

The Journal



Inside This Issue:

Revolutionary War:

The Fair Play Men and Events leading up to the Revolution

Civil War:

An Analysis of Civil War Soldiers from Lycoming County

Civil War:

*The Civil War Correspondence of James M. Smith,
Jersey Shore Soldier*

World War I:

Liberty Loan Posters in the LCHS Collection

World War II:

Victory Gardens of Pennsylvania during the War



Contents

Revolutionary War:

The Fair Play Men and Events leading up to the Revolution

1

Civil War:

An Analysis of Civil War Soldiers from Lycoming County

11

Civil War:

*The Civil War Correspondence of James M. Smith,
Jersey Shore Soldier*

16

World War I:

Liberty Loan Posters in the LCHS Collection

22

World War II:

Victory Gardens of Pennsylvania during the War

25

COVER CAPTION: According to this record, Isaac Henninger enlisted in Company B, 11th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry in September 1861. He was involved in many of the battles of the Civil War including Manassas Junction, the Battle of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Petersburg, and was at Appomattox to witness General Lee's surrender April 9, 1865. At one point, he was 'seriously sick' with lung disease, rheumatism and indigestion and was Honorable Discharged in August 1862. Regaining his health, he re-enlisted in the same company and once again was Honorable Discharged at the 'close of the war' in Washington, D.C. He returned and settled in Williamsport. According to the listings in the 1870, 1880 and 1920 Federal Censuses, he variously was a purveyor of confectionaries, manufactured pop corn, and sold ice cream!

He was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, a veterans' organization that developed after the Civil War and was expressed locally as the Reno Post #64.

The certificate was published expressly for the Army & Navy Record and was produced by the Pettibone Brothers Manufacturing Company, circa 1883. Note this document possesses a photograph of the soldier.

LCHS Archives provenance unknown.

Foreword

As the sesquicentennial of the Civil War comes to its conclusion in April, 2015, and the commemoration of the World Wars begin, we are mindful of the sacrifices made by the brave men and women of Lycoming County to protect their land and their loved ones, and to protect the freedoms that we, as Americans, enjoy.

This issue of the *Journal of the Lycoming County Historical Society* explores a timeline of conflicts in which Lycoming Countians were involved. The Fair Play Men declared themselves free of British rule the same day the Declaration of Independence was signed. Ted Bainbridge explores their actions and the events leading up to the outbreak of the American Revolution.

The Civil War, which affected Lycoming Countians, is explored by John Deeben, who has summarized the roster of Lycoming soldiers, detailing their ages, occupations, and other pertinent details about their lives. James M. Smith, a soldier from Jersey Shore, is highlighted in the article by Andrea Campbell. Approximately eighty letters, his diary, and his Gettysburg reunion materials are an incredibly rich archive of this soldier's life. We are thrilled to possess this detailed chronicle of Mr. Smith's life which was not possible without the generosity of descendants of James Smith. The collection was forged from several relatives spread across the United States who felt that the life of Mr. Smith would best be told from the county of his nativity.

World War I is represented within our collections by a number of uniforms, photographs, documents, and an interesting collection of Liberty Loan broadsides (posters), issued during the Fifth Drive, April-May 1919. Finally, the era of World War II is explored by Caleb Huff in his article concerning Victory Gardens. In reading this article, you will notice the parallels between the 1940s and our own efforts to economize and the country's collective concern about obesity. Community Gardens have risen in popularity throughout our country in the last several years. Caleb's article is supplemented with advertisements from Williamsport's own *Grit* newspaper.

We hope you will find this issue of our Journal interesting and enlightening. And no matter which war, please thank a veteran for his or her service to our country!

Gary W. Parks,
Editor

The Earliest "Fair Play" Documents

By: Ted Bainbridge, Ph.D.

The Fair Play men settled part of the West Branch Valley while that land still was Indian territory and not within Pennsylvania as defined at the time. They could not enjoy any benefits provided by the British or Pennsylvania governments at any level, so they formed their own government and called it Fair Play.

LOCATION AND BACKGROUND

The "Fair Play" label comes from the settlers' annual election of "Fair Play Men" who formed a tribunal with executive, legislative, and judicial authority over residents of the area [Source 1 at page 3]. In this paper "Fair Play Men" with an upper case M refers to those leaders, while "Fair Play men" with a lower case m refers to men who lived in that area. This convention notwithstanding, quoted material shows the lettering used in the original.

The following map shows Pennsylvania's territorial acquisitions, with a black region added to approximate Fair Play's area of influence [Source 2]. People settled along waterways which formed the eastern, southern, and western edges of that area; probably nobody settled in the interior of the black region shown. Fair Play men entered that area by 1773 and perhaps as early as 1769 [Source 1, 3, 4]. At that time, Pennsylvania included the New Purchase of 1768, and its boundary was Lycoming Creek with its mouth at today's Williamsport. The regions west of Lycoming Creek and north of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River were Indian territory. Those regions became part of Pennsylvania by treaty in 1784 and are known as the Last Purchase [Source 2, 5]. This is why Fair Play functioned only from about 1773 to about 1785 [Source 3]. By 1773 there were about 40 families in the area [Source 6, 1 at pages 26 and 34]. By 1785 the area probably contained 100 to 150 families [Source 1, 7].

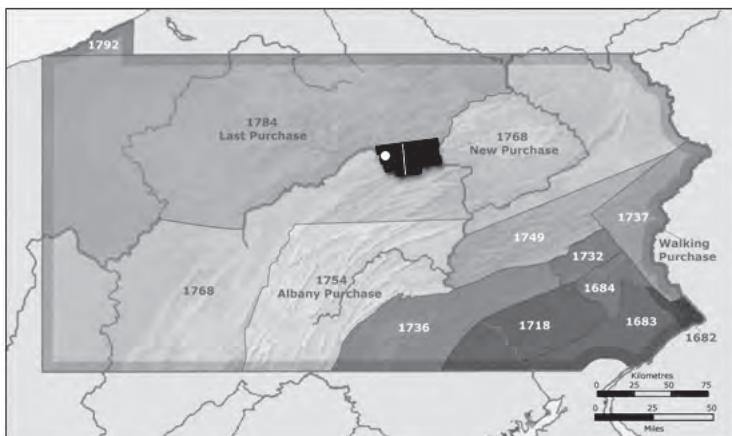


Figure 1: Land Purchases.

Between 1768 (the New Purchase) and 1784 (the Last Purchase), the boundary of Pennsylvania was set by treaty at "Tiadaghton Creek" [Source 8]. The colonists claimed that was Pine Creek and the local tribes claimed it was Lycoming Creek, which was farther east. The Pennsylvania government recognized the tribes' claim [Source 9]. On 20 September 1773 Governor John Penn forbid settlement in the area and required people already there to return to Pennsylvania [Source 10, 11, 1 at pages 11 and 13]. [Note 1]. Therefore everybody settling west of Lycoming Creek and north of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River was squatting on Indian land. They were beyond the control and benefits of British and Pennsylvania governments at any level. That is why they organized Fair Play [Source 3, 4, 12, 13, 14].

The mouth of Lycoming Creek is at Williamsport and the mouth of Pine Creek is between Avis and Jersey Shore. The area between these two creeks and north of the river is the area most commonly associated with Fair Play [Source 15]. In addition, some people settled between Pine Creek (near the white line inside the black region above) and the northern bend of the West Branch as it flows between North Bend and Lock Haven [Source 1]. For example, John Baker-Adkins settled before 1778 along the river as shown by the white dot inside the black region of the above map and as detailed on the following map. He lived 28 miles west of the nearest part of the official border, and 12 miles west of the nearest part of the border claimed by the settlers. We know his exact location because the first survey maps of his land perfectly match modern maps and satellite images of this unique bend in the river [Source 16, 17, 18, 19]. John Baker-Adkins' land documents, dated 1785, are the earliest known documents related to settlement in this area [Source 16, 17, 18, 20, 21].

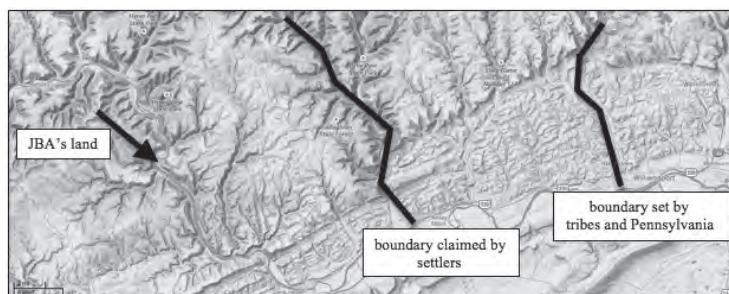


Figure 2: Border Claims.

COURT CASES

The earliest written descriptions of Fair Play events that still exist are testimonies in cases of Pennsylvania courts after they took authority over Fair Play territory. George Wolf searched Northumberland County court cases from 1784 through 1795 and Lycoming County court cases from 1795 through 1801. He found only four cases that reviewed Fair Play decisions [Source

Captains J S Davis of Rensselaer and W Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

Witnessed at day 5-7-64 Laurel Hill May 8-1864 Pennsylvania - May 8-1864 - Assault on the Bloody Angle

7, 1 at page 36]. Some case notes were among the papers of Charles Huston, a land lawyer in the West Branch Valley [Source 14, 22]. The following testimonies have been preserved.

1. *Hughes versus Dougherty* involved a dispute over land that had been in the Fair Play area. The case was appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. In court at Sunbury in October 1781, Chief Justice Thomas McKean asked Peter Rodey what were the provisions of the Fair Play code [Source 23, 24]. Peter said he could not remember the details, and he could only convey an idea of them by comparison. He then said [Source 12, 25, 26, 1 at pages 36-37]:

All I can say is, that since your Honor's coorts [sic] have come among us, *fair play* has entirely ceased, and law has taken its place.

Meginness says, "This sharp rejoinder created a good deal of merriment in court, and the judge was satisfied to ask no more impertinent questions, reflecting upon the legal tribunal over which Peter had in turn presided." [Source 14, 22, 25]. [Note 2].

2. In the case of *Greer versus Tharp*, William King said [Source 7, 14, 15, 22]:

... there was a law among the Fair-play men by which any man, who absented himself for the space of six weeks, lost his right to his improvement.

3. In the same case Bratton Caldwell testified [Source 14, 15, 22]:

In May, 1774, I ... helped to build a cabin on Wm. Greer's place ... Greer went into the army in 1776 ... In July, 1778, the Runaway, John Martin, had come on the land in his absence. The Fair-play men put Greer in possession. If a man went into the army, the Fair-play men protected his property. ... Greer came back in 1784.

4. In March of 1801 William King was deposed in the Circuit Court of Lycoming County for the case of *Huff versus Latcha* [Note 3]. Writing in 1929, Thomas Lloyd claimed this deposition was "*the only contemporary document extant recounting the procedure of the Fair Play men*". Lloyd transcribed the entire document in his *History of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania* [Source 27]. King said [Source 7, 14, 15, 22, 27]:

[In 1775 I] came on the land in question and was informed that Joseph Haines claimed the land. ... Haines ... told me he was going to Jersey and intended to leave

the plantation in the care of Isaiah Sutton, who then lived on it, and if he did not return Sutton might do what he pleased with it. Sutton was his nephew. Sometime after I heard Sutton was offering it for sale. I had heard much disputing about the Indian Land and thought I would go to Sutton's neighbors and inquire if he had any right. I first went to Edmund Huff, then to Thomas Kemplin, Samuel Dougherty, William McMeans and Thomas Ferguson and asked if they would accept me as a neighbor and inquired whether Isaiah Sutton had any right to the land in question. They told me Joseph Haines had once a right to it but had forfeited his right by the fair play law ... I purchased of Sutton, was to give him nine pounds for the land. I did not come to live on the land for some weeks. One night at a Husking of Corn, one Thomas Bond told me I was a fine fellow to be at a Husking, while a man was taking possession of my plantation. ... I quit husking and Bond and I came over to the place ... I went to the men who had advised me to go on the land all except Huff and Kemplin, they advised me to go on turn him off and beat him if I was able. Next morning I got some of my friends and raised a cabin ... William Paul agreed to give me 13 pounds, for my right. ... William Paul went on the land and finished his cabin. Soon after a party brought Robert Arthur and built a cabin near Paul's in which Arthur lived. William Paul applied to the fair play men who decided in favor of Paul. Arthur however still lived on the land and would not go off. William Paul made a complaint to the Company at a Muster at Quinashahague that Arthur still lived on the land and would not go off, although the fair play men had decided against him. I was one of the officers at that time and we agreed to come and turn Arthur off. The most of the Company came down as far as Edmund Huff's who kept stills. We got a kegg of whiskey and proceeded to Arthur's cabin. He was at home with his rifle in his hand and his wife had a bayonet on a stick and they threatened death to the first person who would enter the House. The Door was shut. Thomas Kemplin our Captain made a run at the Door and burst it open and instantly seized Arthur by the

Chaplain J S Davis of Rutherford and G W Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following

guerrilla warfare at about May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill Day, 1864, Spotsylvania - May 8, 1864 - assault on the Bloody Chancery

Taylor - May 23, 1864

neck. We pulled down the cabin and threw it into the river lashed two canoes together and put Arthur and his family into them and sent them down the river. William Paul then lived undisturbed on the land till the Indians drove us all off.

5. John Sutton testified as follows on 13 March 1797 [Source 14, 15, 22]:

I came to Lycoming Creek in 1772, went to the Indian land in 1773, and have lived there ever since except during the Runaway. There was a law of the Fair-play men, that if any man left his improvement six weeks without leaving some person to continue his improvement, he lost the right to push his improvement. ... I believe that William Tharpe and myself were the two first men who came to the Indian lands.

6. In *Hughes versus Dougherty*, tried in 1791, testimony included the following [Source 7, 14, 22]:

In 1773 ... James Hughes ... settled on the land in question, and made some small improvements. ... he went to ... Lancaster County, and died there. His elder brother, Thomas, was at that time settled on the Indian land, and one of the Fair Play men, who assembled together and made a resolution, (which they agreed to enforce as the law of the place), that "if any person was absent from his settlement for six weeks, he should forfeit his right."

In the spring of 1775 Dougherty arrived and was advised by the Fair Play Men to settle on the land Hughes had abandoned. Dougherty built a cabin there. Soon after, Hughes' brother took possession of the cabin. Dougherty collected some friends and a fight ensued. Hughes was beaten off and Dougherty regained possession. Later, under Pennsylvania law, Hughes' brother sued. The jury decided in favor of Dougherty.

The earliest description of the Fair Play system still available to us today is in the second volume of *Smith's Laws*, published in 1810. Smith's complete paragraph is [Source 4, 12, 13, 22, 28]:

A set of hardy adventurers seated themselves on this doubtful territory, made improvements, and formed a very considerable population. They formed a mutual compact among themselves, and

annually elected a tribunal in rotation of three of the settlers, who were to decide all controversies and settle disputed boundaries. From their decision there was no appeal, and there could be no resistance. The decree was enforced by the whole body, who started up in mass, at the mandate of the court, and the execution and eviction were as sudden and irresistible as the judgment. Every new-comer was obliged to apply to this powerful tribunal, and, upon his solemn engagement to submit in all respects to the law of this land, he was permitted to take possession of some vacant spot. Their decrees were, however, just; and when their settlements were recognized by law, and *fair play* had ceased, their decisions were received in evidence and confirmed by judgments of court.

HISTORIANS

Historians have described Fair Play as though each event above illustrated a firm rule of the system. They also have added the following. (Historians often used material from earlier writers, but those repetitions are not listed here.)

The next earliest description still available was written by Sherman Day in 1843 [Source 12]. That source adds, "The 'seat of justice' of the fair-play-men is said to have been at Chatham's mill, now Ferguson's, near the mouth of Chatham's run." (Chatham's Run empties into the river from the north, about half way between Avis and Great Island [Source 29].)

In 1889 John Meginness added that a minister and school teacher named Kincaid was ridden on a rail for abusing his family [Source 7, 14].

Also in 1889, Meginness described the case of *Toner versus Sweeny*. Toner arrived "upon the Indian land" in 1773 and remained in that area "till the war broke out". When he enlisted in the army, his friends "promised to preserve his settlement for him". Toner leased his land to Sweeny, who was supposed to make improvements on the property for Toner's benefit. The lease agreement was destroyed and Sweeny claimed the land. Noting that Toner had been away on military service, the court declared Toner the legitimate owner of the land [Source 7, 14, 22].

Meginness preserved this story in considerable detail: Francis Clark was convicted by the Fair Play Men of stealing a dog, and was sentenced to be flogged. The man who owned the dog proposed that the sentence be remitted if Clark would abandon

his land. Clark left right away [Source 7, 14, 22].

Writing again in 1892, John Meginness said the three Fair Play Men were chosen by ballot each March. If they kept any records, none remained in existence by 1892. Meginness believed the Fair Play Men could meet at any time and place, as events required. He said the only Fair Play Men whose names had been preserved were Bratton Caldwell, John Walker, and James Brandon [Source 7, 22]. Helen Russell said Caldwell, Walker, and Brandon were Fair Play Men in 1776 [Source 30].

George Wolf wrote “The Politics of Fair Play” in 1965. That paper included many of the facts and stories above and added considerable context, detail, and understanding to our knowledge of the place, people, and events. He also wrote a book about Fair Play [Source 1]. Wolf claimed that the Fair Play Men had executive, legislative, and judicial powers over all settlers in the West Branch Valley who lived beyond the then-current purchase limits [Source 7]. He provided the following quote from Eleanor Coldren’s sworn deposition, created 7 June 1797 in Sunbury for a case about title to lands that had belonged to her late husband, Abraham Dewitt, opposite Great Island [Source 31]:

... in the Spring of 1775, Henry Antes and Cookson Long, two of the Fair-Play Men, with others, were at the deponent's house, next below Barnabas Bonner's Improvement, where Deponent's Husband kept a Tavern, and heard Antes and Long say that they (meaning the Fair-Play Men) and the Neighbors of the Settlement had unanimously agreed that James Irvin, James Parr, Abraham Dewitt and Barnabas Bonner should ... have their Improvement Rights fitted ...

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The fighting at Lexington, Concord, and during the British withdrawal to Boston occurred on 19 April 1775 [Source 32]. Men of the West Branch Valley responded quickly. Philip Fithian, a Presbyterian minister from Philadelphia, traveled up the Susquehanna during that summer. One day's entry in his journal is [Source 33, 34]:

Wednesday June 28. - A very wet, rainy morning. About twelve o'clock marched into this town, from the Great Island or "Indian land" fifty miles up the river [from the town of Northumberland, where Fithian then was; so Great Island near present Lock Haven], thirty young fellows, all expert riflemen, with a drum and fife, under Captain Lowdon. They passed on,

however, soon to Sunbury, where they remained until Monday. Brave youth! go, through the kindness of the God of battles may you prosper and save your country. I made some small acquaintance with Mr. Doheda, a smart, agreeable Englishman, and one Mr. Chrystie, a dry, sensible, Intelligent Scot.

The *Pennsylvania Archives* contains the following undated document, which appears between items dated the 20th and 23rd of June, 1780 [Source 35]. It doesn't include any name similar to Lowdon. This must be another group of early volunteers from the West Branch Valley.

A list of the officers and soldiers that went early in the service of their Country from the unpurchased land on the west Branch of the River Susquehanna

First Draft.

James McClary, Rob't Trift, Cornelious Dougherty, Geo. Sands, David Davis, Wm. Calhone, Thos. Calladay, John Murfey, Tho. Pilson, Henry Thomas, Wm. Jamison, Wm. Atkins, Rob't Ritthe, George Satyman [sic; misreading of Saltzman?], James Carson, John White, David Clamains, Michael Parker, Rob't Wilson, John Hammilton, Rob't Lincey, Samuel Sealy, Alex'r McCormick, Edward Covennah

Second Draft.

Capt. Weitzel, Rob't Crothers, Partick [sic] McWey, Patrick McManus, Dennis Higgins, John Toner, John Bradly, Patrick McGinnis, James Randolph, John McGram, Peter Davis, David Beats, Joseph Lachary, Michael Lachary, John Reddicks, Tho. Thompson.

Col. C. Battalion.

Geo. Kline, Michael Drury, James McGinsey, John Martin, James Commins, Rob't Campble, Angis McFaton, John Dorm, Joseph McFaton, John McMeen, Tho. McMeen, Jas. Erwine, Michael Sealy.

Major Stains J S Davis of Rutherford and G W Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following

guerrilla warfare on May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill days 1864 Skippensburg - May 8, 1864 assault on the Bloody Creek

THE TIADAGHTON DECLARATION

On 4 July 1776 an unknown number of Fair Play people met by an elm tree on the west bank of Pine Creek near its mouth. There they created a document that declared their independence from Great Britain. That document, known as the Tiadaghton Declaration or the Pine Creek Declaration, has been lost. No authentic contemporaneous copy, abstract, or documentary reference to it has ever been found [Source 3, 14, 15, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40].

Because there is no contemporaneous documentation, some historians have suggested that the Declaration and the story surrounding it are fictional. However, eyewitness testimony authenticates the event. Anna Jackson, who was eight years old when the Declaration was created, later married a son of Alexander Hamilton, who signed the Declaration. In 1858 she lived within a mile of the Tiadaghton Elm, and said in a sworn statement,

I remember well the day independence was declared on the plains of Pine Creek, seeing such numbers flocking there, and Independence being all the talk, I had a knolege [sic] of what was doing.

George Wolf says her testimony is the best contemporary evidence supporting the Declaration [Source 1 at pages 43-44]. Her son John testified that his mother "and an old colored woman are the only persons now living in the country who remembers [sic] the meeting of the 4th of July, 1776, at Pine Creek. She remembers it well." [Source 34, 41, 42, 43].

A purported text exists on the internet. The person who provided that text claimed it was, "From a duplicate, copied almost a hundred years later" [Source 38]. No such document has ever been shown to historians; this text is not authentic. Another purported text, published in 1942, has been proven spurious [Source 7].

George Wolf believes the list of 12 signatories preserved by Meginness is correct [Source 7, 14]. Egle shows the same list [Source 39]: William Campbell, Adam Carson, Francis Clark, John Clark, Thomas Clark, Adam DeWitt, Alexander Donaldson, Alexander Hamilton, John Jackson, Robert Love, Henry McCracken, and Hugh Nichols. Several sources say others were present, but their names had been forgotten by the time of writing [for an example see Source 14].

THE RUNAWAYS

The Big Runaway occurred in the summer of 1778 and the Little Runaway occurred in 1779. Indian attacks ran off every Fair Play resident and destroyed all of their property improvements except for perhaps one or two stone buildings [Source 44]. Information about the Runaways is extensive and

well-known. This subject deserves more attention than can be included in this article, so will be mentioned here only in passing. Interested readers should consult almost any history of the West Branch Valley.

PETITIONS

On 22 August 1781 residents of the Fair Play area signed a petition to Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council, asking that they be given preemptive rights to their lands in preference over speculators and other outsiders who wanted to take the land from them. The petition was signed by John Allen, Fd'k Antes, Henry Antes, Wm. Antes, Paul Balde, Geo. Barclay, Adam Belcher, John Black, William Blyth, Jno. Buyers, Wm. Caldwell, Wm. Clark, John Clingman, Wm. Cook, Daniel Couges, James Crawford, Wm. Dewart, James Dougherty, Jas. Espy, Rob't Fleming, Joseph Frantz, Philip Frick, Christian Gettig, Stophel Gettig, And'w Gibson, James Goel, Daniel Goodan, Thomas Grant, Wm. Gray, Jos. Green, Jas. Harrison, James Hays, Thos. Hewitt, Wm. Hoffman, Sam'l Hunter, George Klieber, Jonathan Lodge, Rob't Martin, David McKinney, John McWilliams, David Mead, Daniel Montgomery, John Painter, Archibald Quay, Zachariah Robins, Thos. Robinson, John Ryan, Wm. Sayers, Wm. Shaw, John Simpson, Wm. Sims, Matt'w Smith, and Jno. Weitzel [Source 45].

The next document in the *Pennsylvania Archives* is a similar but undated petition to the same council. This petition was signed by James Alexander, Robert Arthur, James Brandon, Sam'l Campbell, John Chattam, Simon Cool, Robert Crothers, Abr'm Dewitt, John Dickson, John Donohue, Henr. Dougherty, James Dougherty, John Dougherty, Th's Ferguson, Tho's Forster, Peter Hadey, Alex'r. Hamilton, Edmund Huff, William King, Jacob Links, Wm. Luckey, Rich'd Manning, Wm. McMeens, John Mucklevain, Hugh Nickel, Thomas Nickel, John Paton, Barney Person, John Price, John Richards, Sarah Sands, John Scott, John Skilling, Morgan Snelery, James Sweeney, Dennis Toner, John Toner, John Walker, and John Wilson [Source 45].

Another petition, written early in 1784, addressed the same concerns. The legislature's record of this last petition is annotated, "Read one time, March 17, 1784". The petition was signed by James Alexander, John Arklidge [sic], John Baker, Fred Bodine, Roger Brayley, Brattan Caldwell, Samuel Camel, John Chatham, James Curry, John Dougherty, William Dougherty [# 2 on the list], William Dougherty [# 38 on the list], William Dunn, James Erwin, Thomas Ferguson, Samuel Fields, John Fleming, James Forster, Thomas Forster, John Hamilton, David Hammond, F. Hilor, John Holmes, Robert Holmes, Edmund Huff, James Jackson, John Jackson, William Jackson, Adam King, A. Kitelinger, William Luckey, Peter Maginley, William Maginley, Joseph Mahaffey, Richard Manning, Edward Masters, John McElwain, John McKinney, Joseph McMahan, William McMeans, Thomas Nichols, John Price, Robert

captains J S Davis of Grimesdale and G W Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

Runaway on May 5, 1764 Laurel Hill days 1864 - Skotsylvania - May 8, 1764 - Assault on the Bloody Angle

Reynolds, James Stewart, Richard Suthern, William Walker, Benjamin Warner, and J. Woodsides [Source 22].

The Pennsylvania Assembly responded to those petitions on 21 December 1784 by passing a law which gave those residents preemptive rights over their lands [Source 28]:

... all and every person or persons, and their legal representatives, who has or have heretofore settled on the north side of the west branch of the river Susquehanna, upon the Indian territory, between Lycomick or Lycoming creek on the east, and Tyagaghton or Pine creek on the west, as well as other lands within the said residuary purchase from the Indians, of the territory within this state, ... shall be allowed a right of pre-emption to their respective possessions, ...

On 2 May 1785 the state Board of Property required residents who wanted those land warrants to provide proof of settlement before 1780 by means of deposition of at least one competent witness before a Justice of the Peace of the appropriate county or before a judge of the Supreme Court [Source 4, 14, 15, 46].

FAIR PLAY MEN

The sources cited above allow us to compile the following list of Fair Play Men. This list is incomplete, because exactly three men served in each year from 1773 to 1785 except for the times of the Runaways. George Wolf claimed the system was effective only from 1773 through 1778, the year of the first Runaway, so there were eighteen Fair Play Men [Source 28, 1 at pages 35-36, 7 at pages 13-14]. If his judgment is accurate, then this list includes one-third of the Fair Play Men.

1776	Bratton Caldwell Jersey Shore borough minutes	(Note 4)
1776	John Walker Jersey Shore borough minutes	(Note 4)
1776	James Brandon Jersey Shore borough minutes	(Note 4)
	Peter Rodey Oral tradition in Meginness' 1857 history	(Note 2)
1775	Henry Antes Sworn deposition by Eleanor Coldren [Source 31, 41]	
1775	Cookson Long Sworn deposition by Eleanor Coldren [Source 31, 41]	

NOT FAIR PLAY MEN

William King's testimony in the case of *Huff versus Latcha* [Source 7, 14, 15, 22, 27] might be interpreted as suggesting he and Thomas Kemplin were Fair Play Men. King related a series

of events that resulted in the Fair Play Men of that date deciding to evict a family. Then he described the actual eviction:

William Paul made a complaint to the Company at a Muster at Quinashahague that Arthur still lived on the land and would not go off, although the fair play men had decided against him. I was one of the officers at that time and we agreed to come and turn Arthur off. The most of the Company came down as far as Edmund Huff's who kept stills. We got a kegg of whiskey and proceeded to Arthur's cabin. He was at home with his rifle in his hand and his wife had a bayonet on a stick and they threatened death to the first person who would enter the House. The Door was shut. Thomas Kemplin our Captain made a run at the Door and burst it open and instantly seized Arthur by the neck. We pulled down the cabin and threw it into the river lashed two canoes together and put Arthur and his family into them and sent them down the river.

One might think that saying he was "one of the officers" referred to an officer of Fair Play - that is, a Fair Play Man. One might also think that calling Thomas Kemplin "our Captain" indicated that he was a Fair Play Man and perhaps the most prominent of the three at the time.

An alternative interpretation is that both were officers in the local militia. This is supported by the phrases underlined above. (The underlining is mine and not in the original.) George Wolf agrees with this interpretation of the testimony, using it to support his comment that, "the summary process of ejectment which the Fair Play men exercised was real and certain and sometimes supported by the militia." [Source 1 at page 35].

Northumberland County Militia records list Captain Thomas Kemplin in the Fourth Company, Fourth Battalion on 1 May 1778 and Ensign William King in the Sixth Company, Third Battalion on 13 March 1776 [Source 47, 48, 49].

THE END OF FAIR PLAY

The regions west of Lycoming Creek and north of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River became part of Pennsylvania by the Second Treaty of Fort Stanwix in October of 1784 [Source 2, 5]. Becoming part of the Commonwealth eliminated Fair Play people's need for self-government, and required that Fair Play be replaced with state law. When the state land office opened in May of 1785, people swarmed in to claim lands in compliance with those laws [Source 3]. That month, Fair Play ceased to exist and passed into history [Source 4].

Malstains J S Davis of New Castle, and G W Dinsel, and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following
guerrilla warfare on May 5-6, 1864 Laurel Hill days, 1864, Pennsylvania - May 8, 1864 - assault on the Bloody Creek

NOTES

Note 1: The complete text of the Governor's proclamation, 20 September 1773, is preserved in the *Pennsylvania Archives* [Source 50]. The document is quoted here with "..." marks to indicate omitted text.

Whereas, I have received Information that several Ill disposed Persons, in Disobedience to His Majesty's express orders, and in direct Violation of the Laws, have Lately presumed to seat themselves upon Lands within the limits of this Province, not as yet purchased of the Indians; ... [any person convicted of thus settling, or causing surveys to be made, or mark or cut down trees in those lands] ... shall forfeit and pay for every such offence the sum of Five hundred Pounds, and suffer twelve Month's Imprisonment ... and shall moreover find Surety for his Good Behaviour during the space of twelve Months from and after the Expiration of the Term of such Imprisonment. I have therefore thought Proper ... to issue this my Proclamation, hereby strictly enjoying [sic] and requiring all and every Person and Persons, already settled or Residing on any Lands beyond the Boundary Line of the Last Indian Purchase, immediately to evacuate their illegal Settlements, and to depart and remove themselves from the said Lands without Delay, on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the Law. And I do hereby prohibit ... all His Majesty's Subjects ... to intrude upon, Settle or Possess any of the aforesaid unpurchased Lands, ...

JOHN PENN.

By His Honour's Command,
Joseph Shippen, Junior, Secretary.
GOD SAVE THE KING.

on it I will Give you a Count of their Names
... John Anderson ... William McMeen ...
Thomas Forgison ... Huse ... Jonathan

I have Warned them all off and Read the Proclamations to them; ... [their neighbors on purchased land] ... told me that there Was several that Went off when they heard of my Going up; those that I found Living there promised to Depart the Premises without further troubel, But as I made Return of their Names to Court the Grand Jury has found a bill against them, together with one Hamelton and one Jackson ... and I am in some hopes that it Will Put a Stop to their Proceedings; there is about fourty Improvements made Between Liconing and the Great Island. Some has small Cabens and some a Litel piece of Land cleared. ...

WILLIAM COOKE.

December 1st, 1773.

Directed,

To James Tilmingham, Esq., Philadelphia.
Favoured by George Calhoon.

Even though the Grand Jury returned Bills of Indictment against the persons William Cooke named, there is no record that any prosecutions were attempted [Source 1 at page 11]. Neither is there any record of any of those settlers abandoning their property until the Big Runaway in 1778.

Note 2: Historians do not agree on who said that. All of the following authors published direct quotes, citing only (1) unattributed oral tradition, or (2) other historians who are on this list.

Sherman Day (1843) [Source 12 at page 450, without mentioning sources]: "Bratton Caldwell, a shrewd old Irish pioneer"

John Meginness (1857) [Source 25 at page 172, citing oral tradition]: "a shrewd old Irishman, named Peter Rodey"

William Cornell (1876) [Source 51 at page 369, without mentioning sources]: "One of these old settlers" without naming him

John Meginness (1889) [Source 14 at page 470, citing oral tradition]: "a shrewd old Irishman named Peter Rodey"

John Meginness (1892) [Source 22 at page 205, citing oral tradition]: "a shrewd Irishman named Peter Rodey"

George Wolf (1965) [Source 7 at page 15, attributed to John

On 1 December 1773 William Cooke reported to James Tilmingham regarding his efforts to have settlers leave the area. This letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives* [Source 6]. The letter is quoted here with some text omitted. The underlining is mine; it is not in the preserved text.

Sir,
I hope you will Excuse me in Not Giving you a Count of my Proceedings when I Went to Warn the people of the unpurchased Land before now; as to what People I found

captains J S Davis of Barksdale and G W Barksdale and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions during the American Revolution.

On May 5, 1776, Captain J S Davis of Barksdale and G W Barksdale and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions during the American Revolution.

Meginness' 1857 book]: "Peter Rodey, a former member of the Tribunal"

George Wolf (1969) [Source 1 at page 37, attributed to John Meginness' 1857 book]: "Peter Rodey, a former member of the tribunal"

In 1883 John Linn said John Meginness' 1857 book had "preserved what, thirty years ago, remained in the memory of their descendants, ..." [Source 25, 15 at page 421]. This explains the origin of the description preserved in all of the above sources except Sherman Day's book.

Whether or not Peter's reply is quoted accurately after a delay of 76 years, preserved only orally, is a matter of opinion unless a transcript can be found in the state law library or archives. The 1850 censuses of Lycoming and Clinton Counties show 122 residents who were old enough to remember a 1781 event and who were born in Pennsylvania [Source 52]. The 1860 censuses show 18 such people [Source 53].

Perhaps this clever, concise, hilarious comment became famous immediately and was preserved accurately because of its importance to residents of the West Branch Valley. Perhaps the extant report is a paraphrase of something said in or out of court. Perhaps the comment was devised later and ascribed to one of the Fair Play Men in a suitably imagined context. Every reader is free to judge. In my opinion, if it wasn't said, it should have been.

Note 3: Latcha sometimes was misreported as Satcha. Wolf agrees [Source 7]. Latchas, but not Satchas, appear in census records of the West Branch Valley. In the 1800s an upper case script S and L were similar. The two letters below appear in the same household of an 1850 census [Source 54].



first part of Laura Barksdale



first part of Samuel Barksdale

Note 4: A clipping from an old Jersey Shore newspaper contained old borough minutes of Jersey Shore, including statements that these three men were the Fair Play Tribunal in 1776. Helen Russell relied on this clipping, which she later lost. She discussed this with George Wolf in the early 1960s. Since he considered this information reliable, it is used here [Source 30].

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To access the Pennsylvania Archives at http://www.fold3.com/title/450/pennsylvania_archives/ (as of September 2014): Near the top of that page you can search by typing key words into the search box, or you can browse through the materials in sequence. Fold3.com is a pay site, but you can search the *Pennsylvania Archives* for free even if you have not paid for a subscription to their services.

All internet sites were visited during September of 2014 unless otherwise noted.

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captains J S Davis of Muncy, and G W Diesel, and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

at the time of the day 5-7-64 Laurel Hill days 1864 Skirmish Pennsylvania - May 8-1864 Assault on the Bloody Angle

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Malists of S Davis of Rutherford and G W Dinsel and General Richard Coulter participated in the following
guerrilla warfare May 5-6 1864 Laurel Hill Days of Gettysburg - May 8-1864 assault on the Bloody Lane

1774 - Summer of Decision in Pennsylvania

By: Ted Bainbridge, Ph.D.

The Tiadaghton Declaration [1] was not the first expression of a Pennsylvania community's dissatisfaction with Parliament and desire for united responses among all the colonies. Several declarations appeared in public during the summer of 1774. They were responses to a chain of events that began with the French and Indian War and culminated with the closure of Boston's port and the occupation of that city. These public meetings led to the First Continental Congress.

FROM WAR TO CLOSURE

The French and Indian War (1754-1763) pitted British colonists, the British army, and their indigenous allies against French colonists, the French army, and their indigenous allies. France lost all its territory in North America. British troops remained in North America after the war.

To help pay for the war and the remaining troops, the British government thought it logical to tax the colonists because they had been the direct beneficiaries of the military expenses. The Stamp Act (March 1765) imposed a tax only on the North American colonies, requiring a tax to be paid on many printed materials. It was the first direct tax on colonists. Many colonists objected to the tax, claiming it violated the Rights of Englishmen. That label referred to perceived rights that had been long established in Great Britain by law, by custom, and by common usage and understanding. Among those Rights were two principles: (1) people could be taxed only by Parliament, and (2) Parliament was legitimate only to the extent that its members were elected by the people it sought to govern. Colonists had no representatives in Parliament, so they claimed the Stamp Act's tax could not be imposed on them. This is the origin of the slogan, "no taxation without representation".

The Stamp Act Congress (October 1765) included delegates from nine of the eighteen British colonies. They passed resolutions stating that colonists owed to King and Parliament the same allegiance as did people born in Great Britain, and that colonists had the same rights as did people born in Great Britain. Therefore, following the above logic, they declared the Stamp Act tax unconstitutional. They sent a petition about these matters to the King and Parliament. The petition was rejected. This was the first time elected representatives of several colonies had met to protest new taxes. The Congress caused concern in England because the group was extralegal, its members came from several colonies, its members and actions were supported by widespread grass-roots opinion, and the entire process was far outside of accepted channels for expressing opinions and trying to influence government.

The same sort of political and social strife, with the same arguments and with ever-increasing anger, followed Parliament's Declaratory Act (1766), the Townshend Acts (1767), and the Tea Act (May 1773).

The direct tax on tea infuriated colonists. During months following the passage of the Act, several ships that arrived in the colonies with cargoes of tea were persuaded to depart without landing their tea and without paying the tax. But in Boston things started and ended differently. In late November of 1773 a tea ship docked at Boston. A mass meeting of citizens passed a resolution telling the ship's captain to depart without paying the tax. Twenty-five local men were assigned to assure that the ship was not unloaded. The governor forbid the ship to leave without paying the tax. British law required the ship to unload and pay within twenty days of arrival. On the evening of the twentieth day, in the middle of December, the Boston Tea Party occurred, in which the tea was dumped overboard.

Three months later (March 1774) Parliament passed four acts called collectively the Coercive Acts, which became known in the colonies as the Intolerable Acts. One of the Acts, the Boston Port Act, closed the port of Boston until the tea had been paid for, the tax had been paid, and the King was satisfied that the citizens had become orderly and obedient. In June the naval blockade was put into place and troops occupied the city.

Blockading and occupying Boston triggered the summer of decision in Pennsylvania.

THE BOSTON LETTER

The *Circular Letter of the Boston Committee of Correspondence* was written on 13 May 1774, two months after the Intolerable Acts were passed and one month before the port was closed [2]. Copies of the letter were sent by courier to many places in the colonies. The letter described and decried the Boston Port Act and its effects on the city, claiming that the Act was an attempt to divide the colonies in their responses to various unpopular Acts of Parliament. The letter then asked two questions and requested that a response be returned to Boston via their courier:

1. Do you consider Boston as suffering in the common cause of all the colonies?
2. Will you suspend your trade with Great Britain?

Counties, cities, and small communities in nearly every colony passed resolves answering both questions in the affirmative and often used the same phrasing that had been used in the Boston letter. In those times it was common practice for newspapers

captains J S Davis of New Castle and G W Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

it turned to day 5-7-64 Laurel Hill days 8-1864 Skirmish Pennsylvania May 8-1864 Assault on the Bloody Angle

to reprint items that had appeared in other newspapers [3]. This caused some sets of resolves to mimic the content and phrasing of others, and caused many to appear as though they had been motivated by and copied from a single source. Many communities' resolves called for a colony-wide convention to decide on a unified response to problems with the mother country, and most colony conventions called for a continental convention to lead the colonies in a united response to the situation. This is how the First Continental Congress came into existence.

PENNSYLVANIA COMMUNITY MEETINGS

Pennsylvanians' response to the Boston letter was immediate. From June 4th through July 9th citizens in Hanover, Middletown, Lebanon, Reading, Lancaster, Newtown, Philadelphia, and an unspecified town in Chester County held public meetings to decide how they should react to the situation in Boston [4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11].

All eight communities passed resolutions that condemned various Acts of Parliament and called for a meeting of representatives of all the colonies to decide upon unified responses to the current state of affairs between Great Britain and the colonies. Varying numbers of the communities expressed their loyalty to the king, described a duty to resist laws that impinged on their rights as Englishmen, condemned the Boston Port Bill specifically, and appointed a committee to attend to local affairs regarding these matters and to communicate with other similar committees. Only Hanover mentioned military resistance:

4th. That in the event of Great Britain attempting to force unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and our rifles.

That pointed threat was significant because they believed Great Britain already was attempting to force unjust laws upon Boston by strength of arms, using both the army and the navy.

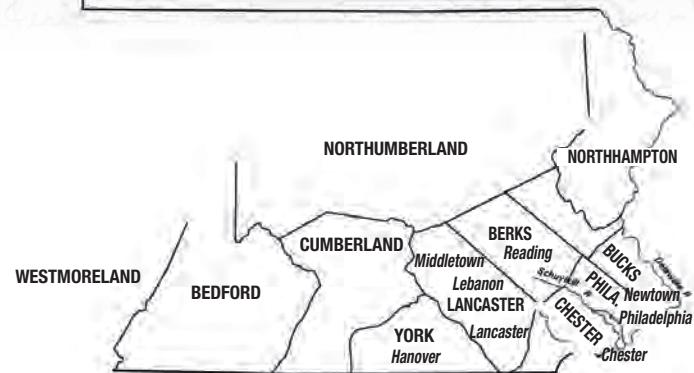


Figure 2: Pennsylvania counties in 1774, with communities that passed Resolves.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MEETING

A meeting of deputies chosen by each county in Pennsylvania met in Philadelphia on July 15th, 1774 [12]. Philadelphia (city and county) sent 34 delegates. Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Chester, Cumberland, Lancaster, Northampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and York Counties sent a total of 41 delegates. The delegates from Northumberland County, which eventually gave birth to Lycoming County, were William Scull and Samuel Hunter. The meeting began with an agreement to vote by counties. "The letters from Boston of the 13th of May, were then read, and a short account given of the steps taken in consequence thereof, and the measures now pursuing in this and the neighboring provinces; after which the following *Resolves* were passed."

The *Resolves* is a list of sixteen points. The first four are quoted here so that readers can feel their tenor from the original language. ("Unan." indicates a unanimous resolution.)

Unan. I. That we acknowledge ourselves, and the inhabitants of this province, liege subjects of his Majesty, King George the Third, to whom they and we owe and will

	Hanover	Middletown	Lebanon	Reading	Lancaster	Newtown	Chester	Phila
Criticizing Parliament	H	M	LE	R	LA	N	C	P
Meeting of all colonies	H	M	LE	R	LA	N	C	P
Oppose unjust laws	H	M	LE		LA	N		
Appoint a committee	H	M	LE	R	LA			P
Boston			LE	R	LA		C	P
Loyalty to the king			LE	R	LA			
Military resistance	H							

Figure 1: Subjects mentioned in resolutions.

Major General S. Davis of New York, and Major General W. Wilkes of Maryland, and General Richard Coulter participated in the following

gathering at a day 5 of May 1776 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania - May 8, 1776 - Assault on the Bloody Chipping

bear true and faithful allegiance.

Unan. II. That, as the idea of an unconstitutional independence on the parent state is utterly abhorrent to our principles we view the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the Colonies with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, as fruitless to her, grievous to us, and destructive of the best interest of both.

Unan. III. That it is, therefore, our ardent desire, that our ancient harmony with the mother country should be restored, and a perpetual love and union subsist between us, on the principles of the constitution, and an interchange of good offices, without the least infraction of our mutual rights.

Unan. IV. That the inhabitants of these colonies are entitled to the same rights and liberties within these colonies, that the subjects born in England are entitled to within that realm.

The next four points use the reasoning described earlier to claim that Parliament has tried to assume unconstitutional powers over the colonies, and that the Coercive Acts are unconstitutional. Point nine repeats the desire for reconciliation:

Unan. IX. That there is an absolute necessity, that a congress of deputies from the several colonies be immediately assembled to consult together and form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the colonies, for the purposes of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing our rights, and restoring harmony between Great Britain and her colonies on a constitutional foundation.

The next five points express a desire for redress and reconciliation, or if that fails, a suspension of commerce between the colonies and Great Britain, or if that fails "farther steps" to be decided by a "congress for the colonies". They also address some details of how suspension of commerce should be implemented. The next to last point promotes donations to the relief fund for Boston's residents. The last point instructs those present to communicate with their representatives in the Pennsylvania Assembly and ask that body to appoint representatives to attend a congress of several colonies.

In summary, the document professes loyalty to the King, claims the Rights of Englishmen, protests laws passed by Parliament, asks for redress of grievances, hopes for reconciliation, and prepares for other actions if reconciliation fails.

Many of those principles, including some of the same language, appear in *A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth or State of Pennsylvania* in 1776 [13], Pennsylvania's 1776 constitution [14], and Pennsylvania's 1790 constitution [15].

A BRITISH RESPONSE

Pennsylvania's Provincial Council advised Governor John Penn to write to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to inform him of the above *Resolves* and the instructions drawn up by that committee to the Provincial Assembly regarding the conduct of Pennsylvania delegates to the "General Congress of Delegates from all the Colonies" to be held in Philadelphia in September. Dartmouth replied on September 7th, saying:

... it has given the King great concern to find that His Subjects in the different Colonies in North America, have been induced upon the Grounds stated in their different Resolutions, to nominate Deputies to meet in general Congress at Philadelphia. If the Object of this Congress be humbly to represent to the King any Grievances they may have to complain of, or any Propositions they may have to make on the present State of America, such Representation would certainly have come from each Colony with greater weight, in its separate Capacity, than in a Channel, of the Propriety & Legality of which there may be much doubt.

He then expresses a wish that the congress will not cut off all hope of union with the mother country. [16]

THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY

On July 15th, in the PA *Resolves*, Point 16 instructed the committee to ask the Assembly to appoint representatives to a congress of several colonies. That message, in writing, was received by the Assembly on July 19th [17]. Pennsylvania's delegates to the First Continental Congress were Joseph Galloway, John Dickinson, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, Edward Biddle, John Morton, and George Ross [18].

The Pennsylvania Assembly received letters from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Virginia advocating a congress of all the colonies to discuss the current situation and to develop unified plans to restore colonists' rights and

Captains J S Davis of New York and G W Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

at Germantown on May 5-7-8-9-10 Laurel Hill May 8-1867 Skirmish Pennsylvania - May 8-1867 Assault on the Bloody Angle

to restore unity and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies [19]. Undoubtedly, many other letters on this subject were exchanged among all the colonies; otherwise the meeting would not have taken place.

PENNSYLVANIA HOSTED THE CONGRESS OF SEVERAL COLONIES

The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in September and October of 1774. Twelve colonies were represented; Georgia was not [18].

Joseph Galloway, Pennsylvania's delegate and a resident of Philadelphia County, proposed *A Plan of Union of Great Britain and the Colonies*. Most members thought the plan was very good. It proposed a "Grand Council", which would be the continental equivalent of Parliament, and a "President General" who would represent the authority of the King in America. Just prior to voting on this plan, the group received the *Suffolk Resolves* from a committee of citizens in Boston and nearby towns. That document said the Suffolk County citizens refused to obey the Intolerable Acts or the officials responsible for them and urged other citizens to stop paying taxes, stop trading with Great Britain, and organize local militia drill each week. The *Plan of Union* was defeated [18, 20]. Instead, the *Declaration and Resolves* was passed [18, 21, 22].

The *Declaration and Resolves* makes the following points in clear and extensive detail [21]:

- Parliament passed laws for the colonies that were unconstitutional, contrary to longstanding British laws, and unjust to colonists.
- Reasonable petitions to the crown have been treated with contempt by government ministers.
- Colonists elected delegates to meet for the purpose of determining the best means of reestablishing their Rights as Englishmen.
- Colonists have no representatives in Parliament, so Parliament cannot legislate over them.
- Power to legislate over colonists resides exclusively in their provincial legislatures, limited only by the King's veto.
- Colonists will not obey Parliament's unconstitutional and illegal Acts, but will submit to Parliament's bona fide Acts.
- They hope the British government will revise existing laws so that former conditions of "happiness and prosperity" between the colonies and Great Britain will be restored.
- Colonists will consider embarguing trade with Great Britain.
- The congress will prepare an address to the peoples of Great Britain and of British America.
- The congress will prepare "a loyal address to his majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into."

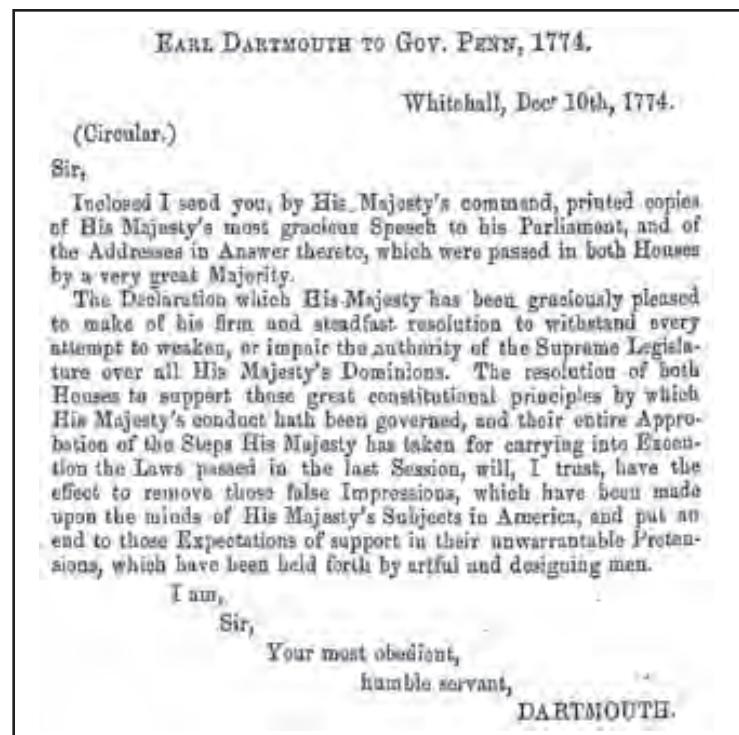
The congress also voted to stop importing British goods on December 1st, 1774 unless Parliament had rescinded the Intolerable Acts. They also voted to meet again in May of

1775 if their grievances had not been addressed by the British government by then. This being the totality of their accomplishments, they then adjourned [18, 22].

REACTIONS TO THE CONGRESS

Eleven colonies' legislatures approved the proceedings of the congress. The legislatures in New York and Georgia did not [23].

Congress' "loyal address" did not amuse the King, his government, or Parliament. Here is a letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Pennsylvania [24]: *Figure 3: Letter*.



The congress adjourned on October 26th and this letter was written on December 10th, less than seven weeks later. In that era travel between America and Britain could take up to six weeks each way, so this letter was a prompt response to news from the colonies.

The King and both houses of Parliament insisted that legislature's unlimited authority over all of Britain's dominions. The government expected that their steadfast determination would put an end to the colonists' "unwarrantable pretensions".

Thus the summer of decisions made in Pennsylvania on local, colonial, and continental levels determined the course of the colonists. The ensuing decisions made in London determined the course of the British. Instead of the accommodation and reconciliation sincerely desired by both sides, the conflicts escalated into the Revolutionary War.

Participants of Davis Brothers and W. D. Davis and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following battles: May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill, May 8, 1864 assault on the Bloody Angle.

SOURCES

All of the events described in "From War to Closure" are almost so well known as to be considered "common knowledge", or should be. A search of any local library's holdings will reveal many sources that treat those topics. An internet search for any fact mentioned in that section will produce an extensive hit list. Since there are many hundreds of easily accessible sources regarding those facts, none are cited here.

To access the *Pennsylvania Archives* at http://www.fold3.com/title/450/pennsylvania_archives/ : Near the top of that page you can search by typing key words into the search box, or you can browse through the materials in sequence. Fold3.com is a pay site, but you can search the *Pennsylvania Archives* for free even if you have not paid for a subscription to their services.

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TED BAINBRIDGE

Ted Bainbridge has been a genealogical researcher, teacher, speaker, and writer since 1969. His database includes 29,000 relatives, including several lines into the 1600s, 40 participants in the Revolutionary War, and 650 Civil War soldiers. Ted's genealogical articles and data have been published over 60 times and his presentations are well-received by genealogical and historical societies. He is President of the Longmont Genealogical Society, Colorado, and a staff member of the Longmont Family History Center.



Among his advanced degrees are a PhD from the University of Iowa, a Master's from Arizona State University and Master's and Bachelor of Science degrees from the University of Arizona. Born in Williamsport, he has an avid interest in the genealogical heritage of Lycoming County. He is interested in contact with descendants of the Fair Play Men. Please contact him at 4thecho@gmail.com.

captains J.S. Davis of Honesdale and G.W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions at Gettysburg on July 5-6, Laurel Hill days later at South Mountain - May 8, 1864 - Assault on the Bloody Angle at Spotsylvania - May 9, 1864 - Battle of Cold Harbor - May 3, 1864

Civil War Conscription in Lycoming County: Assessing a Local Community through the 1863 Draft Enrollment

By: John P. Deeben

By the beginning of 1863, the Civil War had settled into a long-term war of attrition. The quick and decisive Union victories of early spring 1862 at Forts Henry and Donelson, Island No. 10, and Shiloh, Tennessee, had given way to the overly cautious advance of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac to Richmond along the James River Peninsula. That hapless campaign ended ignominiously



LCHS Archives This Extra! Broadside from the West Branch Democrat announces the potential drafted "soldiers" from the County. 1863

following a series of masterful counterattacks by Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia during the Seven Days battles. Union forces suffered another defeat at Second Manassas in August, 1862, followed by a bloody stalemate (albeit a strategic victory) at Antietam in September and an even greater catastrophe at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. With no end to the fighting in sight, Union authorities realized they would need to generate more manpower to keep the Northern war effort alive. In response, the War Department implemented the first national military draft in American history.

Under the provisions of the 1862 Militia Act, many northern states during the preceding fall had carried out statewide drafts to fill Federal enlistment quotas, but such an endeavor had never before been attempted on a national scale. In the past, especially during the Revolutionary War, local communities and state governments had conducted limited conscriptions to fulfill various military needs, but for the most part the voluntary enlistment of citizen soldiers—enticed to serve with offers of cash or land bounties—remained the preferred method of recruitment. Indeed, Union officials in 1863 envisioned the national draft to serve more as a means (some perceived it as a threat) to stimulate volunteer service rather than as a genuine recruiting tool. They hoped that prevailing social stigmas attached to military conscription, which generally condemned the practice as immoral and conscripts as nothing better than paid mercenaries or even hired thugs, would spur local communities to meet their designated enlistment quotas willingly.¹

Responding to the pressing need to replenish the depleted ranks of the Union Armies after the failed campaigns of 1862, Congress on March 3, 1863, passed "An Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces, and for Other Purposes"—known more commonly as the Enrollment Act (12 Stat. 731). The statute required all eligible male citizens aged 20 to 45 as of July 1, 1863, as well as resident aliens who had "declared on oath their intention to become citizens," to register in one of two categories or classes. Class 1 consisted of all married men aged 20 to 35, and single men between 20 and 45 years old. Class 2 comprised "all other persons subject to do military duty," meaning essentially those remaining married men aged 35 to 45 not included in the first enrollment. The second class enrollees remained exempt from service until all eligible members of Class 1 were called up.²

The provost marshal general of the U.S. Army created a third class of enrollees as well, comprising all men with previous military experience who would otherwise have been enrolled in the first two classes. These veterans also

Major S. Davis of Fredonia, and G. W. Dinsel, and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following
governor's May 5, 1864 Laurel Hill Day, 1864, at Gettysburg - May 8, 1864 - assault on the Bloody Lane

received immunity from the draft until the other classes were depleted. Other exemptions included men with mental or physical impairments and convicted felons. Family exceptions covered the only sons of widows and aged or infirm parents (for families with multiple sons, the widow or parents could choose which son to exempt); widowers with dependent children; and the only brothers of orphaned siblings under age 12. The remaining sons of families with a father and one son already serving in the military were also excused from the draft. Certain exemptions extended to public officials as well, most notably the vice president of the United States, the heads of Federal government executive departments, and state governors. Others could avoid the draft by paying a \$300 commutation fee or hiring a substitute for the same price.³

To implement the draft, Congress authorized the creation of enrollment districts organized according to existing state congressional districts. An enrollment board supervised each district and consisted of a locally-appointed provost marshal (who served as the president of the board) and two other persons designated by the president, one of whom had to be a licensed physician or surgeon. Each enrollment board carved its jurisdiction into sub-districts "of convenient size" and appointed enrolling officers to identify eligible candidates for the draft. Unlike draft registrations during later wars, in which qualified men had to report to a central registration site on a specific date, the Civil War enrolling officers canvassed the population door-to-door to collect names. This method sometimes proved problematic as well as dangerous; due to the unpopularity of the draft, many enrolling officers collected dubious information about fictitious or deceased individuals, or men who were already serving in the Army, while some officers encountered threats of violence and armed resistance.⁴

Despite the potential drawbacks, the enrollment system generated comprehensive lists that were then used to determine quota assignments and conduct the actual draft lottery (if such a drawing became necessary). From early June to mid-July or August, 1863, the enrolling officers canvassed their areas and then brought the compiled lists back to the enrollment headquarters where clerks prepared consolidated lists of names usually arranged alphabetically by sub-district. The lists also noted each enrollee's age, residence, occupation, marital status, and place of birth. If an actual draft became necessary, the enrollment boards were instructed to hold a public lottery where names to fill the assigned quotas would be drawn and publicized, and then written notices sent to the draftee's last known residence. Drafted men had to report for a physical examination, and those who passed then went before the enrollment board to determine if they might be eligible for other exemptions. After that point, the remaining conscripts had ten days to arrange their affairs (including paying commutation fees or hiring a substitute) before reporting back to the enrollment board, where they were issued uniforms, confined to a holding area, and then sent to a general rendezvous for assignment to a regiment.⁵

Following the passage of the Enrollment Act, President Abraham Lincoln issued four calls for troops in October, 1863, as well as March, July, and December, 1864. After each call, the local provost marshals announced specific quotas for each district to be filled by volunteers, with the balance of any unfulfilled allotments covered by draft lotteries based on the collected enrollment lists. The drafts identified 776,829 men for military duty, but only a fraction were eventually deemed eligible for service. 161,244 men never reported for examination and 93,398 were discharged outright for reasons not specified. Another 160,251 men received disability exemptions and 155,258 qualified for family excuses or were released after military quotas had been met. Of the remaining 206,678 candidates held for actual service, 86,724 paid commutations and 73,607 furnished substitutes, leaving a mere 46,347 men (six percent of the initial draftees) who actually served as conscripts between 1863 and 1865. All in all, the national draft impacted Northern society less harshly than anticipated.⁶

In Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, the draft enrollment took place between May and June, 1863, supervised by local provost marshal Capt. W. W. White, who also prepared the final consolidated lists at the enrollment board headquarters in Williamsport on August 12, 1863. Lycoming County comprised part of the enrollment district covered by the 18th Pennsylvania Congressional District, which also included Centre, Clinton,



LCHS Photographic Archives
Anonymous Man (U.S. Civil War Soldier)

Captains J. S. Davis of Rutherford and G. W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions during the Civil War: May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill Days, 1864, Shady Valley, Pennsylvania; May 8, 1864, Assault on the Bloody Angle.

Tioga, and Potter Counties. White further divided the county into several sub-districts, including the 12th (Williamsport and Loyalsock Township); 13th (Muncy, Hughesville, and the townships of Muncy, Muncy Creek, Shrewsbury, and Wolf); 14th (Jersey Shore and Limestone, Nippenose, Porter, and Watson Townships); 15th (Montoursville and Eldred, Fairfield, Plunkett's Creek, and Upper Fairfield Townships); 16th (Franklin, Jordan, Moreland, and Penn Townships); 17th (Armstrong, Brady, Clinton, and Washington Townships); 18th (Cascade, Hepburn, Lewis, and McIntyre Townships); 19th (Brown, Cummings, Jackson, McHenry, and Pine Townships); and 20th (Anthony, Cogan House, Mifflin, and Piatt Townships). Finally, the 21st Sub-District encompassed Bastress, Lycoming, Old Lycoming, Susquehanna, and Woodward Townships.⁷

After completion, the draft lists for Lycoming County were forwarded with other consolidated enrollments to the Provost Marshal General's Bureau at the War Department in Washington, DC. Within the Bureau, the records were maintained by the Enrollment Branch, which compiled other general information about the physical condition of recruits. After Congress abolished the Provost Marshal General's Bureau at the end of the Civil War, the records transferred to the Enrollment Division of the Adjutant General's Office in the War Department. Unfortunately, only the Class 1 enrollments for Lycoming County have survived, so information about married men aged 35–45 (Class 2) and veterans (Class 3) remains limited. However, given that the Class 1 enrollments were intended to include the majority of eligible men of military age and comprise the initial pool of

candidates for the draft lotteries, it is still possible to draw some interesting generalizations from the existing records about the nature of the male population in Lycoming County during the mid-1860s.

A total of 3,515 men enrolled for the draft in Lycoming County during the summer of 1863. The number of enrollees represented approximately 13 percent of the county's total male population (19,070) in 1860, the last available census the year before the war began. Not surprisingly, Williamsport furnished the largest contingent (914), followed by Loyalsock Township (204), Muncy Creek Township (112), and Jersey Shore (106). Statistically, however, Williamsport's candidates only represented 32 percent of its total pre-war male residents (2,860); Montoursville had the largest percentage of eligible males (87 out of 187 men, or 47 percent), followed by Plunkett's Creek Township (54 out of 153 males, or 35 percent). Similarly, Bastress Township provided the least enrollees (16), representing ten percent of its male populace (158), but Brady Township contributed the lowest overall percentage (30 out of 606 males, or five percent), followed by Fairfield Township at seven percent (35 out of 469 males), and Brown Township at eight percent (31 out of 363 males).⁸

Regarding the Class 1 marital status and age requirements, the eligible Lycoming population included a majority of family men (1,836 husbands versus 1,678 bachelors). While the married men divided almost evenly age-wise between 20- and 30-year-olds (919 men aged 20–29 years compared to 917 men aged 30–35), the single enrollees clearly favored a younger demographic: 1,318 men aged 20–29, as opposed to 319 men aged 30–39 and a mere 41 aged 40–45. The oldest enrollees, all aged 44 years, included Jacob Remp of Cascade Township, J. H. Courtright of Loyalsock, James McCane of Muncy Creek, John Gregory of Plunkett's Creek, George Shaffer of Washington Township, and both William Herrington and John Smith of Williamsport. Two ineligible married men—Jesse Hyman of Loyalsock (aged 36) and John Bennett of Shrewsbury Township (aged 44)—were initially listed in Class 1 but later transferred to Class 2. Two other over-aged married men, however, including David S. Campbell (aged 38) and B. C. Philips (aged 42), apparently remained on the Class 1 enrollments.⁹

The racial complexion of the enrollees probably reflected that of the larger northern society at the mid-point of the war. As expected, the vast majority (98 percent) reported their race as Caucasian; only 70 men identified themselves as "Colored" (meaning, presumably, African American), which was also the only other option besides "White" that appeared under the personal description column of the enrollment forms. Of these minorities, all but six identified Pennsylvania as their place of birth, suggesting they were all free-born persons, while another—John Pront of Williamsport—claimed to be of foreign (French) birth. Four of the men—William Seany of Armstrong Township; Aaron Lee of Clinton Township; and James and Nathan Tolbet of Williamsport—originally came from Virginia, but there is no evidence to indicate whether



LCHS Photographic Archives
Member of the Schneider family? (U.S. Civil War Soldier)
"Nellie Schneider's Father or Uncle"
2008.107.8

they were free-born, freedmen, or refugees from slavery. The same can also be said of four black enrollees from Maryland, a border slave state that tenuously remained loyal to the Union during the war.¹⁰

The nativity of the remaining enrollees also suggested a typically indigenous local population. Seventy-seven percent, or 2,722 men, listed Pennsylvania as their place of birth. The draft registration form did not ask for any more specific localities other than state, country, or territory, so it is impossible to discern how many men were Lycoming natives or who migrated to the county from other parts of the Commonwealth. Of the remaining 793 non-native Keystoneers, 283 men came from other states while 510 claimed to be foreign-born. The out-of-staters hailed overwhelmingly from bordering states, especially New York (218), New Jersey (23), Maryland (seven), Ohio (two), and Delaware (one). The rest came mainly from New England, including Maine (ten), Connecticut (four), Massachusetts and Vermont (three each), and Rhode Island (one), as well as the mid-west—Kentucky (two), Indiana (one), and Michigan (one). Seven men also claimed to be from Virginia, but apparently decided to remain loyal to their adopted state.¹¹

The international or foreign-born enrollees continued to reflect the ethnic demographics that had characterized Pennsylvania since the mid-18th century, when major waves of German and Scots-Irish immigrants dominated colonial settlement. As expected, Germans comprised the majority of foreign-born enrollees (299), including Joseph Klasner of Jersey Shore, who was the only individual to specify a particular German state (Prussia) as his homeland. Two men, Jacob Renz and Arnold Shearer of Williamsport, both acknowledged themselves as Swiss, while John Gans of Jersey Shore identified himself simply as European, offering no clue to his cultural origins. The remaining enrollees all derived mostly from the British Empire, including Ireland (130), England (43), Canada (15), Scotland (five), and Wales (one). Sixteen draft candidates also hailed from France. Reflecting the popular settlement trends of the mid-19th century, the largest contingent of immigrant enrollees resided in an urban center (Williamsport), including 164 Germans, 83 Irish, 21 English, nine Canadians, and three French.¹²

The occupations of the primary class of potential draftees also reflected prevailing vocational trends among the larger population at that time. Most of the enrollees (1,215 men) included general or unskilled laborers, followed, of course, by farmers (864) in the predominantly rural county. Even the major population centers of Hughesville, Jersey Shore, Montoursville, Muncy, and Williamsport counted 29 farmers collectively among their residents. (Jackson Township, interestingly, was the only jurisdiction where every enrollee reported their occupation as general laborer.) Among skilled laborers or artisans (those who produced goods or provided specialized services), the largest contingent not surprisingly comprised workers in the lumber industry that was just reaching its peak in the 1860s and would go on to dominate



LCHS Photographic Archives
Anonymous Man (U.S. Civil War Soldier)
Photographed by Campbell's Fine Art Gallery,
Pine & Third Streets, Williamsport, PA

Lycoming's economy and commercial development for the rest of the century. These workers included 178 carpenters, 134 sawyers (those who sawed timber for a living), 54 lumbermen, five lumber counters, and three board pilers. Reflecting the importance of the Susquehanna River to the county's economy as well, a number of enrollees also reported their occupations as boatmen (87), boat builders (nine), and one lock tender.¹³

Other skilled artisans in Class 1 followed a variety of industrial occupations. Enrollees employed in transportation manufacturing included 15 wagon and four carriage makers, with others engaged in supporting craftwork, including 55 blacksmiths, ten wheelwrights, and two harness makers. Several iron furnaces operated in the county as well, leading at least six enrollees to find employment as foundry men or iron masters, while Charles Marsh of Loyalsock Township worked as a furnace heater. In addition to the plethora of carpenters, craftsmen in other building trades included 19 masons, 18 plasterers, five marble cutters, and one lime burner who supplied the processed lime powder needed to mix building plaster or concrete. Other manufacturers consisted of 15 millwrights, 14 brick makers, six confectioners, and five brewers or distillers.

Captains J.S. Davis of Muncy, and G.W. Diesel, and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions:

at Gettysburg on July 5-7, 1863 Laurel Hill, May 8, 1864 Skirmish at Williamsport, May 8, 1864 - Assault on the Bloody Angle.



LCHS Photographic Archives
Charles H. ROBERTS
2005.240

Other railroad workers included nine office clerks, six brakemen, and five firemen, while 11 men simply listed their vocation as general employees or laborers. Two men each also worked as yard watchmen, railroad agents, superintendents, and baggage masters. Ezra Westfull of Williamsport served as a train dispatcher, while Edward Phillips worked as a track master at the local yard. In other transportation services, enrollee Hiram Whitcomb of Jersey Shore drove a stage coach, while Fleming Edward of Muncy Creek and Samuel Aurand of Jersey Shore both operated omnibuses.¹⁵

The enrollments reflected a variety of professional or paper-collar occupations as well. The largest contingent reported employment as office clerks or bookkeepers (77), followed by merchants and shopkeepers (52). Some business owners operated more specific lines of merchandizing, such as Albert W. Curtis and John D. Wallace, both of whom retailed shoes and books in Williamsport, respectively. Other vendors or distributors specialized in coal, ice, stoves, liquor, flour, and furniture. Twenty-one enrollees also served as proprietors of public houses, including several inns, hotels, taverns, saloons, and one restaurant. Along with five enrollees who listed their occupations as peddlers, two enterprising merchants—E. C. Wells of Muncy and Frank Cole of Williamsport—took their wares on the road as sutlers with the Union Army. During the summer of 1863, Wells served the 11th Pennsylvania Volunteers, while Cole supplied dry goods and personal comforts to the 151st Pennsylvania.¹⁶

Some enrollees claimed white-collar vocations that typically required higher education or formal training. These professionals included 26 teachers, 14 lawyers or attorneys, 13 physicians, 12 ministers, six dentists, and one surveyor, William H. Krocht of Williamsport. Other professionals who required some kind of special skills or journeyman training included seven printers (as well as three editors), six druggists,

enrollees employed in more traditional cottage industries included 61 shoemakers, 26 cabinetmakers, 19 tailors, 11 saddlers, ten coopers, nine tanners, and four watchmakers, including clock tinker Andrew Robins, Jr., of Eldred Township. James P. Guyer of Muncy Creek and Jacob Gable of Williamsport represented two of Lycoming's talented gunsmiths.

Reflecting another invaluable aspect of industrial development in Lycoming in the mid-19th century, a large contingent of enrollees also worked in various capacities on the local railroads. Fourteen enrollees identified themselves as conductors, while four served as steam engineers.¹⁴

and five telegraph operators. On the more creative end of the professional spectrum, three enrollees listed their vocations as musicians and artists, while sixteen individuals also identified themselves as painters, but did not indicate the nature of their work (whether artistic or commercial). Another sixteen enrollees counted themselves as students or professionals-in-training, including five of whom were reading law, and one medical student. Thirteen individuals simply identified themselves as "gentlemen" without indicating how they earned or maintained their livelihood.¹⁷

Most of the eligible candidates on the draft enrollments never actually went into the military. In the course of preparing the consolidated lists the enrolling officers noted that only one individual, George Benger of Loyalsock Township, had actually been drafted but hired a substitute, while Reuben Barner of Porter Township was currently serving as a substitute for another man. Another enrollee, Richard Brenner of Montoursville, had been drafted but then rejected for unspecified reasons. Nine other men had been selected for service during the state draft of the previous fall, but had hired substitutes as well. Other enrollees proved ineligible for the national draft, including twenty resident aliens who had not yet applied for citizenship, and several disabled individuals, such as Adam Hinkleman of Hepburn Township, who had lost four fingers on his left hand, and John Hendrickson of Lewis Township, who suffered from a speech impediment that had disqualified him from the state draft. One unfortunate draftee, John H. Price of Williamsport, passed away after being enrolled, while Walter Katte proved that he was already enrolled in another county.¹⁸

A number of draft candidates also benefited from the family exemptions allowed by the enrollment law. Officials subsequently removed 71 men from the consolidated lists after their families exercised the parental option to exempt a specific son, striking their names with red ink and adding the notation "Election by Parent" to the remarks column in each enrollment entry. Another candidate, Thomas Corson of Shrewsbury Township, likely escaped the draft as well after the enrolling officers noted he was divorced with two young children under twelve years old to support. The largest group of men removed from the Class 1 enrollments, however, included 135 former soldiers, who were transferred to Class 3. At least twelve of these veterans



LCHS Photographic Archives
Anonymous Man (U.S. Civil War Soldier)

had just served 13 days in the local state militia during the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania. Others served in various state organizations, including John Rourk of Hepburn Township, who finished 17 months in the 101st Pennsylvania; Samuel Coover of Old Lycoming Township, a former Bucktail (1st Pennsylvania Reserves); and John W. Sterling of Lewis Township, a corporal in the 50th New York Engineers.¹⁹

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Overall, the sampling of male residents from Lycoming County who enrolled in the first national military draft during the Civil War reflected characteristics typical of a mid-19th century northern community. In 1863, Lycoming County comprised a predominantly white, native-born population with a small percentage of foreigners, mostly from northern and western Europe. They pursued livelihoods as general laborers, farmers, or artisans in various cottage industries, with a smattering of trained professionals and business entrepreneurs. More importantly, the total number of men who proved eligible for the draft—well over three thousand enrollees, enough to fill three regiments—further demonstrated that the North enjoyed an ample, untapped reserve of manpower to prosecute the war, a decisive advantage that contributed to ultimate victory over the less-populated Confederacy. That most draft enrollees never actually served seems almost irrelevant; as long as the Union war effort remained successful, men were available to see the task through to the end. In that regard, Lycoming County certainly stood ready to do its part.

Endnotes

- 1 Eugene C. Murdock, *One Million Men: the Civil War Draft in the North* (Madison, WI: the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971), p. x; James W. Geary, *We Need Men: the Union Draft in the Civil War* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), p. xiv.
- 2 Act of March 3, 1863, ch. LXXV, 12 Stat. 731–32, in George P. Sanger, ed., *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations, of the United States of America*, Vol. 12 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1863).
- 3 Act of March 3, 1863, ch. LXXV, 12 Stat. 731; Michael T. Meier, “Civil War Draft Records: Exemptions and Enrollments,” *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives* 26:4 (Winter 1994): 282–86.
- 4 Murdock, *One Million Men*, p. 8; Geary, *We Need Men*, p. 73. The New York City draft riots of July 1863 offered the most extreme, well-known example of resistance to the draft enrollment, fueled mostly by the resentment of the city’s lower classes and recent immigrants, who felt the draft fell heavier on them than on the more privileged classes because they could not afford substitutes or commutation. The New York riots lasted four days, resulting in numerous deaths and property destroyed by fire. See Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 5 Geary, *We Need Men*, p. 74.
- 6 Ibid, p. 83.
- 7 Enrollment ledger for Class 1, 18th District Pennsylvania, Vol. 1; Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Enrollment Lists and Corrections to Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Records of the Provost Marshal’s Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110 (RG 110); National Archives Building, Washington, DC (NAB).
- 8 Population figures extracted from township schedules for Lycoming County, Pennsylvania; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M653, rolls 1136–1137; Decennial Population Schedules; Census Schedules and Supplementary Records, 1790–1993; Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (RG 29); NAB. Although McHenry Township had 41 men enroll for the draft in 1863, a statistical comparison with the general

population could not be calculated because the township was not formed until August 21, 1861 (from parts of Cummings and Brown Townships) and thus did not appear as a separate municipality in the 1860 census.

- 9 Age and marital statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in Enrollment ledger for Class 1, 18th District Pennsylvania, Vol. 1; Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Enrollment Lists and Corrections to Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; RG 110; NAB.
- 10 Racial statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in *Ibid.*
- 11 Place of birth statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in *Ibid.*
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Occupational statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in *Ibid.*
- 14 Another thirty-one men listed their occupations as engineers on the enrollment forms, but did not indicate if they worked for the railroad, so it is not known whether their occupations included other types of professional engineers; only one individual, Alfred P. Boller of Williamsport, identified himself specifically as a civil engineer.
- 15 Occupational statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in Enrollment ledger for Class 1, 18th District Pennsylvania, Vol. 1; Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Enrollment Lists and Corrections to Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Records of the Provost Marshal’s Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110 (RG 110); National Archives Building, Washington, DC (NAB).
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Miscellaneous enrollment statistics for Lycoming County enrollees, in Enrollment ledger for Class 1, 18th District Pennsylvania, Vol. 1; Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Enrollment Lists and Corrections to Enrollment Lists, 1863–65; Records of the Provost Marshal’s Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110 (RG 110); National Archives Building, Washington, DC (NAB).
- 19 *Ibid.*

JOHN DEEBEN

A native of Sunbury, John P. Deeben is a Genealogy Archives Specialist with the Research Support Branch (RC-DC) at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. He has lectured widely and has written a number of finding aids and magazine articles outlining the potential usefulness of the records of the National Archives for amateur and professional genealogists. He has spoken at conferences of the National Genealogical Society, the Federation of Genealogical Societies, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the National Institute on Genealogical Research, and the National War of 1812 symposium. He is a graduate of Gettysburg College (1987) and Pennsylvania State University (1990) earning his Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in History. As well, he is a board member and Secretary of the Lutheran Historical Society of the Mid Atlantic.



The Psychology of Betrayal in the American Civil War

Insight into a Lycoming County soldier's motivation

By: Andrea Campbell

The American Civil War is one of the most crucial events in American history. Beginning on April 12th, 1861 with the Confederate firing on Union occupied Ft. Sumter in South Carolina, the Civil War lasted four years.¹ After disastrous battles that resulted in over 600,000 deaths and the destruction of cities, properties, and farms, the American nation was redefined. The Civil War was critical in determining the shape, economy, and ideology of the American nation we know today.

Though the war ended in 1865 with a Union victory, it was not always clear that the North would win. There were many times within the four year period where it was assumed that Confederate victory was inevitable. Thus, historians have put a concentrated effort in studying why the North won, or why the South lost (depending on whom you ask). In popular history, the focus is on Abraham Lincoln, superior ideology and industrial strength, and the necessary end to the institution of slavery. However, the answer is much more complex.

In David Donald's *Why the North Won*, Donald and five other historians tackle the five commonly agreed upon reasons as to why the North won the Civil War. The first is that the North had more manpower and industrial strength. It is also argued that the North had superior military leadership. Another generally argued reason is that the South failed to gain political recognition from foreign nations. If the South would have gained official national recognition, they could have gained support as well. The fourth reason presented by Donald et al., is that the central government of the South was too weak – and the Southern states too strong. They could not force a coherent movement as the states were focused on their individual goals and concerns and couldn't unite as a single entity. And finally, it was argued that the lack of political opposition in the South failed to challenge Southern political leaders. This challenge could have led to growth.²

Though, looking beyond the statistics and facts lies another critical factor - psychology. There is a growing historiographic focus on the effects of psychology on the outcome of the Civil



LCHS Archives, James M. Smith Manuscript Collection (2014.13)

War. Historian James McPherson, in his work *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*, highlights the psychological determination of Confederate soldiers as revealed in letters. He argues that many Confederates believed they were desperately fighting for their own independence from a tyrannical government.³ They were fighting for their livelihood, their freedom, their future. This determination is argued to be critical in explaining how the South got so close to victory despite significantly inferior numbers in population, military, money, and industry.

The psychology of Union soldiers is just as critical to understand. Contrary to popular history, ending slavery was not a widely accepted nor largely motivating reason for Northern soldiers to enlist or fight. It wasn't until 1864 that "most Northern soldiers had broadened their conception of liberty to include black people."⁴ The Union government and elite were very focused on preserving the nation, fearing the

consequences of a shattered nation on a global scale. However, for the common man, motivations appeared less powerful than their counterparts in the Confederacy.

Union soldiers' reasons for enlistment were vast and vary from person to person. For each soldier it could have been anything from a sense of patriotism, looking for adventure, peer pressure, or even the combination of all three. However, looking for what kept them motivated to fight through four long years of war is much more difficult. Some motivations, while strong, fade through the horrors of war. Peer pressure dissipated rather quickly, whether from being separated out from those peers after enlistment, or simply because the act of enlisting was over. A sense of adventure completely disintegrated after the first battle. Soldiers experienced "...the full complement of backs broken in two, of arms twisted wholly off; of men impaled upon their own bayonets; of legs smashed up like bits of firewood; of heads sliced open like apples, of other heads crunched into jelly by iron hoofs of horses."⁵ And yet, even after experiencing this horror over and over, through Confederate victories, against mentalities that the North would

surely lose, these men were able to continue to march, to camp, and to fight with enough will to secure the Union victory.

Union Captain James M. Smith of Company A, 5th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, provided insight into the motivations of a Union soldier in his eighty letters that are housed at the Lycoming County Historical Society's Thomas T. Taber Museum. This remarkable collection provides an array of primary source information that places the researcher soundly in the shoes of a Jersey Shore, Pa. native who, at the age of 20, enlisted in the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps as a musician in the Civil War. Smith reveals that stronger than a sense of patriotism, stronger than peer pressure or adventurism, the psychology of betrayal solidified a sense of absolutism in his motivations, and perpetuated itself by permeating into all areas of thought, whether applied to the Confederacy, to other Union regiments, to other Pennsylvanians, and even to friends still at home.

In this collection, Capt. James M. Smith openly communicates with friends and family the happenings in camp and his feelings through them. In 1863 he writes, "Another year of the war finished. Thousands of Brave boys have been ushered into eternity. Thousands more lie maimed and crippled in hospitals. May the time soon when the grim visage of war will vanish from our country."⁶ Sentiments like these echo through his writings, revealing that Smith wasn't in search of adventure, or a fan of war.

Also, the aforementioned argued reason for Union victory of superior leadership did nothing for Smith as he struggled through starvation, little pay, and rough camps and marching. "There is no telling when Uncle Sam will pay us our 26 greenbacks..."⁷ Even the idolized Abraham Lincoln had a disgruntling effect on him, "Our regiment went out this

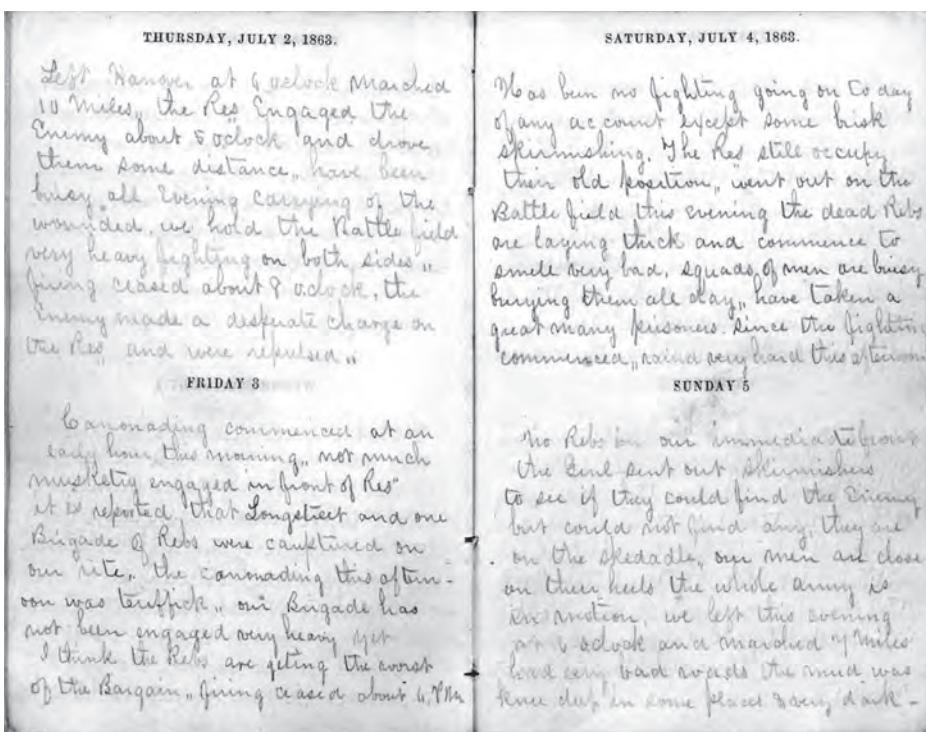
afternoon to be reviewed by President Lincoln. We stood in line until dark but he did not make his appearance. Next morning we went again went out on review and stood in the hot sun until two o'clock when "Old Abe" finally appeared."⁸

And yet, his motivation and sense of absolutism never wavered. "I think we will soon have enough men to march into Richmond and take it without any trouble, and hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree."⁹ A common theme that resonates throughout the collection reveals how Capt. James M. Smith remained so committed – betrayal. The psychology of betrayal acted as a motivator, ensuring absolute dedication to his regiment. This dedication didn't extend to the Union Army, the "cause", or the President. It didn't apply to friends and family, or even fellow Pennsylvanians, as his letters revealed they were sometimes the traitors, too. Smith's dedication was to his regiment; through four years his motivation lay in his dedication to his regiment as perpetuated by the psychology of betrayal.

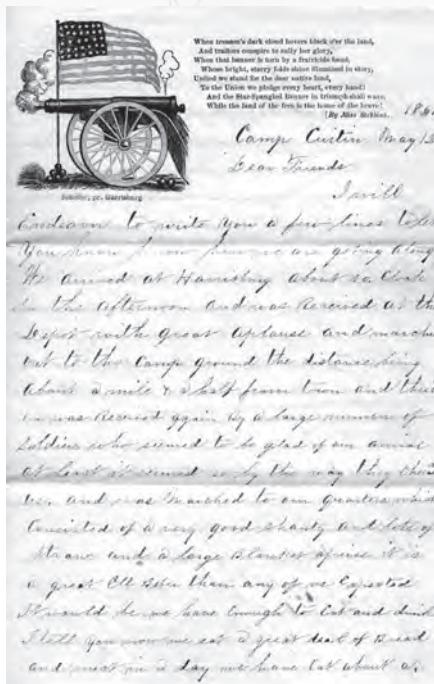
Betrayal for a Union soldier came in all forms. It's easy to understand when applied to the Confederacy. Even if a Union soldier was sympathetic to their cause, or not prepared to fight over political beliefs, that sympathy or resistance quickly dissipated after friends or family died in battle. If that sympathy didn't dissipate among Smith's comrades, he reveals a sense of betrayal against them. With sarcasm prominent in his tone, Smith wrote, "There was a couple of men started from our reg't to Harrisburg after the 'conscripts' as we call them to fill up our reg't. Poor fellows, I suppose it 'goes against their grain' to be compelled to come to war."¹⁰

The psychology of betrayal was perpetuated further by criminal acts against soldiers. Soldiers not only had to be wary of snipers, and Confederate soldiers and sympathizers, but of common criminals as well. "You talking about murder it is a very common thing in this place there is hardly a night passes but what we hear of some man being killed robbed by a set of blacklegs whom lay around for no other purpose than to way lay a poor soldier and rob him of his money."¹¹ The term "blacklegs" was generally applied to a gambler or swindler. The act of killing and robbing soldiers in "this place" (Alexandria, Virginia) further demonized the South in Smith's eyes. It was another act of betrayal that added to his conviction in the war.

Betrayal on the home front was just as evident. "There appears to be a great deal of excitement in Penna concerning the late movements of the Rebs I hope they will make the copperheads get up and travel from their hiding places. It is a nice think if the Keystone state can not get enough men to defend her sail without calling on her sister states. I don't know what she would of done if it had not been for the other state troops coming to



Captains J S Davis of Hanesdale and W Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions in the wilderness on May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill days 1864 Shiloh Pennsylvania May 8, 1864 Assault on the Bloody Angle



LCHS Archives, James M. Smith Manuscript Collection (2014.13)

join Hooker others think we are going to Md or Penna but I think the latter is too good to be true. I would be very well satisfied if they would take us in the state [of Pennsylvania]. I think our division, as small as it is, could do more for her protection than all the Malitia she can turn out." ¹³

As previously stated, it has been argued that the South's will affected the war, first by getting them very close to victory at the beginning of the war when their motivation was fresh and palpable, and two, that the loss of their will was a direct reason for their loss. Historian Richard Beringer argued that "the Confederacy's inefficiency, resignation, guilt, and lack of national feeling caused it to collapse." ¹⁴ Thus, the opposite can be argued, that the North's will affected its victory. And, through Capt. James M. Smith's letters it is revealed how a Union soldier remained so dedicated during the war; the dedication was perpetuated by continuous acts and feelings of betrayal that led to a mentality of egocentrism, that they needed to "do it themselves", or lose.

While further research needs to be conducted before applying the psychology of betrayal to a larger scale of soldiers other than Capt. James M. Smith, his diary and letters provide a solid foundation behind his motivations and certainly instigates further investigation. The entire collection offers invaluable insight into the daily life, mentality, and trials of a Civil War soldier and would benefit from further research.

her rescue. Oh ye brave Pennsylvania stay at homes!"¹² The term copperhead was used as a derogatory word for any Union citizen with Confederate sympathies. Smith was clearly disgusted with his home state and its occupants for not being able to rise to the occasion and defend themselves against the South, who by this point and as previously mentioned, were essentially villains in his eyes.

And again, this betrayal appeared to cement his conviction in his regiment. "Some think we are going to

END NOTES

- ¹ The generally accepted date for the end of the Civil War is April 9, 1865 when General Robert E Lee surrendered at Appomattox. Battles and skirmishes still occurred after this date, the last of which occurred at Palmito Ranch, Texas, in May of 1865. www.civilwar.org.
- ² Donald, David Herbert, et al. *Why the North won the Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960.
- ³ McPherson, James M. *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 104.
- ⁴ Ibid, 115.
- ⁵ Frank, Joseph Allan and George A. Reaves, "Seeing the Elephant": *Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 111, 92.
- ⁶ Lycoming County Historical Society, Thomas T. Taber Museum, The James M. Smith Manuscript Collection (2014.13) April, 1863. Note: All transcriptions from the James M. Smith letters are kept original, the grammar and spelling copied directly without edit.
- ⁷ LCHS, James Smith Manuscript Collection, Diary entry, May 30, 1863.
- ⁸ LCHS, James Smith Manuscript Collection, Letter, August 29th (1863?).
- ⁹ LCHS, James Smith Manuscript Collection, Letter, "Camp Near Warrington, VA. November 10, 1862".
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ LCHS, James Smith Manuscript Collection, Letter, "Camp at Alexandria, VA. March 16, 1864".
- ¹² LCHS, James Smith Manuscript Collection, Letter, "Camp on Uptons Hill, VA. June 24, 1863".
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Beringer, Richard E. *Why the South lost the Civil War*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. Print. 106.

ANDREA CAMPBELL

Andrea Campbell possesses a recently-acquired Master's degree in history from the University of Nebraska at Kearney. She has also earned a Bachelor's degree in history from Ashford University, Clinton, Iowa and pursued an archaeological degree at Lycoming College. She serves as Vice President and site director of the North Central Chapter #8 of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology. She sits on the Board of Directors and serves as the events coordinator for the Hearing Loss Association of Lycoming County. She is a merit badge counselor for American Heritage and Archaeology for the Susquehanna Council Boy Scouts of America. In addition, she is a valued member of the staff at the Taber Museum.

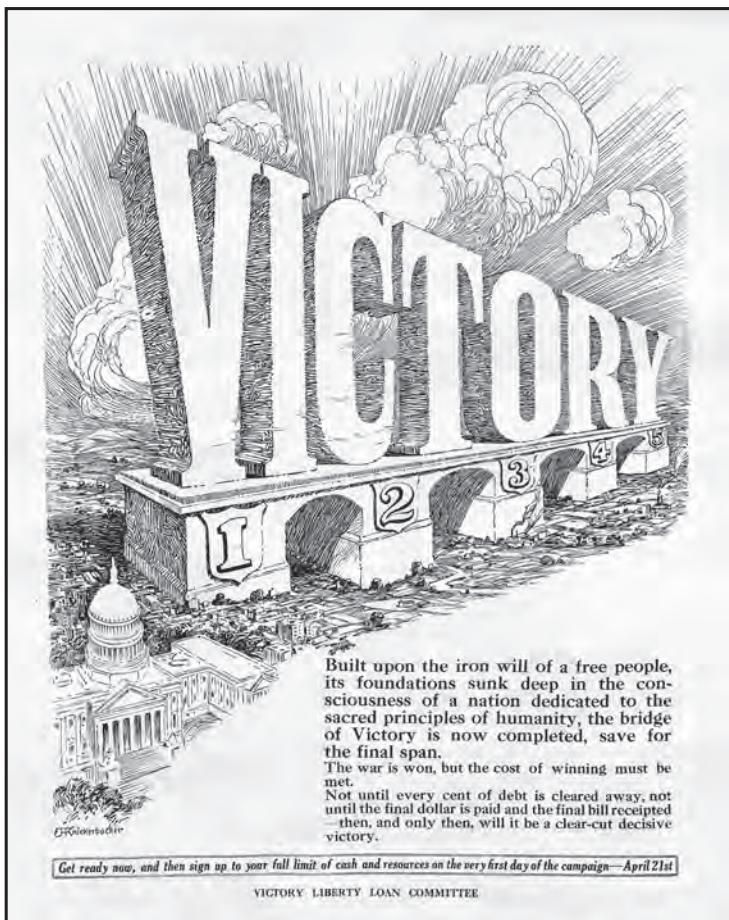


Major Stans J S Davis of Grimesdale and G W Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following
guerrilla raids May 5-7 64 Laurel Hill May 8-12 1864 Pennsylvania - May 8-18 64 Assault on the Bloody Mtn

'The bonds he bought were written in Flanders mud':

Victory Liberty Loan Broadsides in the Lycoming County Historical Society Collection

By: Gary W. Parks



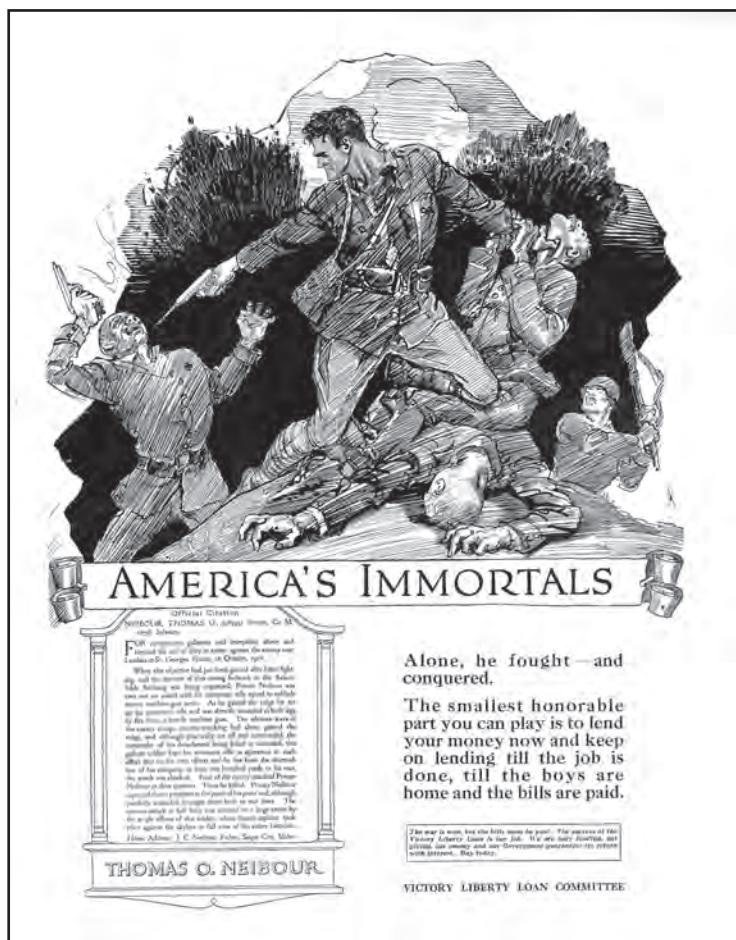
insect damage, most likely from silverfish. The collection of Broadsides is a blended collection, synthesized from two gifts—A80.43, provenance unknown and 92.009 (i-xxvi), given by Jean Heller. Approximately half of the broadsides highlight ‘America’s Immortals,’ i.e., soldiers who demonstrated exceptional courage in the face of the enemy. Some lived, some were permanently maimed, and some lost their lives in service to the cause.

Thomas O. Neibour was a Private in Company M, 167th Infantry. His story on the Victory Liberty Loan broadside reads:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy near Landres-et-St. Georges, France, 16 October, 1918.

When this objective had just been gained after bitter fighting, and the summit of that strong bulwark in Kriemhilde Stellung was being organized, Private Neibour was sent out on patrol

The outbreak of World War I has celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, with the United States entry into the conflict yet to be observed in December 2017. Tucked away in the archival collections of the Taber Museum are approximately sixty broadsides which urge the viewer to buy Victory Liberty Loan bonds. This particular grouping of broadsides was produced by the Publicity Division of the Victory Liberty Loan Committee of Philadelphia. The Committee was headed by G.E. Gable, Director of Publicity. In most cases, the LCHS possesses two copies of each broadside. A broadside, by definition, was a communication printed on just one side of the paper. It was meant to be tacked to the side of a building or a fence, or placed in a display window. Its life span was ephemeral, meant only to serve its purpose of communication and then to be thrown away. It is fortunate that these have survived; most are in good shape. They possess ‘curl’, which indicates that they were rolled for a very long time. Many of the margins exhibit some fragmenting or tears. Several of the broadsides exhibit



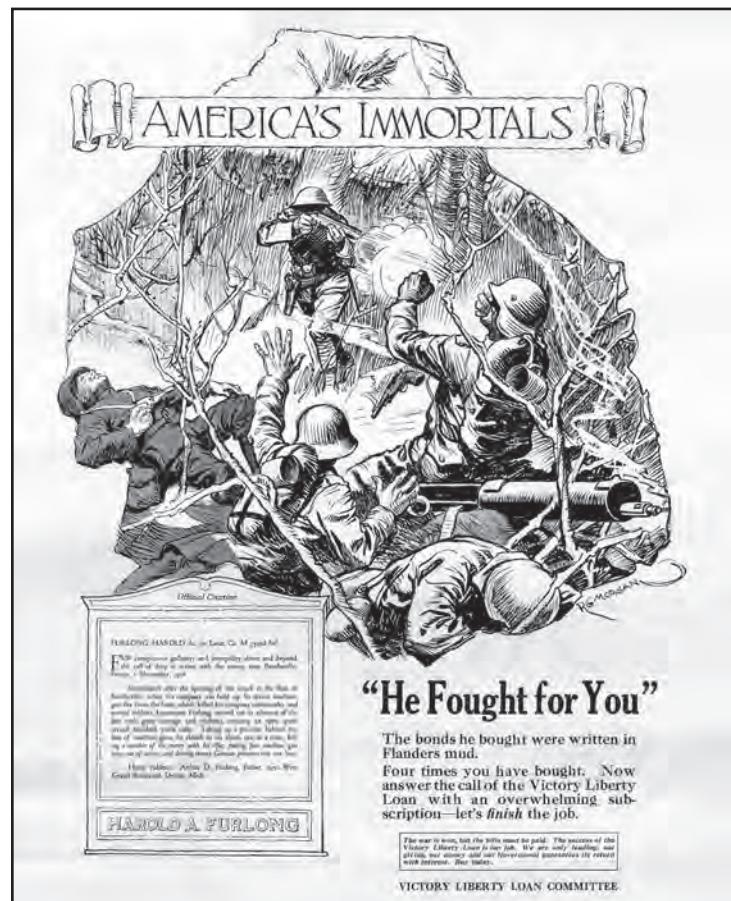
Captains J.S. Davis of Flanders and G.W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions.

attness to day 5-7-64 Laurel Hill days 1864 - Skirmish in Pennsylvania May 8-1864 - Assault on the Bloody Angle

with his automatic rifle squad to enfilade enemy machine-gun nests. As he gained the ridge he set up his automatic rifle and was directly wounded in both legs by fire from a hostile machine gun. The advance wave of the enemy troops counter-attacking had about gained the ridge, and although practically cut off and surrounded, the remainder of his detachment being killed or wounded, this gallant soldier kept his automatic rifle in operation to such effect that by his own efforts and by fire from the skirmish line of his company, at least one hundred yards in his rear, the attack was checked. Four of the enemy attacked Private Neibour at close quarters. These he killed. Private Neibour captured eleven prisoners at the point of his pistol and, although painfully wounded, brought them back to our lines. The counter-attack in full force was arrested to a large extent by the single efforts of this soldier, whose heroic exploits took place against the skyline in full view of his entire battalion." Private Neibour was the son of J.C. Neibour, Sugar City, Idaho.

The broadside admonishes the reader that "Alone, he fought and conquered. The smallest honorable part you can play is to lend your money now and keep on lending till the job is done, till the boys are home and the bills are paid."

In the broadside commemorating the military service of Harold Furlong, First Lieutenant, Company M, 353rd Infantry, the reader is reminded that "He Fought for You. The bonds he bought were written in Flanders mud."



'record' of Oscar F. Miller, a Major in the 361st Infantry, the wording suggests that "We owe it to Miller and to the thousands who went down to death on the blood-stained fields of France to go through with this Victory Liberty Loan as Americans should."



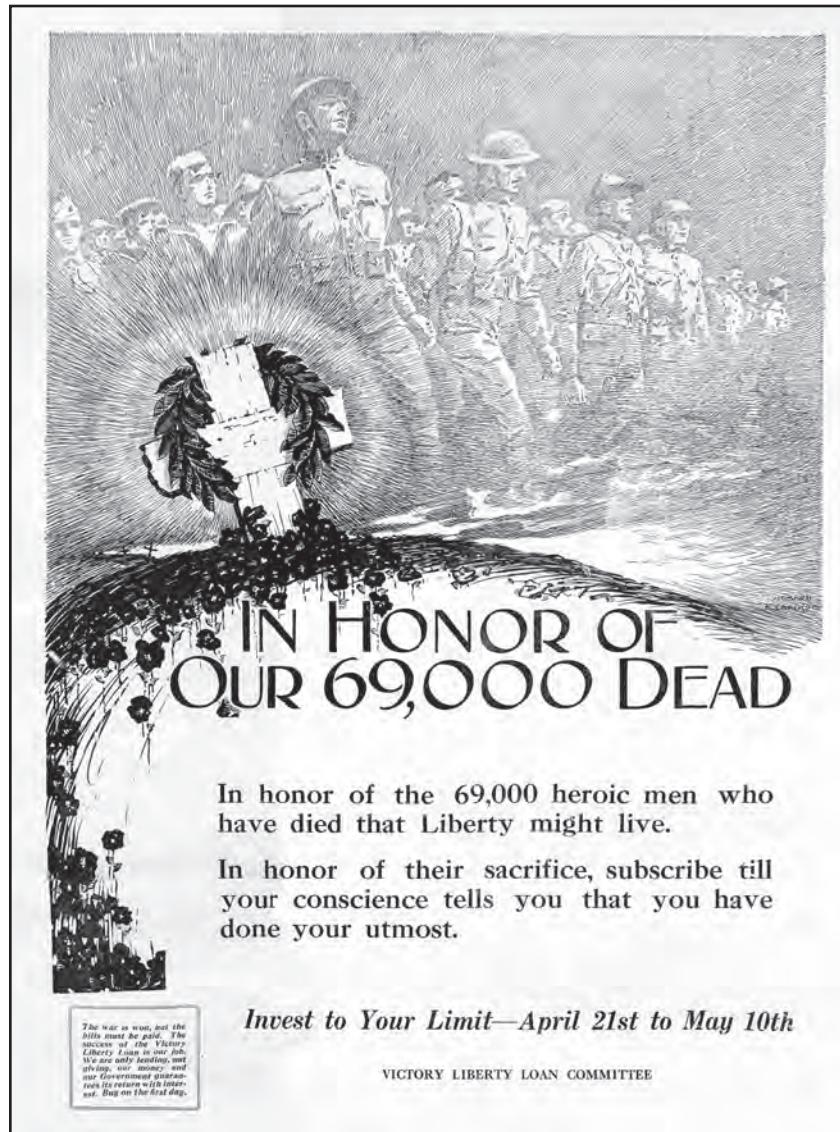
It was the intention of this particular campaign of the Victory Liberty Loan Committee to promote and sell the fifth in a series of Liberty Loan bonds. Each broadside contained a boxed message reading, "The war is won, but the bills must be paid. The success of the Victory Liberty Loan is our job. We are only lending, not giving, our money and our Government guarantees its return with interest. Buy today." The broadsides, through images of soldiers in battle and words invoking national pride and duty, were apparently distributed through daily newspapers. A distribution list is the subject matter of one of the broadsides suggesting which poster was to be distributed on each of the campaign days, April 21 through May 10, 1919. There were enough broadsides to be delivered with morning editions and evening editions. The amount offered was \$4,498,312,650 and the subscription \$5,249,908,300.

The remaining broadsides are testimonial in nature, 'spokespeople' from the homefront: the grieving mother who has learned of her son's death, the businessman who realizes that the bonds will aid in the prosperity of the country, and even Uncle Sam, who "ALWAYS pay[s]

Major S. Davis of Gettysburg, and G.W. Davis, and General Richard Coulter participated in the following

garrison on May 5, 1864 Laurel Hill, May 8, 1864 Skoontz, Pennsylvania - May 8, 1864 assault on the Bloody Chancery

my debts". In one broadside, the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army, Major General M.W. Ireland, poignantly outlines the many young men who were injured or maimed permanently and will now need the help of their countrymen.



A powerful image on one of the broadsides is that of a tombstone in the shape of a cross. Ghostly soldiers appear behind it, bravely marching forward. The legend reads, "In Honor of Our 69,000 Dead. In Honor of the 69,000 heroic men who have died that Liberty might live. In honor of their sacrifice, subscribe till your conscience tells you that you have done your utmost. Invest to Your Limit- Apr. 21st to May 10th." Another image that tugs at the emotions is that of the grieving mother who 'writes', "My star- that turned to gold when my boy laid down his life to defend his mother, and all mothers. My golden star that my old eyes will always see shining in God's sky. And always when I lift my face to ask the Heavenly Father for strength to bear my burden, I see my boy's face smiling back to me across the grave. He did his duty!"

A defiance also appears, counteracting the sentimentality of the above, particularly in one broadside entitled, "Tell Them to Go to Hell!" It reads, "No food, no shelter. Swept by machine gun and shell fire. An inferno, day and night. And little hope of escaping. Five days of this! But not a daunted soul among the four hundred and seventy Americans in the Lost Battalion. Commanding the little group was Major Charles W. Whittlesey. To the offer of safety if they surrendered, Whittlesey replied without a moment's hesitation 'Tell them to go to hell.' And they were saved, because, as Whittlesey says: 'Having held on so long, we thought we had better go through with it.'

GARY W. PARKS

Gary W. Parks is the Executive Director of the Thomas T. Taber Museum of the Lycoming County Historical Society, a position he has held since January 2011. He also serves as Editor of the Journal. He was no stranger to the museum when hired, however. From 1992 until 2005, Gary served in various capacities as the Museum's Archivist, Acting Collections Manager and Guest Curator. Gary is a graduate of Towson University with B.S. degrees in Biology and English and a graduate of the University of North Carolina with a M.A. in History with a concentration in Public History. Gary's previous work sites have included the Maryland Historical Society, the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ, and most recently as Director of the Slifer House Museum in Lewisburg, PA. Gary is the author of numerous articles regarding local history published in *Susquehanna Life*. Gary is the compiler of a number of genealogical indices published by Genealogical Publishing Company. He is a graduate of Leadership Susquehanna Valley and the recipient of the Union County Historical Society Preservation Award for his preservation efforts of the alleged oldest house in Winfield, PA., the site of the Lee Massacre.



Captains J.S. Davis of Rensselaer and G.W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following activities during May 5-9, 1864 Laurel Hill Days, 1864, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania - May 8, 1864 - Assault on the Bloody Angle

APPENDIX I: Soldiers

- CALL, Donald M., 2nd Lieutenant (then Corporal), Co. B, Bn. Tank Corps, Larchmont Manor, New York
- CHILES, Marcellus H., Captain, 356th Infantry (Deceased), Denver, Colorado
- DILBOY, George, Private, First Class, Co. H, 103rd Infantry, Boston, Mass.
- DOZIER, James C., First Lieutenant, Co. G, 118th Infantry [no hometown indicated]
- EGGERS, Alan Louis, Sergeant, M.G. Co., 107th Infantry, Summit, New Jersey
- FURLONG, Harold A., First Lieutenant, Company M, 353rd Infantry, Detroit, Michigan
- HILTON, Richard H., Company M, 118th Infantry, Westville, South Carolina
- KELLY, John J., Private, 78th Company, 6th Regiment, USMC, Chicago, Illinois
- LYNCH, Andrew B., Second Lieutenant, 110th Infantry, Philadelphia, Pa.
- MALLON, George H., Captain, 132nd Infantry, Kansas City, Missouri
- MESTROVITCH, James I., Sergeant, Co. C, 11th Infantry, Fresno, California
- MILLER, Oscar F., Major, 361st Infantry, Los Angeles, California
- NEIBOUR, Thomas O., Private, Co. M, 167th Infantry, Sugar City, Idaho
- ROBERTS, Harold W., Corporal, Company A, 344th Battalion, Tanks Corps, San Francisco, California

APPENDIX II, Suggested Distribution List

MARCH

- Sunday 30 Morning Victory

APRIL

- | | | | |
|-----------|----|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Sunday | 6 | Morning | Immortal-Miller |
| Sunday | 13 | Morning | The Women Have Always Helped |
| Monday | 14 | Morning | History Repeats Itself |
| Tuesday | 15 | Evening | Major General Ireland on Human Reconstruction |
| Thursday | 17 | Evening | Immortal-Mallon |
| Friday | 18 | Morning | Immortal- Dozier |
| | | Evening | Your Boys are Still on Duty* |
| Saturday | 19 | Evening | Immortal- Hilton |
| Sunday | 20 | Morning | In Honor of Our 69,000 Dead |
| Monday | 21 | Morning | I Always Pay My Debts |
| | | Evening | Immortal- Lynch |
| Tuesday | 22 | Morning | This Loan Means Prosperity |
| | | Evening | We Did Our Part |
| Wednesday | 23 | Evening | Medals of Honor |
| Thursday | 24 | Morning | Your Unbroken Chain of Patriotism |
| | | Evening | Immortal- Roberts |

Friday	25	Morning	Your Job is Not Finished Until
		Evening	Tell Them to Go to Hell
Saturday	26	Morning	Proudly May It Wave*
		Evening	Immortal- Neibour
Sunday	27	Morning	Human Reconstruction
Monday	28	Morning	To the Man Who Says 'I Can't'
		Evening	Pick the Patriots in the Crowd*
Wednesday	30	Morning	Fathers, Invest for Your Children*
		Evening	Immortal- Dilboy
MAY			
Thursday	1	Morning	The Day the German Fleet Surrendered
		Evening	They Can't Say we Quit*
Friday	2	Morning	Immortal- Eggars
		Evening	Your Way to Perform Distinguished Service
Saturday	3	Morning	Run It Up*
		Evening	Now Clean Them Up*
Sunday	4	Morning	Immortal- Furlong
Monday	5	Morning	Never Once Did They Whimper
		Evening	Philadelphians, Do You Still Love the Flag?*
Tuesday	6	Morning	Immortal- Call
		Evening	Community Honor Flag*
Wednesday	7	Morning	Immortal- Chiles
			Pointed Out as a Slacker*

"Remainder of Campaign to be supplied later."

*= this broadside is NOT within the collections of the LCHS.

The LCHS Collection does include the following Broadsides not listed on the Distribution List

- "America's Immortals- John J. Kelly"
- "America's Immortals- James I. Mestrovitch"
- "Stabilize Business"
- "In Honor of the Gold Stars"

Major S. Davis of Greentown, and G. W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following
guerrilla warfare on May 5-6, 1864, Laurel Hill, Virginia - May 8, 1864 - assault on the Bloody Lane
Bull Run, Virginia - May 23, 1864 - Battle of Chancellorsville - May 23

The Victory Garden Movement

By: Caleb Huff

The Victory Gardens campaign was among the most popular war effort programs during the Second World War. Privately printed advertisements, articles, and prescriptive literature show that the Victory Garden campaign was encouraged by the American populace as much as, if not more than, the federal government. Victory Garden photographs reveal the effectiveness of these Victory Garden materials by presenting a broad range of individuals from various backgrounds, that participated in the campaign. The rhetoric used in the nongovernmental Victory Garden materials suggests that, among the populace, the Victory Garden commonly acted as a representation of the gardener's patriotism and contribution to the war effort.

GOALS:

Victory Gardens were supposed to alleviate the pressure on commercial growers, allowing them to reserve most of their crops for the American war machine. With many Americans growing their own vegetables, it was hoped that food prices would not skyrocket. Also because less food would have to be transported to markets, fuel could be saved for the military. Commercially grown foods were packaged in tin, a valuable war fighting resource that was in short supply (McKay). War Gardens also contributed in an intangible sense as well. The pride of contributing to the war effort and seeing the fruits of one's labor boosted home front morale.

The Victory Garden program, which would become a movement during World War II, was not exclusive to the Second Great War; its roots can be traced to World War I. Starting in 1917 Americans were encour-

"Biggest crop we've ever had"

There are thousands and thousands of Long Distance calls every day. Three, five and ten times as many between some cities as before the war.

When your Long Distance call is on war-crowded circuits, the operator may ask you to—"Please limit your call to 5 minutes."

That's especially important these days when wires are needed for the war.

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA
War Bonds and Stamps are on sale at Bell Telephone Business Offices

BELL SYSTEM

captains J S Davis of Brusdale and G W Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following attacks on the Japanese at Okinawa May 5-7, 1945 Laurel Hill May 8, 1945 Stockton, Pennsylvania May 8, 1945 Assault on the bloody Argonne

* WILLIAMSPORT AT WAR

VICTORY GARDENERS

WHO WILL GROW MORE IN '44

There will have to be a 25 per cent increase in total Victory Garden tonnage this year for continued good nutrition on the home front.

Why? Every man and woman in the armed services — 10,000,000 of them — needs 5/4 pounds of food every day, and every one of them must have a 90-day reserve of food. And those overseas — at least 2,000,000 now, more later — must have a 90-day reserve of food. This calls for 40 per cent of the commercial food pack, which must be replaced by Victory Garden production.

Many of your neighbors and ours are doing their part by growing more in '44.

They plan to increase their total crop — for themselves and Uncle Sam. More green, leafy vegetables — yellow vegetables — beans. More beans, carrots and onions which can be stored and kept.

FOR A WAR JOB, SEE — Mr. R. Wilson

SYLVANIA
ELECTRIC PRODUCTS INC.
Williamsport, Penna.

FURORENT LAMPS, FUTURES AND ACCESSORIES, INCANDESCENT LAMPS, RADIO TUBES, ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT — 85 PER CENT OF SYLVANIA'S OUTPUT GOES FOR WAR USE

aged to grow "war gardens" (Wright i- 10). The newly formed National War Garden Commission asked that Americans with the means to grow vegetable gardens do so to prevent food shortages. As the war came to a close in the following year, the National War Garden Commission continued urging Americans to garden, but suggested renaming the gardens Victory Gardens (Miller 396).

Only a week after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941 Secretary of Agriculture, Claude Wickard, and Paul McNutt, Director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, called a national garden conference (Miller 396). One hundred and seventy-five delegates representing governmental and nongovernmental organizations and agencies were in attendance (McKay). The goal of the conference was to reboot the War Garden campaign.

The conference looked to the War Garden efforts of 1917 and 1918 for guidance, but the delegates were aware of the previous effort's shortcomings. The War Garden program of WWI lacked leadership and failed to set goals. According to Secretary Wickard, "*hysterical vegetable gardening caused a great waste of valuable seed,*" inefficient gardening nullified much of the gardens' production. The War Garden's failure to promote healthy eating through vegetable and fruit variety

troubled Secretary Wickard most. Most War Gardens simply featured potatoes or vegetables, many of which were deficient in vital minerals and proteins (Wright ii). World War I gardens had been grown to sustain the population rather than help it thrive.

"*Let's make it three Vs- Vegetables, Vitality, Victory,*" remarked Secretary Wickard (Hochbaum). Wickard wanted the Victory Garden campaign to assist the war effort, but more importantly to promote healthy nutrition and a balanced diet. The October 1942 issue of *House and Garden* reported that as many as thirteen percent of "*our young men.... are suffering from disabilities directly or indirectly connected with nutrition,*" making them "*unfit for general military service*" (Hochbaum). Indeed, concerns over America's health had been growing and the Victory Garden program was an excellent way to promote healthier eating habits. With the conclusion of the two-day garden conference delegates had outlined the program's goals and recommendations that would create a successful Victory Garden effort.

WHAT THEY GREW:

While commercial foods filled the stomachs of America's fighting men, garden grown fruits and vegetables provided the strength the men and women at home required to support the war machine. The new Victory Garden program for WWII went beyond gardens full of potatoes and focused on growing vegetables and fruits that would create a healthier and stronger America. However, not all foods were encouraged. Fruits such as cantaloupes and watermelons "*occupy more space in the garden than their limited contributions to diet,*" writes *House and Garden*. "*We need to grow more green and yellow vegetables*" ("Second Call To Gardeners"). A writer for the *Chicago Tribune*, Gail Compton, suggested: "*beans, lima beans, beets, carrots, cabbage, Swiss chard, cucumbers, endive, lettuce, parsnips, kale, parsley, peppers, onion sets, peas, tomatoes, and corn*" (Compton i). Compton continued by stating, "*bleached or whitened vegetables are not recommended, since they are lacking in vitamins and are not as nutritious as the green vegetables.*" For example, "*broccoli is recommended over cauliflower.*" (Compton i).

For many, fruit gardening was a foray into which they had never ventured. The previous war's garden campaign had not stressed the importance of a diverse garden and many experienced gardeners wished to avoid the difficulties involved in successfully growing fruit. Nevertheless many, including the *Farm Journal*, claimed, "*your garden is incomplete without fruit*" ("Your Victory Garden" 57). Strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, currants, blueberries, apples and pears were among the most recommended varieties (Compton ii). Strawberries and raspberries were favored because they require only a small space to grow and more importantly, they produce

members of S Davis of Freresdale and W. D. Sudds and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following

business on May 5, 1942 Laurel Hill Days 1864 Skippack Pennsylvania - May 8, 1942 - Assault on the Bloody 4th

fruit in their second year. Tree fruits take years before bearing fruit, but dwarf trees germinate quicker than the normal varieties and became a popular garden item ("Your Victory Garden" 57).

However, as more Americans added fruits to their gardens many were afraid this aspect of the Victory Garden would be as misguided as the WWI campaign. R. H. Sudds, a fruit farmer and writer for *Pennsylvania Farmer*, expressed his concern over the abilities of anyone doubting their "*horticulture qualities*" to successfully grow fruit (Sudds). Sudds warned against raspberries, stating their tendency to take over a garden like a weed. Fruit trees, however, are what concerned him the most. Sudds did not recommend the novice or even the average gardener to grow fruit trees. The first reason Sudds gave is the "*space element*," the roots and the tree itself take up a lot of room. Second, the trees need to be sprayed to protect them from insects and disease. Lastly, one must wait several years for the trees to produce fruit, so "*the same area devoted to vegetables could produce excellent dividends in produce.*" Sudds conceded, however, that the sour cherry tree, because it does not require spraying, was a good choice. Sudds also recommended blueberries. Although the plants can be expensive, they thrive in poor soil and within two to three years produce a significant crop.

Like fruit, flowers had not been a component of the War Garden effort. However, in the 1940s Americans were encouraged to plant flowers as much as fruits and vegetables. "*The garden*," says Compton, "*is designed as a beauty spot as well as a useful vegetable patch*" (Compton iii). Those that encouraged the integration of flowers believed that they could raise morale and relieve "*wartime tenseness*" ("Starting Your 'Home Front' Garden"). *House and Garden* editor, Richard Wright states that flowers feed a "*hidden hunger*." Wright went on to claim that "*morale can never be sustained unless the 'hidden hunger' lurking in all of us is satisfied*" (Wright i).

In addition to boosting morale, flowers represented patriotism. Gardeners were encouraged to plant red, white, and blue flower varieties. Seed houses wasted no time in offering seed packets containing "*patriotic mixtures*." Some companies even went one step farther (Compton iv). Wayside Gardens of Ohio introduced their "Douglas MacArthur" rose, "Chiang Kai-shek" chrysanthemum, and their "Pearl Harbor" memory rose (Wayside Gardens Ad).

Regardless of what they planted, gardeners were repeatedly urged to plant wisely. Planning one's garden and incorporating sustainability techniques and procedures was paramount to prevent the "*hysteria*" that crippled the previous war's garden campaign (Wright i-10). Planning conserved seed and organized the garden, in a manner that made garden maintenance easier. Like other publications, *House and Garden* also advised gardeners to plan "*succession crops*" to produce throughout the growing season ("*Gardens for Victory*"). The magazine

also advised gardeners to plan ahead by growing extra "*supplies of fruits and vegetables for canning to carry over winter*." Fortunately for the first time gardener, advice was never far away; governmental and nongovernmental entities offered innumerable sources of gardening advice and information.



ORGANIZATION:

Government leaders, namely Secretary Wickard and Director McNutt, knew that good leadership was the key to a successful Victory Garden program. Unlike the War Garden effort, the private sector immediately embraced the Victory Garden campaign, creating a firestorm of prescriptive literature, programs, and advice on successful gardening. While the government, chiefly the Department of Agriculture, would direct the Victory Garden campaign, its success can largely be attributed to the wide spread involvement of nongovernmental entities.

Different from WWI, the national gardening effort would not be under the guidance of a national garden commission. The Department of Agriculture would be chiefly responsible for the campaign. With the help of the Office of Defense, Health and Welfare Services, the Department of Agriculture organized the efforts of the federal government from officially endorsing the program to disseminating information across the nation. The newly formed congressional National Advisory Garden Committee sent letters to state governors requesting each state's involvement. Most states responded by hosting gardening conferences and creating committees responsible for developing their individual state's gardening policies and strategies. Both state and federal governments looked to local organizations as the program's leaders in individual communities. The Office of Civilian Defense organized local defense councils, whose chief concern would be the Victory Garden campaign. These councils were to appoint an "*experienced gardener with executive ability*" as their Victory Garden chairman (Miller 396). The chairman was responsible for contacting local organizations, agencies, and individuals "*who might contribute to the program*" (Miller 396). Local defense councils worked with community leaders to promote the Victory Garden campaign. In Beaufort County, North Carolina for example, community leaders "*visited every single farm home in each neighborhood and pledged each family to have a garden*," and preserve

captains J S Davis of Brusdale and W Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following attacks

at Gettysburg May 5-7 64 Laurel Hill May 8 1864 Spotsylvania May 8 1864 Assault on the Bloody Angle

enough for winter ("Your Garden and Mine" i-44).

Municipalities, particularly cities and towns, were called upon to modify their ordinances to facilitate gardening on public property. This allowed for vacant lots to be planted and public land to be transformed into gardens. The private sector's National Victory Garden Institute encouraged business to participate in the program as well (Miller 396). Some companies went so far as to establish Victory Garden education centers. The education center of Westinghouse, Pittsburgh division, "sponsored 192 victory garden plots that covered thirteen acres of East Pittsburgh Westinghouse Works" (Miller 397).

Business participation was appreciated and encouraged, but state and federal governments as well as communities relied most heavily on their local garden clubs for gardening guidance. "*The government hopes,*" writes Wright, "*that every garden club will become an energetic center for disseminating advice and for leadership in maintaining both public and private... gardens*" (Wright iii). Garden clubs fulfilled the hopes of the government and took up the Victory Garden campaign with more enthusiasm than any other group. The Men's Garden Club of Highland Park, Illinois "spread manure on over 2,000 community gardens" (Wright iii). Garden clubs also established programs that brought inner city children to rural areas to help with summer gardening tasks. In addition to organizing their local gardening efforts, garden clubs were often the first stop many made when seeking gardening advice. Who better to ask than your neighbor? Garden clubs printed Victory Garden manuals and brochures, held public lectures, and even created motion picture films calling attention to the campaign ("Gardens for Victory").

PUBLICATIONS:

However, garden clubs were not the only groups dedicated to distributing gardening information. Bulletins and leaflets from county agents, journals, magazines, newspapers, agricultural colleges, seed companies, and many more were reliable and readily available sources of information. The government spent millions on gardening publications, but one can easily see that private publications printed as much, if not more. It is conceivable that many Americans would have relied on the information provided to them from publications that were delivered to their homes, rather than going to pick up the literature provided by the government. In addition, individuals would have been more likely to take advice from a source with which they were more acquainted. For these reasons, it is possible that nongovernmental publications were more widely read and sought than public publications.

Newspapers, journals, and magazines brought news on the Victory Garden program, but they also offered gardening advice. Some publications devoted a section of their monthly publication to gardening advice. The *Farm Journal* entitled their routine advice section "Your Garden and Mine." Chica-

go Tribune writer Gail Compton published a weekly gardening advice column, "How to Make a War Garden." Privately published prescriptive literature like these advised gardeners on how large to make their gardens. "30'X50' will be sufficient for a family of four," advises *House & Garden* magazine ("This Year's Victory Gardens"). Gardeners were advised on what seeds to buy. "*Cheap seeds will prove expensive in the long run,*" warns Compton (Compton v). The publications urge gardeners to order their seeds early to ensure they get what they need. Often articles included charts or instructional drawings. In their January 1942 issue *House and Garden* included instructional pictures for garden improvement projects such as raised beds and cold frames for starting seeds earlier in the season. Other publications printed nutritional guides to garden fruits and vegetables. In February of 1942, Compton published a chart recommending when in the spring different areas of the mid-west should plant (Compton vi). The prescriptive literature also encouraged gardeners to plant a surplus so produce could be preserved for winter. Gardeners could find canning and freezing advice in any publication devoted to the Victory Garden effort. The *Farm Journal* even provided readers with the plans to build their own kitchen dehydrator ("Farm Victory Gardens").

News and advice were not the only contributions of non-governmental publications. Journals especially made a habit of including gardening success stories. "*Since January 1, 1943, [Mrs. Alice L. Hawkins] has sold \$179.38 worth of fresh vegetables from her one-acre garden plot... The cost of producing these vegetables, including fertilizer and seed, was \$35.90*" ("Your Garden and Mine" ii). Stories like these encouraged skeptical gardeners. *The Saturday Evening Post* told its stories through a series of covers picturing "*hometown people at work in their home-grown gardens*" ("Cultivating Victory" 27). *House and Garden* submitted several designs to the Department of Agriculture before one of theirs was finally chosen as the official emblem for the Victory Garden program ("Garden For Victory").

Being privately financed, nongovernmental publications featured advertisements, which presents one of the most interesting aspects of the Victory Garden program. "*Victory gardening,*" claims Char Miller, "*was one rare avenue of domestic practice in which the state allowed and encouraged consumption of products*" (Miller 404). The *Farm Journal* frequently commented on gardening equipment sales; in April of 1942, they reported that the demand for garden tractors was higher than in 1940 and 1941 combined ("Gardens" 23). Companies and businesses recognized the demand for garden related products and responded. Seed companies utilized the Victory Garden campaign the most in their advertisements; Inter-State Nurseries called their seed "Victory Seeds" (Victory Ad). Vigoro Fertilizer Company even manufactured a line of fertilizer specifically for victory gardens (Vigoro Ad).

members of S Davis of Graysdale, and G W Diesel, and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following

garrison's May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill days, 1864, Skippack, Pennsylvania - May 8, 1864 assault on the Bloody Chancery

Hardware stores also recognized the opportunity and prominently displayed their gardening equipment and seeds (Rosskam i & ii). Some of these stores reinforced their association with Victory Gardens by displaying their products alongside Victory Garden propaganda.



Rosskam ii



Rosskam i

World War I and World War II"). All three of these posters clearly target women. The association to family would have been hard for a good mother to ignore. Why target women? One answer is that the government, and America, needed women to fill the shoes left by the fighting men. Another explanation is that women had, or at least the government believed they had, traditionally tended to the gardens. This idea is supported by an article appearing in the *Eastern Milk Producer*, "planting...falls to a great extent on the shoulders of the housewife." ("Farm Garden Already Established Institution").

However, despite this evidence there are even more indications that Victory Gardens were tended by a wide range of individuals. Countless numbers of photographs depict men, women, children, and the elderly planting and tending Victory Gardens giving one the idea that this was a very popular program (memory.loc.gov). The photos also range from rural to urban, suggesting that the Victory Garden campaign was wide spread geographically. One photo reveals a group of school children tending their garden in the shadow of the Chrysler Building (Meyer). Another photograph depicts a white haired gentleman weeding a garden planted between the curb and sidewalk (Collins). As one would expect, men of military age are largely absent from most of the photographs. Unsurprisingly, African Americans, or any non-white individual for that matter, also fail to be represented in any of the pictures. However, despite the injustices and blatant racism that took place during WWII, James T. Sparrow argues that Black Americans were committed to contributing to the war effort, and were, therefore, probably Victory Garden participants (Sparrow 183).

WHO GARDENED?

The government only produced three Victory Garden propaganda posters during WWII and one can easily tell the targeted audience. The first poster exclaims "*Women! Farmers can't grow all of your vegetables.*" It then pictures a farmer's vegetable crop being replaced with staple crops such as wheat and potatoes. Below the illustration is a paragraph encouraging women to provide food for their children ("Information about Victory Gardens from World War I and World War II"). The next poster depicts a family of three working in the garden with the slogan "*Plant a Victory Garden...Our Food Is Fighting....A Garden Will Make Your Rations Go Farther*" ("Information about Victory Gardens from World War I and World War II"). The final poster features a young woman in overalls holding a garden hoe and a basket of vegetables. The poster reads "*War Gardens for Victory...Grow Vitamins at Your Kitchen Door*" ("Information about Victory Gardens from

Captains J.S. Davis of Brundage and G.W. Diesel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following actions in the wilderness on May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill days 1864 Skirmish Pennsylvania May 8-1864 Assault on the Bloody Angle

The most popular subjects of Victory Garden photographs are children and adolescents. From the onset of the Victory Garden program, youth organizations were major contributors to the effort. "Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, F.F.A. groups, 4-H clubs" and many others contributed to the campaign (McKay). Throughout the course of the campaign, twenty thousand Boy Scouts earned the National Victory Garden Institute's General Douglas MacArthur Medal for Victory Gardens ("History of the BSA Highlights"). 4-H groups established canning and food clubs to "help win the war, save starving people, and win the peace" ("4-H Centennial Photo Gallery: 1940s"). American youths were urged to "Enlist in the 4-H Victory Army," and in Iowa more than 25,000 did ("4-H Centennial Photo Gallery: 1940s"). The May, 1942 issue of *Pennsylvania Farmer* reports that more than eighty percent of Beaver County 4-H participants "will grow vegetables this summer" (Keim).

WHY GARDEN?

Clearly, participation in the Victory Garden program was extensive, but what was it that made it so successful? In 1942 Americans planted fifteen million gardens; the average number of peacetime gardens rarely exceeded ten million ("Your Victory Garden" 19). Despite these impressive numbers, the Department of Agriculture and nongovernmental organizations continued to urge Americans to grow more and they did. In 1943 Americans grew close to twenty million gardens, with an estimated worth close to one billion dollars ("Your Garden and Mine" iii). Nongovernmental publications like the *Farm Journal* printed "eight ways to increase garden yields" ("Your Garden and Mine" iv). Garden clubs and community leaders increased their involvement; some even "arranged for the plowing and harrowing of the land" ("Your Garden and Mine" iv). The Victory Garden program continued to grow throughout the duration of the war.

Victory Gardening was, undoubtedly, contagious. One neighborhood garden could easily influence the rest of the neighborhood to participate. Not to participate, especially if one had the means, would have been seen as shameful and unpatriotic. The beauty and pride that a garden creates would have been encouraging. Also, with help so readily available and the start up cost so low, gardening was low risk and offered high reward. Even for individuals in rural areas who could not look across their backyard and see their neighbor's garden it would have been apparent that gardening was a national movement. The Office of War Information worked with Hollywood and radio broadcasters to advertise the Victory Garden program, leading to the involvement of well-known celebrities, including Mickey Mouse (Green Thumb Ad).

Americans found the Victory Garden program appealing for multiple reasons. After spending hundreds on war bonds, Americans saw gardening as a cheap, but still very valuable contribution to the war effort. Some estimates claim that near

the end of the war Victory Gardens produced as much as forty percent of the nation's food ("The American Victory Garden Past and Present"). Perhaps more importantly, Victory Gardens were a physical representation of a gardener's contribution and patriotism. The garden was a tangible contribution. Also, a successful garden was a victory; despite the outcomes of battles Americans could look into their backyards and see victory.

Publications repeatedly reminded readers that it was their patriotic duty to garden. Gardening was even "*accepted by the Department of Agriculture as an active branch of the national war effort*" ("Victory Gardens"). Privately published literature continually reminded Americans the reason why they were gardening. The publications mention the fighting American men, and the American families at home; they also remind Americans that they are gardening for "*the starving peoples of Europe, friend and foe alike.*" (Wright i-10). Americans were gardening for peace as much as war. They were reminded that when the war ended, it would be America's responsibility to feed the world. "*Perhaps in the end,*" writes Wright, "*what we defend most in defense gardens is our dream for a better world*" (Wright i-10).

Unlike its predecessor, the WWII Victory Garden campaign was a brilliant success. The program's success was due, in part, to the organization and involvement of the federal government. However, it was the involvement of nongovernmental organizations and groups that drove the gardening effort. With the government as its guide, the private sector rallied America. The widespread involvement of nongovernmental entities facilitated the widespread involvement of Americans, allowing the Victory Garden program to become a broad popular movement.

CALEB HUFF

Caleb Huff graduated from Penn State University in 2012 with Bachelor of Arts degrees in History and Economics. In December of 2013 Caleb earned his Social Studies, grades 7-12, teaching certificate following completion of Lycoming College's teacher education program and a semester of student teaching at Loyalsock Township High School. Currently, Caleb is an assistant soccer coach with the Montoursville High School boys soccer team and a substitute teacher.



Malstains J.S Davis of Grimesdale and G.W. Dinsel and Colonel Richard Coulter participated in the following

guerrilla warfare May 5-7, 1864 Laurel Hill May 8, 1864 Skippack Pennsylvania - May 8, 1864 - assault on the Bloody Creek

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