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The burning and reconstruction of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania 1864-1870

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ABSTRACT

THE BURNING AND RECONSTRUCTION OF CHAMBERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA, 1864-1870

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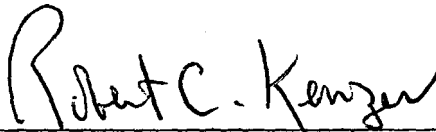
Although many studies of Chambersburg's devastation during the American Civil War have been researched, all have focused on the military actions taken by both sides during the conflict. This thesis instead attempts to explore some of the effects of military actions upon the permanent civilian population.

The Introduction develops a sense of the events which transpired in the town on the fateful day of July 30, 1864, provides an overview of potential research subjects, and details sources available to complete successfully the research parameters outlined. The early development of the community is explored in Chapter 1. This data is necessary for a reader's understanding of Chambersburg's business and social structure at the dawn of the 1860's. Chapter 2 narrates events which occurred within the town during the period 1860-1864 with some analysis of the effects upon the civilian population during that time. The third chapter deals extensively with studies conducted in the areas of migration patterns, and occupational changes that transpired from the burning event to the end of the decade. Research was conducted upon the permanent household heads as to their wealth during the decade of study and resultant changes. Further study delved into patterns of recovery from the destruction caused by the burning. Additional findings were enumerated in the conclusion. Although a wealth of material was uncovered by the research, only several selected areas were developed for this project. Some of these undeveloped areas are pointed out in the conclusion.

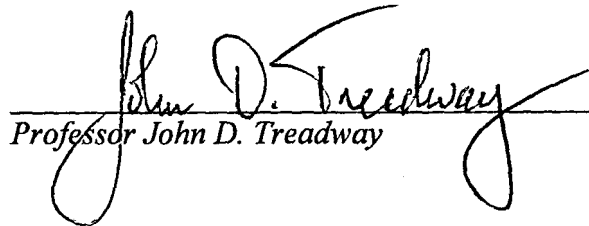
Chambersburg survived as the only northern town touched by wide-spread devastation caused by the sectional conflict. In this respect, the town mirrored numerous southern communities who sustained similar fates. The reaction of the population was much the same as in that region. A few left for other locales, but the majority of permanent residents banded together and, sheltering their own, stoically began the laborious process of rebuilding the town, its wealth, and their individual lives.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert C. Kenzer". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Professor Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John D. Treadway". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Professor John D. Treadway

THE BURNING AND RECONSTRUCTION OF CHAMBERSBURG,
PENNSYLVANIA
1864-1870

By

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B.A., Frederick College, 1965

A Thesis

Submitted by the Graduate Faculty

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In

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There are literally dozens of individuals and organizations to whom I am indebted for information and support provided in this work.

First, and foremost, I wish to express gratitude to my family, especially my wife Dulce Maria Lawrence, for unflagging support for this endeavor.

Additionally, thanks go to the faculty and staff of the University of Richmond for their encouragement and especially to library personnel for assistance on this project. My thesis advisor, Professor Robert C. Kenzer lent his full co-operation to my efforts, and his steadfast encouragement through out is gratefully acknowledged. Additionally, Professor John D. Treadway was gracious enough to provide a second reading, and his suggestions were exceedingly helpful.

In the Chambersburg area, numerous persons assisted me in the discovery of the materials used to develop this thesis. Again, my family aided in this area. My first cousin Harold Seth Hoover Junior and his wife Becky graciously lent their home for my stays in town, and guided me to primary sources of information. Wayne L. Hoover provided family information as well. Annette Hoover-Huber, my second cousin and an employee at Wilson College spearheaded my initial research efforts in that area of my research.

Dr. Ted Alexander, Historian for the Antietam Battlefield Park, United States Park Service, provided excellent background information during my initial investigations. Ann Ludwig, member of a long-term resident Chambersburg family provided additional sources of information on family matters and other town individuals.

Shippensburg State University allowed access to important Masters Theses on related subjects. The Chambersburg Chamber of Commerce provided photographs of the town before and after the burning event. The Coyle Free Library and its employees were tireless in their efforts to discover relevant materials especially news articles published since 1864 on this subject. Also, the local Kittochtinny Historical Society of which this researcher is a life member provided full access to microfilm data on the *Pennsylvania Border Commission Applications and Records*. Additionally, numerous biographies on individual members of the community of the time were graciously made available on an extended hour's basis by individual Society members who gave their time freely so that I might access records after normal business hours. The Cumberland County Historical Society lent excellent cooperation to my efforts and much original material was uncovered there as well. The original Franklin County Courthouse Tax records were made available for my inspection by courthouse employees also.

Grateful acknowledgement as well is conveyed to numerous others whom have not been specifically mentioned here.

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Note: This document is 264 pages in length.

The information has been stored electronically and is available upon request.

Author contact:

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or contact the University of Richmond library

Both hard-copies and electronic copies are available.

INTRODUCTION

With a pithy statement to secure materials from the courthouse and burn the town, Confederate Brigadier-General “Tiger John” McCausland rode away from the center square of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Colonel William Elisha Peters sat astride his horse, dumbstruck, unable to move, or call after his rapidly disappearing superior officer. Could he have possibly understood his order? Peters was incredulous. Surely, he did not misunderstand. The Latin professor’s lifelong humanistic instincts instantly boiled to the surface and quickly suppressed the thin veneer of military training that he had acquired over three years of civil war.

Retribution was the sole purpose of this cavalry raid. That fact was widely known and well understood by practically the entire body of Confederates. Their standing orders were no secret, and had been reviewed in a command briefing before entering the town. Likewise, the expedition’s leader knew of Colonel Peters’ attitude toward the destruction that had just been ordered. In the war council, he, his immediate superior, and other commanders had remonstrated most vehemently against the imminent civilian havoc. Any number of officers who did not object could have been directed to fire the town. Yet, he had been chosen. Incensed at his leader’s directive and as was his prerogative, Peters decided to seek clarification of the order from his immediate superior.¹

Leaving a junior officer in temporary command at the square, Peters set out to verify the onerous directive from his brigade commander, General Bradley Tyler Johnson. The Colonel of the 21st Virginia turned his horse westward, and retraced the route he had taken into the doomed town. Out Market Street, on the edge of western Chambersburg several blocks from the center of town, he found Johnson.² When queried

by the recalcitrant regimental leader, Johnson quickly verified the order and offered that he had a copy of the mendacious instrument himself. A demand of ransom was to be levied upon the town. If not complied with, Chambersburg should be burnt to the ground. The order was issued by none other than Confederate Army commander, Lieutenant General Jubal Anderson Early.³ Johnson had Peters read the order, and then reiterated the command of destruction whereupon, Peters verbally declared he would break his sword rather than obey. He further stated that Confederates should not be waging war on defenseless women and children.⁴

Meanwhile, Brigadier McCausland returning from an unsuccessful attempt to round up officials of the town, noted the occupying units quietly awaiting events to develop. Informed of the whereabouts of Colonel Peters by the officer in charge at the square, the titular commander dispatched a note to the reluctant subordinate, inquiring if the order to fire the town had been understood. Answering in the affirmative, Peters responded in writing that he would not obey and would break his sword rather than inflict harm upon women and children. Upon receipt of this response, the expedition leader relieved Peters of his command. A written order was immediately dispatched to Johnson directing him to withdraw the 21st and reposition the regiment on a line of low hills west of town, reinforcing the artillery command of Captain William Hunter Griffin.⁵

This battery had accompanied the raiders providing close fire support. In fact, this had been the only Confederate unit to fire into the town during the occupation. To awaken the residents of Chambersburg, several rounds had been discharged by the battery early in the morning before southern troops entered the restive borough around

5:30 a.m. Other than this initial activity, the battery had quietly been holding its position with the balance of two cavalry brigades on what is now known as "Radio Hill."⁶

McCausland then devolved the order for execution of the destruction upon the next ranking senior officer in the square, acting Lieutenant-Colonel Harry W. Gilmor. Gilmor called his command, the 2nd Maryland Cavalry, into Chambersburg to replace the 21st Virginia. He also summoned detachments from the 1st Maryland Cavalry, which had been placed by McCausland at his disposal for specific duties, related to the occupation of the town.⁷

While awaiting the answer to his communication with Peters, "Tiger John" conveyed an official message of ransom through the adjutant of the 8th Virginia Cavalry. The bell in the courthouse tower rang out to summon as many of the town's residents as could be quickly gathered in the square. To these few stalwart souls, Early's order was officially delivered.⁸ McCausland, Gilmor and other officers then repaired to Henry Greenawalt's Franklin House Hotel located in the southwestern corner of the town square. There the group ordered breakfast while anticipating the townspeople's answer to the ransom demand.⁹ Individuals came forth and begged that their properties be spared. Some few even offered payments of varying amounts. However, no formal delegation approached the marauders in response to their demands. Consequently, after waiting a disputed amount of time, it became apparent to all Confederates that there would be nothing in the way of an organized response from the residents, and that the monetary requirement would not be met.¹⁰ Thereupon, with three units from Johnson's Brigade, another regiment, the 14th Virginia Cavalry, from his own command, and

additional detachments from both, McCausland proceeded to have Gilmor burn the town.¹¹

A number of Confederate officers unofficially attached themselves to this raid as well. Confederate authorities never acknowledged their willing participation in this foray into enemy territory. Evidently, from the comments in his memoirs by one unofficial attendee, the reasons were personal, and somewhat vindictive.¹² Confederates disclaimed any retribution either during the war or afterwards other than that stated in the order issued by Early. The fact that John Brown used Chambersburg as a staging area for his raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia was well known to Confederate troops.¹³ Also, the community generally favored abolition despite at least a dozen Franklin County volunteers in the Confederate service.¹⁴ Many persons within the town assisted run-away slaves, and there existed a large African-American community around its southern periphery.¹⁵ Therefore, it is likely that Chambersburg became a target of Confederate reprisal for reasons in addition to those announced in Early's official order. Thus begins the saga of the only sizable northern community other than Gettysburg to feel the full fury of America's Civil War.

As a northern border town prior to 1864, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, had seen far more than its share of pre-war sectional civil unrest and, once the conflict commenced, war-related strife. From earliest times, the town functioned as a major regional thoroughfare to all points of the compass. Geographically then, Chambersburg was militarily and logistically vital to any invading army pushing from the south to occupy Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington. Likewise, a northern command providing defense along the border with slave-holding states would establish

its base at Chambersburg because it was centrally located within the great eastern valley that stretched from northern Pennsylvania into Tennessee. Free flow of one force or another within this natural access route north or south could lead to disaster for any side in the civil conflict which did not control it.¹⁶

During the pre-war period, the town held a most important stop on America's Underground Railroad, and was a stronghold of abolitionist sentiment. Located only sixteen miles from slavery, the town had a reputation for being a haven for those seeking freedom. If one could only traverse the few miles from the state line, there were dozens in Chambersburg who would provide shelter and a means to continue north out of the grasp of Franklin County's slave catchers.¹⁷

A strong minority of county residents were believers in laissez-faire treatment of African-Americans. Some even went so far as to label those who espoused abolition or protective treatment of runaway slaves as "Black Republicans." A handful of county residents such as the infamous Logan brothers acted as bounty hunters and slave catchers. Two well-known county residents, Daniel Logan and Claggett Fitzhugh, found and turned over to Federal authorities for hanging John E. Cook of John Brown's ill-fated army.¹⁸ Because of the sentiments of this sizable minority within the region and the town proper, many homes throughout the county were fitted with hidden recesses and trap doors leading to secret tunnels and routes to speed escaped slaves away from danger. This was especially true in Chambersburg. Even today one can look inside the chimney flue of the jail on King Street and see a ledge built for runaways to stand on while hiding from those who would return them to captivity.¹⁹

In 1859, John Brown used the region as the staging area for his misguided attempt at slave liberation. The arms meant for the uprising were stored in at least one of the two Chambersburg warehouses of David S. Oakes and Alfred D. Cauffman. Both were railroad commission agents for the Cumberland Valley Railroad and respected residents of the town.²⁰ The most famous antebellum African-American, Frederick Douglass, actually came to Chambersburg on August 17-18, 1859, and met Brown on the southwestern edge of town in an abandoned rock quarry.²¹ As the elderly revolutionary outlined his poorly-drawn plans to incite a slave insurrection in Maryland and Virginia, Douglass recognized the folly of his plan to attack the federal military installation at Harpers Ferry. This act would incite not only state authorities, but the federal government to repel the attack. Ardently, he attempted to dissuade the self-benighted emancipator from initiating his misguided mission. Failing in the attempt, Douglass distanced himself from the plot much to the chagrin of the organizer.²²

Clearly, various Chambersburg residents, either willingly or unknowingly, participated in pre-war contention. As it was only a few miles from slavery's limits, there obviously had to be sympathizers for and against the peculiar institution in the region. The area played vital roles in sectional conflicts before the war. As the most important northern border town in the valley region between democratic ideals and slavery, Chambersburg could not avoid being a primary seat of give and take during the tumultuous pre-war period.

As for the war period itself, during the spring of 1861, when an army under Major-General Robert P. Patterson headquartered in Chambersburg proper, men, material, and money flowed into the local economy creating widespread prosperity.

Numerous newspaper articles and diaries written by townspeople speak to this significant boost in Chambersburg's economic welfare.²³ This army moved timidly south in July 1861 to hold Confederate Brigadier-General Joseph Eggleston Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah in place within the Great Valley, and on Virginia's northern border while Union Brigadier-General Irwin McDowell attacked rebel forces fifty miles eastward scattered about Manassas Junction, Virginia. Unfortunately for the Unionist cause, the military machinations of Patterson's 20,000-man army were completely unsuccessful.²⁴

Later stages of the great American tragedy, however, were not so economically fruitful. Except for a recruiting period when unorganized levies were aggregated in the camps in and about Chambersburg during the winter of 1863-1864, no large command ever quartered again in Chambersburg or Franklin County. Each time organized forces were stationed on the border for protection, Chambersburg became their locus. After only short periods in the camps of the immediate area, however, they would be withdrawn to reinforce the depleted ranks of the Army of the Potomac.²⁵ Thus left open to an enterprising enemy, the valley was invaded at every convenient opportunity by Confederate forces. During the conflict, Franklin County was penetrated by organized units of southern troops no less than five times: twice in 1862, once in 1863, and twice again in 1864. Advance elements of Confederate forces reached the Maryland and Pennsylvania state line prior to the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862. Roads leading north in Franklin County were picketed for several miles by southern troops for two weeks, and an organized military expedition struck north up the valley pike on September 12th, but turned back before reaching Greencastle, roughly ten miles south of Chambersburg.²⁶

With no Union troop presence in the area after Antietam, the border region of Franklin County was again penetrated on October 10-11, 1862. On those dates, Franklin County and the county seat, Chambersburg, endured an extensive cavalry raid by Confederate forces under Major-General James Ewell Brown Stuart. Left in relative quiet during the next eight months, the region was literally swamped with Confederates during most of June, 1863. Chambersburg was occupied for almost twenty days, and much havoc and devastation followed, inflicted not just upon the residents in and around the courthouse town, but throughout Franklin County. The border region of the valley immediately north of Mason and Dixon's line began to feel the strain of an immense army of occupation. Fortunately for those inhabitants of the area, the economic impact was tempered due to the occupation's relatively short duration.

With the departure of southern troops after Gettysburg, the area was calm for the next twelve months except for sporadic forays of the individual visits of those few residents who fought in Confederate units during the war. These incursions were primarily limited to the mountainous southeastern and southwestern fringes of the county, and the valley areas bordering Maryland. The only Confederates continuously on Pennsylvania soil during this period were sick and wounded survivors of the Gettysburg Campaign recovering in Chambersburg hospitals. The presence of organized units of Confederate cavalry increased within the southern portions of Franklin County during July 6-7, 1864 as Early's forces attacked Washington, D.C. The culmination of this campaign by rebel troops resulted in the burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania on July 30, 1864.²⁷

The activities outlined here affected the general population in both glaring and subtle ways. Questions as to the mental disposition of runaway slaves during the war period immediately come to mind. Did newly-freed blacks feel the environment of the border region acceptable to their peculiar circumstance and decide to settle in Franklin County? At least one free African-American member of the Chambersburg community directly aided John Brown's feeble effort at slave liberation in 1859.²⁸ What was the socio-economic impact on the members of the Chambersburg community, especially at the time of the cataclysmic events of July 30, 1864? Books, articles, theses, and other works have been produced during the intervening period documenting the tragic events of the war years. Diaries and letters written during the war period have come to light detailing military and civilian maneuvers. All of these anecdotal and post-war observations reveal the agony of the moment, but only fragments of long-term effects upon the general population appear in such materials. Those recollections written about and published by lifelong residents Jacob Hoke and Benjamin Schroder Schneck, long-time minister-editor of the German language newspaper, are not specific as to whose individual or family fortunes rose or fell because of the disaster of July 30. Only passing comments are made in these works regarding survival without food or shelter immediately after the fire, of stress-related deaths following the burning and of long-term poverty for many. Newspaper articles of the time are not specific as to alterations of individual and family lifestyles created by the destruction. Only glimpses of the upheaval created by the mass destruction of the town can be found.

Was the physical, social, and economic development of the town radically changed by the destruction? How soon was the town rebuilt, and by whom? Did

established residents simply leave? Did sociological blows wrought by the wartime devastation unbalance the ethnicity of the community? How did persistent survivors fare economically? In short, what long range and lasting economic and social effects befell the town because of the tumult of the 1860's? To date there has been no comprehensive study of the overall effects of the war upon the general population of Chambersburg.

A detailed, organized study of those individuals and families that persisted throughout the decade of the 1860's is called for. The surest way to answer social and economic questions posed by the wartime destruction would be to identify individuals who lived in Chambersburg throughout the decade of the 1860's to determine if and why they persisted, and what their comparative economic circumstances were over that time period.

As the burning occurred roughly half-way through the decade, marriage, birth and death rates could be analyzed to see what effect the destruction might have had on the persistent population. What old businesses languished and which prospered? What new ones sprang up? Did new technologies developed during the war show up in the manufacturing-base of the town after the tumultuous events of the first half of the sixties? Chambersburg grew from 5,259 inhabitants in 1860 to 6,304 in 1870. Why? The new inhabitants will be studied to determine the reasons for settling in a burned-out town.²⁹

Where can one turn to uncover the data to complete such a study? It has already been stated that there is a dearth of first-hand information from letters, diaries, and newspapers. The 1860 and 1870 Federal manuscript censuses are the most important primary source of information on the residents of the town. Data provided by these documents includes individual nativity, occupation, age, family unit, and wealth. Also,

how many households resided within each dwelling, recent marriage, birth and other valuable records are presented in the separate surveys.

Unfortunately, because Chambersburg census-takers in both 1860 and 1870 failed to enumerate the street addresses where dwellings and families were located, it is difficult to pinpoint exact locations of residents. To identify which persons sustained losses as a consequence of the war, it is necessary to utilize other sources and then make comparisons with the census data.³⁰ Long-term residents who sustained realty losses can be identified and studied separately from those individuals who experienced no loss, or only sustained personal property losses during the catastrophic period. For the purpose of this study, tax and eyewitness maps drawn referencing the limits of destruction can reveal this information. However, maps available for locating the extent of destruction are not in complete agreement. Therefore, it is essential that some other primary source identify those residents who sustained loss from those who did not.

Fortunately, a third source is available to corroborate those who sustained losses. On three occasions the Pennsylvania State legislature created stipends for the financial relief of Chambersburg residents. Termed the Pennsylvania Border Commission Claims, every individual or business which sustained damage during the entirety of the Civil War established an amount of loss, and then submitted this sum to a team of long-time and well-respected residents of the town. These amounts were then adjudicated. In fact, as subsequent amounts were forthcoming from the legislature, the remaining sums were reviewed and adjusted twice more. Each claimant in these files is enumerated with the original amount of their claim and the actual payment approved by the Commission.³¹

On the three separate occasions when the state legislature approved payments to victims of the border counties including the town of Chambersburg, the amounts appropriated, and the victims to whom amounts were paid varied considerably. In 1865, \$100,000 was appropriated for the community, but not distributed in an even and equitable fashion for all concerned. Much of this money went to reparations for losses sustained by businesses for the 1862 and 1863 Confederate incursions. A minor amount was distributed equitably to burning victims of 1864. The next year, the sum of \$500,000 came from the legislature, and was proportionately distributed to burning victims and those others sustaining property losses due to the Confederate raid of 1864. In 1868, a final appropriation of \$300,000 was made to Chambersburg residents as compensation for their hardship. All told, these payments equated to roughly 50% of the losses claimed as war-related damages. The balance was calculated, and individual certificates issued stating the exact remainder. These sums were to be paid by the United States government. Unfortunately, the Federal government refused to honor their claims because to do so would obligate the authorities to commit payment for all war-related claims in other areas of the Union loyal to the government.³²

Contrasting the claimants against the general population of the town yields a high probability of identifying those who sustained financial hardship from residents who had experienced no loss. The necessity of this identification is obvious. Comparison of the two groups will allow economic and social factors to be highlighted and any changes in persistence, mortality, marriage, birth, average age, race, real estate ownership, property value fluctuation, and business formation can be readily identified.

A fourth source of information is the website operated by the Center for Digital History at the University of Virginia, the Valley of the Shadow. The complete manuscript censuses of 1860 and 1870 located on this website provide a duplicate primary source in typescript rather than written in long-hand. This transcription of the census data is much easier to read than the originals. Accessing specific information is much faster than laboriously searching microfilm rolls. Additionally, many of Chambersburg's existent newspapers have been transcribed and indexed by subject as well. An entire section devoted to diaries and letters relating to the military operations in the area are included, and an exhaustive bibliography provides a ready source of titles relating to the area being studied. Although fraught with reading errors in the transcription process, the website secures in one location the data base from which a scholarly work on the general inhabitants can begin.

These four sources then will provide the bulk of the statistical information used to examine the development of Chambersburg prior to, during the decade of the 1860's, and shortly after the end of the period. Supplemental sources will be incorporated into the study where relevant. Other primary sources will be used to study the development of the town from its colonial inception to the decade immediately before the war.

CHAPTER 1: BUILDING A TOWN BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

When Penn's Woods first became a colony of England, the site of Chambersburg existed merely as a desirable geophysical location for Native Americans to stop, rest, and refresh themselves. The confluence of Falling Spring, a bold stream, with Conococheague Creek, the main watercourse flowing south-southwest through the Great Valley and into the Potomac River, always bid travelers to repose in the sylvan glades, which lined its borders. Indian paths, which crossed the mountains east and west, intersected near this location with the great eastern warrior-hunting trail that ran up and down the Cumberland Valley.³³

Acquisition of settlement lands became the paramount impediment to Chambersburg's ultimate existence. From the time of Penn's New World appearance to guide the settlement along the Delaware River, the proprietorship had attempted to deal fairly with the indigenous population as to compensation for lands settled by the whites.³⁴ Although unsophisticated in European terms, the natives quickly learned that Penn's guidance equated with fair dealing in societal relations as well as land negotiations between the two disparate cultures. The natives were, therefore, unhesitatingly frequent in their requests for simple indemnities in all manner of circumstances, not limiting these requests to land cession only.³⁵

Periodic purchases of settlement areas were made from the local tribes in the southeastern quadrant of the colony along the Delaware River prior to Penn's arrival in North America during the fall of 1682. Acceding to the requirements of the King's Grant, in the first year of his residence after that date, Penn made a purchase from the

Native-Americans into the interior of the future colony. This was a narrow walking path from the Delaware River striking northwestwards through the southeastern range of hills south of present day Allentown, across the Great Valley and up to the crest of the Alleghenies.³⁶ Despite repeated negotiations with the Indians, the local tribes refused to sell any part of what ultimately became the region where Chambersburg was established. This area represented the most highly-prized potential land acquisition in the future of all eastern and central Pennsylvania. It was reserved as a hunting ground by three confederations of Indians, the Lenni Lenape or Delaware, the Iroquois or Six Nations, and the Shawense or Shawnee. The western Cumberland Valley also served as a highway of access and egress into each of the others' territories.³⁷

The Lenni Lenape or Delaware Confederation lived along the banks of the Hudson, Delaware and Susquehanna estuaries, and was the native group with which the Pennsylvania authorities had always directly dealt in their negotiations regarding settlement purchases. There were several distinct tribes within this indigenous assemblage.³⁸ To cloud matters of land negotiation in the century prior to 1680, the Iroquois had defeated the Lenape, and the original inhabitants of the region, the Susquehannocks, placing both in a state of semi-vassalage.³⁹ Therefore, treating with the Delaware exclusively held less importance as the colony grew westward, and out of the main territorial lands of their immediate neighbors. Further complicating land claims, the Iroquois, as the French styled the Six Nations Confederation, had leased portions of the valley to a mid-western tribe to be used as a hunting ground.⁴⁰ The colonists began to realize that it would be necessary to negotiate with three major disparate groups and numerous individual bands of Indians if the colony was to expand to the north and west.⁴¹

Negotiation for land, and the everyday intercourse of two disparate cultures attempting to co-exist side-by-side became a daily problem, however, as a continued steady influx of new settlers streamed into the colony. To make matters worse, the salutatory hand of William Penn was removed from these relations for extended periods whenever the proprietor had to return to England to see after affairs of state. His guiding principles of peace and good will for all men regardless of color were continued in his absence. Unfortunately, the individual quality of several governors who served during his absences called into question the ability of the English to govern effectively without him.⁴² Ultimately, Penn suffered a severe disabling stroke in 1712, and lingered in a passive condition unable to conduct any affairs of the colony before passing away in 1718.⁴³

From Penn's demise, eighteen years passed before negotiations with the native population resulted in substantial portions of Iroquois-dominated lands being purchased in the Great Valley. Finally, in 1736 a huge purchase both east and west of the Susquehanna River was made. The boundary extended from the recently re-negotiated border with Maryland, to beyond the Susquehanna, and all the way to the Delaware Water Gap in the northeast corner of the purchase. The Delaware River southward to the portion of present Bucks County included in the walking path purchase of 1682 defined the eastern end of the acquisition. In 1744, a subsequent land treaty was negotiated between the British and the Iroquois allowing settlement of all of present-day western Pennsylvania, and the south shore of the Ohio River. In addition, a fort was to be established at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers. Because the vassals of the Mingoes, the Shawnee, and Delaware were uprooting their cultures and

moving into the same areas due to the sale of their Cumberland Valley lands, this second treaty bode ill for indigenous-white relations. Finally, a third large purchase was made by the colony in 1749 bounded by the Delaware River on the east and extending northward into present day Pike County, with the Susquehanna marking the western boundary. This acquisition represented the first upland purchase in the colony northeast of the Cumberland Valley. Settlements in central and northeastern Pennsylvania commenced east, and west of present day Harrisburg primarily within the Cumberland Valley and to a more limited degree in the Allegheny range. This extensive accretion accorded with the king's land grant, but the development of the central portion of the colony that included the future town of Chambersburg was not brought to fruition without much travail from two sources.⁴⁴

French actions during this period influenced both the 1744 colonial treaty with the Iroquois, and their subsequent 1749 land sale to Pennsylvania. Between 1736 and 1749 France pursued an aggressive policy towards expansion into the western mountains of the Pennsylvania colony, and the territories south of Lakes Ontario and Erie. A number of blockhouses and forts were erected along the southern shores of both lakes and the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. These structures controlled the watersheds of both rivers as well as the intervening lands between them and the Great Lakes. Such machinations were in violation of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle that marked the end of hostilities between the French and English on the European Continent.⁴⁵ Land markers proclaiming the entire Ohio River drainage basin as French territory were placed throughout modern-day Western Pennsylvania and lands south of Lake Erie to the Ohio River during 1748. One of these was stolen and brought by the Iroquois to the English for interpretation.

Once the import of the declaration of territorial ownership was explained to the Indians, they were highly suspicious of French intentions. This Marker Incident as it became known, created a motivating force to sell lands and ally themselves to the British throughout the areas in question.⁴⁶

Prior to these extensive tracts being added to the colony and the subsequent development of Chambersburg, however, a second major impediment intervened: a vexing period of illegal settlements. Numerous individuals sponsored by Pennsylvania had already located in the western valley areas during the 1720's. As no serious problems arose with the local Indian tribes, there must have been informal verbal negotiation for land rights, although at least one Franklin County history does not acknowledge any white settlements in the region prior to 1729.⁴⁷

Seeing these valley settlements being established without apparent purchase from the Indians, early in the 1720's, immigrants to America sponsored by Maryland began to settle in the western Great Valley as well. The lush vegetation, abundant water, and deep, fertile limestone soils all presented an ideal farmstead to eager newcomers from Europe. The problem presented to the colony's proprietors in these settlements was that the newest colonists were not granted rights under Pennsylvania auspices. Questionable land grants by Maryland's proprietors resulted in illegal settlements being established all the way to the Susquehanna River along the Great Valley, and westward into the valleys of the Allegheny Mountains.⁴⁸ Actual hostilities between the two colonies erupted, and some settlers even attempted to secure land titles from both colonies to avoid taxation by Pennsylvania.⁴⁹ This misinterpretation of exact boundaries between Maryland and Pennsylvania had its root in Captain John Smith's original description of the geographical

lay of the land to the north and west of his exploration of the Chesapeake Bay during the 1607 to 1613 period.⁵⁰

Pennsylvania could not tolerate this situation. To do so would lead to loss of control of the center of the colony and would therefore forfeit future development of the western reaches of the King's Grant which extended deep into the Allegheny Mountains. Additionally, the relationship between the Maryland proprietors and the Indian Nations was not as close as that of the natives with the Penns. Consequently, friction soon arose between the usurpers and the indigenous population who complained loudly to the Pennsylvania authorities that the western valley lands were being developed and farmed without compensation being offered to the local tribes.

Although delayed by over a decade, the ultimate resolution of this problem involved removal of the illegal settlers, physical destruction of the structures present, compensation to the Indians, and a legal finalization to the border dispute between the two colonies. This last issue was settled by negotiations between the two colonies at the time, and ultimately, eighteen years later, through a colonial survey, Mason and Dixon's line.⁵¹

Before the formal survey of Pennsylvania's southern border, but after an amicable agreement regarding duplicate claims to lands issued by both colonies, Penn's successors desired that settlements sponsored under their authority be quickly established directly within the western Cumberland Valley. This activity would prevent a reoccurrence of the settlement issues with Maryland, temporary boundary agreements and the ultimate survey notwithstanding. This action by the proprietors predated any actual formal purchase of the valley. As previously stated, the first large purchase of property did not take place

until 1736.⁵² Therefore, it was necessary for the proprietors to negotiate quickly with the local tribes, and formulate a plan whereby temporary rights could be secured pending formalization of land transfer. According to the two primary histories of Franklin County, in the colony's haste to settle the valley before more intruders were able to locate there, the authorities created special use permits. Each of these would have to be negotiated individually with the local native populations and many of them must have been verbal in nature.⁵³

These were granted to officially-sponsored settlers and negotiated by the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the respective Indian tribes where settlement was sought-after the fact in some cases. Those who wished development of the western valley lands were therefore required to obtain official consent from the regulatory body of the colony before founding their settlements. Any white intruders who did not do so would be removed from the colony.⁵⁴

Opening the valley to settlements, even though on a temporary basis, produced a flood of requests for grants. Soon Pennsylvania's proprietors had a permanent white population in the valley that reached a point where commercial development could be sustained. This unceasing tide of settlers began to arrive about 1730. First on the commercial side of development came saw and flour mills which cut timber for rude construction and which ground the grains produced by the new residents of the region.⁵⁵

The original products of the valley primarily consisted of Indian corn, vegetables such as pumpkins, squash, beans, and grain-bearing grasses such as native wheat.⁵⁶ Up until the passing of the first-third of the eighteenth century, it had been necessary to take any farm products across South Mountain and into what was then a contiguous portion of

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania for processing.⁵⁷ Because of the lack of internal transportation, or of poorly-constructed “paths,” some of which were unimproved Indian trails, most excess farm products were simply made into liquors. Beer, or corn, and rye whisky therefore became a staple of commerce in the early part of Chambers Town’s history. This barter of processed farm products would ultimately lead to an early test of the newly-formed Federal government’s will to collect taxes under the Constitution.⁵⁸

During the 1730's, four brothers built the first commercial settlements in the Great Valley. The Chambers families had come from Antrim, Ireland between 1726 and 1730 to establish their fortunes in William Penn’s colony.⁵⁹ Of Scotch-Irish descent and millers by trade, the Chambers brothers erected a large flour mill on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna several miles north of Harris’s Ferry where Fishing Creek empties into the river. When the mill became fully functional and economically sound, the brothers spread out along the valley founding successive commercial centers, one for each family member. Each subsequent mill location moved in a southwesterly direction away from the Susquehanna River. These followed the northeasterly flowing Conodoguinet Creek that drained the great valley. First a settlement at Great Spring was created for James, then a mill on Middle Spring was established for Robert.

At this point, the geophysical features of the region created a drainage divide within the valley. A spur of South Mountain extended across the valley from east to west creating a watershed. Continuing in a southerly direction over the low range of hills, the brothers established a fourth settlement for Benjamin on Falling Spring.⁶⁰ Brother Joseph then returned to the original location in Dauphin County on Fishing Creek to oversee operations along the Susquehanna. Thus, by the mid-1730's the family controlled

commercial milling operations in the valley from present day Harrisburg southwestward toward the Maryland state line.

Benjamin Chambers formally received a special use permit in 1734. According to Bates and Fraise's history of the county, his was the sole use permit formally issued under the Blakeston Grants up to that time.⁶¹ He took this action, however, after a previous residence had been destroyed prior to that year. This initial residence had been constructed under a temporary verbal agreement negotiated between the proprietors and local natives. Also by this time, the original log flourmill had burned and been replaced by a stone one.⁶² Unfortunately, as land was legally secured from the Iroquois, and as private homesteads and commerce such as the Chambers brothers enterprises began to develop in the Cumberland Valley, the area was consumed by a war. Although peace reigned for roughly two decades, just to the west of the Chambers' settlements, the Delaware and Shawnee were being influenced against the British and the Lord's Proprietors of Pennsylvania by the French.⁶³

The Delaware, Shawnee, and Susquehannocks held a natural reluctance to sell their trade route up and down the east coast, their richest hunting areas, and the burial grounds of their ancestors.⁶⁴ These reasons and others greatly influenced the local tribes against sale of the western Cumberland Valley lands. The Iroquois continued, however, to do so as previously cited. Ambivalence toward Maryland settlers by Pennsylvania authorities naturally rubbed off on the Indians who did not fully grasp the nuances of the relationships between differing groups of whites. This lack of understanding and of compensation had fed animosity by the natives toward the Marylanders and, ultimately, through the invidious influences of the French, the British colonists in general.⁶⁵

The removal of the Maryland interlopers from valleys located outside the 1736 purchase had temporarily mollified the indigenous tribes.⁶⁶ Despite these actions, however, the Delaware and Shawnee neither appreciated nor condoned the legalities of the intrusions made into their western valley territories starting in the 1720's. Also, the Indians did not possess a finer feel for the altruistic and peaceful intentions of the Quaker proprietors, despite William Penn's earlier personal assurances of them. Consequently, a seed of mistrust and misunderstanding had been planted in the relationship between Penn's proprietors and some of the colony's neighbors. This was exacerbated by the invective fed to the original regional inhabitants by the French who, of course, hid the ultimate intent of their empirical desires from the natives. Once the true intentions of the French were exposed by the 1749 marker incident, the Iroquois tribes of the region were willing to sell portions of their home mountains to the Pennsylvania colony.

As previously mentioned, after much negotiation with the three groups of Native-Americans, an agreement for the sale and settlement of the western Cumberland Valley was finally struck. The grudging transfer of ownership of the eastern mountains (Blue Ridge, or South Mountain as it was later called in Franklin County) and lower portions of Franklin's territory in 1736, left the upland portions and valleys constituting the northwestern fifth of the future county under continuing Indian control.⁶⁷

This meant that the frontier settlements in the Great Valley became vulnerable to depredations in the event of hostilities. This was especially so of the low-land settlements which penetrated between fingers of mountain ridges in the western reaches of the Cumberland Valley. The Indians controlled the mountains to the west, and to some extent between the growing settlements. As any military tactician knows, control of the

high ground constitutes a distinct advantage in a fight. This fact was undoubtedly understood by the tribes who refused to surrender their upland advantage. The successor proprietors to Penn were not developing the lands of the colony with a jaundiced military eye, however. Consequently, they were not alarmed by the refusal to cede the bordering high ground especially since this mountainous region had traditionally been considered to be the ancestral homes of their Iroquois neighbors whom had just allowed the Tuscaroras of North Carolina to relocate into the region. The newest member of the Iroquois Confederation settled just west of present day Franklin County starting about 1723. The relocation was gradual over a number of decades.

Repeated requests to arm against potential Indian attacks by non-Quaker settlers fell on deaf ears in Philadelphia, however. Benjamin Chambers and his brothers well understood the attitudes of the displacing Shawnee, Delaware, Susquehannock, and the newly-arriving Tuscarora. Conflict grew at a sullen, but steady pace. Even with a European peace treaty in place by 1748, the foreign aspects of the war between Great Britain and France continued unabated on the American frontier. France, ignoring the provisions of their treaty agreements with England, claimed the entire estuarine systems of the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys using the original explorations of LaSalle as their basis. In doing so, France lay claim as far eastward as the Allegheny drainage divide that lay on the western side of the mountains fringing the Cumberland Valley.⁶⁸

Pennsylvanians realized that if France's actions prevailed, further westward expansion of King Charles' land grant would be forever denied the colony. Consequently, they were supportive of the crown's formation of an Ohio Company primarily under Virginia's auspices designed to settle among other areas, the western

mountains of Pennsylvania's colonial property. The newly-formed company immediately began to send settlers into the region west of the Cumberland Valley.

Despite a demand by the Iroquois to relocate westward, the gradually displacing tribes of Delaware, Shawnee, and the few surviving Susquehannock continued to complain bitterly to the British about the settlements in the western Cumberland region. Turning a deaf ear to these protestations, from 1745 to 1750 the Iroquois, completely ignoring the plight of their vassals, disbursed the best-reserved lands of these local tribes to the proprietors of Pennsylvania.⁶⁹

Having had practically all their lands sold in Pennsylvania and Maryland by 1750, the Delaware, a few Susquehannock, and the Shawnee, at the pointed insistence of the Iroquois completely uprooted their cultures and removed to the ancestral lands of the Shawense along the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers. Here they resettled, thinking they were at last free from the invasive effects of the English. These displacing survivors left behind only Christianized-Indian settlements along Conestoga Creek, east of the Susquehanna, scattered bands elsewhere and individual members of the tribes. Of course, the Ohio Company's attempts to counter the influence of the French in the region placed the two cultures once again in direct competition for the same lands. At this point, the three Indian groups vowed to make a stand and retreat no further from British-dominated colonial development.

At first, depredations manifested themselves as thefts of property. Soon, however, isolated incidents of burning of crops occurred followed increasingly by destruction of homesteads and slaughter of livestock. By 1752, isolated injuries and deaths of settlers by roving bands of young Shawnee braves began to occur.

Occasionally, captives were carried off into slavery, especially women and children. The following year, the French began to take a direct involvement in attempts to dislodge the English from the valley and to discourage the settling of western Pennsylvania.⁷⁰ From that point onward, the murders and abductions multiplied precipitately, culminating in British Major-General Edward Braddock's defeat in 1755 near present day Pittsburgh. One early history of Pennsylvania states that over 3,000 Cumberland Valley settlers were able to bear arms against the French and Indians in the spring of 1755, and by the fall of 1756, not 100 were left west of the Susquehanna River.⁷¹ By 1756, Benjamin Chambers had turned his settlement into a fortified camp, complete with two four-pound cannon, a stockade, and a two-story stone home with a lead roof.⁷²

Finally, in 1763, a cessation of hostilities in America between the French and English brought a formal end to the savage conflict. After only a few months' peace, however, Pontiac's War once again brought death and destruction to central Pennsylvania, and the area around Chambers Fort as it was now styled. Continuing beyond 1763 isolated forays by roving bands of Indians, especially the Shawnee, plagued central and western Pennsylvania well into the 1770's.⁷³

Once the Revolutionary War broke out on the American continent, the Indians chose sides and continued to kill settlers and plunder their property into the early 1780's. In this siding, four tribes of the Iroquois Confederation generally remained loyal to the British, but the recently-resettled Tuscarora and the Oneida from the original Iroquois group overwhelmingly supported the Colonists. The Delaware and Shawnee continued to distrust both, taking whatever opportunities were presented to inflict harm upon most whites.

Resolution of these land disputes was essential for the survival and development of the Chambers brother's commercial ventures in the western Cumberland Valley, indeed, for the future development of the entire region. For over a third of a century then, these issues played themselves out in dramatic fashion. Economic and social development came to a standstill during the French and Indian War period, but as soon as the issues of land acquisition and ownership reached a resolution, the valley, and that portion which would become Franklin County, began to prosper. New settlers poured into the area and Chambers Fort soon began to take on the trappings of a village.⁷⁴

The colonial economy of Chambers Town centered on farm operations and the processing of farm products. Growth was spurred by the geophysical location of Benjamin's settlement. Waterpower played a major role in the sustained growth of the areas of Franklin County immediately adjacent to Chambers Fort. Farm products used for sustenance and crop production in excess of that needed for immediate survival had to be processed by individual settlers. These finished excess farm products (often alcoholic beverages) could then be sold to provide added household income. This revenue stream would allow for reinvestment in the farm business by the procurement of improved farm implements. These new implements would in turn create higher individual productivity on the farm. As higher productivity created ever-expanding excesses of grains, and other farm produce, the need arose for greater processing capacity.

Benjamin Chambers and his milling operations satisfied the original production needs of the farming community around Chambers Town. Accounts of the time suggest that as demand for processing capacity grew, hundreds of mills followed that of Benjamin's original one. Soon a cottage industry of millwrights, carpenters, millers, and

those who finished millwheels developed in the Chambers Town area.⁷⁵ Colonists from outlying areas had removed to the fort's vicinity for protection during the Indian Wars. Some stayed after the subsidence of hostilities due to the easy access of the village to all points of the compass. Roads were vital to this access and therefore to the Chambers settlement's growth. With the ability to trans-ship farm products more rapidly due to improved roads, markets for the flour and other products ground by waterpower began to develop. And with this positive development, the community's reliance upon distilled liquors began to wane.

The old Iroquois "path" which ran northeast and southwest through the valley only needed further improvement in order to provide an excellent inland colonial highway. This would allow communication with Maryland and the rapidly developing Harris's Ferry area as Harrisburg was then styled. Local infrastructure to support commerce became Pennsylvania's first priority after peace descended on the Cumberland Valley region. Thus, the old warrior trail became an improved toll-road. Route 11 was so termed because tollbooths were established every eleven miles from Harrisburg to Hagerstown, Maryland.⁷⁶

Though poorly engineered and only locally improved, passages east through South Mountain were already well established because Franklin County had originally been part of Lancaster and road communications starting in the 1720's had initially developed from that direction. Indian "paths" westward tied Chambers' settlement to Pittsburgh. Supplies heading to that region from Washington or Baltimore, and to some extent from Philadelphia, began to flow through the Chambers Fort community. Ultimately, due to the important geographic juxtaposition of the town, Chambers Town

was selected and placed on the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh postal road, which carried the mails east and west across much of Pennsylvania.⁷⁷

Socially, as soon as the threat of Indian warfare subsided, and land titles were cleared from the clouds created by Maryland claims, second generation members of the original inhabitants of the valley got itchy feet. At first, the social immigration of new German settlers into Franklin County and Chambersburg was offset by the emigration of the second generation Scots-Irish who followed the improved "Carolina Road" southwestward into Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. Within a short period of years, the German settlements in the surrounding area far outstripped the displacing Scots-Irish. At that point the Chambers settlement quickly developed into a village.

In 1764, Benjamin laid out and established a town on property immediately to the east and south of his original location, which straddled the confluence of Falling Spring and Conococheague Creek. This original plan did not include lots north of the Falling Spring, or east of Third Street. In time, the town grew around Chambers Fort to all points of the compass. The town's original lots ultimately became the North Ward of Chambersburg. Development of subsequent properties such as Kerr's Town to the south and southeast became the South Ward of the fledgling community with the Philadelphia-Pittsburg Post Road as the dividing line. Simply making lots available for speculation did not guarantee successful development. Consequently, at this time Benjamin attempted but failed to make his settlement into the county seat of Cumberland. Shippensburg, which lay eleven miles northeastward toward Harrisburg instead became

the county court. Because of the inability to give Chambers Town the political impetus necessary for sustained growth, community development languished.⁷⁸

Chambers' earliest successful social machination led to the establishment of a Presbyterian Church alongside Falling Spring slightly northeast of the original settlement. This property, which served a Scots-Irish congregation, now fronts on Main Street as it crosses the spring. The elder Chambers donated the land in 1768. In 1780, Benjamin also provided the land for two Lutheran churches to serve the German community surrounding Chambers Town.⁷⁹ The founding father believed that establishing these religious centers would draw people into the village where the benefits of an urban lifestyle could be appreciated. Ultimately, a few church-members decided to center their daily activities near their respective religious enclaves and build homes on town lots. By the turn of the century, Catholic and Methodist churches had been added to the growing list of worship centers. By 1811, an African-American place of worship became established as well. This brought the total number of organized churches in Chambersburg to six. By the 1860's eleven different churches had located in town.⁸⁰

The need for this incentive to urban growth was obvious. Although Robert Jack had purchased a town plot for development in 1764, only four more lots had been sold by 1775.⁸¹ Jack built a two-story stone structure, locating the handsome edifice on the northwestern corner of the new town square. He and his family lived above. With his son John, Robert operated a tavern below. The name Jack continued to appear on United States census rolls until 1860. Then a widowed, 85-year-old Mary Jack appeared for the last time as the final living member of the original family of residents outside the Chambers clan. She passed on prior to the burning in 1864, and the stone structure,

owned by Andrew J. Miller, continued to exist as Millers Drug Store until destroyed by Confederate troops.⁸²

Chambersburg held only three structures such as the Jacks' by 1785. Nicholas Snider built a stone blacksmith shop to support those drovers and "mule skinnners" which constantly traversed the region. Benjamin Chamber's two-story stone home located within the confines of the old fort northwest of the square represented the third.⁸³ The balance of the community's structures at this time utilized mud or log and "skatling" siding. According to accounts of the period, most had dirt floors. Wolves howled in the forested thickets just behind the structures located on the periphery of town, but that would soon change.⁸⁴

Benjamin Chambers made a second attempt to secure prosperity and growth for his town by conveying a town lot for a courthouse in 1774. A division of Cumberland County was evidently planned at that time. The ultimate separation of Franklin from Cumberland County did not occur until 1784. The intervening decade until the separation undoubtedly can be attributed to the Revolutionary War. Once the new county had been formed, another long delay occurred in the construction of the Franklin courthouse which did not formally materialize for a second ten years. Reasons for the long overdue creation of Franklin County and for the belated 1794 completion of the courthouse are officially unknown. John Jack's tavern served admirably as the courthouse in the intervening decade.⁸⁵

Chambers Town changed its name to a borough when the community became the county seat in 1784. According to one source, Chambersburg did not officially become a borough until 1808.⁸⁶ Because of the establishment of the newly-formed county courts at

Chambersburg, the town experienced phenomenal growth between 1784 and 1794. An account given at the end of that time attributes two hundred structures to the town that they had been established “suddenly” over the previous decade, and they were “much better built than Shippensburg.” Included in the structures enumerated were the new courthouse, a market, several “capital” mills, and a first-rate tavern, Robert and John Jacks’.⁸⁷

Population information from the 1790 census is undifferentiated. Of the 15,655 total county residents enumerated, Chambersburg did not have a separate tally. McCauley in his history estimated 804 town residents in 1788. Upon conducting extensive research, this figured proved remarkably accurate. In the 1800 census Chambersburg had grown further and encompassed 214 households with 1,341 total residents, an average of 6.27 persons per household.⁸⁸

A different and unique social feature of the community grew with Chambersburg becoming the county seat in 1784. A disproportionate number of lawyers, justices, and other court officials resided in the town. Once census statistics enumerated occupational status in 1850, the survey revealed large numbers of barristers, as well as such court officers as judges, justices of the peace, county prothonotary, and sheriff.⁸⁹ In most cases these individuals thrived economically creating the beginnings of a professional middle-class. Twelve lawyers were admitted to the Franklin County bar in 1784. A quick check shows all but one resided in Chambersburg in 1790.⁹⁰

The professional classes were well represented in Chambersburg as the country moved into the nineteenth century. During most of the 1780's and 1790's, several physicians served the Chambersburg community. Dr. John Calhoun was one of the

earliest. Unfortunately, Calhoun died in 1782, but not before becoming a noted businessman as well. Many more doctors located in town including Dr. Abraham Senseny in 1783. Dr. Alexander Stewart began practice in Chambersburg a few months later and lived until 1793. Dr. Andrew McDowell soon followed about 1787. Both the families of Abraham Senseny and Andrew McDowell became prominent in the town's future development. Three other physicians resided and practiced in the community during the 1790's. At the end of the century, Chambersburg had four practicing physicians.⁹¹

Ministers and educators also began to call Chambersburg home. Five church congregations called for five ministers, and in the case of non-Catholics, their families as well. All of these formal churches provided elementary education to the children of the congregation. The alphabet and rudimentary reading-writing skills were taught in Day Schools, or Sunday Schools using the Bible as a guide.⁹²

Non-sectarian education arrived late in Chambersburg. The Presbyterian, Lutheran and Brethren churches all had religious-based Sunday school education prior to 1790. As evidenced by the Enoch Brown School massacre of 1764, Franklin communities other than Chambersburg provided county elementary education much earlier than 1790. Finally, in that year, the first non-church education arrived via Thomas Kirby, a well-known Franklin schoolmaster who decided to move his private county school into town. In 1794 he purchased a lot in South Ward and partnered with James Ross forming the first private school of elementary education in the bustling courthouse community. The two founded Chambersburg Academy in 1797, at which point Kirby left teaching for surveying. Ross carried on into the new century, providing the

foundation for one of the most prestigious private schools in Pennsylvania. The Academy building was burned in 1864, but quickly resurrected and continued thereafter to provide the country with accomplished scholars and teachers well into the twentieth century.⁹³ At least three additional private schools followed Kirby's initial efforts. In 1814 a private school for females was established in town, followed the next year by a second male institution, the Union School. Rosedale Seminary, a young women's institution founded by the three Pinneo sisters in 1840, held a national reputation as an extraordinary finishing school. Burned in the holocaust of July 30, 1864, it was never rebuilt.

Public education did not arrive in Franklin County, indeed, throughout the entire state until 1835. Once established, however, Chambersburg began providing excellent elementary education to its resident's children. Five elementary schools and a high school began free instruction during 1835.⁹⁴

Public works projects began in Chambersburg with two structures. These were both edifices supporting the new county government, the courthouse, and the jail. Both projects ground along slowly, at least to the mind of one of the town's early historians. Begun in 1786, the Courthouse was not completed until the latter part of 1793 or early 1794. At least one session of court was conducted under its roof prior to its interior being finished. Benjamin Chambers not only provided the lot for the structure, in 1784 he sold the town a second lot on Market Street for the jail. This building was erected on the northeast corner of Second and East Market Streets. A two-story stone affair, the jail was evidently utilitarian enough to be used for a court session in 1791. Although not fully

completed until 1798, the jail has the distinction of being the first public works project put into use in the town.⁹⁵

In 1808, a hand-made nail manufactory was established in the jail by the town to rehabilitate those incarcerated, thus filling a void in the town's economic needs and quickly leading to a private enterprise establishing itself in town utilizing the new skills of former prisoners. In 1814, a second private firm, Brown and Watson, converted from hand-wrought to a mechanical nail-making process. At least one historian of Chambersburg claims this manufactory to be the first mechanical cut-nail producing firm in the United States.⁹⁶

Subsequent to the completion of the first two municipal structures, a third public building materialized between the two on the north side of Market Street East adjacent to the courthouse. Completed and occupied in 1806, the courts building housed the county recorder, county registrar, prothonotary, survey office, and several other public officials linked with the legal and judicial systems.⁹⁷

By the turn of the century a public Market-House existed on the Town Square for the sale of produce by local farmers. After this frame structure was razed in 1827, the market shifted one block south and one block east to the southeast corner of Second and Queen Streets where the building continues to exist today. This particular quadrant of the town was not consumed on July 30, 1864 primarily due to the refusal of Confederate officers to obey orders, and destroy the Masonic Lodge Hall two doors north of the market building. According to one early observer of Chambersburg history, the three-day county fair conducted in and around the market provided the social highlight of the year in the community.⁹⁸

A municipal water-works was laid out in the North Ward of Chambersburg and service was initiated in 1818. Unfortunately, the pipes were of cedar and pine in lieu of metal. By 1823, the experiment had failed as the system became inoperative due to high maintenance costs and the expense of replacing the wooden pipes with cast iron ones. A dysentery epidemic occurred in 1850 due to the town's unsanitary water conditions.

Public works did little to improve the quality of streets and roads within town limits from earliest colonial times well into the nineteenth century. Just as it had done in Europe over countless centuries before, sewage from private homes and commercial venues ran in the streets. Unfettered domestic animals wandered about the town littering the streets with their offal. Outhouses were provided only individually and to those persons attending public functions such as court. This lack of sanitation led to two cholera outbreaks in 1832 and 1852. In 1813, a contract for street repairs became the first public works project of its kind in Chambersburg. The first sewer line provided only storm drainage and incidental waste runoff. Laid in 1823, the pipe went directly into Conococheague Creek with no treatment of any kind.⁹⁹

Along with numerous wooden structures crowded close together grew the need for fire protection. Evidently because of the almost exclusive existence of wooden structures in Chambersburg by 1794, numerous fires threatened the growing town. A Chambersburg "bucket brigade" existed prior to 1794. Unfortunately, the earliest records of the Union Fire Company have been lost. Other sources place fire engines in the town by 1800. The first firehouse was constructed on South Main Street in 1820. During the burning of Chambersburg one of the two fire companies perished in the conflagration both the building and all equipments being destroyed.¹⁰⁰

A police department approved in 1818 consisted of four men. Patrols were set from 9:00 p.m. to daybreak and these men were charged with the responsibility of keeping the peace. In addition, the police were delegated the authority to call out the hour and to light street lamps. Equipment in the early years consisted of a warm watch coat in cold weather.¹⁰¹

Logically, with the first paper plant in town in 1790, easy access to materials led to an abundance of newspapers and printing establishments in Chambersburg. The first newspaper came to Chambersburg in 1790, but the tabloid named *The Western Advertiser and Chambersburg Weekly* was published in Philadelphia by William Davison. By 1793, a locally-owned paper had supplanted Davison's. In 1796 the title was changed to that of *The Franklin Repository* which continued in use in Chambersburg until merged with the *Public Opinion* paper in 1931.¹⁰² Because high-quality rag paper for newsprint was locally available at Calhoun's paper-mill, other newspapers sprang up in Chambersburg. These emulators had mixed results. In 1798 a paper appeared, but failed in less than a year. The year 1799 brought forth a third paper, which lasted only until the turn of the century. Finally, in 1806, *The Franklin Republican* was established which endured until absorbed by the *Repository* in 1840.

For much of the first half of the nineteenth century, the newspaper which survived the longest as a competitor to the *Repository* was one published in the German language, *Der Redliche Register*, or the *Reformed Church Messenger*. Begun in 1818, publication was controlled by the German Reformed Church and continued until the building and equipment burned in the destruction of July 30, 1864. Associated with the paper was the

official publishing house of the church in the United States. This large establishment was removed to Philadelphia after the wartime destruction.

The Valley Spirit became the primary competitor printed in the English language. This news-weekly was established in Shippensburg in 1847, but quickly moved to Chambersburg where it persisted until 1930 when it was merged with the Public Opinion. Various other papers came and went, including the Semi-Weekly Dispatch, which ran for a short period during the Civil War. Started in 1861 by Andrew Kelly McClure, the paper merged with the Franklin Repository on July 8, 1863. Finally, the County Merchant, a tabloid that advertised in similar format to the current style of "trader" newspapers began publication in 1864. The paper only advertised items for sale or services available, but its surprising success led the owner, Matthew A. Foltz, to begin a regular newspaper in 1869. Ultimately, Foltz's new daily, the Public Opinion, survived and absorbed all its competitors.

The community's first bank was not formed until 1809. Originally a private concern providing notes and lending agreements amongst individuals of the community, it qualified under Pennsylvania's first state chartered banks in 1814. Subsequently, the bank became chartered under the national banking system in 1864. Now titled the National Bank of Chambersburg, it became a true public institution. Until the Civil War it represented the only monetary repository and official public lender in the town.

In 1865 a private bank sprang up as a competitor. Of course private lending had existed throughout Chambersburg's history both prior to and after the existence of formal banks. Promissory notes, stocks, and bonds continued to be issued directly through the interested parties, as well as through the newly formed Franklin County Bank. This

institution survived well into the twentieth century, only disappearing through merger and the consolidation of banking institutions beginning in the latter half of the 1900's.¹⁰³

In 1856 a gas-works arrived in Chambersburg. Illumination of public streets, commercial venues, and private citizen's homes provided by compressed gas brought a modern innovation to the valley town. In the 1880's, the first electricity provided an alternative to gas as a method of illumination. A small, but steady population of candle makers continued to exist in Chambersburg during the 1860's.¹⁰⁴

The agricultural economy of colonial times which had held complete sway in the area until the early nineteenth century began to slowly wane in Chambersburg. Finished agricultural products from grist and flourmills continued to be an important industry in Chambersburg well into the twentieth century. Survival of this vestige of the colonial economy was largely due to the important road system developing throughout America in the early part of the nineteenth century. As previously pointed out, Chambersburg benefited tremendously from its geographic location astride that economically-significant facet of American commerce.

With the development of a new method of communication, Chambersburg stayed abreast of the second economic transportation revolution in American commerce. Starting in 1837, the community's immediate access to rail connection with Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and later Baltimore proved to be a most important boon to the agricultural sector of the town's economy. Large flour and roller mills first established in 1860 continued to thrive for over half-a-century even as midwestern grain-producing states became fierce competitors to valley products. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, one local judge styled flour millers as the areas "Captains of Industry."¹⁰⁵ By the end of the

1880's, the milling industry in Chambersburg began to slowly lose ground to the mid-west in a competitive war of survival. The advent of a national rail system proved the undoing of the flour-products business in Chambersburg. Ultimately, the Midwest gained the rail advantages of transportation possessed by Chambersburg for roughly fifty years.

Around the nation a new economic fabric began to be woven by the Industrial Revolution. Slowly, the town's more established non-governmental occupations such as drover, tanner, carpenter, stone dresser, brick-molder, tavern keeper, blacksmith, potter, windmill maker, wagon, and stagecoach maker began to include new livelihoods based upon industrial development and advanced communications. Manufacturer, foundryman, engineer, conductor, machinist, fireman, insurance agent, grocer, gas fitter, and telegraph operator were occupations listed in the census data in ever increasing numbers from 1860 forward. Less than a handful of these occupations existed in 1790.

The Industrial Revolution arrived relatively early in Chambersburg. Doctor John Calhoun built a rag paper plant in 1790, the first such enterprise west of the Susquehanna River. For sixteen years this plant provided Pittsburgh, western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and other points west with newsprint paper and package wrappers.¹⁰⁶

Successor to Calhoun's operation John Shyrock and Thomas Johns founded the Hollywell Paper Mill in 1808 which produced fine quality wrappers and print paper. The firm's most distinguished client proved to be the United States government which used Hollywell print-paper for production of the country's national currency. The mill was located one and one-half miles south of town on Conococheague Creek.¹⁰⁷ George A. Shyrock first manufactured starboard, or paper made from vegetative matter, at the

Hollywell Paper Mill in 1829. Shyrock continued experimenting with varied processes with mixed success. At the same time he adapted existing machinery and developed new equipment necessary to produce cardboard more efficiently. When the Baltimore owner passed away the estate and other partners of the deceased forbade Shyrock to pursue any further manufacture of this product. The young inventor was forced to indemnify the estate for the manufacturing apparatus designed by employees of the mill as well. Consequently, he partnered with Samuel D. Culbertson of Chambersburg to build a new mill at the confluence of Falling Spring and the creek. This huge five-story operation was exclusively devoted to the production of strawboard, and became the first such operating mill in the world.¹⁰⁸

Subsequent to the discovery and production of cardboard in Chambersburg, a second paperboard operation developed from the conversion of an old gristmill on the northern edge of town. This competitor operation started in 1850 when iron and copper manufacturer Jacob Heyser's son, William A. Heyser, partnered with his grandson also named Jacob. The two decided enough trade existed in the cardboard business to sustain another small plant. The Franklin Mill continued successful operations throughout this period.¹⁰⁹

A manufacturing plant for the processing of wood ash into lye began in Chambersburg before 1840. Patrick Campbell and William Morrow refined the ash combined with water into a secondary product called "potash." This slurry was then left to ferment. The next step in the production process required that the caustic elements in the ash slurry, which had separated and floated to the top of the mixture, be drained off through a mesh screen into a hopper. This concentrated acidic product was then boiled

until the water content escaped as steam. The resulting thick ooze was dried, pulverized, and added to soap as a disinfecting agent. The combined product was mechanically formed into bricks, cut, wrapped with paper of local manufacture, and sold throughout the eastern United States as “lye” soap.¹¹⁰

At least one tannery existed in Chambersburg by 1840. This manufactory processed animal hides into leather primarily for the making of saddles, harness, and other leather goods used in the various local industrial operations in Chambersburg.¹¹¹

Among the mineral resources of Franklin County, iron ore proved to be plentiful and of paramount importance to manufacturing interests in Chambersburg. Beginning in 1794, Anthony Snyder produced iron cradles and edged tools on a limited basis competing with local blacksmiths for trade. Jacob Heyser, a transplant from Hagerstown, Maryland, developed a small iron works in town producing iron scythes and other hand implements. To lessen direct competition with blacksmiths, copper stills, kettles, ladles, and skimmers became his primary trade, however. With iron implements gradually outpacing copper production due to the lower costs in the manufacturing process, in time, Heyser’s operation went well beyond the production of that of an individual blacksmith.¹¹²

This production volume was in no way comparable to the production abilities of the next iron factory to develop in Chambersburg. The time for modernization of the old method of a local blacksmith pounding out individual axes, hatchets, scythes, and other such implements had come. A rudimentary assembly-line technique became the next step in the development of the iron industry in town.¹¹³

With a family background in iron-foundry speculation, James Dunlop, a promising young Chambersburg attorney, decided to partner with George Madeira and purchase the interests of the founder of an edged-tool factory in 1826. This enterprise was quite successful. Dunlop had begun the venture because of the careers of his grandfather, Colonel James Dunlop, and his father, Andrew, both of who operated iron furnaces west of Chambersburg in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Madeira came from a well-established Chambersburg family, but unfortunately lacked the initiative necessary to survive in a new market place. Consequently, the slow-growing enterprise soon sold. The new owners, Thomas A. Carlisle and Company, began a more comprehensive marketing strategy and until the development of the railroad after 1837, the edged-tool works proved to be Chambersburg's largest employer. It remained a steady commercial enterprise up until the mid-1870's. During its heyday the "Lemnos" foundry and the factory finishing works became the major supplier of edged-tools in the United States. Contracts existed with hand-tool suppliers throughout the Americas and Europe. Probably its most renowned client proved to be John Brown who contracted in 1859 with the firm to produce "miners" tools for the abortive slave insurrection at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The principal partner and manager Thomas Carlisle is said to have had lengthy deliberations with the revolutionary.¹¹⁴

Another significant local industrial operation came into being during the 1820's. The Gilman-Eberly Foundry produced equipment and machine parts for Chambersburg's various industrial operations. This plant was an outgrowth of the need for machined parts by the nail-making, milling, paper, cardboard, and wood-working plants in and adjacent to town. Once railroads came to the community, this firm morphed into an important

supplier of machine tools and equipment for the Cumberland Valley and Franklin Railroads. Because of the boost to profits caused by the railroad business, a large new plant containing a new foundry and equipment to fabricate machine parts was completed in 1840. The 200-foot structure stood alongside the Franklin Railroad tracks on Third Street. With the arrival of two new partners, Theodore B. Woods and Peter Housam, in 1857 the firm took the name of the principal partner, T.B. Woods. Woods and Housam continued to forge iron and steel machines and parts for the railroads. Other manufactured products included gears and specialty items for the local milling industry and unique items for varied businesses. In 1860 this operation included two partners and twenty-four employees.¹¹⁵

Because of the immediate availability of forest products at a reasonably modest cost, an extensive woodworking industry developed around the water power of Conococheague Creek. Henry Seirer began a cabinet and chair manufactory beside the creek south of Market Street with the outlet store east on Queen Street. Destroyed during the Confederate raid of 1864, this plant arose anew to become the largest supplier of furniture in the Mid-Atlantic states by the 1880's. Joseph Clark and Henry Shepler founded a large planing mill in 1857. Standardized wood-trim, sash for windows, and doors were made for sale in hardware stores throughout the East. Custom materials were also fashioned to specifications.¹¹⁶

In the area of transportation, shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century a regularly scheduled stage-line became a reality. Prior to 1804 local stage-lines had moved the mails over the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh Post Road. This new line, incorporating older existing parts, provided uninterrupted travel through Chambersburg

with Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Pittsburgh. Advertisements in the Franklin Repository announced six arrivals and departures daily. Travel northeast to Harrisburg, and southwest to Winchester, Virginia on Route 11 was also touted.¹¹⁷

With the stage came a myriad of service providers. Stage-line owners lived and operated their businesses in Chambersburg. From 1850 onward, coach drivers, makers, trimmers, and painters, harness-makers, hack drivers, stable and livery-owners are represented in multiple numbers in the census data. Blacksmiths appeared on practically every street-corner.

The ancillary benefit of travelers passing through the town accrued to those providing libations to the dust-laden throat and rest for the weary. Tavern owners and new hotels began to multiply as the century drew on. Clothiers, restaurateurs, hucksters, notions-peddlers, and various other public market and street vendors such as apple and oyster-sellers found stability in increased sales to travelers as well as the local townspeople.

New and improved roads to all points of the compass spurred the growth in Chambersburg of small industries tied to communications of the early nineteenth century. In 1817, wagon deliveries expanded with a fast freight service between Chambersburg and Pittsburgh. This new line claimed six days would be cut off of delivery times. In the period between 1784 and 1837, goods shipped to points west from Chambersburg had transitioned from pack animals taking as long as a month to reach their destination, to wagons that delivered in weeks, to wagons that delivered in days. These changes had come with the improved roads leading west.¹¹⁸ Beginning in 1837, a new method of transportation arrived in town more revolutionary than any of these predecessors.

Shipments from Chambersburg to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Washington regularly arrived in hours rather than days.

To say that economically Chambersburg became a “railroad town” is not true. The varied agricultural and industrial interests belie the fact that the town relied solely on the railroad for economic survival and growth. Yet to contend that the development of two rail centers in the town was not more significant than any other commercial development up to the late-1830’s would be seriously in error. The “Iron Horse” quickly became the major employer in Chambersburg and the impetus for strong, steady economic growth for the next century.

The first rail-head in town belonged to the Cumberland Valley Railroad. The line was not connected to Harrisburg originally. The single track was extended from Carlisle to Chambersburg in 1837, but the Susquehanna River was not bridged until two years later. In the interim the Board of Directors and stockholders attempted twice to redirect the main trunk line of the Pennsylvania Railroad away from its prescribed northern route. A southern trunk proposal through Chambersburg to Bedford and ultimately on to Pittsburgh was strenuously pushed. Unfortunately, these attempts failed and the “main-line” continued north of Harrisburg along the river, then westward up the Juniata Valley to its western terminus. This doomed the Chambersburg line to secondary status as a “feeder” for all time. Since the C.V.R.R. was independent of the “main-line” upon its inception, administrative offices, a round-house, passenger and freight terminals, numerous storage sheds, machine, and production shops were all located in town immediately north of Falling Spring between Main and Second Streets. The jail and King Street School were immediately to the south on the corner of King and Second

Streets. Although a boon to the Cumberland Valley economy for a century, as rail commerce waned in the late 1900's in favor of trucking, Chambersburg's economic sector tied to the railroads declined as well.¹¹⁹

Poorly funded, thus lacking the operating capital for success, the Franklin Railway began operations in Chambersburg in 1842. Using horse-drawn cars for freight service, the line was doomed to failure. It extended only to Hagerstown, Maryland. The avowed design of linking with the Western Maryland, or Baltimore and Ohio Railroads located to the south, never materialized. By 1860, the carrier had purchased two steam engines, but was practically inoperative having only one trip per day carrying freight along its twenty-two miles of track. With the advent of war, the Franklin line became a most important source of transportation for the Union armies. Therefore, the Cumberland Valley line began purchasing the stock of the Franklin road during the Civil War. By 1865, the C.V.R.R. had finished fully combining and co-coordinating the operations of both railroads.¹²⁰

Innovations of the two railroads included the first Pullman car introduced on the Cumberland Valley line and the first locomotive with an enclosed cab for the fireman and engineer on the Franklin Railroad.¹²¹ Both were fabricated in Chambersburg at the railroad shops then located in the northern (C.C.V.R.) and eastern (F.R.R.) ends of town.

The telegraph had arrived in Chambersburg prior to 1846. The earliest records of the original business, the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Company have been lost at some point in the past. It is recorded that the Western Union Telegraph Company took over the operation in that year and continued thereafter. The Chambersburg telegraph office played a significant role in northern war machinations during the Civil War.¹²²

By 1860, Chambersburg had a solid and varied economic and social infrastructure. Local government provided jobs to a number of residents. Industry, both heavy and light, required numerous skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. Agriculture continued to flourish, especially as rail connections developed to the north and south.

As the decade of the 1850's drew to an end, John Brown's raid brought a climatic close to the first one-hundred and thirty years of Chambersburg's existence. The tumultuous event was merely a harbinger of the upheaval which the community experienced during the next five years

CHAPTER 2: TUMULTOUS TIMES, 1860 – 1864

The events of late summer and fall of 1859 tore through America like a fire-storm. While a minority of Northerners felt John Brown to be a kindred spirit, a majority of Southerners considered his abortive attempt at slave insurrection to be a clarion call to arms. Newspapers throughout the South called for creation of local and state militia units to be drilled in anti-slave insurrection methods. Those few Southerners who spoke out with anti-slavery rhetoric were severely dealt with by local citizens, state authorities, and in at least one instance a national authority.¹²³

In the North, most news organizations were ambivalent toward the peculiar institution. New England held the most consistently abolitionist papers. In fact, the closer to a slaveholding territory print-media were located, the more pliant and conciliatory toward slavery editorials became. According to one scholar, the interaction of regional commerce and population shifts heavily influenced public attitudes toward the sectional conflicts brewing on America's horizon.¹²⁴

Chambersburg's two newspapers, the Valley Spirit and Franklin Repository, were no exception to this rule. Both the Spirit and Repository were partisan to the Democratic Party, but the Valley Spirit made a point of emphasizing "conservative values" in its editorial makeup.¹²⁵ As the decade evolved, this publication could be found vilifying abolition as the cause of sectional divisions, and African-Americans as unworthy of the cost. The Repository, while not as virulent in its negative attitudes toward the black community in Chambersburg, still refrained from embracing the abolitionist cause at least

until a local politician of note, Alexander Kelly McClure, purchased the paper in 1863. Thereafter, its editorials clearly supported Lincoln's administration and Republicans.

A cursory examination of print materials from early in the decade of the 1860's reveals a clear delineation between the two papers. Several examples of the fundamental differences between the print voices of the community can be found in the January 4, 1860 editions of the two newspapers. In its edition the Repository decried the burning of an abolitionist Hardy County, Virginia newspaper by a local Buchanan administration appointee and the public whipping, tarring and feathering of an outspoken abolitionist resident of Charleston, South Carolina. On the same day, the Spirit reprinted a speech by the U.S. Vice-President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky laying blame for the sectional crises on abolitionists.¹²⁶ The Repository might be willing to lay down for the status-quo of African-Americans, but obviously was alarmed by the rising tide of intolerance and violence against abolition in the South. The Valley Spirit saw no problem with excoriating abolition or with acceptance of the actions being exhibited south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

There were three reasons for the point of view taken by The Valley Spirit's editor, 30-year-old Barry Bauserman. First, he espoused "conservative values." A conservative value would countenance slavery as being tolerated by the United States Constitution. Thus, it would be perfectly acceptable for individuals further south to be slaveholders if they so desired.

One could accept slavery only on a restricted basis in Bauserman's home state, however. Pennsylvania's law had forbade slavery in 1780, but allowed for continued enslavement of those individuals already in bondage. The concept of a national liberation

law would be wholly at odds with the Spirit's acceptance of the status-quo in Pennsylvania. Additionally, it would strike at the U.S.'s current balance of power between state and national governments. With such a law, the Federal government would be in a position to dictate individual rights and property law in any section of the country where the general populace inclined to be at odds with its will. Consequently, Bauserman would hold against such a fundamental shift in power away from individual states and to the national government. This tremendous power change in the prevailing balance between the two, and not the institution of slavery itself therefore becomes the focus of the Spirit's editor.

A second reason for the ambivalence of Bauserman and many members of Chambersburg's community toward the sectional crisis lay in the way Pennsylvania had resolved its own problem regarding slavery. Peaceably eliminated by 1860 and accomplished on an individual state basis, it was difficult for a large segment of the population to fathom why this method could not be applied throughout the rest of the country. Resorting to armed conflict for resolution seemed unreasonable, indeed, unthinking and uncaring to many whites in the Chambersburg area.

A third fundamental point not then countenanced by Bauserman or the Chambersburg community increasingly exacerbated the sectional divisions rising in the nation. Productivity levels between the two disparate systems were being unbalanced as machines increasingly outstripped slave-labor in quantity, quality and time. At this point in United States history, machines had just begun to impact the delicate and uneasy financial equilibrium between the two contending economic systems prevailing in the country. An understanding of the cause of the economic changes occurring in the nation

at this time was gleaned by only an enlightened few. In hindsight, Bauserman's insistence upon standing on the interpretation of the Constitution as the sole consideration for the rise of sectional issues in America was fallacious. His argument begged consideration of the underlying economic changes rapidly occurring in the country

By the latter part of 1860, the trappings of internal strife were set in stone. South Carolina formally seceded on December 20, and the inevitability of a national military conflict became starkly clear to Chambersburg's residents. The editor of the Valley Spirit lamented the actions of South Carolina, but cried for peace. Bauserman did so even to the extent of favoring separation of the Union by allowing seceding states to leave peaceably. The conservative editor decried the destruction of commerce between the two sections. Time and again, damage to commerce became his central theme. In a mid-January 1861 editorial, the Democratic editor attempted to refute an article written by a competing paper which compared the wealth of Pennsylvania and South Carolina. This article reveals the lack of vision that the average person held regarding the great structural changes brought about in the nation over the previous twenty years by the Industrial Revolution. While the competitor touts the diversified wealth of Pennsylvania to the detriment of the agricultural production in the "Palmetto State" Bauserman attempts to defend South Carolina as being the economic equal of the "Keystone" State. The details of the news-piece list mining, manufacturing and agricultural production of the two and places relative financial values on each. In the end, Bauserman avers that South Carolina's overall economic output and its contributions to the Union equaled that of Pennsylvania.¹²⁷ This type of myopic argument by both editors begs a proper analysis of the reasons why the country was on the precipice of war. Right up to the

beginning of hostilities, the Chambersburg papers failed to inform its readership of the true reasons for the imminent conflict.

On April 15, 1861, after Fort Sumter and the time for reasoned debate past, President Abraham Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to restore the Union. This action caused a second round of secession by four additional states including Virginia, a mere eleven miles from the Pennsylvania border. From that point forward for the balance of the decade, Chambersburg's economy alternately thrived, then sank, arose, was devastated, and ultimately rebuilt.

In his diary relating the war's events, William Heyser wrote in general terms of the prosperity brought to the town during the first third of the decade.¹²⁸ Two areas stand out where it was evident that boom-times existed: One, in the area of food provided under government contracts and two, movement of men and supplies by railroad. Both segments of the local economy generated large profits to Chambersburg suppliers. Based upon census data several businessmen including Benjamin F. Nead, J. Allison Eyster and Thomas Cook fared extremely well off war-related commerce.

Chambersburg became a significant collecting point for recruits and assemblage of war supplies. From April to June, 1861, new units of men gathered at military camps established around Chambersburg.¹²⁹ The assembly point was chosen by the district's military commander, Major-General Robert P. Patterson, who joined his army on June 2, 1861. Because of the town's central location within the Cumberland Valley, accessibility north and south by rail, and the ease of access over improved highways which intersected at the "Diamond," Patterson felt Chambersburg to be the best location to form an army in south-central Pennsylvania.

Temporary camps were established north and south of town along modern day U.S. Route 11, east along the Gettysburg Pike, and west on the outskirts of the borough, south of the Pittsburgh Pike. Ultimately, a camp more permanent in nature was established north of the Gettysburg Pike opposite Shatters'-Messersmith's Woods on the old Eberly farm and acquired the name Camp Slifer.¹³⁰ Volunteers would come into town from the camps to purchase needed supplies, to procure food for the camp, or for personal consumption. At that time, sutlers had not been contracted for and provided to the Union troops. Prosperity found local men like J. Allison Eyster, John Ely, and Thomas Cook who were commissioned by the military to provide basic foodstuffs such as bread and meat to the encamped army.¹³¹

Not all was rosy between the camp inhabitants and the community residents. Newspaper accounts noted occasional destruction of business and personal property by unruly or drunken soldiers from the camps. There were fights including one shooting death between officers and enlisted men quartered about the town, within the downtown district. Break-ins, burglaries, and prostitution multiplied with the advent of soldiers in the area.¹³²

Lawlessness in two extreme cases bears mentioning. Levi Lippy, a night watchman at Henry Shepler's window, door, and sash-mill, was attacked with a knife and punched in the face while defending against two break-ins during the night of August 27, 1861. In the first encounter, two attackers fled after trying unsuccessfully to torch the establishment. During the second attempt, the watchman was armed and fired as one of the original arsonists escaped. No one received medical attention by any of the local

doctors or reported wounds to medical staff in any of the military camps. Lippy was bruised and cut slightly.¹³³

The most egregious incident involving soldiers, however, proved to be a mob murder. This act on June 1, 1861, was detailed in the Dispatch's edition of June 4. On that occasion, a Chambersburg African-American, Frank Jones, was attacked in his home by a mob of soldiers and killed. The Dispatch noted that soldiers were evidently outraged at being unable to purchase whiskey from a neighboring abode and blamed Jones as the cause of their discontent. Although no reason was stated in the news article for this position taken by the soldiers, it should be noted that Jones was legally charged by several neighbors in 1859 for conducting the same type of operations from his home. Therefore, the scenario portrayed in the Dispatch of Jones being totally innocent of wrong-doing becomes suspect.¹³⁴ Two active participants in the murder were brought to trial separately in 1861 and 1864. The first trial brought against a Sergeant Heckerdom resulted in the defendant being found innocent of the preferred charge of murder. In the 1864 trial, a Lieutenant Morgan R. Bryan of the 2nd Pennsylvania Volunteers was found guilty of manslaughter. Sentenced and committed to the eastern Pennsylvania State Penitentiary, he was pardoned by Governor Andrew Curtin on February 15, 1865.¹³⁵ The sweet and sour relations between the town and the army were relatively short-lived, however.

As previously mentioned, beginning June 7, 1861, the army under Patterson vacated Chambersburg and moved south to hold Johnston's Confederate force in the lower valley about Winchester while General Irvin McDowell attacked Southern forces scattered about Manassas Junction, Virginia. Failing in this ruse, the troops were

absorbed into the Army of the Potomac and Chambersburg never again became a rallying point of future major Federal military operations. The town continued to serve as an assembly point for raw levies that were periodically brought into the camps about Chambersburg and then forwarded to the Union army in Virginia.

For the townspeople during the balance of 1861, and the first nine months of 1862, prosperous times ruled whenever large groups of men quartered in Messersmith's woods and across the road in Camp Slifer. Commission merchants made huge profits, railway's financial fortunes brightened, and the general population found money to be made in a consumer-driven, war-time economy. Unfortunately, the town would pay a heavy price for the continued shuttling of assembling troops away from Chambersburg and on to the Army of the Potomac. Given the relative ease with which Confederates could penetrate Union territory, it was only a matter of time before Southerners would come looking for the wealth being generated in the community.

October 10, 1862 dawned cold and rainy. All during the day, rumors of Confederate troop movements circulated about town. The telegraph office was busy sending messages from the district military commander, Major-General Darius Nash Couch, to his military superiors alerting them to an incursion and begging for troops to defend the territory. Governor Curtin wrung his hands while begging both Couch and the White House to do something positive in the way of defense. Signal stations in the southwestern portions of the county began to flag warnings of sightings of Southern cavalry and then fell silent. At least one signal unit north of Hancock, Maryland, was overrun and all its equipment captured. The last telegraphic communication with Harrisburg was sent at six p.m. by Judge F. M. Kimmell, the provost marshal of

Chambersburg, stating that an advance scout of 15 rebels had arrived in town demanding surrender.¹³⁶ At roughly seven p.m., through a steady rain, 1,800 hand-picked troopers and four guns of the Washington (Louisiana) field artillery from Major-General James Ewell Brown Stuart's cavalry division of the Army of Northern Virginia, descended on Chambersburg. Civilian authorities formally surrendered the town at that time, there being no military presence in town.

Swarming into town from the west, the marauding column of cavalymen appropriated goods, but in well-ordered manner as shop-owners and individuals alike were forced to accept Confederate currency as payment or script as receipts for articles confiscated. It is possible that Pennsylvania or Federal officials provided compensation to some lucky few possessors of these warrants, although no proof of any claims being paid seems to exist. Ultimately, damages were lumped together with losses of subsequent Confederate incursions under The Pennsylvania Border Commission Claims.

All through the evening and the early hours of the next day, the town passed an uneasy, wakeful night as occupied territory. In the pre-dawn of the eleventh, Isaac Hutton's shoe store was broken open and its contents rapidly disappeared onto the feet or saddles of needy cavalymen. In a matter of minutes the large retail business was stripped of its merchandise. According to the diary of one resident, this was the only business so molested. Otherwise, with the exception of the theft of some baked goods, the Confederates were well behaved.¹³⁷

Before leaving that morning, railroad properties became the object of Confederate incendiaries. Several trains complete with boxcars on spurs and sidings were destroyed. Likewise the roundhouse with several engines and both the freight and passenger depots

were fired. Included as legitimate targets for destruction were military weapons and equipment warehoused adjacent to the rail facilities. These consisted primarily of cutlasses, pistols, rifles, overcoats, and other wearing apparel, and were located in a warehouse leased to the United States authorities by the owners, Daniel H. Wunderlich and Benjamin Franklin Nead. This warehouse also held small-arms ammunition and artillery shells of varying types. The official reports estimated that the loss to the Federal government included 5,000 new Springfield muskets.¹³⁸ Such medical supplies and foodstuffs as were purchased either with Confederate money or script were hastily loaded into the few wagons confiscated for transportation purposes by the raiders. Most importantly for the marauders, a large herd of stolen horses estimated at 500 accompanied the Confederates eastward out of town. By nine a.m. the North Carolina incendiaries of the rear-guard had cleared the borough.¹³⁹

Included in the rapidly disappearing van were four white male residents of Franklin County taken under the general orders of the Confederate commanding General Robert E. Lee.¹⁴⁰ These individuals were sent to Richmond, Virginia and imprisoned as pawns in a chess-game between the two contending national governments over perceived wrongful imprisonment's perpetrated one upon the other. None of these hostages were Chambersburg residents. One, Perry A. Rice of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, died in Libby Prison during January 1863. The others ultimately were exchanged.¹⁴¹ Unofficially, eight young "colored" residents of the town accompanied the raiders out of town. Abducted by Southern officers, they were taken into captivity as compensation for slave-holder losses during the early stages of the war south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

These youngsters have remained unnamed victims of war. What suffering they and their families endured cannot be found in the existent records of the time.¹⁴²

Superintendent of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, Ormond N. Lull, had his residence destroyed when the shops and depots were razed by fire. His was the only known personal residence destroyed in the first major Confederate incursion. It would definitely not be the last. Only the contents loss directly affected Lull, however, as he was provided living space above the passenger depot by the company he managed.¹⁴³ This circumstance was common among the business community of Chambersburg. A majority of business owners lived above, behind or immediately adjacent to the businesses they owned or operated.

The aforementioned residents were the only persons directly identified as sustaining major specific loss by this first visitation of Southern forces. No reported break-ins or general looting of homes occurred. Confiscation of horses by the dozens occurred, however, as barns and holding pens of livestock were ransacked. The raiders located with relative ease many obscure hiding places both within town limits and in the surrounding countryside. Members of rebel forces who had lived in the immediate area aided these soldiers. Accounts of the time speak of men directing raiding parties with sacks over their heads or kerchiefs about their faces to mask their identities. These were undoubtedly volunteers like James Allison, a former county resident, killed in the line of duty while in Confederate service, or by disloyal Franklin County residents, such as Hugh Logan or "Harbaugh."¹⁴⁴

After-effects apparently were most severe to the shoe storeowners. Three times during the course of the war the Huttons sustained heavy financial losses at the hands of

Confederate forces. A letter dated September 17, 1864, finds Isaac Hutton in a most precarious situation selling shoes from a basement using a line of credit for his supply of wares.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, having sustained a third and most dire loss in 1864, Hutton did not long survive the war. Neither did his family continue to reside in Chambersburg. His death resulted from a fatal kick to the body by a young colt in February 1866.¹⁴⁶

What occurred to the two families during the decade because of their continuing and repeated misfortunes should be noted. There were 17 different individuals listed in the 1860 census with the surname of Hutton. The records indicating two brothers Jacob and Isaac, had families. Evidently, Isaac became a widower during the early part of the decade, losing his wife, Louisa, for he re-married on November 9, 1864. Isaac had four children and his brother had five. These nine individuals ranging in age from six to 24 with the eldest of Jacob's son's, John, having a wife. In 1870 the only Hutton residing in town was a 17-year-old single female, Sarah, who worked at the newly-opened woolen mill. She had not been enumerated in 1860. Whether she was related or not, has not been determined. Records did not reveal the location where his brother and the two families relocated.

Both Hutton brothers were shoemakers and probably collaborated in the manufacture of the boots and shoes in their respective stores. In a statement to a visitor after the burning of the town in September 1864, Isaac revealed that he and his brother employed some 15 to 20 journeymen as shoemakers. This number of workers made his operation a substantial one, probably involving both retail and wholesale operations. Isaac Hutton made a claim for both real and personal property in the Pennsylvania Border Commission's files, but it was presented posthumously due to the death occasioned by

the incident with the young colt. The realty claim amounted to \$4,000 and merchandises another \$4,875.80. Compensation provided totaled \$2,663.64 (30.0%) of the total claim. This percentage was typical of the compensation levels provided by the 1866 Border Claims settlements. At least one source states that the 1862 claims were included with the latter ones.¹⁴⁷

Records indicate that Isaac's brother Jacob also made a claim against the Commission for real property amounting to \$4,500. Jacob's store was located in the same block of Main Street as Isaac's although the two were not directly across the street from one another. Jacob's personal property loss amounted to \$3,428.86. Both of the brother's personal property sums likely included personal household effects as well as lost commercial wares.

Superintendent Lull presented a Commission claim for \$ 475, and under the 1866 settlement received \$145.83 as compensation -30.7% of the claimed loss. In 1865, \$100,000 had been appropriated by the Pennsylvania legislature for relief of Chambersburg residents, and in 1868, a final \$300,000 was sent for their relief. Continued appeals to the Federal government brought no relief even though efforts continued fairly consistently over the next thirty years.

Whether the figure claimed in 1866 had been reduced by payment from an earlier sum is unknown. As previously stated, however, the reason why Lull had no real estate damage either in 1862 or in 1864 was explained by his wife in a letter to his sister in Vermont during the fall of 1865. They resided above the C.V.R.R. passenger station in space provided by the company. The final amount claimed by Lull and unpaid appears in both the March 15 and 17, 1890, editions of the Franklin Repository.

The newspaper reprinted the entire inventory of certificates issued to all those in Chambersburg who had valid claims for war-related damages. Totals for both real and personal property claims were given, and separately, the total amount of undifferentiated claims resulting from Stuart's 1862 incursion were detailed. The list showed that Lull held a certificate for \$475, the same amount as shown in the 1866 settlements. Why the original amount from that time was not reduced by the payment previously made was not explained. By the end of the decade, Lull retained approximately the same financial position he held at the beginning as his 1870 census personal property totaled \$678.

As for the owners of the warehouse destroyed by the North Carolinians, they would experience mixed fortunes during the decade. Prior to the war, Wunderlich and Nead were commission agents for the railway. As such, they received commissions from goods transported by rail. Once war began and Chambersburg became the center for assemblage of the first large armed force in the valley, these men and others made out like financial wizards. Any property that moved through them generated commissions on both the shipper and the railway ends of the transactions. As the war progressed, they came to receive Federal government contracts to rent their facilities and to engage their services. In 1860, Daniel K. Wunderlich held real estate worth \$19,000 and his warehouse partner Benjamin Franklin Nead, \$14,000. Personal property amounts were \$10,000 for Wunderlich and \$6,000 for Nead. These sums are undifferentiated as to business and personal effects. How much of each was undetermined. Both businessmen became very wealthy by 1870.

Other commission merchants in town during the decade included 58-year-old David Oaks and his 46-year-old partner, Abraham D. Cauffman who owned two wooden

warehouses connected to the C.V.R.R. by a spur-line. During the summer of 1859, one of these held the "machine parts" of John Brown fame.¹⁴⁸ After the retirement of Caufman in 1863, 37-year-old Samuel Linn became Oaks' partner. A third warehouse existed in the town's North Ward operated by three partners: Joseph S. Grier, George Deitz, and William McDowell. Grier served as commission agent. Deitz and McDowell were "gentlemen" investors. Several other large players in the commission merchant trade included Daniel O. Gehr, a Hagerstown, Maryland merchant attracted to Chambersburg because of the Franklin line and the C.V.R.R. railhead. The profits of this specific class of merchant weighed heavily on railroad revenues with interesting future results in the latter part of the decade.

The March 16, 1864, Franklin Repository listed 93 businesses and business owners in operation at the time. Fronting on the north side of Market Street, or any of the numerous blocks of businesses and residences north of that street qualified as being located in the North Ward.¹⁴⁹ This thoroughfare represented the political dividing-line between the two wards of town. Census-takers in both the 1860 and 1870 censuses took unusual liberties when enumerating the townspeople who resided along it.

The news article left out artisans, and most professionals that would have more than doubled the number of businesses operating in Chambersburg at the time. Excluded from the list of March 16th, but known to exist in the North Ward were a gristmill, a four-story flour mill, and two paperboard plants as well. A large tannery, a marble quarry, three lime kilns, and at least two brick-yards failed to be listed in the town's businesses also as well as two of the three local newspapers.

The aforementioned three commission agents, and the balance of twelve merchants who could be identified conducting their operations in the North Ward included: Bookstore: Samuel S. Shyrock. James and George Watson; Coal and Lumber: L. Ebert and Company; Drug Store: Andrew J. Miller; Foundry: Theodore B. Woods; General Store: Jacob and H. Elias Hoke; Grocer: Daniel S. Fahnestock, John Goetman,, John Schofield, Cyrus Sprecher; Hardware and Lamps: Lewis B. Eyster; Jeweler: Frederick J. Ditman.

In the summer of 1861, the town council made improvements in the "Kerrstown Alley" a commercial section in south ward between Main and Second Streets. Exactly what the "improvement" made between the hardware store of Brand and Flack and the two buildings encompassing the dry goods establishment of Eyster and Brothers remains unknown. From loss accounts in reminiscences and newspaper articles written shortly after the burning of the town, 31 additional South Ward businesses have been identified. Book and Stationary Dealer: Thomas J. Wright; Brewery: George Ludwig; Clothier: A.J. White, John T. Hoskinson; Confectioner: William H. Bender, Christian Burkhart, Joseph Deckelmayer, John Jeffries, Lewis A. Shoemaker; Drugs: Samuel Nixon, Alexander Cressler and William Heyser (partners); Edged Tool Factory: John Huber; General Store: James L. Black, Eyster and Brother (previously mentioned), H.H. Hutz, William Wallace and Company, Jacob M. Wolfkill; Grocer: George Ditman, Marion Elliott, Moses Greenawalt, Samuel M. Perry; Hardware: Brand and Flack (previously mentioned); Hats: McClintock and Son, Jacob L. Deckert; Jeweler: Edward Auginbaugh, Michael Kuss, Augustus Reineman; Shoe Store: Isaac Hutton, Jacob Hutton, George Lehner; Silverware

and Plating: Lewis A. Wampler; Stove Dealer: Samuel Etter and Alfred B. Hamilton (partners), Jacob B. Miller.

The community settled down to something equating normalcy after Stuart's incursion. Five weeks later the town's last war-related incident of 1862 occurred. A woman named Sloan rode into town on a worn-out gray mare. She first visited Andrew J. Miller's drug store in North Ward and then moved on to Nixon's on South Main Street, purchasing opium, morphine and quinine. A resident of the Winchester, Virginia area, she was immediately identified as such by a town resident. When accosted and questioned by provost authorities, she freely admitted purchasing medical supplies for the Confederacy. As an enemy agent, she was arrested as a spy and sent to prison.¹⁵⁰

The newspapers reported war-related items of interest and featured differing military viewpoints by soliciting letters from active-duty Chambersburg residents serving in the various Pennsylvania regiments. True to his political beliefs, Bauserman continued to editorialize against the economic consequences of the war, the Republican Party in general and A.K. McClure along with his newspaper, the Semi-Weekly Dispatch, in particular. Unfortunately, the editorials from these papers during this period are not available at the Valley of the Shadow website, so it is unclear exactly what was written there.

Holding to Democratic Party ideals, Bauserman encouraged those of like-mind to work against the Lincoln administration and the Republicans. Such expressions begin to earn the label "Copperhead" for the editor and his publisher John M. Cooper from Republicans around the county. By the spring of 1862, his conciliatory tone toward the

South brought editorial charges of secessionist leanings by both the Waynesboro Village Record and the Chambersburg Semi-Weekly Dispatch.¹⁵¹

The Repository, on the other hand, began to warm to the efforts of the Lincoln administration, abolition, and the country's African-Americans. Unfortunately, the only existent Repository edition found through the entirety of both 1861 and 1862 at the Valley of the Shadow website was issued April 3, 1861. Even though issued prior to the crisis at Fort Sumter, researchers can see a continuum from late 1860 in the editor's attitude toward prosecution of the coming conflict. Reactions to Repository accusations regarding the Spirit's editorials can be seen regularly in Cooper's paper.

Of course, once purchased by A. K. McClure and merged with the Semi-Weekly Dispatch, the Repository became a bastion of Republican and administration support. From its first publication date after the merger, July 8, 1863, the paper assailed the Valley Spirit's conservative stance on the war by vigorously stating the editor's positions on Union, the administration's of both Lincoln and Curtin, and issued a veiled threat of attacks against Bauserman and the Valley Spirit.¹⁵²

Reaction to Lincoln's September 22, 1862 preliminary announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation can only be reviewed in the Valley Spirit.¹⁵³ Relegated to the fourth page of the October 1, 1862, edition of the Spirit, Bauserman accused Republican radicals of forcing the Emancipation Proclamation on the President. According to the editorial, a weak-minded Lincoln was browbeaten and bullied by administration and Congressional abolitionists then ultimately forced to cave in to their craven wishes.

As proof that Lincoln found no compunction for an abolition of slavery, the Spirit cited a statement previously made by the President before a delegation from Chicago in early 1862 that a proclamation held “no useful purpose.” The conservative editor charged Lincoln with becoming a spineless politician, in reversing his former position which only served to prove his ineptitude for the country’s top administrative position. True to his Democratic Party ideals, he continued disparaging the national administration’s efforts at prosecuting the war. Bauserman castigated Lincoln’s suspension of habeas corpus, and other transgressions against the Constitution. He decried a government backed and heavily influenced by the military and was against the abolition of blacks.¹⁵⁴

Through the first half of 1863, the Spirit ran comment after comment on the prosecution of the war, never wavering from conservative positions. Running neck and neck with the editorials, letters and reports of casualties from major battles of the period consumed the vast majority of print space. By May 1863, prominent advertisers in Chambersburg began to pull large ads from the newspaper. From that point forward, the Spirit’s readership and influence in the community slowly waned. Although sustaining itself for almost seventy additional years due to the paper’s wide readership, an opening was created for a rival to enter the print market. This publication, the County Merchant, first changed its name to the Public Opinion, then in the next century, absorbed the Spirit and later the Repository.

Other than war items and this contest of editorial opinions waged in the newspapers, the town remained quite tranquil. In May the Spirit commented on a large and sustained building boom occurring throughout the community. Various editions

during this period emphasized the volume of both business and residential structures erected during the latter part of 1862 and the first half of 1863. Despite Stuart's raid, the town continued to thrive from war-related prosperity.¹⁵⁵

With men and material running short, General Robert E. Lee attempted to bring relief to Virginia's dwindling resources. His consultations with President Jefferson Davis during the late winter of 1863 led to mobilization of local defense troops and reinforcement of the main Confederate forces contending with the Army of the Potomac. Lee brought in fresh regiments from other states, canceled all leave and special duty for regular troops, mobilized six full brigades of cavalry, and increased his artillery to parity with the Army of the Potomac. Contiguous with a manpower build-up, the second phase of preparations required supplies for an invasion of the North.

Consequently, in April 1863, Lee sent Longstreet's Corps to southeastern Virginia. To place Federal troops in the area on the defensive, Confederates invested Suffolk, Virginia and proceeded to strip southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina of foodstuffs for an invasion force. The Confederate commander gambled on one huge battle for supremacy in the east. A large secondary benefit would relieve Virginia by sustaining his army on the Pennsylvania countryside. Chambersburg and Franklin County stood directly in harm's way.

Rumors of advancing rebel hordes filtered into Chambersburg beginning in early June. During the night of the fourteenth, townspeople and railroad authorities begin removing valuables to Harrisburg and points north. The bank was cleaned out and officers including George R. Messersmith and the head cashier, John Mull, boarded a special train headed north with all records and assets. Merchants such as Jacob and Elias

Hoke either sent merchandise out of town or hid it. Beginning early the next morning, hordes of African-Americans fled through town heading north with their readily transportable possessions. During this Confederate incursion, one townsman estimated the rebels herded over 250 blacks south into slavery.¹⁵⁶ As during Stuart's raid, some were Chambersburg residents.

Simultaneously, a remnant of Milroy's defeated forces streamed through Chambersburg. A body of wagon guards and uncaptured teamsters of his wagon-train burst upon the town in wild-eyed flight. Dead or dying animals and overturned and broken wagons partially blocked the normal flow of traffic along Main Street creating fearful panic. Finally, a lone provost officer of the Chambersburg command took control at the point of a gun. Marshalling the few troops accompanying the wagons, he instilled a semblance of sanity into the onrushing mob. Order restored, the remnants of Milroy's "weary boys" moved on and the restive borough awaited its second enemy incursion.

Near the midnight hour of June 15, 1863, scouts from advancing rebel forces entered the town. Headed up Route 11, two advance scouts stopped at the "diamond" and became captives of Chambersburg residents. Within minutes 200 Confederate cavalry thundered up Main Street reinforcing these scouts. Fifteen minutes more brought the balance of Brigadier-General Albert Gallatin Jenkins' 2,200 man force. Their arrival secured the release of the captured scouts. Quickly moving north, the body of cavalry stopped at "Norland" home of A.K. McClure. Jenkins and his men settled in for a few hours rest.

Soon after daybreak on the sixteenth, "boots and saddles" was blown, and Jenkins moved back into Chambersburg. He established his headquarters at Margaretta and John

Montgomery's Hotel located in North Ward between King and Market Streets facing the east side of North Main. He first attempted to disarm the population by threatening a general search for weapons if arms were not voluntarily surrendered. This action netted enough response to forestall an invasion of private homes. Next, he demanded payment for the two captured scout's horses and accoutrements. The sum of \$900 was rendered, but in Confederate notes, not United States currency.

Meanwhile, elements of the advance brigade spent the day destroying the rail-bridge over Conococheague Creek in the little hamlet of Scotland five miles north of Chambersburg. Others poked about the town searching for military targets of value. Few were found as the warehouses had been emptied of military articles. Unlike the previous October, the C.V.R.R. had removed engines, rolling stock, spare parts and other railroad sundries along with the military contents of all the local warehouses, sending them north out of rebel reach.. Frustrated in their search for military hardware, the rebels turned the balance of the 16th into a roundup of fugitive slaves. Numerous black residents of Chambersburg were included in this wholesale witch-hunt. Intercession by respected members of the town's white community saved a select few from certain calamity. The balance of these unlucky individuals were bound and followed the Confederate forces south the next day.¹⁵⁷

At seven the next morning, Jenkins ordered all businesses opened to his men. Sales were brisk until a little past nine o'clock when a Confederate scout reported an advance of Union troops from the direction of Shippensburg. The brigade quickly mounted up and headed north to defend against the Union incursion. Soon, however, the brigade withdrew south through the town along Main Street. They fired the warehouses

of Oaks and Linn, but once the Confederates were no longer within close proximity, locals quickly extinguished the flames. For the time being, Chambersburg remained free of any occupying force. Jenkins retired to the southernmost portions of the county while recruiting horses along the way and drained the larders of area residents loyal to the Union.¹⁵⁸

The Army of Northern Virginia moved into Pennsylvania, and on the forenoon of June 23, Jenkins re-entered Chambersburg followed closely by Major-General Robert Emmitt Rode's infantry division. The community's New York defense troops reinforced a home guard, but both had fled the previous evening leaving the entire area undefended. Consequently, no fighting took place in or about the town. Jenkins immediately issued a food requisition that was met with old meats and leftovers that would normally be rendered into "scrapple" and other such byproducts. Meanwhile, a food riot erupted amongst the townspeople in the northeastern warehouse district. Assuming the Confederates would soon secure the foodstuffs located therein, the local population took it upon themselves to steal supplies from a railroad warehouse before that eventuality occurred. Because of the time element and the illegal nature of the participant's acts, pushing, cursing, and a general free-for-all broke out. The supplies disappeared into possession of the general population, however, before the rebels could secure them.¹⁵⁹

The next day saw the arrival of Lieutenant-General Richard Stoddart Ewell, "Stonewall" Jackson's successor in command of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. The Franklin House Hotel located on the southwestern corner of the "diamond" became his headquarters. It was owned by Calvin M. Duncan and operated at that time by Daniel Trostle. On the twenty-fourth, Ewell commandeered the King Street School

for a Confederate hospital. Beds were secured from the hotels and inns of the town. Next, he issued numerous requisitions of medical supplies, leather, food, and other war-related materials. When the business community remonstrated against the huge volume required, Ewell sent squads to investigate the availability of the requested items. In the afternoon, stores were forced open and supplies taken. The few merchants remaining in town were paid in Confederate currency or script for items appropriated.

The German Reformed Messenger had its facilities used to print numerous general orders, prisoner parole forms, and specific blank documents relating to the Confederate occupation. The managing director, Matthew A. Foltz, and Henry Richter, a compositor of the firm, completed the tasks assigned. Dr. Samuel R. Fisher, owner of the building and its equipment, was not consulted immediately, but readily acquiesced upon being advised of the nature of the work being conducted. The printing proceeded over three days.

The last chore disposed of by Ewell required the residents to disclose the locations of all liquors in the town to prevent drunkenness by the occupation force. Evidently, the townspeople responded to the request with alacrity as only one instance of public intoxication occurred during the entire occupation resulting in an officer being court-martialed.¹⁶⁰ On the twenty-fifth, Ewell moved his headquarters slightly north of town near to "Norland."

The townspeople became increasingly discouraged as the huge volume of enemy troops and supply trains passed up Main Street heading north and east. Day after day, night after night, the unceasing columns rumbled through Chambersburg. Never having seen such massive concentrations of men and material, it was difficult for the average

resident to see how such a juggernaut could be defeated.¹⁶¹ The residents admired General Lee, his staff, and the Confederate officers of higher rank. They marveled at the discipline of the Southern forces. Of course, the community's only yard-stick for comparison was the officers and untrained levies of Patterson's Army whom had occupied the community two years earlier. The size of this initial Union force of all arms would barely have reached the strength of Lieutenant-General James Longstreet's First Corps of Infantry in the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁶²

Intercourse with the enemy also betrayed weaknesses. Conversations with all levels of the passing van showed a marked disparity in education between infantry officers and their men. Intellectual and cultural differences between the cavalry and infantry were also noted.¹⁶³ Accounts written of these encounters, clearly point out the lack of commitment to the southern cause for those conscripted as opposed to volunteers. Any number of Confederates without the will to continue fighting for the South found willing residents ready to assist deserters. Several examples are noted in these accounts.¹⁶⁴

This understanding of desire even went so far as to differentiate between the troops of states like Mississippi and Texas whose members overwhelmingly and vehemently supported their cause from those of North Carolina who were decided non-believers in southern propaganda, and generally willing to desert at the least provocation.¹⁶⁵

Requisitions came from the invaders in waves. As each successively passed through the town, saleable items in businesses disappeared with payment in Confederate script. First, Jenkins tapped the resources of the town. Then, as shown previously, Ewell

dug more deeply into the back shelves of merchant wares. Finally, on June 27-28, Longstreet's commissary broke into locked cellars and secret recesses "cleaning out" the many businesses in the community. Those remaining merchants that intermingled personal items with sequestered business merchandise found they lost both. These grievous financial losses were accounted for in the Pennsylvania Border Commission Claims, and portions paid in 1865, 1866, and 1868.

By the June 29, Pickett's division of Longstreet's Corps occupied Chambersburg. Three of its four brigades of Virginia infantry camped two miles south of town, dispersed along the two railroad right-of-ways, and began to destroy both systematically. Rather than fire the structures of the two lines and endanger civilian property, they battered down buildings with rails. This work continued throughout the next day and July 1.

In the early evening of the twenty-ninth, the famous Confederate scout and spy, Harrison, arrived at Messersmith's woods from Washington, D.C., with certain knowledge of enemy troop concentrations east of the Blue Ridge. All through the night the residents of Chambersburg lay awake as an immense wagon train moved south to the "diamond" then east toward Gettysburg.

The following morning, Longstreet and Lee moved their headquarters east to Greenwood at the western base of South Mountain. Pickett's Division and the Cavalry Brigade of Imboden continued in position scattered about Franklin County while the remaining infantry and trains of Ewell poured through town heading east.

On July 1, Imboden's cavalry brigade concentrated on Chambersburg. After cutting down the flagpole in the center of the Town Square, they requisitioned 5,000 pounds of bacon. This demand went unmet, and fortunately for the townspeople

Imboden's command soon moved east to Greenwood. After Pickett's Division pulled out of town early on the morning of July 2, the two cavalry brigades of Jones and Robertson passed through Chambersburg, all heading east toward the Blue Ridge. By the afternoon, only stragglers and small groups of cavalry were found within town limits. Like their predecessors, these pressed eastward toward the Army of Northern Virginia. The early hours of July 3 brought the last groups of organized Confederate scouts into town.¹⁶⁶ Finally by dawn, the ordeal of the longest occupation of Northern territory by Southern forces was over.

For roughly forty-eight hours, Chambersburg remained free of active Confederates. Then in the early hours of July 5, a small contingent of the retreating rebel wounded took a wrong turn and five wagon-loads of misery were deposited on the town's doorstep. After realizing their mistake, the teamsters surrendered and the wounded were taken to the King Street Hospital. Combined with those already recuperating there, roughly 70 casualties filled the school to bursting.¹⁶⁷ On the morning of the sixth, the attending physician, Dr. Abraham Huber Senseny, told Jacob Hoke that unless the wounds were treated with a disinfecting agent they would all die. Hoke went directly across Main Street to Andrew Miller's Drug Store and purchased all the Castille soap the apothecary possessed. Delivery of this disinfectant to the hospital with instructions on how it should be employed saved some of the rebel wounded from certain death.¹⁶⁸

The Confederate provost guard in Hagerstown, Maryland between July 7 and 10 accosted eleven Chambersburg residents. Ostensibly these men went to Hagerstown to sight-see in the event a battle took place. On the other hand, at least one, J. Porter Brown, had been employed by Judge Kimmel in the "scout" service that sent messages to

Harrisburg regarding Confederate troop strength and directional movements. As in the case of Stuart's raid of 1862, these men were forwarded to Richmond for exchange of private citizens of the South held in Northern prisons. On the way two escaped. A long imprisonment remained for the balance before six townspeople obtained release on March 22, 1865. By then, the prisoners had been removed from Richmond to Salisbury, North Carolina, where three escaped ultimately making their way to within six miles of Union lines before being recaptured near New Berne, North Carolina on January 18, 1865.¹⁶⁹

Crippled, but not prostrated, the business community in Chambersburg began a slow recovery after the momentous events of June-July 1863. Fortunately, the contents of townspeople's homes were not ransacked due to Lee's strict orders. This did not extend to county residents, many of whose personal belongings were appropriated by the rebel rank and file while away from the watchful eyes of their officers. Money and clothing were appropriated at times with a pistol to the head and the summary demand "deliver." Any animals and most provider became Confederate supplies. Although in the midst of a bumper year for grains, the county's crops remained largely unharvested for want of the animals to do so.¹⁷⁰

Bickering and sniping at one another, the two English language voices of the community continued their chosen positions on the war, one for and the other against abolition. As previously mentioned, two lengthy Spirit articles in the winter and late spring of 1863 had signaled a recovery from the damages wrought in the fall of 1862. News articles relating to development and building slowed noticeably after "Uncle Bob's" visit.¹⁷¹ War headlines and politics pre-dominated the town print media through the balance of 1863 and the first half of 1864. However, confidence amongst the

townspeople in ultimate Union victory began to grow after Gettysburg. By the summer of 1864, all the residents could see that although still dangerous, the Confederacy was in decline. Unfortunately for Chambersburg, the decline did not come fast enough to save the community from a final blow from destiny.

As in past years, alarms of Confederates on the southern border began to circulate about town beginning in late June. By early July these were justified as organized bodies of rebel cavalry raided into the southern tier of Franklin County. Adams County immediately to the east also felt the sting of Confederate raiders as they protected the left flank of an invasion force targeting Washington, D.C. Turned aside by Federal reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac at the last possible moment, the Southern force under Lieutenant-General Jubal Anderson Early slipped back into the lower Shenandoah Valley.

Chambersburg residents finally relaxed and drew a deep breath thinking the possibility of another incursion had passed without harm to the town. Then like a lightning bolt McCausland's raiders descended on the community. This time the gloves were off. In Early's eyes, the North needed to be chastened as compensation for the scorched earth policies adopted by Union Major-General David M. Hunter in the Shenandoah Valley, and the South needed a morale boost to offset numerous reverses and defeats on 1864 battlefields. The crucible of vengeance filled to overflowing on the breathless, hot morning of July 30, 1864.

CHAPTER THREE: A PHOENIX RISING, 1865-1870

Fortunately for the townspeople, the work of destruction was most uneven due to the widely disparate attitudes of individual Confederate officers and soldiers. These captured the entire range of human emotion from vengeful participation to sullen refusal of duty. The burning was most thorough under the watchful eyes of McCausland and Gilmer. The entire center of town was destroyed. All or parts of eleven squares of Chambersburg were consumed in the conflagration.¹⁷² In outlying blocks, however, Confederate incendiaries were less conscientious. Some troops simply refused to obey the order as Peters had done. One officer gave away his sword to an inhabitant rather than participate.¹⁷³ Others informed residents that they must obey orders, but the fire which was to be set in their home could easily be extinguished before it got out of control. The fires were set whereupon the raiders promptly left. Occupants then quickly extinguished the flames and saved their property. The townspeople, therefore, experienced a mixed bag of financial results.¹⁷⁴

Some lost all that they owned other than the clothes on their backs. These persons were often forbidden by the raiders from protecting any of their real and/or personal property. Others were allowed to remove items after being robbed of valuables.¹⁷⁵ A large number had their homes ransacked for valuables, but no fires were set. Of the total of 592 claims filed with the Border Commission, 408 were for loss of personal property only. A fortunate few Chambersburg residents experienced no losses of real or personal property. From the numbers of individual claimants in the Border Commission files, these must have been in a distinct minority. With the exception of the wealthiest building

owners, each claimant represented one household with numerous resident individuals.¹⁷⁶ The ratio of personal to real property claims approximated 3 to 1. The actual numbers for building claims totaled 183. For personal property, there were 566. Only 25 of the real estate claims were unaccompanied by personal property whereas 408 claims represented solely personal losses. A total of 158 were for both.¹⁷⁷

As the retreating Confederate tidal-wave ebbed westward, several Southern troopers found themselves alone amongst a hornet's nest of infuriated residents. An advance element of McCausland's force continued guarding the road eastward while the balance of Confederate forces pulled out of town. These abandoned Confederates had to struggle through the burning inferno once they realized that they had been left behind. With Union cavalry advancing westward down the Gettysburg pike, this contingent found themselves in a precarious situation, and several surrendered to Averill's advancing forces. Total losses for the Southern forces in the Chambersburg affair included 18 officers and enlisted men. One of these was listed as a deserter. Two were wounded possibly when the advance troop from Averill's command collided with the screening Confederates east of town.¹⁷⁸ At least one Confederate officer was shot and killed on South Main Street by an irate citizen. Resident accounts of the retreat mention three of McCausland's command as being murdered, but the Southern commander only mentioned one Captain as being lost in this way. Later researchers found no records of any others being killed by the residents.¹⁷⁹

As the last of the Confederates withdrew and the pursuing Union cavalry circumspectly entered Chambersburg, the military portion of the burning came to a close. For residents living or working in the immediate area of the central portions of town,

hurried flight became the only option for survival. According to the accounts of the time, flames literally over-arched the streets bombarding fleeing evacuees with burning debris. Those few unfortunate souls trapped by the holocaust fortuitously survived to provide harrowing tales of their narrow escapes from death. No citizens died as a direct result of the conflagration.¹⁸⁰

In the aftermath of the devastation, diaries and letters only mention one resident dying from apparent stress-related trauma. The next day, an elderly African-American male had a fatal heart attack. This event probably resulted from the burning. Another resident speaks of a carpenter, John Plough, going insane as a direct result of the burning and being committed for a time in a Harrisburg mental facility.¹⁸¹ The most obvious result of the burning and the most immediate was the displacement of individuals for safety reasons. Those persons fleeing in the northwestern and western portion of town congregated in the town cemetery slightly west north west and across Conococheague Creek from Benjamin Chambers' original settlement. East of town, Reservoir Hill and further on, the military camps on Eberly's Farm and in Shetters' Woods provided shelter for refugees. In the south end of town, the German Reformed Church provided many with protection. In that section of Chambersburg, the flames were not contained until they reached the buildings across Washington Street from Doctor Lewis Suesserott's residence at the northern edge of the same block as the church. Only a half-block away and not knowing whether the flames would be halted at that juncture caused most persons to once again flee south on South Main Street past the environs of town into the fields and woods of the county before stopping. Some few followed the displacing Confederates west to "Radio Hill" where they, along with residents of the "West Point"

area, wrote accounts describing the awe-inspiring panorama of destruction seen from that eminence.¹⁸²

Where did those that emigrated from town go? Indications are that at least several of the wealthier residents who lost their real property owned other houses, many being farms in the surrounding countryside occupied by family members, or which they had formally leased to tenant farmers. These were simply occupied by the burned-out owners.¹⁸³ Many also went to live with relatives. For example, John and Cornelia Cree moved from South Ward to live with their eldest son in Pittsburgh. After three years they returned to resume John's chair-making trade.¹⁸⁴ Others lived temporarily with friends in other areas of Pennsylvania. Alexander McClure refugeed with friends in Shippensburg immediately after the burning. After eleven days McClure moved into a tenant home on his burned out property which is now the library on the campus of Wilson College.¹⁸⁵ Family units were often broken up having members living with different persons either in the undamaged portions of Chambersburg, or at a distance from their former residences. And some presumably took the U.S. government's offer of a homestead and headed west to start anew. As an example, Jeremiah Cook a respected lawyer in town, moved to Montana during August 1864.¹⁸⁶

Beyond the impact of physical displacement for those whom did not persist in Chambersburg, many aspects of life for persistent residents were altered by the destruction. Because of the sanguine event, occupations were altered in both significant and subtle ways. Logic dictated that building trades would have soared though-out the decade as the center of town was being rebuilt. Facts show that the rebirth of the town was generally complete by the 1870 census. News articles through the 1865 to 1870

period clearly point to rapid progress in reconstruction during this time. In fact, several structures were being raised by the wealthier residents of the town within 30 days of the destruction.¹⁸⁷

The building trades as a whole accounted for 121 individuals in the 1860 census. After the devastation and rebuilding of Chambersburg, the 1870 census listed 162 residents as tradesmen, an increase of 33.9%. Therefore, the logical assumption of a dramatic rise in building trades employment was borne out by the census data.¹⁸⁸ Masons, carpenters, and other allied individuals brought their blue-collar skills to the beleaguered townspeople. The census of 1860 listed 22 masons in an undifferentiated total. Included in the number was one apprentice mason. In 1870, the census-takers divided the masonry trade into four categories: general masons, stone masons, brick masons, and bricklayers. This last group included those workers who put up courses of brick, but did not have sufficient skills, or simply did not care to complete ornamentation, or to superintend the activities of a masonry crew. By contrast, general, stone and brick masons were all accomplished building tradesmen versatile enough to bring a full scope of abilities to their work. By 1870 masons numbered 35, a percentage increase of 59.1. This was far above the previously mentioned increase in the total general population of the town and indicated that reconstruction was being completed with substantial masonry edifices.¹⁸⁹

In terms of sheer numbers, carpenters led the increased presence of the trades in the town with 18 additional craftsmen. These newly-arrived persons bolstered the actual numbers of carpenters from 78 to 92, a 24.3% increase. This number represented a percentage considerably below the overall increase in the building trades, but these

workmen represented a far larger group than any other segment of the building industry. Painters provided seven additional tradesmen in the 1870 census which increased the population by 46.7% rising from 15 in 1860 to 22 by 1870. The fourth occupational building trade was that of plasterers. The numbers changed during the decade from 10 to 13 a 30.0% increase.¹⁹⁰

With a heavy influx of former enslaved blacks and the steady migration of Germans, willing hands were available to rebuild the town. Additionally, these new families and individuals generated an expanding need for housing, and other services. A sustained building boom occurred because of these demographic changes which lasted beyond the decade of the 60's.

A total of 334 people headed households in Chambersburg throughout the 1860's. Analysis of this group revealed substantial change in their occupations. By actual count only 186 or 55.7% of household heads persisted in their work throughout the study period. Within the persistent study group there existed 29 construction tradesmen in 1860. These numbers were much less robust than the masons, carpenters and painters found as members of the general population. The actual numbers within the study group occupied in the building trades were exactly the same in both 1860 and 1870. This is quite different from the overall 19.5% increase experienced in the general population or the overall 33.9% increase experienced in the building trades. Seven masons, 20 carpenters, and two painters persisted throughout the decade. One individual within the study group, Samuel Little, became a mason by 1870. The advent of Little into the mason ranks and Henry Sellers into the carpentry trade were two landmark events in the history of Chambersburg. Although unheralded outside of the black community of town,

they became the first African-Americans to be accepted into any of the building trades. Most of the black émigrés into the area listed slave-holding states as their place of birth. None of the new African-American arrivals in Chambersburg represented trades in the 1870 census despite the fact that slaves were well-trained on the plantations of the South and were often quite skilled in their respective crafts. The building trades were amongst the foremost avocations taught to blacks in bondage. Balancing Little's change of occupation, Samuel G. Etter, enumerated as a painter in 1860, became a stove merchant. Etter's new enterprise was occasioned in part because of the greatly increased need to supply heating units caused by the burning. Elsewhere within the study group, three new carpenters including Sellers were offset by three switching to other occupations.

Subtle changes within census methods occurred as well. Guild titles in the trades disappeared between the 1860 and 1870 census. As an example, John Forbes was listed as a master mason in 1860, as was Caleb Atherton. However, the census of 1870 lists Forbes as a stone mason and Atherton as a brick mason. The old guild designations disappeared with the later census, and the enumerators were required to divide the trades into subgroups as the previous example illustrates. More prosaic occupations such as apple and oyster sellers also vanished by 1870. In their place, food specialists became gardeners or grocers. In fact the number of grocers skyrocketed from nine in 1860 to 33, a phenomenal increase of 266.7%. In place of the specialists, "gardeners" sprang up. These suppliers provided fresh fruit, vegetables and salad elements to the local grocers rather than one specific food item.

The ranks of professionals remained steady in the town as the trades emerged. During the decade of study, professional numbers increased from 95 to 101 a 6.3 %

difference within the general population increase of 19.6 % . Although the largest group of residents damaged by the burning, they did not leave as lawyer Jeremiah Cook had done, but continued to persevere instead. The professional occupations remained steady or increased with one exception. Several new types of professionals appeared as well.

Attorneys decreased significantly throughout the decade from 33 to 26. The presumption being that Chambersburg's impoverished general population had less need of attorneys during the last half of the decade. No specific cause for the decline in numbers was uncovered. Physicians, conversley remained steady during the 1860's at 16. A veterinary surgeon was even added to the inhabitants of the town during that time. Three dentists now practiced in Chambersburg in 1870 where none had resided previously, and the druggist ranks rose from two to three during the period, four if one physician who claimed to be both a druggist and a dentist is counted.

Teacher's statistics changed slightly from 28 to 30. Unfortunately, the Rosedale Seminary did not rise from its ashes. One of the country's most prominent finishing schools was never resurrected after its destruction. Despite the diminished need for teachers occasioned by this fact, the increase in public schools necessitated by an influx of children from newly-arrived families offset any potential decrease. Resurrection and expansion of the Chambersburg Academy to accommodate the increasing needs of the community also helped to stabilize the employment venues of teachers during this period. The clergy dramatically increased in ranks from 16 to 22 by the end of the 1860's.¹⁹¹ Perhaps the war in general and the burning greatly increased the influences of religion on the community.

Within the study group, the professional classes held forth as the most persistent individuals. Of the doctors, six of seven or 85.7% remained within their profession. All seven lawyers continued to ply their expertise to the public and before the county courts. Both druggists and two of three school teachers survived with their same occupations. All together 17 of 19 professionals or 89.5% in the study group persisted throughout the decade.¹⁹²

The most remarkable alteration in the occupational numbers occurred in lifestyle. Prior to the tragedy of 1864, 107 persons listed their avocation as "Gentleman." In 1870, this euphramistic classification had dropped to a total of only 12 persons, all located in the North Ward of the town. Some of these persons left Chambersburg, some assumed other occupations, but stayed, and at least a few died. Age played an important role in this classification, as many of the older residents of Chambersburg were substantial property holders, and had included themselves in the grouping in response to the 1860 census takers. These individuals listed their occupation as "Gentleman" because they held no regular job or position. For the wealthiest few, however, they were constantly active with their assets. Some leant money for commercial ventures, some acted as private bankers charging interest for monies lent under contract, and others invested in stocks, or directly in business ventures. For the majority, this also meant that post-event there would be limited prospects for recouping their financial position. An example of such an individual is William H. Bender. A "Gentleman" in 1860, ten years later, Mr. Bender had taken up the occupation of Miller, yet, his economic holdings had dropped because of the burning from \$1,600 of real estate and \$700 of personal property to 0 for

each. There were numerous persistent residents like Bender who facing the same bleak future joined the ranks of the employed.¹⁹³

Among the study group, 22 individuals listed themselves as “Gentlemen” in 1860. Four residents continued to identify their occupations in the same way by the end of the decade. One of the four, Edmund Culbertson, a railway commission merchant at the beginning of the decade assumed that title by 1870 leaving only three original residents who persisted in defining their occupational classification as such. Financially, of those three, Lewis Shoemaker would have been considered middle-class. The other two had been wealthy and continued in that status. Of the balance of 19 “gentleman” individuals who acquired jobs, the occupations taken up were varied. Ephraim Finefrock went to work for the railroad as a conductor. Joseph Fletcher won election as sheriff. James Duffield became a farmer and retired by 1870. Following Duffield’s avocation, three others also entered farming. More gentlemen switched to farming than any other one occupation. Next most frequent avocations were law enforcement, politics, and railroad employees with two each. The nine person balance scattered throughout the social infrastructure in diverse areas.

Insurance agents began to appear throughout the town. Former “Gentlemen” John Grove entered this new avocation. Prior to the holocaust, only one agent maintained an office in Chambersburg. By 1870 that agent had been joined by three other insurance salesmen. W.G. Reed, S.S. Shyrock, and John Mull all sold life insurance with Reed also vending accident-only policies.¹⁹⁴ Shyrock and Mull continued to list their occupations in the 1870 census as bookseller and bank teller respectively. Evidently these two individuals sold insurance on a part-time basis or in Mull’s case as an adjunct of banking

operations. The populace now undoubtedly purchased the various agents' wares with conviction.

The raw materials suppliers for the building boom must have done a "land office" business during this period. The numbers of lumber suppliers were mentioned in the two censuses, but other types were not. Their numbers increased 300.0% (one to four). The numbers of employees in the local stone quarry increased significantly during the decade, as did paper employees in the two cardboard manufacturing plants in Chambersburg. Quarry employees increased from five to 32 during the decade, and paper-mill employment rose from seven to 33.¹⁹⁵ It should be noted, however, that the 1860 census-takers were not required to sub-group "laborers." Consequently, in 1870 numerous stone-cutters were listed by their specific duties within the quarry rather than being lumped together with the town's other laboring segment. As many of these persons persisted throughout the decade, it is probable that they did not change employers, but in fact continued their employment at the quarry. Having these laborers enumerated in a totally different occupational classification from one census to the next probably accounted for the extreme increase in employment at the quarry as much as any additional personnel employed due to increased demands for building material. This fact would also account for a substantial portion of the equally dramatic shift in employment at the paper factories in town.

No doubt other associated types of suppliers such as brickyards were experiencing similar growth in their businesses as well. Unfortunately, the census data enumerated the classification "brick-maker" in a hazy fashion. It could mean that an individual owned a brickyard, or that the person listed made bricks for the owner. It was necessary,

therefore, to check the assets of each resident so mentioned to see where relative wealth called for one to be an owner or worker. Nelson Wanamake is one such individual listed as a "brick-maker." A native of New Jersey with assets totaling \$11,300 in 1860, it is fairly obvious that Wanamake was a brickyard owner. In fact many of the brick used to rebuild the town came from his manufactory.¹⁹⁶

Proprietor and manufacturer numbers were not so easily arrived at however. When the occupational census compiled at the Valley site was investigated, the raw numbers indicated that there had been a fairly large group of manufacturers in Chambersburg. These totals were quite deceiving. According to the occupational list provided at the site, when "manufacturer" was entered in the 1870 advanced census with "N.W. Borough of Chambersburg" or "S.W. Borough of Chambersburg" in the location search, along with white, male, and head of household, 11 names appeared. When the same criteria were used on the census site, but an occupational class was excluded, careful searches of the resulting names provided 11 manufacturers in 1860 and 20 in 1870. Additionally, from Bates, McCauley and individual sources, other persons were identified as manufacturers who were not classified as such by either of the two censuses. As an example, Theodore B. Wood can be found in the 1860 census with the occupation "machinist." In 1870, his occupation became "iron foundry." In fact, Mr. Wood originally worked as a tool and dye fabricator for the Cumberland Valley Railroad, a machinist. In 1857, Wood, together with Peter B. Housem, a local millwright, formed a partnership. Under contract with the railroads, they began supplying expertly crafted railroad tools and parts. As such, he and Housem owned and operated a machine-tool shop with a foundry at the time of the 1860 census. By 1870, Housam was deceased; a

casualty of the war, and Wood had purchased the heir's interest in the business. In neither instance was Wood included in the "manufacturer" classification of the two censuses. Instead the enumeration "iron foundry" identified a somewhat nebulous reference to his ownership of a manufacturing establishment.¹⁹⁷ It was necessary therefore to complete an exact counting of the individuals by occupational classes to be certain all persons were categorized properly.¹⁹⁸

Within the black population of the community at the end of the 1860's, the two previously-mentioned persistent blacks represented the building trades. Three African-Americans, John Wayman, John Robeson, and Henry Monks, persisted within the service industry. Wayman continued to list his occupation as fence maker, Robeson as shoemaker, and Monks held forth as a barber. One new member to the service ranks, George Bell, elevated his status from shoeblack to shoemaker. Unfortunately, it must be concluded that building trades and services as two of the more lucrative segments of the economy were not typically open to African-Americans at that time in the town's history. The balance of the persistent group consisted of various types of laborers including porters, hostlers, stone quarriers, farm laborers, etc. Altogether considered, the large influx of African-Americans into Chambersburg during the decade did not improve the economic opportunities afforded to this particular group.

Of the 334 in the persistent group, 83 sustained realty losses according to the Border Commission files. The figure represented 24.9% or roughly a quarter of the household heads that remained in Chambersburg throughout the decade. A total of 12 of the 83 previous homeowners had not recovered from the burning by 1870 and had no real estate ownership by the census conducted that year. William Wallace, a hotel owner in

1860, was the most unfortunate having lost the largest sum, \$17,500. Why he had not recovered financially and re-acquired real property when so many others in town had done so is unknown. Bearing in mind that roughly 55% of Chambersburg was devastated by fire, there may be some significance to the fact that over three-quarters of the persistent study group of individuals sustained no realty losses. No information was uncovered to validate the effective reason for the low percentage of real estate losses among the group

The town went about the business of regaining its equilibrium almost immediately after the fire. City fathers began infrastructure planning during August. Widening of streets and new plantings were in progress by the end of the month. The Repository admonished the residents to rebuild the damaged structures themselves rather than allow developers from other areas to do so.¹⁹⁹ Many surviving structures temporarily housed resurrected businesses. The bank first moved into the home of D.K. Wunderlich, then within a short period into the first floor of the Masonic Lodge on South Second Street, located in an area saved from destruction by Confederates. By August 31 contracts for the rebuilding of the bank had been let and by July 1866 the new structure had been completed.²⁰⁰ Samuel S. Shyrock reopened his bookstore in the law office of J. McDowell Sharpe. Numerous other businesses did likewise.²⁰¹

Hotel owner Jacob Sellers had cleared his lot on the southeastern corner of East Market and Second Streets in preparation for erecting a new three story structure. A block south on the northwestern corner of Queen and Second, Jacob S. Brown was restoring the upper level of his hotel, the only portion damaged by the conflagration. This had been the southeastern most building in that quadrant of town which had been

damaged by the fire. The entire southeastern portions of Chambersburg beyond were spared destruction by Confederates refusing to follow their commands from their superiors. A handful of individuals had private residences nearing completion by the end of August including E. D. Reid and John Schofield.²⁰²

The economy took another step forward during late 1864 as many of the more prominent and wealthy residents of Chambersburg embarked upon a new venture, oil. Speculation had become rampant during the war. Alexander K. McClure, J. McDowell Sharp, George R. Messersmith, Francis Kimmell, Daniel O. Gehr and others became heavily invested in the Imperial Oil Company of Pennsylvania. This investment represented a move away from the pre-war financial vision of many in Chambersburg. Focus for this enlightened group of Chambersburg investors became more national in scope and less provincial.²⁰³

A news article from the Spirit a year later commented on the application for an appropriation to be made to the community by the state legislature, and upon the basis for the rebuilding of the town. Applied for on December 22, 1865, this appropriation was signed by the governor and became effective February 21, 1866.²⁰⁴ At this time, reconstruction of the physical portions destroyed by the fire was in full swing. According to the news article, roughly \$160,000 in donations had been collected by the residents from a myriad of sources to that point. The vast majority of the new edifices were being underwritten by borrowing. This was a new experience for the general populace of the town. Heretofore, construction had been accomplished primarily thru cash purchases of materials and payments for labors performed.²⁰⁵ An example of the current condition of the business segment of Chambersburg whom had experienced burning losses could be

seen in the earlier reference in this research to William Hutton. He was reduced to the necessity of borrowing monies to obtain business inventory and to pay rents at a basement location in a surviving building.²⁰⁶

Ethnicity changed considerably in the community during the 1860's. Whether occasioned by the burning is not known. At the beginning of the decade 873 households existed in Chambersburg. By 1870 that number had increased to 1,310, a whopping 50% jump. The 1870 number was affected to some extent by the nature of the enumeration by census-takers. Under the guidelines of that census, if the abode contained multi-generational members of the same family and they had children, then they were counted as a separate family unit. As an example, say Jacob Sellers and his wife lived in and worked in their hotel. A son who was married and had two children lived there also. This would allow for two households in the 1870 census whereas in 1860 that would not have been true. This fact would account for the increase to some degree. Still, the increase was quite dramatic and as yet unresolved.

The predominantly Germanic nature of the community began to change as steady German immigration of the preceding four decades began to decline. Undoubtedly the war adversely influenced the flow of new arrivals into Chambersburg from Europe. What had been a torrent of Germans moving into the area from the third through the sixth decade of the century began to slow noticeably. So much so that German language church services began to be curtailed by the mid-1880's.²⁰⁷ A statistical study on German-born household heads in Chambersburg revealed that the numbers of German households increased during the decade, but there was a dramatic decline in the percentage overall. In raw numbers, Germans-born residents of Chambersburg accounted

for 178 heads of households in 1860. That number had increased to 204 by 1870 a decline from 20.5% to just 14.8 %. Foreign-born household heads from other countries of Europe also declined significantly as English, Irish, Scots-Irish, French and others fell from 3.4% of the households in town to 2.7% during the period.

The ethnic change in Chambersburg occurred as Pennsylvanians from other portions of the Commonwealth settled there in the 1860's. A total of 549 households were headed by Pennsylvanians in 1860, 62.8% of all households. By 1870, 862 households were headed by Pennsylvania-born residents, a significant 57.2% increase from the beginning of the decade, again without consideration of the census factor. Not all represented a move to the town. Numerous young heads of households were created from the children of permanent foreign-born residents. Their parents were counted as foreign, but in establishing their own households by 1870, the younger generation would have been counted as Pennsylvanians. These second generation Americans accounted for a portion of the dramatic rise in households in this category. Other U.S.-born residents moving into town accounted for the balance of the increase in household heads which occurred over the decade. These individuals from other states increased from 116 to 206, an astounding 77.6% increase between 1860 and 1870. The import of the change, however, lies within the nativity of the residents.

The predominant majority of these newcomers were born in Maryland and Virginia with a scattering from other southern states and a handful from Missouri, Illinois and Ohio. Those from the western states were invariably white whereas, those from the southern areas of the U.S. were almost exclusively black. Therefore, almost all of those new households were headed by men and women of African-American descent. The

influx of African-Americans into Chambersburg during the decade of conflict and rebirth accelerated at a rapid pace. In the thirty years prior to the 1860's, the black population of the town had actually declined from 9.9% of the residents in 1830 to 7.4% in 1850. At that point a surge by people of color occurred raising the 1860 percentage of blacks once again to 9.9% in relation to the general population. But Chambersburg's African-American community burgeoned during the 1860's as a haven for runaway bondsmen prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and as a destination point within free territory during the conflict. The town had an active portion of residents whom had provided access to points further north within the "Underground Railroad." Many arriving freedmen made a decision to locate in the town rather than migrate further north, however. Consequently, the actual numbers of black residents in the community grew from 522 in 1860 to 867 by 1870, 13.7% of the total town inhabitants in 1870. This figure represented a 3.8% increase in relation to the overall general population numbers during the decade.

Did the burning influence this dramatic rise in the African-American segment of Chambersburg? Unfortunately there was no way to differentiate statistics between the pre-event period and the latter half of the decade. Blacks were limited in their economic prospects in the community. It has already been shown that only a slight handful of African-Americans were employed in the building trades or the service sectors of the economy. The vast majority were laborers. This fact can be seen in the 1870 census by the frequent enumeration of these individuals as porters, hostlers, drivers, stone quarries, paper-mill hands, farm hands, etc. And with the re-construction efforts in Chambersburg much manual labor was available to them. Although unable to secure any specific

knowledge through exhaustive research that abundant labor opportunities caused blacks to settle in Chambersburg, logic would dictate such.

The balance of the decade was devoted to the re-birth of the town. The residents assiduously diverted their money and energies into seeing that the public structures such as Franklin Hall and the Courthouse were promptly resurrected. The streets were widened to accommodate increased vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Fire protection was ramped up with the replacement of the Hope Fire Company's equipments, and the establishment of a third fire company in town. The Chambersburg Academy was rebuilt on a grander scale. The railroad expanded its footprint in the northeastern portion of town and began a gradual movement eastward and away from the heart of downtown. The main line south was moved to Third Street and directly connected to the former Franklin road, the two integrating trackage fully by 1868.²⁰⁸ Maps of the period show the contiguous line running down the middle of East Third. T. B. Wood and Company expanded its presence in the block bounded by Second, Third, King and East Market Streets.²⁰⁹

From the map of Franklin County commissioned in 1868, the entire town can be viewed in four detailed segments. Each showed the extent of reconstruction completed by that year, and the buildings under construction at that time. From this source it is obvious that by the summer of 1870, practically the entirety of Chambersburg had been resurrected from the devastation created by the war. An exception was the southwestern corner of the square where the Arcade and Franklin House Hotel had existed at the time of the burning. These lots remained partially empty. The southernmost portions had

become home to the National Bank by 1868 and the northernmost portion would ultimately have a church constructed on the site.

Unfortunately the economic status of many of the long-term residents had not fared as well. The persistent study group had members who experienced complete and total loss of their real estate and worldly possessions. These persons were primarily made up of the poorer class of residents of the town.

Median real estate values were \$2,366 in 1860 and \$4658 by 1870, an increase of 96.9%. This doubling in equity value for those residents who owned real estate in 1870 was largely mitigated, however, by the inflation caused by the expense of the war. The increase largely reflected the recognized standard of the decade, 100%.²¹⁰ Additionally, there was almost no fluctuation in the ownership percentages of the persistent residents during the decade. Of the 334 study group, there were 98 individual heads of households without real property in 1860 and 99 in 1870. A total of 58 of those individuals were without real equity in both censuses. For them any change in wealth was manifested in the census data through personal property ownership.²¹¹ The balance acquired homes during the decade. Of course, there were 41 individuals holding real estate at the beginning of the decade who held none by the end of the study period. This accounts for the one person fluctuation in the numbers at the end of the decade. These 81 heads sustained the widest economic disparities experienced by all of Chambersburg's residents during the 1860's. A total of 41 of the study group literally lost the roof over their heads, and had not been able to replace it by the end of the decade. Meanwhile, 40 other residents were able to enjoy the benefits of owning their own home for the first time, and probably in their lives.²¹²

At the beginning of the decade only one homeowner, John Snider, held no personal property. A tanner by trade, Snider, declared no personal property in 1870. 17 other Chambersburg household heads now joined John Snider in this category. The great increase in this financially bereft category clearly shows the depth to which residents of the town were adversely affected by their losses from the burning.

Two owners of Chambersburg businesses in 1860 were included in this grouping. Prior to the war, William Wallace had a mercantile hardware store and an adjacent hotel in South Ward on Queen Street. In 1870, his admitted assets had declined from a combined \$37,500 to 0. Henry Seirer owned and operated a chair manufactory on the other end of Queen Street with a separate showroom at the corner of South Main and Queen Streets. Both were completely destroyed by the conflagration, and Seirer's assets of \$6,300 had been swept away by the vagaries of warfare. Neither of the two men changed jobs although Wallace declared himself a Retired Merchant in the latter census. Seirer went on to re-build his manufactory and become one of the pre-eminent furniture producers in the country during the 1870's and 1880's.

In fact, only seven of 18 household heads changed their occupations. Outside of the previous two examples, none of the jobs or the changes were particularly notable. They consisted of a mixture of occupations including laborers, coopers, carpenters, etc. For example, William Bender previously noted as a gentleman in 1860 became a miller by 1870. Three of those with no personal property were black. This figure in the study group represented 16.7% of those whom were completely prostrated by the burning, far in excess of the 9.9% figure represented by the African-American residents of the town in 1860. The financial hardship fell on this portion of the community with a crushing

weight. Yet with bleak prospects of upward mobility and limited financial resources, the laboring prospects were evidently greater in Chambersburg for these black residents than in other communities of the United States. The flip side of the economic coin saw improved financial fortune for those residents lucky enough to acquire real estate for the first time. The value of these real properties ranged in value from Joe Jones' \$500 dwelling to Frederick S. Stumbaugh's \$13,000 residence. Jones was one of two blacks able to buy a home during the decade.

Median home values for the entire study group in 1870 stood at \$4,657.57. The median values for the acquiring subgroup stood at \$3,026.75 far below the norm for persistent residents. Four of the homes were valued at \$10,000 or more, a very substantial sum. Only eight homeowners held real estate in excess of the study group median values while 32 were of lesser valuation. A total of 80% then of the newest homeowners in the town purchased real estate below the median value in the community.²¹³ Of course, it is to be expected that new first-time real estate owners likely would purchase less valuable real estate than those who had owned homes for at least one decade.

The newer members of the community's realty owners held diverse occupations ranging from laborers to merchants. Henry Bishop, a local photographer, was prepared to take pictures of the historic meeting in the "diamond" between the Confederate Commander Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant-General Ambrose P. Hill on June 26, 1863. His studio location was directly on the square and had been fitted with an all-weather canvas front which when rolled up gave him an unobstructed view of this meeting. Unfortunately, as Bishop rolled his camera out of the opening, numbers of soldiers on the

sidewalk and in the street obstructed his view and he was unable to secure any photos.²¹⁴ Despite this faux pas, evidently, the monies earned from being the first and only photographer in town were substantial and afforded Bishop the opportunity to buy a \$10,000 home.

Interestingly for most of the residents who acquired more modest homes, they lost personal property values. In fact, seven of the 40 in this sub-group lost all their personal property while acquiring real estate. Of the acquiring group, only Martha Mellinger held no home furnishings in either 1860 or 1870.²¹⁵ James L. Black, a dry goods merchant, saw his personal property holdings fall from \$ 15,000 to \$ 8,000 or 46.7%. Three others lost some of their belongings as Black did. The balance retained or increased their personal effects while acquiring a home. The greatest increase in personal property in this group belonged to Andrew White a merchant tailor turned clothing merchant by 1870. The numbers are undoubtedly inflated by store stock. His contents rose from \$3,500 to \$15,000.

Of 195 persistent heads of households who retained their homes during the decade, 173 experienced increases in their home values. Unfortunately, 22 individuals had real property values which declined during a period of acknowledged inflation approximating 100%. Lack of maintenance could be attributable to some individual declines when valuations should have been rising. It is likely, however, that many of these individuals occupied different housing than the home they owned in 1860. The Border Commission Claims yielded nine names from the 22 whom had seen declines in their equity. All of these persons had experienced a decline in property value of course, and the assumption would be that their residences were destroyed. In six cases, that was

probably true as the Border Claim amounts roughly paralleled the 1860 declared values. In three, however, there was some doubt. All of these real claims were for much smaller amounts than the 1860 census figure. As an example, Brothers John W. and William H. McDowell showed claims of \$6,300 and \$3,500 while their 1860 realty holdings respectively totaled \$20,000 and \$14,000. It was obvious from the data that the McDowells controlled multiple buildings and not just their personal residences. A number of these must have escaped the conflagration, or the amount claimed in 1865 would have been considerably higher. Therefore, these properties must have been located in parts of the town not damaged by the burning, or sold to others before the fire. In 1870, brother John held \$17,100 in real property and William declared \$14,000. The third, William G. Reed, a wealthy lawyer, claimed \$5,000 in damages on an exposure of \$16,000 from the beginning of the decade. He experienced the largest decline in values of the three. In 1870, he declared possession of \$10,000 worth of real estate.²¹⁶

Nine African-Americans or 4.6% of the total were included in this sub-grouping. All but one had increased realty holdings at the end of the study period. John Wayman, a fence-maker, held the same valuation throughout the decade. Interestingly, five of the nine saw a decline in their personal property values, and in three cases, all of it. The inference would be that these household heads experience losses of their personal property as they did not sustain real property losses.²¹⁷

As the century ground on, the re-building of the damaged structures and lives within the town consumed the vigor and wealth of the community. Economic prosperity through use of outwardly looking new technologies which might have benefited

Chambersburg innovators at that point were put aside in the pursuit of a more inward focus on localized endeavors.

One final significant event relating to the railroads should be mentioned. Ownership by 1866 had passed primarily into the hands of the Pennsylvania Railroad and its stockholders. To increase profit, that railway decided to eliminate the middle-man so to speak by firing all the C.V.R.R. commission agents. These men whom had fared so well because of war-time profits saw roughly half of their earning potential wiped out at a substantial cost savings to the rail-line. Having amassed considerable sums of money by this time, the agents such as Daniel O. Gehr and others mentioned in this research sued to retain their positions. In 1868, the Pennsylvania courts ruled that in the interest of free commerce, the railroad had the right to eliminate the position. Since they were discriminating against an entire class and no one individual, the decision was upheld upon appeal. Consequently, by the end of the decade only a few such shipping agents continued in business. Receiving commissions from businesses and individuals only, they continued to exist past the end of the decade.²¹⁸

Ultimately, by the end of the decade of study, the town presented a newly-scrubbed persona with wide streets and sparkling new buildings. For a period of forty years thereafter, Chambersburg continued to grow and prosper. With the rise of the motorized vehicle, however, the railroad began a slow decline. Just as the railroads eventually spelled the demise of the flour and milling industries in town due to easy access to mid-western milling sources, so too the roads which had led to the rise of Chambersburg's importance, spelled its economic doom. These eventualities lay ahead for the town and as the decade of the 1870's dawned, the present was bright as

Chambersburg looked optimistically forward toward a new decade without turmoil and sectional strife.

CONCLUSION

As can be seen from these limited samplings and considering the catastrophic events which befell the community, Chambersburg's residents as a whole coped fairly well with its dilemma. There was a mixed bag of results individually, however. Some residents gained traction financially while others fell to the bottom of the economic structure and for as yet unknown reasons never recovered to their former positions. The whispers of events and the consequence of them which I heard as a child were unfortunately abundantly true for some members of the Chambersburg community.

There are many facets of this study left unexplored. Some were discovered in the background information relating to the development of Chambersburg. Of particular interest would be the linkage of the early history of the transition of slaves to freedmen under the Pennsylvania Emancipation Ordinance of 1780 and the exodus of many original Scots-Irish settlers for new lands in North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Ohio. Also, the strong population shifts relating to African-Americans immediately before and during the Civil War would be a second. The dramatic slowing of German immigration into the area would be a third. Finally, a thorough study of the reasons for the economic decline and importance of the town during the post-bellum period would be extremely interesting especially in light of the infusion of growth brought on by the resurrection of the community in the latter part of the decade and into the 1870's. With rail and road transportation so readily available to facilitate economic expansion in and around the town, a study revealing the causes for the gradual erosion of Chambersburg's

economic influence as a manufacturing and industrial center in the United States would be of interest. These were all outside the province of this particular thesis, but would make fascinating subjects for future research.

Within the scope of this research, the development of the town up to the seminal event which sparked this study took far longer and more space in this work than originally contemplated. As the information was deemed important to an understanding of the community's persona, however, only selected portions were excluded. This allowed for less statistical data discovery in the final two chapters of this work. Although much analysis was completed as can be seen in the Appendices, even more extensive work can be conducted. Because of the necessity for brevity, this additional work must be left for future academics to explore.

In the introduction a number of differing points of research were spelled out. Several of these were scrutinized fairly thoroughly. The movement of persons from other locales into the community was investigated extensively. Although no concrete conclusions were drawn from the migration other than that of building tradesmen occasioned by the re-birth of Chambersburg, some interesting patterns were observed.

A decline of European migration into town and an accompanying influx of African-Americans was uncovered. In both cases, establishment of the basis for such a trend could not be factually proven. Letters and diaries uncovered in this research unfortunately did not specifically point to any one cause or causes for the rather dramatic shifts in migration patterns which held sway prior to and during the decade. One point which might have some import was the fact that John Brown's raid was staged from Chambersburg. This particular point might be researched to see if that fact had any

influence over the re-settlement into the area of so many blacks from Virginia and Maryland. If African-American literature of the period could be extensively reviewed, there might be anecdotal references to the reasons behind this phenomenon.

Likewise, occupational migration of both the general population and persistent household heads was the subject of several intensive studies. A substantial portion of these changes resulted not from actual migration of individuals so much as the methods of enumeration by the census data gathered between 1860 and 1870. Changing from enumerating "laborers" in 1860 to qualifying individuals as "stone quarrier" or "brick-maker" in 1870 may or may not have seen any actual change in occupation by the individual so identified. Therefore, without family data or letters and diaries to note such occupational shifts, it would be impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether the person changed jobs during the decade.²¹⁹

Manufacturing development in Chambersburg was fairly closely followed as it related to employment opportunities for residents of Chambersburg. Examples of mechanical evolution before the war could be seen in the development of commercial nail-making abilities in Chambersburg and the coming of the "Iron Horse" as the most economically sound mode of transportation throughout the nation. With the speed and efficiency of these machines and others in practically every business venue, production levels went up and time consumed went down with a resultant lowering of costs. Embraced in the open society of Northern democracy, goods produced in that section of America became more and more competitive in the nation's and the world's markets. Goods fabricated in the economic climate built on slavery relied on slower labor intensive methods which became less and less competitive in the marketplace against

those produced throughout Democratic America. Unfortunately, as slavery became less competitive in the market-place, voices for flexibility in the South were silenced while intransigence to change multiplied exponentially. This voice of “conservative” interpretation was echoed in Bauserman’s constitutional editorials. Meanwhile, the Repository, while not too far removed from the Valley editor’s position, plainly did not like the Southern responses threatening disunion.

The steadily evolving prewar phenomenon of replacing manpower with machine power exploded during the war. Spurred during that time as a response to labor shortages caused by military service, equipments and attendant rudimentary assembly-lines quickly evolved as replacements to past manually-intensive methods, and for slower individual craft production in the North. Productivity skyrocketed as machines began to replace the slower pace of individual craftsmanship by speeding up the processes of manufacturing while dramatically lower the fabrication cost of individual items. This new fact of the Northern market system simply eliminated the desire for more high-priced and slowly generated products of many local artisans. Additionally, the level of quality in the new mass production methods adopted during and just after the Civil War was remarkably good and very consistent. In many instances, these mass-produced items outstripping the quality control of the individual specialists.

An occupational study of Chambersburg during the 1860’s reveals numerous examples of such an economic shift.²²⁰ In 1860, craftsmen still held forth in the town in fairly large numbers. A detailed look at occupational patterns shows that many continued to live in Chambersburg, but through the decade if they persisted, the individuals changed to other venues for a livelihood. Nail-maker Reuben Soule was listed in the 1860 census,

even though the first commercial nail-machine was developed by the Chambersburg firm of Brown and Watson in 1818.²²¹ Age 59 in 1860, this individual did not appear in the 1870 census. After 42 years of competition between a machine and artisans, younger workers had been dissuaded from entering the manufacturing sector as nail-makers by the ease and sharply reduced cost that machines brought to this craft. A chain-maker and seven rope-makers lived in town through the decade, but by 1870 only one rope-maker continued to provide his services to the community. Machines now fabricated chain-links and rope fibers, binding them into finished products of superior quality at a fraction of the cost compared with an individual artisan. Five cutlers produced hand-made knives at the beginning of the decade. By 1870, none did. A machine-made knife would have been purchased at Huber and Tolbert's hardware store and three of the former cutlers had become blacksmiths.²²² A fourth passed away and the last removed from the community with his family. Watches were being machine-fabricated in mass quantities by assembly-lines in the 1860's. The watchmakers listed in the 1860 census had changed to jewelry dealers and other venues rather than continue to attempt competition with them.²²³

Beyond the occupational aspects of change which occurred during the decade, a detailed study conducted on the real estate and personal property holdings of persistent family household heads represented the most important research conducted on the town's residents. Of Chambersburg's 873 heads of household in 1860, only 334 (38.3%) persisted throughout the decade. Real estate ownership and valuations would be the most obvious monetary area affected by Confederate incursions and the resultant destruction. Equally important would be the financial effects upon those persistent townspeople's personal property holdings through the decade.

A total of 58 of the 334 (17.4%) persisting households never held real estate during the decade. These persons have been designated Subgroup A in the study. Another 41 (12.3%) held real estate in 1860, but had none by 1870. This group becomes Subgroup B. A third group of 40 (12.0%) heads were new homeowners by 1870, and are designated Subgroup C. Subgroup D represents the final group of 195 (58.4%). These individuals held real property in both 1860 and 1870.²²⁴ At the beginning of the decade, 236 (70.7%) of the persistent group held real estate. By the end of the study period, 235 (70.4%) did so. The overall effect then of the burning of approximately 55% to 60% of the town's buildings did not materially change the level of home ownership during the decade. A survey of home ownership by household heads throughout Franklin County was consistent with the experience in Chambersburg; that is, a general flattening out of the level of real property ownership. Individually, there was a great deal of turmoil within the study group.²²⁵

Additionally, the 58 persistent heads of households without their own homes (Subgroup A) were checked against the war damage claims lists to see if they had been able to acquire real property during the period of war-created prosperity which came to Chambersburg between 1860 and 1864. Review disclosed no members of Subgroup A presented realty claims to the Commission. Therefore, unless the subgroup's ownership location was outside the burn area, none had acquired real estate by July 30, 1864.²²⁶

One certainty did occur, however. The railroads which occupied Chambersburg definitely gained in importance. Employments not only by the railroads directly but their allied suppliers greatly increased during the period. By bringing financial stability to increased numbers of Chambersburg households as the war progressed and into the post-

burning event period, the salutatory economic consequence on the community cannot be overstated.

Equity ownership of both real and personal property was fairly intensively scrutinized especially amongst those persistent household heads in the 334 person study group. For those who did not lose their property though Confederate actions brought about during the war, the increase in wealth generally equated with unadjusted inflation figures. In some few cases, the dramatically increased net worth would have to be individually investigated to determine its origin. As an example, James Montgomery obviously inherited a large amount of real property from his mother, Margaretta Montgomery. Neither mother nor son appeared in the statistical study, however. The two traded head of household duties during the decade with the son taking over the household along with a huge sum of real equity. Such individual economic machinations would have to be uncovered through time-consuming and extensive research beyond the scope of this study.

The parties responsible for the physical resurrection of the town were easiest to identify. It was obvious from news accounts and accounts written by actual residents that the local community rebuilt Chambersburg by and large without developers from outside areas. Several of the most prominent residents involved in the political and economic restoration of the town left for Philadelphia before the end of the decade. The leading Republican and Lincoln supporter, Alexander Kelly McClure, moved to Philadelphia in 1868 after selling his estate north of town. Shortly thereafter, the property was converted into Wilson College.²²⁷ As previously mentioned, the brick manufacturer, Louis B. Wanamake, took the monies earned from the rebuilding of Chambersburg, and settling in

Philadelphia, developed one of America's foremost department stores. In relocating, both of these men took a substantial amount of wealth from the economic base of the town.

Marriage, birth and death rates proved too difficult to ascertain without church and/or county records to corroborate any findings. Therefore, these inquiries were not conducted. Only scattered and isolated information secured from news accounts was accumulated.²²⁸ This was by no means complete. Much added time would be necessary to secure this data for statistical review.

Although able to identify a few individuals and families such as the Cheriton clan who relocated west to Ohio or Jeremiah Cook who went to Montana, this research was unable to ascertain any measurable information on individuals or families who exited from the locus of devastation. It appears from the census and other data that the vast majority of Chambersburg residents simply stayed, dug in, and re-built the town on their own terms.

The numbers of businesses changed significantly. As an example, the north-side wholesale grocer brothers, Daniel L. and William Fahnestock, persisted in the community, but did not reopen their business. Like-wise the clothier John T. Hoskinson rebuilt, but opted to rent the space to other retailers. Jacob Hutton sold out his shoe business after his brother's untimely demise in early 1866 and moved to Maryland. Many businesses followed these trends. The reasons have not been determined, nor has there been any tally of numbers. Although some specific data was collected on established businesses prior to the burning, no formal study was developed. Again, this was not pursued for the sake of brevity.

When this thesis was introduced, there were four main sources of information identified as relevant to this study. The United States census microfilm copies in the Library of Virginia were utilized in some limited cases to determine correct spellings of names. Otherwise, this primary source had been duplicated in the Valley of the Shadow website at the University of Virginia. Since the typed data located there was far easier to read and available on-line, this source became the primary tool used to gather and analyze information on the town and the events which occurred there in the 1860's. Chambersburg tax records proved available, but often duplicated data already available at the Valley web-site. Once investigated, these records which are stored in the Franklin County, Pennsylvania Courthouse basement were found to be of little additional value, and thusly, not used. Due to the large volume of readily available information on-line, church records were not pursued as well.

The Pennsylvania Border Commission Claims Records were available in their entirety at the Franklin County Historical Society. These proved difficult to access, however, due to availability and travel constraints. Once again, an initial effort to categorize these had been completed at the Valley of the Shadow website. Consequently, these records were used in this research, even though later removed by the University of Virginia for unknown reasons. This research revealed, however, that the information originally available though accurate may have been incomplete.

Overall then, The Valley of the Shadow website became the primary, though certainly not the sole source of the information gathered and analyzed in this research. As a tool for this research it was invaluable. In fact with some further tweaking, it certainly would tend to make one into a lazy researcher. Without leaving the confines of

one's home, best efforts at research into this particular subject can be accomplished with speed and in comfort. It remains then merely to fill in pieces of the puzzle to accomplish a satisfactory study of this portion of Chambersburg's history.

The picture developed by this research is that of a community unbowed by the catastrophic events which befell it. Not unlike far too many towns of the South, Chambersburg's will to survive rose to the surface through its residents who rebuilt the community with available resources. Unlike those same towns in the areas of secession, however, the manpower to accomplish the tasks at hand was readily available. The study of this community unique amongst all others of the Union revealed a tenacity and devotion to survival second to none.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTE ABBREVIATIONS:

B. & F.	= Bates and Fraise - <i>History of Franklin County</i> , Pennsylvania.
B. & L.	= <i>Battles and Leaders of the Civil War</i> .
C.C.H.S.	= Cumberland County Historical Society.
C.F.L.	= Coyle Free Library, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.
K.H.S.	= Kittochtinny Historical Society.
K.H.S.P.	= <i>Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers</i> .
L.V.	= Library of Virginia.
O.R.	= <i>Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies</i> .
S.H.C.	= Southern Historical Collection. Univ. of North Carolina – Chapel Hill.
S.H.S.P.	= <i>Southern Historical Society Papers</i> .
V.H.S.	= Virginia Historical Society.
V.S.	= Valley of the Shadow, University of Virginia.

INTRODUCTION

¹ *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, Virginia: William Ellis Jones Printing Company, 1909), Reprint, Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1991, Volume 30, 267-268. Reprint of article in the *Richmond Dispatch*, April 27, 1902. Hereafter cited as S.H.S.P. For the location of the briefing, see Benjamin Schroder Schneck, *The Burning of Chambersburg* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lindsey and Blake. 1864), 1st edition, 22-23. Text located in Special Collections, Library of Virginia. Hereafter cited as Schneck.

² *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), Reprint, Historical Times, Inc. Series I, Volume 37, Part I, #74, 331-333, and 335, Reports of Major-General Darius Nash Couch. Note that in Couch's original report of August 8, 1864, Johnson is placed in the square. A supplement to the report dated October 14, 1864 was added before the original report was filed specifically contradicting Johnson's location, placing him on the outskirts of town. Ibid, #85, 354-356, Report of Brigadier-General Bradley Tyler Johnson. Johnson always denied being in the town proper during the destruction despite civilian statements to the contrary. Hereafter cited as O.R.

³ S.H.S.P., (1906) Volume XXXIV, 214.

⁴ Fritz Haselberger, *Confederate Retaliation* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: Burd Street Press, 2000), 95-96. Haselberger states there were three versions of the events described. The first is taken from an account by John Olson, a member of the 21st Virginia. Olson's version follows a Richmond, Virginia newspaper article most closely and is recounted here. Hereafter cited as Haselberger. For a differing version see Virginia Historical Society, *Narration of Captain Francis West Chamberlayne* (MssI C 3552d4). Hereafter cited as V.H.S.

⁵ Robert J. Driver Jr., *First and Second Maryland Cavalry C.S.A.* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Rockbridge Publishing, 1999), 97. The artillery command of Captain Griffin did not enter Chambersburg, but rather occupied a line of hills roughly one and one-half miles from downtown. Hereafter cited as Driver. See also George Wilson Booth, *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States 1861-1865*. (Gaithersburg, Maryland: Butternut Press, Inc., 1986), 101. Hereafter cited as Booth.

⁶ Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee* (Lynchburg, Virginia: J.P. Bell, Inc., 2 Volumes, 1915), Reprint, University of Nebraska Press, 1991, Volume 2, 916. The battery was the 2nd Maryland, or the Baltimore Light Artillery as it was known before being converted to Horse Artillery in 1863. Hereafter cited as Wise. In O.R., Series I, Volume 36, part III, 861-862, the Army of Northern Virginia field return of May 31, 1864 states the battery consisted of four guns, type unknown, four officers and 71 men. Steven H. Newton, *Lost for the Cause: The Confederate Army in 1864* (Mason City, Iowa: Savas Publishing Company, 2000), 184, states that in March 1864, the battery consisted of four 10 pound parrots and two additional guns of unknown type, totaling six pieces of ordinance. Hereafter cited as Newton.

⁷ Colonel Harry Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866) Reprint Butternut and Blue, 1990, 209-210. On page 210 Gilmor states, "Deeply regretting that such a task should fall upon me, I had only to obey." His words indicate that Gilmor was put in command of the incendiaries. Hereafter cited as Gilmor. His reluctance to follow orders was not evident to the vast majority of townspeople, however. See Schneck, 13-14, who portrays Gilmor as a willing, eager participant in the destruction.

⁸ Schneck, 37. Also see Robert K. Krick, *Lee's Colonels* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, Inc., 1992), 514. The message of ransom was officially conveyed by Captain Henry Fitzhugh, adjutant of the 8th Virginia. By war's end, Fitzhugh had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th Virginia Cavalry. Hereafter cited as Krick.

⁹ Valley of the Shadow, Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, August 31, 1864, p. 2, c.4. According to the newspaper, Henry Greenawalt was the current owner of the Franklin House Hotel. Hereafter cited as V.S. However, in Kittochtinny Historical Society, Microfilm Section, *Pennsylvania*

Border Commission Claims, Reel-4436, Henry had a minimal amount of personal property loss while brother Samuel F. had four substantial claims; two each of both real estate and personal property. Hereafter cited as K.H.S. - Microfilm. Also, Jacob Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War; or incidents which transpired In and About Chambersburg during the War of the Rebellion* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: M.A. Foltz, Printer and Publisher, 1884), 31, states that Samuel owned a hack and a stable. The hack was usually available for transportation of guests at a hotel or railway station although occasionally in use at livery operations as well. See Schneck, 22-23. Henry Greenawalt was patriarch of the same family where Confederate leaders of the Chambersburg expedition held a command briefing early on the morning of July 30 before entering the town. This family owned a farm one mile west of town limits on the St. Thomas road. Within town limits this was known as Market Street, and is presently U.S. 30 West (Lincoln Way). The town square was commonly termed "The Diamond."

¹⁰ Schneck, 14. In regard to the timing of the inception of the destruction, Schneck writes that the Confederates gave the town less than twenty minutes to respond after the resident's initial protests that the demands were impossible to be met. See also, S.H.S.P., General John A. McCausland, *The Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania* (Richmond, Virginia: William Ellis Jones, printer, Volume XXXI, 1903) Reprint from the *New Orleans Picayune*, August 2, 1908, 269-270, McCausland states he gave the town six hours to meet the demands. In all likelihood, the Confederates entered Chambersburg about an hour after the briefing at Greenawalt's, or roughly 5:30 a.m. Undoubtedly the message of ransom was informally conveyed to individual residents soon thereafter. Once the formal request of Captain Fitzhugh was delivered, it appears about thirty minutes elapsed before burning commenced. It is probable that burning would have started earlier except for Colonel Peters' refusal to obey orders, and the resultant confused delay. And, Frank Moore, editor, *The Rebellion Record* (New York, New York: D Van Nostrand. Publisher, Volume 11, Document 93, 1869), 537-544. Here Andrew Kelly McClure gives a detailed accounting of the damages inflicted upon the general citizenry by the raiders. Hereafter cited as Moore.

¹¹ Gilmor, 209-210. The three units of Johnson's Brigade included the 8th Virginia Regiment, the 36th Virginia Battalion, and the 2nd Maryland Battalion. See also, S.H.S.P., Lieutenant Fielder C. Slingluff, *The Burning of Chambersburg* (Richmond, Virginia: Southern Historical Society Press, Volume XXXVII, (1909), 152-153. Slingluff was a member of Gilmor's 2nd Maryland. According to Slingluff, Gilmor used the 2nd, and detachments of the 1st Maryland Regiment, keeping the balance of the 1st in reserve at the outskirts of town. The 1st and 2nd Maryland were brigaded with Johnson's command which also consisted in Chambersburg of the 8th, 21st, and 22nd Virginia Regiments plus the 34th, 36th, and 37th Virginia Battalions of Cavalry. Hereafter cited as Slingluff.

¹² Dan Oates, editor, *Hanging Rock Rebel, Lieutenant John Blue's War in West Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: Burd Street Press, 1994), 309. John Blue was a lieutenant in the 11th Virginia Cavalry. Oates states that he participated in the raid, and took a pair of handcuffs to capture and return an individual resident of Frederick, Maryland who had caused his capture and imprisonment at Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D.C., earlier in the war. Hereafter cited as Blue. See also, Major Achilles James Tynes to Harriet Fudge Tynes, July 29, 1864, Papers of Achilles James Tynes, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Tynes was an officer in the 5th Virginia Cavalry Regiment. Hereafter cited as S.H.C.

¹³ Virginia Ott Stake, *John Brown in Chambersburg* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Franklin County Heritage Inc., 1977), 123. Reference is made to the 1860 United States Senate investigation into the Chambersburg Edged Tool Manufacturing Company's involvement in John Brown's raid. This hearing created widespread knowledge of the town's role in the abortive slave insurrection. Hereafter cited as Stake. Ibid, 116. Photograph of a pike-head unearthed during the decade of the 1970's near the location of the Chambersburg manufacturing site.

¹⁴ V.S., Newspaper Section, *The Franklin Repository*, July 15, 1863, p. 8, c. 2, article 2.

¹⁵ Library of Virginia, Microfilm division, Reel PA 1-B, Franklin County, United States Census, 1790. Hereafter cited as L.V.

¹⁶ Major George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1861-1865) Reprint Gramercy Books 1983, Plates CXXXV-A and CXXXVI. Plate 135-A features excellent topographic evidence of the great valley stretching from Northeastern Pennsylvania to southern East Tennessee. Plate 136 provides close period (1863) detail of the border area including the Mason-Dixon line and the proximity to Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as O.R.-Atlas.

¹⁷ Benjamin Quarles, editor, *Blacks on John Brown* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 7. Hereafter cited as Quarles.

¹⁸ Hoke, 22-23. Here Hoke details the movement of Confederate troops in Pennsylvania prior to Antietam, and names the Franklin County men involved in the capture of John E. Cook. Ibid., 134. The "Black Republican remarks" are taken from a letter written by Mr. Thomas R. Bard in relation to a conversation with an unnamed Franklin County family during the burning of the town on July 30, 1864. The location was east of Chambersburg on the Mont Alto - Greenwood road skirting along the base of South Mountain. See also, Charles L. Blockson, *African-Americans in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: RB Books, 2001), 240-241 who states, "[a large minority of] white Pennsylvanians were

altogether apathetic towards the plight of enslaved African-Americans..." And again, "One cannot make the generalization that Pennsylvania was a state that was 'friendly' to African-Americans." Hereafter cited as Blockson.

¹⁹ Blockson, 179, refers to underground caverns connected to the jail. See also, *Old Jail*, brochure, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which cites the location as an Underground Railroad stop with a hidden step-ledge inside the chimney flue.

²⁰ Stake, 17, photograph 18. See also, Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (London, England: Christian Age, 1882), 276-279. Douglass provides his recollections of the entire affair with Brown. Hereafter cited as Douglass. Also, Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* (New York, New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 2003), 11, states Frederick Douglass's account placed the fifteen boxes of arms and pikes in the Chambersburg warehouse labeled "hardware." Hereafter cited as Ayers. Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 1-2, states that he unknowingly assisted Brown with a load of "miner's tools" which had been delivered to a Virginia station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. These items, Douglas later claimed, to be pikes used during the abortive insurrection. This information is contraverted by Stake and other sources. Hereafter cited as Kyd Douglas.

²¹ Stake, 32-33.

²² Ayers, 15-16.

²³ James Allen Dickson, *Health Care of the Sick and Wounded during the Civil War (1861-1865)* (Evansville, Indiana: Whippoorwill Publications, Kittochtinny Historical Society, Volume XIX, September 1984-May, 1987), 25. Patterson's headquarters was located in Rosedale Seminary on the west side of North Main Street between King and Market Streets. Hereafter cited as Dickson-Health. See also, Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, editors, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Inc., 4 Volumes, 1956), Volume I, 120. In an article written by Brigadier General John D. Imboden after the war on the early military machinations of "Stonewall" Jackson, Patterson's force is mentioned. Hereafter cited as B. & L. And, V.S., Letters and Diaries Section, *Diary of William A Heyser*, October 4, 1862 where Heyser, a prominent Chambersburg resident writes of the robust prosperity of the town caused by Patterson's army. W.P. Conrad and Ted Alexander, *When War Passed This Way* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: Beidel House Printing Company, Inc., 1982), 95. Here Conrad and Alexander echo the comments of Heyser, but in relation to Greencastle, Pennsylvania. Hereafter cited as Conrad.

²⁴ Dickson-Health, 24.

²⁵ Hoke, 101.

²⁶ Ibid., 22.

²⁷ Ibid., 103.

²⁸ Ayers, 14. The individual, Henry Watson, a 47-year-old barber and Maryland native, who was a member of only a handful of Chambersburg blacks that held occupations in the service sector of the economy in 1859. See also, Douglass, 277-278. According to Douglass, Watson was one of only a select few Chambersburg residents aware of Brown's plot to free the slaves in the country south of Franklin County. Rodney G. Crawford, *The Role of the Black in the Development of the City of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania from 1850-1900* (Unpublished research paper, Shippensburg College, 1973), 5-6 provides oral testimony to Henry Winters' knowledge of Brown's mission. Winters was a life-long African-American resident of Chambersburg. Hereafter cited as Crawford.

²⁹ L.V., Microfilm Section, 1860 - Reels PA 290, 87-147 (Borough of Chambersburg) and PA 291, 1003-1072 (South Ward Chambersburg). 1870 - Reel PA 435, 242-279 (North Ward Chambersburg) and 281-323 (South Ward Chambersburg). The United States Census sheets for both 1860 and 1870 provided totals for the two wards of Chambersburg.

³⁰ Ibid., Microfilm Division, United States Census data from 1860 and 1870. Totals did not provide street names nor did individual census sheets.

³¹ K.H.S., Microfilm Division, RG-2 Department of the Auditor General, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Records Relating to Civil War Border Claim Applications 1866-1868*, Reels 4433-4439, and Reels 6161-6175. See also, K.H.S., Microfilm Division, RG-2 Department of the Auditor General, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Damage Claim Minutes of the Board of Appraisers to examine the Southern Border Claims for 1863-1864 Chambersburg War Damage, 1866 provision*, Reel 4433.

³² Chambersburg Public Library, Microfilm Section, Reel Dates January 2, 1890-July 28, 1890, *Franklin Repository*, March 15, 1890, p. 3, c's.2-3,4. The entire list with names and amounts owed to certificate holders is reprinted in the Chambersburg newspaper on this date. Hereafter cited as C.P.L.

CHAPTER 1

³³ I. H. McCauley, *A Historical Sketch of Franklin County Pennsylvania* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: John H. Pomeroy, Publisher, 1878), 10. McCauley recites two separate early historical sources which describe distinctly differing versions of the lands lying near the watercourses mentioned. However, both are in accord as to timber lining the streams. Hereafter cited as McCauley.

³⁴ Samuel P. Bates and Richard J. Fraise, *History of Franklin County Pennsylvania* (Chicago, Illinois: Warner Beers and Company, 1887), 49-50. Here the authors relate the attitude fostered in the initial dealings between the native population and William Penn. Hereafter cited as B. & F.

³⁵ Ibid., 77, 82, and 84. An example of the tone and manner of these non-territorial negotiations is provided here. The negotiations speak of treaty renewal and the deleterious effects of gifts offered at those times and cites how, as contention grew between the French and English, the Indians were "...artful... [At]... drawing out 'well piled up presents. '"

³⁶ Ibid., 113, provides a map of Pennsylvania with purchase areas superimposed and dated. Penn had originally purchased a two day's walk into the interior. He completed one day in a leisurely fashion stopping often to rest and refresh the group with him, and decided to conduct the second day's walk at a later time. This accorded with the local Indian customs and met with their approval. The second day's walk was not completed until 1737. However, it was conducted by the fastest walkers the colony could recruit, and was conducted without any rest although refreshments were provided the walkers. The Indians sent young men as monitors who were left far behind. The Delaware were embittered by the entire fiasco.

³⁷ McCauley, 8, states the lands belonged locally to the Susquehannocks and Shawense (Shawnee), and that these tribes were controlled by the "Mingoes" as the Delaware styled the Iroquois. See also, George Patterson Donehoo, *Carlisle and the Red Men of Other Days* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Carlisle Indian School, 1911), 7, who states the Shawnee emigrated from the Potomac River area, which is not exactly correct. Portions of the Shawense confederation were spread across what is now West Virginia's highlands portions of the Potomac River basin as well as Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and portions of Kentucky and Indiana bordering the Ohio River. Hereafter cited as Donohoo-Red Men.

³⁸ B. & F., 17-18. The Delaware included the Monsey or Wolf Tribe which resided along both sides of the Susquehanna drainage basin within the great valley and from the Alleghenies to the Potomac River on the Chesapeake Bay. The other Delaware tribes lived in the areas bounding the Delaware Bay and River extending northward across the great valley into the Allegheny Mountains. North of the colony, Delaware inhabited parts of the Hudson River Valley and New York.

³⁹ Ibid., 18, enumerates the Six tribes of the Iroquois Nation: the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca and Tuscarora. Also see, Ibid., 54. New York and southern Canada were the homes of most of this group of natives, but portions of at least one of these tribes, "Mingoes" according to the authors lived in the eastern part of Pennsylvania along Conestoga Creek which flows into the Susquehanna River. Bates and Fraise use the term "Five Nations" for the Iroquois. The Iroquois Confederation becomes "Six Nations" because of the Tuscarora tribe, which left the northern mountains of North Carolina, combined with the Mingoes and resettled in the mountainous regions of southwestern Pennsylvania beginning in 1723.

⁴⁰ McCauley, 8. This was the Shawense or Shawnee tribe. See also, Thomas Francis Gordon, *The History of Pennsylvania from its Discovery by Europeans to the Declaration of Independence in 1776* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Carey, Lee and Carey Publishers, 1827), 314, who states the Shawense settled in the Cumberland Valley region in 1698. Hereafter cited as Gordon.

⁴¹ B. & F., 54, provides details of the first treaty conference between William Penn and the three distinct Indian groups.

⁴² Ibid., 71-73,75. Governor John Evans (1703-1709) proved to be contentious with the authorities within the proprietorship and loose in his morals with the Indians as the Iroquois about Conestoga complained of his adventures with their women. Upon the firing of Evans, Charles Goodkin (1709-1717) was appointed governor, but he succumbed to fits of "lunacy."

⁴³ Ibid., 74, relates the details of Penn's final illness and death.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 113, includes map of land purchases.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 85.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 85-86.

⁴⁷ McCauley, 8, cannot find any permanent white settler sponsored by Pennsylvania in the valley prior to 1729. Also see, B. & F. 146, which states applicants for special use permits had resided in the valley since 1724.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 9, details the encroachment of Maryland settlers.

⁴⁹ B. & F., 43-47, 63, and 83 sets out the disputed southern boundary problem with Maryland. Penn had attempted on numerous occasions to settle the boundary issue between Maryland and Pennsylvania. However, the problem continued with disastrous results to Indian - English relations. Also,

disputes regarding ownership rights for both Maryland and Pennsylvania land grants continued throughout the period up until the Mason - Dixon line was drawn in 1767. From 1736-1738 hostilities broke out along the border between the two colonies and incursions of armed parties from Maryland invaded Pennsylvania with the intent of establishing land rights for settlers under the auspices of the Calvert family. Several deaths resulted from these clashes between Maryland and Pennsylvania authorities. See Paul Swain Havens, *Chambersburg: Frontier Town, 1730 - 1794* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Craft Press, Inc., 1975), 38-40. Havens claims the hostilities commenced in 1732 and lasted until the temporary line agreement of 1738. It appears from the documentation Havens provides that the Maryland settlers intended to usurp Pennsylvania's claims to the entire western Cumberland Valley that is to the west bank of the Susquehanna River. Hereafter cited as Havens.

⁵⁰ McCauley, 12-13, states how Smith's erroneous map was initially relied upon by Maryland to issue improper land grants.

⁵¹ B. & F., 85. See also, Harry E. Foreman, *Surveying with Colonel Henry Bouquet* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Kerr Printing Company, Kittochtinny Historical Society, Vol. XV, May, 1963-February, 1970), 37. The year of removal of the illegal western settlements and the burning of colonists cabins was 1750. It was at this time that the area of Bedford County, known as "Burnt Cabins," received its nom-sequitur. Hereafter cited as Foreman.

⁵² McCauley, 9-10. See also, Havens, 37, who details the "Temporary Line Agreement of 1732" between Maryland and Pennsylvania along with its several foibles.

⁵³ B. & F., 146, enumerates applicants for special permits who had resided on valley land under a verbal agreement with the Indians since 1724.

⁵⁴ McCauley, 9, mentions the special permits and the reason for their existence.

⁵⁵ B. & F., 150. Although neither Bates and Fraise nor McCauley mention the construction of sawmills at any mill sites other than Benjamin's, it is believed they existed as these would have been necessary for any type of construction other than log homes or barns.

⁵⁶ McCauley, 10. Crops mentioned include "Turkish Corn (Indian Maize)" which grew to a "height of ten feet and higher and the grasses are remarkably fine." Referenced grasses were those varieties which produced grain usable for food.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8, notes that Lancaster was split off from Chester County in 1729, and Cumberland County from Lancaster in 1750. Franklin County was not formed until 1784, out of Cumberland County. At this time, the area which ultimately became Franklin was part of Lancaster County.

⁵⁸ John G. Orr, *George Washington in Franklin County* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Press of the Valley Spirit Publishing Company, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, February 1898-March 1899), 45-46. Hereafter cited as Orr - *Washington*.

⁵⁹ McCauley, 9. Wording here is almost identical to descriptions of the brothers' sites used in the later history by Bates and Fraise.

⁶⁰ D.G. Beers, *Atlas of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Pomeroy and Beers, Publishers, 1868), Plate 5. Conodoguinet Creek drains the valley northeastward into the Susquehanna, whereas, Falling Spring and The Conococheague both flow southward into the Potomac. The watershed divide is located north of Scotland and Green Village, Pennsylvania. The rising terrain extends from Chestnut Ridge, a spur of South Mountain in the eastern portion of Cumberland Valley, and carries across the drainage basin to Clark's Knob in the west. Hereafter cited as Beers. See also, B. & F., 149-150. Great Spring is close to the present town of Newville. Middle Spring is near the present town of Shippensburg. Falling Spring is located within the city limits of Chambersburg.

⁶¹ B & F., 149-150. Authority was formally issued by Samuel Blakeston, Lord's Proprietor of Lancaster County, on March 30, 1734.

⁶² Israel Daniel Rupp, *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Perry, Bedford, Adams and Franklin Counties, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Gilbert Hills, Proprietor and Publisher, 1846), 463. Hereafter cited as Rupp. See also, B. & F., 149. Benjamin's original residence was not necessarily burned by disaffected natives, but by "avaricious persons" bent on securing the hand wrought nails which were used as fasteners in the construction. The first Chambers home used this new invention rather than the old post and beam erection methods of earlier times. Ibid., 150, mentions that the mill had been replaced with a new stone structure although time references were not specifically included. And Havens, 35. Chambers was granted a formal land patent by Pennsylvania's proprietors in 1742.

⁶³ B. & F., 82-85, detail some of the early machinations of the French in the territory west of the Great Valley.

⁶⁴ B.L. Maurer, *The Old Churchyard* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Press of the Valley Spirit Publishing Company, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume I, February 1898-February 1899), 6-7. Hereafter cited as Maurer. See also, Lucy Chambers Benchoff, *A Story of Colonial Time in Franklin County* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Craft Press, Inc, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume XIV, October 1957-April 1963), 314. Benchoff relates the poor condition of an Indian burial site alongside Falling Spring in 1836. Hereafter cited as Benchoff.

⁶⁵ B. & F., 85.

⁶⁶ Foreman, 37.

⁶⁷ B. & F., 113. See map.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 85-87, provides excellent details of French actions taken in America after the autumn of 1748, and the conclusion of the war between Britain and France on the European continent under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 113. See map.

⁷⁰ Lewis B. Garrard, *Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippencott, and Company, 1856), 14. Hereafter cited as Garrard. See also, B. & F., 85.

⁷¹ Gordon, 330.

⁷² Thomas Lynch Montgomery, editor, *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: William Stanley Ray, State Printer, 2 Volumes, 1916), Vol.1, 529. Hereafter cited as Montgomery. See also, Havens, 77.

⁷³ Havens, 92-93.

⁷⁴ A.J. White Hutton, *Some Historical Material concerning the History of Chambersburg* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Franklin Repository Press, 1930), 2. Hereafter cited as Hutton - History. See also, Havens, 167; Jacob Stoner, *Historical Papers. Franklin County and the Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Craft Press, Inc., 1947), 433. Hereafter cited as Stoner.

⁷⁵ John G. Orr, *Early Grist Mills of Lurgan Township* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Franklin Repository Printing House, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume III, March, 1901-February, 1903), 127. Hereafter cited as Orr - Mills. See also, Stoner, 413: And, John L. Finefrock, *Notes on Franklin County History* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Kittochtinny Society Press, 1945), 87. Hereafter cited as Finefrock.

⁷⁶ Havens., 121.

⁷⁷ Richard L. Wagner, *An Investigation of the Rise of Industry in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania* (Unpublished Master Thesis, Shippensburg State College, 1964), 15. The year was 1788. Hereafter cited as Wagner. See also, Robert Bruce, *The Lincoln Highway in Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: The Automobile Club of Pittsburgh, 1920), 74. This route eventually became the "Lincoln Highway." As U.S.

30, it became the initial transcontinental road across North America. Therefore, Chambers Town lay at the locus of two of Colonial America's fledgling and most economically significant parts of its internal communications network, The "Carolina Road" and "Lincoln Highway." Hereafter cited as Bruce. And, James R.W. Best, "*A History of the Chambersburg and Bedford Turnpike Road*" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Shippensburg State College, 1962), 9. This thesis features an exhaustive study of the first portion of the road west from Chambersburg. Ultimately, this route was incorporated into the Lincoln Highway. Hereafter cited as Best.

⁷⁸ B. & F., 144-145. See also, McCauley, 38-39; See also, The Chambersburg Development Committee, *Chambersburg: It's Record and Its Prospect* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; Chamber of Commerce, 1945), 5-6. Hereafter cited as Chambersburg.

⁷⁹ Havens, 123-124. See also, <http://www.felcc.org/history.htm> *First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chambersburg*. The lot was conveyed on June 28, 1780. True to form, a log church was erected by both Lutheran congregations to be shared until 1808 when the Reformed Congregation built on their separate lot. The remaining congregation constructed a brick structure.

⁸⁰ Chambersburg, 41. The log church was removed to a site along the south side of East Queen Street slightly past Third, and used by the A.M.E. Methodist congregation three years later in 1811. This became the first house of worship for the growing African-American community of the town outside of an open air center in a wooded area of the Kennedy farm located in the southwestern edge of Chambersburg.

⁸¹ Hutton-History, 2. See also, Havens, 118. The balance of sold lots at this time belonged to members of the Chambers family.

⁸² L.V., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1860.

⁸³ McCauley, 32. See also, Havens, 131.

⁸⁴ Henry Ruby, *Chambersburg Sixty Years Age* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: *Shippensburg News-Chronicle*, November 27, 1875), p. 1 c.1. "Skatling" was a rough-sawn irregularly shaped linear plank often with the exterior bark attached to the edges or one surface, created when saw-pits and mills first begin shaping logs for construction. Hereafter cited as Ruby.

⁸⁵ Havens, 172-173.

⁸⁶ Chambersburg, 7; See also, Wagner, 17, where the author uses the *Franklin Repository*, March 13, 1807, p. 7. c. 1 as his source.

⁸⁷ K.H.S.P., Orr-Washington, 45.

⁸⁸ L.V., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1790 and 1800. See also, McCauley, 38, for his estimate from 1788. And, Chambersburg, 16. Here the estimate of population in 1790 was 900, remarkably accurate when compared to the census data. A thorough study of the 1790 information bears both of these sources out. Assuming the Franklin County enumerators wrote down names in the order that they visited homes, it would be logical that census-takers would group residents of the town fairly closely together on the census sheets. Using the 1800 names as a guide, and comparing these with the 1790 data, a loose grouping of corresponding names does appear. From those names found in both sets of data, it appears roughly 160 households existed there in 1790. Actual count of these homes revealed 485 white males and 430 white females for a total white population of 915. Slaves added another 32 names. Other free white persons totaled 14 for a final community tally of 951.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1850.

⁹⁰ McCauley, 194, shows 51 attorneys were approved to practice law in Franklin County by 1800, although a minority lived in Chambersburg. See also, L.V., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1790 and 1800.

⁹¹ B. & F., 272-275. See also, L.V., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1800. Interestingly, Dr. Andrew McDowell held a slave and two indentured servants in the 1800 census.

⁹² Matthew A. Foltz, *The GERman Influence in Pennsylvania: With Special Reference to Franklin County* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Press of the Valley Spirit Publishing Company, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume I, March, 1898-February, 1899), 62-63. Hereafter cited as Foltz - GERman. See also, Ibid., 69-70. Foltz provides details of church schools established by GERmans.

⁹³ M.R. Alexander, *the Schools of our Fathers* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Public Opinion Press Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume II, March, 1899-February, 1901), 170-171. See also, Havens, 130-131.

⁹⁴ Chambersburg, 42.

⁹⁵ B. & F., 456.

⁹⁶ Wagner, 21-22. See also, McCauley, 122.

⁹⁷ McCauley, 31-35, provides the source of the land for the first jail and other details cited by this research.

⁹⁸ Dr. William C. Lane, *Chambersburg in the Olden Times* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Public Opinion Press, 1877), 116. Hereafter cited as Lane.

⁹⁹ McCauley, 40. See also, Ambrose Watts Thrush, M.D., *Medical Men of Franklin County* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: The Kerr Printing Company, 1929), 73. Hereafter cited as Thrush.

¹⁰⁰ A. Nevin Pomeroy, T.V. McCandlish, and John H. Pomeroy, *History of the Friendship Fire Company* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Franklin Repository Press, 1880), 5-6. Hereafter cited as Pomeroy et. al. See also, B. & F., 471-472. The Hope Fire Company was the unit destroyed.

¹⁰¹ Chambersburg, 21-22.

¹⁰² Matthew A. Foltz, *Franklin County Newspapers and the Men Who Made Them* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, The Franklin Repository Press, Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume VIII, March, 1912-February, 1915,) 36. Hereafter cited as Foltz-Newspapers. See also, Chambersburg, 57-58.

¹⁰³ McCauley, 54-55. See also, Chambersburg, 83.

¹⁰⁴ V.S., United States Census, 1860 and 1870, show two candle-makers in Chambersburg.

¹⁰⁵ Wagner, 12. See also, Finefrock, 87; Chambersburg, 56. The first large mill, *Commonwealth*, was followed by a series of ever-increasingly larGER plants as Chambersburg's competitors expanded their capacity and local mills kept pace.

¹⁰⁶ Wagner, 12-13. See also, L.V., Microfilm Division, United States Census, 1800. John Calhoun married the eldest daughter of Benjamin Chambers as his second wife. Benjamin died in 1788 and willed the eldest daughter, Rhuanna Calhoun, his slaves. John Calhoun predeceased the 1790 census. Rhuanna and her household occupants appear in the census immediately after Benjamin Chambers (2nd), son of the original founder of Chambersburg.

¹⁰⁷ B. & F., 473. Although superseding Calhoun's old operation, ownership was no lonGER locally held. A partnership in Baltimore, Maryland had acquired proprietorship of the mill sometime after its founding. One of the out-of-state partners authorized the son of the original Shyrock to begin processing what is now termed "cardboard" on a limited basis.

¹⁰⁸ McCauley, 252-254.

¹⁰⁹ B. & F., 474.

¹¹⁰ Finefrock, 89. See also, Rupp, 468.

¹¹¹ Rupp, 456, enumerated one tannery in 1840.

¹¹² Wagner, 21.

¹¹³ Finefrock, 90. See also, Wagner, 21.

¹¹⁴ Wagner, 21. See also, George Patterson Donehoo, *A History of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Susquehanna Historical Association, 2 Volumes, 1930), Volume 1, 284. Hereafter cited as Donohoo-History.

¹¹⁵ Wagner, 22. See also, *T.B. Wood's Sons Company, 125th Anniversary* (Printed in the United States, 1982) 10-12. This company-sponsored pamphlet details the early formation and later history of the firm.

¹¹⁶ Wagner, 30-31. See also, Chambersburg, 59.

¹¹⁷ Kittochtinny Historical Society, *Franklin Repository*, March 21, 1803, p.7, c.1. This edition features an advertisement for stage-line travel. Hereafter cited as K.H.S. See also, McCauley, 52-53.

¹¹⁸ K.H.S., *the Franklin Repository*, June 9, 1817, p. 1, c.1. This information was front-page news

¹¹⁹ Chambersburg, 33.

¹²⁰ Wagner, 27.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 28. See also, Paul J. Westhaeffer, *History of the Cumberland Valley Railroad* (Washington, D.C.: The National Railway Historical Society, 1979), 32 and 38. Hereafter cited as Westhaeffer.

¹²² Chambersburg, 34-35.

CHAPTER 2

¹²³ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, January 4, 1860, p. 4, c. 4. The federal authority was none other than an appointee of President James Buchanan, a native of Pennsylvania and Franklin County.

¹²⁴ Ayers, 49.

¹²⁵ V.S., Newspaper Section *Valley Spirit*, January 4, 1860, p.4, c.1.

¹²⁶ Ibid., Newspaper Section , *Franklin Repository*, January 4, 1860, p. 4, c.1-5,. for the article on the burning of an abolitionist Virginia paper. See Ibid., Newspaper Section *Franklin Repository*, January 4, 1860, p. 5, c.2, for the Irish incident in Charleston, South Carolina. Ibid., Newspaper Section *Valley Spirit*, January 4, 1860, p. 4, c's, 3-5, for comments by Breckinridge.

¹²⁷ Edward L. Ayers, *Momentous Events in Small Places: The Coming of the Civil War in America* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Marquette University Press, 1997), 13. Hereafter cited as Ayers–Momentous.

¹²⁸ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William A. Heyser*, October 4, 1862.

¹²⁹ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Chambersburg Semi-Weekly Dispatch*, June 4, 1861, p. 3, c. 1 states that thirteen regiments (13,000 men) currently called Chambersburg home.

¹³⁰ Lee B. Hoover, *Civil War Camps In and About Chambersburg*, Kittochtinny Historical Society, Vol.XIV, 373-384. Camp Slifer was named for Eli Slifer, a political operative and ally of A.K. McClure. Hereafter cited as Hoover.

¹³¹ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, May 1, 1861, p. 4, c. 2. See also, Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, January 4, 1865, p. 2, c. 1. Here a synopsis of several murders between soldiers and residents of Chambersburg or Franklin County are discussed at length.

¹³² Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, April 27, 1864, p. 4, c. 1.

¹³³ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Chambersburg Semi-Weekly Dispatch*, August 27, 1861, reports the intended arson of the Shepler and Clark planing-mill with the assault upon the night watchman.

¹³⁴ Ibid., Newspaper Section *Chambersburg Semi-Weekly Dispatch*, June 4, 1861, p. 3, c.2, recounts the details of the murder of Frank Jones by officers and enlisted men of the 2nd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Chambersburg Semi-Weekly Dispatch*, August 20, 1861, p. 3, c. 3 notes the acquittal of Sergeant George Heckendorn, a soldier charged with murder in the Frank Jones case.

¹³⁵ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, February 15, 1864, p. 3, c. 1, announces the pardon of Lieutenant Morgan R. Bryan by Governor Andrew G. Curtin.

¹³⁶ O.R. Series I, Vol. 19, Part II, 65, October 10, 1862. Telegraphic dispatch from Governor A.G. Curtin to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. See also, Ibid., 52, # 17, report of Major-General J.E.B. Stuart explaining the reason for a halt outside Chambersburg and for a formal demand of surrender. Ibid.,

57, # 18, report of Brigadier-General Wade Hampton stating an advance of 25 men demanded surrender. And, C.F.L., Matthew A. Foltz, *Public Opinion*, March 10, 1874, p. 1, c's, 3-4, in relation to an interesting discussion between the provost marshal and the residents relating to surrender of the town. Hereafter cited as Foltz.

¹³⁷ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William A. Heyser*, October 11, 1862.

¹³⁸ Westhaeffer, 78. Additional railroad properties destroyed included a wood-fabricating shop with all the machinery, a machine-shop and most of its equipment, a complete blacksmith shop, and a wood-storage barn. The engine-house turntable was not damaged despite the fire, and the three locomotives inside were speedily re-fitted for use soon after the destruction. Property damage to the railroads totaled \$50,000.

¹³⁹ Walter Clark, editor, *North Carolina Regiments* (Raleigh, North Carolina: E.M. Uzzell Printer and Binder, 1901) Vol. I, 421-422. Hereafter cited as Clark. See also, Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., editors, *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865 A Roster* (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1968-1993) Vol. II, 7 and 10, provides a brief biographical service record of the commander of the 1st North Carolina, Company A, Captain W.H.H. Cowles. This evidently was the only unit of the 1st to go on the Chambersburg raid. Cowles was ultimately promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st North Carolina. Hereafter cited as Manarin and Jordan.

¹⁴⁰ O.R., Series I, Vol. 19, Part II, p. 55, #17, report of J.E.B. Stuart, with enclosure of original orders received from army commander R.E. Lee showing his written requirement to detain functionaries of federal, state, or local government for imprisonment in Richmond.

¹⁴¹ Hoke, 179-180.

¹⁴² V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William A. Heyser*, October 15, 1862.

¹⁴³ History Broker.com. *Abigail Lull to Melissa Stetson*, October 15, 1865. Hereafter cited as Lull.

¹⁴⁴ O.R., Series I, Vol. 19, Part II, p. 54, # 17, report of Major-General J.E.B. Stuart. The report included names of two Franklin County volunteers acting as guides on the expedition. One, Hugh Logan, a slave-catcher prior to the war and an enrolled Confederate, lived near Quincy in the southeastern portion of the county. His brother Daniel was mentioned previously in this thesis in regard to the capture of John A. Cook, one of John Brown's followers. The other "Harbaugh" has not been identified. See also, V.S., Newspaper Section *Franklin Repository*, July 15, 1863, p. 8, c. 2, mentions the fact that at least 12 Franklin

County men were enlisted in Confederate service including James Allison and Hugh Logan killed in separate cavalry actions.

¹⁴⁵ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *A.H. Baum to the Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph*, September 7, 1864. The paper was located in Harrisburg. It is obvious the author spoke with Isaac Hutton.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Newspaper Section *Franklin Repository*, February 7, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁴⁷ C. F. L., Newspaper files, *Franklin Repository*, March 15, 1890 and March 17, 1890, p. 2, c. 2. These articles contain lists of all certificate-holders from the *Border Commission Claims* files including approved amounts of sums due. The article states that “unpaid sums” from 1862 were included in the totals of the certificates.

¹⁴⁸ D.G. Beers, *Atlas of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Pomeroy and Beers, 1868), plate 20. Hereafter cited as Beers. See also, Stake, 18 showing a partial photograph of the warehouse where John Brown’s arms were stored prior to his ill-fated slave rebellion in October 1859.

¹⁴⁹ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, March 16, 1864, p. 5, c. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, November 26, 1862, p. 5, c. 3.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, June 18, 1862, p. 4, c. 1. The editor of the *Spirit* responds to the Waynesboro, Pennsylvania paper by embracing the term. Waynesboro was located in the south-eastern quadrant of Franklin County. One of its most prominent businesses was the John Bell pottery firm.

¹⁵² Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, July 8, 1863, p. 4, c. 1. In its inaugural issue under McClure’s direction, the premise of the paper becomes a “ ‘positive and unconditional re-union of the states’ and support of the administrations of President Abraham Lincoln and Governor Curtin.” Going further, McClure avers to “resist alike Disunion and cowardly Compromise with armed treason”

¹⁵³ Ibid., Newspaper Section. Unfortunately, neither the *Repository* nor the *Semi-Weekly Dispatch* is available on-line at the *Valley* website during this period. The combined papers re-appear with the July 8, 1863 edition.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, October 1, 1862, p. 4, c. 1. Here Bauserman laments Lincoln’s decision to reverse his stated position on an emancipation proclamation in March 1862.

¹⁵⁵ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, January 21, 1863, p. 3, c. 4. and again on May 13, 1863, p.3, c.2. The second *Spirit* article makes mention of “large numbers” of new business and residential structures completed both within the prior year and currently under construction.

¹⁵⁶ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William A. Heyser*, June 18, 1863.

¹⁵⁷ Hoke, 38-39.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 34-39 inclusive. Also see, V.S., Newspaper Section *Valley Spirit*, July 8, 1863, p. 2, c’s, 2-4 for a slightly different version of events. According to the paper, guns were confiscated from the residents on Wednesday and the troops were granted access to merchants on Tuesday. As logic would dictate disarming the general population first, the order of events in *Hoke* is followed by this research.

¹⁵⁹ Hoke, 47.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 52.

¹⁶¹ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William Heyser*, June 26, 1863.

¹⁶² Ibid., 60-61. See also, V.S. Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William Heyser*, Entry of June 27, 1863.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 54. See also, V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William Heyser*, June 27, 1863.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 58. See also, V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, July 15, 1863, p. 1, c. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 54-55. See also, V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *Diary of William Heyser*, June 27, 1863.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 75.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 90-91. See also, Dickson- Health, 29. Dickson states “about sixty” wounded were in the King Street School-Hospital at this time.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 91.

¹⁶⁹ V.S., Newspaper Section *Franklin Repository*, July 15, 1863, p. 8, c. 1. The individuals were: J. Porter Brown, Reverend Joseph Clark, John P. Culbertson, David M. Eiker, George S. Heck, George A. Kaufman, Charles H. Kinsler, Thomas Mc Dowell, Allen C. McGrath, George and James Watson. See Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, March 1, 1865., p. 2, c. 7. The escapees were J. Porter Brown, George A. Kaufman, and Thomas H. McDowell. Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*,

March 22, 1865, p. 3, c. 1, reports McDowell and five others were exchanged March 20, 1865. Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, April 5, 1865, p. 3, c. 1, reports Charles H. Kinsler died of typhoid fever in a Philadelphia hospital, and two of the three previous escapees along with David M. Eiker succeeded in gaining their freedom at Knoxville, Tennessee through a second escape from Salisbury Prison.

¹⁷⁰ Edsel Burge and Samuel L. Horst, *Building on the Gospel foundation: the Mennonites of Franklin County* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 2004), 247-250. Hereafter cited as Mennonites. This provides excellent detail of a violent robbery by Confederates. Other examples verified added monetary thefts as well as county-wide appropriations of livestock and foodstuffs by individuals and small groups of “rebels” as they were styled at the time by the Mennonites. The authors end this section of their text with the comment “it has to be kept in mind that several thousand other Franklin County farmers suffered similar fates. There was nothing peculiar in what Mennonites experienced.” See also, Hoke, 52 which mentions several violent robberies perpetrated both on town and county residents. One such resulted in the murder of a county farmer. Specific mention is made of the fact that these actions were taken by “stragglers...[and]...never in the presence of an officer.”

¹⁷¹ Robert F. Cell, *Franklin Repository Abstracts* July 6, 1863 to December 31, 1864 (Edinburg, Texas: Robert F. Cell Publisher, 1992), 30, 37, 42, 47, 48. Five news notices regarding new businesses announced only one expansion of an existing structure. No new structures were touted in the *Repository* or the *Spirit* between July 1 and December 31, 1863, a distinct change from the first six-months of 1863. Hereafter cited as Cell.

CHAPTER 3

¹⁷² Schneck, 17, states “between eleven and twelve squares.”

¹⁷³ Ibid., 44. This information was given by Jacob Hoke to Benjamin S. Schneck. See also, Hoke, 115. This same account was later included by Hoke in his own work. A bit more detail was included as well, but the account was essentially the same as in the earlier work of Schneck.

¹⁷⁴ Schneck, 30-32. See also, Hoke, 115.

¹⁷⁵ Hoke, 126. The melodeon mentioned, a type of early organ, was probably owned by the Mull family. John Mull was a bank teller, and according to oral family history was in Harrisburg helping to guard the bank’s assets. His wife Susan saved the musical instrument and its protective cover from destruction. A surviving heir Hattie Mull willed the instrument upon her death to Isabel L. Lawrence, this author’s mother. See also, Cormany, 446.

¹⁷⁶ V.S., Census Section, 1860 Census. The North Ward of Chambersburg included 401 heads of households in 1860. The total population for the ward was 2,470 persons, a ratio showing slightly better than six residents per household. See also, V.S., Border Commission Claims Section. Using these numbers as an indicator and subtracting multiple names from the building claims, the 576 balance of claimants would have represented about 3,500 of a total population of roughly 5,300. This would leave about 1,800 individuals or roughly 300 households unaffected by losses during the war. This number represents approximately one-third of the town's residents. And, Hoke 127. Here the author states roughly two-thirds of the population of Chambersburg suffered a loss from Confederate war-time actions.

¹⁷⁷ V.S., Border Commission Claims Section.

¹⁷⁸ Haselberger, 99. The author lists names and units of all known Confederates killed, captured, and wounded as a result of military actions in Chambersburg. See also, Hoke 116. The narrative states five men of the advance guard were captured on the eastern edge of town by the toll-gate on East Market Street (Gettysburg Pike) beyond "East Point."

¹⁷⁹ Schneck, 33. Another officer, one Captain Cochran of the 11th Virginia Cavalry Regiment was supposedly shot and killed west of Chambersburg by a town resident, Thomas H. Doyle. However, the 11th Virginia did not participate in this raid, and unless he joined of his own volition as at least one other officer of the 11th did, it is presumed this account is incorrect.

¹⁸⁰ Schneck, 23-26. See also, *Ibid.*, 52-53. Here Schneck reprints an article published in the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* by the Reverend Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls relating anecdotes as to the nature of the holocaust and several incidents of residents trapped within the burn zone.

¹⁸¹ Cormany, 448.

¹⁸² Hoke, 115. He refueged to his brother's home near "East Point" See also, *Ibid.*, 116. Judge F.M. Kimmell, the provost-marshal, removed to a small hill behind his home in the "West Point" area. *Ibid.*, 124. Refugees in the southwestern portion of town gathered in the Lutheran Church graveyard. Numerous other locations included Shatter's Woods beyond "East Point" where one Confederate trooper was shot by Averill's advancing troops.

¹⁸³ Schneck, 39.

¹⁸⁴ John H. Cree and H.S. Ninde, editors, *Thomas Kirby Cree, a Memorial* (New York, New York: The Y.M.C.A. Association Press, 1914) 10 and 12. Hereafter cited as Cree.

¹⁸⁵ McClure, *Old Time Notes, Vol. II*, 179-180.

¹⁸⁶ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, August 31, 1864, p. 2, c. 6.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, August 31, 1864, p. 3, c. 3.

¹⁸⁸ See Table 3.2.

¹⁸⁹ See Table 3.2.

¹⁹⁰ See Tables 3.1 and 4.2.

¹⁹¹ See Tables 3.1 and 3.4. For the purpose of this research, only the four listed occupations were considered “professional.”

¹⁹² See Table 2.2.

¹⁹³ See Table 2.2.

¹⁹⁴ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, July 19, 1865, p. 2, c. 2.

¹⁹⁵ See Table 3.1. These are raw numbers taken from the general population and are not reflective of the statistics present in the 334 persistent study group.

¹⁹⁶ He established Wanamaker’s Department Store in Philadelphia after removing from Chambersburg.

¹⁹⁷ To secure an accurate summery of avocations therefore, it is necessary for a researcher to scrutinize Franklin County histories, news articles of the time, letters, diaries, and family records to correct misinterpretations made by census enumerators when totaling numbers under occupational classifications.

¹⁹⁸ See Table 3.1.

¹⁹⁹ V.S., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, August 31, 1864, p. 2, c. 6.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, July 18, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

²⁰¹ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, August 24, 1864, p. 4, c. 3. See also, Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Franklin Repository*, September 7, 1864, p. 3, c. 2. Other examples can be found by a thorough search of the Chambersburg newspapers.

²⁰² Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, August 31, 1864, p. 3, c. 5.

²⁰³ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, December 21, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, February 21, 1866, p. 2, c. 3.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., Newspaper Section, *Valley Spirit*, January 3, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

²⁰⁶ V.S., Diaries and Letters Section, *A.H. Baum to the Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph*, September 7, 1864. Mentions borrowing to get re-established in the shoe business.

²⁰⁷ McCauley, 138.

²⁰⁸ Beers, plate 20.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., plate 20.

²¹⁰ See Table 2.2.

²¹¹ See Table 2.2.

²¹² See Table 2.4 and 2.5.

²¹³ See Tables 2.2 and 2.5.

²¹⁴ Hoke, 60.

²¹⁵ See Table 2.4.

²¹⁶ See Tables 2.6 and 4.1.

²¹⁷ See Table 2.6.

²¹⁸ Westhaeffer, 59-62.

CONCLUSION

²¹⁹ These numbers are skewed by the methods used in the 1860 census, where individuals in many industries of the town were simply identified as “laborer” without specific classification. By 1870 that practice had been altered to identify specifics within the classification. It is obvious from the persistent members of both censuses that job changes did not occur during the decade in many cases. However, individual proof would have to be gleaned from family records which in this instance were not investigated.

²²⁰ See Table 3.1.

²²¹ McCauley, 122, states that the firm of Brown and Watson began the manufacture of cut nails in 1814. See also, Wagner, 21-22, who claims the possibility of Brown and Watson having the first manufactured cut nails in the United States.

²²² V. S., census for 1860 and 1870. Out of the five cutlers, three had become blacksmiths, and one was deceased, as the widow and children were found in the 1870 census. The fifth was not living in Chambersburg by 1870.

²²³ See Table 3.1.

²²⁴ See Tables 2.2-2.7 inclusive.

²²⁵ See Tables 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6.

²²⁶ Table 2.3. See also, V. S., Border Commission Claims Section.

²²⁷ Michael Albert, *Norland Farm to Wilson College* (Unpublished manuscript, Wilson College Library, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 2002), 2-3. Hereafter cited as Albert.

²²⁸ Table 5.1. Information on marriages and deaths is incomplete and cannot be relied upon as a true record. For brevity's sake this information was not completed in this research, but needs to be collected at a later time.

APPENDIX 1:
EARLY CHAMBERSBURG TABLES

TABLE 1.1
POPULATION OF CHAMBERSBURG and FRANKLIN COUNTY,
1790 – 1870

* Estimate of community population as Chambersburg did not have established boundaries at the time of the 1790 census.

Census Year	Total Franklin County Population	Chambersburg Population	Chambersburg as a % of Franklin County
1790	15,655	951*	6.1
1800	19,638	1,341	6.8
1810	23,173	1781	7.7
1820	31,892	2405	7.5
1830	35,037	2783	7.9
1840	37,793	3237	8.6
1850	37,956	3335	8.8
1860	42,121	5273	12.5
1870	45,365	6303	13.9

SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUSES, 1790-1870

TABLE 1.2
1790 FRANKLIN COUNTY ALPHABETIZED WHITE HOUSEHOLD HEADS
HOLDING OTHER FREE PERSONS OR SLAVES AND ALPHABETIZED FREE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS

KEY:

* = HOUSEHOLDS HEADED BY WOMEN.

ITALICS AND CAPPED: FREE AFRICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS.

HOUSEHOLD NAMES	NUMBERS OF OTHER FREE	NUMBERS OF SLAVES
John Alexander	0	1
John Alison	5	4
William Alison	1	5
Joseph Anderson	0	1
Robert Anderson	0	1
Joseph Armstrong	3	4
Owen Aston	1	1
Andrew Bard	1	1
Isacc Bard	0	1
Richard Bard	7	7
William Bard	1	1
Thomas Barr	3	2
John Beard	0	2
William Beatty	1	0
James Biddle	0	2
Joseph Billings	1	0
John Boggs	1	3
<i>BLACK GEORGE</i>	4	0
James Breckinridge	1	1
John Breckinridge	0	1
George Brown	5	6
John Brown	0	1
Thomas Brown	2	4
John Brownson	3	2
<i>THOMAS BROWNSTON</i>	8	0
* Sarah Buley	0	1
Jonothan Burgers	8	0
John Buzarr	0	1
* Rhuana Calhoun	3	2
John Call	1	0

James Campbell	1	5
John Campbell	1	0
Patrick Campbell	0	1
William Campbell	0	1
James Car	0	1
Samuel Carlton	0	1
Thomas Cellars	0	1
Benjamin Chambers	2	3
James Chambers	1	1
Joseph Chambers	1	1
Richard Chilliton	0	1
John Come	4	5
John Commond	0	1
Joseph Conneseton	0	1
George Cook	1	0
Joseph Cook	0	3
Samuel Cox	0	1
George Crafford	0	1
Jean Crafford	0	1
David Crawford	0	3
Edward Crawford	3	1
* Elizabeth Cruncleton	0	3
Joseph Cruncleton	0	1
James Culberson	0	1
* Jean Culberson	1	1
John Culberson	0	1
Joseph Culberson	2	2
Robert Culberson	0	2
Samuel Culbertson	0	1
Charles Cumins	1	2
* Catherine Davis	1	1
David Davis	7	8
Joseph Davis	1	1
Phillip Davis	1	1
Philip Davis	0	1
Samuel Davis	0	3
William Davis	0	1
Elias Davison	1	6
Alexander Daybonegh	1	0
James Dickey	3	1
Samuel Dickey	0	2
Isham Dinsay ?	3	3
Sanuel Duffield	1	0
Joseph Dunbar	1	1
William Dunbar	2	1
James Dunlop	1	1

James Dunwoody	0	1
James Elan	1	0
Johnston Elliott	1	1
William Elliott	0	1
John Erwin Sr.	0	3
John Erwin Jr.	0	1
William Erwin	2	1
James Findley	1	2
George Flack	0	2
Humphrey Fullerton	1	4
Rubin Galasby	0	1
Abraham Ganfinger	1	0
James Gibson	2	4
John Gibson	2	1
George Goondecker	0	1
Hendry Gordon	0	1
Joseph Goub	0	1
Rollen Harris	0	1
William Hayes	1	1
William Henderson	1	0
William Henry	1	0
John Herron	0	1
Adam Holliday	2	3
John Holliday	2	6
Pawl Imel	0	1
Archibald Irwin	5	3
John Jack	0	1
Patrick Jack	3	1
James Johnston	1	1
John Johnston	0	1
• Margaret Johnston	1	1
Robert Johnston (DR.)	2	4
Thomas Johnston	0	4
David Kenedy	0	1
John Kenedy	0	1
James Kerr	1	3
Robert Kerr	1	0
George King	0	1
John King	3	2
Hugh Lawrence	0	2
Daniel Leep	1	0
Willaim Linn	3	1
William Long	0	1
★ JEAN LYONS	2	0
Archybald Mahon	1	0
Robert Mahon	0	1

John Maires	0	1
William Martin	0	1
* Hannah Maxwell	4	3
James Maxwell	4	7
John Miller	0	1
Isacc Miller	0	1
<i>YELLOW MORIAH</i>	2	0
Goyen Morrow	1	0
<i>MULLATTO JIM</i>	7	0
Andrew Murphey	1	0
Alexander McCane	2	1
Thomas McCane	0	2
Charles McClay	1	0
John McConkey	0	2
Robert McClelland	0	1
John McClelean	3	2
James Ian McClenahan	0	8
Robert McColough	0	1
Samuel McColough	0	1
William McDowell	1	2
William McDowell	1	0
James McFarber	1	1
Robert McFarber	1	2
Thomas McFarren	0	2
Willaim McLaws	1	0
James McLenahan	0	1
John McLenahan	3	0
Joseph McThamey	1	0
William Nesbet	0	1
Daniel Nevins	0	1
James Patton	1	2
Hendry Pawling	9	0
Nicholas Peterson	2	5
James Poe	2	1
Josiah Price	1	2
Adam Prits ?	1	0
James Ramsey	3	4
William Ranills	2	4
Archibald Rankin	1	0
* Elizabeth Rankin	1	0
James Rankin	4	1
Jeremy Rankin	1	1
William Rankin	2	5
Samuel Ray	0	1
Walter M. Rimoni	1	1
<i>DICK SCOTT</i>	1	0

John Scott	5	5
* Johanah Sharpe	0	1
Jacob Shimor	7	0
Peter Shofe	1	0
James Shurman	0	2
Joseph Smith	1	1
Oliver Smith	0	1
Samuel Smith	5	2
Joseph Snively	3	1
John Stemon	1	0
James Stuart	0	2
Phillip Stumbough	0	1
Henry Taylor	0	1
Willaim Taylor	1	0
Robert Thomson	0	1
Michael Tice	1	0
* Mary Todd	0	1
John Tort	1	0
<i>JAMES TOWEL</i>	6	0
Joseph Towin	0	2
John Ullery	0	1
Thomas Wallace	0	1
Edward Welch	3	1
Jacob Widnor	1	0
Matthew Willson	1	2
Robert Wilson	0	1
Samson Wilson	1	0
William Withnow	1	2
Henry Work	2	1
John Young	2	1

TOTAL COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS HOLDING OTHER FREE PERSONS OR SLAVES	RAW NUMBERS OF OTHER FREE PERSONS HELD IN 198 SELECTED COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS	RAW NUMBERS OF SLAVES HELD IN 198 SELECTED COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS
198	252	300

CHAMBERSBURG NOT A SEPARATE ENTITY FROM COUNTY IN 1790

- * ESTIMATED Number of Chambersburg Households with Other Free or Slave labor = 18
- * ESTIMATED Percentage of Chambersburg Households with Other Free or Slave labor in relation to all 198 Franklin County households with Other Free or Slave labor = 9.4 %

SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1790

TABLE 1.3
FRANKLIN COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS HOLDING OTHER FREE PERSONS
AND/OR SLAVES IN 1790

CATAGORY	RAW NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF 198
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD HEADS HOLDING OTHER FREE PERSONS OR SLAVES	198	100.0
WHITE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS	181	91.4
WHITE FEMALE HOUSEHOLDHEADS	10	5.1
BLACK OR MULATTO HOUSEHOLD HEADS	7 (6 Male – 1 Female)	3.5
WHITE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HOLDING EITHER OTHER FREE PERSONS OR SLAVES	191	96.5 OF 198 (3.5% FREE BLACK)
WHITE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HOLDING BOTH OTHER FREE AND SLAVES	76	38.4
WHITE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HOLDING OTHER FREE PERSONS ONLY	34	17.2
WHITE HOUSEHOLD HEADS HOLDING SLAVES ONLY	81	40.9

SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1790

TABLE 1.4
1800 CHAMBERSBURG ALPHABETIZED WHITE HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLDS WITH SLAVESHOLDERS HIGHLIGHTED AND NUMBERS
OF SLAVES HELD

KEY:

* = FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

ITALICS AND CAPPED = SLAVEHOLDER

Joseph Allison	
Robert Allison	
<i>OWEN ASTON</i>	1 slave
John Barker	
Joseph Barnot	
Joseph Bartholemew	
John Baxter	
Patrick Beatty	
Walter Beatty	
James Bevins	
* Catherine Biaty	
Jacob Bidler	
Stephen Bigler	
Lutwick Birely	
Youst Bittel	
Frederick Blecsher	
Christian Bosaman	
Mattias Bosaman	
Jacob Brison	
Conrad Brown	
George Brown	
James Brown	
John Brown	
Adam Burlean	
John Calhoun	
Samuel Calhoun	
Hugh Campbell	
Patrick Campbell	
David Canefin	
Andrew Carson	
Michael Carver	
Alexander Caughran	
<i>BENJAMIN CHAMBERS</i>	2 slaves
John Chambers	

Jacob Clank
* Isabella Clark
Nicholas Clopers (?)
James Cochran
William Collins
Conrad Comfort
George Cook
Peter Cook
James Cooper
David Coriah
Daniel Cowen
Edward Crawford
* Sophy Cutlige
John Darby
George Davison
James Deahles
Luis Denigh
David Denny
John Derbary
Peter Dinkle
Jeremiah Donovan
* Elizabeth Doshier
Michael Doughturman
Samuel Dreydon
Jacob Dusher
James Eby
* Sophea Elliot
* Margaret Fauber
George Figler
James Fitzsimmons
John Flatsher
Michael Fortney
Ephriam Frey
John Fry
James Gailbreath
James Gailey
* Jane Gasing
Soloman Gault
Andrew Gelwick
* Nancy Gibson
Neal Godgeby
Richard Greenfield
Henry Greenwalt
* Catherin Greisinger
Simon Hailman
William Hall

John Harmon
John Harmon
William Harmon
George Thomas Harper
Jacob Hask
William Harse
Charles Hawkins
Lodwick Heck
John Heniberger
George Hetrick
John Hetrick
* Cleyabeth High
John Hiskins
Andrew Hock
John Holiday
Richard Hughes
Henry Huffman
William Humbs
William Hume
George Hurt
David Husk
Jacob Hysir
John Islis
Anthony Jack
James Jack
Thomas Jolues
Adam Kells
Samuel Kerr
Jacob Keterin
John Keys
Thomas Kirby
George Kisor
Henry Klunch
Frederick Lawson
William Leach
John Maderia
James Martins
James Mech
Nathan Meid
Henry Mercersmiths
Clathion Miller
George Morten
Matthew Munich
Thomas Murry
John Musy
Ahab McAfee

Hugh McAulty	
Samuel McClelland	
* Mary McClintick	
John McDole (?)	
<i>ANDREW McDOWELL</i> (DR.)	1 slave
Elias McElheny	
Culbertson McKean	
Robert McKean	
<i>THOMAS McKEAN</i>	3 slaves
David McKinley	
Samuel McKinley	
Charles Neal	
James Nevins	
John Noal	
Christopher Oyster	
John Pemberton	
John Pheipstock	
* Elizabeth Plumer	
Washington Porten	
Samuel Purviance	
Daniel Reasor	
Philip Reges	
<i>JAMES RINI</i> (?)	1 slave
Frederick Riomen	
James Robison	
John Rodebach	
Jacob Rodebaugh	
John Rudibaugh	
John Rudikill	
John Schools	
Alexander Scott	
John Scott	
Abraham Senseny (DR.)	
* Elizabeth Serhouse (?)	
* Sharlott Shaligs	
<i>AIRON SHEFAR</i>	1 slave
George Shelito	
John Shelito	
Samuel Shellato	
Thomas Sherman	
Samuel Shiver	
John Shyrock	
John Sinsley	
Benjamin Sloeney	
Charles Smith	
Joseph Smith	

Robert Smith
Thomas Smith
David Snider
Jeremiah Snider
John Snider
Melker Snider
Jacob Snively
Barnard Spangler
Cooper Sparr
Jacob Sparr
Evens Stephens
George Stets
William Stevenson
Joseph Stillinger
Michael Stillinger
Musha Streane (?)
John Strealy(?)
Benjamin Swan
Sebastian Swart
Jacob Swirne
Abraham Switzer
* Hanah Thomas
Joseph Thornton
Michael Trout
John Vance
Abraham Vendak
Joseph Wall
William Wallace
William Wallace
James Welch
Samson Wellons
Andrew Whisla
Richard White
Thomas White
Jacob Whitnor
Godfrey Will
Joseph Williams
George Wills
Jeremiah Witt
Christian Wolf
Elias Wolfkill
Charles Young

TOTAL HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS	WHITE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS	WHITE FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS	TOTAL WHITE HOUSEHOLDS WITH SLAVES
214	199	15	6 (9 Slaves)

Percentages:

Male Heads of Household = 93.0%

Female Heads of Household = 7.0%

TOTAL = 100.0%

Percentage of White Slaveholding Household Heads = 2.8%

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHAMBERSBURG SLAVEHOLDERS IN 1800

Owin Aston

Benjamin Chambers

Dr. Andrew McDowell

Thomas McKean

James Rini (?)

Airon Shefar

SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1800

TABLE 1.5
AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION IN CHAMBERSBURG,
PENNSYLVANIA, 1790-1880

*Figure taken from Timothy L. McCarl, Table 2.2, 23.

Census Date	Raw Numbers of Chambersburg Free Black Residents	% of Chambersburg Residents that were Free Blacks.
1800	3	0.2
1810	36	2.0
1820	229	9.5
1830	275	9.9
1840	265	9.0
1850	246	7.4
1860	522	9.9
1870	867	13.7
1880	995*	14.7

SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUSES, 1800 – 1870

**APPENDIX 2:
STUDY GROUP TABLES**

TABLE: 2.1
MASTER LIST - ALPHABETIZED
334 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS
1860 – 1870 WITH SUBGROUP DESIGNATIONS

ITALICS : AFRICAN-AMERICAN

(): ALTERNATE SPELLING FROM CENSUS

SUBGROUPS	TOTALS	% OF 334
A – No Real Estate or Personal Property throughout the decade	58	17.4
B – Real Estate in 1860: No Real Estate 1870; With or Without Personal Property	41	12.3
C – No Real Estate 1860: Real Estate 1870; With or Without Personal Property	40	12.0
D – Real Estate in Both 1860 and 1870; With or Without Personal Property	195	58.4
TOTAL ALL	334	100.0

#	NAME	SUBGROUP WITH #
001.	James ADAMS	D - 001
002.	Leander ARMSTRONG	A - 001
003.	Samuel ARMSTRONG	D - 002
004.	William ARMSTRONG	D - 003
005.	Caleb ATHERTON	D - 004
006.	Edward AUGINBAUGH	D - 005
007.	Andrew BANKER	B - 001
008.	Elizabeth BARD	D - 006
009.	Maria BARNITZ	A - 002
010.	<i>George BELL</i>	<i>D - 007</i>
011.	William H. BENDER	B - 002

012. John BENTLE	D - 008
013. Augustus BICKLEY	D - 009
014. Barnet BICKLEY	D - 010
015. Jacob BICKLEY	D - 011
016. John BIGLEY(BICKLY)	D - 012
017. Henry BISHOP	C - 001
018. Hannah BITNER	D - 013
019. James L. BLACK	C - 002
020. Jane BOOTH	A - 003
021. Henry BOWERS	C - 003
022. Henry BOWERS	B - 003
023. Samuel BOYD	A - 004
024. William H. BOYLE	D - 014
025. Horace BRADY	A - 005
026. Catharine BRAND	D - 015
027. George BRINKMAN	B - 004
028. John A. BROWN	B - 016
029. Martin BROWN	B - 017
030. Christian BURKHART	C - 004
031. Samuel BYERS	A - 006
032. Nicholas CARBAUGH	C - 005
033. Henry CARL	D - 018
034. Thomas CARLISLE	D - 019
035. Alfred D. CAUFMAN	D - 020
036. David CHAMBERLAIN	B - 005
037. Susan CHAMBERS	D - 021
038. William L. CHAMBERS	D - 022
039. Lyman S. CLARK	D - 023
040. William CLARK	D - 024
041. John CLIPPERS	C - 006
042. Mary COCHRAN	D - 025
043. Martin COLE	D - 026
044. Richard COOK	A - 007
045. Thomas COOK	D - 027
046. John CRAMER	A - 008
047. Peter CRICKBAUM	D - 028
048. John CRIST	B - 006
049. John CRIST	A - 009
050. Charles CROFT	D - 029
051. David CROFT	B - 007
052. John H. CROFT	D - 030
053. Edmund CULBERTSON	D - 031
054. Ann CUNNINGHAM	D - 032
055. Peter DANNER	C - 007

056. David DAVIS	A - 010
057. Hugh B. DAVISON	A - 011
058. Joseph DECKELMAYER	D - 033
059. John DEOBLER	D - 034
060. Jacob DESCHERT	A - 012
061. Henry DETRICK	D - 035
062. Ann DINAH	A - 013
063. Frank DINGLER	D - 036
064. George DITMAN	C - 008
065. Lewis DOCTOR	D - 037
066. George DOHN	D - 038
067. Jeremiah DONOVAN	C - 009
068. James DUFFIELD	D - 039
069. Benjamin DUKE	A - 014
070. Calvin M. DUNCAN	D - 040
071. John DUNSBERGER	D - 041
072. Frank DYSON	D - 042
073. David M. EIKER	A - 015
074. Andrew ELDER	A - 016
075. Frank ELLIOTT	B - 008
076. Marion ELLIOTT	D - 043
077. Christian ELSER	C - 010
078. John ELY	B - 009
079. Harriet EMBICK	A - 017
080. Henry EMBICK	A - 018
081. Lydia ENSMINGER	A - 019
082. Samuel G. ETTER	D - 044
083. Phillip EVANS	D - 045
084. J. Allison EYSTER	D - 046
085. Augustus FAHNESTOCK	D - 047
086. Daniel S. FAHNESTOCK	D - 048
087. Leonard FALKENSTINE	D - 049
088. Henry FELDMAN	D - 050
089. Peter FELDMAN	B - 010
090. Frederick FENNEL	D - 051
091. Henry FENNEL	D - 052
092. Ephriam FINEFROCK	D - 053
093. Henry FINEFROCK	D - 054
094. John FISHER	D - 055
095. John FISHER	A - 020
096. Emmanuel FLEAGLE	A - 021
097. Christian FLECK	D - 056
098. David FLECK	A - 022
099. George FLECK	D - 057

100. Joseph W. FLETCHER	C - 011
101. Leonard FLORIG	D - 058
102. Phillip FLORY	B - 011
103. John FORBES	D - 059
104. George FOREMAN	A - 023
105. Charles FREDERICK	D - 060
106. Nicholas FREDERICK	D - 061
107. Joseph FREY	A - 024
108. John FRISHCOMER	B - 012
109. Christian FULLER	D - 062
110. Samuel FUNK	D - 063
111. Samuel FUNK	C - 012
112. George GABLE	D - 064
113. Nicholas GARWICK	D - 065
114. Conrad GAVRICK	C - 013
115. Daniel O. GEHR	D - 066
116. Hastings GEHR	C - 014
117. John GELWICKS	A - 025
118. Mary GILLIAN	D - 067
119. Franklin GILLESPIE	D - 068
120. <i>Nancy GOWENS</i>	A - 026
121. Samuel GREENAWALT	D - 069
122. John D. GRIER	D - 070
123. John GROVE	D - 071
124. William GUTHERIE	D - 072
125. Nicholas HAAS	C - 015
126. Emmanuel HALE	D - 073
127. Esau HALL	D - 074
128. James HAMILTON	C - 016
129. Bernard G. HAMSHER	C - 017
130. Conrad HARMON	B - 013
131. George HARMONY	D - 075
132. John HART	D - 076
133. Jacob HARTMAKER	D - 077
134. Emmanuel HAWBECKER	D - 078
135. Robert P. HAZELET	A - 027
136. William HAZELET	D - 079
137. George W. HEAGY	C - 018
138. Peter HEEFNER	A - 028
139. Alfred HENDRICKS	A - 029
140. Thomas HENNEBARGER	D - 080
141. William HENNEBARGER	A - 030
142. Frederick HENNINGER	D - 081
143. Jacob HENNINGER	A - 031

144. Elizabeth HETRICK	D - 082
145. George HETTRICK	D - 083
146. George Lewis HOFFMAN	D - 084
147. H. Elias HOKE	D - 085
148. Jacob HOKE	D - 086
149. Frederick HOUSEHOLDER	D - 087
150. Henry HOUSEHOLDER	D - 088
151. David HOUSER	B - 014
152. Elizabeth HOUSER	D - 089
153. Michael HOUSER	A - 032
154. Jacob HUBER	A - 033
155. John HUFFLEMAN	D - 090
156. Uriah S. HULL	B - 015
157. Isaac IRWIN	D - 091
158. John JACOBS	B - 016
159. John JACOBY	D - 092
160. George JARRETT	B - 017
161. <i>Eli JONES</i>	C - 019
162. <i>Joseph JONES</i>	C - 020
163. <i>William JONES</i>	B - 018
164. Catharine JUMPER	A - 034
165. Franklin KEAGY	D - 093
166. John P. KEIFFER	C - 021
167. Jacob KELLER	D - 094
168. James F. KENNEDY	A - 035
169. Hiram C. KEYSER	B - 019
170. James KING	D - 095
171. John KING	D - 096
172. Emmanuel KUHN	D - 097
173. Michael KUSS	B - 020
174. Catharine KYLE	D - 098
175. <i>Jane LANE</i>	A - 036
176. D. Henry LANGHEIM	B - 021
177. Phillip John LEMASTER	D - 099
178. David LESHER	D - 100
179. Peter LIGHTNER	A - 037
180. Catharine LINDSEY	B - 022
181. John LINK	C - 022
182. George LIPPY	A - 038
183. Levi LIPPY	C - 023
184. David Eli LITTLE	A - 039
185. <i>Samuel LITTLE</i>	B - 023
186. Adam LOHMAN	C - 024
187. John LOHR	D - 101

188. Phillip LOUDENSLAGER	C - 025
189. George LUDWIG	D - 102
190. Phillip LUDWIG	C - 026
191. Ormond N. LULL	A - 040
192. George G. MASON	D - 103
193. Martha MELLINGER	C - 027
194. George W. MESSERSMITH	D - 104
195. Abraham METZ	D - 105
196. Christian MICHAELS	D - 106
197. George L. MILES	D - 107
198. Andrew J. MILLER	D - 108
199. Elizabeth MILLER	D - 109
200. Jacob B. MILLER	D - 110
201. John MILLER	D - 111
202. Lucy MINCHEL	B - 024
203. Daniel MINNICH	D - 112
204. Mary MINNICH	D - 113
205. Michael MINNICH	A - 041
206. John MONET	D - 114
207. <i>Henry MONKS</i>	D - 115
208. Samuel MOORE	A - 042
209. <i>Allen MORGAN</i>	D - 116
210. John MULL	D - 117
211. Peter MYERS	D - 118
212. Alexander McCain	A - 043
213. Isacc H. McCauley	D - 119
214. William McClellan	D - 120
215. Alexander H. McCullough	D - 121
216. John W. McDowell	D - 122
217. William H. McDowell	D - 123
218. David McFadden	A - 044
219. George McGeehan	A - 045
220. Samuel McGowan	D - 124
221. John McGowan	A - 046
222. Allen C. McGrath	C - 028
223. William McGrath	D - 125
224. Andrew McIlwain	C - 029
225. George W. McIntyre	B - 025
226. John B. McLanahan	D - 126
227. Benjamin Franklin Nead	D - 127
228. <i>Louisa NELSON</i>	A - 047
229. Samuel NELSON	A - 048
230. Peter Neugabauer	D - 128
231. A. Hamilton Newman	D - 129

232. Washington NITTERHOUSE	C - 030
233. Jacob S. C. NIXON	D - 130
234. Susan T. NIXON	D - 131
235. David OAKS	D - 132
236. Samuel OTT	D - 133
237. Jeremiah OYSTER	D - 134
238. William Lewis OYSTER	B - 026
239. William W. PAXTON	D - 135
240. Samuel M. PERRY	B - 027
241. David PIPER	D - 136
242. John PLOUGH	D - 137
243. Adaline PLOWDEN	B - 028
244. Ann PLUMMER	D - 138
245. Henry POTE	C - 031
246. George PRESLER	D - 139
247. <i>Edward</i> PROCTOR	D - 140
248. <i>James</i> PUNCH	D - 141
249. Catharine RADABAUGH	D - 142
250. John REASNER	B - 029
251. Samuel REASNER	A - 049
252. Thomas REED	B - 030
253. William G. REED	D - 143
254. Daniel REEL	D - 144
255. Wilson REILLY	B - 031
256. Augustus REINAMAN	D - 145
257. Samuel REISHER	D - 146
258. John REYER	D - 147
259. Samuel REYNOLDS	D - 148
260. George W. RICE	D - 149
261. John C. RICHARDS	D - 150
262. Frederick RICHTER	C - 032
263. Henry RICHTER	C - 033
264. Alexander RINEHART	C - 034
265. Henry RINEHART	D - 151
266. <i>John</i> ROBESON	A - 050
267. John S. RODENHAFFER	D - 152
268. Maria ROSS	D - 153
269. Benjamin Schroder SCHNECK	D - 154
270. John SCHOFIELD	D - 155
271. Anna SCOTT	A - 051
272. John SEIBERT	D - 156
273. J. Warren SEIBERT	A - 052
274. Samuel SEIBERT	D - 157
275. Henry SEIRER	B - 032

276. <i>Henry SELLERS</i>	D - 158
277. Abraham Huber SENSENY	D - 159
278. Jacob SHAFER	D - 160
279. Jacob SHAFER	D - 161
280. J. McDougel SHARPE	D - 162
281. Henry SHEPLER	D - 163
282. William SHERRIFIELD	B - 033
283. Lewis A. SHOEMAKER	B - 034
284. David SILVERS	D - 164
285. Frederick SIPLE	D - 165
286. William SKINNER	D - 166
287. Adam SMITH	C - 035
288. Allen SMITH	D - 167
289. George SMITH	A - 053
290. George K. SMITH	C - 036
291. Jacob SMITH	D - 168
292. John SMITH	D - 169
293. Rebecca SMITH	D - 170
294. Robert SMITH	A - 054
295. Jacob N. SNIDER	D - 171
296. John SNIDER	B - 035
297. Nicholas SNIDER	D - 172
298. William SOMICK	C - 037
299. Frederick SPOHR	D - 173
300. George SPOHR	C - 038
301. George John STORM	D - 174
302. Sarah STOUFFER	B - 036
303. Eliza STREALEY	D - 175
304. John STRIKE	B - 037
305. Frederick S. STUMBAUGH	C - 039
306. Jacob Lewis SUESSEROTT	D - 176
307. Andrew SUMMERS	D - 177
308. Charles H. TAYLOR	A - 055
309. John W. TAYLOR	D - 178
310. Jane THOMSON	D - 179
311. Robert TOLBERT	D - 180
312. Daniel TROSTLE	D - 181
313. John TROSTLE	D - 182
314. Joseph TROUT	B - 038
315. <i>Fannie TURPIN</i>	D - 183
316. Benjamin UGLOW	D - 184
317. Nicholas ULRICH	D - 185
318. Adam VONDERAN	D - 186
319. Conrad WAGNER	D - 187

320. William WALLACE	B - 039
321. Lewis WAMPLER	D - 188
322. James WARDEN	A - 056
323. <i>John WAYMAN</i>	D - 189
324. Matthew P. WELSH	B - 040
325. Andrew WHITE	C - 040
326. Charlotte WHITE	A - 057
327. Hiram Mish WHITE	D - 190
328. Adam WOLF(F)	D - 191
329. Bennett(Barry) WOLF(F)	D - 192
330. Henry WOLF(F)	D - 193
331. Jacob WOLF(F)	A - 058
332. Samuel WOLF(F)	D - 194
333. Theodore B. WOOD	D - 195
334. Richard WOODS	B - 041

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870**

TABLE: 2.2
MASTER LIST – ALPHABETIZED - 334 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS –
CHAMBERSBURG 1860 – 1870

ITALICS: AFRICAN - AMERICAN

#	NAME	AGE	BP	OCCUPATIONS		REAL ESTATE		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	1860	1860		1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870
001	ADAMS, James	47	PA	R.R. Engineer	R.R. Engineer	1800	6000	500	600
002	ARMSTRONG, Leander	39	PA	Mason	Stonemason	0	0	100	0
003	ARMSTRONG, Samuel	50	PA	Surveyor	Justice of the Peace	4500	6000	500	800
004	ARMSTRONG, William	61	PA	Blacksmith	Brick maker	900	1000	100	0
005	ATHERTON, Caleb	46	PA	Master mason	Brick mason	1600	3000	400	400
006	AUGINBAUGH, Edmund	44	PA	Jeweler	Jewelry Dealer	3000	12,000	5000	8000
007	BANKER, Andrew	52	PA	Cooper	Cooper	1500	0	600	0
008	BARD, Elizabeth	45	PA	No Occupation	Boarder	8000	10,000	1500	1000
009	BARNITZ, Maria	42	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	50	0
010	<i>BELL, George</i>	60	VA	Shoeblack	Shoemaker	300	350	20	0
011	BENDER, William H.	35	PA	Gentleman	Miller	1600	0	700	0
012	BENTLE, John	54	GER.	Laborer	Carpet Weaver	400	800	100	0
013	BICKLEY, Augustus	48	PA	Tax Collector	Tailor	600	1200	100	200
014	BICKLEY, Barnet	32	PA	Tailor	Tailor	2000	3000	200	400
015	BICKLEY, Jacob	30	PA	Laborer	Warehouse Hand	400	1800	200	300
016	BICKLEY, John	29	PA	Painter	Painter	500	2000	100	400
017	BISHOP, Henry	32	PA	Photographer	Photographer	0	10,000	300	1400

018	BITNER, Hannah	38	PA	Seamstress	Housekeeper	850	1200	100	250
019	BLACK, James L.	52	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	0	10,000	15,000	8000
020	BOOTH, Jane	54	MD	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	25	0
021	BOWERS, Henry	52	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	0	800	95	0
022	BOWERS, Henry	27	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	600	0	100	0
023	BOYLE, William H.	40	Ire.	Physician	Physician	2000	7000	800	1000
024	BOYD, Samuel	34	PA	Bar/Restaurant keeper	Hotelkeeper	0	0	150	3000
025	BRADY, Horace	34	PA	Iron Moulder	Iron Moulder	0	0	200	200
026	BRAND, Catharine	57	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1400	3000	200	300
027	BRINKMAN, George	28	PA	Farmer	Tanner	500	0	150	150
028	BROWN, John A.	42	GER.	Wagonmaker	Wagonmaker	1500	2000	600	400
029	BROWN, Martin	37	PA	Saloonkeeper	Restaurant keeper	1500	1000	300	0
030	BURKHART, Christian	28	GER.	Baker	Baker	0	7500	600	8000
031	BYERS, Samuel	34	PA	Laborer	Grocery Clerk	0	0	300	300
032	CARBAUGH, Nicholas	32	GER.	Laborer	Stonecutter	0	1100	20	150
033	CARL, Henry	37	GER.	Laborer	Chair Factory Hand	500	1200	25	400
034	CARLISLE, Thomas	55	PA	Edged Tool Co/Owner	Notary Public	5000	4500	5000	400
035	CAUFMAN, Alfred D.	46	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	11,000	25,000	9000	8000
036	CHAMBERLAIN, David	24	PA	Clerk	Retired Grocer	350	0	150	1200
037	CHAMBERS, Susan	49	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	2000	5000	10,000	10,000
038	CHAMBERS, William L.	37	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	25,000	76,375	15,000	51,000
039	CLARK, Lyman S.	36	MA	Lawyer	Lawyer	5000	12,000	3000	2000
040	CLARK, William	39	PA	Ropemaker	Upholsterer	950	1500	300	0
041	CLIPPERS, John	54	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1800	150	0
042	COCHRAN, Mary	41	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	800	1000	200	0
043	COLE, Martin	48	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	2000	4000	500	500
044	COOK, Richard	54	PA	Butcher	Butcher	0	0	300	300
045	COOK, Thomas	22	PA	Butcher	Butcher	1200	4000	500	2000
046	CRAMER, John	34	PA	Tailor	Merchant Tailor	0	0	150	3000
047	CRICKBAUM, Peter	43	GER.	Masterbutcher	Butcher	9000	27,000	1000	4000

048	CRIST, John	62	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	500	0	25	600
049	CRIST, John	31	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	0	40	200
050	CROFT, Charles	32	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	850	4000	1000	500
051	CROFT, David	29	PA	Blacksmith	Potter	800	0	600	0
052	CROFT, John	27	PA	Saddler	Saddle/Harnessmaker	500	1800	150	750
053	CULBERTSON, Edmund	48	PA	Commission Merchant	Gentleman	5000	15,000	10,000	50,000
054	CUNNINGHAM, Ann	49	PA	Flour Storekeeper	Housekeeper	2000	3000	300	2500
055	DANNER, Peter	30	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	1000	100	100
056	DAVIS, David	51	PA	Brickmaker	Brickmaker	0	0	60	0
057	DAVISON, Hugh B.	47	PA	Justice of the Peace	Justice of the Peace	0	0	250	450
058	DECKELMAYER, Joseph	36	GER.	Confectioner	Grocer	3600	4000	800	1200
059	DEOBLER, John	35	GER.	Oyster Seller	Coachmaker	1800	4000	500	5000
060	DESCHERT, Jacob	25	PA	Hat Merchant	Hat/Cap Merchant	0	0	700	1100
061	DETRICK, Henry	39	GER.	Laborer	Carpenter	350	1000	100	200
062	DINAH, Ann	39	IRE.	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	25	300
063	DINGLER, Frank	36	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	400	1500	100	0
064	DITMAN, George	24	PA	Grocer/Baker	Retail Grocer	0	400	1000	2000
065	DOCTOR, Lewis	47	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	950	2500	50	250
066	DOHN, George	39	GER.	Laborer	Stone Quarrier	200	800	20	0
067	DONOVAN, Jeremiah	56	IRE.	Laborer	Laborer	0	2000	150	0
068	DUFFIELD, James	55	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	600	2800	2000	2000
069	DUKE, Benjamin	25	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	0	150	900
070	DUNCAN, Calvin M.	28	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	30,000	30,000	10,000	12,000
071	DUNSBERGER, John	38	GER.	Laborer	Axe Factory Hand	800	1000	1000	3000
072	DYSON, Franklin	60	MD	Minister	Bible Society Agent	1025	3000	550	500
073	EIKER, David M.	29	PA	Cabinetmaker	Furniture Factory Hand	0	0	500	500
074	ELDER, Andrew	43	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	0	300	200
075	ELLIOTT, Franklin	33	GER.	Merchant Tailor	Clothing Dealer	2000	0	2000	3000
076	ELLIOTT, Marion	34	PA	Blacksmith	R.R. Engineer	500	800	300	100
077	ELSER, Christian	25	GER.	Butcher	Butcher	0	1200	60	500

078	ELY, John	42	PA	Butcher	Butcher	1000	0	800	150
079	EMBICK, Harriet	42	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	250	0
080	EMBICK, Henry	50	PA	Weaver	Fuller and Dyer	0	0	300	200
081	ENSMINGER, Lydia	40	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	75	5000
082	ETTER, Samuel G.	56	PA	Painter	Retired Stove Merchant	2800	8000	200	300
083	EVANS, Phillip	43	PA	Edged Tool Finisher	Tool Finisher	1000	3000	500	800
084	EYSTER, J. Allison	37	PA	Merchant	Paper Mill Owner	36,000	80,000	46,000	5000
085	FAHNESTOCK, Augustus	37	PA	Merchant Grocer	Grocer	2000	1600	1000	800
086	FAHNESTOCK, Danial S.	41	PA	Merchant Grocer	Dry Goods Clerk	3300	3300	2000	300
087	FALKENSTINE, Leonard	44	GER.	Sleigh Basket maker	Axe Factory Hand	600	500	50	150
088	FELDMAN, Henry	39	GER.	Restaurant keeper	Hotelkeeper	1600	5000	250	0
089	FELDMAN, Peter	40	GER.	Restaurant keeper	Hotelkeeper	1800	0	1000	3000
090	FENNEL, Frederick	59	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1400	1500	150	100
091	FENNEL, Henry	51	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	700	1800	200	200
092	FINEFROCK, Ephriam	36	PA	Gentleman	R.R. Conductor	1200	3000	200	300
093	FINEFROCK, Henry	50	PA	Carpenter	Stonecutter	1500	3000	300	1000
094	FISHER, John	49	GER.	Papermaker	Paper Mill Hand	600	1500	100	900
095	FISHER, John	26	GER.	Innkeeper	Hotelkeeper	0	0	1500	3000
096	FLEAGLE, Emmanuel	38	MD	Laborer	R.R. Brakeman	0	0	100	300
098	FLECK, Christian	45	MD	Farmer	Tanner	800	5000	200	1000
099	FLECK, David	40	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	0	300	500
097	FLECK, George	48	PA	Farmer	Tanner	7500	16,500	19,000	16,950
100	FLETCHER, Joseph W.	41	PA	Gentleman	Sheriff	0	7000	400	2125
101	FLORIG, Leonard	54	GER.	Laborer	Baker	600	1200	100	400
102	FLORY, Phillip	29	GER.	Laborer	Merchant	350	0	500	0
103	FORBES, John	51	PA	Master Mason	Stonemason	3000	8000	400	650
104	FOREMAN, George	40	PA	Clerk	County Commission Clerk	0	0	300	250
105	FREDERICK, Charles	50	GER.	Carpenter	House Carpenter	600	4500	200	550
106	FREDERICK, Nicholas	35	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	1400	2500	100	250
107	FREY, Joseph	49	PA	Cabinetmaker	Furniture Dealer	0	0	270	200

108	FRISHCOMER, John	31	GER.	Cooper	Cooper	600	0	250	200
109	FULLER, Christian	53	GER.	Machinist	Blacksmith	1800	3000	500	300
110	FUNK, Samuel	59	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1800	4000	300	400
111	FUNK, Samuel	20	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1000	30	0
112	GABLE, George	48	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	450	400	100	0
113	GARWICK, Nicholas	47	GER.	Candle maker	Tallow Chandler	800	2900	400	750
114	GAVRICK, Conrad	35	GER.	Laborer	Street Repairer	0	600	100	100
115	GEHR, Daniel O.	47	MD	Commission Merchant	Farmer	40,000	40,000	10,000	35,000
116	GEHR, Hastings	21	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	0	3400	500	3000
117	GELWICKS, John	30	PA	Grocer	Grocer	0	0	150	800
118	GILLIAN, Mary	45	PA	Seamstress	Milliner	1400	6000	800	1000
119	GILLESPIE, Franklin	43	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1600	8000	400	1500
120	GOWENS, Nancy	49	VA	Washerwoman	Housekeeper	0	0	25	0
121	GREENAWALT, Samuel L	32	PA	Livery keeper	Whiskey Inspector	12,000	25,000	2000	1000
122	GRIER, John D.	40	NY	Gentleman	R.R. Clerk	4000	5500	4000	1500
123	GROVE, John	63	PA	Gentleman	Insurance Agent	2000	1500	2200	350
124	GUTHRIE, William	41	PA	Farm Laborer	Lumber Dealer	1800	10,500	800	2000
125	HAAS, Nicholas	30	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	0	1200	25	800
126	HALE, Emmanuel	58	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Superintendent	2000	4000	300	0
127	HALL, Esau	55	PA	Laborer	Hostler	200	600	100	100
128	HAMILTON, James	35	PA	Physician	Tin Manufacturer	0	6000	600	5300
129	HAMSHER, Bernard G.	30	PA	Clerk of Court	Lumber Dealer	0	1100	2000	2500
130	HARMON, Conrad	41	GER.	Butcher	Butcher	2500	0	300	300
131	HARMONY, George	55	PA	Laborer	Brewery Hand	1000	1800	50	150
132	HART, John	49	PA	Cutler	Blacksmith	300	800	75	250
133	HARTMAKER, Jacob	30	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	500	1500	100	0
134	HAWBECKER, Emmanuel	36	PA	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	400	1500	150	200
135	HAZELET, Robert P.	47	PA	Printer	Printer	0	0	150	200
136	HAZELET, William	40	PA	Master Cabinetmaker	Sash/Door Factory Owner	5600	15,000	2400	6500
137	HEAGY, George W.	44	PA	Grocer	Gardener	0	2000	1000	300

138	HEEFNER, Peter	35	GER.	Laborer	Grocer	0	0	50	2000
139	HENDRICKS, Alfred	44	MD	Tailor	Tailor	0	0	400	150
140	HENNEBARGER, Thomas	34	PA	Tailor	Tailor	1000	1200	200	300
141	HENNEBARGER, William	38	MD	Cigarmaker	Cigarmaker	0	0	50	150
142	HENNINGER, Frederick	45	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1500	2000	200	3000
143	HENNINGER, Jacob	43	PA	Carpenter	R.R. Carpenter	0	0	500	1000
144	HETRICK, Elizabeth	67	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1600	2000	800	800
145	HETRICK, George	43	PA	Lime Burner	Cistern Builder	1800	1200	2000	0
146	HOFFMAN, George Lewis	37	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1500	300	200
147	HOKE, H. Elias	37	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	3000	14,000	11,000	18,000
148	HOKE, Jacob	35	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	5000	14,000	10,500	9000
149	HOUSEHOLDER, Frederick	50	FRA.	Mason	Stonemason	600	1500	100	0
150	HOUSEHOLDER, Henry	53	FRA.	Mason	Stonemason	600	1500	20	175
151	HOUSER, David	48	PA	Tailor	Stonecutter	800	0	400	0
152	HOUSER, Elizabeth	52	PA	Tailoress	Housekeeper	650	1100	50	1200
153	HOUSER, Michael	38	PA	Gentleman	Chief of Police	0	0	300	350
154	HUBER, Jacob	34	PA	Gentleman	Hotelkeeper	0	0	600	1500
155	HUFFLEMAN, John	40	PA	Printer	Printer	1000	2000	500	2500
156	HULL, Uriah S.	39	PA	Machinist	Brass Founder	1800	0	1000	250
157	IRWIN, Isaac	33	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	800	1000	300	150
158	JACOBS, John A.	55	PA	Tobacconist	Cigar Manufacturer	300	0	2000	600
159	JACOBY, John	46	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1600	50	0
160	JARRETT, George	52	PA	Coachmaker	Coachmaker	300	0	200	150
161	JONES, Eli	40	VA	Porter	Stove Store Porter	0	900	50	150
162	JONES, Joseph	35	VA	Laborer	Teamster	0	500	25	0
163	JONES, William	43	VA	Laborer	Hotelworker	119	0	25	0
164	JUMPER, Catharine	64	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	50	0
165	KEAGY, Franklin	23	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1500	4000	200	500
166	KEIFFER, John	26	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	0	5000	6000	8000
167	KELLER, Jacob	39	PA	R.R. Brakeman	R.R. Conductor	800	4200	150	200

168	KENNEDY, James P.	35	NJ	Minister	Minister	0	0	4000	6000
169	KEYSER, Hiram C.	37	PA	Prothonotary	County Recording Clerk	1600	0	1000	0
170	KING, James	48	SCOT.	Stonecutter	Marblecutter	5000	10,000	1500	3000
171	KING, John	41	PA	Tanner	Tanner	250	1000	100	500
172	KUHN, Emmanuel	56	PA	Printer	Grocer	2000	3000	5000	3000
173	KUSS, Michael	46	GER.	Watchmaker	Jeweler	3000	0	1000	300
174	KYLE, Catharine	42	MD	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1200	1500	50	200
175	LANE, Jane	40	MD	Washerwoman	Housekeeper	0	0	15	0
176	LANGHEIM, D. Henry	35	GER.	Physician	Physician	3200	0	600	800
177	LEMASTER, Phillip John	62	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	11,730	25,000	400	1800
178	LESHER, David	52	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	6000	5000	1000	1000
179	LIGHTNER, Peter	20	PA	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	0	0	200	0
180	LINDSEY, Catharine	40	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	3000	0	7000	5000
181	LINK, John	26	PA	Butcher	Butcher	0	4500	600	500
182	LIPPY, George	23	PA	Stonecutter	Stonecutter	0	0	20	0
183	LIPPY, Levi	26	PA	Painter	Painter	0	900	100	200
184	LITTLE, David Eli	30	PA	Cabinetmaker	Hotelkeeper	0	0	100	2000
185	LITTLE, Samuel	35	PA	Laborer	Brickmason	300	0	25	0
186	LOHMAN, Adam	24	GER.	Tailor	Tailor	0	1500	50	0
187	LOHR, John	30	GER.	Cooper	Laborer	400	1500	100	100
188	LOUDENSLAGER, Phillip	32	GER.	Papermaker	Notions Pedler	0	1800	0	300
189	LUDWIG, George	49	GER.	Brewer	Brewer	15,000	79,200	10,000	22,000
190	LUDWIG, Phillip	48	GER.	Laborer	Foundry Hand	0	900	100	180
191	LULL, Ormond N.	46	VT	R.R. Superintendent	R.R. Superintendent	0	0	800	4000
192	MASON, George G.	55	NH	Bank MessenGER	Bank MessenGER	1000	1600	100	250
193	MELLINGER, Martha	55	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	1000	0	0
194	MESSERSMITH, George W.	40	PA	Bank Cashier	Bank Cashier	4000	18,000	5000	5000
195	METZ, Abraham	33	PA	Plowmaker	Plowmaker	2000	6000	600	1200
196	MICHAELS, Christian	46	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1100	100	400
197	MILES, George L.	25	PA	Oyster Seller	Grocer	2000	3000	400	300

198	MILLER, Andrew J.	37	PA	Druggist	Druggist	6000	10,000	1500	4000
199	MILLER, Elizabeth	56	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1000	1200	250	300
200	MILLER, Jacob B.	40	PA	Store Merchant	House Furnishings Store	7000	15,000	6000	5250
201	MILLER, John	49	PA	Master Mason	Bricklayer	800	3200	200	400
202	MINCHEL, Lucy	66	MA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1000	0	150	0
203	MINNICH, Daniel	48	PA	Tanner	Tanner	1800	1500	500	175
204	MINNICH, Mary	30	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	900	500	100	0
205	MINNICH, Michael	25	PA	Tinner	Tinsmith	0	0	300	250
206	MONET, John	49	GER.	Laborer	Factory Hand	600	5000	50	350
207	MONKS, Henry	21	PA	Barber	Barber	800	4000	800	600
208	MOORE, Samuel	40	PA	School Teacher	School Teacher	0	0	75	200
209	MORGAN, Allen	36	VA	Laborer	Stone Quarrier	400	680	90	0
210	MULL, John	45	PA	Bank Teller	Bank Clerk	3000	3500	1000	650
211	MYERS, Peter	45	GER.	Pedler	Notions Pedler	1000	1100	80	250
212	McCAIN, Alexander	58	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	0	200	0
213	McCAULEY, Isaac H.	41	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	2700	800	5000	8000
214	McCLELLAN, William	40	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	40,000	60,000	20,000	30,000
215	McCULLOUGH, Alexan H.	44	PA	Ticket Agent	R.R. Clerk	2000	8000	500	2000
216	McDOWELL, John W.	50	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	20,000	17,100	8000	14,500
217	McDOWELL, William H.	47	PA	Gentleman	Ex-State Senator	14,000	10,000	1000	4780
218	McFADDEN, David	36	PA	School Teacher	School Teacher	0	0	100	200
219	McGEEHAN, George	39	PA	Master Mason	Brickmason	0	0	300	300
220	McGOWEN, Samuel	28	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	500	800	175	250
221	McGOWEN, John	38	PA	Laborer	Paper Mill Hand	0	0	15	300
222	McGRATH, Allen C.	28	PA	Gas Fitter	Gas Co. Suprintendent	0	4000	250	4000
223	McGRATH, William	60	PA	Sheriff	Retired Farmer	100	8000	2000	3000
224	McILWAIN, Andrew	41	PA	School Suprintendent	Justice of the Peace	0	2000	100	500
225	McINTYRE, George W.	38	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	150	0	200	0
226	McLANAHAN, John B.	63	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	20,000	40,000	10,000	25,000
227	NEAD, Benjamin Franklin	43	PA	Commission Merchant	Commission Merchant	14,000	25,000	6000	3000

228	NELSON, Louisa	40	VA	Servent	Housekeeper	0	0	10	0
229	NELSON, Samuel	41	NY	Brickmaker	Brickmaker	0	0	50	300
230	NEUGABAUER, Peter	21	GER.	Master Cooper	Cooper	400	1200	50	300
231	NEWMAN, A. Hamilton	47	PA	Coachmaker	Coachmaker	3000	10,000	3000	3000
232	NITTERHOUSE, Washington	42	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	2400	200	300
233	NIXON, Jacob S. C.	33	PA	Druggist	Druggist	5500	11,000	6000	10,000
234	NIXON, Susan T.	40	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1500	3000	150	600
235	OAKS, David S.	58	MD	Commission Merchant	Fire Insurance Agent	4000	2000	5000	350
236	OTT, Samuel	52	PA	Carpenter	Baker	4000	5000	500	800
237	OYSTER, Jeremiah	42	PA	Master Saddler	Saddler	1200	4000	500	1900
238	OYSTER, William Lewis	32	PA	Gas Fitter	Gas Fitter	1400	0	1000	200
239	PAXTON, William W.	49	PA	Hat/Cap Merchant	Hat/Cap Merchant	2000	4000	2500	2000
240	PERRY, Samuel M.	41	PA	Master Tailor	Tailor	1200	0	400	0
241	PIPER, David	52	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	5470	7000	1500	2000
242	PLOUGH, John	48	PA	Master Carpenter	Carpenter	6000	5000	200	500
243	PLOWDEN, Adeline	50	MD	Cook	Housekeeper	350	0	10	0
244	PLUMMER, Ann	50	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	600	1500	50	0
245	POTE, Henry	39	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	0	650	20	0
246	PRESLER, George	48	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	2200	10,000	300	2000
247	PROCTOR, Edward	53	MD	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	200	500	15	0
248	PUNCH, James	52	VA	Laborer	Farm Hand	400	750	30	120
249	RADABAUGH, Catharine	56	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	2500	4000	400	300
250	REASNER, John	48	PA	Brickmaker	Baker	2000	0	500	200
251	REASNER, Samuel	37	MD	Laborer	Brickmaker	0	0	300	100
252	REED, Thomas	66	MD	Laborer	Huckster	950	0	40	0
253	REED, William G.	39	PA	Bank Cashier	Life Insurance Agent	16,000	10,000	4000	2500
254	REEL, Daniel	56	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	500	1100	50	200
255	REILLY, Wilson	48	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	5000	0	1000	150
256	REINEMAN, Augustus	49	GER.	Watchmaker	Jewelry Dealer	12,000	22,000	300	2445
257	REISHER, Samuel	58	PA	Gentleman	Retired Horse Dealer	8000	13,000	400	300

258	REYER, John	64	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	300	450	20	0
259	REYNOLDS, Samuel	58	VA	Physician	Physician	1000	3500	300	600
260	RICE, George W.	43	PA	R.R. Conductor	Restaurantkeeper	1500	3000	500	400
261	RICHARDS, John C.	48	MD	Physician	Physician	5700	11,000	1000	1500
262	RICHTER, Frederick	36	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1100	25	200
263	RICHTER, Henry	30	GER.	No Occupation	Brewer	0	2400	100	300
264	RINEHART, Alexander	40	PA	Tailor	Tailor	0	1800	200	250
265	RINEHART, Henry	54	GER.	Wagonmaker	Silversmith	900	1500	200	300
266	ROBESON, John	51	VA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	0	50	0
267	RODENHAFFER, John S.	60	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	1000	1200	50	600
268	ROSS, Maria	71	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	500	1400	550	1350
269	SCHNECK, Benjamin Schroder	54	PA	Minister/Editor	Minister/Editor	4000	10,000	650	6000
270	SCHOFIELD, John	58	ENG.	Confectioner	Grocer	1200	4000	1000	1000
271	SCOTT, Anna	24	PA	Servent	Housekeeper	0	0	25	0
272	SEIBERT, John	48	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Stationary Eng.	500	2000	200	0
273	SEIBERT, J. Warren	26	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	0	200	200
274	SEIBERT, Samuel	59	MD	Carpenter	Carpenter	8000	11,000	1000	5500
275	SEIRER, Henry	28	PA	Chair Factory Owner	Chair Factory Owner	2300	0	4000	0
276	SELLERS, Henry	65	VA	Laborer	Carpenter	200	1100	80	200
277	SENSENY, Abraham Huber	48	PA	Physician	Physician	10,000	18,000	2000	3500
278	SHAFFER, Jacob	41	GER.	Carpenter	R.R. Carpenter	4000	5000	500	300
279	SHAFFER, Jacob	35	PA	Merchant	Merchant Grocer	3000	10,000	800	14,000
280	SHARPE, J. McDougal	29	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	15,000	50,000	7000	7500
281	SHEPLER, Henry	40	PA	Millwright	Sash/Door Co. Owner	10,000	2000	2500	14,000
282	SHERRIFIELD, William	54	PA	Gentleman	County Commissioner	1000	0	300	300
283	SHOEMAKER, Lewis A.	34	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	5000	0	4000	0
284	SILVERS, David	58	PA	Cutler	Blacksmith	300	350	100	0
285	SIPLE, Frederick	38	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	800	3500	200	500
286	SKINNER, William	45	PA	Drover	Dry Goods Merchant	4500	13,000	10,000	3000

287	SMITH, Adam	27	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	1100	25	350
288	SMITH, Allen	59	PA	Confectioner	Carpenter	1500	2000	800	200
289	SMITH, George	27	PA	Shoemaker	Shoe Merchant	0	0	150	2400
290	SMITH, George K.	24	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	800	40	175
291	SMITH, Jacob	53	GER.	Laborer	Ice Dealer	1300	2500	150	700
292	SMITH, John	63	GER.	Laborer	Tailor	1200	1600	100	350
293	SMITH, Rebecca	55	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1700	2500	150	250
294	SMITH, Robert	28	ENG.	Laborer	Brickmaker	0	0	30	0
295	SNIDER, Jacob N.	38	PA	Bookbinder	Book Store Owner	2000	9000	400	10,600
296	SNIDER, John	31	PA	Tanner	Tanner	1500	0	0	0
297	SNIDER, Nicholas	58	PA	Laborer	Ward Inspector	3500	5000	400	800
298	SOMICK, William	40	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	900	100	200
299	SPOHR, Frederick	67	PA	Gentleman	Retired Butcher	3500	3000	150	300
300	SPOHR, George	33	PA	Laborer	Butcher	0	2000	200	300
301	STORM, George John	54	GER.	Pumpmaker	Pumpmaker	1200	2100	300	400
302	STOUFFER, Sarah	60	MD	Seamstress	Housekeeper	600	0	200	250
303	STREALEY, Eliza	60	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	800	1500	100	0
304	STRIKE, John	29	PA	Millwright	Millwright	1500	0	500	300
305	STUMBAUGH, Frederick S	43	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	0	13,000	500	8000
306	SUESSEROTT, Jacob Lewis	31	PA	Physician	Physician	5000	24,000	800	1500
307	SUMMERS, Andrew	52	MD	Carpenter	Fencemaker	600	1200	100	150
308	TAYLOR, Charles H.	25	NY	Clerk	Banker	0	0	1000	12,000
309	TAYLOR, John W.	55	PA	Hotelkeeper	Retired Hotelkeeper	6600	1500	1000	200
310	THOMSON, Jane	67	IRE.	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1500	3000	60	200
311	TOLBERT, Robert	48	PA	Hardware Merchant	Retail Hardware Merchant	1800	3800	14,000	9000
312	TROSTLE, Daniel	44	PA	Drover	Hotelkeeper	13,500	42,000	6500	4000
313	TROSTLE, John	55	PA	Gentleman	Blacksmith	1800	2000	300	1000
314	TROUT, Joseph	60	PA	Pedler	Confectioner	1000	0	150	450
315	TURPIN, Fannie	65	VA	Laborer	Housekeeper	250	350	40	0

316	UGLOW, Benjamin	46	ENG.	Farmer	Farmer	700	20,000	200	900
317	ULRICH, Nicholas	50	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1100	1800	250	350
318	VONDERAN, Adam	72	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	17,675	3500	2000	2000
319	WAGNER, Conrad	47	GER.	Laborer	Farmer	600	9000	50	3000
320	WALLACE, William	53	PA	Merchant/Hotel Owner	Retired Merchant	17,500	0	20,000	0
321	WAMPLER, Lewis	46	PA	Silverplater	Coach/Saddlery Merchant	1000	3750	900	2700
322	WARDEN, James	44	PA	Laborer	Retired Huckster	0	0	50	0
323	WAYMAN, John	38	MD	Fencemaker	Fencemaker	700	700	30	200
324	WELSH, Matthew P.	46	NJ	Coachmaker	Blacksmith	2000	0	4000	1800
325	WHITE, Andrew	32	PA	Clothing Merchant	Merchant Tailor	0	12,000	3500	15,000
326	WHITE, Charlotte	30	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	0	6000	0
327	WHITE, Hiram Mish	30	PA	Gentleman	Retired Merchant Tailor	8000	21,000	3500	15,000
328	WOLF(F), Adam	37	PA	Restaurantkeeper	Restaurantkeeper	1000	2500	250	500
329	WOLF(F), Bennett	39	PA	Laborer	Brick Moulder	600	2500	300	1000
330	WOLF(F), Henry	44	PA	Dry Goods Store Clerk	Dry Goods Store Clerk	3000	2000	275	600
331	WOLF(F), Jacob	32	PA	Coachmaker	Enginebuilder	0	0	100	0
332	WOLF(F), Samuel	32	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	700	1000	100	200
333	WOOD, Theodore B.	40	PA	Machine Foundry Owner	Machine/Iron Foundry Owner	6000	12,000	3000	28,000
334	WOODS, Richard	62	VA	Carpenter	Carpenter	800	0	200	200

I. AVERAGE 1860 AGE OF 334 MASTER GROUP: 42.7

II. BIRTHPLACE:

<u>UNITED STATES</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 251</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>	<u>FOREIGN BORN</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 83</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
MARYLAND	19	7.6	5.7	ENGLAND	3	3.6	0.9
MASSACHUSETTS	2	0.8	0.6	FRANCE	2	2.4	0.6
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1	0.4	0.3	GERMANY	73	88.0	22.0
NEW JERSEY	2	0.8	0.6	IRELAND	4	4.8	1.2
NEW YORK	3	1.2	0.9	SCOTLAND	<u>1</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>0.3</u>
PENNSYLVANIA	212	84.5	63.5				
VERMONT	1	0.4	0.3				
VIRGINIA	<u>11</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>3.3</u>				
TOTAL U.S.	251	100.0	75.2	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN: 83		100.0	24.9

III. ANALYSIS OF 334 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS:

A: RACIAL AND GENDER STATISTICS OF 1860/1870 HEADS:

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
WHITE MALE Household Heads	285	85.3
WHITE FEMALE Household Heads	30	9.0
BLACK or MULATTO MALE Household Heads	13	3.9
BLACK or MULATTO FEMALE Household Heads	<u>6</u>	<u>1.8</u>
TOTAL ALL	334	100.0

B: OTHER STATISTICS:

HIGHEST 1860 REAL ESTATE PROPERTY AMOUNT = \$ 40,000; (2); DANIEL O. GEHR and WILLIAM McCLELLAN.
HIGHEST 1870 REAL ESTATE PROPERTY AMOUNT = \$ 80,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER.
HIGHEST 1860 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT = \$ 46,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER.
HIGHEST 1870 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT = \$ 51,000; WILLIAM L. CHAMBERS.
GREATEST REAL ESTATE GAIN 1860/1870 = \$ 64,200; GEORGE LUDWIG - \$ 15,000 TO 79,200.
GREATEST REAL ESTATE LOSS 1860/1870 = \$ 17,500; WILLIAM WALLACE - \$ 17,500 TO 0.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY GAIN 1860/1870 = \$ 40,000; EDMUND CULBERTSON - \$ 10,000 TO \$ 50,000.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS 1860/1870 = \$ 41,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER - \$ 46,000 TO \$ 5,000.

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE: 2.3

334 PERSON STUDY GROUP – CHAMBERSBURG 1860 –1870 – SUBGROUP A – 58 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT REAL ESTATE IN BOTH 1860 AND 1870; WITH OR WITHOUT PERSONAL PROPERTY

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN

#	NAME 1860	AGE		BP	OCCUPATION		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
		1860	1870		1860	1870	1860	1870
1	ARMSTRONG, Leander	39	49	PA	Mason	Stonemason	100	0
2	BARNITZ, Maria	42	52	PA	Seamstress	Housekeeper	50	0
3	BOOTH, Jane	54	65	MD	No Occupation	Housekeeper	25	0
4	BOYD, Samuel	34	43	PA	Bar/Restaurant Owner	Hotelkeeper	150	3000
5	BRADY, Horace	34	44	PA	Iron Moulder	Iron Moulder	200	200
6	BYERS, Samuel	34	45	PA	Laborer	Grocery Clerk	300	300
7	COOK, Richard	54	64	PA	Butcher	Butcher	300	300
8	CRAMER, John	34	44	PA	Tailor	Merchant Tailor	150	3000
9	CRIST, John	31	37	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	40	200
10	DAVIS, David	51	60	PA	Brickmaker	Brickmaker	60	0
11	DAVISON, Hugh B.	47	54	PA	Justice of the Peace	Justice of the Peace	250	450
12	DESCHERT, Jacob	25	35	PA	Hat/Cap Merchant	Hat/Cap Merchant	700	1100
13	DINAH, Ann	39	49	IRE.	No Occupation	Housekeeper	25	300
14	DUKE, Benjamin	25	34	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	150	900
15	EIKER, David M.	29	38	PA	Cabinetmaker	Furniture Factory Hand	500	500
16	ELDER, Andrew	43	53	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	300	200

17	EMBICK, Harriet	42	50	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	250	0
18	EMBICK, Henry	50	62	PA	Carpet Weaver	Fuller and Dyer	300	200
19	ENSMINGER, Lydia	40	45	PA	No occupation	Housekeeper	75	5000
20	FISHER, John	26	37	GER.	Innkeeper	Hotelkeeper	1500	3000
21	FLEAGLE, Emmanuel	38	48	MD	Laborer	R.R. Brakeman	100	300
22	FLECK, David	40	45	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	300	500
23	FOREMAN, George	40	51	PA	County Clerk	Cnty Commissioner Clk	300	250
24	FREY, Joseph	49	59	PA	Cabinetmaker	Furniture Dealer	270	1200
25	GELWICKS, John	30	40	PA	Grocer	Grocer	150	800
26	GOWENS, Nancy	49	64	VA	Washerwoman	Housekeeper	25	0
27	HAZELET, Robert P.	47	58	PA	Printer	Printer	150	200
28	HEEFNER, Peter	35	46	PA	Laborer	Grocer	50	2000
29	HENDRICKS, Alfred	44	53	PA	Tailor	Tailor	400	150
30	HENNEBARGER, William	38	52	MD	Cigarmaker	Cigarmaker	50	150
31	HENNINGER, Jacob	43	53	PA	Carpenter	R.R. Carpenter	500	1000
32	HOUSER, Michael	38	52	PA	Gentleman	Chief of Police	300	350
33	HUBER, Jacob	34	46	PA	Gentleman	Hotelkeeper	600	1500
34	JUMPER, Catharine	64	78	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	50	0
35	KENNEDY, James F.	35	45	NJ	Minister	Minister	4000	6000
36	LANE, Jane	40	48	MD	Washerwoman	Housekeeper	15	0
37	LIGHTNER, Peter	20	29	PA	Laborer	R.R. Conductor	100	0
38	LIPPY, George	23	33	PA	Stonecutter	Stonecutter	20	0
39	LITTLE, David Eli	30	40	PA	Cabinetmaker	Hotelkeeper	100	2000
40	LULL, Ormond N.	46	54	VT	R.R. Superintendent	R.R. Superintendent	800	4000
41	MINNICH, Michael	25	37	PA	Tinner	Tinsmith	300	250
42	MOORE, Samuel	40	54	PA	Schoolteacher	Schoolteacher	75	200
43	McCAIN, Alexander	58	70	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	200	0
44	McFADDEN, David	36	47	PA	Schoolteacher	Schoolteacher	100	200
45	McGEEHAN, George	39	49	PA	Master Mason	Brickmason	300	300
46	McGOWEN, John	38	50	PA	Laborer	Papermill Hand	15	300

47	NELSON, Louisa	40	49	VA	Servant	Housekeeper	10	0
48	NELSON, Samuel	41	51	NY	Brickmaker	Brickmaker	50	300
49	REASNER, Samuel	47	58	MD	Laborer	Brickmaker	300	100
50	ROBESON, John	51	61	VA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	50	0
51	SCOTT, Anna	24	35	PA	Servant	Housekeeper	25	0
52	SEIBERT, J. Warren	26	37	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	200	200
53	SMITH, George	27	36	PA	Shoemaker	Shoe Merchant	150	4000
54	SMITH, Robert	28	39	ENG.	Laborer	Brickmaker	30	0
55	TAYLOR, Charles H.	25	38	NY	Clerk	Banker	1000	12000
56	WARDEN, James	44	58	PA	Laborer	Retired Huckster	50	0
57	WHITE, Charlotte	30	43	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	6000	0
58	WOLFF, Jacob	32	44	PA	Coachmaker	Enginebuilder	100	0

I. AVERAGE 1860 AGE OF SUBGROUP A : 38.1

AVERAGE 1860 AGE TOTAL 334 STUDY GROUP = 42.7

VARIANCE SUBGROUP A = 4.6 YEARS YOUNGER

II. BIRTHPLACE:

UNITED STATES	#	% OF 58	% OF 334
PENNSYLVANIA	42	72.4	12.6
MARYLAND	5	8.6	1.5
VIRGINIA	3	5.2	0.9
NEW YORK	2	3.5	0.6
NEW JERSEY	1	1.7	0.3
VERMONT	<u>1</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL U.S.	54	93.1	15.8

FOREIGN BORN	#	% OF 58	% OF 334
GERMANY	2	3.5	0.6
ENGLAND	1	1.7	0.3
IRELAND	<u>1</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>0.3</u>

TOTAL FOREIGN BORN 4 6.9 1.2

III. ANALYSIS OF 58 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (SUBGROUP A):

A. RACIAL AND GENDER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP A:

	NUMBER	% OF 58	% Of 334
WHITE MALE Heads of Households	46	79.3	14.4
WHITE FEMALE Heads of Households	8	13.8	2.4
BLACK OR MULATTO MALE Heads of Households	1	1.7	0.3
BLACK OR MULATTO FEMALE Heads of Households	<u>3</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>0.9</u>
TOTAL ALL SUBGROUP A:	6	100.0	18.0

B. OTHER STATISTICS SUBGROUP A:

HIGHEST 1860 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	=	NONE
HIGHEST 1870 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	=	NONE
HIGHEST 1860 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	=	\$ 6,000
HIGHEST 1870 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	=	\$12,000
GREATEST REAL ESTATE GSIN 1860/1870	=	NONE
GREATEST REAL ESTATE LOSS 1860/1870	=	NONE
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY GAIN 1860/1870	=	\$11,000; CHARLES H. TAYLOR: \$ 1,000 TO \$ 12,000
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS 1860/1870	=	\$ 6,000; CHARLOTTE WHITE. \$ 6,000 TO 0

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE: 2.4

334 PERSON STUDY GROUP – CHAMBERSBURG 1860 – 1870 – SUBGROUP B – 41 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH REAL ESTATE IN 1860 AND NO REAL ESTATE IN 1870; WITH OR WITHOUT PERSONAL PROPERTY

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN

#	NAME	AGE 1860	BP	OCCUPATION		REAL ESTATE		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	1860			1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870
01	BANKER, Andrew	52	PA	Cooper	Cooper	1500	0	600	0
02	BENDER, William H.	35	PA	Gentleman	Miller	1600	0	700	0
03	BOWERS, Henry	27	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	600	0	100	0
04	BRINKMAN, George	28	PA	Farmer	Tanner	500	0	150	150
05	CHAMBERLAIN, David	24	PA	Clerk	Retired Grocer	350	0	150	1200
06	CRIST, John	62	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	500	0	25	600
07	CROFT, David	29	PA	Blacksmith	Potter	800	0	600	0
08	ELLIOTT, Frank	33	GER.	Merchant Tailor	Clothing Dealer	2000	0	2000	3000
09	ELY, John	42	PA	Butcher	Butcher	1000	0	800	150
10	FELDMAN, Peter	40	GER.	Restaurantkeeper	Hotelkeeper	1800	0	1000	3000
11	FLORY, Phillip	29	GER.	Laborer	Merchant	350	0	500	0
12	FRISHCOMER, John	31	GER.	Cooper	Cooper	600	0	250	200
13	HARMON, Conrad	41	GER.	Butcher	Butcher	2500	0	300	300
14	HOUSER, David	48	PA	Tailor	Stone Cutter	800	0	400	0
15	HULL, Uriah S.	39	PA	Machinist	Brass Founder	1800	0	1000	250

16	JACOBS, John A.	55	PA	Tobacconist	Cigar Manufacturer	300	0	2000	600
17	JARRETT, George	52	PA	Coachmaker	Coachmaker	300	0	200	150
18	JONES, William	43	VA	Laborer	Hotel Worker	119	0	25	0
19	KEYSER, Hiram C.	37	PA	Prothonotary	Recording Office Clerk	1600	0	1000	0
20	KUSS, Michael	46	GER.	Watchmaker	Jeweler	3000	0	1000	300
21	LANGHEIM, D. Henry	35	GER.	Physician	Physician	3200	0	600	800
22	LINDSEY, Catharine	40	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	3000	0	7000	5000
23	LITTLE, Samuel	35	PA	Laborer	Brickmason	300	0	25	0
24	MINCHEL, Lucy	66	MA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1000	0	150	0
25	McINTYRE, George W.	38	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	150	0	200	0
26	OYSTER, William Lewis	32	PA	Gas Fitter	Gas Fitter	1400	0	1000	200
27	PERRY, Samuel M.	41	PA	Master Tailor	Tailor	1200	0	400	0
28	PLOWDEN, Adaline	50	MD	Cook	Housekeeper	350	0	10	0
29	REASHER, John	48	PA	Brickmaker	Baker	2000	0	500	200
30	REED, Thomas	66	MD	Laborer	Huckster	950	0	40	0
31	REILLY, Wilson	48	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	5000	0	1000	150
32	SEIRER, Henry	28	PA	Chair Factory/Owner	Chair Factory/Owner	2300	0	4000	0
33	SHERRIFIELD, William	54	PA	Gentleman	County Commission	1000	0	300	300
34	SHOEMAKER, Lewis A.	34	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	5000	0	4000	0
35	SNIDER, John	31	PA	Tanner	Tanner	1500	0	0	0
36	STOUFFER, Sarah	60	MD	Seamstress	Housekeeper	600	0	200	250
37	STRIKE, John	29	PA	Millwright	Millwright	1500	0	500	300
38	TROUT, Joseph	60	PA	Pedler	Confectioner	1000	0	150	450
39	WALLACE, William	53	PA	Merchant/Hotel owner	Retired Merchant	17,500	0	20,000	0
40	WELSH, Matthew P.	46	NJ	Coachmaker	Blacksmith	2000	0	4000	1800
41	WOODS, Richard	62	VA	Carpenter	Carpenter	800	0	200	200

I. AVERAGE 1860 AGE OF SUBGROUP B: 42.7
 AVERAGE 1860 AGE TOTAL 334 STUDY GROUP : 42.7

VARIANCE SUBGROUP B = 0.0 – NONE

II. BIRTHPLACE:

<u>UNITED STATES</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 41</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
MARYLAND	3	7.3	0.9
MASSACHUSETTS	1	2.4	0.3
NEW JERSEY	1	2.4	0.3
PENNSYLVANIA	25	61.0	7.5
VIRGINIA	<u>2</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>0.6</u>
TOTAL U.S.	32	78.1	9.6

<u>FOREIGN BORN</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 41</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
GERMANY	2	<u>21.9</u>	<u>2.7</u>
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	9	21.9	2.7

III. ANALYSIS OF 41 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (SUBGROUP B):

A. RACIAL AND GENDER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP B:

	NUMBER	% OF 41	% OF 334
WHITE MALE Heads of Households	36	87.8	10.8
WHITE FEMALE Heads of Households	3	7.3	0.9
BLACK OR MULATTO MALE Heads of Households	1	2.4	0.3
BLACK OR MULATTO FEMALE Heads of Households	<u>1</u>	<u>2.4</u>	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL ALL SUBGROUP B:	41	100.0	12.3

B. OTHER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP B:

HIGHEST 1860 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	=	\$ 17,500; WILLIAM WALLACE.
HIGHEST 1870 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	=	\$ 0; ALL PERSONS IN SUBGROUP B.
HIGHEST 1860 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	=	\$ 20,000; WILLIAM WALLACE.
HIGHEST 1870 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	=	\$ 5,000; CATHARINE LINDSEY.
GREATEST REAL ESTATE GAIN 1860/1870	=	NONE; ALL MEMBERS OF SUBGROUP B LOST REAL ESTATE.
GREATEST REAL ESTATE LOSS 1860/1870	=	\$ 17,500; WILLIAM WALLACE. \$ 17,500 TO 0.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY GAIN 1860/1870	=	\$ 2,000; PETER FELDMAN. \$ 1,000 TO \$ 3,000.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS 1860/1870	=	\$ 20,000; WILLIAM WALLACE. \$ 20,000 TO 0.

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE: 2.5
334 PERSON STUDY GROUP – CHAMBERSBURG 1860 – 1870 – SUBGROUP C – 40 PERSISTENT HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT REAL ESTATE IN 1860 WHO ACQUIRE REAL ESTATE BY 1870; WITH OR WITHOUT
PERSONAL PROPERTY

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN

#	NAME	AGE	BP	OCCUPATION		REAL ESTATE		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	1860	1860		1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870
01	BISHOP, Henry	32	PA	Darreogean	Photographer	0	10,000	300	1400
02	BLACK, James L.	52	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	0	10,000	15,000	8000
03	BOWERS, Henry	52	GER	Laborer	Laborer	0	800	95	0
04	BURKHART, Christian	28	GER	Baker	Baker	0	7500	600	8000
05	CARBAUGH, Nicholas	32	GER	Laborer	Stonecutter	0	1100	20	150
06	CLIPPERS, John	54	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1800	150	0
07	DANNER, Peter	30	GER	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	1000	100	100
08	DITMAN, George	24	PA	Grocer/Baker	Retail Grocer	0	4000	1000	2000
09	DONOVAN, Jeremiah	56	IRE.	Laborer	Laborer	0	2000	150	0
10	ELSER, Christian	25	GER	Butcher	Butcher	0	1200	60	500

11	FLETCHER, Joseph W.	41	PA	Gentleman	Sheriff	0	7000	400	2125
12	FUNK, Samuel	20	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1000	30	0
13	GAVRICK, Conrad	35	GER	Laborer	Street Repairer	0	600	100	100
14	GEHR, Hastings	21	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	0	3400	500	3000
15	HAAS, Nicholas	30	GER	Laborer	Gardener	0	1200	25	800
16	HAMILTON, James	35	PA	Physician	Stove Manufacturer	0	6000	600	5300
17	HAMSHER, Bernard G.	30	PA	Clerk of the Courts	Lumber Dealer	0	1100	2000	2500
18	HEAGY, George W.	44	PA	Grocer	Gardener	0	2000	1000	300
19	JONES, Eli	40	VA	Porter	Stovestore Porter	0	900	50	150
20	JONES, Joseph	35	PA	Laborer	Teamster	0	500	25	0
21	KEIFFER, John P.	26	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	0	5000	6000	8000
22	LINK, John	26	PA	Butcher	Butcher	0	4500	600	500
23	LIPPY, Levi	26	PA	Painter	Painter	0	900	100	200
24	LOHMAN, Adam	24	GER	Tailor	Tailor	0	1500	50	0
25	LOUDENSLAGER, Phillip	32	GER	Papermaker	Notions Peddler	0	1800	0	300
26	LUDWIG, Phillip	48	GER	Laborer	Foundry Hand	0	900	100	180
27	MELLINGER, Martha	55	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	0	1000	0	0
28	McGRATH, Allen C.	28	PA	Gas Fitter	Gas Co. Superintendent	0	4000	250	4000
29	McILWAIN, Andrew	41	PA	School Superintendent	Justice of the Peace	0	2000	100	500
30	NITTERHOUSE, Washington	42	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	2400	200	300
31	POTE, Henry	39	GER	Laborer	Laborer	0	850	20	0
32	RICHTER, Frederick	36	GER	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	0	1100	25	200
33	RICHTER, Henry	30	GER	No Occupation	Brewer	0	2400	100	300

34	RINEHART, Alexander	40	PA	Tailor	Tailor	0	1800	200	250
35	SMITH, Adam	27	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	0	1100	25	350
36	SMITH, George K.	24	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	800	40	175
37	SOMICK, William	40	GER	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	0	900	100	200
38	SPOHR(SPAHR), George	33	PA	Laborer	Butcher	0	2000	200	300
39	STUMBAUGH, Frederick S.	43	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	0	13,000	500	8000
40	WHITE, Andrew	32	PA	Clothing Merchant	Merchant Tailor	0	12,000	3500	15,000

I. AVERAGE 1860 AGE OF SUBGROUP C = 35.2

AVERAGE 1860 AGE - TOTAL 334 STUDY GROUP = 42.7

VARIANCE = 7.5 years younger

II. BIRTHPLACE:

UNITED STATES	#	% OF 40	% OF 344
PENNSYLVANIA	24	60.0	7.9
VIRGINIA	1	<u>2.5</u>	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL U.S.	25	62.5	7.5

FOREIGN BORN	#	% OF 40	% OF 344
GERMANY	14	35.0	4.2
IRELAND	1	<u>2.5</u>	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	15	37.5	4.5

III. ANALYSIS OF 40 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (SUBGROUP C):

A. RACIAL AND GENDER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP C:

	NUMBER	% OF 40	% OF 334
WHITE MALE Heads of Households	37	92.5	11.1
WHITE FEMALE Heads of Households	1	2.5	0.3
BLACK OR MULATTO MALE Heads of Households	2	5.0	0.6
BLACK OR MULATTO FEMALE Heads of Households	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
TOTAL ALL OF SUBGROUP C:	040	100.0	12.0

B. OTHER STATISTICS SUBGROUP C:

HIGHEST 1860 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	NONE
HIGHEST 1870 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	\$ 13,000; FREDERICK S. STUMBAUGH
HIGHEST 1860 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	\$ 15,000; JAMES L. BLACK
HIGHEST 1870 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	\$ 15,000; ANDREW WHITE
GREATEST REAL ESTATE GAIN 1860/1870	\$ 13,000; FREDERICK S. STUMBAUGH. 0 TO \$ 13,000
GREATEST REAL ESTATE LOSS 1860/1870	NONE
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY GAIN 1860/1870	\$ 11,500; ANDREW WHITE. \$3,500 TO \$ 15,000.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS 1860/1870	\$ 7,000; JAMES L. BLACK. \$ 15,000 TO \$ 8,000.

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE: 2.6
334 PERSON STUDY GROUP – CHAMBERSBURG 1860 – 1870

**SUBGROUP D – 195 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH REAL ESTATE IN BOTH 1860 AND 1870: WITH
OR WITHOUT PERSONAL PROPERTY**

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN

#	NAME	AGE	BP	OCCUPATIONS		REAL ESTATE		PERSONAL PROPERTY	
	1860	1860		1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870
001	ADAMS, James	47	PA	R.R. Engineer	R.R. Engineer	1800	6000	500	600
002	ARMSTRONG, Samuel	50	PA	Surveyor	Justice of the Peace	4500	6000	500	800
003	ARMSTRONG, William	61	PA	Blacksmith	Brick maker	900	1000	100	0
004	ATHERTON, Caleb	46	PA	Master Mason	Brick mason	1600	3000	400	400
005	AUGINBAUGH, Edward	44	PA	Jeweler	Jewelry Dealer	3000	12,000	5000	8000
006	BARD, Elizabeth	45	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	8000	10,000	1500	1000
007	<i>BELL, George</i>	60	VA	Shoebblack	Shoemaker	300	350	20	0
008	BENTLE, John	54	GER.	Laborer	Carpet Weaver	400	800	100	0
009	BICKLEY, Augustus	48	PA	Tax Collector	Tailor	600	1200	100	200
010	BICKLEY, Barnet	32	PA	Tailor	Tailor	2000	3000	200	400
011	BICKLEY, Jacob	30	PA	Laborer	Warehouse Laborer	400	1800	200	300
012	BIGLEY, John	29	PA	Painter	Painter	500	2000	100	400
013	BITNER, Hannah	38	PA	Seamstress	Housekeeper	850	1200	100	250
014	BOYLE, William H.	40	IRE.	Physician	Physician	2000	7000	800	1000

015	BRAND, Catharine	57	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1400	3000	200	300
016	BROWN, John A.	42	GER.	Wagon maker	Wagon maker	1500	2000	600	400
017	BROWN, Martin	37	PA	Saloonkeeper	Restaurant keeper	1500	1000	300	0
018	CARL, Henry	37	GER.	Laborer	Chair Factory Hand	500	1200	25	400
019	CARLISLE, Thomas	55	PA	Edged Tool Co./Owner	Notary Public	5000	4500	5000	400
020	CAUFMAN, Alfred D.	46	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	11,000	25,000	9000	8000
021	CHAMBERS, Susan	49	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	2000	5000	10,000	10,000
022	CHAMBERS, William L.	37	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	25,000	76,375	15,000	51,000
023	CLARK, Lyman S.	36	MA	Lawyer	Lawyer	5000	12,000	3000	2000
024	CLARK, William	39	PA	Rope maker	Upholsterer	950	1500	300	0
025	COCHRAN, Mary	41	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	800	1000	200	0
026	COLE, Martin	48	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	2000	4000	500	500
027	COOK, Thomas	22	PA	Butcher	Butcher	1200	4000	500	2000
028	CRICKBAUM, Peter	43	GER.	Master Butcher	Butcher	900	27,000	1000	4000
029	CROFT, Charles	32	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	850	4000	1000	500
030	CROFT, John H.	27	PA	Saddler	Saddle/Harness Dealer	500	1800	150	750
031	CULBERTSON, Edward	48	PA	Commission Merchant	Gentleman	5000	15,000	10,000	50,000
032	CUNNINGHAM, Ann	49	PA	Flour Storekeeper	Housekeeper	2000	3000	3000	2500
033	DECKELMAYER, Joseph	36	GER.	Confectioner	Grocer	3600	4000	800	1200
034	DOEBLER, John	35	GER.	Oyster Seller	Coach maker	1800	4000	500	5000
035	DETRICK, Henry	39	GER.	Laborer	Carpenter	350	1000	100	200
036	DINGLER, Frank	36	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	400	1500	100	0
037	DOCTOR, Lewis	47	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	950	2500	50	250
038	DOHN, George	39	GER.	Laborer	Stone Quarrier	200	800	20	0
039	DUFFIELD, James	55	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	600	2800	2000	2000
040	DUNCAN, Calvin M.	28	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	30,000	30,000	10,000	12,000
041	DUNSBERGER, John	38	GER.	Laborer	Axe Factory Hand	800	1000	1000	3000
042	DYSON, Franklin	60	MD	Minister	Bible Society Agent	1025	3000	550	500

043	ELLIOTT, Marion	34	PA	Blacksmith	R.R. Engineer	500	800	300	100
044	ETTER, Samuel G.	56	PA	Painter	Retrd Stove Merchant	2800	8000	200	300
045	EVANS, Phillip	43	PA	Edged Tool Finisher	Edged Tool Finisher	1000	3000	500	800
046	EYSTER, J. Allison	37	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Paper Mill/Owner	36,000	80,000	46,000	5000
047	FAHNESTOCK, Augustus	37	PA	Merchant Grocer	Merchant Grocer	2000	1600	1000	800
048	FAHNESTOCK, Daniel S.	41	PA	Merchant Grocer	Dry Goods Clerk	3300	3300	2000	300
049	FALKENSTINE, Leonard	44	GER.	Sleigh Basket maker	Axe Factory Hand	600	500	50	150
050	FELDMAN, Henry	39	GER.	Restaurant keeper	Hotelkeeper	1600	5000	250	0
051	FENNEL, Frederick	59	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1400	1500	150	100
052	FENNEL, Henry	51	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	700	1800	200	200
053	FINEFROCK, Ephriam	36	PA	Gentleman	R.R. Conductor	1200	1500	200	300
054	FINEFROCK, Henry	50	PA	Carpenter	Stone Cutter	1500	3000	300	1000
055	FISHER, John	49	GER.	Papermaker	Paper Mill Hand	600	1500	100	900
056	FLECK, Christian	45	MD	Farmer	Tanner	800	500	200	1000
057	FLECK, George	48	PA	Farmer	Tanner	7500	16,500	19,000	16,950
058	FLORIG, Leonard	54	GER.	Laborer	Baker	600	1200	100	400
059	FORBES, John	51	PA	Master Mason	Stonemason	3000	8000	400	650
060	FREDERICK, Charles	50	GER.	Carpenter	House Carpenter	600	4500	200	550
061	FREDERICK, Nicholas	35	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	400	2500	100	250
062	FULLER, Christian	53	GER.	Machinist	Blacksmith	1800	3000	800	300
063	FUNK, Samuel	59	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1800	4000	300	400
064	GABLE, George	48	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	450	400	100	0
065	GARWICK, Nicholas	47	GER.	Candle maker	Tallow Chandler	800	2900	400	750
066	GEHR, Daniel O.	47	MD	Commission Merchant	Gentleman	40,000	40,000	10,000	35,000
067	GILLAN, Mary	45	PA	Seamstress	Milliner	1400	6000	800	1000
068	GILLESPIE, Frank	43	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1600	8000	400	1500
069	GREENAWALT, Samuel	32	PA	Livery keeper	Whiskey Inspector	12,000	25,000	2000	1000
070	GRIER, John D.	40	NY	Gentleman	R.R. Clerk	4000	5500	4000	1500

071	GROVE, John	63	PA	Gentleman	Insurance Agent	2000	1500	2200	350
072	GUTHRIE, Willaim	41	PA	Farm Laborer	Lumber Dealer	1800	10,500	800	2000
073	HALE, Emmanuel	58	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Superintendent	2000	4000	300	0
074	HALL, Esau	55	PA	Laborer	Hostler	200	600	100	100
075	HARMONY, George	55	PA	Laborer	Brewery Hand	1000	1800	50	150
076	HART, John	49	PA	Cutler	Blacksmith	300	800	75	250
077	HARTMAKER, Jacob	30	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	500	1500	100	0
078	HAWBECKER, Emmanuel	36	PA	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	400	1500	150	200
079	HAZELET, William	40	PA	Cabinetmaker	Door Factory/Owner	5600	15,000	2400	6500
080	HENNEBARGER, Thomas	34	PA	Tailor	Tailor	1000	1200	200	300
081	HENNINGER, Frederick	45	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1500	2000	200	3000
082	HETRICK, Elizabeth	67	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1600	2000	300	800
083	HETRICK, George	43	PA	Lime Burner	Cistern Builder	1800	1200	2000	0
084	HOFFMAN, George Lewis	37	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1500	300	200
085	HOKE, H. Elias	37	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	3000	14,000	11,000	18,000
086	HOKE, Jacob	35	PA	Dry Goods Merchant	Dry Goods Merchant	5000	14,000	10,500	9000
087	HOUSEHOLDER, Frederick	50	FRA.	Mason	Stone Mason	600	1500	100	0
088	HOUSEHOLDER, Henry	53	FRA.	Mason	Stone Mason	600	1500	20	175
089	HOUSER, Elizabeth	52	PA	Tailor	Housekeeper	650	1100	50	1200
090	HUFFLEMAN, John	40	PA	Printer	Printer	1000	2000	500	2500
091	IRWIN, Isacc	33	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	800	1000	300	150
092	JACOBY, John	46	GER.	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1600	50	0
093	KEAGY, Franklin	23	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	1500	4000	200	500
094	KELLER, Jacob	39	PA	R.R. Brakeman	R.R. Conductor	800	4200	150	200
095	KING, James	48	SCOT.	Stone Cutter	Marble Cutter	5000	10,000	1500	3000
096	KING, John	41	PA	Tanner	Tanner	250	1000	100	500
097	KUHN, Emmanuel	56	PA	Printer	Grocer	2000	3000	5000	3000
098	KYLE, Catharine	42	MD	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1200	1500	50	200

099	LEMASTER, Phillip John	62	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	11,730	25,000	400	1800
100	LESHER, David	52	PA	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	6000	5000	1000	1000
101	LOHR, John	30	GER.	Cooper	Laborer	400	1500	100	100
102	LUDWIG, George	49	GER.	Brewery/Owner	Brewery/Owner	15,000	79,200	10,000	22,000
103	MASON, George G.	55	NH	Bank MessenGER	Bank MessenGER	1000	1600	100	250
104	MESSERSMITH, George W	40	PA	Bank Cashier	Bank Cashier	4000	18,000	5000	5000
105	METZ, Abraham	33	PA	Plow maker	Plow maker	2000	6000	600	1200
106	MICHAELS, Christian	46	PA	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	600	1100	100	400
107	MILES, George L.	25	PA	Oyster Seller	Grocer	2000	3000	400	300
108	MILLER, Andrew J.	37	PA	Druggist	Druggist	6000	10,000	1500	4000
109	MILLER, Elizabeth	56	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1000	1200	250	300
110	MILLER, Jacob B.	40	PA	Store Merchant	Home Furnishings	7000	15,000	6000	5260
111	MILLER, John	49	PA	Master Mason	Bricklayer	800	3200	200	400
112	MINNICH, Daniel	48	PA	Tanner	Tanner	1800	1500	500	175
113	MINNICH, Mary	30	MD	No Occupation	Housekeeper	900	500	100	0
114	MONET(MONALT), John	49	GER.	Laborer	Door Factory Hand	600	5000	50	350
115	MONKS, Henry	21	PA	Barber	Barber	800	4000	800	600
116	MORGAN, Allen	36	VA	Laborer	Stone Quarrier	400	680	90	0
117	MULL, John	45	PA	Bank Teller	Bank Clerk	3000	3500	1000	650
118	MYERS, Peter	45	GER.	Peddler	Notions Peddler	1000	1100	80	250
119	McCAULEY, Isaac H.	41	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	2700	800	5000	8000
120	McCLELLAN, William	40	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	40,000	60,000	20,000	30,000
121	McCULLOUGH, Alex. H.	44	PA	R.R. Ticket Agent	R.R. Clerk	2000	8000	500	2000
122	McDOWELL, John W.	50	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	20,000	17,100	8000	14,500
123	McDOWELL, William H.	47	PA	Gentleman	Ex-State Senator	14,000	10,000	1000	4780
124	McGOWAN, Samuel	28	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	500	800	175	250
125	McGRATH, William	60	PA	Sheriff	Retired Farmer	100	8000	2000	3000
126	McLANAHAN, John B.	63	PA	Gentleman	Gentleman	20,000	40,000	10,000	25,000
127	NEAD, Benjamin Franklin	43	PA	Commission Merchant	Commission Merchant	14,000	25,000	6000	3000

128	NEUGABAUER, Peter	21	GER.	Master Cooper	Cooper	400	1200	50	300
129	NEWMAN, A. Hamilton	47	PA	Coach maker	Coach maker	3000	10,000	3000	3000
130	NIXON, Jacob S. C.	33	PA	Druggist	Druggist	5500	11,000	6000	10,000
131	NIXON Susan T.	40	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1500	3000	150	600
132	OAKS, David	58	MD	Commission Merchant	Fire Insurance Agent	4000	2000	5000	350
133	OTT, Samuel	52	PA	Carpenter	Baker	4000	5000	500	800
134	OYSTER, Jeremiah	42	PA	Master Saddler	Saddler	1200	4000	500	1900
135	PAXTON, William W.	49	PA	Hat/Cap Merchant	Hat/Cap Merchant	2000	4000	2500	2000
136	PIPER, David	52	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	5470	7000	1500	2000
137	PLOUGH, John	48	PA	Master Carpenter	Carpenter	6000	5000	200	500
138	PLUMMER, Ann	50	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	600	1500	50	0
139	PRESLER, George	48	GER.	Carpenter	Carpenter	2200	10,000	300	2000
140	PROCTOR, Edward	53	MD	Laborer	R.R. Laborer	200	500	15	0
141	PUNCH, James	52	VA	Laborer	Farm Hand	400	750	30	120
142	RADABAUGH, Catharine	56	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	2500	4000	400	300
143	REED, William G.	39	PA	Bank Cashier	Life Insurance Agent	16,000	10,000	4000	2500
144	REEL, Daniel	56	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	500	1100	50	200
145	REINEMAN, Augustus	44	GER.	Watchmaker	Jewelry Dealer	12,000	22,000	300	2445
146	REISHER, Samuel	58	PA	Gentleman	Retired Horse Dealer	8000	13,000	400	300
147	REYER, John	64	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	300	450	20	0
148	REYNOLDS, Samuel	58	VA	Physician	Physician	1000	3500	300	600
149	RICE, George W.	43	PA	R.R. Conductor	Restaurant Owner	1500	3000	500	400
150	RICHARDS, John C.	48	MD	Physician	Physician	5700	11,000	1000	1500
151	RINEHART, Henry	54	GER.	Wagon maker	Silversmith	900	1500	200	300
152	RODENHAFFER, John S.	60	GER.	Laborer	Gardener	1000	1200	50	600
153	ROSS, Maria	71	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	500	1400	550	1350
154	SCHNECK, Benjamin S.	54	PA	Minister/Editor	Minister/Editor	4000	10,000	650	6000
155	SCOFFIELD, John	58	ENG.	Confectioner	Grocer	1200	4000	1000	1000
156	SEIBERT, John	48	GER.	Laborer	R.R. Stationary Engineer	500	2000	200	0

157	SEIBERT, Samuel	59	MD	Carpenter	Carpenter	8000	11,000	1000	5500
158	SELLERS, Henry	65	VA	Laborer	Carpenter	200	1100	80	200
159	SENSENY, Abraham Huber	48	PA	Physician	Physician	10,000	18,000	2000	3500
160	SHAFFER, Jacob	41.	GER.	Carpenter	R.R. Carpenter	4000	5000	500	300
161	SHAFFER, Jacob	35	PA	Merchant	Grocer	3000	10,000	800	14,000
162	SHARPE, J. McDougal	29	PA	Lawyer	Lawyer	15,000	50,000	7000	7500
163	SHEPLER, Henry	40	PA	Millwright	Sash/Door Co/Owner	10,000	2000	2500	14,000
164	SILVERS, Daniel	58	PA	Cutler	Blacksmith	300	350	100	0
165	SIPLE, Frederick	38	GER.	Laborer	Laborer	800	3500	200	500
166	SKINNER, William	45	PA	Drover	Dry Goods Merchant	4500	13,000	10,000	3000
167	SMITH, Allen	59	PA	Confectioner	Carpenter	1500	2000	800	200
168	SMITH, Jacob	53	GER.	Laborer	Ice Dealer	1300	2500	150	700
169	SMITH, John	63	GER.	Laborer	Tailor	1200	1600	100	350
170	SMITH, Rebecca	55	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1700	2500	150	250
171	SNIDER, Jacob N.	38	PA	Bookbinder	Bookstore Owner	2000	9000	400	10,600
172	SNIDER, Nicholas	58	PA	Laborer	Ward Inspector	3500	5000	400	800
173	SPOHR, Frederick	67	PA	Gentleman	Retired Butcher	3500	3000	150	300
174	STORM, George John	54	GER.	Pump maker	Pump maker	1200	2100	300	400
175	STREALEY Elizabeth	60	PA	No Occupation	Housekeeper	800	1500	100	0
176	SUESSEROTT, Jacob L.	31	PA	Physician	Physician	5000	24,000	800	1500
177	SUMMERS, Andrew	52	MD	Carpenter	Fence maker	600	1200	100	150
178	TAYLOR, John W.	55	PA	Hotelkeeper	Retired Hotelkeeper	6600	1500	1000	200
179	THOMSON, Jane	67	IRE.	No Occupation	Housekeeper	1500	3000	60	200
180	TOLBERT, Robert	48	PA	Hardware Merchant	Hardware Merchant	1800	3800	14,000	9000
181	TROSTLE, Daniel	44	PA	Drover	Hotelkeeper	13,500	42,000	6500	4000
182	TROSTLE, John	55	PA	Gentleman	Blacksmith	1800	2000	300	1000
183	TURPIN, Fannie	65	VA	Laborer	Housekeeper	250	350	40	0
184	UGLOW, Benjamin	46	ENG.	Farmer	Farmer	700	20,000	200	300
185	ULRICH, Nicholas	50	GER.	Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1100	1800	250	350
186	VONDERAN, Adam	72	PA	Gentleman	Retired Farmer	17,675	3500	2000	2000

187	WAGNER, Conrad	47	GER.	Laborer	Farmer	600	9000	50	3000
188	WAMPLER, Lewis	46	PA	Silverplater	Coach/Saddle Merchant	1000	3750	900	2700
189	WAYMAN, John	38	MD	Fence maker	Fence maker	700	700	30	200
190	WHITE, Hiram Mish	30	PA	Gentleman	Retired Merchant Tailor	8000	21,000	3500	15,000
191	WOLF(F), Adam	37	PA	Restaurant keeper	Restaurant keeper	1000	2500	250	500
192	WOLF(F), Bennett	39	PA	Laborer	Brick moulder	600	2500	300	1000
193	WOLF(F), Henry	44	PA	Clerk	Dry Goods Clerk	3000	2000	275	600
194	WOLF(F), Samuel	32	PA	Carpenter	Carpenter	700	1000	100	200
195	WOOD, Theodore B.	40	PA	Machine Foundry	Machine Foundry/Owner	6000	12,000	3000	28,000

I. AVERAGE 1860 AGE SUBGROUP D: 46.3

AVERAGE 1860 AGE TOTAL 334 STUDY GROUP = 42.7

VARIANCE SUBGROUP D = 03.7 years older.

II. BIRTHPLACE:

<u>UNITED STATES</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 195</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
MARYLAND	11	5.64	3.29
MASSACHUSETTS	1	0.51	0.30
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1	0.51	0.30
NEW YORK	1	0.51	0.30
PENNSYLVANIA	122	62.56	36.53
VIRGINIA	<u>6</u>	<u>3.08</u>	<u>1.50</u>
TOTAL U.S	142	72.81	42.22

<u>FOREIGN BORN</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% OF 195</u>	<u>% OF 334</u>
ENGLAND	002	1.03	0.60
FRANCE	002	1.03	0.60
GERMANY	046	23.59	13.77
IRELAND	002	1.03	0.60
SCOTLAND	<u>001</u>	<u>0.51</u>	<u>0.30</u>
TOTAL F. BORN	053	27.18	15.87

III. ANALYSIS OF 195 PERSISTENT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (SUBGROUP D):

A. RACIAL AND GENDER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP D:

	NUMBER	% OF 195	% OF 334
WHITE MALE Heads of Households	167	85.64	50.07
WHITE FEMALE Heads of Households	19	9.75	05.7
BLACK OR MULATTO MALE Heads of Households	08	4.10	02.4
BLACK OR MULATTO FEMALE Heads of Households	<u>01</u>	<u>0.51</u>	<u>00.3</u>
TOTAL ALL SUBGROUP D:	195	100.00	58.4

B. OTHER STATISTICS OF SUBGROUP D:

HIGHEST 1860 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	= \$ 40,000; (2) DANIEL O. GEHR AND WILLIAM McCLELLAN
HIGHEST 1870 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	= \$ 80,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER
HIGHEST 1860 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	= \$ 46,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER
HIGHEST 1870 PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT	= \$ 51,000; WILLIAM L. CHAMBERS
GREATEST REAL ESTATE GAIN 1860/1870	= \$ 64,200; GEORGE LUDWIG. \$ 15,000 TO \$ 79,200.
GREATEST REAL ESTATE LOSS 1860/1870	= \$ 14,175; ADAM VONDERAN. \$ 17,675 TO \$ 3,500.
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY GAIN 1860/1870	= \$ 40,000; EDMUND CULBERTSON. \$ 10,000 TO \$ 50,000
GREATEST PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS 1860/1870	= \$ 41,000; J. ALLISON EYSTER. \$ 46,000 TO 5,000.

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE 2.7
NATIVITY OF 334 PERSON STUDY GROUP

GROUP	RAW NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF 334
GERMAN BORN	73	21.9
FOREIGN BORN OTHER THAN GERMAN	10	3.0
PENNSYLVANIA BORN	210	62.9
U.S. BORN OTHER THAN PENNSYLVANIA	41	12.2
TOTAL PERSISTENT HOUSEHOLD HEADS	334	100.0

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860**

TABLE 2.8
OCCUPATIONS OF 334 HOUSEHOLD HEAD STUDY GROUP,
1860 – 1870

OCCUPATION	RAW # 1860	% OF 334	RAW # 1870	% OF 334
ATTORNEY/LAWYER	8	02.4	8	02.4
AXE FACTORY HAND	--	--	2	00.6
BAKER	1	00.3	3	00.9
BANK CASHIER	2	00.6	1	00.3
BANK CLERK	--	--	1	00.3
BANKER	--	--	1	00.3
BANK MESSENGER	1	00.3	1	00.3
BANK TELLER	1	00.3	--	--
BARBER	1	00.3	1	00.3
BASKETMAKER/SLEIGH BASKETMAKER	1	00.3	--	--
BIBLE SOCIETY AGENT	--	--	1	00.3
BLACKSMITH	13	03.9	15	04.5
BOARDER	--	--	1	00.3
BOOKBINDER	1	00.3	--	--
BOOK STORE OWNER	--	--	1	00.3
BRASS FOUNDER	--	--	1	00.3
BREWER	1	00.3	2	00.6
BREWERY HAND	--	--	1	00.3
BRICKLAYER	--	--	1	00.3
BRICKMAKER	3	00.9	5	01.5
BRICK MOULDER	--	--	1	00.3
BUTCHER/RETIRED BUTCHER	7	02.1	9	02.7
CABINETMAKER	4	01.2	--	--
CANDLEMAKER	1	00.3	--	--
CARPENTER/MASTER CARPENTER	22	06.6	21	06.3
CARPET WEAVER	--	--	1	00.3
CHAIR FACTORY HAND	--	--	1	00.3
CHAIR FACTORY OWNER	1	00.3	1	00.3
CHIEF OF POLICE	--	--	1	00.3
CIGARMAKER	1	00.3	1	00.3
CISTERN BUILDER	--	--	1	00.3
CLERK	3	00.9	--	--
CLERK OF THE COUNTY COURT	1	00.3	--	--
CLOTHING DEALER	--	--	1	00.3
CLOTHING MERCHANT	1	00.3	--	--
COACHMAKER	4	01.2	3	00.9
COACH/SADDLERY MERCHANT	--	--	1	00.3

COMMISSION MERCHANT	4	01.2	1	00.3
CONFECTIONER	3	00.9	1	00.3
COOK	1	00.3	--	--
COOPER/MASTER COOPER	4	01.2	3	00.9
COUNTY COMMISSIONER	--	--	1	00.3
COUNTY COMMISSION OFFICE CLERK.	--	--	1	00.3
COUNTY RECORDING OFFICE CLERK	--	--	1	00.3
CUTLER	2	00.6	--	--
DROVER	2	00.6	--	--
DRUGGIST	2	00.6	2	00.6
DRY GOODS STORE CLERK	1	00.3	2	00.6
DRY GOODS MERCHANT	4	01.2	5	01.5
EDGED TOOL COMPANY OWNER	1	00.3	--	--
EDGED TOOL COMPANY FINISHER	1	00.3	1	00.3
ENGINE BUILDER	--	--	1	00.3
EX-STATE SENATOR	--	--	1	00.3
FACTORY HAND	--	--	2	00.6
FARMER/RETIRED FARMER	4	01.2	9	02.7
FARM HAND	--	--	1	00.3
FENCEMAKER	1	00.3	2	00.6
FLOUR STOREKEEPER	1	00.3	--	--
FOUNDRY HAND	--	--	1	00.3
FULLER AND DYER	--	--	1	00.3
FURNITURE DEALER	--	--	1	00.3
FURNITURE FACTORY HAND	--	--	1	00.3
GARDENER	--	--	5	01.5
GAS COMPANY SUPERINTENDENT	--	--	1	00.3
GAS FITTER	2	00.6	1	00.3
GENTLEMAN	22	06.6	5	01.5
GROCER (MERCHANT/RETAIL/RETIRED)	5	01.5	10	03.0
GROCERY CLERK	--	--	1	00.3
HARDWARE MERCHANT	1	00.3	1	00.3
HAT/CAP MERCHANT	2	00.6	2	00.6
HOME FURNISHINGS STORE MERCHANT	1	00.3	1	00.3
RETIRED HORSE DEALER	--	--	1	00.3
HOSTLER	--	--	1	00.3
HOTELKEEPER/RETIRED HOTELKEEPER	1	00.3	8	02.4
HOTEL WORKER	--	--	1	00.3
HOUSEKEEPER	--	--	34	10.2
HUCKSTER/RETIRED HUCKSTER	--	--	2	00.6
ICE DEALER	--	--	1	00.3
INNKEEPER	1	00.3	--	--
INSURANCE AGENT (FIRE/LIFE)	--	--	3	00.9
IRON MOULDER	1	00.3	1	00.3
JEWELER/JEWELRY DEALER	1	00.3	3	00.9

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	1	00.3	3	00.9
LABORER/FARM LABORER	54	16.2	8	02.4
LIME BURNER	1	00.3	--	--
LIVERYKEEPER	1	00.3	--	--
LUMBER DEALER	--	--	2	00.6
MACHINE/IRON FOUNDRY OWNER	1	00.3	1	00.3
MACHINIST	2	00.6	--	--
MASON (BRICK/MASTER/STONE)	7	02.1	7	02.1
MERCHANT/RETIRED MERCHANT	3	00.9	3	00.9
MILLER	--	--	1	00.3
MILLINER	--	--	1	00.3
MILLWRIGHT	2	00.6	1	00.3
MINISTER	3	00.9	2	00.6
NO OCCUPATION	26	07.8	--	--
NOTARY PUBLIC	--	--	1	00.3
OYSTER SELLER	2	00.6	--	--
PAINTER	3	00.9	2	00.6
PAPERMAKER/PAPER MILL HAND	2	00.6	2	00.6
PAPER MILL OWNER	--	--	1	00.3
PEDLER/NOTIONS PEDLER	2	00.6	2	00.6
PHOTOGRAPHER	1	00.3	1	00.3
PHYSICIAN	7	02.1	6	01.8
PLOWMAKER	1	00.3	1	00.3
PORTER/STOVE STORE PORTER	1	00.3	1	00.3
POTTER	--	--	1	00.3
PRINTER	3	00.9	2	00.6
PROTHONOTARY	1	00.3	--	--
PUMPMAKER	1	00.3	1	00.3
RAILROAD BRAKEMAN	1	00.3	2	00.6
RAILROAD CARPENTER	--	--	2	00.6
RAILROAD CLERK/TICKET AGENT	1	00.3	2	00.6
RAILROAD CONDUCTOR	1	00.3	1	00.3
RAILROAD ENGINEER	1	00.3	2	00.6
RAILROAD LABORER	--	--	5	01.5
RAILROAD STATION ENGINEER	--	--	1	00.3
RAILROAD SUPERINTENDENT	1	00.3	2	00.6
RESTAURANTKEEPER	4	01.2	3	00.9
ROPEMAKER	1	00.3	--	--
SADDLER/HARNESSMAKER	2	00.6	2	00.6
SALOONKEEPER	1	00.3	--	--
SASH/DOOR/WINDOW COMPANY OWNER	--	--	2	00.6

SERVENT	2	00.6	--	--
SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT	1	00.3	--	--
SCHOOLTEACHER	2	00.6	2	00.6
SEAMSTRESS	3	00.9	--	--
SHERIFF	1	00.3	1	00.3
SHOEBLACK	1	00.3	--	--
SHOEMAKER	12	03.6	12	03.6
SHOE MERCHANT	--	--	1	00.3
SILVERPLATER	1	00.3	--	--
SILVERSMITH	--	--	1	00.3
STONECUTTER/MARBLECUTTER	2	00.6	5	01.5
STONE QUARRIER	--	--	2	00.6
STREET REPAIRER	--	--	1	00.3
STOVE MERCHANT/RETIRED MERCHANT	--	--	1	00.3
SURVEYOR	1	00.3	--	--
TAILOR (MASTER/MERCHANT)	9	02.7	10	03.0
TAILORESS	1	00.3	--	--
TALLOW CHANDLER	--	--	1	00.3
TANNER	3	00.9	6	01.8
TAX COLLECTOR	1	00.3	--	--
TEAMSTER			1	00.3
TIN MANUFACTURER AND STOVE DEALER			1	00.3
TINNER/TINSMITH	1	00.3	1	00.3
TOBACCO/CIGAR MANUFACTURER	--	--	1	00.3
TOBACCONIST/TOBACCO DEALER	1	00.3	--	--
UPHOLSTERER	--	--	1	00.3
WAGONMAKER	2	00.6	1	00.3
WARD INSPECTOR	--	--	1	00.3
WAREHOUSE HAND	--	--	1	00.3
WASHERWOMAN	2	00.6	--	--
WATCHMAKER	2	00.6	--	--
WEAVER	1	00.3	--	--
WHISKEY INSPECTOR	--	--	1	00.3
TOTALS	334	100.0	334	100.0

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870**

TABLE 2.9
334 STUDY GROUP CHANGES IN OCCUPATION DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1860's

KEY:

BOLD = CHANGE OF OCCUPATION BY 1870

B.P. = BIRTH PLACE

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN

R.E. = REAL ESTATE

R.R. = RAILROAD

NAME	AGE 1860	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION 1860	OCCUPATION 1870	R.E. 1860	R.E. 1870
LYMAN S. CLARK	36	MA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	5,000	12,000
CALVIN M. DUNCAN	28	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	30,000	30,000
HASTINGS GEHR	21	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	0	3,400
ISAAC H. McCAULEY	41	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	2,700	800
WILLIAM McCLELLAN	40	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	40,000	60,000
WILLIAM REILLY	48	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	5,000	0
J. McDOUGAL SHARPE	29	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	15,000	50,000
FREDERICK S. STUMBAUGH	43	PA	ATTORNEY	ATTORNEY	0	13,000
CHRISTIAN BURKHART	28	GER.	BAKER	BAKER	0	7,500
GEORGE W. MESSERSMITH	40	PA	BANK CASHIER	BANK CASHIER	4,000	18,000
WILLIAM G. REED	39	PA	BANK CASHIER	LIFE INSURANCE AGENT	16,000	10,000
GEORGE G. MASON	55	NH	BANK MESSENGER	BANK MESSENGER	1,000	1,600
JOHN MULL	45	PA	BANK TELLER	BANK CLERK	3,000	3,500

<i>HENRY MONKS</i>	21	PA	<i>BARBER</i>	<i>BARBER</i>	800	4,000
LEONARD FALKENSTINE	44	GER.	BASKETMAKER	AXE FACTORY HAND	600	500
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG	61	PA	BLACKSMITH	BRICKMAKER	900	1,000
JOHN CLIPPERS	54	GER.	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	0	1,800
DAVID CROFT	29	PA	BLACKSMITH	POTTER	800	0
BENJAMIN DUKE	25	PA	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	0	0
ANDREW ELDER	43	PA	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	0	0
MARION ELLIOTT	34	PA	BLACKSMITH	R.R. ENGINEER	500	800
FREDERICK FENNEL	59	GER.	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	1,400	1,500
HENRY FENNEL	51	GER.	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	700	1,800
SAMUEL	59	PA	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	1,800	4,000
SAMUEL	20	PA	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	0	1,000
DAVID LESHER	52	PA	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	6,000	5,000
FREDERICK RICHTER	36	GER.	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	0	1,100
NICHOLAS ULRICH	50	GER.	BLACKSMITH	BLACKSMITH	1,100	1,800
JACOB N. SNIDER	38	PA	BOOKBINDER	BOOK STORE OWNER	2,000	9,000
GEORGE LUDWIG	49	GER.	BREWER	BREWER	15,000	79,200
DAVID DAVIS	51	PA	BRICKMAKER	BRICKMAKER	0	0
SAMUEL NELSON	41	NY	BRICKMAKER	BRICKMAKER	0	0
JOHN REASNER	48	PA	BRICKMAKER	BAKER	2,000	0
RICHARD COOK	54	PA	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	0	0
THOMAS COOK	22	PA	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	1,200	4,000
PETER CRICKBAUM	43	GER.	MASTER BUTCHER	BUTCHER	9,000	27,000
CHRISTIAN ELSE	25	GER.	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	0	60
JOHN ELY	42	PA	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	1,000	800
CONRAD HARMON	41	GER.	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	2,500	0
JOHN LINK	26	PA	BUTCHER	BUTCHER	0	4,500
DAVID M. EIKER	29	PA	CABINETMAKER	FURNITURE FACTORY HAND	0	0
JOSEPH FREY	49	PA	CABINETMAKER	FURNITURE DEALER	0	0
WILLIAM HAZELET	40	PA	MASTER CABINETMAKER	SASH/DOOR CO. OWNER	5,600	15,000

DAVID ELI LITTLE	30	PA	CABINETMAKER	HOTELKEEPER	0	0
NICHOLAS GARWICK	47	GER.	CANDLEMAKER	TALLOW CHANDLER	800	2,900
MARTIN COLE	48	GER.	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	2,000	4,000
FRANK DINGLER	36	GER.	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	400	1,500
HENRY FINEFROCK	50	PA	CARPENTER	STONECUTTER	1,500	3,000
DAVID FLECK	40	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	0	0
CHARLES FREDERICK	50	GER.	CARPENTER	HOUSE CARPENTER	600	4,500
FRANKLIN GILLESPIE	43	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	1,600	8,000
FREDERICK HENNINGER	45	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	1,500	2,000
JACOB HENNINGER	43	PA	CARPENTER	R.R. CARPENTER	0	0
FRANKLIN KEAGY	23	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	1,500	4,000
ALEXANDER McCAIN	58	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	0	0
SAMUEL McGOWEN	28	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	500	800
GEORGE McINTYRE	38	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	150	0
WASHINGTON NITTERHOUSE	42	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	0	2,400
SAMUEL OTT	52	PA	CARPENTER	BAKER	4,000	5,000
JOHN PLOUGH	48	PA	MASTER CARPENTER	CARPENTER	6,000	5,000
GEORGE PRESLER	48	GER.	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	2,200	10,000
J. WARREN SEIBERT	26	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	0	0
SAMUEL SEIBERT	59	MD	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	8,000	11,000
JACOB SHAFER	41	GER.	CARPENTER	R.R. CARPENTER	4,000	5,000
ADAM SMITH	27	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	0	1,100
ANDREW SUMMERS	52	MD	CARPENTER	FENCEMAKER	600	1,200
SAMUEL WOLFF	32	PA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	700	1,000
RICHARD WOODS	62	VA	CARPENTER	CARPENTER	800	0
HENRY SEIRER	28	PA	CHAIR FACTORY OWNER	CHAIR FACTORY OWNER	2,300	0
WILLIAM HENNEBARGER	38	MD	CIGARMAKER	CIGARMAKER	0	0
DAVID CHAMBERLAIN	24	PA	CLERK	RETIRED GROCER	350	0
GEORGE FOREMAN	40	PA	CLERK	COUNTY COMMISSION CLERK	0	0
CHARLES H. TAYLOR	25	NY	CLERK	BANKER	0	0

BERNARD G. HAMSHER	30	PA	CLERK OF COURT	LUMBER DEALER	0	1,100
ANDREW WHITE	32	PA	CLOTHING MERCHANT	MERCHANT TAILOR	0	12,000
GEORGE JARRETT	52	PA	COACHMAKER	COACHMAKER	300	0
A. HAMILTON NEWMAN	47	PA	COACHMAKER	COACHMAKER	3,000	10,000
MATTHEW P. WELSH	46	NJ	COACHMAKER	BLACKSMITH	2,000	0
JACOB WOLFF	32	PA	COACHMAKER	ENGINEBUILDER	0	0
EDMUND CULBERTSON	48	PA	COMMISSION MERCHANT	GENTLEMAN	5,000	15,000
DANIEL O. GEHR	47	MD	COMMISSION MERCHANT	FARMER	40,000	40,000
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN NEAD	43	PA	COMMISSION MERCHANT	COMMISSION MERCHANT	14,000	25,000
DAVID S. OAKS	58	MD	COMMISSION MERCHANT	FIRE INSURANCE AGENT	4,000	2,000
JOSEPH DECKELMAYER	36	GER.	CONFECTIONER	GROCER	3,6000	4,000
JOHN SCHOFIELD	58	ENG.	CONFECTIONER	GROCER	1,200	4000
ALLEN SMITH	59	PA	CONFECTIONER	CARPENTER	1,500	2,000
ADELINE PLOWDEN	50	MD	COOK	HOUSEKEEPER	350	0
ANDREW BANKER	52	PA	COOPER	COOPER	1,500	0
JOHN FRISHCOMER	31	GER.	COOPER	COOPER	600	0
JOHN LOHR	30	GER.	COOPER	LABORER	400	1,500
PETER NEUGABAUER	21	GER.	MASTER COOPER	COOPER	400	1,200
JOHN HART	49	PA	CUTLER	BLACKSMITH	300	800
DAVID SILVERS	58	PA	CUTLER	BLACKSMITH	300	350
WILLIAM SKINNER	45	PA	DROVER	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	4,500	13,000
DANIEL TROSTLE	44	PA	DROVER	HOTELKEEPER	13,500	42,000
ANDREW J. MILLER	37	PA	DRUGGIST	DRUGGIST	6,000	10,000
JACOB S. C. NIXON	33	PA	DRUGGIST	DRUGGIST	5,500	11,000
HENRY WOLFF	44	PA	DRY GOODS STORE CLERK	DRY GOODS STORE CLERK	3,000	2,000
JAMES L. BLACK	52	PA	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	0	10,000
H. ELIAS HOKE	37	PA	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	3,000	14,000
JACOB HOKE	35	PA	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	5,000	14,000

JOHN KEIFFER	26	PA	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	DRY GOODS MERCHANT	0	5,000
PHILLIP EVANS	43	PA	EDGED TOOL CO. FINISHER	EDGED TOOL CO. FINISHER	1,000	3,000
THOMAS CARLISLE	55	PA	EDGED TOOL CO. OWNER	NOTARY PUBLIC	5,000	4,500
GEORGE BRINKMAN	28	PA,	FARMER	TANNER	500	0
CHRISTIAN FLECK	45	MD	FARMER	TANNER	800	5,000
GEORGE FLECK	48	PA	FARMER	TANNER	7,500	16,500
BENJAMIN UGLOW	46	ENG.	FARMER	FARMER	700	20,000
JOHN WAYMAN	38	MD	FENCEMAKER	FENCEMAKER	700	700
ANN CUNNINGHAM	49	PA	FLOUR STOREKEEPER	HOUSEKEEPER	2,000	3,000
ALLEN C. McGRATH	28	PA	GAS FITTER	GAS CO. SUPERINTENDENT	0	4,000
WILLIAM LEWIS OYSTER	32	PA	GAS FITTER	GAS FITTER	1,400	0
WILLIAM H. BENDER	35	PA	GENTLEMAN	MILLER	1,600	0
ALFRED D. CAUFMAN	46	PA	GENTLEMAN	GENTLEMAN	11,000	25,000
WILLIAM L. CHAMBERS	37	PA	GENTLEMAN	GENTLEMAN	25,000	76,375
JAMES DUFFIELD	55	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED FARMER	600	2,800
EPHRIEM FINEFROCK	36	PA	GENTLEMAN	R.R. CONDUCTOR	1,200	3,000
JOSEPH W. FLETCHER	41	PA	GENTLEMAN	SHERIFF	0	7,000
JOHN D. GRIER	40	NY	GENTLEMAN	R.R. CLERK	4,000	5,500
JOHN GROVE	63	PA	GENTLEMAN	INSURANCE AGENT	2,000	1,500
MICHAEL HOUSER	38	PA	GENTLEMAN	CHIEF OF POLICE	0	0
JACOB HUBER	34	PA	GENTLEMAN	HOTELKEEPER	0	0
PHILLIP JOHN LEMASTER	62	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED FARMER	11,730	25,000
JOHN W. McDOWELL	50	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED FARMER	20,000	17,100
WILLIAM H. McDOWELL	47	PA	GENTLEMAN	EX-STATE SENATOR	14,000	10,000
JOHN B. McLANAHAN	63	PA	GENTLEMAN	GENTLEMAN	20,000	40,000
DAVID PIPER	52	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED FARMER	5,470	7,000
SAMUEL REISHER	58	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED HORSE DEALER	8,000	13,000
WILLIAM SHERRIFIELD	54	PA	GENTLEMAN	COUNTY COMMISSIONER	1,000	0
LEWIS A. SHOEMAKER	34	PA	GENTLEMAN	GENTLEMAN	5,000	0
FREDERICK SPOHR	67	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED BUTCHER	3,500	3,000

JOHN TROSTLE	55	PA	GENTLEMAN	BLACKSMITH	1,800	2,000
ADAM VONDERLAN	72	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED FARMER	17,675	3,500
HIRAM MISH WHITE	30	PA	GENTLEMAN	RETIRED MERCHANT TAILOR	8,000	21,000
GEORGE DITMAN	24	PA	GROCER/BAKER	RETAIL GROCER	0	400
AUGUSTUS FAHNESTOCK	37	PA	MERCHANT GROCER	GROCER	2,000	1,600
DANIEL S. FAHNESTOCK	41	PA	MERCHANT GROCER	DRY GOODS CLERK	3,300	3,300
JOHN GELWICKS	30	PA	GROCER	GROCER	0	0
GEORGE W. HEAGY	44	PA	GROCER	GROCER	0	2,000
ROBERT TOLBERT	48	PA	HARDWARE MERCHANT	HARDWARE MERCHANT	1,800	3,800
JACOB DESCHERT	25	PA	HAT MERCHANT	HAT/CAP MERCHANT	0	0
WILLIAM W. PAXTON	49	PA	HAT/CAP MERCHANT	HAT/CAP MERCHANT	2,000	4,000
JACOB B. MILLER	40	PA	HOME FURNISHINGS	HOME FURNISHINGS	7,000	15,000
JOHN W. TAYLOR	55	PA	HOTELKEEPER	RETIRED HOTELKEEPER	6,600	1,500
JOHN FISHER	49	GER.	INNKEEPER	HOTELKEEPER	0	0
HORACE BRADY	34	PA	IRON MOULDER	IRON MOULDER	0	0
EDMUND AUGINBAUGH	44	PA	JEWELER	JEWELRY DEALER	3,000	12,000
HUGH B. DAVISON	47	PA	JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	0	0
JOHN BENTLE	54	GER.	LABORER	CARPET WEAVER	400	800
JACOB BICKLEY	30	PA	LABORER	WAREHOUSE HAND	400	1,800
HENRY BOWERS	52	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	0	800
HENRY BOWERS	27	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	600	0
SAMUEL BYERS	34	PA	LABORER	GROCERY CLERK	0	0
NICHOLAS CARBAUGH	32	GER.	LABORER	STONECUTTER	0	1,100
HENRY CARL	37	GER.	LABORER	CHAIR FACTORY HAND	500	1,200
HENRY DETRICK	39	GER.	LABORER	CARPENTER	350	1,000
LEWIS DOCTOR	47	GER.	LABORER	R.R. LABORER	950	2,500
GEORGE DOHN	39	GER.	LABORER	STONE QUARRIER	200	800
JEREMIAH DONOVAN	56	IRE.	LABORER	LABORER	0	2,000
JOHN DUNSBERGER	38	GER.	LABORER	AXE FACTORY HAND	800	1,000
EMMANUEL FLEAGLE	38	MD	LABORER	R.R. BRAKEMAN	0	0
LEONARD FLORIG	54	GER.	LABORER	BAKER	600	1,200
PHILLIP FLORY	29	GER.	LABORER	MERCHANT	350	0

NICHOLAS FREDERICK	35	GER.	LABORER	R.R. LABORER	1,400	2,500
GEORGE GABLE	48	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	450	400
CONRAD GAVRICK	35	GER.	LABORER	STREET REPAIRER	0	600
WILLIAM GUTHRIE	41	PA	FARM LABORER	LUMBER DEALER	1,800	10,500
NICHOLAS HAAS	30	GER.	LABORER	GARDENER	0	1,200
EMMANUEL HALE	58	GER.	LABORER	R.R. SUPERINTENDENT	2,000	4,000
ESAU HALL	55	PA	LABORER	HOSTLER	200	600
GEORGE HARMONY	55	PA	LABORER	BREWERY HAND	1,000	1,800
JACOB HARTMAKER	30	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	500	1,500
EMMANUEL HAWBECKER	36	PA	LABORER	R.R. LABORER	400	1,500
PETER HEEFNER	35	GER.	LABORER	GROCER	0	0
JOSEPH JONES	35	VA	LABORER	TEAMSTER	0	500
WILLIAM JONES	43	VA	LABORER	HOTELWORKER	119	0
PETER LIGHTNER	20	PA	LABORER	R.R. LABORER	0	0
SAMUEL LITTLE	35	PA	LABORER	BRICKMASON	300	0
PHILLIP LUDWIG	48	GRE.	LABORER	FOUNDRY HAND	0	900
JOHN MONET	49	GER.	LABORER	FACTORY HAND	600	5,000
ALLEN MORGAN	36	VA	LABORER	STONE QUARRIER	400	680
JOHN MCGOWEN	38	PA	LABORER	PAPER MILL HAND	0	0
HENRY POTE	39	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	0	650
EDWARD PROCTOR	53	MD	LABORER	R.R. LABORER	200	500
JAMES PUNCH	52	VA	LABORER	FARM HAND	400	750
SAMUEL REASNER	37	MD	LABORER	BRICKMAKER	0	0
THOMAS REED	66	MD	LABORER	HUCKSTER	950	0
DANIEL REEL	56	GER.	LABORER	GARDENER	500	1,100
JOHN REYER	64	GER.	LABORER	GARDENER	300	450
JOHN S. RODENHAFFER	60	GER.	LABORER	GARDENER	1,000	1,200
JOHN SEIBERT	48	GER.	LABORER	R.R. STATION ENGINEER	500	2,000
HENRY SELLERS	65	VA	LABORER	CARPENTER	200	1,100
FREDERICK SIPLE	38	GER.	LABORER	LABORER	800	3,500
JACOB SMITH	53	GER.	LABORER	ICE DEALER	1,300	2,500
JOHN SMITH	63	GER.	LABORER	TAILOR	1,200	1,600

ROBERT SMITH	28	ENG.	LABORER	BRICKMAKER	0	0
NICHOLAS SNIDER	58	PA	LABORER	WARD INSPECTOR	3,500	5,000
GEORGE SPOHR	33	PA	LABORER	BUTCHER	0	2,000
FANNIE TURPIN	65	VA	LABORER	HOUSEKEEPER	250	350
CONRAD WAGNER	47	GER.	LABORER	FARMER	600	9,000
JAMES WARDEN	44	PA	LABORER	RETIRED HUCKSTER	0	0
BENNETT WOLFF	39	PA	LABORER	BRICK MOULDER	600	2,500
GEORGE HETTRICK	43	PA	LIME BURNER	CISTERN BUILDER	1,800	1,200
SAMUEL L. GREENAWALT	32	PA	LIVERYKEEPER	WHISKEY INSPECTOR	12,000	25,000
THEODORE B. WOOD	40	PA	MACHINE FOUNDRY OWNER	MACHINE/IRON FOUNDRY OWNER	6,000	12,000
CHRISTIAN FULLER	53	GER.	MACHINIST	BLACKSMITH	1,800	3,000
URIAH S. HULL	39	PA	MACHINIST	BRASS FOUNDER	1,800	0
LEANDER ARMSTRONG	39	PA	MASON	STONE MASON	0	0
CALEB AHERTON	46	PA	MASTER MASON	BRICK MASON	1,600	3,000
JOHN FORBES	51	PA	MASTER MASON	STONE MASON	3,000	8,000
FREDERICK HOUSEHOLDER	50	FRA.	MASON	STONE MASON	600	1,500
HENRY HOUSEHOLDER	53	FRA.	MASON	STONE MASON	600	1,500
JOHN MILLER	49	PA	MASON	BRICKLAYER	800	3,200
GEORGE McGEEHAN	39	PA	MASTER MASON	BRICK MASON	0	0
JACOB SHAFER	41	GER.	MERCHANT	MERCHANT GROCER	3,000	10,000
J. ALLISON EYSTER	37	PA	MERCHANT	PAPER MILL OWNER	36,000	80,000
WILLIAM WALLACE	53	PA	MERCHANT/HOTEL OWNER	RETIRED MERCHANT	17,500	0
HENRY SHEPLER	40	PA	MILLWRIGHT	SASH/DOOR CO. OWNER	10,000	2,000
JOHN STRIKE	29	PA	MILLWRIGHT	MILLWRIGHT	1,500	0
FRANKLIN DYSON	60	MD	MINISTER	BIBLE SOCIETY AGENT	1,025	3,000
JAMES P. KENNEDY	35	NJ	MINISTER	MINISTER	0	0
BENJAMIN SCHRODER SCHNECK	54	PA	MINISTER/EDITOR	MINISTER/EDITOR	4,000	10,000
ELIZABETH BARD	45	PA	NO OCCUPATION	BOARDER	8,000	10,000
MARIA BARNITZ	42	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0

JANE BOOTH	54	MD	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
CATHARINE BRAND	57	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,400	3,000
SUSAN CHAMBERS	49	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	2,000	5,000
MARY COCHRAN	41	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	800	1,000
ANN DINAH	39	Ire.	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
HARRIET EMBICK	42	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
LYDIA ENSMINGER	40	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
ELIZABETH HETRICK	67	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,600	2,000
CATHARINE JUMPER	64	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
CATHARINE KYLE	42	MD	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,200	1,500
CATHARINE LINDSEY	40	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	3,000	0
MARTHA MELLINGER	55	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	1,000
ELIZABETH MILLER	56	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,000	1,200
LUCY MINCHEL	66	MA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,000	0
MARY MINNICH	30	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	900	500
SUSAN T. NIXON	40	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,500	3,000
ANN PLUMMER	50	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	600	1,500
CATHARINE RADABAUGH	56	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	2,500	4,000
HENRY RICHTER	30	GER.	NO OCCUPATION	BREWER	0	3,400
MARIA ROSS	71	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	500	1,400
REBECCA SMITH	55	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,700	2,500
ELIZA STREALEY	60	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	800	1,500
JANE THOMSON	67	IRE.	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	1,500	3,000
CHARLOTTE WHITE	30	PA	NO OCCUPATION	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
JOHN DEOBLER	35	GER.	OYSTER SELLER	COACHMAKER	1,000	4,000
GEORGE L. MILES	25	PA	OYSTER SELLER	GROCER	2,000	3,000
JOHN BICKLEY	29	PA	PAINTER	PAINTER	500	2,000
SAMUEL G. ETTER	56	PA	PAINTER	RETIRED STOVE MERCHANT	2,800	8,000
LEVI LIPPY	26	PA	PAINTER	PAINTER	0	900
JOHN FISHER	49	GER.	PAPERMAKER	PAPER MILL HAND	600	1,500
PHILLIP LOUDENSLAGER	32	GER.	PAPERMAKER	NOTIONS PEDLER	0	1,800

PETER MYERS	45	GER.	PEDLER	NOTIONS PEDLER	1,000	1,100
JOSEPH TROUT	60	PA	PEDLER	CONFECTIONER	1,000	0
HENRY BISHOP	32	PA	PHOTOGRAPHER	PHOTOGRAPHER	0	10,000
WILLIAM H. BOYLE	40	IRE.	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	2,000	7,000
JAMES P. HAMILTON	35	PA	PHYSICIAN	TIN/STOVE MANUFACTURER	0	6,000
D. HENRY LANGHEIM	35	GER.	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	3,200	0
SAMUEL REYNOLDS	58	VA	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	1,000	3,500
JOHN C. RICHARDS	48	MD	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	5,700	11,000
ABRAHAM HUBER SENSENY	48	PA	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	10,000	18,000
JACOB LEWIS SUESSEROTT	31	PA	PHYSICIAN	PHYSICIAN	5,000	24,000
ABRAHAM METZ	33	PA	PLOWMAKER	PLOWMAKER	2,000	6,000
ELI JONES	40	VA	PORTER	STOVE STORE PORTER	0	900
ROBERT P. HAZELET	47	PA	PRINTER	PRINTER	0	0
JOHN HUFFLEMAN	40	PA	PRINTER	PRINTER	1,000	2,000
EMMANUEL KUHN	56	PA	PRINTER	GROCER	2,000	3,000
HIRAM C. KEYSER	37	PA	PROTHONOTARY	COUNTY RECORDING CLERK	1,600	0
GEORGE JOHN STORM	54	GER.	PUMPMAKER	PUMPMAKER	1,200	2,100
JACOB KELLER	39	PA	R.R. BRAKEMAN	R.R. CONDUCTOR	800	4,200
ALEXANDER H. McCULLOUGH	44	PA	R.R. TICKET AGENT	R.R. CLERK	2,000	8,000
GEORGE W. RICE	43	PA	R.R. CONDUCTOR	RESTAURANTKEEPER	1,500	3,000
JAMES ADAMS	47	PA	R.R. ENGINEER	R.R. ENGINEER	1,800	6,000
ORMOND N. LULL	46	VT	R.R. SUPERINTENDENT	R.R. SUPERINTENDENT	0	0
SAMUEL BOYD	34	PA	BAR/RESTAURANT- KEEPER	HOTELKEEPER	0	0
HENRY FELDMAN	39	GER.	RESTAURANTKEEPER	HOTELKEEPER	1,600	5,000
PETER FELDMAN	40	GER.	RESTAURANTKEEPER	HOTELKEEPER	1,800	0
ADAM WOLFF	37	PA	RESTAURANTKEEPER	RESTAURANTKEEPER	1,000	2,500
WILLIAM CLARK	39	PA	ROPEMAKER	UPHOLSTERER	950	1,500
JOHN CROFT	27	PA	SADDLER	SADDLE/HARNESSMAKER	500	1,800

JEREMIAH OYSTER	42	PA	MASTER SADDLER	SADDLER	1,200	4,000
MARTIN BROWN	37	PA	SALOONKEEPER	RESTAURANTKEEPER	1,500	1,000
LOUISA NELSON	40	VA	SERVENT	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
ANNA SCOTT	24	PA	SERVENT	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
ANDREW McILWAIN	41	PA	SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT	JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	0	2,000
SAMUEL MOORE	40	PA	SCHOOL TEACHER	SCHOOL TEACHER	0	0
DAVID McFADDEN	36	PA	SCHOOL TEACHER	SCHOOL TEACHER	0	0
HANNAH BITNER	38	PA	SEAMSTRESS	HOUSEKEEPER	850	1,200
MARY GILLIAN	45	PA	SEAMSTRESS	MILLINER	1,400	6,000
SARAH STOUFFER	60	MD	SEAMSTRESS	HOUSEKEEPER	600	0
WILLIAM McGRATH	60	PA	SHERIFF	RETIRED FARMER	100	8,000
GEORGE BELL	60	VA	SHOEBLACK	SHOEMAKER	300	350
JOHN CRIST	62	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	500	0
JOHN CRIST	31	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	0	0
CHARLES CROFT	32	PA	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	850	4,000
PETER DANNER	30	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	0	1,000
GEORGE LEWIS HOFFMAN	37	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	600	1,500
ISAAC IRWIN	33	PA	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	800	1,000
JOHN JACOBY	46	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	600	1,600
CHRISTIAN MICHAELS	46	PA	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	600	1,100
JOHN ROBESON	51	VA	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	0	0
GEORGE SMITH	27	PA	SHOEMAKER	SHOE MERCHANT	0	0
GEORGE K. SMITH	24	PA	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	0	800
WILLIAM SOMICK	40	GER.	SHOEMAKER	SHOEMAKER	0	900
LEWIS WAMPLER	46	PA	SILVERPLATER	COACH/SADDLE MERCHANT	1,000	3,750
JAMES KING	48	SCOT.	STONECUTTER	MARBLECUTTER	5,000	10,000
GEORGE LIPPY	23	PA	STONECUTTER	STONECUTTER	0	0
SAMUEL ARMSTRONG	50	PA	SURVEYOR	JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	4,500	6,000
BARNET BICKLEY	32	PA	TAILOR	TAILOR	2,000	3,000
JOHN CRAMER	34	PA	TAILOR	MERCHANT TAILOR	0	0
FRANKLIN ELLIOTT	33	GER.	MERCHANT TAILOR	CLOTHING DEALER	2,000	0

ALFRED HENDRICKS	44	MD	TAILOR	TAILOR	0	0
THOMAS HENNEBARGER	34	PA	TAILOR	TAILOR	1,000	1,200
DAVID HOUSER	48	PA	TAILOR	STONECUTTER	800	0
ADAM LOHMAN	24	GER.	TAILOR	TAILOR	0	1,500
SAMUEL M. PERRY	41	PA	MASTER TAILOR	TAILOR	1,200	0
ALEXANDER RINEHART	40	PA	TAILOR	TAILOR	0	1,800
ELIZABETH HOUSER	52	PA	TAILORESS	HOUSEKEEPER	650	1,100
JOHN KING	41	PA	TANNER	TANNER	250	1,000
DANIEL MINNICH	48	PA	TANNER	TANNER	1,800	1,500
JOHN SNIDER	31	PA	TANNER	TANNER	1,500	0
AUGUSTUS BICKLEY	48	PA	TAX COLLECTOR	TAILOR	600	1,200
MICHAEL MINNICH	25	PA	TINNER	TINSMITH	0	0
JOHN A. JACOBS	55	PA	TOBACCONIST	CIGAR MANUFACTURER	300	0
JOHN A. BROWN	42	GER.	WAGONMAKER	WAGONMAKER	1,500	2,000
HENRY RINEHART	54	GER.	WAGONMAKER	SILVERSMITH	0	2,400
NANCY GOWENS	49	VA	WASHERWOMAN	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
JANE LANE	40	MD	WASHERWOMAN	HOUSEKEEPER	0	0
MICHAEL KUSS	46	GER.	WATCHMAKER	JEWELER	3,000	0
AUGUSTUS REINEMAN	49	GER.	WATCHMAKER	JEWELRY DEALER	12,000	22,000
HENRY EMBICK	50	PA	WEAVER	FULLER AND DYER	0	0

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS 1860-1870

TABLE 2.10
OCCUPATIONAL PERSISTENCE AND MIGRATION AMONG 334
HOUSEHOLD HEADS STUDY GROUP, 1860-1870

* = Change uncertain due to method of enumeration regarding women on 1870 Census

OCCUPATION 1860	# OF PERSONS	PERSISTENT #	PERSISTENT %	MIGRATION #	MIGRATION %
ATTORNEY/LAWYER	8	8	100.0	0	0
BAKER	1	1	100.0	0	0
BANK EMPLOYEES	4	3	75.0	1	25.0
BARBER	1	1	100.0	0	0
BASKETMAKER	1	0	0	1	100.0
BLACKSMITH	13	10	76.9	3	23.1
BOOKBINDER	1	1	100.0	0	0
BREWER	1	1	100.0	0	0
BRICKMAKER	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
BUTCHER	7	7	100.0	0	0
CABINETMAKER	4	0	0	4	100.0
CANDLEMAKER	1	0	0	1	100.0
CARPENTER	23	20	87.0	3	13.0
CHAIR FACTORY OWNER	1	1	100.0	0	0
CIGARMAKER	1	1	100.0	0	0
CLERK	3	1	33.3	2	66.7
CLERK OF COURT	1	0	0	1	100.0
CLOTHING MERCHANT	1	1	100.0	0	0
COACHMAKER	4	2	50.0	2	50.0
COMMISSION MERCHANT	4	1	25.0	3	75.0
CONFECTIONER	3	0	0	3	100.0
COOK*	1	0	0	1	100.0
COOPER	4	3	75.0	1	25.0
CUTLER	2	0	0	2	100.0
DROVER	2	0	0	2	100.0
DRUGGIST	2	2	100.0	0	0
DRY GOODS MERCHANT	5	5	100.0	0	0
EDGED TOOL COMPANY	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
FARMER	4	1	25.0	3	75.0
FENCEMAKER	1	1	100.0	0	0
FLOUR STOREKEEPER *	1	0	0	1	100.0
GAS FITTER	2	2	100.0	0	0
GENTLEMAN	22	6	27.3	16	72.7

GROCER	5	4	80.0	1	20.0
HARDWARE MERCHANT	1	1	100.0	0	0
HAT/CAP MERCHANT	2	2	100.0	0	0
HOME FURNISHINGS STORE	1	1	100.0	0	0
HOTELKEEPER	1	1	100.0	0	0
INNKEEPER	1	1	100.0	0	0
IRON MOULDER	1	1	100.0	0	0
JEWELER	1	1	100.0	0	0
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	1	1	100.0	0	0
LABORER	54	25	46.3	29	53.7
LIME BURNER	1	0	0	1	100.0
LIVERYKEEPER	1	0	0	1	100.0
MACHINE FOUNDRY OWNER	1	1	100.0	0	0
MACHINIST	2	0	0	2	100.0
MASON	7	7	100.0	0	0
MERCHANT	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
MILLWRIGHT	2	2	100.0	0	0
MINISTER	3	3	100.0	0	0
NO OCCUPATION	26	24	92.3	2	7.7
OYSTER SELLER	2	0	0	2	100.0
PAINTER	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
PAPERMAKER	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
PEDLER	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
PHOTOGRAPHER	1	1	100.0	0	0
PHYSICIAN	7	6	85.7	1	14.3
PLOWMAKER	1	1	100.0	0	0
PORTER	1	1	100.0	0	0
PRINTER	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
PROTONOTARY	1	0	0	1	100.0
PUMPMAKER	1	1	100.0	0	0
R.R. EMPLOYEES	5	4	80.0	1	20.0
RESTAURANTKEEPER	4	1	25.0	3	75.0
ROPEMAKER	1	0	0	1	100.0
SADDLER	2	2	100.0	0	0
SALOONKEEPER	1	0	0	1	100.0
SERVENT *	2	0	0	2	100.0
SCHOOL EMPLOYEES	3	2	66.7	1	33.3
SEAMSTRESS *	3	0	0	3	100.0
SHERIFF	1	0	0	1	100.0
SHOEBLACK	1	0	0	1	100.0
SHOEMAKER	12	11	91.7	1	08.3
SILVERPLATER	1	0	0	1	100.0
STONECUTTER	2	2	100.0	0	0
SURVEYOR	1	0	0	1	100.0

TAILOR	9	6	66.7	3	33.3
TAILORESS *	1	0	0	1	100.0
TANNER	3	3	100.0	0	0
TAX COLLECTOR	1	0	0	1	100.0
TINNER	1	1	100.0	0	0
TOBACCONIST	1	1	100.0	0	0
WAGONMAKER	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
WASHERWOMAN *	2	0	0	2	100.0
WATCHMAKER	2	0	0	2	100.0
WEAVER	1	0	0	1	100.0
TOTALS	334	209	62.6% OF 334	125	37.4% OF 334

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870**

TABLE 2.11
PERCENTILES OF PERSISTANCE OF SIGNIFICANT* 1860 OCCUPATIONS
AMONGST 334 PERSON STUDY GROUP

* = Minimum of three persons

** = Enumerators adjusted methods of counting in 1870

*** = No Occupation listed in 1860 and in 1870 these same persons were enumerated as
 "Housekeepers"

OCCUPATION	OCCUPATION PERSISTANCE PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN OCCUPATION
ATTORNET/LAWYER	100.0	8
BUTCHER	100.0	7
DRY GOODS MERCHANT/CLERK	100.0	5
MASON **	100.0	6
TANNER	100.0	3
NO OCCUPATION ***	92.3	26
SHOEMAKER	91.7	12
CARPENTER	87.0	23
PHYSICIAN	85.7	7
RAILROAD EMPLOYEES	80.0	5
BLACKSMITH	76.9	13
BANK EMPLOYEES	75.0	4
BRICKMAKER	66.7	3
MERCHANT	66.7	3
MINISTER/EDITOR	66.7	3

PAINTER	66.7	3
PRINTER	66.7	3
SCHOOL EMPLOYEES	66.7	3
TAILOR	66.7	9
COACHMAKER	50.0	4
LABORER **	48.2	54
CLERK **	33.3	3
FARMER	25.0	4
BAR/RESTAURANTKEEPERS	25.0	4
GENTLEMAN	22.7	22
CABINETMAKER	0	4
SEAMSTRESS **	0	3

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870**

TABLE 2.12
NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF CHAMBERSBURG HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN 1860 AND 1870 CENSUSES

CATEGORY DESCRIPTION	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE	
	1860	1870	1860	1870
TOTAL CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS VS. TOTAL TOWN POPULATION	873 OF 5259	1310 OF 6304	16.6	20.8
CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS PERSISTING THROUGHOUT THE DECADE	334 OF 873	--- 0 ---	38.3	--- 0 ---
PERSISTENT CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT REAL ESTATE DURING DECADE	58 OF 334	---0---	17.4	---0---
PERSISTENT CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH REAL ESTATE 1860 – NO REAL ESTATE 1870	41 OF 334	--- 0 ---	12.3	---0---

PERSISTENT CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO REAL ESTATE 1860 – REAL ESTATE 1870	--- 0 ---	40 OF 334	---0---	12.0
PERSISTENT CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH REAL ESTATE 1860-1870	195 OF 334	195 OF 334	58.4	---0---
TOTAL PERSISTENT CHAMBERSBURG HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH REAL ESTATE	236 OF 334	235 OF 334	236 = 70.7 OF 334	235 = 70.4 OF 334

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS 1860-1870

APPENDIX 3:
**GENERAL POPULATION TABLES AND COMPARISON TABLES
BETWEEN GENERAL POPULATION AND STUDY GROUP**

TABLE 3.1
OCCUPATIONS OF ALL PERSONS IN BOTH THE 1860 AND 1870 CENSUSES

BOLD = NEW OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION IN 1870.

OCCUPATION	1860 NorthWard	1860 SouthWard	TOTAL	1870 NorthWard	1870 SouthWard	TOTAL
Apple Seller	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Artist	1	0	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Attorney	26	7	= 0033	22	4	= 0026
Auctioneer	1	3	= 0004	0	3	= 0003
Baker	7	2	= 0009	0	9	= 0009
Bank	3	2	= 0005	7	2	= 0009
Barber	1	7	= 0008	3	10	= 0013
Apprentice Barber	0	0	= 0000	1	1	= 0002
Barkeeper/Saloon Keeper	6	5	= 0011	7	1	= 0008
Basket Maker	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Blacksmith	22	19	= 0041	25	27	= 0052
Apprentice Blacksmith	1	2	= 0003	1	2	= 0003
Boarder	0	0	= 0000	106	3	= 0109
Bookbinder	1	4	= 0005	1	1	= 0002
Brewer	3	3	= 0006	3	4	= 0007
Brickmaker	2	12	= 0014	3	11	= 0014
Broommaker	0	0	= 0000	0	2	= 0002
Butcher	9	8	= 0017	11	15	= 0026

Apprentice Butcher	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Cabinet Maker	5	12	= 0017	3	2	= 0005
Apprentice Cabinetmaker	0	2	= 0002	0	2	= 0002
Apprentice Cadet	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Candlemaker	0	2	= 0002	0	2	= 0002
Carpenter	46	28	= 0074	44	46	= 0090
Apprentice Carpenter	0	4	= 0004	0	2	= 0002
Carriagemaker	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Carriage Painter	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Chainmaker	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Chairmaker	1	6	= 0007	1	5	= 0006
Apprentice Chairmaker	0	3	= 0003	0	1	= 0001
Chemist	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Chimney Sweep	0	1	= 0000	0	0	= 0000
Cigar Maker	1	6	= 0007	7	12	= 0019
Apprentice Cigarmaker	0	0	= 0000	1	3	= 0004
Cistern Builder	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Civil Engineer	2	0	= 0002	1	0	= 0001
Clergy	5	11	= 0016	13	9	= 0022
Clerk	45	18	= 0063	50	28	= 0078
Clock Repair	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Coach Framer	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Coachmaker	16	2	= 0018	6	3	= 0009
Coach Painter	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Coachsmith	0	0	= 0000	4	0	= 0004
Apprentice Coachsmith	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Coach Trimmer	1	0	= 0001	5	0	= 0005

Confectioner	5	2	= 0007	3	3	= 0006
Apprentice Confectioner	0	2	= 0002	0	0	= 0000
Cooper	4	6	= 0010	2	5	= 0007
Apprentice Cooper	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Coppersmith	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Courts/Municipal	5	4	= 0009	12	8	= 0020
Cutler	0	5	= 0005	0	0	= 0000
Dentist	2	2	= 0004	3	1	= 0004
Distillers	2	0	= 0002	0	0	= 0000
Houseworker	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Domestic	133	7	= 0140	126	95	= 0221
Driver/Express Wagon Driver	2	0	= 0002	3	6	= 0009
Drover	0	3	= 0003	0	2	= 0002
Druggist	4	3	= 0007	3	2	= 0005
Apprentice Druggist	0	0	= 0000	0	3	= 0003
Edged Tools	1	5	= 0006	1	0	= 0001
Express Agent/Mail Agent	2	2	= 0004	0	1	= 0001
Farmer	12	7	= 0019	24	20	= 0044
Fencemaker	0	3	= 0003	0	4	= 0004
Fire Insurance Agent	0	0	= 0000	0	2	= 0002
Brass/Iron/Founder	1	1	= 0002	3	3	= 0006
Apprentice Iron Founder	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Gardener	1	2	= 0003	2	17	= 0019
Gas Company	2	0	= 0002	4	1	= 0005
Gentleman	57	50	= 0107	12	0	= 0012
Grocer	2	9	= 0011	24	17	= 0041
Gunsmith	1	1	= 0002	0	1	= 0001

Hatter	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Hotel/Inn Keeper/Workers	11	14	= 0025	18	31	= 0049
Hostler	7	5	= 0012	6	6	= 0012
Housekeeper	0	2	= 0002	581	776	= 1357
Jeweler	4	0	= 0004	5	4	= 0009
Apprentice Jeweler	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Laborer/Hand/Errand Boy	118	184	= 0302	122	197	= 0319
Life Insurance Agent	0	0	= 0000	0	2	= 0002
Lime Burner	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Livery Keeper	2	0	= 0002	3	1	= 0004
Livestock Dealer	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Lumber/Lime Dealer	1	0	= 0001	3	3	= 0006
Machinist	27	8	= 0035	7	4	= 0011
Apprentice Machinist	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Mantumaker	0	9	= 0009	7	0	= 0007
Mason	8	13	= 0021	10	25	= 0035
Apprentice Mason	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Matchmaker	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Merchant	29	13	= 0042	33	26	= 0059
Miller	4	2	= 0006	6	3	= 0009
Milliner	5	11	= 0016	5	18	= 0023
Apprentice Milliner	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Millwright	6	0	= 0006	5	1	= 0006
Miner	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Brick/Iron Moulder	4	4	= 0008	8	0	= 0008
Apprentice Moulder	0	1	= 0001	1	0	= 0001
Musician	1	0	= 0001	0	0	= 0000

Nail Maker	1	0	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Net Maker	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Newspaper	2	0	= 0002	5	2	= 0007
NoOccupation (Female)	1134	1311	= 2445	509	833	= 1342
NoOccupation (Male)	436	568	= 1004	273	654	= 0927
Nurse	1	2	= 0003	0	0	= 0000
Nurseryman	0	0	= 0000	3	0	= 0003
Oyster Seller	2	0	= 0002	0	0	= 0000
Packer	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Painter	9	5	= 0014	12	9	= 0021
Apprentice Painter	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Paper Mill	1	6	= 0007	33	0	= 0033
Huckstr/Pedlar/Sales/Agt/Rep/Dealer	4	12	= 0016	23	26	= 0045
Apprentice Peeler	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Photographer/Daguerreotype	1	1	= 0002	4	0	= 0004
Phrenologist	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Physician	8	8	= 0016	10	6	= 0016
Plasterer	4	5	= 0009	1	12	= 0013
Apprentice Plasterer	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Plowmaker	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Police/Jail	0	0	= 0000	4	0	= 0004
Porter	0	1	= 0001	1	6	= 0007
Postal Employee	1	1	= 0002	1	1	= 0002
Potter	0	6	= 0006	0	6	= 0006
Apprentice Potter	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Printer	20	10	= 0030	7	14	= 0021
Apprentice Printer	0	3	= 0003	5	2	= 0007

Proprietor/Manufacturer	2	1	= 0003	8	7	= 0015
Pumpmaker	2	0	= 0002	0	2	= 0002
Quarry	1	4	= 0005	7	25	= 0032
Railroad	22	4	= 0026	48	12	= 0060
Restaurant	0	3	= 0003	11	5	= 0016
Ropemaker	7	0	= 0007	1	0	= 0001
Saddler/Harnessmaker	10	8	= 0018	6	9	= 0015
Apprentice Saddler	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Sawyer	0	4	= 0004	0	10	= 0010
School Teacher/Music Teacher	12	16	= 0028	17	13	= 0030
Seamstress/Dressmaker	30	37	= 0067	1	30	= 0031
Apprentice Seamstress/Dressmaker	0	0	= 0000	0	3	= 0003
Servant	13	59	= 0072	0	0	= 0000
Sexton	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Shoe Black	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Shoemaker/Bootmaker	22	33	= 0055	15	35	= 0050
Apprentice Shoemaker	0	5	= 0005	0	6	= 0006
Shopkeeper/Storekeeper	1	0	= 0001	2	1	= 0003
Silverplater	0	2	= 0002	0	0	= 0000
Apprentice Silverplater	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Silversmith	1	1	= 0002	2	0	= 0002
Apprentice Silversmith	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Slater	0	2	= 0002	0	1	= 0001
Stock Agent	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Student/Boarding Student	19	20	= 0039	523	4	= 0527
Sugarmaker	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Surveyor	1	0	= 0001	1	0	= 0001

Tailor/Tailoress/Vest Maker	7	19	= 0026	10	27	= 0037
Apprentice Tailor	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Tallow Chandler	0	1	= 0001	0	2	= 0002
Tanner	4	3	= 0007	8	4	= 0012
Apprentice Tanner	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Teamster	0	2	= 0002	0	2	= 0002
Telegraph Operator	3	0	= 0003	3	1	= 0004
Tinker	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Tinner/Tinsmith	10	7	= 0017	10	12	= 0022
Apprentice Tinner	0	2	= 0002	2	2	= 0004
Tobacconist/Tobacco Dealer	0	6	= 0006	4	1	= 0005
Undertaker	0	0	= 0000	0	2	= 0002
Upholsterer	0	0	= 0000	2	0	= 0002
Veterinary Surgeon	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Wagonmaker	9	1	= 0010	4	1	= 0005
Apprentice Wagonmaker	0	1	= 0001	2	1	= 0003
Warehouseman	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Washerwoman	0	28	= 0028	2	5	= 0007
Watchmaker	0	3	= 0003	0	0	= 0000
Apprentice Watchmaker	0	2	= 0002	0	0	= 0000
Watchman	1	0	= 0001	0	0	= 0000
Weaver	2	3	= 0005	2	2	= 0004
Apprentice Weaver	0	0	= 0000	1	0	= 0001
Well Digger	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Wheelwright	0	0	= 0000	0	1	= 0001
Woolen Mill	0	0	= 0000	9	15	= 0024
White Smith	0	1	= 0001	0	0	= 0000

White Washer	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001
Windmillmaker/Windmill Agent	0	1	= 0001	0	1	= 0001

1860 OCCUPATIONS BY COLUMN:	NORTH WARD = 2,471	SOUTH WARD = 2,788	1860 TOTAL = 5,259
1870 OCCUPATIONS BY COLUMN:	NORTH WARD = 2,971	SOUTH WARD = 3,333	1870 TOTAL = 6,304
1870 NET CHANGE IN RAW NUMBERS:	NORTH WARD = + 500	SOUTH WARD = + 545	TOTAL = + 1,045
1870 NET CHANGE IN PERCENTAGES:	NORTH WARD = + 20.2	SOUTH WARD = + 19.6	TOTAL = + 19.9

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870

TABLE 3.2
BUILDING TRADESMEN 1860 VS. 1870

OCCUPATION	1860	1870	INCREASE
Carpenters	74	92	24.3%
Painters	15	22	46.7%
Plasterers	10	13	30.0%
Masons	22	35	59.1%
TOTAL BUILDING TRADESMEN	121	162	33.9%

**SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870**

TABLE 3.3
NATIVITY OF CHAMBERSBURG HOUSEHOLD HEADS,
1860 – 1870

GROUP	RAW NUMBER 1860	PERCENT OF 1860 TOTAL	RAW NUMBER 1870	PERCENT OF 1870 TOTAL
GERMAN BORN	178	20.5	207	14.8
FOREIGN BORN OTHER THAN GERMAN	30	3.4	35	2.7
PENNSYLVANIA BORN	549	62.8	862	65.8
U.S. BORN OTHER THAN PENNSYLVANIA	116	13.3	206	15.7
TOTAL HEADS OF CHAMBERSBURG HOSEHOLDS	873	100.0	1,310	100.0

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870

TABLE 3.4
PROFESSIONALS IN CHAMBERSBURG POPULATION, 1860-1870

PERCENTAGE KEY:

= No Change

+ Increase

- Decrease

* Includes Apprentices

** Numbers uncertain due to methods of enumeration in 1870 census

OCCUPATION	1860	1870	% CHANGE
ATTORNEY	33	26	- 21.2
BANK EMPLOYEES	5	9	+ 80.0
CHEMIST	0	1	+ 100.0
CIVIL ENGINEER	2	1	- 100.0
DENTIST	4	4	= 000.0
DRUGGIST	7	8*	+ 14.3
EDUCATOR	28	30	+ 7.1
INSURANCE AGENT	0	4	+ 400.0
NEWSPAPER EMPLOYEES	2	7	+ 250.0
NURSE**	3	0	- 300.0
PHOTOGRAPHER	2	4	+ 100.0
PHYSICIAN	8	11	+ 37.5
RELIGIOUS LEADERS	16	22	+ 37.5
SUPERINTENDENT	0	9	+ 900.0
SURVEYOR	1	1	= 000.0
TELEGRAPHER	3	4	+ 33.3
UNDERTAKER	0	2	+ 200.0
VERTERANARY SURGEON	0	1	+ 100.0
TOTALS	114	144	+ 26.3

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/UNITED STATES CENSUS,
1860-1870

APPENDIX 4:
BORDER COMMISSION TABLES AND COMPARISON TABLES
BETWEEN BORDER COMMISSION AND STUDY GROUP

TABLE 4.1

ALPHABATIZED COMPARATIVE LISTING OF CHAMBERSBURG RESIDENTS WITH REALTY LOSSES CAUSED BY THE BURNING

SOURCES: HOKE, SCHNECK, VALLEY SPIRIT, PENNSYLVANIA BORDER COMMISSION

NOTE: Many properties include both Personal and Business real estate in undifferentiated sums. Known Business real estate listed separately at end of residential registry.

KEY:

1. **BLANK SPACE** = Not mentioned in specific account.

2. **()** = **ADDITIONS TO GIVEN NAMES.** Given Name spellings taken from Hoke. Completed Given Names from other sources including 1860 and 1870 censuses, Valley Spirit, Franklin Repository, Schneck, Kittochtinny Society Papers, Biographical Annals of Franklin County, Historical Sketch of Franklin County, History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania

3. ***** = **ALTERNATIVE SURNAME SPELLINGS.** Surname spellings taken from Hoke, except for names not listed by that source. See notes column for alternative spellings. Sources include 1860 and 1870 censuses, Valley Spirit, Franklin Repository, Schneck, Kittochtinny Society Papers, Biographical Annals of Franklin County, Historical Sketch of Franklin County, History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

4. **BOLD** = Disagreement of amounts of realty losses among sources used in this chart.

5. **ITALICS/BOLD** = **KNOWN** lump-sum Real Estate amounts given in the Pennsylvania Border Commission Claims for multiple losses of one individual creating discrepancies in amounts of realty losses when compared to other sources.

6. **ITALICIZED SURNAME:** African-American

NAME	HOKE	SCHNCK	VALLEY SPIRIT/ FRNKLIN RPSTRY	PENN. BORDER COMMIS- SION	NOTES
1. ALLEN, Josiah	1,000	1,000	1,000		
2. ARMSTRONG, Samuel (M).	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	Eastern Hotel Owner
3. AUGHINBAUGH, Edward *	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	Auginbaugh
4. AUSTIN, James C.	5,000	5,000	5,000	7,500	
5. AUSTIN, R(ebecca)	5,500	5,500	5,500		Total of (2) amounts
6. BANKER, Andrew	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	Total of (2) amounts
7. BARD, (R.M.) Ms.	6,500	6,500	6,500	7,000	
8. BIGLEY, John *	500	500	500	500	Bickly
9. BLACK, James L.	5,000	5,000	5,000		
10. BLOOD, (Jane) – PURVIANCE(Eliza)	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	
11. BOYLE, William H.	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	
12. BRAND, Ms.	0	0	0		
13. BRANDT, Samuel (Christian) *	800	800	800	800	Brant
14. BREWER, George W. *	5,500	5,500	5,500	8,000	Breever

15. BROUGH, Peter (Susannah)	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
16. BROWN, Jacob S	500	500	500	1,200	
17. BROWN, James M.	3,000	3,300	3,300	3,500	
18. BROWN, Martin	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	
19. BURKHART, Christian *	4,500	4,500	4,500	5,500	Burkholder
20. BURKHOLDER, John - heirs	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	
21. BUTLER, (Isabell) Ms	400	400	400	550	
22. CAMPBELL, Patrick - heirs	700	700	700		
23. CARLISLE, Thomas	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	(2) amts. - Edged Tool/Axe Manufacturer
24. CHAMBERS, Benjamin	5,000	5,000	5,000		
25. CHAMBERS, George	9,500	9,500	9,500	16,500	(2) amts - Includes Shop/Seminary/ Home
26. CHAMBERS, Joseph (Sarah)	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	
27. CHAMBERS, Susan	2,500	2,500		2,500	
28. CLARK, L(yman) S. *	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,800	Clarke
29. CLARK, (Ann & Elizabeth) Ms.	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	
30. COLE, Martin	1,500	1,500	1,500	3,000	
31. COOK, Ellen				400	

32. COOK, John B.	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	Grist Mill Owner
33. COOK, Thomas (& S. H.)	600	600	600	800	Butchers (Discrepancy – Shop ??)
34. COOPER, John M.	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	Publisher <i>Valley Spirit</i>
35. CRAWFORD, Holmes	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
36. CREE, John	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	
37. CROFT, Charles	800	800	800	800	
38. CULBERTSON, Edmund*	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	Culberston/Cublertson
39. CULBERTSON, John P.*	9,500	9,500	9,500	10,800	Culberston/ Total of (2) amounts
40. CULBERTSON, S. D. Dr-heirs *	4,000	4,000	4,000	0	Cublertson
41. CUNNINGHAM, William	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
42. DAVIS, Robert	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	
43. DITTMAN, John *	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	Ditman
44. DECKELMAYER, Joseph *	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	Deckellmayer
45. DOEBLER, John *	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	Deobler
46. DOUGLAS, J(oseph) W./ (Louisa)	600	600	600	600	
47. DUNCAN, Augustus	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	

48. DUNCAN, C(alvin) M.	17,000	17,000	17,000	17,000	Total of (2) amounts
49. EBY, Jacob	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,900	
50. ECKERT, Sebastian/ (Louisa C.)	1,000	1,000	-----	1,000	
51. ETTER, Samuel	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
52. EVANS, Philip (Charles)	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	
53. EYSTER & BROTHER	5,500	5,500	5,500	15,500	Includes Warehouse & Home
54 EYSTER, C(harles) W.	3,000	3,000	3,000	18,000	Includes Mills & Home
55. EYSTER, Christian S.				60	
56. EYSTER, George				4,500	
57. EYSTER, George S. Ms	2,500	2,500	2,500		PA Border Commission - M.M.Eyster claim?
58. EYSTER, J. Allison	18,200	18,200	18,200	15,200	Total of (5) amounts
59. EYSTER, James (L.)	4,500	4,500	4,500	4,500	
60. EYSTER, M. M.				2,500	Hoke et.al. - Ms. George S. Eyster Claim?
61. FINEFROCK, E(phraim) (Ekhram)	2,000	2,000	2,000	0	Finafrock/Fincefrock
62. FISHER, R(ebecca) Ms (2)	7,000	7,000	5,000	7,000	
63. FISHER, S. R. Rev.(& wife)	500	500	500	500	
64. FLACK, Christian *	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	Fleck

65. FLINDER, Jacob	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	(2) amts/Includes Henry Flinder, deceased
66. FORBES, John	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,500	
67. FREY, A(lonzo) P(eter) *	3,000	3,000		3,750	Peter A. Fry
68. FRITZ, Alexander	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	
69. GARWICK, Nicholas *	100	100	100		PA Border Commission – Gerwick/Gerbis?
70. GEHR, D(aniel) O.	5,500	5,500	5,500	7,342	
71.. GERBIG, Nicholas				225	HOKE et.al. - Nicholas Garwick Claim?
72. GILLAN, Mary	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	
73. GILLAN, Matthew - heirs	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	
74. GILLMORE,(Martha) Ms. *	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	Gilmore
75. GOETTMAN, (Margaret) Ms.	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	
76. GREENAWALT, Henry	300	300	300	300	Franklin House Hotel?
77. GREENAWALT, Samuel	5,500	5,500	5,500		HOKE et.al. - Samuel F.Greenawalt Claim?
78. GREENAWALT, Samuel F.	3,000	3,000	3,000	8,300	PA B. Cn – Combined with Samuel Greenawalt?

79. GRIER, John D.	4,500	4,500	4,500	4,500	
80. GROVE, (Mary) widow	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,700	Widow of Alexander
81. GROVE, (Julia) widow	1,500	1,500	1,500	2,500	Widow of William
82. HAMILTON, A. B.	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	
83. HAMILTON, James (L.) Dr.	7,000	7,000	7,000	6,600	
84. HARKINS, Catherine				700	
85. HARMON, Conrad (Canrod) *	800	800	800	1,230	Harman
86. HETRICK, (Carrie) Miss	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	
87. HEYSER, William - heirs	5,500	5,500	5,500	0	PA BC - obvious. Typo
88. HOKE, Jacob (& H. Elias)	5,500	5,500		5,500	
89. HOSKINSON, J(ohn) T.	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	
90. HUBER, Abraham		2,000	2,000	2,000	
91. HUBER, John *	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	Heeber
92. HULL, A(braham) S.	2,000	2,000		2,500	
93. HUMMELSHINE, Levi	600	600	600		PA BC - Kocher claim?
94. HUTTON, Isaac - heirs	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	
95. HUTTON, Jacob	4,500	4,500	4,500	4,500	
96. HUTZ, H(enry) H.	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,000	

97. JEFFRIES, John	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,400	
98. JORDAN, (A. E. & A. M.) Ms.	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	Includes DUFFIELD claim
99. KAUFFMAN, A(braham) D.*	4,000	4,000	4,000	5,000	Caufman is correct spelling
100.KEEFER, John P.	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,675	Surname: Keiffer 1860/Dry Goods Merchant
101. KENNEDY, T (homas) B.	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	
102. KINDLINE, (John) heirs	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,800	
103. KING, James	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,970	
104. KING, John (Catherine)	400	400	400	400	
105. KOCHER, Rosanna				600	Hoke et.al. - Hummelshine claim?
106. KUSS, Michael *	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	Kass
107. LAMBERT, John Dr.	5,500	5,500	5,500	6,000	
108. LANGHEIM, (D. Henry) Dr. *	3,000	3,000		3,000	Langeheine/Laughlin
109. LEHMASTER, John A. *	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	Lemaster is correct spelling
110. LEHNER, George	400	400	400	605	
111. LINDSEY, John (Catherine E.)	2,500	2,500	2,500	3,000	
112. LUDWIG, George	11,000	11,000	11,000	19,000	(2) amts./Includes Brewery & Home

113. MILLER, A(ndrew) J.	4,500	4,500	4,500	6,000	Druggist
114. MILLER, Charles F.	4,500	4,500	4,500	3,988	
115. MILLER, Jacob B.	3,400	3,400	3,400	3,400	Total of (2) amounts
116. MILLER, John	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	
117. <i>MONKS, Henry *</i>	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	Monke
118 MONTGOMERY, James-heirs	9,000	9,000		9,000	Margaretta-wife/ Montgomery Hotel Owners
119 MULL, John	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,200	
120. MYERS, Samuel	3,200	3,200	3,200	3,200	
121. McCLINTOCK, John (Jacob)	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	
122. McCLURE , A(lexander) K.	9,500	9,500	9,500	11,500	
123. McCULLOH, A(lex). H. *	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	McCollough/McCullough
124. McDOWELL, John M. (W.)	3,500	3,500	3,500	6,300	McDowel
125. McDOWELL, William H.	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,500	
126. McELWAINE, Andrew M.	400	400	400	397	McIlwain
127. McGAFFIGAN, Peter *	600	600	600	635	McGraffiger
128. NEAD, Benjamin F. *	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	Neade

129. NELL, Thomas Jefferson				500	HOKE et.al/Nill claim ?
130. NELSON, Rev. (Alexander K.)	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,500	
131. NILL, James - heirs	500	500	500		PA Border Commission/Nell claim?
132. NIXON, Susan Ms.	1,800	1,800	1,800		
133. NOEL, John	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	
134. OTT, Samuel	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,200	Includes Shop & Home
135. PALMER, (Jane) Widow	150	150	150	255	
136. PAVARD, Elizabeth				20	
137. PEIFFER, (Philip)-heirs	2,600	2,600	2,600	2,600	
138 PEIPER, P. Henry	1,900	1,900	1,900	1,900	Peiffer
139. PERRY, Samuel M.	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,035.	Includes claim # 84/this table.
140. PIERCE, Nathan *	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	Pearse
141. PISLE, Christian	500	500	500	500	
142. RADEBAUGH, (Catherine S.)	800	800	800	800	
143. RADENBAUGH*, B(ernard A.)	600	600	600	750	Radebaugh is correct.
144. RAPP, Mary	400	400	400	400	
145. REED, John H.				5,000	Hoke et.al. – W.G.Reed Claim?

146. REED, William G.	5,000	5,000	5,000		PA BC - J.H.Reed Claim?
147. REGES, John W. (Mary)	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	
148. REINEMAN, Augustus *	2,500	2,500	2,500		Reinaman
149. REID, Elihu				4,000	
150. REISHER, Daniel	10,600	10,500	10,500	8,000	Total of (2) amounts
151. REISHER, Samuel				4,500	
152. REYNOLDS, J. G.				550	
153. RHODES, Benjamin *	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	Rodes/Rhodes
154. RICHARDS, (John C.) Dr.	5,500	5,500	5,500		
155. RIDDLE, Ms.	3,500	3,500	3,500		
156. ROBINSON, Hunter (Rebecca)	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	Robisen
157. ROBINSON, John				50	Robison is correct
158 SCHLOSSER, N(oah) Rev.	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	
159. SCHNECK, B(enjamin) S(chroder)	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
160. SCHOFIELD, John	1,600	1,600	1,600	2,000	
161. SELLERS, Jacob	4,000	4,000	4,000	5,000	
162. SHAFER, Jacob *	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	Shaffer
163. SHILLITO, S. M. (W.) *	1,500	1,200	1,500	1,500	

164. SHOEMAKER, Lewis (Mary)	4,200	4,200	4,200	4,200	
165. SIERER, H(enry)	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	Furniture Factory
166. SMITH, Allen	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	
167. SMITH, Frederick (K.) Ms.	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	
168. SMITH, Jacob (Elizabeth) Ms.	100	100	100	100	
169. SNYDER, C(atherine) Ms.	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	
170. SNYDER, Nicholas *	2,500	2,500	2,500	3,000	Smider
171. SPAHR, F(rederick)	2,500	2,500		2,500	
172. STEVENSON, Sarah Ms.	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	
173. STOUFFER, Christian (Chick)	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,150	
174. STOUFFER, Elizabeth (Sarah)	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	
175. STOUT, C(hristian)	600	800	600		
176. STAUTH, John				1,000	
177. TAYLOR, Daniel (David) L.	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,600	
178. TAYLOR, John W.	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000	
179. THOMPSON, (Jane G.) Ms.	600	600	600	600	
180. TOLBERT, Robert E.	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	

181. TROSTLE, Daniel	8,500	8,500	1,500	8,600	Total of (2) amounts
182. WALLACE, William *	12,000	12,000	12,000		Walace/ Total of (2) amounts
183. WATSON, James	4,500	4,500	4,500		
184. WELSH, Matthew P.	2,500	2,500	2,500		
185. WHITE, A. J.	4,500	4,500	4,500		
186. WHITE, Hiram (Mish)	7,500	7,500	7,500		
187. WOLFF*, Adam	1,200	1,200	1,200		Wolf
188. WOLFF, Barnard	7,500	7,500	7,500		
189. WOLFF*, Barnet (Bennett) (Barry)	600	600	600		Wolf
190. WOLFKILL, Jacob	700	700	700		
191. WOLFKILL, J(ohn) M.	2,500	2,500	2,500		
192. WOODS, Richard	800	800	800		
193. WRIGHT, T(homas) J.	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	Bookbindery & Bookstore
KNOWN SEPARATE BUSINESSES	xxxxx xxxxx	xxxxx xxxxx	xxxxxxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxx	Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
1 ACADAMY *	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	Chambersburg Academic Association

2 ASSOC. REFORMED CHURCH	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	United. Presbyterian
3 BAPTIST CHURCH	3,000	3000	3,000	2,958	Bethel/1st Baptist Church.
4 BRAND & FLACK	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,800	Brick Warehouse/Store
5 CHAMBERSBURG BANK	8,000	8,000	8,000		
6 CHAMBERS SEMINARY, Geo(rge)	5,000	5,000	5,000	<i>INCL.</i>	Included with home
7 CHAMBERS SHOP, Geo(rge)	5,000	2,000	2,000	<i>INCL.</i>	Millinery Shop/Included w/home
8 COURTHOUSE	45,000	45,000	45,000		
9 CULBERTSON SHOPS, J(ohn)P.	800	800	800	<i>INCL.</i>	Total of (3) amts/Included with home
10 ENGINE HOUSE	1,000	1,000	1,000		
11 EYSTR & BRO. WAREHOUSE	10,000	10,000	10,000	<i>INCL.</i>	Included. with home
12 EYSTER MILLS (C.W.)	15,000	15,000	15,000	<i>INCL.</i>	Flour Mill with home
13 EYSTER & BRO.FOUNDRY (W.F)	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	Census-Merchant
14 EYSTER SHOP (J. Allison)	100	100	100	<i>INCL.</i>	PA BC - Combined. with next claim
15 EYSTER, J. Allison & James C.	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,100	Includes Shop
16 FRANKLIN HALL	20,000	20,000			Town Hall/Meeting & Events Center

17 GEHR, D(aniel) O. & DENNY	5,500	5,500	6,500	6,500	
18 GOETTMAN SHOP (Ms. George)	1,200	1,200		1,600	
18 GROVE SHOP (John A.)	250	250	250	250	
20 HUBER & CO.TOOL FACTORY	4,100	4,100	4,100	3500	(2) amts/PA BC - Blacksmith Shop excluded
21 KEIFFER, M. & COMPANY				10,000	
22 KINDLINE SHOP	800	800	800		Wagon/Blacksmith Shop
23 LAMBERT & HUBER PAPER MILL.	15,000	15,000	15,000	1,500	PA BC - Definite typo
24 LUDWIG BREWERY (George. W.)	8,000	8,000	8,000	INCL.	Included with home
25 MANSION HOUSE PRINTWORKS	10,000	10,000	10,000		
26 OTT SHOP	200	200	200	INCL.	Included with home
27 RADENBAUGH* SHOP	150	150	150		Radabaugh/Radebaugh
28 REASNER BAKERY		150	150	350	
29 REINEMAN SHOPS (Augustus) (2)	-----	1,000	-----		
30 SENSENY *Dr.A(braham) H.	200	200	200	200	Sensency/Rental Properties only
31 UGLOW RENTALS, N (3)	250	250	250	1,070	Nicholas Uglow

32 WALLACE HOTEL	9,000	9,000	9,000		William W. Wallace/Swan Hotel Owner
33 WASHABAUGH BREWRY	8,000	8,000	8,000		Upton/Catharine Washabaugh

SOURCES: THREE SEPARATE SOURCES. 1 VALLEY OF THE SHADOW- 3 SECTIONS/ 1 (a) UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870. 1 (b) BORDER COMMISSION CLAIMS. 1 (c) NEWSPAPERS AUGUST, 1864. 2 HOKE. 3 SCHNECK

TABLE 4.2

**ALPHABETIZED LISTING OF CHAMBERSBURG RESIDENTS PRESENTING
ONLY PERSONAL PROPERTY CLAIMS TO THE PENNSYLVANIA BORDER
COMMISSION**

KEY:

NAME	PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT CLAIMED	PERSONAL PROPERTY AMOUNT AWARDED	- + =	AMOUNT RECEIVED	1860 or 1870 OCCUPATION
MARY B. ACKERMAN	42.20	42.20	=	12.95	
ISAAC ALLISON	18	18	=	5.52	
SOLOMAN ALLISON, Guardian	95.25	95.25	=	29.27	
SOLOMAN ALLISON	1,508.80	1,508.80	=	463.23	
JANE ANDERSON	49.75	49.75	=	15.27	
MAGGIE ANDERSON	22.59	22.59	=	6.94	
JOHN ARMSTRONG	148	148	=	45.44	
ELIZABETH AUGINBAUGH	309.55	309.55	=	56.42	
JAMES AUGINBAUGH	261	261	=	80.12	
JOHN AYRES	1,000	1,099.50	+	337.57	
GEORGE J. BALSEY Assignee	356.18	356.18	=	109.35	
CEPHUS L. BARD	374	374	=	114.82	
JOHN BARGET & REASNER	443.25	443.25	=	136.08	
MARY J. BARNITZ	933.83	933.83	=	286.70	
M.E. BECHTOL	116.50	116.50	=	35.77	
REBECCA BECHTOL	122	122	=	37.46	
SUSAN BIGGS Alias Penard Biggs	58	58	-	0	

<i>FREDERICK BITCH</i>	252	252	=	77.36	
GEORGE W. BITNER	133	133	-	0	
E.J. BONEBRAKE	265.50	265.50	=	81.52	
JOSEPH BOWMAN	170	170	=	52.30	
EDWARD C. BOYD	3,580.55	3,580.88	-	0	
JACOB S. BRAND	1,865.50	1,865.50	=	572.74	
<i>SIMON BRANNON</i>	73.87	73.87	=	22.68	
SALLIE J. BREDIN	75	75	=	23.02	
KARL BRICKNER	45.90	45.90	-	0	
JOHN A. BROUGH	292	292	=	89.65	
JOHN M. BROWN	556.30	556.30	=	170.80	
JOHN W. BROWN	151.25	151.25	=	46.44	
MARGARET BROWN	254.50	254.50	=	78.14	
GEORGE BRUNNER	953.36	953.36	=	292.70	
PETER BRUNNER	58	58	=	17.81	
VIOLETTA BUCHANAN	2,018.50	2,018.50	=	0	
GEORGE W. BURK	114.25	114.25	=	35.08	
MARIA M. BURKES	183.75	183.75	=	56.42	
BURKHART & HENSLEY*	4,885.37	4,885.37	=	1,499.90	
MARIA BURNS	624.50	624.50	=	191.74	
CHARLES BUSH	3,700.60	3,700.60	=	1,136.16	
THOMAS M. CARLISLE	1,090.87	1,090.87	=	334.91	
D.T. CARNAHAM	1,532.62	1,532.62	=	470.53	
CAMPBELL CHAMBERS	1,611	1,611	=	494.60	
WILLIAM CLUGSTON	125	125	=	38.37	
ELISA J. COLLINS	134.87	134.87	=	41.40	
<i>WASHINGTON COLSON</i>	54	54	=	16.57	
ANDREW R. COOK	79	79	=	24.25	
ANNA COOK	796.25	796.25	=	244.45	
BENJAMIN H. COOK	841	841	=	258.19	
EMMA COOK	1,087	1,087	=	333.71	
JEREMIAH COOK	565	565	=	173.46	
RICHARD COOK	359.05	359.05	=	110.22	
WILLIAM COOK	245.50	245.50	=	75.36	
HANNAH COOPER	39.75	39.75	=	12.08	
SAMUEL COOPER	106.37	106.37	=	32.65	
JACOB COOVER	735.69	735.69	=	225.86	
MARY CORBIN	252.75	252.75	=	77.59	
ELIZA COSGROVE	170	170	=	52.19	
ELIZABETH CRAIG	72.25	72.25	=	22.18	
J.A.S. CRAMER	1,613	1,613.15	=	495.26	

CHARLES H. CRESSLER	1,329.66	1,329.66	=	408.25	Druggist
JOHN CROFT	390	390	=	119.73	
F.L. CULBERTSON	466.10	466.10	=	143.10	
ESTATE OF SAMUEL D. CULBERTSON	906.60	906.60	=	278.34	
<i>WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM</i>	120	120	=	36.84	
GEORGE CURFMAN	793.50	793.50	=	243.62	
<i>MARY DANGERFIELD</i>	133	133	=	40.83	
<i>CHARLOTTE DAVIS</i>	432.75	432.75	=	132.87	
DAVID DAVIS	310.52	310.52	=	95.34	
HANNAH DAVIS	85.10	85.10	=	26.13	
P.S. DAVIS	272.50	272.50	=	83.66	
SUSAN DAVIS	318.83	318.83	=	97.89	
HUGH* B. DAVISON	594	574	=	176.23	
JACOB DESCHERT*	1,710	1,710	=	525	
SARAH L. DESCHART*	596.50	596.50	=	183.14	
BARBARA DECKELMAYER*	55.77	55.77	=	17.12	
SARAH DENIG	1,656.08	1,656.08	-	0	
ADAM DIEHL	502.30	502.30	=	154.14	
<i>JOHN DIGGS</i>	26	26	=	7.99	
FREDERICK G. DITMAN*	4,563.25	4,563.25	=	1,401.01	
ELIZABETH DORTY	32.50	32.50	=	9.98	
J.WYTHE DOUGLASS*	265	265	=	81.36	
CATHARINE DUNCAN	788.95	788.95	=	242.23	
ELIZABETH DUNCKISON	104	104	=	31.93	
MARGARET DUTTON	854.30	854.30	=	262.28	
LEWIS EBERLY	82.35	82.35	=	25.28	
DAVID EBY	3,105.99	3,105.99	=	953.60	
JACOB EBY	2,637.50	2,637.50	=	809.76	
JOSEPH ECKERT*	326.75	326.75	=	100.32	
ANDREW EIKER*	63.50	63.50	=	19.50	
DAVID M. EIKER*	359	359	=	110.21	
ANDREW ELDER	967.75	967.75	=	297.12	
JAMES ELDER	1,266.50	1,266.50	=	388.84	
FRANK ELLIOT	5,900	5,900	=	1,811.42	
SOLOMAN ELY	73	73	=	22.41	
HENRY EMBICK*	1,145.98	1,145.98	=	351.84	
HENRY EMBICK* & SONS	388.67	388.67	=	119.33	
HARRIET EMBICK*	351	351	=	107.75	
EDWARD G. ETTER	419	419	=	128.64	
N.S. EVERETT	3,115	3,115	=	956.36	
E.C. EYSTER	606.01	606.01	=	186.05	
G. AUGUSTUS EYSTER	16.75	16.72	=	5.14	
J. ALLISON EYSTER	9,707.95	9,707.95	=	2,980.53	
SARAH C. EYSYER	1,614.57	1586.57	-	487.11	

EYSTER & STOUFFER	240	240	=	73.68	
LEWIS B.* EYSTER ®	2,711.76	2,711.76	=	832.56	
W.F. EYSTER	153.75	153.75	=	47.20	
ALEXANDER FAHNESTOCK	443.60	443.60	=	132.83	Grocer
DANIEL S. FAHNESTOCK & SON	2,266.35	2,266.35	=	695.81	Grocers
BENJAMIN* I. FAHNESTOCK	211	211	=	64.78	
PETER FELDMAN	1,624.70	1,624.70	=	468.81	
JANE FILLKILL	61	61	=	18.73	
EPHRAIM FINEFROCK*	2,372.75	2,372.75	=	728.47	
JOHN FISHER	9,970.77	9,970.77	=	3,061.21	
EMMANUEL FLEAGLE*	497	497	=	152.59	
JOSEPH* W. FLETCHER	1,194.48	1,194.48	=	366.72	
THOMAS* L. FLETCHER	272	272	=	83.50	
ANNA FLINDER	163.57	163.57	=	50.21	
GEORGE FLORA	48	48	=	14.73	
MARY FOGLE	50	50	=	15.35	
JANE FOHL	687	687	=	0	
C.C. FOLTZ	856	856	=	262.80	
MOSES* A. FOLTZ	526.75	526.75	=	161.72	
CATHARINE FOLTZ	524.41	524.41	=	161	
GEORGE FOREMAN	542.17	542.17	=	166.46	
JOHN D. FOSTER	105	105	=	32.23	
ELIZABETH FRANK	70.72	70.72	=	21.71	
JOANNA FREY	611.75	691.75	+	212.38	
JOHN FRISHEIM	273.75	273.75	=	84.04	
PETER FUCHS	721.75	721.75	=	206.24	
ELIE GATES	66.15	66.15	=	20.03	
LOUISA GATES	50.12	50.12	=	15.39	
HASTINGS* GEHR	2,430	2,430	=	746.08	Attorney
J. MONTGOMERY GELWICKS	61.25	61.25	=	18.80	
JOHN GELWICKS	213.25	213.25	=	65.50	
WILLIAM GELWICKS	1,900	1,900	=	583.34	
JOHN GEYER	29.84	29.84	=	9.16	
JAMES B. GILLIAN #	2,489.55	2,489.55	=	764.34	Dry Goods Mer.
B. FRANK GILMORE	76.50	76.50	=	23.50	
JAMES* K. & LIZZIE G. GILMORE	228	228	=	70	Telegraph Op.
JOHN GILMORE	271	271	=	83.23	
WILLIAM* B. GILMORE	174.25	174.25	=	53.50	Telegraph Op.
DANIEL GLASS	21.10	21.10	=	6.44	

MARGARET & JOHN GOETTMAN	3,113.12	3,113.12	=	955.79	Housekeeper
CYRUS* HIRAM* GORDON	1,550.85	1,550.85	=	476.14	Mstr. Saddler
GEORGE GROUSE	788.25	788.25	=	242	
MARGARET GRAHAM	54.50	54.50	=	16.75	
MOSES GREENAWALT	1.486	1.486	=	456.25	Tobacconist
EDWARD C. GROVE	1,790.75	1,790.75	=	549.80	Fancy Goods Mer.
ELMIRA GROVE	2,327	2,327	=	714.43	
MICHAEL* M. GROVE	1,630.45	1,630.45	=	500.57	Innkeeper
N.Pierce GROVE	233	233	=	71.33	Painter
CATHARINE GRUSE	27.25	27.25	=	8.52	
PETER GRUSE	201	201	=	61.70	
ELIZA GUTHRIE	649	649	=	199.25	
B.Y. HAMSHER	4,451.83	4,451.83	=	1,366.80	
PHILLIP HAMMAN	383.75	383.75	=	117.81	
MARGARET M. HARPER	87	87	=	26.70	
DANIEL HARMONY	38.65	38.65	=	11.86	
MARY HASSON	53	53	=	16.27	
CHARLOTTE A. HECK	369	369	=	113.28	
LEWIS F. HECK	84.54	84.54	=	25.95	
JACOB HECKMAN	636	636	=	195.26	
JOHN N. HECKMAN	327	327	=	100.39	
MARY HEID	152.25	152.25	=	46.74	
DAVID HEIDLER	1,342	1,342	=	412.02	
HELENA HEIL	166.25	166.25	=	166.25	
JESSE HELM	58.50	58.50	=	17.96	
JACOB HENNINGER*	810.20	810.20	=	0	
HENRY* HERSHBERGER	126.50	126.50	-	0	
HENRIETTA HERSHBERGER	273.27	273.27	=	83.70	
SOPHIA E. HERSHBERGER*	862.50	862.50	=	264.80	
BOSFORD B. HERSHEY*	709.9	709.9	=	217.95	Druggist
HEYSER & CRESSLER	5,612	5,612	=	1,722.99	Druggists
ELIZABETH HEYSER	3,930.50	3,930.50	=	1,206.74	
MARGARET P. HEYSER	623.50	623.50	=		
WILLIAM HEYSER	989	989	=	303.64	Druggist
ESTATE OF WILLIAM HEYSER	5,500	5,500	=	1,688.61	
MARY A. HILL	8.25	8.25	=	2.53	
BENJAMIN HIRD	143.15	143.15	=	0	
HITESHAW & METCALF	2,204.76	2,204.76	=	676.91	
F.T. HOCKENBERRY	947.28	947.28	=	0	
WILLIAM H. HOCKENBERRY	406	406	=	124.65	
D.S. HOFFMAN	105.75	105.75	=	32.47	

JACOB HOKE	1,781.35	1,781.35	=	546.90	Merchant
ANNE HOOVER	262.25	262.25	=	80.51	
DAVID HOOVER	397.25	397.25	=	121.96	
ELIZABETH HOOVER	296.75	296.75	=	91.10	
MARTIN HOOVER	85	85	=	26.10	
REBECCA HOOVER	240.75	240.75	=	73.91	
MARY E. HOUGHLIN	404.75	404.75	=	124.26	
FREDERICK HOUSEHOLDER	44	44	=	13.50	
SARAH A. HOUSER	64	64	=	19.65	
JACOB HUBER	321.50	321.50	=	98.70	
HUBER & LEMASTER	12,789.11	12,789.11	=	3,926.05	
HUBER & TOLBERT	15,398.40	15,398.40	=	4,727.61	Hardware Store
WILLIAM HUBER	515.75	515.75	=	158.34	
SUSAN HUFF	76.50	76.50	=	23.48	
ELISABETH HOLLINGER	200	200	=	0	
MARGARET HUMMELSHINE	563.25	563.25	=	172.92	
CORNELIUS HUNTING	263	263	=	80.74	
<i>JOSHUA HUTSON</i>	180.10	180.10	=	55.29	
B. FRANKLIN HUTTON	74	74	=	22.72	
JACOB R. HUTTON & BROS.	1,005	1,005	=	308.55	Shoe Merchant
JACOB R. HUTTON	926	926	=	282.30	Shoe Merchant
WILLIAM HUTTON	1,072	1,072	=	329.12	Jeweler
ESTATE OF MARY JACKS	60	60	-	0	
<i>LOUIS JACKSON</i>	196	196	=	60.17	
J.A. JACOBS	934.96	934.96	=	287.05	
JOHN D. JACOBS	15,624	15,624	=	4,796.87	
<i>BENJAMIN JEFFERSON</i>	94.50	94.50	=	94.50	
<i>KITTY JOHNSON</i>	106.49	106.49	=	32.70	
<i>CATHARINE JOHNSTON</i>	136	136	=	41.76	
<i>ELI JONES</i>	101.25	101.25	=	31.08	
<i>WILLIAM JONES</i>	280	280	=	86.01	
MARY R. KAUFMAN	144	144	=	44.20	
<i>MARGARET KELL</i>	285.25	285.25	=	87.57	
<i>JOHN KELLY</i>	59.25	59.25	=	18.19	
HIRAM C. KEYSER	762.50	762.50	=	234.10	
MARY & B.A. KEYSER	513.57	513.57	=	157.62	
F.M. KIMMELL	1,800	1,800	=	552.63	Judge/Provost
GEORGE KINDLINE	2,092	2,092	=	642.27	Wagon Shop
REBECCA KIRBY	1,431.07	1,431.07	=	439.37	
ANDREW KLEE	329.75	329.75	=	101.23	
<i>JOSEPH KLINE</i>	99.75	99.75	=	30.62	
BENJAMIN KOHN	144.50	144.50	=	44.36	
<i>REBECCA E. KREMER</i>	53	53	=	16.27	

BRUCE LAMBERT	324	324	=	99.46	
SAMUEL G. LANE#	4,648.92	4,648.92	=	1,427.29	
SARAH H. LANE#	638	638	=	195.87	
D.* HENRY LANGHEIM*	1,859.33	1,859.33	=	570.85	Physician
DAVID M. LESHER	502	502	=	154.12	
SADIE LEVAU	497	497	=	152.58	
EVERLINE LEWIS	37.75	37.75	=	11.58	
ISABEL LEWIS	136.75	136.75	=	41.98	
MARY JANE LIGGETT	777.46	777.46	=	238.69	
STEPHEN LIGHTCAP	423	423	=	129.87	
FRANCES LINDSAY	332.10	332.10	=	101.96	
SAMUEL M. LINN	670.07	670.07	=	205.72	
DAVID B. LITTLE	1,165.50	1,165.50	=	357.83	
NANNIE F. LITTLE	1,264.50	1,264.50	=	388.22	
<i>TARLTON LOGAN</i>	25.25	25.25	=	7.75	
<i>DANIEL LOUDON</i>	126.75	126.75	=	38.92	
MARTIN LUDWIG	900.25	900.25	=	276.39	
SOPHIA LUDWIG	697	697	=	214	
ORMOND N. LULL	475	475	=	145.83	
ALEXANDER MARTIN	2,694.80	2,868.80	+	880.78	
DAVID A. MARTIN	100.50	100.50	=	30.86	
WILLIAM T. MATTHEWS	1,455.75	1,455.75	=	446.94	
JACOB MAUSER	180.90	180.90	=	55.54	
<i>MARY A. MELVIN</i>	144.67	144.67	=	44.42	
<i>WILLIAM MERVINE</i>	94.75	94.75	=	29.09	
GEORGE R. MESSERSMITH	4,274	4,274	=	1,312.20	
<i>MARY MEYERS</i>	123.45	123.45	=	37.90	
CONRAD MILLER	226.52	226.52	=	69.55	
DANIEL MILLER	1,302.26	1,302.26	=	399.82	
MILLER & CROFT	162.35	162.35	=	49.85	
MILLER & HAMILTON	10,000	10,000	=	3,070.20	
MARY MILLER & FORBES	339.35	339.35	=	104.18	
JEREMIAH MILLER	593.12	593.12	=	182.10	
JOHN MILLER	204.05	204.05	=	62.65	
MATILDA MILLER	572.30	572.30	=	175.71	
SARAH MILLER	1,316	1,316	=	404.04	
<i>SARAH MILLS</i>	30.50	30.50	=	9.36	
CHARLOTTE MINNICH*	370.03	370.03	=	113.61	
EDWARD MINNICH*	591.60	591.60	=	181.60	
ANDREW MITCHELL	921.31	921.31	=	282.86	
WILLIAM G. MITCHELL	1,599	1,599	=	490.93	
JOHN MONTGOMERY	2,676.70	2,676.70	=	852.50	

MARGARETTA MONTGOMERY	6,036.60	6,036.60	=	1,853.36	
R. SELLERS* MONTGOMERY	206.85	206.85	=	63.51	
UPTON H. MOORE	365.50	365.50	=	112.22	
<i>CAROLINE MORGAN</i>	52	52	=	15.96	
<i>ELIZABETH MORGAN</i>	99.65	99.65	=	30.60	
LOUISA*/NANCY McCLELLAN	2,055.50	2,055.50	=	631.06	
JAMES P. McClINTOCK	457	457	=	124.96	
JOSEPH P. McClINTOCK#	102	102	=	31.32	
McCLINTOCK & SON	2,116	2,116	=	649.66	
VINCENT McCOY	965.50	965.50	=	296.43	
MARGARET McClURE	290	290	=	89.04	
<i>R.A. McClURE</i>	313	313	=	96.10	
McCLURE & STONER	8,549.47	8,549.47	=	2,624.87	
J.S. McELWAIN	584.43	584.43	=	179.43	
MARY ANN McFEELY	115.50	115.50	=	35.46	
JAMES McGEEHAN	131.50	131.50	=	40.37	
HENRY McGINITY	73.50	73.50	=	22.56	
ANNE M. McKESSON	475.50	475.50	=	145.98	
MARGARET McKNIGHT	730	730	=	224.12	
WILLIAM McLENAGAN	666.50	666.50	=	204.63	
WILLIAM C. McNULTY	9,183.88	9,183.88	=	2,819.64	
EMMA McPHERSON	124.37	124.37	=	38.19	
LOUISA NELSON	48	48	=	14.74	
LUCY NITTERHOUSE	120.26	120.26	=	36.92	
SUSAN NIXON	728.32	728.32	=	223.60	
WILHEMINA* K. NOEL	3,063	3,063	=	940.40	
<i>NANCY NORRIS</i>	53.75	53.75	=	16.50	
<i>REBECCA NORRIS</i>	51.35	51.35	=	15.77	
ELIZABETH NORTON	131	131	=	40.21	
NUTE & RITTER	430.52	448.12	+	137.52	
DAVID OAKS	2,800	2,800	=	866.70	
SARAH OBER	214.90	214.90	=	65.97	
MARGARET OREN	126.55	126.55	=	38.85	
JOHN R. ORR	541.50	541.50	=	166.25	

FANNIE OTT	168.50	168.50	=	51.73	
JACOB OVERCASH*	208.30	208.30	=	63.95	
CHRISTIAN OYSTER	191.90	191.90	=	58.91	
JEREMIAH OYSTER	514.50	514.50	=	157.96	
JOHN PALMER	54	54	=	16.58	
GEORGE PARVIN	85.50	85.50	=	26.25	
WILLIAM W. PAXTON *	203.50	203.50	=	62.46	
PFEIFFER & FOLTZ	6,330.60	6,330.60	=	1,943.61	
<i>PHILLIP PETERSON</i>	38.25	38.25	=	11.74	
PHILLIPE PFUNST	310.50	310.50	=	95.32	
KATE PHINICIE	211	211	=	64.78	
JOHN PICKLE	329.70	329.70	=	101.22	
GEORGE PLATT	980.65	980.65	=	316.41	
EDWARD PROCTOR	90.82	90.82	=	27.88	
<i>BENJAMIN PULPRESS</i>	38.75	38.75	=	11.89	
JAMES REA	624	624	=	191.58	
WILLIAM REA	525	525	=	161.19	
JOHN REASNER	295.95	295.95	=	90.86	
ELIZA REED	143.40	143.40	=	44.02	
JOHN H. REED	167	167	=	51.27	
HENRY REEVES	595.57	595.57	=	182.85	Reverend
J.K. REID	3,000	3,000	=	921.06	
S.D.G. REID	198.20	198.20	=	60.85	
WILLIAM REILLY	157	157	=	48.20	Attorney
CHRISTIAN REMP	395.85	395.85	=	122.49	
SARAH REYNOLDS	199	199	=	61.09	
JEREMIAH RHOADSMAN	20	20	=	6.14	
CHARLES RIDGELY	58	58	=	18.11	
JOHN RILEY	2,000	1,404.04	-	0	
GEORGE RINGLY	399.25	399.25	=	122.57	
JAMES RITTER	211.50	211.50	=	64.94	
<i>REBECCA ROBINSON</i>	109.87	109.87	=	33.73	
ANN P. ROBINSON	196	196	=	60.17	
RODES & KYLE*	295	295	=	92.53	
GEORGE A. ROGERS	617.60	617.60	=	189.61	
<i>CAROLINE ROPE</i>	46.75	46.75	=	14.35	
JAMES M. ROSS	130	130	=	39.91	

ELIZABETH ROTH	259.50	259.50	=	79.67	
S.W. ROYSTON	102.50	102.50	=	31.31	
WILLIAM RUPERT	51	51	=	15.66	
JOHN W. SCHLOSSER	456	456	=	140	
WILLIAM W. SCHLOSSER	1,309.07	1,309.07	=	491.91	
JOSIAH SCHOFIELD	2,349	2,349	=	721.19	
HENRY SCHWITZER	231.71	271.31	+	83.30	
WILLIAM K. SECRIST *	792.70	792.70	=	243.37	Millwright
JOHN F. SEIBERT	730.99	730.99	=	224.42	
P. WESLEY SEIBERT *	245	245	=	75.22	Storekeeper
WILLIAM SEIBERT	461.50	461.50	=	141.69	
GEORGE OVERCASH SEILHAMER	1,004.25	1,004.25	=	308.02	
MARGARET SENSENY	212	212	=	65.09	
HENRY SHADE	45.25	45.25	=	13.89	
ANN SHAFFER	529.85	529.85	=	161.67	
SHAFFER & STEWART	2,353.50	2,353.50	=	722.57	Grocers
ABRAHAM SHEELY	113.50	113.50	=	34.85	
SHILLITO & SON	267.56	267.56	=	82.15	Gunsmiths
REBECCA H. SHIVELY	186	186	=	57.10	No Occupation
LEWIS A. SHOEMAKER *	1,000	1,000	=	107	Gentleman
JOHN K. SHYROCK *	4,000	4,693.40	+	1,440.97	Book Merchant
SAMUEL S. SHYROCK	13,408.60	13,408.60	=	4,116.71	
SHUMAN & MILLER	77	77	=	23.64	
JOSEPH SEIRER	86.10	86.10	=	26.43	
DANIEL SIMMERS	39.25	39.25	=	12.05	
PETER SLATER	75.50	75.50	-	0	
ALICE SMITH	512	512	=	157.20	
AMELIA H. SMITH	637	637	=	195.57	
CATHARINE SMITH	1,000	1,000	-	307	
CHARLES SMITH	101	101	=	31	
GEORGE SMITH	3,110	3,110	=	954.83	Shoes

REBECCA SMITH	168	168	=	51.58	
ANNA M. SNIDER	367	367	=	112.67	
GEORGE SNIDER	44.75	44.75	=	13.73	
JACOB SNIDER	392.74	392.74	=	120.58	
J.T. SNIDER	1,097.50	1,097.50	=	336.95	
JULIA SNIDER	269	269	=	82.60	
A.J. SNIVELY	238.70	238.70	=	73.28	
J.A. SNIVELY	2,261.80	2,261.80	=	694.42	
CHARLOTTE SNYDER	117.27	117.27	=	36	
JACOB SPANGLER	2,800	2,800	=	859.66	Druggist
CYRUS SPRECHER*	109.85	109.85	=	33.72	Grocer
JULIA STANFORD®	33.25	33.25	=	10.13	
JOSEPH STAUFFER	302.50	302.50	=	92.87	
MARY STELLHEIMER	1,477.25	1,477.25	=	453.54	
G.M. STENGER	1,127.87	1,127.87	=	346.28	
W.S. STENGER	1,634.80	1,634.80	=	419.02	
<i>DIANE STEVENSON</i>	206	206	=	63.25	
JOHN STEWART	1,602.50	1,602.50	=	492	
SARAH STEWART	380	380	=	116.67	Dressmaker
ESTER STINE	1,461.20	1,461.20	=	448.62	
ISAAC STINE	4,756.02	4,756.02	=	1,460.19	
HENRY S. STONER	2,441	2,441	=	749.43	
HENRY STRICKLER	188	188	=	57.72	
JACOB LEWIS SUESSEROTT *	237	237	=	72.76	Physician
ANDREW SULTZER	49.75	49.75	=	15.27	
MAGDELINE SWARTZ	271.98	271.98	=	83.50	
ANNE TAYLOR	314	314	=	96.40	
CHARLES TAYLOR	545	545	=	167.32	
<i>LOUISA TAYLOR</i>	19.20	19.20	=	5.89	Housekeeper
<i>MARY THOMPSON</i>	25.50	25.50	=	7.83	
SUSIE B. THOMPSON	352.50	352.50	=	108.22	
WILLIAM TOMS	245.75	245.75	=	75.45	
A.M. TRIMMER	150	175	+	53.72	
TRITLE BROTHERS	3,061.15	3,061.15	=	939.83	
L. WINTER TRITLE	1,590.77	1,590.77	=	488.40	
W.H. TRITLE	48.50	48.50	=	14.89	
MARY TROUTMAN	25.25	25.25	=	7.75	
<i>AUSTIN TYLER</i>	46.25	46.25	=	14.19	
SAMUEL UGLOW	121.50	121.50	=	37.30	

JACOB VANCE	234.55	234.55	=	72	
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SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW/BORDER COMMISSION FILES

TABLE 4.3
ALPHABETIZED LIST OF PERSISTENT STUDY GROUP WITH BORDER
COMMISSION REAL ESTATE CLAIMS.

ITALICS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN
** GENDER-FEMALE*

#	NAME	1860 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT	BORDER COMMISSION AMOUNT	1870 REAL ESTATE AMOUNT
01	SAMUEL M. ARMSTRONG	4,500	4,000	6,000
02	EDWARD AUGHINBAUGH	3,000	1,500	12,000
03	ANDREW BANKER	1,500	3,500	0
04	ELIZABETH BARD *	8,000	7,000	10,000
05	JAMES L. BLACK	0	0	10,000
06	WILLIAM H. BOYLE	2,000	2,000	7,000
07	CATHARINE BRAND *	1,400	0	3,000
08	MARTIN BROWN	1,500	1,000	1,000
09	CHRISTIAN BURKHART	0	5,500	7,500
10	THOMAS CARLISLE	5,000	5,500	4,500
11	ALFRED D. CAUFMAN	11,000	5,000	25,000
12	SUSAN CHAMBERS *	2,000	2,500	5,000
13	LYMAN S. CLARK	5,000	1,800	12,000
14	MARTIN COLE	2,000	3,000	4,000
15	THOMAS H. COOK	1,200	800	4,000
16	CHARLES CROFT	850	800	4,000
17	EDMUND CULBERTSON	5,000	6,000	15,000
18	JOSEPH DECKELMAYER	3,600	3,000	4,000
19	CALVIN M. DUNCAN	30,000	17,000	30,000
20	SAMUEL G. ETTER	2,800	3,000	8,000
21	PHILLIP EVANS	1,000	1,200	3,000
22	J. ALLISON EYSTER	36,000	15,200	80,000
23	EPHRIAM FINEFROCK	1,200	0	3,000
24	CHRISTIAN FLACK	800	1,000	5,000
25	JOHN FORBES	3,000	1,500	8,000
26	NICHOLAS GARWICK	800	225	2,900
27	DANIEL O. GEHR	40,000	7,342	40,000
28	MARY GILLIAN *	1,400	1,500	6,000
29	SAMUEL L. GREENAWALT	12,000	8,300	25,000
30	JAMES HAMILTON	0	6,600	6,000
31	CONRAD HARMON	2,500	1,230	0
32	ELIZABETH HETRICK *	1,600	1,500	2,000

33	H. ELIAS HOKE	3,000	2,750	14,000
34	JACOB HOKE	5,000	2,750	14,000
35	JOHN KEIFFER	0	1,675	5,000
36	JAMES KING	5,000	1,970	10,000
37	JOHN KING	250	400	1,000
38	MICHAEL KUSS	3,000	2,500	0
39	D. HENRY LANGHEIM	3,200	3,000	0
40	CATHARINE LINDSEY *	3,000	3,000	0
41	GEORGE LUDWIG	15,000	19,000	79,200
42	ANDREW J. MILLER	6,000	6,000	10,000
43	JACOB B. MILLER	7,000	3,400	15,000
44	JOHN MILLER	800	8,000	3,200
45	<i>HENRY MONKS</i>	800	1,500	4,000
46	JOHN MULL	3,000	2,200	3,500
47	ALEXANDER. H. McCULLOUGH	2,000	2,000	8,000
48	JOHN W. Mc DOWELL	20,000	6,300	17,100
49	WILLIAM H. McDOWELL	14,000	3,500	10,000
50	ANDREW McELWAINE	0	397	2,000
51	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN NEAD	14,000	5,000	25,000
52	SUSAN T. NIXON *	1,500	0	3,000
53	SAMUEL OTT	4,000	4,200	5,000
54	SAMUEL M. PERRY	1,200	2,035	0
55	CATHARINE RADABAUGH *	2,500	800	4,000
56	WILLIAM G. REED	16,000	0	10,000
57	AUGUSTUS REINEMAN	12,000	0	22,000
58	SAMUEL REISHER	8,000	4,500	13,000
59	JOHN C. RICHARDS	5,700	0	11,000
60	<i>JOHN ROBESON</i>	0	50	0
61	BENJAMIN SCHRODER SCHNECK	4,000	3,000	10,000
62	JOHN SCHOFIELD	1,200	2,000	4,000
63	HENRY SEIRER	2,300	3,000	0
64	JACOB SHAFER**	3,000	1,000	10,000
65	LEWIS A. SHOEMAKER	5,000	4,200	0
66	ALLEN SMITH	1,500	1,600	2,000
67	JACOB SMITH	1,300	100	2,500
68	NICHOLAS SNIDER	3,500	3,000	5,000
69	GEORGE SPOHR	0	2,500	2,000
70	SARAH STOUFFER *	600	1,800	0
71	JOHN TAYLOR	6,600	7,000	1,500
72	JANE THOMSON *	1,500	600	3,000
73	ROBERT TOLBERT	1,800	2,000	3,800
74	DANIEL TROSTLE	13,500	8,600	42,000
75	WILLIAM W. WALLACE	17,500	0	0

76	MATTHEW P. WELSH	2,000	0	0
77	ANDREW J. WHITE	0	0	12,000
78	ADAM WOLFF	1,000	0	2,500
79	BENNETT WOLFE	600	0	2,500
80	RICHARD WOODS	800	0	0

SOURCE: VALLEY OF THE SHADOW-2 SECTIONS/ 1 (a) UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860-1870. 1 (b) BORDER COMMISSION CLAIMS

TABLE 4.4
BORDER COMMISSION CLAIMS
IN ORDER OF DWELLING NUMBER FROM 1860 CENSUS

#	1860 Dwelling #	1860 Family #	NAME *Border Commission spelling	AGE 1864	OCCUPATION *1860 Census	Notes from Schneck
01.	1054	1037	McGraffigar, Peter	65	Gentleman	Market St.
02.	1059	1042	McElwaine, Andrew	41	Chambersburg School Teacher	King St.
03.	1144	1155	Sellers, Jacob	44	Clerk	Market St.
04.	1169	1180	Evans, Phillip	43	Edged Tool Finisher	Franklin St.
05.	1170	1181	Cole, Martin	48	Carpenter	Franklin St.
06.	1182	1202	Stout, Christian	28	Shoemaker	Market St.
07.	1183	1204	Brant, Samuel	48	Stove Peddler	Market St.
08.	1187	1209	Shafer, Jacob	41	Carpenter	Market St.
09.	1193	1218	Pearse, Nathaniel	44	Gentleman	Market St.
10.	1198	1223	Burkholder, John	69	Gentleman	Market St.
11.	1201	1228	Gillian, Matthew	36	Saddler	Market St.
12.	1205	1232	Tolbert, Robert E.	48	Merchant	Market St.
13.	1206	1235	Stouffer, Christian	40	Machinist	Main St.
14.	1226	1262	Reed, William G./John H.	39	Cashier Bank	Main St.
15.	1258	1299	Miller, Jacob B.	40	Store Merchant	Market St.
16.	1275	1319	Etter, Samuel	56	Painter	Market St.
17.	1276	1321	Peiffer, Phillip	49	Coachmaker	Market St.
18.	1278	1323	Kennedy, Thomas B.	32	Attorney	Market St.
19.	1281	1327	Eckert, Sebastian	48	Laborer	Market St.
20.	1290	1336	Armstrong, Samuel	50	Surveyor	Second St.

21.	1291	1337	Crawford, Holmes	70	Gentleman	Second St.
22.	1292	1338	Doebler, John	35	Oyster Seller	Second St.
23.	1293	1339	Brown, Jacob S.	50	Innkeeper	Market St.
24.	1294	1340	Brown, James M.	55	Gentleman	Market St.
25.	1295	1341	McDowell, William H.	47	Gentleman	Market St.
26.	1299	1348	Schneck, Benjamin Schroeder	54	Minister (Gerrman Reformed)	Market St.
27.	1301	1350	Caufman, Abraham D.	46	Gentleman	Market St.
28.	1313	1365	Hull, Abraham S.	35	Engineer	Main St.
29.	1314	1367	Frey, Alonzo P.	43	Gentleman	Main St.
30.	1316	1373	Banker, Andrew	57	Cooper	Market St.
31.	1317	1372	Eyster, Charles W.	40	Miller	Market St.
32.	1321	1376	Harman, Conrad	41	Butcher	King St.
33.	1325	1383	Smith, Allen	59	Confectioner	Main St.
34.	1326	1384	Flack, Christian	45	Farmer	Main St.
35.	1327	1385	Schofield, John	58	Confectioner	Main St.
36.	1332	1340	Langenheim, Henry Dr.	35	Physician	Main St.
37.	1334	1392	Gehr, Denny's O.	47	Commercial Merchant	Market St.
38.	1339	1397	Noel, John	66	Gentleman	Market St.
39.	1343	1403	Burkhart, Christian	28	Baker	Market St.
40.	1363	1427	Brown, Martin	37	Saloonkeeper	Market St.
41.	1370	1435	Miller, John Andrew	47	Liverykeeper	Market St.
42.	1377	1446	Douglas, J.W.	25	Attorney	Market St.
43.	1391	1460	Greenawalt, Samuel	32	Liverykeeper	Market St.
44.	1395	1465	Finefrock, Ekhrain	36	Gentleman	Market St.
45.	1402	1471	Wright, Thomas J.	58	Bookbinder	Market St.
46.	1404	1474	Boyle, William H.	40	Physician	Market St.
47.	1411	1483	Richards, J.C.	48	Physician	Main St.
48.	1413	1485	Hamilton, James	35	Physician	Main St.
49.	1414	1486	Brewer, George W.	38	Attorney	Market St.

50.	1416	1492	Hutton, Jacob	56	Merchant	Market St.
51.	1417	1493	McClintock, John Jacob	77	Gentleman	Market St.
52.	1418	1494	Shoemaker, Lewis	34	Gentleman	Market St.
53.	1420	1497	Chambers, George Hon.	74	Gentleman	King St.
54.	1421	1498	McClure, Alexander K.	32	Attorney	Market St.
55.	1422	1499	Nead, Benjamin F.	43	Commercial Merchant	Market St.
56.	1423	1500	McDowell, John M.	59	Gentleman	Market St.
57.	1434	1517	Clark, Lyman S.	36	Attorney	Market St.
58.	200	192	Brough, Peter/Susanna	51	Farmer	Market St.
59.	240	252	Rhodes, Benjamin	43	Restaurant	Second St.

SOUTH WARD REAL ESTATE CLAIMS

#	1860 Dwelling #	1860 Family #	NAME *Border Commission spelling	AGE 1864	OCCUPATION *1860 Census	Notes from Schneck
01.	1328	1384	Ludwig, George	49	Brewer	Main St.
02.	1330	1386	Heyser, William C.	64	Gentleman	Main St.
03.	1333	1389	Miller, Jacob B.	43	Gentleman	Main St.
04.	1336	1392	Dittman, John	29	Grocer	Main St.
05.	1338	1394	Deckelmayer, Joseph	36	Confectioner	Main St.
06.	1339	1395	Ott, Samuel	52	Carpenter	Main St.
07.	1384	1458	Shellito, S. William	65	Master Saddler	Market St.
08.	1392	1468	Keefer, John P./Martha	21	School Teacher	Second St.
09.	1398	1475	Croft, Charles	32	Shoemaker	Second St.
10.	1441	1526	Radebaugh, Bernard A.	28	Machinist	Main St.

11.	1444	1530	Spohr, Frederick	67	Gentleman	Main St.
12.	1445	1531	Forbes, John	51	Master Mason	Main St
13.	1447	1538	Perry, Samuel M.	41	Master Tailor	Main St.
14.	1448	1539	Taylor, John W.	55	Hotelkeeper	Main St.
15.	1450	1541	Hutz, H. H.	42	Merchant	Main St.
16.	1462	1559	Trostle, Daniel	44	Drover	Market St.
17.	1466	1563	King, James	48	Stonecutter	Market St.

SOURCES: TWO SEPARATE SOURCES. VALLEY OF THE SHADOW-2 SECTIONS. 1 (a) UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1860. 1 (b) BORDER COMMISSION CLAIMS. 2 SCHNECK

APPENDIX 5 :

ALPHABATIZED LIST OF CHAMBERSBURG RESIDENTS FROM THE 1860 AND 1870 CENSUS

**Note: This document is 264 pages in length.
The information has been stored electronically and is available upon request.
Author contact:
glawrence007@yahoo.com
or contact the University of Richmond
Both hard-copies and electronic copies are available.**

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