁸Petition from Middleton Township residents, March 1803, Road Petitions, CCCH.

⁸⁹Ibid. See also Grand Jurors report, September 1804.

that any improvement to central Pennsylvania's vexatious and often unnavigable water transportation route would aid economic development in the region. In the bill, legislators speculated that "great profit and advantage might arise" to those farmers in the surrounding counties (like Cumberland), if the valuable wood on their properties "could be conducted in rafts ... down the said river to the waters of the Chesapeake."⁹⁰ In 1804, the Pennsylvania General Assembly passed another act "Declaring part of Conodoguinet Creek, ... a Public Highway." Under this law, residents along the Conodoguinet (a tributary of the Susquehanna) were asked "to remove all natural and artificial obstructions" so that "the navigation of [the] said creek for boats and rafts will not be injured nor the passage of fish prevented."⁹¹

⁹⁰Act passed March 31, 1785, Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, XI:540-542. This act appointed commissioners to oversee the enforcement of the original act passed March 9, 1771. Livingood, Trade Rivalry, 7, notes that although this law declared the Susquehanna a public highway, no money was spent on the area south of Wright's Ferry on the lower Susquehanna, because legislators feared that it would promote commerce with Maryland. According to Livingood, 33-35, Philadelphians continued to block improvements on the southern section of the river through the 1790s.

⁹¹Passed March 5, 1804, Mitchell and Flanders, eds., Statutes at Large, XVII:647-648; The Carlisle Gazette, April 11, 1804. Although this act allowed all those who had prior permission for dams to retain them, its passage was followed by a lengthy public debate in the local press which pitted "A Conodoguinet Farmer" against the interests of "a Shoemaker." The farmer supported construction of more mill dams on the creek citing support for "the common good," explained that "the preference, to the manufacture of the staple commodity of the state [flour]" and the fact that "navigation and fisheries

While these two acts symbolize Pennsylvania's post-Revolutionary fascination with internal improvements, they also indicate that state legislators, landholders, and court officials had finally and formally acknowledged that road transport was both more time consuming and more costly than transport by water. Much like other internal improvements of the era, these acts linked improved and accessible water routes to collective notions of public utility and progressive economic development. The Susquehanna River and Conodoguinet Creek were deemed public highways to increase efficiency and streamline transport of imports and exports to and from central Pennsylvania; thus accelerating economic growth. Yet as Peter Mancall has found in the Upper Susquehanna Valley, even though legislators believed they were enhancing the general welfare by enacting transportation improvement laws, these acts disproportionately benefitted those individuals most involved in external markets--wealthy landholders and local

were always considered as a collateral interest only." See *ibid*, March 5, 1794 and March 12, 1794. The opposition believed that "the people who wants to erect new mill dams, means to stop both the Fish and the Water from running up to Carlisle any more" and sought both the right to fish "and to leave the Creek open for Carlisle people to flat [*sic*] down their lumber." See *ibid*, April 9, 1794. In the end, the "common good" was allied with the general interests of improved transportation, rather than the monopolistic-like control of the creek held local wheat millers.

merchants--and ultimately reinforced prevailing economic inequalities.⁹²

Circumstances differed little in the Lower Valley. While improved transit on the Susquehanna and its tributaries was hailed as a move for the public good, it most benefitted those merchants and farmers who could already afford to haul goods and produce to coastal markets. It also opened up new avenues of speculation for those able to acquire the needed capital to invest. In a 1793 letter to Carlisle's well-known physician, farmer, and revolutionary general, William Irvine, Baltimore merchant John Holmes hailed any improvement of trade on the Susquehanna as a welcome change. Holmes, involved in extensive exchanges with at least one merchant in Carlisle, had a personal economic stake in fostering more direct trade routes between Carlisle and Maryland. While many of Holmes's dealings with Carlisle involved exchanging bushels of salt for wagonloads of flour, he envisioned the profitable potential of other commodities as well. "The Susquehanna," he explained to his friend Irvine, "has an inexhaustable [sic] fund of that Article [lumber]," and "as it is not very portable," it is "probable that such part of that Article as is intended for the European [sic] Markets, must be ship[p]ed from the Mouth of the River" to another port. Because of the high costs of transporting lumber from

⁹²Mancall, Valley, 204, 209-213.

the mouth of the river to Baltimore or Philadelphia and because the "[l]umber Market of Phil[a]d[elphia] has already failed and Baltimore is declining daily," Holmes was convinced that "an establishment [a town] on the river" would "in Time export all the produce of that Country [central Pennsylvania]." Indeed, Holmes was so sure of his plan that in his letter he tried to convince Irvine to "purchas[e] ... some land on the tideWater [sic], at the mouth of the Susquehanna; The most Eligable situation for a comertial [sic] Town."⁹³

While local affairs and internal improvements captured much of the public's attention in the decades following the American Revolution, Carlisle residents nonetheless continued to conceive of their economic universe in grand and aspiring terms. Still convinced of their own ability to operate successfully in a wide-reaching economic system, locals remained directly and indirectly integrated into an extensive public network of economic and social exchange that stretched from the furthest reaches of the western frontier into the port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Although economic contacts had shifted and become more formalized with the Revolution, patterns of exchange between

⁹³John Holmes to William Irvine, March 4, 1793, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:78; for examples of Holmes's transactions with Carlisle merchants, see Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP. This daybook, details numerous exchanges between Holmes and one Carlisle merchant. For a more complete discussion, see Chapter V above.

Carlisle and other regions retained many of the contours of their pre-war status. The deerskin trade had declined. The markets of Baltimore had come to have a greater impact on Carlisle's economy than ever before. Yet speculation in grain remained vibrant and local merchants displayed a new and intense interest in transporting imported wares to the west.

* * * * *

Carlisle continued to serve as a middlecountry--a transit point between east and west. The town's collection of innkeepers and merchants were readied for active participation in both local and regional commerce. Tavernkeepers, in particular, continued to prepare themselves "for the accommodation of Strangers" as well as locals.⁹⁴ In 1784, innkeeper, James Williamson, keenly interested in capturing the business of wayfarers moving between east and west, advertised that he had rented "the Messuage [lot] and Tenement [dwelling house] in York Street in Carlisle" and provided himself with "every necessary suitable to entertain travellers and others."⁹⁵ Likewise,

⁹⁴Petition of Daniel Sezerlass, August 1801, Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS.

⁹⁵Petition of James Williamson, Carlisle, July 1784, *ibid.* The Oxford English Dictionary explains that "Messuage," in its original legal usage, was used to define the portion of land intended as a site for a dwelling house, while "Tenement" was

David Ramsey of Middleton sought to keep his public house at "a very convenient Stage [site] for travellers from Carlisle" because "the said road" his house was located on was "very much frequented" by people passing to and from the town.⁹⁶

More than ever before, Carlisle served as a geographic mid-point between east and west. While new roads, bridges, and a variety of other internal improvements fostered travel within the county, in the years following the Revolution, a host of new establishments institutionalized Carlisle's position as an essential stopover point in travels through Pennsylvania.

Although Carlisle had had weekly postal connections to Philadelphia since the late 1750s, in 1788 a new postal route was established that stretched across Pennsylvania from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. This route stopped at Carlisle every other Tuesday; making the town a primary connection in the transmission of news and information between frontcountry and backcountry.⁹⁷ Furthermore, in the years between 1797 and 1803, the establishment of several local stage coach lines more closely linked Carlisle into a

a term used to denote a house or place of abode.

⁹⁶Petition of David Ramsey, Middleton, March 1801, *ibid.*

⁹⁷Godcharles, Chronicles, III:102; The Carlisle Gazette, July 30, 1788. The other towns included on the postal route between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were: Lancaster, York, Shippensburg, Chambersburg, Bedford, and Greensburgh.

wide transportation network encompassing the towns of Baltimore, Hanover, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Reading, and Sunbury.⁹⁸ Many of the town's innkeepers promoted these new and potentially lucrative transit connections as a way to further their own establishments. After John Reed went "to the expence of purchasing necessaries for keeping a public House in Pomfret Street," he "contracted with the owners of the Baltimore line of Stages to stop at [his] said House."⁹⁹ Merchant and tavernkeeper, Nathaniel Weakley, proprietor of the Sign of the Lamb on York Street, evidently made similar arrangements. In 1795, stagecoach operator, William Geer, announced that his "Carlisle, Lancaster & Philadelphia STAGE" would depart "every Wednesday morning from the house of Mr. Nathaniel Weakley."¹⁰⁰ While both Reed and Weakley hoped to personally profit from these arrangements, their efforts to tie stage service to their taverns also worked to connect Carlisle into a larger and more formalized regional network of transit and communication.

Due to the massive realignment of markets during and after the Revolution, however, Carlisle's role as economic mediator between east and west changed. While the near

⁹⁸Ibid, February 8, 1797; January 23, 1799; April 20, 1803.

⁹⁹Petition of John Reed, Carlisle, August 1809, Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS.

¹⁰⁰The Carlisle Gazette, February 19, 1794; December 2, 1795; February 19, 1794.

termination of Pennsylvania's deerskin trade altered Carlisle's associations with other regions, local merchants and entrepreneurs quickly redefined and reasserted the town's economic status in the mid-Atlantic. By forging new associations with eastern creditors and frontier peoples through speculation in flour exports and sales of imported wares, local businessmen found new ways to fulfill their entrepreneurial desires and act out the expansive and ambitious economic worldview that persisted in the town.¹⁰¹

Changes in the national economy allowed Carlisle merchants to act more autonomously as economic mediators. No longer needed to serve only as brokers who bought and sold goods for eastern mercantile firms, Carlisle entrepreneurs worked independently, often negotiating their own private deals between east and west. For example, merchant and trader, Ephraim Blaine, and his son, James, shifted their remaining interests in the deerskin trade to the Lower Mississippi Valley. "[I]nclosed find the Invoice of the skins and furs purchased in New Orleans," wrote James to his father in Philadelphia in 1796.¹⁰² Blaine and his son were evidently among the many English traders who helped

¹⁰¹For information regarding the national economy following the Revolution, see Nettels, National Economy, chapters 3 and 4.

¹⁰²James Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, February 25, 1796, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC. According to Nettels, National Economy, 53-54, 209-216, the fur trade changed significantly during the Revolution. Trade became focused on the Mississippi and America's role in it declined.

commercialize the export trade of Spanish-controlled Louisiana.¹⁰³ As partners in the firm of Blaine, Wilkey, and Clark, Blaine and his son were also intensely involved in a new branch of trade--flour speculation in New Orleans. By 1789, having obtained an official passport to travel down the Mississippi, the firm had already waged one successful selling expedition in New Orleans at a time when prices were extraordinarily high, because "the markett [sic] was nearly out of Flour."¹⁰⁴

William Irvine also became actively involved in flour speculation in Pittsburgh and New Orleans. In 1790, Irvine entered into a partnership with Charles and John Wilkens of Pittsburgh "to carry on a special trade and business in buying and selling" with the Indians and settlers of western Pennsylvania. With the Wilkens brothers acting as agents in the field, the three men hoped to capture much of the trade at Pittsburgh and Presque Isle on Lake Erie, trading flour, whiskey, and salt with Indians and settlers for "considerab[e] produce, money, and skins."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³for a general description of Louisiana's transition to a commercial export economy, see Usner, Frontier Exchange Economy, 105-106, 268-275.

¹⁰⁴Thomas Irwin to General William Irvine, May 20, 1789, Irvine Papers, HSP, X:28.

¹⁰⁵Articles of Agreement for partnership between John and Charles Wilkens of Pittsburgh and William Irvine, September 17, 1790. Having "mutually agreed to enter into a joint concern," Irvine agreed to invest 500 pounds, while the Wilkens brothers added 1000 pounds. Profits would be divided in thirds. Irvine Papers, HSP, X:69. See also John Wilkens

Irvine was also involved in another "joint concern" with Thomas Irwin of New Orleans and his brother, Mathew Irwin, of Philadelphia. In 1789, Thomas Irwin sent Irvine official permission from the commander of the Spanish forces in Louisiana and West Florida "to come down to settle in this Province with his family" and "to bring down his property" and "what produce soever ... such as Pelletry [sic], Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Flower [sic], or any other production of the Country[,] free from duty." Although this passport was intended to promote permanent settlement in Louisiana, Irvine and the two Irwins planned to use it for purposes of trade only. While Thomas Irwin oversaw business along the Mississippi, Irvine and Mathew arranged shipments of flour to be sent downriver from Pittsburgh to Natchez and New Orleans. The three men hoped to get the "uncommon price" of 15 "hard" dollars per barrel of flour as well as additional money through sales of such necessities as butter, cheese, cider, and mill or grind stones to needy settlers.¹⁰⁶

to William Irvine, December 28, 1790, *ibid*; John Wilkens to William Irvine, February, 3, 1791, *ibid*, X:80. John Wilkens was a tavern and storekeeper in Carlisle from 1763 to 1783. It is thus likely that he and Irvine were well acquainted before he went west, see "Autobiography of John Wilkens," in Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 54-58.

¹⁰⁶Thomas Irwin to William Irvine, New Orleans, May 20, 1789, Irvine Papers, HSP, X:28. From Irwin's comments, it is clear that most traders were violating the spirit of the passports they had been issued. Because the passports were meant to encourage settlement, not just trade, Irwin encouraged Irvine to try to "get a few Familys [sic] to come

For Ephraim Blaine and William Irvine, Carlisle served as one of several central hubs for their far-reaching speculative enterprises. Acting as autonomous mediators in the western flour trade, they maintained close contact with partners in Philadelphia and New Orleans as well as suppliers in Pittsburgh from their homes in Carlisle. The town, as a geographic middlecountry in their far-flung operations, functioned as a base from which Blaine and Irvine negotiated deals between eastern elites, western suppliers, and south-western settlers--much in the style of their deerskin trading counterparts several decades earlier.

Other Carlisle businessmen continued to use the town more directly as a transshipment point for imported European wares and dry goods going to stores in the newly-settled lands of Kentucky. At least two Carlisle merchants were intimately involved in the Kentucky dry goods trade. Merchant Samuel Postlethwaite set up his son, John, in the storekeeping business near Lexington in the 1790s. Another unidentified Carlisle merchant also became extensively involved in shipping goods from his Carlisle business to his "Kentucky Store."¹⁰⁷ In the months of March, May, and

down in the Boats, with a view of settling in the Natchez district." If they could not find such persons, then "the Boatmen must say when they arrive at the Natchez and this place [New Orleans] that they mean to settle them selves in this Country."

¹⁰⁷John Postlethwaite to Samuel Postlethwaite, Lexington, March 9, 1790; November 29, 1795, Postlethwaite Papers, CCHS; see also Anonymous Account Book #3, Carlisle, June 1790-

October 1792, this merchant sent three sizeable shipments of assorted dry goods, groceries, and hardware totalling some 742 pounds in value to Kentucky. Using Carlisle as his operational hub, he obtained most of his wares from importers in Philadelphia, hauled them first to his store in Carlisle, then by wagon to Pittsburgh, and lastly by flatboat to his establishment in Kentucky. Unlike earlier Carlisle deerskin traders who acted as brokers for large merchant interests in the east, however, this merchant worked independently. He maintained close, but autonomous, connections to his suppliers in Philadelphia and his customers in Kentucky by forging his own contacts with Philadelphia merchants and by personally organizing his western shipments at his Carlisle store. Perhaps most important, however, by including locally produced goods as well as imported wares in his shipments, this merchant not only acted as a mediator between east and west, he also influenced demand in the west by allowing some Carlisle artisans to have a direct impact on the trade. In May 1792, for example, he recorded that Carlisle blacksmith, Lewis Foulke, had sent 302 pounds of the bar iron along with his shipment. It is likely that he included goods from other local artisans as well. After all, as the daybook from his Carlisle store recorded, local craftsmen often paid for

December 1792, in the James Hamilton Papers, HSP (hereafter cited as Anonymous Account Book #3), 237, 250-253, 300.

their purchases with supplies of tins, shoes, and many other items he commonly forwarded to Kentucky.

Although transportation costs to Kentucky were expensive and accounted for about 13% of this merchant's total expenditures, he, like many other retailers in Pennsylvania, clearly hoped to reap hefty financial rewards from what promised to be a lucrative dry goods trade with the west. By supplying necessities such as dry goods, hardware, fabric, clothing, and weapons, to consumer items, such as "china" dishes, books, glassware, "Furniture Chintz," and the latest "blue Edge Dishes," more commonly known as pearlware, this merchant hoped to meet consumer demand and supply the needs of an expanding frontier settlement.¹⁰⁸

In the post-Revolutionary period, Carlisle's commercial sphere made both subtle and dramatic alterations in its connections with the outside world. The war, after all, had realigned market spheres, altered patterns of trade, and changed the demand for certain commodities. The economic mentality of Carlisle-area residents, however, remained much the same. As in the colonial period, locals continued to demand accessibility to an economic realm which stretched

¹⁰⁸Anonymous Account Book #3, HSP. See "Kentucky Store" shipments, March 30, 1792, 237; May 11, 1792, 250-253; October 16, 1792, 300. These three shipments cost this merchant some 852 pounds, of which 110 pounds went to cover transportation costs. For more information about consumer behavior in Kentucky, see Perkins, "Consumer Frontier," 486-510.

far beyond Cumberland County. While some Carlisle merchants and entrepreneurs acted out these ambitions by pursuing far-flung western speculations in grain or dry goods, most of the area merchants, farmers, and artisans, continued to deal primarily with the port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore.¹⁰⁹

Economic connections with Philadelphia continued to be important to many local inhabitants. A 1785 request for a road to Kelso's or Simpson's ferry on the Susquehanna, for the purpose of "carry[ing] the produce of our Farms to Market," focused on Philadelphia as the targeted market destination.¹¹⁰ In the mid-1780s, The Carlisle Gazette's price quotes for agricultural commodities ranging from flour to wheat, rye, barley, corn, and flaxseed originated in Philadelphia.¹¹¹ Simon Fishbaugh, Factor, Exchequer, and Broker for "Country People" in Philadelphia still advertised to a presumably eager audience in Carlisle in the 1780s that having moved his office from Market to Front Street, he wished to ensure that all those "[l]iving at a distance and coming to this city with quantities of their produce; ...

¹⁰⁹For a discussion of economic changes in the wake of the Revolution, see Livingood, Trade Rivalry; Nettels, National Economy; North, Economic Growth. For the specific impact of the war on the economic habits of the Pennsylvania backcountry, see Mancall, Valley.

¹¹⁰Petition from unidentified individuals, April 1785, Road Petitions, CCCH.

¹¹¹The Carlisle Gazette, November 16, 1785; June 14, 1786.

will be informed of the highest prices" and be conducted to "safe purchasers and true dealers for the ready disposal of their produce."¹¹²

For many people in Carlisle, the early national period also brought a host of new commercial alliances. Local residents expressed a renewed and intensified interest in Baltimore's commercial potential. Baltimore, after all, witnessed a boom period after the war and was fast becoming a key hub of America's provision trade with the West Indies. As Baltimore's exports grew and Philadelphia's declined, an intense commercial rivalry developed between these two cities.¹¹³

For the residents of central Pennsylvania, where, according to Jane Garrett, "Baltimore's influence was stronger ... than it was in any other area outside the boundaries of Maryland," Baltimore was the target of much economic interest.¹¹⁴ In Cumberland County, petitions for new roads emphasized a general desire to formalize economic ties with the growing city to the south. Despite more substantial internal improvements, goods continued to be

¹¹²Ibid, April 4, 1787; March 5, 1788. According to Doerflinger, "Farmers and Dry Goods," in Hoffman, ed., Economy, 167, the Philadelphia dry goods trade also remained strong after the war--although it was more fluid and volatile than before.

¹¹³Rhoda M. Dorsey, in David T. Gilchrist, ed., The Growth of the Seaport Cities, 1790-1825 (Charlottesville, 1967), 62, 66-67; Livingood, Trade Rivalry, 1, 12-16, 19-20.

¹¹⁴Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore," 13.

transported overland by wagon to Baltimore.¹¹⁵ It was, for example, because they "labor[ed] under great inconveniences," that a group of Middleton and Allen Township residents petitioned the Court in 1797 for a route from the Lisburn Road (heading south-east from Carlisle) to Blaine's mill on Letort Spring. While the road would make "[t]he said Mill ... most convenient to your Petitioners," it would also better connect with the existing routes to Baltimore; the place "whether your Petitioners generally carry their produce to market."¹¹⁶ Nowhere, however, was there a clearer expression of the collective economic interest in this southern city than in the October 1797 petition for a road heading south from York street in Carlisle, through a gap in South Mountain, to the York County line. This road, the petitioners explained, was explicitly designed to enhance "the Communication in between the said Borough [Carlisle] and the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵This is contrary to the assertions of Dorsey, in Gilchrist, ed., Seaport Cities, 64; Livingood, Trade Rivalry, 18; and Allan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge, 1973), 118, who all assume that all of central Pennsylvania's shipments were being floated down the Susquehanna River.

¹¹⁶Petition of the sundry inhabitants of Middleton and Allen Townships, 1797, Road Petitions, CCCH.

¹¹⁷Petition from unidentified individuals, October 1797, *ibid.*

Baltimore was also a migratory destination for many county residents.¹¹⁸ In their advertisements in The Carlisle Gazette, numerous Carlisle artisans and retailers noted their plans to leave town and move to Baltimore.¹¹⁹ Storekeeper John Crummer noted in 1809 that "[b]eing resolved to leave this place [Carlisle] next April, and move to Baltimore," he planned to "dispose of his entire Stock to wholesale or retail purchasers."¹²⁰ Once relocated, Crummer placed another advertisement to remind his former Carlisle customers of his whereabouts. "[H]e has removed to that old and established Stand in Old Town, Baltimore," Crummer stated in 1810, where he hoped to maintain his links with Cumberland County farmers by continuing in the grocery and flour business.¹²¹ Crummer was much like tavernkeeper George Stine. After keeping a tavern in Carlisle for seven years, Stine informed his local customers in 1810 that he had "removed to BALTIMORE, and taken that well known TAVERN STAND" in the city known as the Sign of the Golden Horse.¹²²

¹¹⁸This was a migration pattern stretching back to the 1750s and 1760s according to Gould, "Rise of Baltimore," 242.

¹¹⁹It should be noted that while many expressed plans to move to Baltimore or other places located to the south, west, or north of Carlisle, not one person intended to move to Philadelphia.

¹²⁰The Carlisle Gazette, October 13, 1809.

¹²¹Ibid, May 4, 1810.

¹²²Ibid, March 16, 1810. For a sketch of Stine's career as a tavernkeeper in Carlisle, see Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS, May 1803; June 1804; March 1805; April

Local patterns of trade in grain and dry goods were also changing over time. More often than in the colonial period, Baltimore was the preferred market destination for flour--Cumberland's most valuable export commodity--as well as the source of other needed provisions.¹²³ Philadelphia, on the otherhand, remained the destination of some flour, butter, and beeswax sales as well as the source of many imported goods sold in Carlisle stores.¹²⁴

Although trade patterns varied considerably from one merchant to another, all of Carlisle's post-revolutionary retailers divided their economic interests and loyalties between merchants in Baltimore and Philadelphia. For one unidentified Carlisle merchant heavily involved in the flour trade, Baltimore was the preferred export market. In the seven months from June to December 1789, this merchant completed fifteen sales transactions (71%) of locally-grown and milled flour in Baltimore, while only five (24%) sales

1806; November 1807; January 1808.

¹²³By 1800, published quotes of commodity prices originated in Baltimore, not Philadelphia--suggesting a change in market orientation, see The Carlisle Gazette, June 9, 1802, July 4, 1804.

¹²⁴Hays, "Overlapping Hinterlands," 295-321, has noted similar changes in the market relationships of neighboring York County. Hays asserts that although Baltimore was increasingly the place for sales of agricultural commodities, that Philadelphia--as a leader in manufacturing--remained the source of most finished goods and the place where county residents spent the money earned in Baltimore. While Carlisle follows the same general pattern, its economic associations with these two cities were not yet as clearly delineated.

were made in Philadelphia. Throughout this period, this unidentified retailer maintained particularly close associations with Baltimore merchant John Holmes. Holmes, not only acted as purchaser and exporter of Cumberland County flour, he also served as the wholesale supplier of the salt, herring, mackerel, and hominy which was sold at this retailer's Carlisle store. In June 1789, one of many typical exchanges occurred between these two merchants when Cumberland County local David Williamson was paid 5 pounds, 8 shillings for "Halling [sic] 12 Barrels flower [sic]" to Holmes in Baltimore, and "Halling 12 Bushels Salt" back to Carlisle.¹²⁵

For this anonymous retailer, as for others in Carlisle, Philadelphia remained the primary supply source for many imported materials and dry goods. In July 1789 alone, this merchant purchased unspecified "sundries" totalling 180 pounds, 9 pence from seven different Philadelphia merchants including Andrew Clow and Israel Jones.¹²⁶ In the same month, he paid local Isaac Skiles 6 pounds, 5 shillings to haul "12 Barrels flower [sic]" for sale in Philadelphia and to return to Carlisle carrying an unspecified barrel of "Dry

¹²⁵Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP, June 1789 credit entry for David Williamson.

¹²⁶Ibid, see July 1789 entries for credits issued to James Calbraith, Campbell Dick, Andrew Clow & Company, John Nichollas, James Gallagher, Israel Wheeler, and Israel Jones for "sundries."

Goods."¹²⁷ Another unidentified Carlisle merchant, who also divided his economic associations between merchants in the rival cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia, recorded in September 1792 that had received merchandise totalling 218 pounds in value from Israel Jones of Philadelphia. These items included: 500 flints, 1 gross of corks, 1 box of soap, 1 keg of tea, 1 lb. mace, 1 keg of gun powder, and 1 keg of Bohea tea.¹²⁸

Clearly, economic relationships with urban wholesalers dramatically affected the nature and scope of a merchant's local business. The flour trade with Baltimore connected one unidentified Carlisle merchant to several of Cumberland County's most influential farmers and millers. Well-known Middleton Township miller, Charles McClure, for example, not only ground numerous barrels of flour for this merchant at his mill, he also often transported this flour along with his own to purchasers like Holmes in Baltimore. Yet it was ultimately the goods obtained in Philadelphia which most affected the daily transactions at this same merchant's Carlisle store. While locally-produced whiskey was the most frequently purchased item, sugar, Irish linen, rum, and tea--the next four most frequently purchased goods--were all evidently obtained in Philadelphia. Herring and salt--the

¹²⁷Ibid, July 1789 credit entry for Isaac Skiles.

¹²⁸Anonymous Account Book #3, HSP, 293, merchandize received from Israel Jones by Cose's Team, September 29, 1792.

commodities consistently supplied by Baltimore merchant John Holmes--were only the seventh and eighth most frequently chosen items by his Carlisle customers.¹²⁹

The records of Baltimore merchant James West provide further indication of the complex economic loyalties and changing purchasing habits of several Carlisle merchants during the early national period. At his store in Baltimore, West's Carlisle customers bought an assortment of dry goods consisting primarily of fabric and other sewing supplies. Some of West's patrons, like Carlisle storekeeper and tavernkeeper, George Cart, were small-scale retailers who had carved an economic niche for themselves by meeting the specific consumer demands of their central Pennsylvania patrons. In 1800, Cart purchased some fine blue cloth, white "cassimere," flannel, coating, handkerchiefs, pins, button molds, buttons, and rose blankets from West totalling 97 pounds, 18 shillings, 7 pence in value.¹³⁰ Cart, honored as a respected "merchant of this town" on his death in July

¹²⁹Anonymous Account Book #1, HSP, 117-118. In September 1789 Charles McClure was credited for grinding a total of 64 barrels of flour on three separate occasions. McClure was also credited for hauling flour to Baltimore on numerous occasions, for example, see Charles McClure credit entry for August 1789, when he was paid 5 pounds, 15 shillings, 6 pence for hauling 12 barrels of flour to Baltimore and returning with 12 bushels "fine" salt and 1 barrel of mackerel.

¹³⁰James West Daybook, November 4, 1800, West Account Books, HSP. Similar purchases of fabric, hose, thread, bed tickings, ink powder, shawls, tablecloths, handkerchiefs, and gloves were made through the end of 1802. See entries on May 19, 1801; March 18, 1802; November 4, 1802.

1805, was one of many local retailers who kept an assortment of dry goods and groceries at his tavern the Sign of the Mermaid on York Street.¹³¹

Other West customers, like John Hughes, William Drevish, and William Moore, were the proprietors of larger retail establishments in Carlisle. Drevish, for instance, advertised in 1802 that at his "New Store" in Carlisle he had opened "a Large and General Assortment of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, QUEEN'S, GLASS and HARD-WARE." By 1803, his business was evidently extensive enough for him to seek "A YOUNG MAN of reputable connexions, ... to attend store."¹³² From the limited extent of their purchases, however, these merchants used West as only one of several wholesale suppliers. Hughes, the proprietor of "a large and general assortment of goods" in the first floor of his two-story stone house in Carlisle, purchased only 57 pounds worth of blankets and flannel from James West in 1800.¹³³ Between 1802 and 1804, Drevish made only four purchases from West averaging 34 pounds worth of assorted fabrics, sewing

¹³¹The Carlisle Gazette, July 26, 1805; April 28, 1803; Petition of George Cart, May 1802, Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS.

¹³²The Carlisle Gazette, August 18, 1802; July 20, 1803.

¹³³James West Daybook, West Account Books, HSP. November 4, 1800; The Carlisle Gazette, February 1, 1786; according to the U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, John Hughs, Esq., was the owner/occupant of a two-story stone house of a sizeable 2280 square feet with a separate kitchen and stable valued at \$300.

supplies, and bed ticking.¹³⁴ Only merchant William Moore patronized West more extensively. His nine purchases from 1802 to 1804 included both two large shipments of dry goods valued at 200 pounds as well as a wider array of merchandise. Like the others, Moore purchased the usual assortment of fabric and sewing stuffs, but also included some fancier imported manufactured goods such as silk handkerchiefs and gloves, ivory combs, pewter, and beaver gloves among his acquisitions.¹³⁵

Perhaps most important, these merchants, like all others in Carlisle, patronized both Baltimore and Philadelphia wholesalers. While John Hughes made at least one purchase from James West in Baltimore, he nonetheless noted in his 1789 and 1791 advertisements that he had "just returned from Philadelphia" with "a large assortment of excellent GOODS."¹³⁶ Even William Moore, the Carlisle merchant who had made the most extensive purchases from West, boasting in an 1803 ad that "in consequence of a late arrangement made with one amongst the first mercantile Houses in Baltimore, he [was] enabled to sell his goods from

¹³⁴James West Daybook, West Account Books, HSP, October 16, 1802; November 2, 1802; May 5, 1803; October 13, 1803.

¹³⁵Ibid, February 27, 1802; October 29, 1802; November 2, 1802; November 24, 1802; April 2, 1803; August 1, 1803; September 30, 1803; November 5, 1803; June 16, 1804. Unlike the purchases of Hughes and Drevish, Moore's average purchase totalled 109 pounds.

¹³⁶The Carlisle Gazette, July 29, 1789; November 30, 1791.

5 to 10 per cent cheaper than heretofore," continued to purchase goods from Philadelphia through 1810.¹³⁷

Philadelphia continued to play an important economic role in central Pennsylvania. Baltimore, however, was the city where Carlisle merchants forged new contacts with wholesalers and the place where locals like attorney James Hamilton searched for the quantity of Mahogany he so desired for his home.¹³⁸

Clearly, as James Livingood and Diane Lindstrom assert, the mid-Atlantic region was in the midst of a major economic transition in the early national period.¹³⁹ For towns like Carlisle, these large-scale changes reoriented market interests and modified patterns of trade. While most locals never fully severed ties to an economic past closely linked to Philadelphia, many Carlisle residents nonetheless turned more frequently to Baltimore as the new center of economic dynamism in the mid-Atlantic.

¹³⁷Ibid, December 7, 1803; January 10, 1806; March 9, 1810. Earlier, in 1801, Moore noted that "the Subscriber is enabled to Sell them [his goods] nearly as Cheap as they can be bought in Baltimore," see *ibid*, October 28, 1801.

¹³⁸John Holmes to James Hamilton, November 20, 1787, James Hamilton Papers, CCHS.

¹³⁹ Lindstrom, Economic Development; Livingood, Trade Rivalry.

CHAPTER VI

"TO LOVE THEIR WIVES AS THEMSELVES?": HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN THE BACKCOUNTRY

In Carlisle, relations between the sexes were conducted within the scope of several distinct spatial and emotional realms. Aside from the local economic marketplace and the legal-political institutions of the county court system where women remained on the periphery of involvement, the men and women of Carlisle most often met and interacted in the most private of all realms--the household--and the most intimate of all relationships--those of courtship and marriage.

It is both ironic and significant that in a town where economic perceptions determined settlement patterns and the pursuit of economic independence was the primary occupation of local residents, that economic matters never fully determined the outer or inner contours of these intimate male-female associations. Courtships and marriages in Carlisle certainly had their fiscal components. After all, the eighteenth-century household, as defined by the family unit, was the basis of all economic organization, production, and consumption in early America. The marital relationship that supported this economic entity was an

economic partnership as well as a physical, spiritual, and emotional union.¹

Despite the pervasiveness of economic concerns, courtships and marriages in eighteenth-century Carlisle were built upon an increasingly complex and often contradictory combination of patriarchy and emotionalism.² Husbands and wives more often saw one another as more than just economic help-mates and constructed relationships that reflected their own gendered senses of order as well as their mutual feelings of companionship and love. Although Carlisle marriages remained patriarchal in their composition and hierarchical in their organization throughout the eighteenth century, because men never fully rejected the credo that "[w]ives are commanded to be also in subjection to their own husbands," many husbands--especially among Carlisle's nascent elite--began to display a loving benevolence towards their wives, recognizing that "the obedience which is required [in marriage] would be absurd and impossible,

¹Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism, chapters 2 and 3; Fletcher, PA Agriculture, 421, 461; Norton, Liberty's Daughters, 3; Schweitzer, Custom and Contract, 21-29, 88.

²For one definition of patriarchy, see Toby Ditz, Property and Kinship: Inheritance in Early Connecticut, 1750-1820 (Princeton, 1986), 119. To Ditz, patriarchy is a multi-faceted term which at once refers to paternal authority over children and male dominance over women. She notes that a patriarch also controls the organization of the household and acts as the family's community representative. I would add, that as I use the term in this chapter, patriarchy also has a public component--a male control of local social, political, and economic institutions.

without love." Indeed, as the century progressed, mutual affection was more often touted as the key to a well-ordered marriage, as the "[h]usbands" of Carlisle were "commanded" by God and their local Presbyterian minister "to love their wives, as themselves."³

The paradoxical patriarchy and sentimentalism of marriage had a variety of subtle impacts on the daily life of this backcountry town and the conduct of its residents. The patriarchal order of gender relationships was reflected in the political, economic, and educational institutions of Carlisle, which continued to be male-dominated and individually oriented throughout the eighteenth century. In contrast, the growing emotionalism of marriage tempered the economic selfishness of town residents and generated a greater sense of community continuity over time. As Carlisle was gradually transformed from a fledgling frontier settlement into a more cohesive backcountry community, patriarchy brought order and hierarchy to the town, while the increasingly strong bonds of friendship and love in many local marriages promoted the growth of extensive personal

³"On Marriage," n.d. [probably 1790s], Marriage Records, Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, Dickinson College Archives, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (hereafter DCA), typescript 22A.

networks among the various inhabitants and families of the county.⁴

Nowhere were the affects of patriarchy and emotionalism felt more than in the private domain of the household, where men and women struggled to define new gender roles for themselves as traditional patterns of male dominance began to adapt to the evolution of a more equitable sense of emotional give-and-take between marriage partners. For both sexes, the process of accommodating to a new and more complex household order was gradual. Husbands anxiously struggled to maintain their authority in the household while simultaneously expressing the genuine love and respect they felt for their wives. The anonymous contribution to the "Poet's Corner" of one 1785 edition of The Carlisle Gazette reminded local men that loving dependence on a woman could be a positive thing:

⁴Carl Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York, 1980), 8-9. Degler argues that the companionate marriage is one important sign of the emergence of the "modern" American family; Jan Lewis, The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia (New York, 1983), 169-207; Smith, Lower Sort, 188, explains how common work experiences contributed to the growth of affectionate marriages. I would emphasize that in Carlisle, affectionate marriages coincided with the creation of a more stable and cohesive community life. As the town grew and families persisted, a sense of stability emerged which influenced the nature and scope of local marriages as well as every other aspect of town life; Daniel Blake Smith, Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society (Ithaca, 1980), 126, 135, 141.

On Woman

Ere Eve was made ... the father of mankind,
 Survey'd his Eden with a peasive [sic] mind,
 With wandring steps the beauteous place explor'd,
 And with sad heart his lonely state deplor'd;
 Tho' trees and flowers, with richest odours grow,
 And all luxuriant nature could bestow,
 He was alone, which did all bliss destroy,
 Nor could till woman came, once taste a joy;
 Then rapture fill'd his mind, nought was the same,
 And Eden now a Paradise became,
 Woman still smooths the anxious brow of care,
 And smooths our passions with a pleasing air;
 What's life without enjoyment of the fair?⁵

At the same time, however, Carlisle husbands feared yielding too much power to their wives. Love, many local men acknowledged, was an admirable component of marriage, but, as they reminded themselves, the husband had to remain the real and symbolic head of his household. A husband could not indulge all of the whims and fancies of his dear wife, nor could he fall victim to her secret desires to rule the household. As another poem in the Gazette warned the town's anxious men--woman had another side to her character--one that was not sweet and loving, but fierce and domineering. If allowed to express itself, it would overshadow a weak and indifferent husband:

Epitaph on a Termagant Wife
 Written by her Husband

Beneath this rugged stone doth lie,
 The rankest seol [soul] that e'er did die;
 Whose softest word to dearest friend,

⁵The Carlisle Gazette, October 26, 1785.

Would make his hair stand bolt an [on] end!
 You'd think storms rising when she sung;
 Thunder was music to her tongue!
 When real storms in her did rise,
 Lightning was twilight to her eyes!
 Her mildest look so fierce a sight,
 Great chance you'd catch ague by it;
 And when her person mov'd--huge rock,
 No earthquake gave so great a shock!
 Where she abides, seek not to know,
 If they want sulphur, she's below;
 If she's above, God hear my pray'r,
 And send me any where but there.⁶

In contrast, while legal restrictions imposed on wives restricted women's access to property and masculine notions of self-identity continued to restrict feminine power within the family, Carlisle wives were nonetheless achieving some limited measure of personal autonomy from the increasingly affective aspects of their relationships with their spouses. After all, a wife who was well loved and respected by her husband was presumably more likely to have greater freedom of movement and enlarged opportunity for personal and familial decision-making inside her home.⁷

The quest for gender definition most often took place within certain private and intimate settings. As husbands and wives delineated new roles for themselves which at once

⁶Ibid.

⁷Although wives had more autonomy according to Degler, At Odds, "Conjugal love did not imply a democratization of authority in the household" according to D.B. Smith, Great House, 160. Both Kerber, Women of the Republic, 11-12 and Norton, Liberty's Daughters, 5, 228, emphasize the contrasting notions of female autonomy and subordination which were embodied by "Republican Motherhood."

accommodated the traditional bonds of patriarchy and formalized legal subordination to the informal, non-institutionalized, and more equitable bonds of love and affection, they gave open expression to the newly-interpreted order of their relationships as well as the intense love they held for one another. It was only in their personal letters, diaries, and wills, however, where local men readily expressed their masculine anxieties as well as their sincere and loving wishes for the present and future circumstances of their "dearly beloved Wi[ves]."⁸

The long and well-documented relationship of Carlisle physician and Brig. Gen. William Irvine and his wife Ann Callender Irvine, or Nancy, as she was called by some members of her family, helps to illustrate the private side of many Carlisle marriages.⁹ The Irvines' marriage, like so many in the town, was a relationship based upon a somewhat contradictory and often tenuous union of male authoritarianism and fervent emotional devotion.

⁸A phrase borrowed from the wills of many local men, who made repeated references to their "dearly beloved wi[ves]." See Cumberland County Will Books, CCCH, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

⁹See letter addressed to "Mrs Nancy Irvine" from her brother-in-law, William Neill, of Baltimore, December 10, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, VII:56. It is not clear how William referred to his wife, although his letters were always addressed to "Mrs Ann Irvine" and began with the salutation "My dearest love." Perhaps the fact that daughter Ann was called "Nancy" suggests that wife Ann was known as Nancy as well.

William, a well-known professional man of Carlisle, was born in Ireland and educated as a physician at the University of Dublin. He came to Carlisle sometime before 1768. His wife, Ann Callendar Irvine, daughter of the well-known Carlisle merchant, Indian trader, and soldier, Capt. Robert Callendar, was a well-educated woman by eighteenth-century standards.¹⁰ She was able to compose extensive letters to her husband and sons during their lengthy absences from home. Although few of Ann's letters survive, William's responses provide an intimate, first-hand glimpse into the working relationship of one Carlisle couple.

In his letters, William Irvine displayed the complexities and ironies of his relationship with his wife. At times, their associations exhibited an unmistakable hierarchical and a patriarchal order, as William consistently demonstrated a domineering and authoritative interpretation of his own masculine role as husband and head of household. His war-time instructions to Ann regarding their oldest son, Callender, exhibited such attitudes. While it was important to William that his daughter Nancy "know her letters," for son Callender, William was far more demanding. Ann was expected to exact "a letter from him--in which he must inform me of his progress in learning ... and of every matter he may think necessary." William also sent

¹⁰Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 197, 207; Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1768.

Ann specific guidelines regarding Callender's conduct. "I desire he may not injure his health by bathing too often in the Spring," William wrote, "and never without big[g]er Boys in company."¹¹

At other times, William's letters to Ann took the patronizing tone of a parent. The scolding inflection of William's words after he heard that Ann "had recovered of the Quinsey" are again indicative of the traditional order of their relationship which placed William, as husband and breadwinner, in full charge of his wife and family. In this instance, William scolded Ann (in terms couched with love and affection) that "you know my love--or ought to know by this time by woefull experiences how carefull you should be to avoid catching Cold"--his words implying that Ann was like a child--somehow still incapable of taking care of herself.¹²

Despite William's self-conscious assertions of his patriarchal authority, his letters to "my dearest wife" Ann were also filled with the respectful words of intense affection shared between only a loving husband and wife. Particularly while stationed at Morristown and Fort Pitt during the American Revolution, William displayed an emotional dependency on his wife and family that directly

¹¹William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 29, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, VI:2.

¹²William Irvine to Ann Irvine, April 30, 1782, *ibid*, V:92.

contradicted much of his independent masculine self-identity. He consistently and openly lamented his physical and emotional separation from his wife and children. "I need not tell my love," he wrote to Ann in 1777, that "I never longed so much to see you & my dear little one's in my life--I look every day for an answer to my last."¹³ By all indications, Irvine missed his wife intensely and on numerous occasions "wish[ed]" he "could appoint a day to be with you but that is impossible."¹⁴ Even after the war's conclusion, Irvine endured family separations with great reluctance. Writing following the departure of his wife and children from Carlisle sometime in the 1780s or 1790s, Irvine noted that when "I came in and found none of our little noisy folks, all dismal I felt. ... I think I shall not in [the] future be disturbed at the noise of my dear

¹³William Irvine to Ann Irvine, December 22, 1777, *ibid*, II:63.

¹⁴William Irvine to Ann Irvine, December 29, 1781, *ibid*, V:31. According Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 61-62, this pattern of expression was somewhat unusual for male war-time correspondents. Her findings revealed that some husbands more often wrote of how much their wives must be missing them--unlike Irvine, who was most willing to express his emotional longing for his wife and family. To Norton, this lack of emotional display was another indication of patriarchy in marriage. Her interpretation makes Irvine an extremely interesting case study--one which may suggest that backcountry life created more intense bonds of affinity between husbands and wives.

little prattlers--nor restrain them in any innocent amusements."¹⁵

William displayed a most sincere compassion and respect for his wife on any number of occasions. As a loving and devoted spouse by eighteenth-century standards, he was naturally concerned with her health and welfare. He explained how when "brought ... an account of your being unwell," he felt "great anxiety." Because he had "not got a line since[,] nor seen any person who can give me any certain information about you," he had to rest on the sincere hope "of soon hearing you are recovered."¹⁶

Ann's physical well-being was not William's sole worry, however. Rather, as the patriarch of his family, he demonstrated a fatherly interest in the material and financial well-being of his wife and children. In 1783, he "fear[ed] you [Ann] will be scarce of cash before I get down" to Carlisle from Fort Pitt.¹⁷ In 1794, while away on business in Philadelphia, Irvine wrote a letter to Carlisle merchant Ephraim Blaine that was filled with anxiety, because he had "left Mrs[.] Irvine rather bare of cash." As a remedy, he requested that Blaine "direct that payment may

¹⁵William Irvine to Ann Irvine, n.d., [definitely post-1783], Founders Collection, DCA.

¹⁶William Irvine to Ann Irvine, November 16, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, VII:45.

¹⁷William Irvine to Ann Irvine, January 1, 1783, *ibid*, VII:78.

be made her for 80 bushels of Rye, which she could have cash for."¹⁸

The sensitive and loving William demonstrated a particularly keen understanding of his wife's daily existence. He had sympathy for the trials and tribulations of her life on the homefront and, in several letters from Fort Pitt, made a conscious attempt to address his distant masculine world of the military to the daily domestic routines of her life in Cumberland County. In these instances, William made noteworthy efforts to address Ann on more equal terms by focusing his letters on purely domestic subjects like gardening--a topic about which an eighteenth-century wife and mother accustomed to tending her own kitchen garden would be most informed.¹⁹ "[I]n the mean time[,] I will apply myself close to Gardening," William remarked in May 1782. Gardening occupied many of his idle hours at the fort, he explained. "I assure you," he wrote to Ann, that "we have a pretty good garden such as would pass with you as tolerable"--knowing that she would be both interested in such matters and reassured of his general

¹⁸William Irvine to Ephraim Blaine, December 22, 1794, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC.

¹⁹Women's work typically included a routine of domestic chores (including gardening) which took place in a space extending outward from the kitchen into the yard, see Norton, Liberty's Daughters, chapter 1; Ulrich, Good Wives, 13-34.

well-being by his ability to engage in such routine domestic chores.²⁰

William was indeed a complex and conflicted individual. He was a husband who at once mingled a yearning to rule over spouse and family with a unique compassion and understanding of his wife and her feminine circumstances. In his letters, William struggled to reconcile these two competing desires. He was certainly not unaware of Ann's anxieties on the homefront, for example. At times, William displayed a remarkable sensitivity to her fears for his safety and routinely reassured her of his well-being. While sometimes these assurances took protective and patronizing tones, William did make genuine attempts to shield Ann from the real dangers that he faced on the western frontier by excluding all details of his own military exploits from his letters. According to William's descriptions, life at Fort Pitt was filled with little but idleness and boredom. "My time is employed in the best manner I can think of," he explained in May 1782, "sometimes--trying to bring some order and discipline [to] the Rascally abandoned Troops-- other times Riding--Walking[,] Hunting--and other times[,] Gardening"--but never fighting.²¹

²⁰William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 21, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, V:114 and May 1, 1782, V:94.

²¹William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 1, 1782, *ibid*, V:94.

On one occasion in the fall of 1782, however, Ann apparently caught him in a protective lie. Responding to her suggestion that he had not been entirely honest and forthcoming in his letters, William replied quickly and self-consciously: "You say a certain Colonel divulged a secret--of my going down the Ohio. ... there was no secret in it, I wrote you every thing about it." He reinforced his claim to honesty by assuring her that "I suppose you will be dayly [sic] told secrets, about my going on Expeditions--they are great people here for reports of such things, a body can[']t ride five miles but is said to have been on an Expedition or Campaign."²² Whether in this case William was guilty of deceit or of a paternalistic protectiveness, his writings conveyed a caring, albeit condescending, assurance to his wife of his general safety and well-being. Only with time and example did William relinquish some of his patriarchal authority and demonstrate some genuine respect and confidence in Ann's abilities, good judgment, and feminine self-sufficiency. After receiving an invitation to visit from her sister, Isabella, and brother-in-law, William Neill, of Baltimore in the summer of 1782, Ann, in William's absence, decided on her own to accept their offer of accommodation, returning to Carlisle in the late summer. While William was initially rather surprised

²²William Irvine to Ann Irvine, September 10, 1782, *ibid*, VI:123.

and taken aback by his wife's independent actions, with little ability to influence her at such a distance from home, he resigned himself to her actions and even remarked, "you see how complisant [sic] I am," in finally allowing Ann to make her own decisions.²³

By all accounts, however, William had little to worry about. Irvine's numerous friends and business or military associates routinely took time to check on Ann and the children whenever they returned to Carlisle. It is clear from the repeated reports of how "Mrs Irvin[e,] the children and all friends at Carlisle [are] well," that Ann Irvine, with the support of local friends and with the help of the middle-aged slave, "Tom," and one "Dutch" man to run the plantation, was fully capable of taking care of herself and her family in William's absence.²⁴

²³William Irvine to Ann Irvine, September 10, 1782, *ibid*, VI:123; for the invitation to Baltimore, see William Neill to Mrs. Nancy Irvine, May 10, 1782, *ibid*, V:105.

²⁴John Davis to William Irvine, June 13, 1780, *ibid*, III:45; John Armstrong to William Irvine, October 30, 1779, *ibid*, II:54. Armstrong wrote "I reached home ... And found Mrs Irwin [Irvine] & Children with my Own Family also in usual health." For information about the Irvine's staff of servants and slaves, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1779, 1782; for the remark about "the Dutch Man" who "manages the Plantation," see William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 29, 1782, Irvine Papers, HSP, VI:2; for information about Irvine's slave, see Clerk of Court, Return of Slaves, CCHS, 1780, box 37. According to this return, Irvine was the owner of one "Negro Slave for Life," Tom, a 40 year old male. Norton, Liberty's Daughters, 215-217, 224, argues that while men were away fighting, many women learned to cope on their own and actually had problems readjusting to their old role upon their husband's return. Perhaps Ann Irvine faced a similar dilemma.

The marital relationship of William and Ann Irvine was indeed complex. While William made repeated assertions of his masculine authority, he was simultaneously dependent on his wife and constantly longed for her tender affections. In his own paradoxical way, Irvine was a devoted husband and an undeniably diligent correspondent who "rarely ever miss[ed] an opportunity of writing" whether he had news to convey or not.²⁵ He "long[ed] much to hear from my love" and was apologetic on more than one occasion for the industriousness of his correspondence, saying: "My dearest love ... You will think I have nothing to do but write letters, as I have wrote you every two or three days for some time."²⁶ On repeated occasions, William exhibited an intense desire to make written contact with his wife. "Nothing of consequence has happened," William wrote on one occasion, "nor have I a single thing to write farther than to inform you--I am well and that I received your letter." Yet even with little to say and no news to report, William continued to correspond. While out on military patrol in the woods of northern New Jersey William wrote--all the while apologizing for his scrawl. "You can," he explained,

²⁵William Irvine to Ann Irvine, January 14, 1783, Irvine Papers, HSP, VII:81.

²⁶William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 14, 1780, *ibid*, HSP, III:25 and May 24, 1780, III:51. For another of William's apologies that "you may think I have little else to do than write letters," see William to Ann, August 28, 1782, *ibid*, VI:111.

"therefore excuse it [my handwriting]--as it is in the Woods & almost by Moonlight."²⁷ Clearly, William's intense emotional need and physical longing to be with his spouse inspired this continual stream of correspondence. Despite the gendered order of their relationship and his anxious need to assert command over his wife and family, William could not escape the emotional vulnerability which accompanied the love and physical longing he felt for his dear wife.

William was not alone in his expressions of emotion, however. There is clear evidence in the correspondence to suggest that Ann, too, longed for her husband's affection and companionship. While William wrote frequently expressing his loving thoughts of his wife, Ann exhibited equally strong wishes to see more of her husband. In the spring of 1782, Ann, no longer content to wait patiently for William's return to Carlisle, apparently proposed to make a lengthy visit to Fort Pitt. William rejected this plan immediately. "As to sending for you under these circumstances," he wrote, "I can not [sic] think of it--I am

²⁷William Irvine to Ann Irvine, July 7, 1780, *ibid*, III:58. Letters were not the only way William preserved emotional links with his family. He also regularly presented them with special gifts and trinkets. The "small bundle" that "Major Daughty does me the favor ... to carry you," contained "a handsome & usefull pair gilt Buckels [sic]" and "a pair of Cissars [sic]" for Ann and "a common pair knee Buckels ... for Callender"--served as material tokens of William's love for his wife and family. William to Ann, June 10, 1789, *ibid*, X:30.

sensible[,] my love[,] how lonely you are--and have more anxious thoughts about your situation than you can well imagine. Yet consider what situation would you be in to be left at this place three or four months alone. You are now," he reminded her, "comparatively, in the highest State of Bliss." Despite his wish to see her, William would not hear of her endangering herself by coming to Pittsburgh. "This," he explained, "is the most wretched & miserable vile hole ever Man dwelt in, but for a Woman of any Credit--delicacy--or humanity--I never saw such another."²⁸

In this instance, emotional desires could not overcome William's paternalistic concern for Ann's physical safety and personal comfort. Ann was not easily placated by William's words, however, and continued to insist that she have some opportunity to see him. William replied, "you say you expect in my next that I shall be able to inform you what time you may expect to see me." "This," William reminds her, "is impossible[,] you know I can not [sic] with any degree of propriety Ask General Washington for leave of absence." Despite her obvious insistence, "[a]ll" he could "possibly say, is, that as soon as any degree of prudence will allow--I will ask leave" and added, that "I can farther

²⁸William Irvine to Ann Irvine, May 1, 1782, *ibid*, V:94.

ascert [sic] with great truth, that you are not more Anxious to see me than I am to see you."²⁹

Despite all of the obvious sensitivity displayed in his personal correspondence, William could not or would not fully recognize the true scope and depth of the emotional ties that bound him to his family. When reporting to his son, Callender, the news of his uncle Robert Callender's death in November 1802, William was surprised at how this unexpected event had "afflicted all the family most severely." William seemed genuinely incredulous that the death of the man who had been his brother-in-law for some thirty years could have such an impact on him. He simply "did not think til[1] now that such an event could have such an effect on me." Despite years of writing emotionally charged letters to his wife--letters which openly expressed heartfelt compassion and love for his wife and children--William, the family patriarch and military leader, still denied himself full recognition of these emotional bonds. He, like so many other Carlisle husbands, had never fully reconciled his desire for masculine authority with his increasing emotional dependency on his wife. While it

²⁹William Irvine to Ann Irvine, June 29, 1782, *ibid*, VI:37. Ironically, several months later, with rumors of a peace settlement spreading quickly, William apparently changed his mind. "As I do not intend to live another year apart, whether in or out of Service," William wrote, "if I was certain of being kept here next summer, I would try before I leave to fix matters for your accommodation." William to Ann, October 4, 1782, *ibid*, VII:22.

seemed appropriately feminine behavior to him that Callender's "poor Mother," his own wife Ann, was "uncommonly distressed" by the news of her brother's death, William's words implied that his own masculine sense of self placed him above such sufferings.³⁰

* * * * *

For the Presbyterian minister-in-training, Nathaniel Snowden, a complex blend of patriarchy and love played a similarly essential role in his budding relationship with the woman who would become his wife. While studying at Dickinson College with Rev. Charles Nisbet and Rev. Robert Davidson, Snowden became obsessive in his love of Sally Gustine--the young and attractive daughter of Carlisle Dr. Lemuel Gustine. Like William Irvine, Snowden readily acknowledged the depth of his love for Sally only within certain private forums. Again and again, he recorded in his diary his uncontrollable desires for the young woman he repeatedly referred to as "S.G." At the end of one day in 1791 he gleefully noted his "happy frame of mind" and

³⁰William Irvine to Callender Irvine, November 26, 1802, *ibid*, XV:106. At the same time, however, William continued to express tender feelings for his immediate family with little hesitation or embarrassment. William openly rejoiced that his grandson William Junior "had appeared safe and sound" and remarked "All Join in love to you and Patience [Callender's wife] and send kisses to the young stranger." William to Callender, October 14, 1803, *ibid*, XVI:19.

revealed that he "actually loved her & c[oul]d not get her out of my mind. Even in my morning devotions she w[oul]d be always present to my imaginations."³¹ In their private meetings as well, Snowden was equally unabashed in his demonstrations of sentimental devotion. He was "very happy" with Sally and "kis[s]ed her" on several occasions, noting that "we parted in love."³²

At the same time, however, Snowden was deeply conflicted about his own loss of personal self-control and spiritual discipline. While he prayed over and over again to God to be "weened from S.G." and return to his solitary piety, he also sought increasingly to exert a spiritual and patriarchal authority over the young Sally.³³ Although only some 22 years of age himself, he "talked plainly to her about her soul[,] read letters to her and prayed in my mind to God for her"--trying to spiritually and metaphorically convert her to his ways and fashion her into his wife.³⁴

Even after their marriage in 1792, Snowden's intense love for his young wife continued to blossom. Expressions of adoration and passionate concern dominated his private thoughts and flowed from the pages of his diary, as he

³¹The Diaries of Nathaniel R. Snowden, 3 vols., HSP, II:January 24, 1791.

³²Ibid, II:February 25, 1791, February 28, 1791.

³³Ibid, II:January 23, 1791.

³⁴Ibid, II:February, 12, 1791.

suffered each of Sally's pregnancies nearly overcome with worry and dread. In 1796 he prayed: "Oh Lord[,] prepare her and us for the event before us in thy providence[.] Bless the child in her womb and[,] oh[,] grant if it be thy will that she may be the living mother of another living child."³⁵ Two years later, Snowden was again giving his thanks to God "for all his mercies[,] especially for his recent goodness to his handmaid in making her the living mother of another living child."³⁶ While these first pregnancies resulted in the births of several healthy sons, in October 1800, Snowden "wept and cried to God" as wife Sally endured her labor "[i]n great trouble." When she was finally delivered "of a dead Child," he "[t]ried to be resigned" and expressed his thanks "to anodoring [an adoring] providence for preserving the life of the Mother."³⁷

If the intimate relationships of William and Ann Irvine and Nathaniel Snowden and Sally Gustine are any indication, marriages and courtships in Carlisle were characterized by a paradoxical blend of patriarchy and sentiment. While self-consciously constructed masculine concepts of self made for patriarchal and hierarchical gender associations, love increasingly smoothed these gendered distinctions and

³⁵Ibid, III:April 4, 1796.

³⁶Ibid, III:May 25, 1798.

³⁷Ibid, III:October 6, 1800.

tempered personal, social, economic, and legal inequities to make for male-female unions based at once upon deference and loving senses of mutual dependency. Indeed, despite all of the trials and tribulations of marriage, Carlisle men like Nathaniel Snowden could privately rejoice in "[w]hat an addition to my happiness has my wife and children been to me."³⁸

* * * * *

While the details of William and Ann Irvine's patriarchal but loving marriage are extensive and well-documented, most of the relationships of other courting and married couples in Carlisle are not. How, then, do we begin to measure the existence of gendered hierarchy and emotionalism in these courtships and marriages? One approach is to examine the existing evidence--namely testamentary documents or wills--written by those married men living in and near Carlisle. These documents detail not only estate settlements on the local level, they also help to define the nature of existing marital relationships in eighteenth-century Cumberland County.

As Daniel Blake Smith explains, in his will "a man gave expression both to how he conceived of the family ... and to the proper balance between control and autonomy for the

³⁸Ibid, III:May 24, 1797.

future of those left behind."³⁹ Wills, however, were more than just emotionless outlines of personal survival strategies for the future allocation of family land, labor, and capital.⁴⁰ They were also more than a husband's blueprint for his wife's future existence.⁴¹ Wills, rather, were highly personalized and emotionally charged public declarations which reflected both the past and present status of individual relationships. In many cases, these documents gave formal expression to the existing order of the marital relationship as well as its tender or sentimental qualities.⁴²

³⁹Smith, Great House, 231.

⁴⁰Alexander Keyssar, "Widowhood in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: A Problem in the History of the Family," Perspectives in American History, VIII (1974), 83; Smith, Great House, 236-237; Daniel Snyder, "Kinship and Community in Rural Pennsylvania, 1749-1820," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XIII, #1 (Summer 1982), 44. See also Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michael Dahlin, Inheritance in America From Colonial Times to the Present (New Brunswick, 1987), 3, who reaffirm this view by discussing how important inheritance--as opposed to free market competition--was in determining one's lifelong material circumstances.

⁴¹Keyssar, "Widowhood," 83, 99, emphasizes that the death of the male head of household placed the surviving members of the household, and particularly the widow, in a new set of relations to each other, to property, and to the law.

⁴²Most historians argue that the last will and testament was a statement of a family's and a widow's future, see Keyssar, "Widowhood." In contrast, I would emphasize that wills were also statements of past or present orders within the household and, therefore, reflected the status of emotional relationships existing within the family. Smith, Great House, 231, concedes that wills did express love at times and that some gifts were awarded as symbolic tokens of

TABLE 8

WILL WRITERS IN CARLISLE AND MIDDLETON, 1751-1810

	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Carlisle	103	89	86%	14	14%
Middleton Township	98	89	91%	9	9%
	<u>201</u>	<u>178</u>	<u>89%</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>11%</u>

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCCH, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

Because, as Mary Beth Norton argues, wills were "primarily a mode of expression for men," we seldom know how wives responded to the bequests made by their husbands.⁴³ From the available evidence, however, we can assess how Carlisle-area husbands defined themselves in relation to their wives, suggest the level of intimacy achieved in these male-female associations, and discuss how local men

affection.

⁴³Mary Beth Norton, "Reflections on Women in the Age of the American Revolution," in Ronald J. Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., Women in the Age of the American Revolution (Charlottesville, 1989), 482-483.

interpreted the feminine role in the public and private realms.

To begin, one must first examine the part that widows played in the administration of their deceased husbands' estates. Most historians agree that the proportion of wives excluded from the role of estate executor was increasing during the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ Daniel Blake Smith's examination of the Chesapeake planter families of Albemarle and York Counties, Virginia, is one of several studies which suggests that as the eighteenth century progressed, married male testators abandoned the practice of appointing their wives as estate executor and more often made other men--usually sons or friends--the official caretakers of their inheritance.⁴⁵

In and around Carlisle, a similar pattern of executorship prevailed. From 1750 to 1810, few wives in Carlisle (a mere 9% of the total) were ever appointed by their husbands as sole executors of the family's estate (Table 9).⁴⁶ Rather, married men more often preferred that

⁴⁴Daniel Scott Smith, "Inheritance and Social History," in Hoffman and Albert, eds., Women in Revolution, 64.

⁴⁵Smith, Great House, 238, 239. See also Suzanne Lebsock, The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town (New York, 1984), 36-42, who noted that executorship was often determined by wealth. In Petersburg, wealthy testators were far less likely to appoint their wives as the primary guardians of their estates.

⁴⁶This is where Carlisle differs from so many other early American communities. Even in its first decades of existence, Carlisle-area males never displayed any tendency

their wives share the duties and burdens of estate executorship with another male relative or family friend. More than half of Carlisle's married male will writers during this period named their wives as only one of several executors of their estate (Table 9). More significantly, as the eighteenth century progressed, husbands in both Carlisle and Middleton Township demonstrated a marked propensity to completely exclude their wives from the formal privileges and obligations of executorship (Table 11).⁴⁷

These aggregate patterns suggest that local women were being increasingly denied ready access to the most public aspects of the inheritance process. During the last decades of the eighteenth century--and particularly after 1790--male family members and friends assumed greater control of local inheritance administration. Indeed, by the first decade of the nineteenth century, local wives had been reduced to little more than symbolic participation in estate oversight. It was clear that for whatever reasons, male will writers no

to appoint their wives as sole executor--very possibly the result of Carlisle's rather late establishment--1751.

⁴⁷Figures of executorship exclusion in Carlisle are remarkably similar to those cited by Smith for Albemarle County, Virginia. According to Smith, Great House, 239, between 1750-1759 only 29.8% of Albemarle's male will writers excluded their wives from executorship. By 1790-1799 that figure had risen to 50.9%. In the surrounding Middleton Township, exclusion of wives was even more marked than in Carlisle, see Tables 10 and 11.

TABLE 9

EXECUTORS NAMED IN WILLS OF MARRIED MEN IN CARLISLE
1751-1810

Date	Total N	Wife Sole Executor		Wife and Other		Male Friends and Relatives		Sons Only		Male Friends Only		Unclear	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1751- 1760	3	--	--	2	67%	--	--	--	--	1	33%	--	--
1761- 1770	6	1	17%	5	83%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1771- 1780	8	1	13%	4	50%	--	--	--	--	2	25%	1	13%
1781- 1790	8	1	13%	4	50%	1	13%	1	13%	1	13%	--	--
1791- 1800	16	--	--	7	44%	6	38%	--	--	2	13%	1	6%
1801- 1810	23	3	13%	7	30%	4	17%	--	--	8	35%	1	4%
Totals	64	6	9%	29	45%	11	17%	1	2%	14	22%	3	5%

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCHS, Books A-H,
1750-1810

TABLE 10

EXECUTORS NAMED IN WILLS OF MARRIED MEN IN
MIDDLETON TOWNSHIP
1751-1810

Date	Total N	Wife Only Executor		Wife and Other		Male Friends and Relatives		Sons Only		Male Friends Only		Unclear	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1751- 1760	5	--	--	2	40%	3	60%	--	--	--	--	--	--
1761- 1770	7	--	--	4	57%	2	29%	--	--	1	14%	--	--
1771- 1780	12	1	8%	8	67%	1	8%	1	8%	1	8%	--	--
1781- 1790	10	--	--	4	40%	2	20%	--	--	2	20%	2	20%
1791- 1800	10	--	--	4	40%	2	20%	1	10%	3	30%	--	--
1801- 1810	16	--	--	4	25%	6	38%	4	25%	2	13%	--	--
Totals	60	1	2%	26	43%	16	27%	6	10%	9	15%	2	3%

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCHS, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF EXECUTORS APPOINTED BY MARRIED MEN
IN MIDDLETON TOWNSHIP AND CARLISLE, 1751-1810

MIDDLETON:					CARLISLE:				
Date	Total N	Include Wives N %	Exclude Wives N %	Unclear N %	Total N	Include Wives N %	Exclude Wives N %	Unclear N %	
1751- 1760	5	2 40%	3 60%	-- --	3	2 67%	1 33%	-- --	
1761- 1770	7	4 57%	3 43%	-- --	6	6 100%	-- --	-- --	
1771- 1780	12	9 75%	3 25%	-- --	8	5 63%	2 25%	1 13%	
1781- 1790	10	4 40%	4 40%	2 20%	8	5 63%	3 38%	-- --	
1791- 1800	10	4 40%	6 60%	-- --	16	7 44%	8 51%	1 6%	
1801- 1810	16	4 25%	12 75%	-- --	23	10 43%	12 52%	1 5%	
MIDDLETON:					CARLISLE:				
Totals	60	27 45%	31 52%	2 3%	64	35 55%	26 41%	3 5%	

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCHS, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

longer believed that their wives alone could serve the best interests of the estate.⁴⁸

At the same time, however, until 1790, one-half or more of the male will writers in both Carlisle and Middleton continued to name their wives as one of several estate executors--perhaps suggesting that husbands retained some kind of symbolic trust in feminine family leadership (Table 11).⁴⁹ Thus, even though the widow's public role as executrix was becoming increasingly superficial as the eighteenth-century progressed, widows nonetheless maintained some definable presence as secondary estate managers. Accompanied by their male co-executors, widows like Lacey Nailer continued to appear regularly before the justices of the county orphan's court to report on the administrative progress of their late husbands' estate.⁵⁰

⁴⁸D.S. Smith, "Inheritance," 64; D.B. Smith, Great House, 238, attributes the decline in female executors to a loss in female economic authority--the result of wives being seen increasingly as mothers and less as working partners on the plantation; Lebsack, Free Women, 37-38, adds that many men felt that executorship was at once beneath and beyond the abilities of their wives. While a belief in gentility elevated women above such tasks, complicated estate accounts made it seem outside their grasp.

⁴⁹This is true for both Carlisle and Middleton. It is not until after 1790, that the trend reverses and 50% or more exclude their wives from executorship, see Table 11.

⁵⁰Administration account of estate of Ralph Nailer, August 19, 1783, Orphan's Court, CCCH, Docket Book #2, 332. In contrast, in surrounding Middleton township, a wholly different pattern of executorship prevailed. There, husbands tended to fully exclude their wives from the executorship process (Tables 10 and 11).

Inheritance decisions clearly reflected both internal marital dynamics as well as the significant social and economic changes occurring in the town before 1810. In Carlisle, demographic factors were probably among the most influential in accounting for the changing patterns of executorship. During the 1750s and 1760s, Carlisle was little more than a tiny urban speck on an extensive rural frontier. This fledgling town was newly-formed when its development was disrupted by the onset of the Seven Years' War in the mid 1750s. It is not surprising, therefore, that during this time of social turmoil, when kinship and familial ties would have been at their weakest, wives were most frequently employed as at least one of the estate executors.⁵¹ In contrast, by the 1790s, when demographic patterns had stabilized and local men and women were probably living longer, the use of women executors was less likely. As Gloria Main asserts, in a more demographically stable environment, with an aging population, it is far less

⁵¹See Tables 1, 2, 3, Chapter III, above. Between 1764-1768, only 37.4% of Carlisle's taxable population persisted in the town--meaning that fully 62.6% of the people in 1768 had not appeared on the list four years earlier. Clearly, these statistics suggest that Carlisle endured a massive out-migration in the years immediately following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Several studies have confirmed that during times of demographic instability, women tend to have more power in the family, see Susan C. Boyle, "Did She Generally Decide? Women in Ste. Genevieve, 1750-1805," *WMQ* 3rd ser., XLIV, #4 (1987), 775-789; Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXXIV, #4 (1977), 542-571.

likely that an aging husband would appoint his aging wife as executor.⁵²

Demographic factors were not the sole influence on executorship decisions, however. The county courts had also changed significantly over time. By the end of the eighteenth century, local courts had become the domain of an all-male professional class of attorneys and politicians. These developments only further encouraged the appointment of male relatives and friends as executors. After all, male professionals and businessmen, acquainted with the language of the court and the procedures of the marketplace, would best represent the interests of the estate. The formalization, Anglicization, and masculinization of the legal system made it less likely that an "outsider" such as a woman would be comfortable or effective serving as the primary estate executor.⁵³

⁵²Gloria Main, "Widows in Rural Massachusetts on the Eve of the Revolution," in Hoffman and Albert, eds., Women in Revolution, 74-77.

⁵³John M. Murrin, "The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," in Stanley Katz and John Murrin, eds., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (New York, 1983), 540-571, analyzes the professionalization of the Massachusetts court system; James P. Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," WMQ, 3rd ser., XXXIV, #2 (1977), 228-235, discusses how the political hegemony of the planter elite of backcountry North Carolina was challenged by an influx of professional lawyers--increasing local political tensions and resentments. For more specific information regarding the increasing presence of lawyers in Cumberland County, see Ephraim Blaine's Sheriff Receipt Book, HSP, 1772-1798.

The ideology of Republicanism may also have had some limited impact on these practices. As Linda Kerber and Mary Beth Norton illustrate, the aftermath of the American Revolution and the subsequent rise of Republican ideology brought with it changes in the private, domestic lives of women (especially among the middling and upper classes) that emphasized women's nurturing duties to family and country.⁵⁴ As a result, male political culture encouraged that wives be seen more as virtuous mothers and less as family representatives in the public realm.⁵⁵ Indeed, Republicanism influenced actions in both the public and private realms. While it discouraged feminine participation in the legal and commercial marketplace, it encouraged the association of women with the emotional domains of home and family. If Carlisle-area executorship patterns after 1790 are any indication, these ideological tenets may have also further discouraged the use of women as executors.

Yet, why then, did the men of Carlisle and Middleton continue to appoint their wives as co-executors of their estates? Despite demographic, legal, and ideological pressures to exclude women from the public aspects of the

⁵⁴Kerber, Women of Republic; Norton, Liberty's Daughters.

⁵⁵Ibid. For more information on the affects of Republicanism on women, see Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," WMO, 3rd ser., XLIV, #4 (1987), 689-721; Ruth Bloch, "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America," Signs, XIII, #1 (1987), 37-58; Smith, Great House, 238.

inheritance process, many men evidently believed that their wives had some role, albeit increasingly symbolic, in the management of their family's estate. A substantial number of husbands clearly loved, trusted, or respected their wives enough to include them as co-managers of their estate. Perhaps much like William and Ann Irvine, many Carlisle-area marriages represented a contradictory fusion of patriarchy and emotionalism. While patriarchy demanded that men control the estate and act as the public agents of family, love demanded symbolic illustrations of respect and trust of spouse.

Male testators in Carlisle were also less likely to award their widows a strict third of the estate. Instead, as time progressed, local men more often opted for awards of house or lot for use during their widow's natural life (Table 12).⁵⁶ While these decisions reinforced the institutionalization of male-dominance by making the widow little more than the trustee or guardian of a landed estate, these awards were not entirely restrictive, as they did offer women some limited autonomy as well as the promise of

⁵⁶A pattern observed in several other studies of the eighteenth century, see Shammass, Salmon, and Dahlin, Inheritance, 51-55; Smith, Great House, 238-239, 240; Lisa Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business': The Widow of Means in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750-1850," WMQ, 3rd ser., XLIV, #1 (1987), 43, 48-49, 54-55; Lisa Wilson, Life After Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850 (Philadelphia, 1992), chapter 4. This pattern was also observed to a certain degree in Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," 556, 558.

future safe-keeping in the midst of familiar surroundings.⁵⁷ As Lisa Wilson asserts, wives in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania were well acquainted with the daily workings of farm or business and were well prepared to make the transition to widowhood--they could readily manage part the estate after their husbands' death.⁵⁸ Thus even though women were increasingly perceived as outsiders in the male-dominated, professional world of the county court system, the economic realities of the backcountry as well as the socio-political rhetoric of the post-revolutionary period made wives seem more capable than ever of directing the homefront.⁵⁹

The influence of love in marriage may also account for such changes. Perhaps it was love which inspired men like Michael Bow of Carlisle to provide as generously as possible for their wives. Bow was typical of many will writers of the 1790s. He sought to provide more than

⁵⁷For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of such awards, see Shammass, Salmon, and Dahlin, Inheritance, 51-55; Salmon, Women and the Law of Property.

⁵⁸Wilson Waciega, "Widow of Means," 41-42; Wilson, Life After Death, 3-5.

⁵⁹According to Marylynn Salmon, "Republican Sentiment, Economic Change, and the Property Rights of Women in American Law," in Hoffman and Albert, eds., Women in Revolution, 448-452, this may also have to do with the rising value of personal property by the end of the eighteenth century. See also Salmon, Women and the Law of Property.

TABLE 12

BEQUESTS OF MALE TESTATORS TO THEIR WIVES IN CARLISLE
1751-1810

Date	Total N	Dower/ One- Third N	%	House/ Land as Widow N	%	House/ Land for Child Minority N	%	House/ Land for Natl Life N	%	House/ Land Forever N	%	Money and/or Personl Property N	%	Other N	%
1751- 1760	3	2	67%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	33%
1761- 1770	6	3	50%	1	17%	1	17%	--	--	--	--	1	17%	--	--
1771- 1780	8	2	25%	--	--	1	13%	1	13%	1	13%	2	25%	1	13%
1781- 1790	8	3	38%	--	--	1	13%	1	13%	1	13%	1	13%	1	13%
1791- 1800	16	--	--	1	6%	--	--	5	31%	2	13%	4	25%	4	25%
1801- 1810	23	--	--	1	4%	2	9%	8	35%	2	9%	7	30%	3	13%
Totals	64	10	16%	3	5%	5	8%	15	23%	6	9%	15	23%*	10	16%

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCHS, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

adequately for his wife Catharine by leaving her "the full benefit and use of my House and Lott I now live in ...during her natural life," with the real estate to be sold and the money divided between their two daughters upon her death.⁶⁰

The well-known hero of the Seven Years' War, John Armstrong, was even more generous in his bequests, displaying a general disregard for the strictures of patriarchy. While he willed that much of his estate was to be sold, he made careful exception for his dwelling house in Carlisle, his household furniture, his outlots, and his 240 acre plantation in Middleton Township, which, he ordered "are not to be sold during the lifetime of my dearly beloved and affectionate wife Rebeccah." Armstrong also stipulated that Rebeccah had full right to approve of any sale of this property during her natural life. On her death, the property was to be sold with the money awarded to their two grown sons, James and John, and any other person she devised. Although Armstrong "expect[ed] that my friend William Lyon will be ever ready to aid them ... by his advice[,] Counsel and assistance," Rebeccah retained considerable autonomy over her husband's numerous possessions.⁶¹ While Armstrong's bequest was a symbolic

⁶⁰Will of Michael Bow, Carlisle, January 10, 1791, Will Book E, CCCH, 209.

⁶¹Will of John Armstrong, Carlisle, February 1795, Will Book F, CCCH, 76-77. For information regarding Armstrong's lands in Middleton, see Tax Rates, Middleton, CCHS, 1787, 1795. Underlined emphasis mine.

illustration of the love he held for his wife, his actions also epitomized the long-standing trust and respect that their relationship was built upon. After all, several decades earlier, in 1776, Armstrong had respected his wife enough to discuss war-time politics with her, remarking among other things in his letter, that "the new pamphlet entitled Common Sense which occasions so much Speculation here [in Philadelphia] is now reprinting with additions," and "when it is Out[,] I shall Send you One."⁶²

Sometimes, however, bequests were based upon definable economic circumstances. In these cases, gendered hierarchies were often overlooked with husbands instead rewarding their wives' years of economic experience with large estate responsibilities. "Being old and infirm" in 1807, John Pollock of Carlisle composed his last will and testament. In it, Pollock fully affirmed the great trust and esteem he held for his wife Grace and illustrated the long-term egalitarian nature of their relationship. Indeed, Pollock was not only one of the few Carlisle will writers to appoint his wife as sole executor of his estate, he also willed all of his property, both real and personal to her, "with full power and authority to Grant[,] bargain and

⁶²John Armstrong to Rebeckah [sic] Armstrong, February 6, 1776, Dreer Collection, HSP, 48:1, 33-35.

sell[,] release and Confirm the whole or any Part thereof in fee simple to any purchaser ... forever."⁶³

In his will, Pollock not only made a substantial commitment to his wife's future, he also gave some important clues to the past and present status of their relationship. Less than a decade before his death, John Pollock was the owner of a rather comfortable establishment by Carlisle standards. With a two-story stone house and a wooden stable on his lot, Pollock had material possessions to attest to his long-term status in the Borough. When John, "one of the oldest inhabitants of this Borough" finally died on February 18, 1807, he left his wife "Mrs Gracey Pollock" as the administrator and possessor of a decent size estate by Carlisle standards.⁶⁴

Although we know little about the Grace Lucas who married John Pollock on September 17, 1771, certain assumptions can be made about the nature of the relationship that developed between this husband and wife over the course

⁶³Will of John Pollock, Carlisle, January 7, 1807, Will Book G, CCCH, 226-227.

⁶⁴U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798. John Pollock was listed as owner/occupant of stone dwelling house measuring 20'x 15' with a wooden stable and unfinished structure also on the lot. His property was valued at \$450, which would have placed him in the sixth decile of housing value. According to tax lists, however, in 1795, Pollock's taxable property fell into the 8th decile of wealth, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1795. Obituary of John Pollock, The Carlisle Gazette, February 27, 1807.

of three decades.⁶⁵ The extant evidence suggests that John began his life in Carlisle in the 1760s as a carpenter, moving into the tavern business sometime before 1779.⁶⁶ First as a craftsman, and particularly later as a tavernkeeper, it is very likely that Gracey Pollock played an key role in the daily workings of his tavern--the same inn where one traveler reported in 1788 that "[a] fat Irishman gave us a grand dinner, but our horses fared badly."⁶⁷

It is presumable that Gracey, with apparently only one child surviving into adulthood, had both the time and the opportunity to act as an unofficial partner in John's tavern

⁶⁵"Marriage Licenses Issued by John Agnew, Esq., Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Cumberland County, Pa., at Carlisle," Cumberland County Marriage Licenses, CCHS, 1771-1789.

⁶⁶Pollock's history is confused by the fact that there were two John Pollock's in Carlisle during the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s--each with some evidence of being a tavernkeeper. For specific information regarding this Pollock's career path, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1768, 1779, 1782; Septennial Census Return, Carlisle, PHMC, 1793, in which the only John Pollock is identified as a tavernkeeper. For evidence of Pollock's career as a carpenter, see Trustee Minutes, Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, DCA, box 2, typescript 69c. "Mr. Steven Duncan to John Pollock ... for work done in the Meeting house" in 1771. These services included: "Making six Seats" and "Repairing the glery [gallery] Stairs." One presumes that Pollock moved into tavernkeeping during the Revolution to supplement his craftsman's income during the economic downturn of the war.

⁶⁷Cutler, August 3, 1788, Life, Journals, I:400.

business.⁶⁸ In a trade where work was so focused upon the domestic chores of cooking and housekeeping, it was very likely that a wife would play an integral role in the daily conduct of her husband's business. Thus, considering the potential intimacy of their daily economic and personal associations while married, it is no surprise that John awarded his wife full control of his property after his death. John's bequest may best confirm the high regard he had for his wife, the respect he had for her economic skills, and the loving and remarkably equitable nature of their relationship.

Carlisle cooper and tavernkeeper William Rainey demonstrated a similarly generous treatment of his wife. The bequest of his 1804 will went well beyond the legally mandated wife's third. Appointing Mary as one of three executors, William willed his wife an extensive estate that included all of his personal goods "absolutely" and his real estate for her natural life--except for the house and lot in Carlisle where they lived, which was to be hers forever.⁶⁹

Much like Pollock, Rainey was lauded as "one of the

⁶⁸John's will makes mention of only one child--a daughter, Margaret, married to Hance Morrison, see Will of John Pollock, Will Book G, CCCH, 26-27. Gracey's involvement may have gone far beyond the "deputy husband" role described by Ulrich, Good Wives, 35-50. She was perhaps as close to a full-fledged partner as a woman was capable of being, see Wilson Waciega, "Widow of Means"; Wilson, Life After Death.

⁶⁹Will of William Rainey, Carlisle, June 15, 1804, Will Book G, CCCH, 37.

oldest inhabitants of this place" who was "an early and zealous friend of the liberties of his country, and a very industrious, upright and honest man."⁷⁰ Even more like Pollock, Rainey was a practicing cooper, who evidently became involved in the tavernkeeping business between 1779 and 1782 as a supplement to his income during the Revolution.⁷¹ Although it is likely that Rainey spent much of his time coopering--he did, after all, run several advertisements for in The Carlisle Gazette journeymen coopers who could be trusted to "make all kinds of tight and good work"--tavernkeeping at "that Noted old Stand, THE SIGN of the LAMB" took considerable amounts of his time and energy.⁷² Like John and Gracey Pollock, William and Mary Rainey presumably spent large stretches of their married life living and working side-by-side, possibly in the cooper shop next to their wood-framed house and certainly in their nearby tavern. While this long-term collaborative effort increased the likelihood that Mary would retain some considerable control over some portion of the real estate, it also undermined the socio-cultural pressures of

⁷⁰Obituary of William Rainey, The Carlisle Gazette, June 27, 1804.

⁷¹The Carlisle Gazette, January 28, 1801, Rainey advertised that his tavern was "to be let or sold." This property included: a house that was "two stories high with a large Stone Kitchen and Piazza" and "three rooms on a floor."

⁷²Ibid, August 8, 1786; January 28, 1801; June 10, 1801.

patriarchy by elevating Mary's status in the eyes of her husband.

In Carlisle, it was certainly not unusual for widows to assume control of their husbands' tavern businesses. Aside from Gracey Pollock and Mary Rainey, Sarah M'Donald, wife of "Inholder" Duncan McDonald, continued to run his "[p]ublick house of Entertainment" at "the sign of the Highlandman" on the corner of North and Bedford Streets for some twelve years after his death. In his will, Duncan had left all of his estate, both land and goods, "in the hand of My Beloved wife Sarah that She May thereby be enabled to Maintain My four Children ... and G[i]ve them Cloaths [sic] and Schooling till they Come to age." Sarah had somehow managed this task, running her husband's business on a daily basis, petitioning the court for a renewal of his tavern license, supervising three male slaves, and by caring for, clothing, and educating daughters, Catharine and Margaret, and sons, Alexander and William. It was not until 1789, for reasons unknown, that Sarah finally sought to let her house that was "extremely well calculated either for public or private purposes" with a good barn, stables, and a full lot of ground.⁷³

⁷³Will of Duncan McDonald, July 24, 1777, Will Book C, CCCH, 48-49; Petition for tavern license, Duncan McDonald, July 1771, Petition for tavern license, Sarah McDonald, July 1779, Hotel and Tavern License Applications, CCHS; Notice that property to be let, Sarah M'Donald, The Carlisle Gazette, March 25, 1789; for information regarding the McDonald's slaves and property holdings, see Tax Rates,

Widow Dorothy Hiegel likewise continued her husband's tavern business. In her 1802 advertisement in The Carlisle Gazette (not long after husband William's death) she sought to assure his customers that "[t]he Tavern business will be continued." As she was "provided with all kinds of the Best Liquors and other necessaries fit for entertainment," Dorothy hoped that she would "merit the favor of those that will honor her with their custom" and she would also "continue to sell FLOUR by the Barrel and quarter hundred."⁷⁴

These examples help to illustrate some important points about the increasing complexity of male-female relationships in Carlisle. Clearly, in those economic circumstances where husband and wife worked together, patriarchy was undermined.⁷⁵ In these cases, meaningful contributions to the family's survival (possibly mingled with a loving co-dependency) elevated a wife's status in the eyes of her husband, thus making it more probable that she would obtain

Carlisle, CCHS, 1782.

⁷⁴The Carlisle Gazette, November 3, 1802. Dorothy was apparently unable to continue the business for long--as was indicated by the notice of George Heikes that he had "taken" the tavern house last held by William Heigel, deceased. *ibid*, April 27, 1803.

⁷⁵A circumstance that was not unlikely in an urban setting like Carlisle where men often pursued several occupations at once--making it more likely that they might require the assistance of their wives.

some substantial portion of her husband's estate after his death.

There were some marked differences, however, in the practices of the male testators of Carlisle and Middleton Township which illustrate some key distinctions between urban and rural life in eighteenth-century Cumberland County. While male will writers in Middleton Township demonstrated greater tendencies to exclude their wives from executorship, they also made less generous bequests to their wives (Table 13). The farmer Casper Diller was typical. He could express love and devotion for his wife, but the issues of patriarchy and property came far ahead of generous provisions for his spouse. "In consideration of the love and affection which I bear unto my beloved wife Margaret," Diller explained, he granted her "the privilege" of living on his land as long as she remained a widow. Diller phrased his bequest in charitable terms. His wife Margaret was provided with a small house called "the Schoolmaster's House," its nearby garden, 25 pounds cash per year, and ten bushels of "good and Merchantable Wheat," plus firewood and pasture and hay for her cow.⁷⁶

While Diller clearly wanted to ensure his wife's future livelihood, he did so only after the consideration of his

⁷⁶Will of Casper Diller, September 11, 1796, Will Book F, CCCH, 44-51.

TABLE 13

BEQUESTS OF MALE TESTATORS TO THEIR WIVES
IN MIDDLETON TOWNSHIP, 1751-1810

Date	Total N	Dower/ One- Third		House/ Land as Widow		House/ Land for Child Minority		House/ Land for Natura Life		House/ Land Forever		Money and/or Person Property		Other	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1751- 1760	5	2	40%	1	20%	1	20%	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	20%
1761- 1770	7	1	14%	--	--	--	--	1	14%	1	14%	3	43%	1	14%
1771- 1780	12	--	--	4	33%	2	17%	4	33%	--	--	1	8%	1	8%
1781- 1790	10	1	10%	3	30%	--	--	--	--	1	10%	2	20%	3	30%
1791- 1800	10	1	10%	2	20%	1	10%	1	10%	1	10%	4	40%	--	--
1801- 1810	16	2	13%	1	6%	--	--	3	19%	--	--	6	38%	4	25%
Totals	60	7	12%	11	18%	4	7%	9	15%	3	5%	16	27%	10	17%

Source: Cumberland County Will Books, CCHS, Books A-H, 1750-1810.

children's future. With twelve children named in his will, Diller was under considerable pressure to provide something for all members of his family. Although Diller made monetary grants to all of his daughters, he made an obvious gesture to patriarchy when he awarded the most substantial portion of his estate--the plantation on which he resided--to his five sons.

Rural landowners with extensive and valuable landed estates had more at stake in the inheritance process. The rural-dwellers of Middleton Township were three times more likely than their Carlisle counterparts to grant their wives possession of the house or land during her widowhood only, and half as likely to make landed bequests to their wives for life or forever. In their economic world, generosity for the future was strictly circumscribed by the importance of personal estate management strategies. Order and hierarchy prevailed in their relationships with their wives as the hegemony of landed interests and family lineage overruled those of emotional attachment or economic partnership (Table 13).

The well-known farmer, merchant, and trader, Ephraim Blaine, was no exception to this general pattern. Blaine and his second wife, Sarah Elizabeth, had an obviously close relationship, but one that was more formal than the casual and loving intimacy of the long-married Irvines. Married in September 1797 by the Rev. Robert Davidson of Carlisle's

First Presbyterian Church, Blaine and "Mrs Duncan" both were entering upon their second marriage.⁷⁷ Born in 1741, Blaine was 56 years old in 1797 and had two grown sons, James and Robert, from his previous marriage. Although we know little about Sarah Elizabeth except that she was left as the sole parent of five children when her first husband was killed in a duel in 1793, we can assume that she came into a household that had surely mourned the loss of the first Mrs. Blaine.⁷⁸

As we have seen in the correspondence of young Jamey Blaine in the previous chapter, emotional bonds held the first Blaine family together during times of war.⁷⁹ The loss of Rebecca Blaine was not a happy prospect to either husband or sons. As a much older and mature son, Robert, sadly reported to his father in 1794, less than a year

⁷⁷Marriage Records, Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, DCA, typescript copy.

⁷⁸Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 195, 202; The Carlisle Gazette, June 26, 1793, reported that "a Duel was fought near this place by Messrs. John Duncan and James Lamberton," in which Duncan "unhappily received a ball through his head, which instantly deprived him of life," leaving his wife a widow and their five children without a father.

⁷⁹James Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, October 21, 1777, November 12, 1777, Blaine Papers, General Correspondence, LC. While both of Jamey's letters are filled with news of home and farm, his casual recounting of his daily life and his interactions with his mother and brother give one a sense of the intimate workings of this family--especially when one considers Jamey's frequent use of the salutation "Dear Dad[d]y" as an address for his father, the "love" that the family sends to him, and the wish of all of them not to "forget your Promis [sic] of Coming home in two weeks." For more information on the Blaines, see Chapter III, below.

before her death, while most of the family was "in usual health," his "poor Mother, ... appears to decline every day."⁸⁰

The second Mrs. Blaine, Sarah Elizabeth Duncan, entered a well-established household. If her one surviving account of life at Blaine's Middleton farm is any indication, by 1799--nearly two years after their marriage--a distinct emotional intimacy prevailed between these two partners. Although Rebecca began her letter with the formal and submissive salutation "My dear Mr[.] Blaine," her letter took a tone of casual intimacy much like that found in the Irvines' correspondence. Sarah expressed heartfelt longing for her husband as she dutifully reported "we are all well and wish much for your return, tis six weeks this day since you left us [to go to Philadelphia], and I fear it will be almost four months more before you are hear [sic]." More interesting was Sarah's depiction of family life. While she distinguished "Your good son James," as a member of Blaine's first family, she was bubbling with news about their new son, "Our dear boy," who was, she reported, "baptized [by] the names you desired he might be called by." Indeed, she hoped that this "sweet little fellow," would "be a comfort to us both"--serving as a symbol of their union and the emotional bonds of their new family. Signing herself "your

⁸⁰Robert Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, October 25, 1794, *ibid.*

Affectionate SE Blaine," Sarah Elizabeth again reinforced these new emotional ties.⁸¹

If Ephraim's will is any indication, however, sentiment did not overrule the interests of patriarchy and property when bequests were made. While his second wife Sarah Elizabeth was allowed to "enjoy" the whole of Ephraim's estate in Middleton during her life, including all household furniture and personal property, Ephraim made these provisions with the stipulation that Sarah had to care for their son Ephraim till he was 21 years old and remain a widow. Ultimately, Ephraim was most concerned with the preservation of patriarchy and the maintenance of his landed estate. With his two grown sons James and Robert already well established by 1804, Ephraim made his youngest son Ephraim the final beneficiary of an estate that included some 600 acres of land, a grist mill, a saw mill, and a fulling mill.⁸² While Ephraim displayed concern for his wife's future well-being and comfort, emotions did not

⁸¹Sarah Elizabeth Blaine to Ephraim Blaine, March 8, 1799, *ibid.* Underlined emphasis mine.

⁸²Will of Ephraim Blaine, Middlesex, Middleton Township, 1804, Will Book G, CCCH, 27-28. Blaine's two other sons were apparently well established in Middleton Township by 1804. In 1802, Robert Blaine is listed as the possessor of two parcels of land totalling 750 acres, including a both a saw mill and a grist mill, while James had three parcels in the township totalling 378 acres, see Tax Rates, Middleton, CCHS, 1802.

override his masculine definition of self nor the practical concerns for his family's future.⁸³

Undeniable differences existed in the inheritance practices of town and country dwellers. Carlisle males tended to be more generous with their widows, more often appointing them as executors, more often making lifetime bequests. As a town of merchants, artisans, and innkeepers, not all men in Carlisle possessed large landed estates. These husbands could well afford to see their wives in a more generous light and acknowledge their long-term emotional and economic debts to their female partners. In Middleton Township, however, where landed wealth more often determined one's present and future economic status, male will writers were far more prudent in their testamentary awards. To ensure the prosperity of future generations, landed estates were managed carefully--clouding those existing emotional ties between husbands and wives and perpetuating male ascendancy in the family.

For local wives, these patterns of inheritance had several important consequences. Relations between the sexes were evidently more fluid in Carlisle where patriarchy was undermined, however slightly, by the long-term emotional attachments of loving marriages and the economic realities

⁸³Blaine was not alone in making such bequests. Will writers in Middleton were much more likely than their Carlisle counterparts to grant most, if not all, of their landed estate to one son.

of the evolving urban marketplace. While socio-political factors discouraged women from assuming key administrative roles in estate management, women were nonetheless allowed more autonomy in the realms of household economy and family politics. In contrast, patriarchy reigned supreme in the surrounding countryside. Husbands there generally placed the future of their sons and the prospects of their land far ahead of the comfort of their wives. Indeed, for the women of Middleton Township, bequests like those made by Jeremiah Woolf were all too common. Woolf not only favored his son John in his will, he also placed numerous restrictions on his wife's future. To begin, Woolf's wife "Eleazabeth" was to live with and be supported by her son John in what had been her home--as long as she remained unmarried. Wife Eleazabeth and son John were also obligated to make sure that "all my Children that is liveing [sic] with them" are "learned to Reade well and the boys to wright [sic]." Finally, Jeremiah ordered not only that "my wife and childerin [sic] live together," but that "they are all to work together [sic] and help as much as the can" till "my debts are all paid." Jeremiah had effectively circumscribed his wife's future by subordinating her to the masculine authority of her oldest son. While Eleazabeth received a place to live, eat, and sleep, there were few other rewards. She had to raise and educate their children and work to pay off her husband's debts. In return, her husband's land and

money went to her children--with her eldest son John receiving the largest portion.⁸⁴

* * * * *

Although women comprised only a small portion (11%) of the testators in Carlisle and Middleton, it is nonetheless important to assess how they defined themselves through the inheritance process (Table 8). While as will writers these women represented an exceptionally autonomous minority of Carlisle females who acted on behalf of their own estates, as testators their bequests reflected many of the same patriarchal attitudes and gendered patterns of hierarchy as their male counterparts.

Like their male counterparts, few women testators in Carlisle appointed other women as executors of their estates. Only 1 (7%) of these 14 individuals appointed another woman as executor, while an overwhelming 10 individuals (71%) appointed men--most often male friends--as their estate administrators. Perhaps these actions are one key indication that local women both acknowledged and accepted the tightening male control of Cumberland's legal-political system. These women, too, sought to appoint those

⁸⁴Will of Jeremiah Woolf, Middleton, June 20, 1786, Will Book E, CCCH, 74-76.

individuals who would best serve the economic interests of their estates.

The one notable exception to this trend was Carlisle widow Hannah Collier. "Calling to mind the uncertainty of Life" in 1804, Collier appointed her niece Ann Herwick sole executor and primary beneficiary of her estate. This bequest to "my loved niece Ann ... who hath lived with me from her infancy," Collier explained, was to be a reward, because "I have Received so many Evidences of Sincere affection[,] tenderness and Respect" from her.⁸⁵

Upon her aunt's death at the age of 73 in 1807, as "an old and respectable inhabitant of this Borough," Collier's niece Ann inherited an extensive estate that included all of Collier's household and kitchen furniture, her personal property, her cash and bonds, her house and lot in Carlisle, as well as all of her other land and real estate.⁸⁶ While Collier's two-story frame house measuring 25' x 21' was neither extraordinarily grand in its size nor meager in its value by Carlisle standards, Collier did possess a number of revolutionary donation lands in Westmoreland County as well

⁸⁵Will of Hannah Collier, Carlisle, October 25, 1804, Will Book G, CCCH, 256-257.

⁸⁶Ibid; Obituary of Mrs. Hannah Collier, The Carlisle Gazette, September 25, 1807.

as an assortment of Pennsylvania certificates she had inherited from her son Joseph in 1791.⁸⁷

Most important, in her will, as throughout her life, Collier displayed an uncommonly keen sense of self and a firm notion of what was her just due. The year after her son's death, for instance, she wrote to William Irvine in Philadelphia regarding the compensation for "cloathing" for Revolutionary soldiers provided by the state of Pennsylvania. "As nothing can be obtained under the late act subsequent to the expiration of it," she wrote Irvine, "I have accordingly been advised to petition the Assembly, who have, I hear, now before them sundry Petitions of the same kind." While John Montgomery of Carlisle was apparently managing this business for her, she hoped that the politically well connected Irvine would review her petition and assess "its propriety." She ended her request with the apologetic but complimentary remark: "was there any other person in Philad[elphi]a in whom I could place equal confidence with yourself--I would not give you this trouble."⁸⁸

⁸⁷U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798. According to this list, in 1798 Collier's home and wooden stable were rated at \$300, falling into the middling fifth decile of value. Will of Joseph Collier, Carlisle, August 4, 1790, Will Book E, CCCH, 206-207. For further information regarding Collier's holdings, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1795, 1802--where in 1795, Collier fell into the fifth decile of taxable property holders.

⁸⁸Hannah Collier to William Irvine, January 17, 1792, Irvine Papers, HSP, X:119.

Collier was both an extraordinary and a typical woman of Carlisle. On one hand, she was bold enough to embark on a scheme to obtain what she considered to be her just compensation from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In her petition to the Assembly, she explained: "That Joseph Collier late of the Borough of Carlisle ... Son of your Petitioner, was entitled to his cloathing [sic] or a compensation therefore agreeably to the act of Assembly of this State ... having continued in the service of the United States till the end of the Late War." As his executrix, she hoped a "[r]emedy may be provided for her relief."⁸⁹

On the otherhand, Collier was a product of the gendered social, cultural, and political attitudes of her time and place. While she was bold before the Assembly, Collier's request to Irvine was phrased in conciliatory and submissive terms designed to win his support. Collier showed herself willing to defer to Irvine's masculine and professional expertise, even suggesting that "[p]erhaps also a petition in your name[,] that is to say a Petition in the name of Hannah Collier by Gen[era]l W[illia]m Irwin [Irvine] her Attorney, ... would be most regular."⁹⁰ Although Collier's aims were ambitious, her goals were pursued within the

⁸⁹Petition of Hannah Collier to the Governor, *ibid*, X:120.

⁹⁰Hannah Collier to William Irvine, January 17, 1792, *ibid*, X:119.

circumscribed ideological and political confines of her station as an eighteenth-century woman.

In other ways as well, female testators reflected the larger social and cultural values of their backcountry community. The interests of family reigned first and foremost in eastern Cumberland County. In Middleton Township, for example, women, like men, often focused their bequests on members of their immediate nuclear family. Indeed, these female testators hardly acknowledged existing kinship and friendship networks and showed little inclination to distribute their estates more widely among non-nuclear kin and close friends in the local community. In Carlisle, although women favored a slightly wider range of beneficiaries, almost half of the testators focused on their nuclear kin--typically sons and daughters--as the primary beneficiaries of their estates.⁹¹

Some women, like some men, also conveyed sentimental wishes for spouse or family in their wills. Widows Sarah Allen and Margaret Douglass of Carlisle were no exception. Each woman made a special provision to honor the memory of her late husband. As Margaret Douglass phrased her request, she wished her executors "to procure suitable tombstones of

⁹¹Joan M. Jensen, Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850 (New Haven, 1986), 24-25. The patterns of female will writers in and around Carlisle differ quite markedly from those discussed by Jensen. Jensen argues that women in Chester County behaved very differently than men--extending their bequests well beyond the nuclear family.

Marble to be laid over the remains of my self [sic] and my deceased beloved Husband and to inclose the same in Such manner as they think proper."⁹² Margaret Cummins of Carlisle displayed equally strong emotional attachments to her family. She rewarded her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Hoops, with her pocket Bible "as a Memorandom of my Friendship for her[,] she having no need of any part of my Worldly Goods."⁹³

Perhaps most important, many female testators demonstrated a strong sense of gendered self-identity in their wills. Just as many male will writers anxiously sought to affirm patriarchy with bequests to their male kin, some women strengthened the local feminine community by enhancing female autonomy and independence with their bequests. In many respects, the testamentary awards made by women to women were public testaments to the strength of the affectional bonds among local females. Women will writers not only acknowledged the important women in their lives, many also sought to ensure that their gifts stayed forever in the hands of their intended female recipients.

⁹²Will of Margaret Douglass, Carlisle, September 3, 1804, Will Book G, CCCH, 39-40. Sarah Allen made a similar request, asking that "a Marble Stone" be placed over her late husband's grave. Will of Sarah Allen, Carlisle, February 21, 1794, Will Book E, CCCH, 317-319.

⁹³Will of Margaret Cummins, Carlisle, August 14, 1779, Will Book D, CCCH, 97-100.

Carlisle widow Margaret Douglass took careful precautions to ensure that the bequest she made to her daughters would not be co-opted by their husbands. Margaret willed that her daughters Hannah Knox and Isabella Douglass were to divide her clothing, trinkets, silverplate, household articles, and kitchen furniture between them. These goods they were "to possess and enjoy ... in their own right, free and independent of any contract or claim of their Husbands" for the rest of their lives. Daughter Hannah was also to receive a yearly interest payment from the estate, which Margaret again stipulated, was "for her own entire and separate use," free from any claim made by her husband.⁹⁴

The widow Elizabeth Ross displayed similarly strong sensibilities to feminine status in the 1770s. In her will, Ross requested that her house and lot in Carlisle be sold after her death and the money divided among her grandchildren. She made monetary bequests to three of her married granddaughters--Elizabeth Holt, Elinor Cunningham, and Anne Alexander--carefully noting with each woman that the money was to be "for her Separate use and to be at her own Disposal." Only in a separate section of the will did Ross acknowledge the familial bonds of marriage by granting

⁹⁴Will of Margaret Douglass, Will Book G, CCCH, 39-40; This behavior was also observed by Joan Jensen, Loosening the Bonds, 24. She postulated that "by such arrangements, mothers could ensure that their daughters controlled their inheritance."

individual cash payments to the husband of each granddaughter.⁹⁵

While there is little information regarding Ross, we do have some sketchy idea of her life in Carlisle. One Elizabeth Ross, apparently already a widow, appeared as a taxpaying head of household on the first tax list made for Carlisle in 1753. By the 1760s, the widow Ross owned or occupied the centrally-located lot at the corner of High and Pitt Streets and kept a cow on her property.⁹⁶ While there is some indication that Ross kept a tavern, it is not fully clear how she maintained herself or her property over time.⁹⁷ It is apparent, however, that Ross remained a widow during her twenty-year stay in Carlisle from 1753 until her death in 1773. Thus, she successfully maintained her identity as an independent "widow of means" for at least two decades.⁹⁸

If Ross's will is any indication, she had developed a strong sense of her own feminine identity by the 1770s. Upon her death Ross willed that her house, lot, and

⁹⁵Will of Elizabeth Ross, Carlisle, September 21, 1773, Will Book B, CCCH, 183-184.

⁹⁶Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1764, 1768; John Creigh, "Plan of Carlisle, Penna.," CCHS, 1764, shows the location of Ross's lot.

⁹⁷Schaumann, History and Genealogy, 217.

⁹⁸Wilson Waciega, "Widow of Means," describes how many widows in Philadelphia and Chester Counties were able to successfully maintain themselves for several decades after their husbands' death.

appurtenances in Carlisle should be sold when at best advantage and the money divided in specific amounts among her grandchildren. For her granddaughters, Ross specified that their cash awards were to be for their use only. Only to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Holt, did she demonstrate any sentiment, awarding her personal items which included "my Bed[d]ing[,] a white coverlid and all my Household furniture and my Apparel."⁹⁹ Although Ross could only sign her mark to her will, she was nonetheless a woman who had survived in a male-dominated world for several decades. In her will, she passed on her keen sense of independence as a legacy to her granddaughters.

As will writers, these women were part of an exceptional group. Their actions and contributions, however, transcend their numerical insignificance. Because so many of their sisters remain nameless and faceless in the public records of Cumberland County, these female testators help to illustrate how some women defined themselves in the Carlisle community. These women, like their male counterparts, were products of their time. Their inheritance decisions reflected the cultural attitudes of their era as well as the economic and social realities of their backcountry environment. While the bequests of some women helped to define a distinct feminine community in Carlisle, none of these women stepped beyond the accepted

⁹⁹Will of Elizabeth Ross, Will Book B, CCCH, 183-184.

boundaries of their community. Rather, like male testators, these women worked within a patriarchal and hierarchical system to provide adequately for their loved ones.¹⁰⁰

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In the end, Carlisle marriages were circumscribed by the ideological assumptions and practical realities of life in the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania backcountry. While many husbands as well as wives increasingly saw their spouse as a loving and affectionate partner, gendered senses of hierarchy and order continued to pervade most local marriages. Indeed, no matter how hard some may have tried, few men or women could fully escape the prevailing patriarchy of their day. Husbands continued to dominate family, property, and the public domain--albeit more self-consciously--while some wives began to operate within the emotional confines of the private realm to carve out a more autonomous existence for themselves.

¹⁰⁰Joan Hoff-Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Young, ed., Explorations, 419, 426-427, argues that eighteenth-century women were not feminists, but had a sense of their proper sphere and asked only for the privileges due them. See also Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History, 75, #1 (1988), 9-39. Kerber reminds us that gender relations are reciprocal social constructions, women as well as men create their own world and define their own domain.

CHAPTER VII
THE SELF-FASHIONING OF CARLISLE'S ELITE

"Our College is as yet a new-born infant," remarked Philadelphia physician and educator Benjamin Rush in 1784. "It has all the parts and faculties of a man, but they require growth and extension."¹ Only a year after the formal chartering of Carlisle's Dickinson College, the school was indeed fledgling. Lacking a principal, an organized faculty, a coherent student body, and still unsure of its funding, Dickinson's future as "a nursery of religion and learning on the west side of the river Susquehannah" remained uncertain.²

For the town and people of Carlisle, however, the 1780s and 1790s were anything but a time of infancy. In the wake of the American Revolution, as the local economy expanded

¹Benjamin Rush to Charles Nisbet, April 19, 1784, L. H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush 2 vols. (Princeton, 1951) I:323. Rush's letter follows the first meeting of the college trustees at Carlisle on April 6th, at which time plans for the organization of the college were first laid and a faculty elected. Although Nisbet was elected as principal at this time, it was not known if he would accept the position, see Charles Coleman Sellers, Dickinson College: A History (Middletown, 1973), 65-67.

²Benjamin Rush to John Armstrong, March 19, 1783, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:294.

and gradually adjusted itself to suit the demands of the new nation, and as townspeople forged new and more complex economic and personal associations with contacts in both east and west, Carlisle society became increasingly differentiated and status conscious. As Carlisle matured in the post-revolutionary period, the gap between rich and poor residents widened. While the town's large collection of laboring families went about their daily lives much as before, Carlisle's newly-emerging elite became acutely aware of their backcountry circumstances and increasingly anxious about their standing in Pennsylvania society at large. For this group of prominent local merchants, professionals, and farmers--still somewhat uncertain of their social identity--the founding of Dickinson College was an important symbol of their growth and articulation as an elite community. While Benjamin Rush and other frontcountry gentlemen saw only a college in its first stages of life, poised ready to "diffus[e] the light of science and religion more generally through our society," Carlisle's elite saw their college as an indication that they, as a group, had achieved some real measure of social and economic permanency within the backcountry.³

* * * * *

³Benjamin Rush to John Armstrong, March 19, 1783, *ibid*, I:295.

"Upon the whole," it was said, Carlisle had "a respectable appearance" by the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴ Described by one traveler in 1788 as "a larger town than Reading," several years later, another visitor remarked that with "at present from 330 to 350 houses," some one hundred of these structures were "neatly built" and "2400 inhabitants" resided there.⁵ Indeed, the clearest expression of the town's growth and development over time was its considerable structural expansion. The 312 lots originally laid out by Thomas Penn's officials in 1751 were intensely occupied by some 294 houses and 459 outbuildings of varying sizes, shapes, and material compositions by 1798.⁶ Structural diversity characterized late eighteenth-century Carlisle and distinguished it from the surrounding countryside of Cumberland County. Although wood--inexpensive and obtainable locally--was the building material of choice for most local residents--accounting for

⁴F. A. Michaux, June 28, 1802, "Travels to the West of the Allegheny Mountains ... in the Year 1802," Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 32 vols. (Cleveland, 1904), III:139.

⁵Cazenove, Journal, 56; Cutler, August 3, 1788, Life, Journals, I:401.

⁶Carlisle's diverse collection of outbuildings included: 168 stables, 157 kitchens, 45 shops, 14 barns, 12 shades, 9 storehouses, 8 outhouses, 8 smokehouses, 4 "old" buildings or houses, 4 piazzas, 3 carriage houses, 3 offices, 3 slaughter houses, 3 "small" houses, 3 wash houses, 3 wood houses, 3 "unfinished" houses, 2 coal houses, 2 pot houses, 1 kiln house, 1 thrashing floor, 1 warehouse, and 2 unidentified. See U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, List A.

176 (60%) of Carlisle's homes--other building materials abounded as well. Fully 75 (25%) of the town's houses were built of stone--the "handsome blue limestone, with which this vicinity abounds"--while 28 (10%) were made of brick--possibly in emulation of the "not large, but handsome" new brick courthouse on the square.⁷ The remaining 15 (5%) of the town's homes, which usually incorporated an addition, were constructed of some combination of wood, stone, or brick (Table 14).

While Carlisle's architectural diversity was a key feature of the town's eighteenth-century physical character, this variety epitomized the varying economic and social circumstances of town residents. By the final decade of the eighteenth century, Carlisle's material wealth was unevenly distributed with property holdings skewed to a marked degree. While the average Carlisle family of six individuals inhabited a two-story wooden house measuring an

⁷Fortescue Cuming, January 24, 1807, "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country," in Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, IV:48; John Heckewelder, April 21, 1789, in Wallace, ed., Thirty Thousand Miles, 236. A comparison with 1798 Germantown yields interesting results. There, 83.5% of the houses were built of stone, while only 11.8% were frame--indicating that Germantown was both older and more cosmopolitan than Carlisle. More interesting, however, is that Carlisle contained more than four times as many brick houses (28 to Germantown's 6)--suggesting that Carlisle's boom of economic growth and expansion closely coincided with the brick building styles of the federal period. See Stephanie G. Wolf, Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800 (Princeton, 1976), 35.

TABLE 14

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS OF HOUSES IN CARLISLE, 1798

<u>Material</u>	<u># Houses</u>	<u>% Houses</u>
Wood*	176	60%
Stone	75	25%
Brick	28	10%
Combinations:		
Wood/Stone	8	3%
Wood/Brick	5	2%
Brick/Stone	2	1%
<hr/>		
Totals	294	101%

Source: United States Direct Tax, Carlisle, Lists A and B, 1798.

*includes both frame and log construction

average of some 1131 square feet, with floors of 23.5 x 24 feet in dimension, there were many families who either enjoyed or endured material circumstances far above or far below this median standard. In 1798, the 294 properties with houses on them totalled \$179,710 in value. The twenty-nine individuals owning or occupying those properties at the bottom ten percent of the scale, however, possessed only \$1833, or 1% of the total wealth, while the bottom 20 percent owned only \$3480, or 3%, of the total material wealth. In stark contrast, the twenty-nine individuals owning or occupying properties at the top 10 percent of the scale, possessed structures totalling \$62,797--a notable 35% of the town's total structural wealth. With the addition of the next decile, the top 20 percent of the town's property holders controlled 55% of Carlisle's material wealth in 1798--making for a diverse, but highly stratified community in which the top half of the population controlled 85.1% of the property, while the bottom half held only 15.5% of the town's total housing value (Table 15).⁸

⁸U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798. Figures include all properties with houses on Lists A & B. Federal Census of 1800, Carlisle, National Archives, microfilm. Lee Soltow found a similarly wide distribution of housing values in Mifflin County. Soltow noted that much like in Carlisle, the top 10% of Mifflin's residents held one-third of the housing value, while the top 20% held more than one-half--suggesting that such patterns of property distribution may have been typical of the earliest stages of frontier development. See Lee Soltow, "Housing Characteristics on the Pennsylvania Frontier: Mifflin County Dwelling Values in 1798," Pennsylvania History XLVI, #1 (1980), 59.

TABLE 15

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING VALUE IN CARLISLE, 1798

<u>Decile of Taxpayer</u>	<u>Total Value Held</u>	<u>Percent Housing Value Held</u>	<u>Value of Average Property</u>
Bottom	\$1,833	1.02%	\$63.20
Second	\$3,480	1.94%	\$120.00
Third	\$5,180	2.88%	\$178.62
Fourth	\$7,060	3.93%	\$243.44
Fifth	\$10,470	5.83%	\$337.74
<hr/>			
Total Bottom 50%	\$28,023	15.50%	
<hr/>			
Sixth	\$13,710	7.63%	\$442.25
Seventh	\$17,420	9.69%	\$600.68
Eighth	\$23,450	13.05%	\$808.62
Ninth	\$35,600	19.81%	\$1227.58
Top	\$62,797	34.94%	\$2165.41
<hr/>			
Total Top 50%	\$152,977	85.12%	
<hr/>			
Total	\$179,710	100.00%	

Source: United States Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798. Includes all town lots with houses on Lists A and B.

The highly stratified distribution of material wealth in Carlisle was replicated in the distribution of the town's taxable wealth. Information gleaned from local tax lists makes it clear that economic stratification was not new to Carlisle, but as in most other Pennsylvania communities had existed to some extent since the earliest stages of the town's development. By 1779--in the midst of the turmoil of the American Revolution--Carlisle's taxable population of 222 individuals was already distinguished by a marked gap between rich and poor. In 1779, the bottom 20 percent of the town's taxable population possessed only 3.5% of the taxable wealth, while the top 20 percent held 57.2%. Of the 110,851 pounds of taxable wealth in the town, the top half of the population (111 individuals) controlled 84.3% of the town's wealth, while the bottom half held only 15.2% (Table 16).⁹

Patterns of inequality were closely replicated sixteen years later. By 1795--only three years before the Federal Tax assessment of 1798--the precarious economic standing of the bottom 20% of Carlisle's taxpaying population had eroded further. These 52 individuals now controlled only 2.5% of the town's taxable wealth--some \$2053. The position of the

⁹Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1779. When comparing patterns of wealthholding in 1779 Carlisle with 1780 Philadelphia, it is clear that wealth was distributed far more unequally in the city. In Philadelphia, the bottom 60% owned 7.4% of the wealth, while the top 40% had 92.5%, see Smith, Lower Sort, 86.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF TAXABLE WEALTH IN CARLISLE, 1779-1808

<u>Tax Bracket %</u>	<u>1779 % Wealth</u>	<u>1795 % Wealth</u>	<u>1808 % Wealth</u>
0-10	1.3%	0.8%	0.0%
11-20	2.3%	1.7%	0.04%
21-30	3.2%	2.3%	0.2%
31-40	3.8%	3.4%	0.9%
41-50	4.7%	4.7%	2.2%
<hr/>			
Total % of Bottom 50%	15.2%	12.8%	3.3%
<hr/>			
51-60	6.4%	6.6%	3.9%
61-70	8.6%	9.4%	6.3%
71-80	12.3%	13.1%	12.8%
81-90	18.9%	20.7%	21.6%
91-100	38.5%	37.2%	51.9%
<hr/>			
Total % of Top 50%	84.3%	87.0%	96.5%
<hr/>			
% Taxpayers Without Taxable Property	0.0%	0.3%	17.5%

Source: Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1779, 1795, 1808.

top 20 percent of the town's taxpayers, however, remained relatively stable. They continued to possess 57% of the town's taxable wealth, with holdings totalling \$46,644 in value. It was clear that between 1779 and 1795, the town's upper-middling sorts had witnessed the most noteworthy gains in economic status. Indeed, the collection of craftsmen, retailers, and professionals in the sixth, seventh, and eighth deciles had increased their taxable wealth by 2% over their counterparts in 1779. Thus, as the bottom 50 percent of the population (131 individuals) had dropped to 12.8% of the town's wealth holdings, relative inequality increased, as the top 50 percent of the population controlled a sizeable 87% of Carlisle's taxable wealth (Table 16).¹⁰

By 1808, relative inequality in Carlisle had intensified further as the gap between rich and poor residents widened significantly. Although Carlisle's total wealthholdings had risen to an estimated \$241,176 by this time, nearly all of the bottom 20 percent of the town's population had no taxable wealth whatsoever.¹¹ The relative status of the poorest 20 percent of the people had conspicuously declined. These individuals held only a tiny 0.04% of the taxable wealth by 1808. Because total wealth in the town had increased, however, Carlisle's "lower sorts"

¹⁰Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1795.

¹¹68 of the 76 individuals in the bottom 20% of the population were assessed with no taxable wealth and paid a minimum basic tax of 25 cents, *ibid*, 1808.

were nonetheless somewhat better off in absolute terms than they had been in the past. In contrast, the top 20 percent of Carlisle's population had made clear and significant economic gains. They were better off in both relative and absolute terms. By 1808, the top 20 percent of the population controlled an astounding 73.5% of the town's taxable wealth. Yet, it was those individuals in the top decile of wealth who had benefitted most dramatically from Carlisle's economic growth. These 38 individuals controlled fully 51.9% of the town's wealth--a notable 14.7% gain over their counterparts in 1795. By 1808, an economic elite had undoubtedly emerged in Carlisle, as the town's wealthy residents came to enjoy much greater affluence than they ever had during the colonial period. Approaching the wealth holding patterns of Philadelphia at the end of the eighteenth century, the top 50 percent of Carlisle's taxable population controlled an astonishing 96.5% of the town's wealth, while the bottom 50 percent held only a meager 3.5% (Table 16).¹²

Carlisle's population was always economically differentiated and stratification increased markedly over time as a small, but rapidly improving elite made

¹²Smith, Lower Sort, 86. According to Smith, by 1798, the top 40% of Philadelphia's taxable population controlled 88.1% of the taxable wealth, while the bottom 60% held 11.9%. In Carlisle, however, the percentage of taxpayers without taxable property stood at slightly below 20%, while in Philadelphia these people accounted for 35.7% of the population.

significant gains in wealth. Clearly, by the late 1790s, as inequality increased at a more rapid pace, Carlisle developed a two-tiered population of rich and poor much like that found in Philadelphia. As the town matured and as residents sought to overcome the isolation of the backcountry by actively participating in the wider commercial economy, the town's elites began to emulate their counterparts in the city by accumulating greater concentrations of taxable property.¹³

Changes in economic inequality were directly reflected in the material lives of town residents. The size, composition, and style of one's home bespoke the level of one's social standing in the community. For the men and women who occupied the twenty-nine lowest valued Carlisle houses in 1798, their dwellings were a constant reminder of their poverty. Almost half (48%) of these homes were rental properties. While the majority were owned or occupied by laborers or craftsmen and their families, slightly more than one-third (38%) of the homes were held by women--most often widows--whose economic position in eighteenth-century America was marginal at best. For these individuals and their families, simple one-story wooden or log structures averaging 353 square feet were the norm.¹⁴ This meant

¹³Ibid, 85-87, especially Table 2.

¹⁴U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, Lists A & B. On average, these Carlisle homes measured approximately 18.5 x 19 feet. The size of these living quarters does not differ

living life in confined and multi-functional quarters with little opportunity for personal privacy. As Stuart Blumin and Billy Smith have described for Philadelphia, it was in rooms not much bigger than a modern living room that a whole family of city laborers carried out all of their daily activities, from domestic chores to economically productive pursuits.¹⁵ In Carlisle the situation was much the same. For example, the widow, Sidney Lindsey, lived with two other young adults in a small house measuring 19 by 19 feet. For herself and her two unidentified housemates, all of life's daily activities--from sleeping to cooking and housekeeping--took place under the roof of a house measuring a mere 361 square feet. As testimony to her lack of social and economic status, Lindsey testified to the tax assessors in 1798 that she was exempt from the federal tax "due to her age and poverty." Even less fortunate, was Carlisle carpenter John Walker--a man of some 45 years of age--who lived with his wife and six young children in a tiny house measuring a scant 16 by 16 feet (256 square feet) that he

significantly from what Stuart Blumin or Billy Smith found for laboring Philadelphians. Blumin found that most unskilled manual workers resided in homes of less than 451 square feet; see Stuart M. Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (New York, 1989), 44; see also Smith, Lower Sort, 158-159. Nor do these properties differ significantly from the "narrow frame buildings" Stephanie Wolf called "converted sheds" in Germantown; see Wolf, Urban Village, 36.

¹⁵Blumin, Middle Class, 45; Smith, Lower Sort, 161-162.

rented from Robert Blaine, the son of the wealthy trader, merchant, and farmer, Ephraim Blaine.¹⁶

Clearly, for Carlisle's "lower sorts," the structural world did little more than illustrate the realities of their limited economic means and social circumstances. Like their impoverished rural counterparts, who lived in what one traveler in 1794 termed as "wretched log houses without windows, and with chimneys of sticks and clay," the "miserable picture" that the homes of Cumberland County's poor presented only "announced that their inhabitants were in but a wretched state."¹⁷

To those Carlisle families living comfortably, the size, style, and composition of their homes announced their wealth, prominent standing, and perceived sense of social worth in the county. For Carlisle's elites, much as for their wealthier counterparts in Philadelphia, the material world was, as Susan Mackiewicz explains, "a tangible expression of their mental world"--the physical expression of a selective blending of their past experiences and future

¹⁶For information about Lindsey Sidney and John Walker, see Federal Census of 1800, Carlisle; Septennial Census Return, Carlisle, PHMC, 1793; U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, List B.

¹⁷Cazenove, Journal, 61-62; Michaux, June 28, 1802, "Travels," in Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, III:140. Both men spoke of the wretched living conditions of the rural dwellers living on the road between Carlisle and Shippensburg.

aspirations.¹⁸ For the select group of men who owned and occupied the town's most highly valued homes, these structures were not just symbols of their economic achievement, they were also assertions of their identity as an elite within the backcountry.¹⁹

According to architectural historian, Nancy Van Dolsen, during the early national period, Carlisle was the architectural showplace of Cumberland County. The number of two-story homes standing in the town in 1798 as well as their size and elegance distinguished the town from all other surrounding rural townships.²⁰ As both the seat of county government and the primary local marketplace, Carlisle was the urban home to many of the county's elite families. It was these elites who used the architectural design and composition of their homes to quell any remaining

¹⁸Susan Mackiewicz, "Philadelphia Flourishing: The Material World of Philadelphians, 1682-1760" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1988), 12.

¹⁹Ibid, 124-215. According to Mackiewicz, houses measured the three variables of one's social standing in the community: 1) economic level 2) morality 3) persistence. See also Soltow, "Housing Characteristics," 57-58.

²⁰Nancy Van Dolsen, Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey (Carlisle, 1990), 3, 77; U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, List A (includes only those structures valued at more than \$100). According to Van Dolsen's calculations--based only on the data found in List A of the Direct Tax--Carlisle homes had the largest average plan size of any in the County and nearly two-thirds of them were two stories. In Carlisle, the average plan size was 1,275 square feet. Contrast this with surrounding Middleton Township, where the average plan size was 614 square feet and 70% of the houses were only one or one-half stories.

doubts about their status. As the twenty-nine most valuable homes in 1798 illustrate, the town's elites constructed stylish, substantial, and permanent dwellings as a way to publicly demonstrate their personal achievement, moral rectitude, and commitment to the community. Few of these homes were rental properties. All were owned and occupied by leading attorneys, doctors, merchants, and tavernkeepers. It is not surprising that virtually all of these houses, valued between \$1500 and \$3500, were constructed of the most durable as well as fashionable materials of the day. While 16 (55%) were built of stone, 9 (31%) were of brick. Only 1 (3%) was made entirely of wood--the building material of Pennsylvania's common man--and only 3 (10%) were constructed of some combination of stone, brick, or wood. Clearly, the town's elites had achieved a large measure of economic success. As one traveler observed in 1788, "Carlisle, thro' which we passed yesterday[,] ... contain[ed] some of the most elegant stone buildings in the state."²¹

There were, however, some important changes occurring in the town's building practices by the end of the eighteenth century. Much like in Philadelphia several decades earlier, brick was quickly becoming the building material of preference among Carlisle's wealthier residents. As a durable material, brick was at once a symbol of the

²¹U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798; Solomon Drown to his wife, October 31, 1788, DCA (photocopy of original at Brown University Archives).

town's permanence. Yet brick also served as a physical expression of the self-consciously genteel lifestyle enjoyed by the town's wealthiest residents. As a neat and tidy construction material, capable of forming clean right angles to create a highly regular exterior appearance, brick was ideally suited to those orderly and symmetrical Georgian and Federal building styles many Carlisle gentlemen adopted in imitation of their counterparts in eastern cities like Philadelphia.²² With several brickmakers and two "brick factories" in town reportedly selling bricks for 25 shillings per thousand by 1794, brick was readily obtainable. For example, when Carlisle resident Abraham Hare replaced his old wooden house of 324 square feet in 1798, he chose to build a more spacious two-story house of brick as a testimony to his economic standing.²³ Nor was it

²²This development was in sharp contrast to Germantown, where only six brick houses existed in 1798, see Wolf, Urban Village, 35. According to Mackiewicz, "Philadelphia," 5, 198, 213, Philadelphia's preference for brick had begun by the 1740s. She argues that to English people, brick buildings symbolized the order of public buildings. Therefore, brick was seen as permanent, orderly, and "right," and timber structures were associated with disorderly lower sorts. For information regarding Carlisle's remaining federal era brick structures, see Van Dolsen, Survey, 76-85, especially her discussion of the Robert Blaine and Jacob Musselman houses which were assessed among the most valuable 10% of Carlisle's homes in 1798.

²³Septennial Census, Carlisle, PHMC, 1793; Cazenove, Journal, 60; see also entry for Abraham Hare, U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, List B. At the time of assessment only the walls had been built on Hare's new home measuring a more spacious 21' x 31'; Hare does not appear on tax lists until 1802, when he is shown falling into the town's top 10% of taxable inhabitants with an assessed taxable wealth of \$2000,

coincidental that attorney James Hamilton, Carlisle's wealthiest resident by 1808 and owner of the highest valued property in Carlisle in 1798, had constructed his three-story house, his two-story kitchen, and his two-story office all of brick. By 1815, the construction of not just two, but three-story brick structures like Hamilton's had become very popular. As local observer, Samuel A. McCoskry, remarked, "[t]hose lofty buildings are the rage at present."²⁴

The care General William Irvine exhibited in the planning and construction of his new house, some three miles from Carlisle, was likely indicative of the close attention many local elites paid to the construction of their homes. Residing in Philadelphia in the early 1790s, with only his oldest son, Callender, to oversee the erection of the house on the Irvine's farm of 346 acres in Middleton Township, Irvine relayed several sets of specific written instructions to his son. As the house evidently was to be constructed of some combination of stone and brick, Irvine was particularly concerned that the quarrying of the stone not be done "until the Bricks are all laid down." Not surprisingly, he was

see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1802.

²⁴Hamilton's property was valued at \$3500, see U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798, List A. For other information regarding Hamilton's economic status, see Tax Rates, Carlisle, CCHS, 1795, 1802, and 1808 when Hamilton was assessed with the town's most taxable property totalling \$7,923; Samuel A. McCoskry to Dr. William McCoskry, Carlisle, July 16, 1815, Founders Collection, DCA.

also very conscious of the building's appearance as well as its structural integrity. He was insistent that "the Mason and Carpenter ... act in concert & understand [each] other perfectly." Callender was instructed to make a call on Carlisle carpenter, Casper Kroph (who was evidently overseeing the job) and to "learn from him whether he has positively bespoke the Scantling & Boards agreeable to the plan and dimensions" and "from whom, and at what time they are to be laid on the ground."²⁵ Locust, mulberry, white oak, and hickory trees planted in rows 90 feet apart around the property would complement the orderly beauty of the structure. The landscaping would provide not only "a handsome walk & give a pleasing air to the buildings & other improvements," according to Irvine, it also would offer "the real advantage of a shade in summer & shelter in winter for both man and beast."²⁶ Although working from a distance, William Irvine was determined that his new home reflect the same standards of order, precision, and respectability which he held himself and his family to in all other aspects of their lives.

²⁵Cazenove, Journal, 55; U.S. Direct Tax, Middleton, 1798, entry for William Irvine; William Irvine to Callender Irvine, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:49.

²⁶William Irvine to Callender Irvine, September 6, n.d. (although from the contents of the note, this letter was written sometime between 1791 and 1794), Founders Collection, DCA.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century, it was clear that the town's highest social ranks enjoyed the luxury of not only stylish, but spacious accommodations when compared to the cramped quarters endured by their neighbors who resided in Carlisle's lowest valued homes. While the range of sizes varied considerably, from the 4800 square feet of tavernkeeper William Wallace's two-story stone house, to the more modest 828 square feet of merchant Abraham Loughridge's one-story wooden home, on average these twenty-nine elite families--of some 8.1 people per household--lived in homes that were fully 6.7 times larger than those homes assessed in the last decile of value. While their impoverished neighbors endured life in small, often one room structures, Carlisle's elites lived in spacious two-story homes of 2380 square feet (1190 square feet per floor).²⁷

²⁷U.S. Direct Tax, Carlisle, 1798; Federal Census of 1800, Carlisle. 20 of the 29 property holders of Carlisle's highest valued properties were identifiable on the census, these households averaged 8.1 persons, excluding slaves or "others." In Philadelphia, Blumin noted similar findings. Most of Philadelphia's elites resided in homes which were either 900-1600 square feet or over 2,000 square feet, see Blumin, Middle Class, 44. However, the variations in house dimensions between the first and tenth decile of value were significantly more marked in Carlisle than in frontier Mifflin County. This may suggest differences between urban and rural material culture, as well as illustrate that economic inequality was far greater in long-settled Carlisle than on Pennsylvania's frontier. There, as Soltow noted, the county's affluent lived in homes only 3 times larger than their less wealthy neighbors, see Soltow, "Housing Characteristics," 68.

Perhaps more important, these homes were sanctuaries of private life. Space was, after all, not only readily available, but also highly segregated both within the home and on the property at large. For Carlisle's elites, two floors and numerous rooms within the house allowed for privacy as well as a specialization of space. As architectural historian Nancy Van Dolsen explains, the town's most elegant federal-era houses contained elaborately detailed parlors for entertaining, smaller rooms for private pursuits, and sometimes included a first floor office or shop for the conduct of public business.²⁸ The numerous outbuildings accompanying all of these homes permitted further separation of living and working spaces on the property and, as Stuart Blumin notes, also offered the chance that some rooms in the house could be stylishly furnished as parlors or dining rooms for eating, socializing, and other leisure activities. All but one of these properties, for example, had detached kitchens. This arrangement made for distinct work spaces for food preparation done by women of the family or, in many cases, slaves.²⁹ Wash houses and smoke houses were also quite

²⁸Van Dolsen, Survey, 77-85. See especially her discussion of the Robert Blaine, Jacob Hendel, Thomas Foster, and Thomas Duncan houses.

²⁹Blumin, Middle Class, 46. According to the Federal Census of 1800, slaveholding was common among these individuals. Of the 20 men identifiable in the census, 9 of them owned a total of 19 slaves.

common and were the sites for the completion of other domestic chores. A diverse assortment of other outbuildings, however, served equally specialized functions. While offices and shops took the conduct of business outside the home, stables and barns, several carriage houses, and a collection of warehouses and storehouses, provided safekeeping for livestock, farm equipment, vehicles, and store merchandise.

Carlisle's elites enjoyed many material benefits as a result of their economic standing within the town and the county. They remained acutely anxious about their status, however, and regularly sought to legitimate themselves through a host of real and symbolic actions. They built grand and substantial homes of stone and brick not only as illustrations of their commitment to the community, but as self-consciously constructed symbols of their authority as the town's premiere social and economic leaders. Motivated by no sense of social egalitarianism, these elites actively promoted the creation of a community where they alone dominated. Presbyterian minister, Robert Davidson--himself among the top 20 percent of Carlisle's taxable wealthholders in 1802--perhaps best expressed the opinion many of his fellow elites held in 1794, when he preached on the eve of the departure of the nationalized troops sent to quell the Whiskey Rebellion, "[t]hat all men should be equal as to

abilities, station, authority, and wealth, is absolutely, in the present state of things, impossible."³⁰

Thus in Carlisle, as elsewhere in Pennsylvania, "houses [we]re very different from one another," because, it was said, "[e]ach [man] builds them agreeable to his taste and abilities."³¹ For the sizeable segment of townspeople who coped with poverty on a daily basis, however, small and cramped living quarters were not a matter of choice, but rather, a necessity. For the town's elites, housing was just another expression of their claim to wealth and privilege in the community. While the public buildings on the town's square--"a Market-house, a neat brick court-house and a large stone meeting-house"--imbued the town with provincial political authority and the "large stone meeting-house" of the Presbyterians, along with "a German, Episcopalian, and a Roman Catholic church" gave the town moral legitimacy, it was the homes of Carlisle's elite, built in imitation of the styles of the eastern seaboard, which gave the town a more cosmopolitan appearance.³²

³⁰Robert Davidson, A Sermon on the Freedom and Happiness of the United States, preached at Carlisle on October 5, 1794, (Philadelphia, MDCCXCIV), 19.

³¹Hector St. Jean De Crevecoeur, Henri L. Bourdin et al., eds., Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America and More "Letters from an American Farmer" (New Haven, 1925), 144.

³²Cuming, January 24, 1807, "Sketches," in Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, IV:48; John Heckewelder also remarked on Carlisle's public buildings in 1789, describing them in these terms: "The Courthouse is not large, but handsome, the prison small, and the market good." See Heckewelder, April 21,

Carlisle retained an outward air of prosperity well into the first decades of the nineteenth century. To many of the travelers passing through Cumberland County on their way west or south, Carlisle was "viewed as a smart Town."³³

* * * * *

While Carlisle's leading families employed structures as symbols of their wealth and power, they also pursued social legitimacy through institutional means. Local political and ecclesiastical institutions as well as social organizations provided some outlet for these assertions of status. Many of Carlisle's elites served as county or state officeholders; a few held political positions on the national level. For the town's many Presbyterians, serving as church elders and as pewholders in Carlisle's First Presbyterian Church also offered opportunities to assume positions of leadership in their local community.³⁴ Social events, too, served as occasions to confirm standards of

1789, Thirty Thousand Miles, 236.

³³Elizabeth Van Horne, October 16, 1807, "Journey to the Promised Land: Journal of Elizabeth Van Horne, 1807," WPHM, 22, #4 (1939), 254; This opinion was shared by other travelers as well; see, for example, Michaux, June 28, 1802, "Travels," in Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, III:139.

³⁴Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, DCA, typescript copy. For information about church elders, see box 3, section F; for lists of pewholders, see box 2, section C.

gentility. The establishment of a Carlisle Dancing Assembly, for example, offered the town's best families an opportunity to socialize while asserting their collective identity as an elite. By 1803, attorney James Hamilton, one of Carlisle's wealthiest individuals, explained to his friend John Brown in Philadelphia that "[a]lmost all the Young men of this place have subscribed to the Dancing Assembly," an organization he said was "supported by the first Inhabitants of the place."³⁵

Carlisle's elite families also placed new emphasis on the education of their children--particularly their sons--as a pathway to a long-standing position among the highest ranks of Pennsylvania society. In the decades following the Revolution, the town's male leaders--themselves somewhat anxious about their own pretensions of status--paid intense attention to the education and cultivation of their sons--both socially and professionally. Carlisle attorney James Hamilton placed his son at Philadelphia's Busleton Academy in 1807. Trusting that James Junior was "comfortably fixed," Hamilton hoped "that you are devoting yourself to the important object of ... Knowledge."³⁶ While William

³⁵Charles F. Himes, The Old Carlisle Dancing Assembly: A Glimpse at the Social Life of the Eighteenth Century (Carlisle, 1917), 2; James Hamilton to John Brown, December 18, 1803, James Hamilton Papers, CCHS.

³⁶James Hamilton Sr. to James Hamilton Jr., November 15, 1807, James Hamilton Papers, Misc. Correspondence, HSP, box 55.

Irvine, another Carlisle father, was "glad" that his second son, William, could "flatter yourself with a prospect of making out" in business, he also urged maintaining relatively modest career expectations at first. "[A]s to public life," he cautioned his son, "it will be best not to think of it till you have enough, to be able to live without business."³⁷ Formal education, they believed, would certify the achievement of genteel status by imbuing these young Carlisle gentlemen with both knowledge and essential social skills. It was most important to these Carlisle fathers that their sons show "[r]espect, without fear" for their Teachers, and demonstrate "[f]rankness and good will" to their fellow students.³⁸ As William Irvine expressed to his oldest son, Callender, in 1793, "I hope to see you a respectable Man" and "if so[,] I shall die much more happy than I otherwise should."³⁹

Education would also bring about greater integration into the highest ranks of frontcountry society. Seeing their sons equipped with a degree and a professional career and schooled in the ways of genteel deportment was very important to these Carlisle elites. They believed that only with a formal education would their sons be accorded the

³⁷William Irvine Sr. to William Irvine Jr., November 27, 1803, Irvine Family Papers, HSP, box 1.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹William Irvine to Callender Irvine, May 25, 1793, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:101.

respect and social position they deserved. It was education and a proper upbringing, after all, that put it in their sons' "power to lay the foundation, o[f] a good, or bad character" for the rest of their adult lives.⁴⁰ Thus it was not surprising that William Irvine was both angered and greatly distraught when he discovered that his son, Callender, had been missing his lectures at Dickinson College in the winter of 1793. "I am extremely anxious that you should take a degree," he wrote his son. "[I]t is of more consequence to young Men than you are aware of."⁴¹ A college degree signified a measure of social and intellectual achievement others could not easily contest. As Irvine cautioned his son, the adult masculine world was often a cruel and unfair realm, where men envious of your "good name" and high esteem would try "to betray you into thei[r] manners and habits." "The Eyes of the public[,] so far as the influence of Carlisle extends, will be upon you," he warned, "more with a desire (at least of some) to find out cause of complaint, & defamation than to extol your good ... Qualities." To Irvine, education would provide Callender a strong and virtuous enough character to

⁴⁰William Irvine to Callender Irvine, September 6, n.d. (most likely written between 1791 and 1794 when Callender was a student at Dickinson College and his father was in Philadelphia), Founders Collection, DCA.

⁴¹William Irvine to Callender Irvine, February 22, 1793, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:74.

withstand the false denigration of others.⁴² On an even more personal level, however, Irvine also observed that "it would be spitefull [sic] to drop it [college] now after coming so near the point [of graduation]--and vastly galling to me, who of late have been so much flattered with accounts of your talents."⁴³

Although William and Callender Irvine weathered this storm and Callender remained at Dickinson to graduate in 1794, this was not their last episode. Two years later, another educational crisis arose when Callender began to have serious doubts regarding his choice of career while reading law with an attorney in Philadelphia. After expressing this uncertainty to his father, William reminded his son, "labor you must--you have no resource by which you can indulge" and warned Callender to handle the situation in a manner which would safeguard his honor and standing among his colleagues in Philadelphia and Carlisle. "[S]ay nothing on the subject to any but me" the elder Irvine warned, "do not expose instability--if you are ultimately to relinquish the business, I would rather have it said, that it was my pleasure, than, that you did not like it."⁴⁴ Several days

⁴²William Irvine to Callender Irvine, September 6, n.d., Founders Collection, DCA.

⁴³William Irvine to Callender Irvine, February 22, 1793, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:74.

⁴⁴Alumni Record, Dickinson College, 43; William Irvine to Callender Irvine, April 5, 1795, Irvine Papers, HSP, XIII:23. This time, the elder Irvine did not prevail, Callender

later, the concerned father wrote again, "to express a hope that a very moderate share of deliberation will bring you to think more favorably of the business [law]." Frustrated by his eldest son's "impetuous" behavior, Irvine wrote sarcastically, "I presume you must have thought of some other business," although "what it can be I am at a loss to conjecture." He then went on to offer Callender some frank advice on the truly limited range of respectable and profitable careers open to him as the son of a socially well-placed--but not exceedingly wealthy--physician, military commander, and political leader.

If you had a fortune and was religiously inclined, [Irvine wrote] you might spend part of it, in three or four years study, & more of it afterwards as an itinerant preacher--as to making a living by it, that is out of the question. Physic is[,] I think[,] a more agreeable study than either law or Divinity[,] but the practice is laborious, high trust, unhealthy[,] and not very profitable, a bare existence is all that most can make--it also ties a man down to a spot more than any other business--as to merchandizing--I suppose you have no Idea of that[;] you know I can not give you a Capital--perhaps you may humble yourself to stand behind a Counter in a little shop--doubtless very good men have & some make well out--I grant that any business at which a man can make an independent living is reputable and fair, and all have a right to choose the line of life they like best, if it can be accomplished.

Although Irvine remained skeptical, thinking "you [Callender] will change your mind once more & labor at the old business" of law, he nonetheless encouraged his son to

evidently left the law.

propose "any decent[,] rational project" he had in mind. Willing to "suspend Judging" temporarily and "think as little on the subject as possible til[1] I get your proposals," he hoped that Callender would "pray to God to grant you true light & knowledge, & direct your way" in the choice of an appropriate profession.⁴⁵

To Irvine, as to many other Carlisle elites, it was essential that his son's honor remain intact and without blemish, no matter what his choice of career. As Irvine explained to his younger son, William, in 1803, it was "a good general rule, to be cautious, circumspect, [and] of course slow, in forming schemes or plans for action, but when once formed be equally guarded against giving them up."⁴⁶ Time and patience were of the essence in cultivating a respectable lifestyle. As a frustrated Irvine exclaimed to his son Callender in 1795: "Good God, do have a little patience and temper--it will not do for you to appear as if every thing dear to you depended on a moment!"⁴⁷

⁴⁵William Irvine to Callender Irvine, April 9, 1795, Founders Collection, DCA.

⁴⁶William Irvine Sr. to William Irvine Jr., November 27, 1803, Irvine Family Papers, HSP, box 1. William too, attended Dickinson College, but did not graduate as part of the class of 1798. He did, however, go on to become an attorney, first going northwest to Erie and later returning to Carlisle, see Alumni Record, Dickinson College, 49.

⁴⁷William Irvine to Callender Irvine, April 9, 1795, Founders Collection, DCA.

Sometimes a young man had to accept his fate with quiet resignation and adjust his ambitions to suit other, more profitable, endeavors. John Armstrong counseled his son, "Jamey," to do just that in 1772. "[I]f you were to make an attempt in the West Indies[,] which you would call your 3[r]d attempt & yet be disappointed," Armstrong asked, "cou'd [you] then Sit down with great resignation to the Divine Will & eat brown bread & water"? To the devout Presbyterian, Armstrong, "[i]mpatient anxiety for any worldly matter [wa]s a dangerous disposition."⁴⁸ It was far better, instead, to walk away from an unsuccessful career rather than embarrass and dishonor one's self and one's family by continuing. According to Charles Nisbet, first principal of Dickinson College, nothing was more disappointing to an attentive and loving father than a son who foolishly had taken up with "a mean and drunken Society, ... neglected his Business" and become mired in debt. As Nisbet lamented to his colleague, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, his son, educated at the University of Edinburgh and trained as an attorney, "might have attained such a Condition, as to have done Honour to my Family, & to have been by this Time a Friend & Protector to me in a strange Country," but instead, his "low

⁴⁸John Armstrong to his son, James Armstrong, April 30, 1772, Founders Collection, DCA. This was apparently James's third attempt to establish some sort of trading venture in the West Indies. From the scope of the letter, it also appears that James was involved in business ventures in vicinity of the Potomac River in Virginia. There was also talk of his pursuing a medical degree.

Passion for Drink has rendered him my greatest Disgrace & Misfortune."⁴⁹

It was not until the closing years of the American Revolution that the educational interests of Carlisle's elite began to translate into activity, as new initiatives were made to establish a formal facility of higher education in the town. A grammar school had been associated with the town's Presbyterian congregation since 1773, but it took a lull in the war to touch off new and more ambitious plans to expand the school into a larger academy or college. In 1782, Carlisle merchant and politician, John Montgomery, assisted and inspired by his friend, the well-known Philadelphia physician and educator, Benjamin Rush--began to lobby the Pennsylvania legislature for the establishment of a Presbyterian college at Carlisle--the school which would become Dickinson College in 1783.⁵⁰

For Rush and Montgomery, the college at Carlisle would serve religious as well as pedagogical purposes. As originally proposed, Carlisle's Presbyterian college would stand as a strategic bulwark of Old Light theology and would serve as the counterpart to the more liberal College of New Jersey at Princeton. The college was also meant to fulfill more utilitarian goals as well. From the most practical

⁴⁹Charles Nisbet to the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, October 24, 1799, Gratz Papers, HSP, case 7, box 15.

⁵⁰Sellers, Dickinson College, chapter 3, especially 47-49.

standpoint, a college at Carlisle would make higher education accessible to those residing in Pennsylvania's central and western regions. As Rush convincingly argued, "[t]he expense of an education in Philadelphia alone, ... [was] sufficient to deter farmers from sending their sons to the University of Philadelphia," while "[t]he distance of the College of New Jersey from the western counties of this state makes the difference of one fifth of the expense in the education of a young man in traveling twice a year backwards and forwards to and from his father's house." More important to concerned Carlisle fathers like James Hamilton and William Irvine, "[a] college at Carlisle, by diffusing knowledge and elegance through the counties over Susquehannah," explained Benjamin Rush, "will make the only possible balance that can exist to the commerce and wealth of our city." Many hoped that the new college would serve as the formative institution in the solidification of Pennsylvania's backcountry elite.⁵¹

⁵¹Economic motives were also used to convince locals of the college's necessity. According to Rush, land values in the vicinity of Princeton rose considerably after the establishment of the College of New Jersey, see Benjamin Rush to John Armstrong, March 19, 1783, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:294-297. Dickinson College was meant to expand upon the grammar school chartered by the Penns in 1773-- planning began sometime in 1781 or 1782, see Harry G. Good, Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education (Berne, 1918), 100. For more about the Rush's and Montgomery's original plans for the college and its religious context in the conflict between Old Side and New Side Presbyterians as well as Anglicans, see James H. Morgan, Dickinson College: The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years, 1783-1933 (Carlisle, 1933), v, 8-10; Sellers, Dickinson College, 4, 32,

Dickinson's founding did not come without considerable debate and compromise, however. Some members of the Pennsylvania Legislature objected to Carlisle as the choice of location. Playing upon long-standing town rivalries in the backcountry, they argued that a college "shall be anywhere in the county of Cumberland, but not in Carlisle until the people in the other towns have been consulted." Others in the legislature opposed its sectarian mission. Despite the opposition, however, Rush, Montgomery, and the other proponents finally prevailed and the college at Carlisle, named Dickinson, "[i]n memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by his Excellency, John Dickinson, Esquire ... and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the Institution," became reality on September 9, 1783, when the institution received its official charter from the Pennsylvania legislature.⁵²

51-58.

⁵²Charter of Dickinson College With its Supplements (Baltimore, 1874), 4; Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery, September 1, 1783, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:309. Others opposed the new college on different grounds. According to Rush, one opponent felt that "we have too many colleges and that we had better unite our funds, libraries, and philosophical instruments into one common stock." See Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery, November 15, 1783, *ibid*, I:313-314. Carlisle did have one important advantage to recommend it--the now vacant public works buildings just northeast of town. As Rush explained in 1785, they had been "induced to prefer the Village of Carlisle to any Other Village in the State[,] ... from an expectation of having the Use ... of the public buildings erected there during the War." Benjamin Rush to Congress, January 16, 1785, Papers of Continental Congress, microfilm reel 53, II:307.

As established, Dickinson College was, in theory, a state supported, non-sectarian institution of higher learning. Funded partially by the state and partially by private subscribers, the College was under the management of a board of trustees composed of forty men drawn from all religions and all regions in Pennsylvania. In reality, however, Rush and Montgomery had actually achieved much of their original plan. Because Presbyterian ministers and Cumberland County residents so dominated the school's governing Board, the College enjoyed the unique status of being the first state-supported sectarian institution in Pennsylvania.⁵³

Upon the organization of the faculty in the spring of 1784, Dickinson College became the center of higher education in the Pennsylvania backcountry. According to its charter, the College had several ambitious social and educational missions to fulfill. Designed first and

⁵³Good, Rush, 118-123; Sellers, Dickinson College, 58. According to Edward W. Biddle, The Founding and Founders of Dickinson College (Carlisle, 1920), 3-4, of the 40 trustees named in 1783, some one-third were Presbyterian ministers and the vast majority were from areas easily accessible to Carlisle--12 were from Cumberland County, 8 from neighboring York County, 5 from Philadelphia, 3 from Lancaster, and the rest from the remaining eight counties in Pennsylvania. See also Rev. John Linn to the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College, n.d., John Linn Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, in which Linn resigned his position as Board Secretary, explaining "as few Trustees, except those in Carlisle and its vicinity have an opportunity, ... either to concur in the transactions of ye Board, or to oppose them, I am constrained from these, and other consideration, to resign my Office as Trustee."

foremost "for the instruction of youth in the learned languages, and other branches of literature," Dickinson was deemed "likely to promote the real welfare of this State, and especially the Western parts thereof," by better integrating the peoples and cultures of backcountry and frontcountry. Yet much to the pleasure of Carlisle's status conscious elite, Dickinson would also serve important local functions as well. Indeed, because "the happiness and prosperity of every community, ... depends much on the right education of the youth, who must succeed the aged in the important offices of society," Dickinson College would instill "into the minds of the rising generation" of the backcountry only the "virtuous principles" and "liberal knowledge" they needed to become worthy and respected community leaders.⁵⁴

For Carlisle's more prosperous residents, the establishment of Dickinson College surely provided a heady boost of community confidence. Deemed "the key to our western world" by Benjamin Rush, Dickinson College and the town of Carlisle received enormous amounts of both deserved and undeserved praise in the years immediately preceding and following the school's chartering.⁵⁵ According to Rush, Carlisle stood as "a sample of the rapid progress of

⁵⁴Charter, 3.

⁵⁵Benjamin Rush to Charles Nisbet, December 5, 1783, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:315-316.

population and improvement in Pennsylvania." "The place where this village stands 30 years ago was inhabited by Indians and beasts of prey. It now contains," Rush explained, "above 300 houses, build chiefly of stone, and three churches[,]" along with the new college. By Rush's estimation, "[t]he inhabitants of the town of Carlisle are in general an orderly people." Although Carlisle's gentry was perhaps not as genteel as their Philadelphia counterparts, Rush nonetheless noted that there were "[t]wo or three general officers who have served with reputation in our army, four or five lawyers, a regular-bred physician, and a few gentlemen in trade of general knowledge and of fair characters [who] compose the society of the town."⁵⁶

Rush also idealized Carlisle as an uncorrupted rural village ideal for the education of impressionable backcountry youth. As he explained, "[i]t [wa]s in a village only where you will be unable to corrupt the manners of the people by your example in expense and splendor."⁵⁷ While Rush romanticized the virtues of small town life, it was Carlisle's own Rev. Robert Davidson--minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Professor of History, Geography, and Belles Lettres at Dickinson, and a member of town's

⁵⁶Benjamin Rush to John Coakley Lettsom, April 8, 1785, *ibid*, I:350-351; Rush to Charles Nisbet, April 19, 1784, *ibid.*, I:323.

⁵⁷Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery, June 27, 1783, *ibid*, I:301-302.

economic elite--who most exaggerated Carlisle's merits. Writing in a 1791 promotional tract for the still fledgling college, he depicted an almost mythical vision of the town and its inhabitants. As a pristine spot of pastoral tranquility, Carlisle was favorably "situated in a pleasant and fertile valley" where "[t]he air is at all times of the year, pure, and the water excellent." In this idyllic and "healthy" setting, "not a single one of the many Students, ... has been carried off by any disease." According to Davidson, "Carlisle [wa]s a handsome town, free from luxury, and other vices, to as great a degree as perhaps any town or village in the United States." With numerous houses of worship in its bounds, the town's upright moral character was apparent. Boarding for students was available in one of the town's "genteel houses" for a most reasonable price. This arrangement, as Davidson explained, was "conceived to be in favour of the morals of the students" as they "are more under the polishing influence of the fair sex, than might be expected in different circumstances."⁵⁸

Despite such lofty praise from one of its own, Carlisle's elite remained apprehensive. The College did not immediately flourish the way Rush planned, nor did all outsiders agree that Carlisle was the inherently civilized and refined community that Robert Davidson asserted. Even

⁵⁸Robert Davidson, "A Brief State of the College of Carlisle--for publication--given by the Trustees of the same." 1791, DCA.

Benjamin Rush, Dickinson's most vocal promoter, made implicitly disparaging remarks about the town and its inhabitants. Although Rush clearly liked and respected his friend and fellow college advocate, John Montgomery, he expressed a patronizing frustration at the lack of knowledge and sophistication displayed by Montgomery's fellow backcountry inhabitants. He readily admitted his own "benevolent" interest in the college. With paternalistic intent, Rush sought to make Dickinson "a nursery of religion and learning" which would enlighten and mature Scotch-Irish Presbyterians into more responsible and productive Pennsylvania citizens. "A college at Carlisle," Rush hoped, would "diffus[e] the light of science and religion more generally through our society" and thus "check this spirit of emigration among them [the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians]." It would "teach them to prefer civil, social, and religious advantages, with a small farm and old land, to the loss of them all with extensive tracts of woods and a more fertile soil."⁵⁹ Backcountry Germans, too, would also benefit from

⁵⁹Benjamin Rush to John Armstrong, March 19, 1783, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:295, 296. Rush could never fully comprehend the migratory desires of the Scotch-Irish. "This passion for migration," he wrote "will appear strange to an European. To see men turn their backs upon the houses in which they drew their first breath ... and upon all the pleasures of cultivated society, and exposing themselves to all the hardships and accidents of subduing the earth and thereby establishing settlements in the wilderness, must strike a philosopher on your side of the water as a picture of human nature that runs counter to the usual habits and principles of action in man." See Benjamin Rush to Thomas Percival, "An Account of the Progress of Population,

Dickinson. With Germans so numerous in Pennsylvania, Rush felt that "[t]hey must be enlightened." Indeed, "[t]he influence of our College, if properly directed, might reform them and show them that men should live for other purposes than simply to cultivate the earth and accumulate specie."⁶⁰

It was, however, the newly-arrived Scottish immigrant, the Rev. Charles Nisbet, who was the most outspoken critic of the town and its society. Although Rush had eagerly awaited Nisbet's arrival so that he, too, "could share with us in the glorious trials of bringing our school of the prophets to maturity and perfection," Nisbet--the first Principal of Dickinson College--was anything but pleased with his new backcountry surroundings.⁶¹ Indeed, from the perspective of this Presbyterian minister and Scottish intellectual, Carlisle was an unspeakably backward place characterized only by the squalor and ignorance of its

Agriculture, Manners, and Government in Pennsylvania," October 26, 1786, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:405. For more information on Rush's friendship with Montgomery, see *ibid*, footnote #1, I:290-291.

⁶⁰Benjamin Rush to the Trustees of Dickinson College, May 23, 1785, *ibid*, 353. According to Rush: "It is painful to take notice of the extreme ignorance which they [the Germans] discover in their numerous suits in law, in their attachment to quacks in physics, and in their violent and mistaken zeal in government." Yet, as he explained, "The temperate manner of living of the Germans would make them excellent subjects for literature, and their industry and frugality, if connected with knowledge, would make them equally good subjects of quiet and legal government."

⁶¹Benjamin Rush to Charles Nisbet, August 27, 1784, *ibid*, I:338-339.

people. It had little of the communal spirit to which Nisbet was accustomed. "There is nothing in this Country like Scotland," he wrote from Carlisle in 1790, "[f]riendship is at a low Ebb here as well as Religion."⁶² Nisbet was highly dismayed by the apparent "Indifferency" displayed by his Carlisle neighbors. "Every Man here minds only himself," he complained to his friend in Scotland, "and tho' he may give his Neighbor good Words, he takes no Interest in his Affairs." He wondered in writing to Benjamin Rush why "[t]he people here seem to have a bad opinion of each other" and speculated "tho' I can not tell why, I am daily assured that it is extremely dangerous to speak to them, and that they are ready to take offence where none is intended."⁶³ Nisbet had more specific complaints as well. He was appalled by the overall lack of attention paid to religious and spiritual matters. "[R]eligious People [are] the fewest of all," he wrote his Scottish colleague, Charles Wallace. "Few People attend any Place of Worship

⁶²Charles Nisbet, "Dr. Nisbet's Views of American Society," a letter written from Nisbet to Charles Wallace of Edinburgh, September 2, 1790, photocopy held by DCA, published in Bulletin of the New York Public Library 1, #5 (1897), 116-120. According to Morgan, Dickinson, 53-54, Nisbet was born in 1736 in Haddington, Scotland, graduated from the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards studied to become a minister. As pastor at Montrose, Scotland he earned a reputation as a fine scholar and was well respected by John Witherspoon at Princeton.

⁶³Charles Nisbet to Benjamin Rush, January 30, 1786, DCA.

and most of those who attend seem to do it merely for Entertainment."

While few, if any, Carlisle inhabitants met Nisbet's high moral and spiritual standards, few, too, had achieved any measure of refinement. From rich to poor, Nisbet had nothing but complaints about his Carlisle neighbors. According to him, "[w]e have no Men of Learning nor Taste, ... Every thing here is on a dead level[;] ... there is no Distinction except wealth."⁶⁴ Unimpressed by the fancy homes and showy material goods of Carlisle's elite, Nisbet felt that these public displays of wealth and status were not enough to breed gentility. Rather, according to him, such efforts to take on the trappings of refinement were all for nought, because the town's elite lacked the fundamental moral standards, manners, education, and communal ideals held by the truly urbane. In "this trifling Place," Nisbet was continually forced to endure the coarse conduct of his backcountry neighbors. Renting the "noisy House" of General William Irvine, Nisbet and his family heard "nothing from Morning to Night, but Dogs fighting, People killing swine[,] Cows lowing, The most quiet Neighbours we have are the Waggoners [sic] passing, tho' they rarely pass without Noise."⁶⁵ He was so upset by the strange and backward

⁶⁴Nisbet, "Views of Society," DCA.

⁶⁵Charles Nisbet to his daughter, Mary Turnball, November 8, 1793 and June 1, 1799, DCA. Nisbet apparently rented Irvine's Carlisle home for a time in the early 1790s while

nature of his new surroundings that in 1785 he actually submitted a formal resignation from his post to Rush and the other trustees of the college. Although he later withdrew his resignation and was reinstated in 1786--continuing as Principal until his death in 1804--Nisbet was never altogether happy in a town which he claimed was "in the Infancy of every thing [sic]."66

Nor did Nisbet's College thrive during its first decades of existence. While Benjamin Rush wishfully asserted in 1787 that Dickinson College was in "a very

Irvine was away serving the federal government in Philadelphia, see William Irvine to Callender Irvine, March 14, 1794, Irvine Papers, HSP, XII:15, when he writes: "Nisbit [sic] had warning enough ... to provide a place for himself, there are enough to be had, and I have nothing to do with his neglect or inattention to his own affairs, more especially as he never was actually a tenant of mine, at least not of my choosing--he must therefore ... be ready to leave the place the first day of April."

66Sellers, Dickinson College, 86, 91; Charles Nisbet to Benjamin Rush, August 18, 1785, DCA, in which Nisbet wrote: "I find myself obliged to reveal to you what I know must be as displeasing to you as to myself. I feel that this Climate disagrees with men, and that I can not live or enjoy health in it. I have been too late in leaving my Country, to be able to accommodate my Self to another." According to Nisbet, while living at the Public Works just northeast of town he and his family had become sick. His resignation, therefore, was not due to homesickness, but because he could no longer "bear to see my Children pining to Death before my Eyes, and their Flesh melting from off their Bones by the Action of the Sun. My Conscience charges me as guilty of Murder for having brought them into such a Climate and stimulates me to make haste to convey them out of it." Some, including Rush, felt that such claims were exaggerated--that he had become "a mere machine in the hands of his wife and children." See Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery, September 11, 1785, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:369; see also Charles Nisbet to Charles Wallace, August 19, 1791, photocopy, DCA.

flourishing condition," with "[p]upils ... coming and expected in great numbers from Maryland, Virginia, and even North Carolina" as well as from all across the state of Pennsylvania, Dickinson's future remained dubious throughout the 1780s and 1790s, as uncertain funding, changes in the faculty, and student protests continually undermined the educational integrity of the institution.⁶⁷ Although learning did indeed "beg[i]n to spread in all directions through our country," as Rush so optimistically asserted, the college did not always grow "daily in funds, pupils, and reputation" as he and the other Trustees had hoped.⁶⁸

With their beloved Dickinson mired in an unending series of crises, anxiety reigned among Carlisle's Presbyterian elite. Concerted efforts were mounted to boost the school's reputation as a place of higher learning. Outside Carlisle, William Irvine waged a diligent but "dismal" campaign to collect new subscribers in New York, where he was serving as a delegate to the Continental

⁶⁷Benjamin Rush to John Dickinson, April 5, 1787, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:416; see also Rush to John Montgomery, February 17, 1787, Philadelphia, *ibid*, 412, where he predicted, "we shall soon fill our College with pupils from every part of the state." For a comprehensive assessment of Dickinson in its first decades, see Sellers, Dickinson College, chapters 5 and 6.

⁶⁸Benjamin Rush to Richard Price, October 15, 1785, Butterfield, ed., Rush Letters, I:371.

Congress in 1789.⁶⁹ Locally, new efforts were made to rescue the College from the perceived decline in the quality and quantity of the students.⁷⁰ Of course, much as they did in their own lives, the College's Trustees--including the town's well-known political, social, and military leaders John Armstrong, William Irvine, and John Montgomery--chose to demonstrate the school's integrity through the use of symbolic structural means. Following a substantial monetary grant from the Pennsylvania legislature, the Board "Ent[e]red into sevral [sic] Resolutions Relative to Building a College house."⁷¹ In 1792 plans were finally laid to replace the "small and shabby" school building (later recounted by alumnus Roger B. Taney) with a more impressive house situated on the western border of the town. There was "no Doubt" in trustee John Montgomery's mind that

⁶⁹William Irvine to John Montgomery, March 28, 1789, Founders Collection, DCA. According to Irvine, he had "little expectation from Subscriptions at this place [New York]-- ... they are Just beginning to rebuild sundry Churches which were burned down in the war, and to repair others which the British injured."

⁷⁰See Charles Nisbet to the Dickinson College Board of Trustees, December 9, 1801, Founders Collection, DCA. According to Nisbet: "The Decline of the College may be partly owing to the Spirit of the Times, but chiefly, in my Opinion, to the Act of the Trustees appointing a Yearly Commencement, by which they reduced the Tuition Money two thirds. Every Student before that time paid for three years Tuition, but since that time, only for one Year, and come out worse Scholars in proportion." Furthermore, quality students desiring a more lengthy education were going elsewhere.

⁷¹John Montgomery to William Irvine, December 19, 1792, Irvine Papers, HSP, XI:51; Himes, Dickinson College, 45.

"if we had our new house finished[,] ... we wou[ld] have a Considerable increass [sic] of Students."⁷²

The "New College"--built of brick in imitation of the most fashionable structures of the day--was finished in 1802. Celebrated as "a large, elegant, and commodious Building" to serve as the home for the young college, the school's Trustees touted the new building as an emblem their school's rapidly improving status within the Commonwealth. They were confident of Dickinson's "utility," because of the "many useful Characters already in public life, which it has assisted in forming for eminent Stations in Church and State." With the new building and the adoption of an improved "plan of Education," the Trustees asserted that "as complete an Education should be obtained here, as in any other College on the Continent."⁷³

When the new building unexpectedly burned to the ground in early 1803, plans for another structure were begun immediately. Designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, architect

⁷²Roger B. Taney, "Chief Justice Taney Recollects," in Thompson, ed., 200 Years, 85; John Montgomery to Francis Gurney, August 22, 1800, Founders Collection, DCA. Until this time, the College had been housed in the former grammar school located on one of the town's alleys.

⁷³The Carlisle Gazette, December 8, 1802; for a complete discussion of the plans for the new building, see Sellers, Dickinson College, 125. Unfortunately, it would take time for the school to boost its enrollment. As John Montgomery reported in 1802, although "the new Building is so far finished as to accommodate the Proffors [sic] and Student[s]," the "student[s] is redu[c]ed to about 28." See John Montgomery to Francis Gurney, December 24, 1802, Founders Collection, DCA.

of the United States Capitol and Surveyor of Public Buildings, the new college was to be "a large[,] Commdouse [commodious][,] and Elegent [sic] house ... "Built of stone," even more stylish and majestic than the first.⁷⁴ Indeed, West College--as it would soon be called--was planned as monument to the neo-classical style sweeping America in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Donating his professional services, because he "conceive[ed] it to be the interest and duty of every good citizen to promote, ..., the education, and civilization of the society in which he and his children are to live," Latrobe's plan for the school called for a simple, yet grand building, at once in harmony with the natural world and the republican political climate of the day. Inside, he filled "the Northern aspects" of the building with "Communications, [such] as Stairs, Lobbies, Halls, Vestibules[,] etc.," while he reserved the light and warmth of the southern exposure "for the inhabited apartments."⁷⁵ Outside, the U-shaped

⁷⁴John Montgomery to John Dickinson, February 7, 1804, Maria Dickinson Logan Family Papers, HSP. James Hamilton, James Armstrong, and Samuel A. McCoskrey, the committee formed of the Board of Trustees to oversee the rebuilding efforts heartily endorsed Latrobe's plan. In 1803 they stated: "that we highly approve of the plan, which Henry Latrobe Esq., has gratuitously furnished and recommend it to be carried into immediate Execution." See Dickinson College, Board of Trustees, June 3, 1803, Founders Collection, DCA.

⁷⁵Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Hugh Henry Brackenridge, May 18, 1803, Founders Collection, DCA. This letter, with instructions for the construction of the building, accompanied Latrobe's original designs.

structure, with projecting wings on either side of the northwardly facing main entrance, was a monument to Latrobe's majestic style. Locally-quarried limestone formed the exterior of a classically proportioned structure 150 feet long, seven bays across, with carefully placed brick-trimmed arched windows on the first floor. By the time teachers and students were admitted into the near-completed structure in November 1805, it was said to have "an Eligent and Grand appearnce" with "a hansome Coupulae [sic]" atop the roof. To the school's Trustees and supporters, the new classically styled building seemed the best and most symbolic way for "the Establishing of the Colledge new" (Figures 1 and 2).⁷⁶

* * * * *

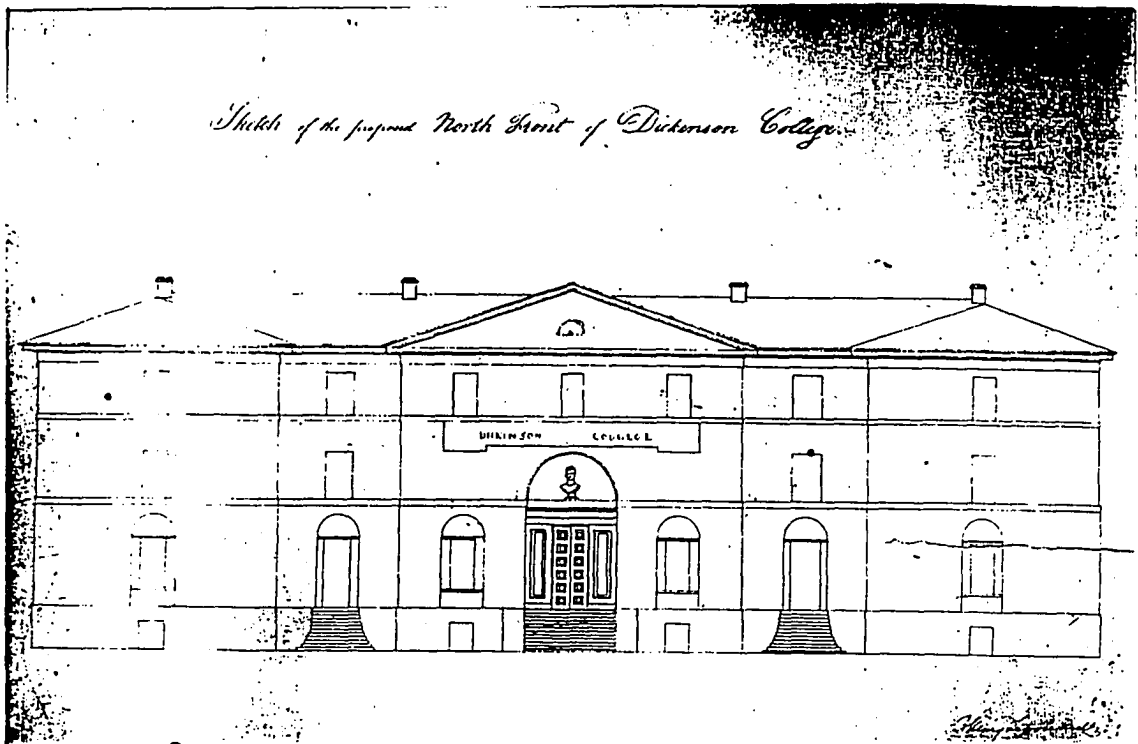
Despite all the attempts to fashion Dickinson into a symbol of the new social order in the backcountry, the early history of the College never fully conformed to the lofty expectations of its founders, John Montgomery and Benjamin Rush. While the construction of a stylish new schoolhouse

⁷⁶John Montgomery to John Dickinson, November 20, 1805, Maria Dickinson Logan Papers, HSP; Harold E. Dickson, A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings (State College, 1954); Talbot Hamlin, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (New York, 1955), 192-195; Himes, Dickinson College, 46-47; Sellers, Dickinson College, 126-131; see also Latrobe's "Sketch of the proposed North Front of Dickinson College," May 18, 1803, DCA. Today, Latrobe's north entrance is closed--replaced by a window--and the south side of the building serves as its front.

FIGURE 1

"Sketch of the Proposed North Front of Dickinson College:

Benjamin Henry Latrobe
May 18, 1803



Source: Dickinson College Archives

gave the College and its Trustees a greatly needed boost of morale, the new building did not solve the school's funding problems, nor did it fundamentally alter the school's geographically limited student body.

Dickinson remained an institution for the education of the second-generation sons of central Pennsylvania's nascent elite. Indeed, throughout its first decades of existence, Dickinson served a highly localized community. Of the 100 Dickinson graduates before 1810 with identifiable birthplaces, the vast majority of these young men were of central Pennsylvania birth. Fully 61 (61%) of the school's graduates between 1787 and 1810 called the central Pennsylvania counties of Adams, Cumberland, Dauphin, Franklin, Lancaster, Mifflin, Northumberland, or York as their home (Figure 3). Few students came from either the eastern or westernmost regions of the state as Montgomery, Rush, and the other early patrons of the college had hoped. Only 15 (15%) of the school's students were born in the eastern counties of Bucks, Chester, or Northampton, while only 2 (2%) graduates before 1811 came from the frontier regions near the fledgling western town of Pittsburgh (Table 17, Figure 3).

While some in Pennsylvania may have been disappointed by Dickinson's rather limited geographical impact, Cumberland County's Presbyterian elites remained optimistic about their school's mission and its achievements. After

TABLE 17

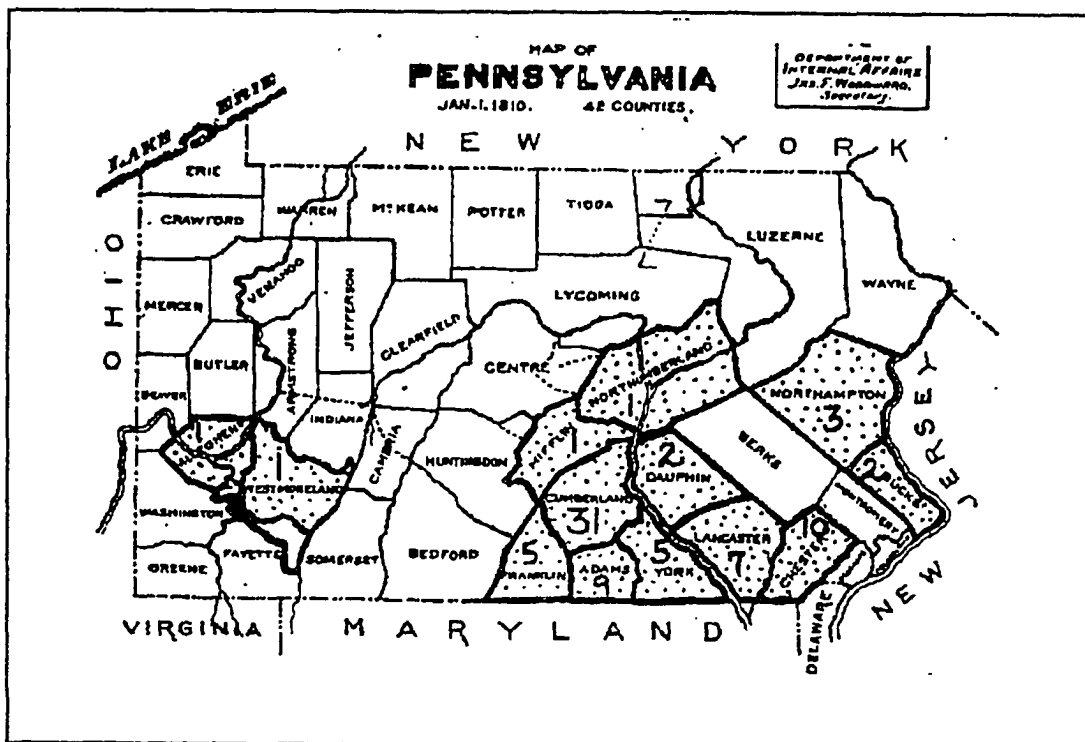
BIRTHPLACE OF DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1787-1810

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u># GRADUATES</u>	<u>% GRADUATES</u>
PENNSYLVANIA:		
West of Susquehanna River:		
Cumberland County	31	31%
Adams County	9	9%
Franklin County	5	5%
York County	5	5%
Allegheny County	1	1%
Mifflin County	1	1%
Westmoreland County	1	1%
Totals	53	53%
East of Susquehanna River:		
Chester County	10	10%
Lancaster County	7	7%
Northampton County	3	3%
Bucks County	2	2%
Dauphin County	2	2%
Northumberland Co.	1	1%
Totals	25	25%
Other States:		
Virginia	5	5%
Maryland	4	4%
North Carolina	2	2%
South Carolina	2	2%
Delaware	1	1%
Georgia	1	1%
Total Out-of-State	15	15%
Other Countries:		
Ireland	6	6%
Scotland	1	1%
Total Foreign Borns	7	7%
TOTAL IDENTIFIABLE	100	100%
TOTAL BORN IN PA	78	78%

FIGURE 3

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF
DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1787-1810

BIRTHPLACES



all, many of these men had supported the institution from its inception and as trustees of the Board and the its most consistent patrons had a genuine economic and personal stake in the school's continued operation. It was no coincidence, that the sons and relatives of Carlisle merchants Robert Callender, Stephen Duncan, John Holmes, Samuel Laird, and Samuel Postlethwaite all graduated from the school. Nor was it an accident that Carlisle attorney, Robert Magaw, and doctor, Lemuel Gustine, sent family members to Dickinson, or that General William Irvine sent his oldest son Callender as well as his younger sons James and William to the school. Clearly, the same concerned fathers who had actively supported the establishment of a college in their midst were most eager to have their sons take full advantage of the educational and professional opportunities it had to offer--no matter how limited. To these local elites, in its very establishment and continued operation, Dickinson had already partially succeeded in its mission to train youths for positions of leadership in American society.⁷⁷

Dickinson College did attract students to its campus. Averaging ten graduates per year from 1787 to 1810, the school succeeded in producing a new generation of backcountry ecclesiastical, political, and professional leaders. Of the 139 Dickinson graduates with identifiable occupations, 75 (54%) became clergymen, while 32 (23%)

⁷⁷Alumni Record, Dickinson College, 38-57.

served as practicing attorneys, and 21 (15%) became physicians. The remainder--some 11 individuals (8%)--were farmers, journalists, soldiers, or teachers (Table 18).

College Principal Charles Nisbet, said to be "almost without an equal as a Scholar" by his ministerial colleagues and highly regarded as a teacher, was perhaps the individual most responsible for attracting many of these students (especially would-be clergymen) to the school.⁷⁸ The future Presbyterian minister, Nathaniel Snowden, was one of many young men who came to Carlisle eager to study under Nisbet's tutelage. In January 1789, he recorded in his diary that "Dr[.] Duffield [of Philadelphia] informed me that Dr[.] Nisbet of Carlisle had formed a divinity Class and was dilivering [sic] a course of lectures and wished me to join the class." Snowden "[c]onsulted with friends and all say go." Snowden did as they said and went to Carlisle in early 1789, where he received religious instruction and spiritual inspiration from the cantankerous Nisbet as well as the from the many devout Presbyterians within the local community.⁷⁹

⁷⁸John Linn to unidentified recipient, n.d., John Linn Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society. Linn went on to say, however, that although well regarded as a scholar, Nisbet "had no talent for government." Explaining that he was "frequently imprudent, & this together with his violence in Politics, ... contributed to hurt his usefulness & injure the Institution."

⁷⁹Snowden Diaries, HSP, I:January 1789.

TABLE 18

PRIMARY OCCUPATION OF DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES
1787-1810

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number Graduates</u>	<u>Percent Graduates</u>
Clergyman	75	54%
Attorney	32	23%
Physician	21	15%
Farmer/Planter	7	5%
Teacher	2	1%
Journalist	1	1%
Soldier	1	1%
<hr/>		
Total	139	100%

Source: Dickinson College: General Catalog (1892), 5-15.

Other students came to Dickinson for more tangible social and economic reasons. Lured by the optimistic rhetoric of the school's founders and encouraged by anxious fathers ambitious for their future status, these young men sought to obtain the education and professional training necessary to carry them into the highest ranks of American society. As the sons of backcountry farmers, merchants, and professionals, these young men ultimately sought to prove their worth to a diverse American society stretching far beyond the confines of the small backcountry town of Carlisle. Commanded to "[c]herish a proper sense of honor and shame, & never be indifferent with regard to reputation" by their teacher, Charles Nisbet, these young men knew it was their duty "to redeem the character of your Country" as its new spiritual, intellectual, and political leaders.⁸⁰

"[L]ed by the Call of Duty and Inclination," Dickinson College graduates ultimately did "enter into the world" to act for themselves.⁸¹ As respected ministers, statesmen, and businessmen, these young men formed the vanguard of a new frontier leadership class in the communities of nineteenth-century America's south and west. While 78 (78%) of these young men had been born and educated in Pennsylvania, only 51 (49%) remained in the state by the

⁸⁰Commencement Speech delivered to the Graduates of Dickinson College by Charles Nisbet, June 2, 1789, Presbyterian Historical Society.

⁸¹Ibid.

time of their death (Tables 17 and 19, Figures 3 and 4). As part of a westwardly and southerly migrating elite, fully 18 (17%) of the school's graduates resided in western Pennsylvania by the end of their lives, while the new upper mid-west states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio were the home to another 16 (15%) of the college's graduates.⁸² The south-western states of Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee accounted for another 9 (8.6%) of the school's alumni (Table 19, Figures 3 and 4). Clearly, for many Dickinson graduates--themselves the sons of backcountry elites--the real and mythological lure of the frontier proved too powerful to resist. Rather than assimilating into frontcountry society as their status-conscious fathers had so desired, many Dickinson graduates instead chose to migrate westward, as their fathers before them had done, in search of the abundant economic and social opportunities that America's newest frontier communities had to offer.

⁸²These western Pennsylvania counties included: Allegheny, Armstrong, Bedford, Butler, Fayette, Greene, Washington, and Westmoreland.

TABLE 19

PLACE OF DEATH OF DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1787-1810

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u># GRADUATES</u>	<u>% GRADUATES</u>
PENNSYLVANIA:		
West of Susquehanna River:		
Cumberland County	8	7.6%
Allegheny County	6	5.7%
Franklin County	4	3.8%
Westmoreland County	4	3.8%
Greene County	3	2.9%
Lycoming County	3	2.9%
Adams County	1	0.9%
Armstrong County	1	0.9%
Bedford County	1	0.9%
Butler County	1	0.9%
Centre County	1	0.9%
Fayette County	1	0.9%
Washington County	1	0.9%
York County	1	0.9%
Total	36	34.3%
East of Susquehanna River:		
Philadelphia County	6	5.7%
Chester County	2	1.9%
Lancaster County	2	1.9%
Northumberland Co.	2	1.9%
Berks County	1	0.9%
Dauphin County	1	0.9%
Northampton County	1	0.9%
Total	15	14.3%
STATES OF THE UPPER MID-WEST:		
Ohio	12	11.4%
Indiana	3	2.9%
Illinois	1	0.9%
Total	16	15.2%

TABLE 19 (Continued)

PLACE OF DEATH OF DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1787-1810

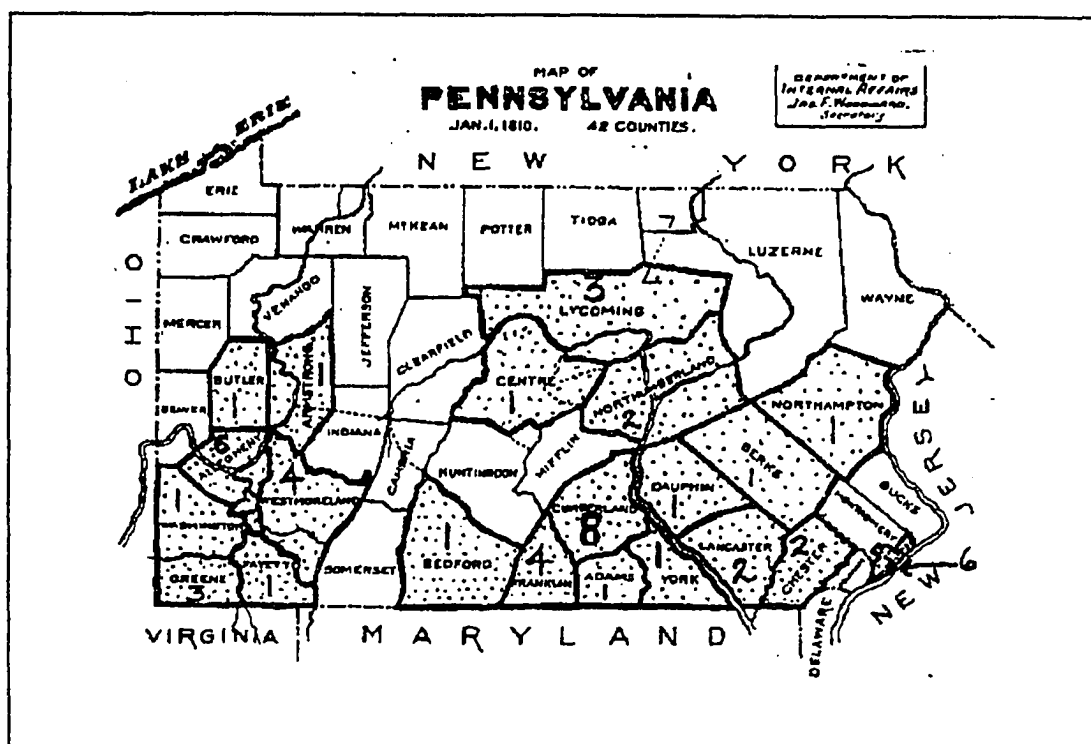
<u>Location</u>	<u># Graduates</u>	<u>% Graduates</u>
STATES OF THE SOUTH-WEST:		
Mississippi	4	3.8%
Kentucky	2	1.9%
Tennessee	2	1.9%
Louisiana	1	0.9%
Total	9	8.6%
STATES OF THE SOUTH:		
Maryland	7	6.6%
North Carolina	4	3.8%
Virginia	4	3.8%
South Carolina	2	1.9%
Total	17	16.1%
OTHER STATES:		
New York	7	6.6%
Delaware	4	3.8%
Washington D.C.	1	0.9%
Total	12	11.4%
TOTAL IDENTIFIED	105	100.0%
TOTAL WHO DIED IN PA	51	48.6%

Source: Alumni Record: Dickinson College (1905), 38-57.

FIGURE 4

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF
DICKINSON COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1787-1810

LOCATION AT TIME OF DEATH



CONCLUSION

It was with considerable pride in the past and confidence in the future that in December 1802, George Kline, editor of The Carlisle Gazette, recounted Carlisle's flourishing situation:

The improving state of this Borough [he wrote], must give pleasure to all who are interested in its prosperity. The new building for the Offices is handsome and well constructed. The Market House, which is now nearly compleated [sic], for beauty and commodiousness, is not ... exceeded by any in the state. Our spacious Public Square is capable at a small expence [sic] of being rendered highly ornamental and agreeable.

According to Kline's characterization, the growth and development of Carlisle's public sphere was near complete. The political order and economic hierarchy necessary for urban stability were embodied in the town's public institutions. Cumberland County government was firmly entrenched in its new offices. The local economy, focused upon the new market house on the town square, now operated on a secure infrastructure. The only thing "[w]e still want," Kline asserted, was "a number of" unspecified

"Artists and Manufacturers" to round out the already diverse occupational structure of the town.¹

While Kline's optimistic observations were perhaps a bit overstated, they were not without foundation in fact. By all outward measures of urbanity, Carlisle's public world was indeed nearing full maturity. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the town lacked little. It had all the physical and structural attributes essential for urban prosperity--public buildings of law and government, a market house, several well-established churches, a newly-instituted college, numerous retail and manufacturing establishments, and an impressive array of grand and fashionable homes built in imitation of the most popular styles of the day. The town's social structure, too, bore external signs of maturity and stability. With a diverse and hierarchical occupational structure, social rank was most often determined by economic condition. Indeed, social status was an issue of great interest to many in Carlisle, as the town's elites made every real and symbolic effort in their power to distinguish themselves from their more "common" urban neighbors.

Moreover, by 1810, Carlisle's integration into the external world of American commerce and culture was extensive. Trade in agricultural commodities and dry goods linked Carlisle into larger market spheres, while a

¹The Carlisle Gazette, December 22, 1802.

burgeoning consumer culture forged economic as well as social ties between regions. Just as Cumberland County inhabitants were woven together in a tightly knit web of collective interdependence of buying and selling on the local level, Carlisle itself formed one small link in a far-reaching network of exchange between east and west.

By all outward indications, Carlisle had fulfilled Proprietor Thomas Penn's mission. As one of the premiere economic and social centers of the backcountry, Carlisle was indeed the "handsomely improved place" that Penn and his officials had so hoped it would be when surveyors Thomas Cookson and Nicholas Scull first laid out the grid for the town in 1751. For the first time in its history, Carlisle was both externally secure and outwardly prosperous. Revelling in the thriving state of their community, local inhabitants like George Kline self-consciously reflected upon their town's profound evolution from its humble frontier origins.

In the private world that existed beyond the view of the external, however, tensions persisted. Private lives and private spheres could not keep pace with the rapid evolution of Carlisle's public world. While most Carlisle inhabitants surely aspired to an inner (or individual) confidence comparable to that which characterized the town's public realm, few had been able to achieve it. Security of place and position in the outer world did not readily equate

to unwavering self-assurance in the private. Rapid physical growth and economic expansion symbolized Carlisle's achievement of maturity as an urban place, but such swift change often wrought confusion in the private realm of local households. To keep pace with Carlisle's evolving economic and social structures, individual men and women had to redefine their roles and responsibilities in local society, in the local economy, and, most importantly, in their day-to-day associations with their families and spouses.

Inside local households, subtle, but significant adjustments were occurring within the family as men and women, and particularly husbands and wives, adapted their relationships to better suit the now transformed backcountry of which they were an integral part. Concepts of order, hierarchy, and patriarchy within marriage had to be redefined to accommodate to the more complex economic and social demands placed on households by Carlisle's phenomenal growth and diversification as an urban community. While new market demands generated a distinct economic dependency within the household as the productive capabilities of husbands as well as wives were more often needed to ensure the family's continued prosperity, the influence of love in marriage, and the emotional bonds it created, more often resulted in a new emotional dependency between partners.

In the end, although it would take several decades to accomplish, the discrepancies between Carlisle's public and

private realms would eventually be resolved. Just as economic growth and social change provoked change in Carlisle's public sphere, the combined force of their influence would also inspire the gradual, but profound transformation of familial and gender relations in nineteenth-century Carlisle.

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