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Contributions Solicited

The editor invites the submission articles or notes on the history Cumberland County and on its people. Such writing can investigate new areas of research or may reflect past scholarship. Manuscripts should conform to Kate Turabian's *Manual for Writers,* 5th edition. Running copy, as well as citations, should be typed and doubled spaced. Notes may be gathered together and will be placed at the end of the article. Press times are 15 April and 15 November. Please send manuscripts to 1915 Walnut Street. Camp Hill 17011.

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Cumberland County History is published semi-annually. All members of the Cumberland County Historical Society receive a copy of the journal as part of regular membership. The regular membership fee is $20.00 annually. Members receive other benefits, including a quarterly newsletter, special invitations to programs and exhibits and the satisfaction of joining with others to preserve county history. Correspondence regarding membership should be addressed to the Executive Director, Cumberland County Historical Society, 21 North Pitt Street, P.O. Box 626, Carlisle, PA 17013.

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In This Issue

COVER SKETCH: By Professor William Davis of the Shippensburg University art faculty, looking south at the portion of Lemoyne between the former Cumberland Valley Railroad tracks and those of the former Reading Railroad. In the center are the First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and Trinity Lutheran Church on Hummel Avenue.

Contributors

Randolph Bates is a graduate of the Pennsylvania State University who has been pursuing a master's degree in American Studies. He will enter the Dickinson School of Law in the Fall.

Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. earned an A.B. at Dickinson (which also awarded him an L.L.D.) and an M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. After serving as the first Boyd Lee Spahr Professor of History at Dickinson, he became an associate editor of the Franklin Papers project and later executive officer of the American Philosophical Society. He has served as a director of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Jerry Clouse is a graduate of the University of Kentucky who is currently pursuing a Master's degree in American Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. He is an architectural researcher at the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Debra Forker is a native of Lemoyne and graduate of Cedar Cliff High School and of Harrisburg Area Community College. She received a B.S. with a major in nursing from the Pennsylvania State University in 1988.

Morton G. Glise is a graduate of Waynesburg College and of Princeton Theological Seminary. A Co-author of *Bicentennial History of Carlisle Presbytery,* he was for thirty-six years pastor of Paxton Presbyterian Church.

Mary Anne Morefield, a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, is Chaplain of Dickinson College. She earned a Master of Divinity degree from Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, and a Doctor of Ministry from The Boston University School of Theology.

Robert Lowry Sibbet (1826-1898), a Medical Reformer

Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.

Robert Lowry Sibbet, a physician of Carlisle in the last third of the nineteenth century, once described himself, somewhat deprecatingly, as not associated with any medical school or connected with any medical journal, not a military or naval surgeon, not a specialist. "We are not even a gentleman of leisure," he continued; "but a general practitioner in one of the rich agricultural districts of Pennsylvania."[1] This was true enough, but Sibbet was no ordinary country doctor. Within three years of Lister's announcement of antisepsis in surgery, for example, this "general practitioner" visited Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary and became a firm supporter of "Listerism" thereafter. During two years in Europe he observed hospital practice in London, Paris and Berlin, and attended the lectures of the famous clinicians of Vienna. He was in Paris during the German siege in the winter of 1870-71, and later wrote a history of that event and its aftermath. Returned home in 1872, Sibbet played a part in the movement to raise educational requirements for medical students and physicians. Near the end of his life he enjoyed a modest national reputation.

Sibbet was born in Southampton Township, Cumberland County, on March 4, 1826, one of seven children of Thomas and Catherine (Ryan) Sibbet. All four grandparents came to Pennsylvania from the North of Ireland, and his father was brought to the United States from County Armagh as a lad. Grandfather Sibbet, active in republican politics, is said to have made his way out of Ireland with a price on his head, "in a concealed manner," by the help of his Masonic brethren.[2] From Baltimore, where he arrived safely in 1800, he sent for his wife and children. They settled among fellow Scots-Irish near the head of Big Spring in Cumberland County, and there several more children were born. Thomas and Catherine Sibbet's son Robert was reared, he wrote long afterwards, "as a Presbyterian of the strictest kind." Conscious and proud throughout life of his heritage, he was a devoted member of local churches in Shippensburg and Carlisle, serving them as ruling elder, and made a pilgrimage to his ancestors' native place.[3]

Young Robert worked on his father's farm until he was nineteen, when he was employed by a cooper, then apprenticed to a carriage-maker, and was able to

attend school for a few months. "I was an obstinate boy and young man," he remembered later, "wishing to follow what I thought was right, as I saw the right."[4] Something of this spirit remained with him – although in the mature man it was called determination. When he was twenty-four he enrolled in a local academy (college matriculation records indicate that he attended institutions in Newville, Shippensburg, and Saltzburg), and in 1854, at the age of twenty-eight, Sibbet entered Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg as a member of the junior class.

A Lutheran institution with a theological department, Pennsylvania College offered the customary curriculum, heavy with Greek and Latin languages and literature, classical political economy, natural theology, and moral philosophy. At the same time, however, the sciences were represented. In their junior and senior years undergraduates studied, among other books, Gray's *Elements of Natural Philosophy,* Edward Hitchcock's *Elementary Geology,* and Alphonso Wood's *Class-book of Botany,* as well as basic chemistry, mineralogy, optics, meteorology, anatomy and physiology, and German. "The Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus," the catalogue assured matriculants, "is respectable and increasing." Probably of greater influence than appointed texts and the college's simple apparatus was the Linnaean Association: its active members included faculty and alumni, some from as far away as Baltimore; and it boasted a museum, a small library, a respectable quarterly journal, and a building of its own. Sibbet joined the Linnaean Association as well as one of the literary societies, read an essay on ichthyology, and served a year as its librarian.[5]

Upon graduation in 1856 Sibbet became a schoolmaster. He opened an academy at Centerville, Cumberland County, that was remarkable for its instruction in Latin, Greek, mathematics, and the natural sciences. It soon had thirty pupils, male and female, and was judged "quite successful." In 1859 Sibbet was named principal of the Shippensburg Collegiate Institute;[6] and in the same year he received the degree of master of arts from his alma mater. Although the college conferred this in accordance with a routine practice, Sibbet was especially proud of the distinction and never failed to add "A.M." to any formal or official printing of his name.

For a time he thought of entering the ministry, but, rejecting the idea, decided instead to study medicine. He resigned the headship of the Institute in 1861 and became the pupil of Drs. Alexander Stewart and Charles A. Howland of Shippensburg. In their offices he read Gray's *Anatomy* and other texts, and he accompanied them on their rounds. In 1865 Sibbet enrolled in the School of Medicine of the University of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia at mid-century was the principal center in this country for medical education, publication, and practice. The Pennsylvania Hospital, the nation's oldest, had been famous for a century; together with the Philadelphia Hospital (familiarly known as "Blockley") it was an invaluable adjunct to the lectures of

the professors at the University and Jefferson Medical College; both afforded medical students and young doctors experience in the wards and opportunities for experiment and research. Since the end of the eighteenth century students in ever-increasing numbers had been coming to the Philadelphia schools from every part of Pennsylvania and from the West and South. In the fall of 1865, only months after the defeat of the Confederacy, few southerners could travel north to study, but 520 men from other parts of the Union matriculated with Sibbet in the University in October of that year. Many were hardly more than boys with only a scanty education, as the institution's graduation requirement recognized: "Bad spelling in a Thesis," one rule warned, "or evidence of a want of literary culture, will preclude a candidate from examination for a degree."[7]

Sibbet's instructors included Joseph Leidy in anatomy, one of the greatest American naturalists, then at the height of his reputation; Alfred Stille in theory and practice, who had played a part in distinguishing typhoid from typhus fever thirty years before and was a strong advocate of higher entrance requirements and longer terms of instruction in medical schools; Robert E. Rogers in chemistry, like Leidy an original member of the recently-established National Academy of Sciences; and Henry E. Smith, author of a two-volume *Practice of Surgery,* who had distinguished himself during the recent war in organizing the evacuation of the sick and wounded from the Virginia battlefields to Washington and Philadelphia. Richard A. F. Penrose, of a Carlisle family and an 1846 graduate of Dickinson College, was professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children. In addition to attending the didactic lectures and studying texts, many of their professors' authorship, the students had opportunities for clinical observation and instruction, although these were limited. Four times a week during the five-months session the professors offered such instruction in University Hall; there were also two surgical wards in the college building; and the University operated a dispensary, where students who cared to do so might examine patients. Sibbet wrote his graduation thesis on alimentary secretions, and he received his diploma on March 14, 1866. He was just forty years of age.

Sibbet then spent several months in post-graduate study of chemistry at the University of Michigan – an unusual thing for a medical graduate in 1866. He practiced briefly in Harrisburg and then settled at New Kingston, a few miles east of Carlisle. Upon recommendations from Drs. Alfred J. Herman and Stephen B. Kieffer of Carlisle, both graduates of the University of Pennsylvania and the latter later president of the State Medical Society, Sibbet was elected a member of the Cumberland County Medical Society on May 5, 1868; thereafter he took an active and responsible role in its affairs.[8] On January 5, 1869, a few months after his admission, he read it a paper on hypodermic injection of morphia in certain cases of convulsions; it produced a lively discussion and a rule that all papers read to the Society thereafter should be preserved by the secretary. On May 4 he offered a resolution that the Society call on the legislature of the Commonwealth to require that ingredients of patent medicines be certified on every box, bottle, or other container. Although the motion appeared to have been tabled, Sibbet

raised the question again a few months later. "Were two or three hundred official preparations thus labeled," he argued, "we would have made a good beginning on scientific grounds & with no expense to the state."[9] This time the Society ordered that a copy of Sibbet's paper be sent to the appropriate committee of the legislature, and an abstract to the *Medical and Surgical Reporter* in Philadelphia for publication. In 1869 Sibbet was elected one of the Society's censors, and the next year he was named the official delegate of the County Society to the State Society's meeting.

Here, as in the County Society, Sibbet played an active role for a quarter of a century. At the first meeting he attended, in May 1870, he exhibited and described a compound craniotomy instrument;[10] he voted with the majority to adopt the code of ethics already approved by the American Medical Association and the College of Physicians of Philadelphia; and, in recognition of his deep concern for the profession, he was chosen one of the censors for Districts No. 3 and 4. The next month Sibbet sailed for England and Europe.

His purpose was to visit hospitals and medical schools and to attend clinics and lectures. Making his way quickly from Liverpool through the Lake Country, he spent a week in Edinburgh "and became greatly interested in antiseptic surgery as practiced by Prof. Lister in the Royal Infirmary." [11] Years later it was widely believed in Carlisle, and often said to Sibbet's credit, that an article of his in a medical journal in 1872 was the first to acquaint the American profession with Lister's methods. No such article is recorded in the comprehensive index-catalogue of the Surgeon-General's Library (now the National Library of Medicine); and, in any case, Lister's technique was known and warmly approved by some American surgeons before Sibbet went abroad.[12] Nevertheless, it is worth remarking that there could not have been many general practitioners in American towns in 1870 who knew anything about Lister's work and had sufficient curiosity and ambition to travel to Scotland to learn more about it.

Sibbet took the opportunity of his visit to go on to Glasgow, Iona, and the North of Ireland, "the home of my ancestors," before journeying to London. There he heard Gladstone address the House of Commons and, thanks to an introduction furnished by Lord de Ros, a retired army officer and lieutenant governor of the Tower of London, whom he had met in Ireland, he was admitted to the gallery of the House of Lords. At the Crystal Palace he encountered by chance his college classmate Edward Sill, who was on his way to a meeting of the British Medical Association before going to Paris for the hospitals. Sibbet spent only a few days in the capital, however, for he was anxious to get to France to observe at first hand something of the war being waged with Prussia. He arrived in Paris on August 8, hired a guide (a German!) to show him the city, moved into an apartment in the Rue St. Honore which a friend lent him, and settled into a schedule that he followed for some weeks. Each morning he visited the Hotel-Dieu or another hospital; each afternoon he explored a different part of the besieged city. These excursions he regarded as "the most important part" of his daily prog-

ram, "as it affords me the means of mental diversion, which cannot be otherwise supplied."[13] Normal cultural activities that would have attracted him had indeed been suspended: most of the medical lectures and public clinics had been abandoned; the museums were closed and their exhibits removed and stored; even the shops afforded little recreation as their stocks and supplies dwindled. Only the war provided stimulation. Permitted as an American to move about freely, Sibbet declined the advice of the American minister that he leave Paris, especially as Sell urged him to stay to observe the city in crisis.

Sibbet witnessed many of the events of the siege, the collapse of the Second Empire, and the painful rise of the Third Republic. He watched and cheered as the pigeon post and the balloons, some of the latter named for American heroes of liberty, carried their messages and messengers across the German lines. He shared the hardships of the Parisians, as food was rationed and substitutes were found for common meats: horse meat was sold everywhere; dogs, cats, and rats, though not tasty, at least offered some nourishment; and finally the zoological gardens gave up elephants, camels, kangeroos, and other beasts to feed the population, swollen by refugees fleeing before the Germans. When the siege ended in January 1871 the daily ration was three hundred grams (ten ounces) of bread and thirty grams (one ounce) of horse meat. For want of nourishment and heat mortality more than trebled during the four months of the siege; bronchitis, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and dysentery were widespread; smallpox broke out, and free vaccination was ordered. Sibbet himself suffered from insomnia. Americans living in Paris extemporized a hospital under the direction of Dr. John Swinburne of Albany, N.Y., who had organized and directed military hospitals in the American Civil War. By Christmas it was caring for two hundred French and German soldiers. Swinburne's management – "pure air and plenty of it in surgical wards" – impressed the French surgeons, but, Sibbet noticed, they seemed not to appreciate antisepsis. "No attention is paid to his [Lister's] style of operating or of dressing wounds," he remarked. "The French surgeons seem to be in profound ignorance of the great work he commenced a few years ago and is carrying forward with such surprising results."[14]

Still in Paris in the late winter, Sibbet watched the German army enter Paris, marching past the Arch of Triumph and down the Champs Elysees, on March 1. A few days later he was in Berlin, where he found the people "quiet, patient and unobtrusive" and was impressed by the university, whose laboratory and clinical facilities drew students from all parts of the world. His return to Paris was delayed by the disorders of the Commune, which attempted to overthrow the new democratic government. "A hasty tour" of Spain and Italy followed; it included a bull fight in Madrid – "brutal entertainment" – and a visit to Pompeii and Herculaneum with a "somewhat . . . hazardous" ascent of Vesuvius, which was active again. Then he spent some seven months in Vienna, where he rejoined Sell. Together they attended the lectures of Carl Rokitansky, Ferdinand von Hebra, Carl Braun, Theodor Billroth, and others. Back in Paris in the spring of 1872 Sibbet rejoiced that all traces of the German shelling and of the French

Communards had been erased, and that the city was once more "fair as the morning and beautiful as spring."[15] For several weeks he attended hospitals and clinics in London, then sailed for home in the summer of 1872.

Sibbet settled in Carlisle, where he practiced for a quarter of a century. He was regular in attendance at meetings of the County Medical Society, serving many years as corresponding secretary and as one of the censors, and, in 1882 and 1883, as vice-president and president. He was often the Society's delegate to the State Medical Society and, at least twice, to the American Medical Association. Hardly a year passed that he was not on the Society's program, offering a resolution, presenting a committee report, reading or discussing papers on a wide variety of medical subjects – smallpox (1872), ruptured perineum (1876), scarlet fever (1881), ovarian tumor (1885), prevention of typhoid fever (1894), administration of anesthetics (1894), skin diseases observed in three boys from the Carlisle Indian School (1886). Occasionally he drew on his European experiences, one time citing the removal of a kidney that he had witnessed at Guy's Hospital in London, another time referring to a case of double uterus seen in Professor Friedrich Salzer's wards in Vienna. In 1880 he read to the County Society a paper on scirrhus cancer "with operation by Lister antiseptic method."

Like many good doctors, Sibbet was concerned about public health and the social relations of medicine and the medical profession. He discussed whether alcoholism might be inherited (1874), and served on a committee that inquired into conditions of health and sanitation in the county jail (1887). He was equally concerned about the standards and reputation of the profession. He proposed that the president of the Society, on completing his term of office, should deliver an address on some medical topic (1874), and suggested that the Cumberland and Franklin County Medical Societies jointly publish a journal (1884). He objected to the use of the term "allopath" by the Lydia Baird Home and Hospital as derogatory, implying equality with "homeopath" (1894).

Sibbet was equally active in affairs of the State Society. He was elected one of its vice-presidents in 1875 and was often a district censor. He was on a committee that drafted a memorial to the legislature to authorize the appointment of women as superintendents of the female departments of state mental institutions, and erect hospitals for insane women. Concerned about mortality in childbirth, whose causes were debated, he proposed a simple but effective way to collect facts and reach instructive conclusions: each doctor should keep and publish the records of one hundred consecutive cases of confinement – normal, complicated, and fatal – so that percentages might be seen at a glance.[16] His most important and lasting service in the State Society, however, was as chairman of its committee on legislation.

Sibbet was appointed to that position in 1873. During the ensuing ten years he and his committee conducted a state-wide campaign among physicians and influential citizens to legalize "some standard of qualification in the medical pro-

fession." They prepared memorials and petitions, wrote letters and reports, and lobbied the legislators personally. Knowing they must not favor or offend adherents of any single system of medicine, they drafted their appeals carefully, disclaimed any purpose of exclusivity or monopoly (with which large segments of the public were ready to charge them), and insisted that their principal concern was for the health of the citizens. Lawyers, they pointed out, were examined before they were admitted to the bar; teachers were required to take an examination for certification to teach; but "any one who chooses to assume the title of Doctor of Medicine may do so, and may practice upon the confidence and credulity of the people without restraint. He may even collect, under the laws of the State, exorbitant sums of money for his pretended services."

On April 12, 1875, the governor signed a licensing law. It provided that possession of a diploma from a regularly chartered medical school was a sufficient license to practice; that persons who had practiced for ten years, or had practiced five years after attending one course of medical lectures, might continue to practice; and that persons who had no diploma might petition the county court for examination by three practitioners "of the school of practice . . . to which such applicant or applicants may profess to belong." Even itinerant physicians might secure a license upon payment of a fee.[17]

This law did less than the committee wanted. It did not protect the public from "travelling mountebanks," doctors so-called, who sold medicines in the market place and on the highway, promising cures and offering often harmful drugs. It contained no penalty for non-compliance. It was silent on a matter especially dear to Sibbet and some others – the requirement of a bachelor's degree or teacher's certificate for those beginning medical studies. Accordingly, the committee called for a stronger law, which was enacted on March 24, 1877. By its terms, physicians who began practice thereafter must have an M.D. degree. Those who had practiced continuously for five years might continue to do so upon registering with the county prothonotary. This law, too, was unsatisfactory to Sibbet, his committee, and the Medical Society. Nonetheless, Sibbet called on his fellow physicians to set a good example by registering voluntarily until the legislature strengthened the law by requiring registration of *all* physicians. Such a law was enacted on June 8, 1881. The Cumberland County Medical Society voted Sibbet and his committee thanks "for their persistent & untiring efforts."[18]

Sibbet now undertook to see that registration was enforced. In the spring of 1882 he reported that of more than ninety practitioners in Cumberland County, the "possible number" of those who had not registered was only two.[19] Yet he was not confident that the profession as a whole, still less the medical schools, supported the law. In his final report to the State Medical Society in 1883 he reflected on the hostility and indifference it had met with:

> . . . during these years of labor and anxiety we have found ourselves in the centre of a circle, the circumference of which has been occupied by numerous objectors. There stood the faculties of our oldest medical schools, the faculties of our homeopathic schools, the faculties of our bogus diploma colleges, the non-graduate practitioners of every grade, itinerant doctors, electricians, spectacle men, chronic-disease men, manufacturers of nostrums, druggists without number wishing to play doctor behind the counter, pedestrians travelling in every county in the State with liniments, pills, diarrhoea mixtures, cough syrups and tinctures. These all we found, like ourselves, professedly interested in the health of the people, but really interested in making money and unwilling to have their business disturbed. For every two hundred and fifty inhabitants in the State there was one such doctor or medicine-man; and we suppose that the ratio has not materially changed since that time. If we had attempted to define the practice of medicine, the whole circle would have laughed at us. Eight years ago we attempted to fix a standard for the matriculate in a medical school, requiring him to present a diploma from a literary school, a diploma from a normal school, or a certificate from a superintendent of public schools of any county of the State, but the bill was defeated. Our legislators did not think that the practitioner of medicine had need for as much education as the teacher of a country school, and the faculties of medical schools did not wish to be disturbed. They did not think that the time had come to make preliminary examination themselves, and they did not care to have any other persons make them. Efforts were made by your committee on other radii of the circle, but with no better success; some of the objectors stood with clubs in their hands; others with money in their pockets. The Registration Act touches only the weak points in this circle; it has scarcely interfered with the business of any one; its benefits are largely prospective; and yet there are some who object to its provisions.

Sibbet moved that his committee be dissolved and replaced with committees of education.[20]

In this report, as in earlier reports as chairman of the State Medical Society's committee on legislation, Sibbet referred to the low level of general education of medical students and physicians, and expressed the wish that the standard might be raised by requiring an A.B. degree or its equivalent for admission to medical school. Not many American doctors had been to college; the profession as a whole had the reputation of being coarse and unlettered. Only three of an estimated seventy-two active physicians in Cumberland County in 1879, for example, had a bachelor's degree; and the secretaries of the County Medical Society, as their handwritten minutes reveal, had mastered neither penmanship nor spelling. "As a result," Sibbet wrote, "the profession in our county has well nigh lost its claim to a place among the so-called learned professions of the world." In America as a whole, he went on, "the standard of [medical] education . . . has fallen far below that of any other civilized nation."[21]

Sibbet had become keenly aware of these deficiencies during his sojourn in Europe. He was impressed by the general culture of the physicians he met there, so much broader than that of most American doctors; he was embarrassed at having to admit this and irritated with the Europeans' ignorance of the American system of medical education and the contempt with which they so often

regarded all American doctors and American medical degrees. The fact was that there were too many medical colleges in the United States, that most were mere profit-making ventures with unconscionably low standards, that some espoused doctrines that were questionable when not absurd or harmful, and that many conferred degrees that were worthless. "There are many things of which we may be justly proud, as a nation," Sibbet admitted some years later, "but certainly not of our medical schools."[22] At the same time the American profession included men of education, cultivation, and sensitivity. Such men had usually received a liberal education before commencing medical studies, and they deserved to be distinguished from the rest.

Like John Morgan and his friends in Edinburgh and London a century before, Sibbet in Paris could view the American profession with detachment. He discussed the condition at home with his friend Sell, and with Sell's encouragement resolved to do something about it.

Sibbet was not the first to be concerned about the education of American physicians. For thirty years the American Medical Association had addressed the matter, but with scant result. Physicians and medical editors discussed it: the *Medical & Surgical Reporter* of Philadelphia observed ironically in 1876 that "there is a slight inclination on the part of a very few medical societies in the United States not to accept as a student a very grossly ignorant young man."[23] Sibbet's views were shared, he soon learned, by other members of his committee on legislation, by men he had known as fellow students at the University of Pennsylvania, and by many leaders of the profession. All believed that improved education was essential to both the professional competence and the reputation of American doctors. Accordingly in the spring of 1876 Sibbet invited a number of these men to meet in Philadelphia during the International Medical Congress, to which he was a delegate of the Cumberland County Society.

Seven persons crowded into a room of one of the "mushroom" hotels on the edge of the Centennial grounds in West Philadelphia on September 6, 1876. Sibbet discussed the need for a higher standard of qualification in the medical profession in the United States and presented the draft of a constitution of a society to achieve that purpose.[24] Sketching briefly the current state of the profession, he argued that it must reform itself and that graduates of medical schools who were also alumni of liberal arts colleges, like those present, could set an example. He recognized that the matter was delicate: existing medical societies could not help because they represented the very physicians whose qualifications Sibbet called into question; nor could the medical colleges be counted on, for their income came from students' fees – the more they admitted, the greater their income. The association must rise above local interests and, assuming "a national or cosmopolitan character," command respect at home and abroad. Lewis H. Steiner of Frederick, Md., expressed specific ideas of the men at Sibbet's meeting: he argued that the study of ancient and modern languages and literature was important to medical students.

The group formed itself into a society called the American Academy of Medicine; they elected the venerable Traill Green, professor of chemistry at Lafayette College and a former president of the State Medical Society, as their president; chose Sibbet as secretary-treasurer; and adjourned to meet a year later in New York.

The Academy held its annual meeting in 1877 in the rooms of the New York Academy of Medicine, with nineteen in attendance. It now had twenty-nine members, among them John Shaw Billings of the Surgeon-General's Library, Stephen B. Wickes, editor and historian of New Jersey medicine, William B. Atkinson, obstetrician and medical editor of Philadelphia, and Benjamin Lee, vice-president of the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania. A constitution was approved, which put forth the purposes of the Academy in unexceptionable terms:

> 1st. To bring those who are Alumni of both Classical (or Scientific) and Medical Schools into closer relations with each other.
> 2nd. To encourage young men to pursue regular courses of study in Classical or Scientific Institutions before entering upon the study of Medicine...

Members of the Academy must possess an A.B. degree and have received an M.D. degree after completing a regular three-year course at an institution that required preliminary academic study for admission. They must also have had three years of experience in practice.[25]

In his presidential address Professor Green both quoted British authorities and the American Medical Association on medical education, and reviewed American efforts to raise standards. Doctors, Green declared in a firm statement of the Academy's principles, needed to be liberally educated — country doctors as well as those in cities and towns — and he called on the profession to effect the needed reforms. "We must . . . show young men what they need to qualify them to study our sciences and meet the responsibilities of the medical practitioner." Every president for a dozen years thereafter sounded the same call in much the same terms.[26] A slightly different, slightly more aggressive note was struck by Charles McIntire, Jr., in 1882: the American Academy, he asserted, was "a missionary society," its true purpose "to convince the public that a preliminary training of the mind is absolutely necessary for the greatest efficiency of medical men."[27]

In general, the Academy was favorably received. The *Medical & Surgical Reporter* hailed its objectives as "praiseworthy" and expressed its confidence that it would have an excellent influence in persuading young men to prepare for medical studies "by a reasonably thorough mental training."[28] Membership grew steadily, to 150 in 1881, and included such leaders of the profession as Henry I. Bowditch of Boston and William Pepper, Richard J. Dunglison, and William H. Pancoast of Philadelphia, as well as progressive-minded physicians in such Pennsylvania villages as Dillsburg, Ickesburg, Honey Brook, and Ridgway. Some, of course, dismissed the Academy as so many self-appointed elitists who esteemed themselves because they had enjoyed certain educational advantages.

In Sibbet's case this may well have been true. He had worked hard to get an education, his medical degree at forty, and he placed a high value on what he had earned. He was, said one who knew him, "intense in advocating the truth as he saw it to a degree that inclined to intolerance should any vision differ from his." Neither he nor many other members of the Academy could admit that not everyone with a college degree was a superior or even a competent practitioner, or that there were successful teachers, authors, physicians, and surgeons without benefit of a bachelor's diploma. Because the Academy seemed to represent an undiscriminating criticism of a large part of the profession, some declined to join it.[29]

In the midst of his work for a physicians' register and for pre-medical education, Sibbet was asked to write the chapter on medicine in Conway P. Wing's *History of Cumberland County.* To compile a list of all who had practiced in the county since 1751 was impossible, for the reason that, as Sibbet pointed out, no register of physicians had ever been kept. Nonetheless, by "much labor and patience" he succeeded in identifying eighty-eight physicians and gleaned biographical data from many sources about most of them. As a result, the chapter remains the principal source on the subject to this day. At the same time the author took the opportunity to repeat the familiar arguments for medical registration and the familiar strictures on the defective liberal education of medical students. Of the whole number of practitioners in Cumberland County, he pointed out, only three had an A.B. degree, and of those who had begun practice in the county in the preceding twenty-five years only one possessed that degree. By contrast, three-quarters of the clergy and sixty percent of the lawyers were college graduates. Parts of Sibbet's chapter were printed in the *Transactions* of the State Medical Society.[30]

By the mid-1880s the American Academy was changing. Its repeated calls for higher educational standards became monotonous and boring to the members; besides, the cause had been taken up by others and hoped-for changes were being made. Most of these, however, were directed to the medical school curriculum; deans and professors argued that a full liberal arts education was not essential, that improved medical courses in themselves provided adequate intellectual background and discipline. To Sibbet this was a repudiation of the purpose of the Academy and the hopes of its founders. He stated the position firmly in an address to the Academy in 1885 and again, more succinctly, in 1893:

> To substitute the material sciences for Rhetoric, History, Mathematics, Languages and especially the Mental and Moral sciences is to dwarf the faculties of the human mind and soul, and to make the student of medicine a heartless practitioner and materialist.

"It is folly," he said on another occasion, "to talk about mental discipline by reading medical books or hearing medical lectures. This is a fraud practiced upon young men in our country."[31]

As the members' zeal for educational reform cooled, they added papers on purely scientific subjects to their programs. Henry O. Marcy's presidential

address in 1883 was on "the relation of micro-organisms to disease," and at the 1884 meeting at Johns Hopkins Hospital, in addition to education, licensing, and specialization, papers were read on osteitis of the hip, abdominal section, glaucoma, and bacteria. A few years later, at the Detroit meeting in 1893, Leartus Connor, a former president of the Academy, suggested "medical sociology" as a field important to cultivate. In 1895 most of the papers read at the annual meeting were on social aspects of medicine and the profession – "Are our financial relations to our patients and the community the best possible?" "The limits of a physician's duty to the dependent classes." "What agencies conspire to check development in the minds of children?" "The need of more medical reference libraries, and the way in which they can be established." [32] Meanwhile the Academy had inaugurated a regular publication.

By 1890 the Academy had over six hundred members from thirty states and the District of Columbia. Some of the greatest figures in the profession – Samuel D. Gross, D. Hayes Agnew, J. Marion Sims, Austin Flint, Oliver Wendell Holmes, S. Weir Mitchell, and David Starr Jordan – had accepted honorary membership, as had also Joseph Lister and Sir Thomas Spencer Wells of Britain. William Osler was elected an honorary member in 1895.[33] Sibbet was elected vice-president in 1885 and 1886 and again in 1890 and 1891; at other times he was one of the censors or councillors; he was never president.

But the Academy's internal strength and structure did not keep pace with the growing number and prestige of its members. Just as it had modified its program and programs, it had to adjust to financial and administrative conditions. As might have been expected in a founder of the organization, Sibbet was unsympathetic to the changes. When the treasurer proposed that annual dues be collected – the Academy's only income was from initiation fees and such gifts as members might make – Sibbet strongly opposed the suggestion. He reminded the members at the 1892 meeting of the ideas that had prevailed at the Academy's founding, argued that annual dues would destroy its voluntary character and violate the original pledge, and expressed his opinion that subscriptions to the recently-established *Bulletin* would produce income adequate to all purposes. "The day we begin to collect annual dues," he predicted, "disintegration will begin." Sibbet's opposition succeeded in postponing action for three years.[34]

In 1892 Sibbet published a history of the siege of Paris. This had been one of the memorable experiences of his life; he had kept a journal and written letters to his brothers and sisters at home; and for some years had been collecting French and German accounts with a view to writing a book of his own. Instead of using his personal records as the core of his book, however, Sibbet chose to write a longer, more general, more impersonal history of the events of 1870-71, based principally on the writings of officials, journalists, and other observers. Extracts from newspapers gave the narrative an air of immediacy, but Sibbet's own observations and experiences were cited only occasionally. The narrative was clearly written, but without passion or the sort of detail a good reporter would have included.

Profusely illustrated, containing 580 pages, *The Siege of Paris* appeared in both paper (in five parts at fifty cents each) and cloth ($3; half-morocco $3.75; full morocco with gilt edges $4.75), in one volume and two. After the manner of the time, the book carried recommendations from personal friends and professional colleagues, among them the president of Dickinson College, the minister of the Second Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, and his old friend and classmate Edward Sell, who had shared the siege with him. The book was privately issued; Sibbet sold it through canvassers, to whom he offered "a large commission."[35]

During all the years he was engaged in projects for the profession at large, Sibbet remained interested and active in affairs of the State and County Medical Societies. He was elected and reelected corresponding secretary of the County Society for twenty years. He was a delegate to the Ninth International Medical Congress in Washington in 1887 and a vice-president of its section on obstetrics. A few years later he was urging colleagues in the County Society to take an interest in the forthcoming Pan-American Medical Congress; they chose him their delegate, and he was put on the auxiliary committee on arrangements.[36]

He was always alert to the operation and enforcement of the registration law. He challenged the Potts Christian Faith Sanitorium in Carlisle in 1893, for example, and, learning that its owner was not a registered physician, had him arrested.[37] Convinced that registration by counties under the law of 1881 was at best erratic, he urged that it be strengthened by establishing a state-wide system. In Cumberland County there appeared to be so many irregularities that he and some other physicians petitioned the court to examine medical registration in the prothonotary's office. This revealed that of eighty-eight practicing physicians, twenty were illegally or improperly registered and that seven were practicing without an M.D. degree.[38] Sibbet's report was prepared for the State Society meeting in 1896, but as it turned out he was unable to read it.

On the afternoon of February 17, 1896, Sibbet attended a patient some eight miles from Carlisle on the York Road. Later that day he, his horse, and the carriage were discovered in a field at the side of the road about two miles from town. Sibbet had suffered a stroke, fallen from the carriage seat, and lain exposed to the cold for several hours. He was brought to his house at Pitt and Louther Streets and, having never married, the next day was taken to his sister Anna Mains's house near Shippensburg. "Being well advanced in years — about seventy," a local newspaper reported frankly, "— the chances for Dr. Sibbet's recovery are not too favorable." Although he recovered his speech, he remained paralyzed on the left side. A stay at Presbyterian Hospital in Philadelphia did little for him. Anticipating death, he wrote a short autobiographical sketch for the secretary of the American Academy. His sister died, and he was moved to another sister's, Mrs. Rachel Hill of Fairfield in Adams County. Meanwhile, aware of his condition, the State Medical Society formally recognized "the service he has so ably and cheerfully rendered this Society as Chairman of the Committee on Medical Legislation;" and the County Society, in a similar act of respect, elected him

an honorary member.[39]

Sibbet died at Fairfield on October 29, 1898, and was buried with his parents, brothers, and sisters in the Sibbet plot in Spring Hill Cemetery in Shippensburg.[40]

Charles McIntire, Jr., his friend and fellow-laborer in the American Academy, in an obituary in the Academy's *Bulletin* saw the lesson as well as the achievement of Sibbet's life. It "should be remembered," he wrote,

> as an example of what a young man can really do, if he desires to enter upon the profession of medicine. Dr. Sibbet could have begun the practice of medicine at 26, and have claimed, with others, that a thorough preparatory education was impossible for him, and he would have ended his days in the ceaseless drudgery of the routine, either soured by the hardness of the daily grind, or intoxicated by the mere money that is in it. He decided to plod on, and reached the goal when 40. The daily grind bore as hard upon him as on any, but whatever of good has been accomplished, or will be accomplished through the American Academy of Medicine, will serve to crown him with another wreath than his loved baccalaureate, and to mark the man who was willing to continue to toil for the right as he saw it. Let us rejoice that so many are now seeing as he did, and remember the country doctor of the Cumberland Valley as one worthy of honor.[41]

Notes

[1] Robert L. Sibbet, *The Study of Medicine as a Means of Education* (Carlisle, [1885]).

[2] *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1886), 395 H. F. Bridgens' *Atlas of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1858) locates the farm as belonging to the estate of Thomas Sibbet. F. W. Beers' *Atlas of Cumberland Co. Pennsylvania* (New York, 1872) shows it belonging to H. W. Sibbet, just north of the village of Cleversburg on Sibbet Street.

[3] [Charles McIntire, Jr.], "Robert Lowry Sibbet, 1826-1898," American Academy of Medicine, *Bulletin*, III (1897-99), 603-06; Conway P. Wing and others, *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1879), 152, 190-91, 266.

[4] [McIntire], "Robert Lowry Sibbet, 1826-1898," *loc. cit.*, 605.

[5] *Catalogue of the Officers, Alumni and Students of Pennsylvania College . . . 1854-55* (Philadelphia, 1855); *ibid., 1855-56* (Gettysburg, 1856); E. S. Breidenbaugh, ed., *The Pennsylvania College Book* (Philadelphia, 1882), 252. I am indebted to David T. Hedrick, Special Collections Librarian, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College, who searched the minutes of the Linnaean Association for references to Sibbet's share in its work.

[6] Penquar, "Shippensburg Past and Present," from *Shippensburg News*, Feb. 25, 1860, in William H. Burkhart, *Cumberland Valley Chronicles* (Shippensburg, Pa., 1976), 89.

[7] *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, and Students of the University of Pennsylvania . . . 1864-65* (Philadelphia, 1865), 30-33; Annotated Catalogue of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, 1765-1910, 165 (University of Pennsylvania Archives).

[8] Cumberland County Medical Society, Minutes, Jan. 7, May 5, 1868 (Ms., Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle).

[9] *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1870.

[10] Sibbet, "Description of a Compound Craniotomy Instrument." Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, *Transactions*, VIII (1870-71), 75-76.

[11] Robert L. Sibbet, *The Siege of Paris* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1892), 1-2, *et passim*. Although readable and informative about the siege, this work is disappointing to anyone seeking personal information on Sibbet or his reactions to the medical world of Europe in 1870.

[12] See, for one example among many, F. D. Weisse, "Lister's Antiseptic Treatment in Surgery," *Medical Record*, IV (1869-70), 52-56, read to the Medical Society of the County of New York, March 1, 1869. Weisse, who was professor of anatomy and oral surgery in the New York College of Dentistry, had been with Lister in the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow in the summer of 1868. "That the antiseptic treatment bids fair to revolutionize the practice of surgery," he wrote in this admiring review, "appears to me to be a foregone conclusion."

[13] Sibbet, *Siege of Paris*, 193.

[14] *Ibid.*, 370.

[15] *Ibid.*, 568.

[16] "Case of the Double Uterus," Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, *Transactions*, IX, pt. 2 (1873), 114-15; XI, pt. 1 (1876), 192-93; XII, pt. 2 (1879); "Obstetric Notes," XV (1883), 187-93; XX (1888), 203-04.

[17] *Ibid.*, X, pt. 1 (1874), 26-27; pt. 2 (1875), 470-74; 779-81; XI, pt. 1 (1876), 22-24; pt. 2 (1887), 402-04.

[18] *Ibid.*, XII, pt. 1 (1878), 24-27; pt. (187), 532-33; Cumberland County Medical Society, Minutes, Oct. 4, 1881.

[19] Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, *Transactions*, XIV (1882), 255-58.

[20] *Ibid.*, XV (1883), 34-38.

[21] Wing, *History of Cumberland County*, 199.

[22] Sibbet, *The Study of Medicine as a Means of Education*; American Academy of Medicine, *Bulletin*, I (1891-95) 223.

[23] *Medical & Surgical Reporter*, XXXV (Dec. 16, 1876), 521.

[24] Sibbet, *An Address . . . on the Necessity of an Organization which shall Encourage a Higher Standard of Qualification in the United States* (Carlisle, 1877); American Academy of Medicine, *Transactions 1876 and 1877* (Carlisle, 1878); "[American Academy of Medicine]," *Journal of Sociology Medicine*, XIX (1918), 291-98.

[25] American Academy of Medicine, *Constitution and By-Laws* (Carlisle, 1877).

[26] Green, *First Annual Address . . .* (Carlisle, 1877); Frank H. Hamilton, *Annual Address . . .* (n.p., [1878]); Edward T. Caswell, *Reform in Medical Education the Aim of the Academy* (Philadelphia, 1881); Green, *A Retrospective Glance at the Origin and Progress of the Academy: Annual Address . . .* (Philadelphia, 1883); Leartus Connor, *The American Academy of Medicine, Its Objects, Its Signs of Promise and Its Obstacles, Its Field of Work, and Some Suggestions Looking to an Increase of Its Efficiency* (Detroit, 1889).

[27] McIntire, *The Percentage of College-Bred Men in the Medical Profession* (Philadelphia, 1883).

[28] *Medical & Surgical Reporter,* XXXVII (Nov. 10, 1877), 376-77.

[29] [Charles McIntire, Jr.], "Robert Lowry Sibbet, 1826-1898," *loc. cit.,* 603-06; "[American Academy of Medicine]," *loc. cit.,* 292, 295-96.

[30] Wing, *History of Cumberland County,* 181-99; Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, *Transactions,* XII, pt. 2 (1879), 755-57.

[31] Sibbet, *The Study of Medicine as a Means of Education,* 18; same, *A Brief Review of the Attitude of Our Medical Schools in relation to Matriculate and Graduate Studies* ([Carlisle, 1893]); and remarks in American Academy of Medicine, *Bulletin,* I (1891-95), 215.

[32] Marcy, *The Recent Advances of Sanitary Science . . . Annual Address* (Philadelphia, 1883); programs of the annual meetings, 1884, 1895 in College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

[33] By 1893 the following alumni of Dickinson College had been elected to the Academy: Lewis W. Foulke 1829, Jonathan E. Bulkeley 1842, James M. Shearer 1853, Ferdinand J. S. Gorgas 1854, Josiah F. Kennedy 1855, Samuel J. Jones 1857, Joseph C. Snively 1857, William R. Cisna 1863, Niles H. Shearer 1864, Theodore T. Wing 1864, Edward O. Shakespeare 1867, John V. Shoemaker 1872, William W. Jaggard 1877, and Samuel L. Diven 1878. More than half of these practiced medicine beyond central Pennsylvania — in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and Des Moines, among other places.

[34] Sibbet, "The Financial Aspects of our Academy," American Academy of Medicine, *Bulletin,* I (1891-95), 303-06.

[35] *The Siege of Paris by an American Eye-Witness* (Harrisburg: Meyers Printing & Publishing House, 1892).

[36] Pan-American Medical Congress, *Transactions* (1893); Cumberland County Medical Society, Minutes, July 11, Oct. 11, 1893.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] "Report on the Best Method of Granting the License to Practice Medicine," Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, *Transactions,* XVII (1885), 63-65; "Decisions of the Courts relating to the Registration Act of 1881," *ibid.,* XX (1888), 150-55; "Report of Medical Registration in Cumberland County," *ibid.,* XXVii (1896), 340-42.

[39] *Ibid.,* 24; Cumberland County Medical Society, Minutes, April 13, 1897.

[40] *American Volunteer* (Carlisle), Feb. 19, 1896, Nov. 2, 1898; *Carlisle Daily Herald,* Oct. 31, 1898; *Shippensburg News,* Nov. 4, 1898; *Johnson & Lynch's Directory of Carlisle, Pa., for 1896-97* (Carlisle, 1896), 74.

[41] American Academy of Medicine, *Bulletin,* III (1897-99), 606.

Household Inventories Lower Allen Township: 1760 to 1780

Jerry A. Clouse

Although the actual frontier or line of settlement of Europeans crossed beyond Pennsylvania during this time period, this study of the primary records of Allen Township demonstrates that the area retained a frontier mode of living. By the 1790's Georgian two-story houses were built, but the majority of residents were huddled in one or two room log houses. The quantity of furnishings increased as the century progressed, but most items and tools were required for the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the two dominant groups, the Scots-Irish and the Germans, were assimilating ideas and artifacts to form a hybrid culture.

Examined here are the wills, inventories, and tax records of forty-three people of Allen Township for a forty-year period to see what they reveal about the life, culture and ethnic complexion of the area in the eighteenth century.[1] A purpose of this study was to learn if an ethnic preference existed for certain items and to see what items may be missing from inventories. Another reason was to gain insight into the lifestyles and living conditions of eighteenth century residents of eastern Cumberland County.

During the eighteenth century Allen Township composed the entire southeastern corner of Cumberland County. In the nineteenth century it would become three townships: Monroe, Upper Allen and Lower Allen. [2] Then as now, the southern boundary of the township was the Yellow Breeches Creek and York County. The eastern border was the Susquehanna River, and the western border was Middleton Township, surrounding the county seat of Carlisle.

Between 1725 and 1775, Pennsylvania witnessed its greatest period of colonial era immigration.[3] The population of southeastern Pennsylvania rose by 68,000 between the years 1750 and 1760, the greatest amount per decade during the eighteenth century.[4] Largely these were Germans from the Palatinate and Scots-Irish from Northern Ireland. This was the driving force, prompting men to cross the Susquehanna for more land.

The eastern portion of Allen Township was part of Lowther Manor. The Penn family created this Manor, which extended back about five miles west of the Susquehanna, as a reservation where the Shawnee Indians were free to set-

tle.[5] The Manor's western boundary extended to present day St. John's Road or encompassed two thirds of Lower Allen Township.[6]

Although the Indians did not sell their rights in the Manor of Lowther until 1762, many settlers took up land or squatted on these lands before that time. Casper Weaver, William Black, William Brooks, and Samuel Wallace were early settlers of this area and were part of this study since they died within its forty year range.[7]

Illustrating the great movement at that time, Theophile Cazenove stated in 1794 as he traveled from Harrisburg into Cumberland County, "German farmers of Dauphin and Berks Counties every day acquire farms from the Irish farmers, who settled here first."[8] Ten years earlier, J. David Schoepf had found a few good houses and little cultivated land between the Susquehanna and Silver Spring.[9]

Faciliating the movement into Allen Township were three well traveled trails or roads: Simpson Ferry Road, the York Road and the Lisburn Road. These roads all lead from the south and east and brought the settlers from those sections of the state, early giving it an ethnic mixture not known until later in other portions of the county.[10] The Simpson Ferry Road, earlier known as Tafe's Ferry Road, led from present-day New Cumberland westward to Carlisle. The York Road led from the City of York through present-day Dillsburg into Cumberland County and continued as a migratory route into the area well into the nineteenth century.[11] The Lisburn Road was part of the Conoy Indian path from Lancaster County.[12] This was a major artery for the Scots-Irish who had settled in the Donegal area by 1719.[13]

Indicative of the population density at this time, Carlisle was described in 1777 by the Reverend Henry Muhlenberg in his journal as the "principal village" of Cumberland County.[14] That this area remained a part of the frontier is affirmed by the fact that in 1773 less than a quarter of the taxable land was cleared.[15] When the Moses Brown family migrated from Pequea, Lancaster County to Allen Township in 1774, their landlord Samuel Martin later remarked of the event, "I with his help bilt him a house and two akers grubed."[16]

The Inventories substantiated the fact that the land was still being cleared with the prodigious amount of axes and hoes listed in them. Of the number of hoes, forty-two percent were noted as grubbing hoes. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, grubbing was a term used in agriculture meaning to clear the ground of stubs.[17] There was a great specialization of hoes at that time. Among those named were: weeding, sprouting, corn, meadow, hilling, and wooding hoes.

This study, classifies the ethnic groups of English, Welsh, Scots-Irish and Irish settlers as Anglos. The Scots-Irish dominated this group. William Brooks and William Black were described as immigrants from Scotland.[18] Most of these were members of the Silver Spring Presbyterian Congregation, known then as the "Lower Settlement" where the above mentioned Samuel Martin and Moses Brown's wife lie in unmarked graves. Those with marked graves there included in this study were: William Brooks (1723-1796), John McTeer (1736-1790), Samuel Wallace (1730-1798), and John Work (1743-1799).

Swiss, Huguenot and German ethnic groups were denoted as Germans in the study. The Germans called this area the "Lower Settlement" as well, and among their places of worship was "Friedens Kirche" (Peace Church) and Trindle Spring.[19] The only known marked grave for a German in this study was Jacob Cocklin, who died in 1799 and was buried just west of his house beside the Lisburn Road.

The first taxes for Allen Township were levied in 1753. At that time there were eighty-nine taxables. Of this number less than six percent were of Germanic origin. In 1763 there was only a minor increase in the number of taxables. This was because of the French and Indian War which saw this area raided.[20] By 1773 the German population had grown to over twenty percent of the total. This area experienced the greatest population growth between 1773 and 1783 when it expanded by sixty-nine percent.

Between 1783 and 1793 the number of taxable landholders dropped, but the number of freemen rose, making a slight increase in the total number of taxables. However, this was the first time the German population outnumbered the Anglo. This drop may have been the result of many land transfers at that time. As James Lemon noted, during periods of prosperity, many people moved on hoping to better themselves further west.[21] Another possibility was that as farms came up for sale, landholders purchased nearby farms for their sons when they came of age.

It stands to reason that younger men settled on the frontier because of the rigors of life there. Therefore, it was no surprise that about half the estate inventories were for the period 1790 to 1800 or about thirty to forty years after the first settlements were made. This was confirmed by the fact that only twenty-three percent of the estates were titled with Germanic names while the German population had grown to fifty-seven percent by 1798.

Applying Kevin Sweeney's idea of using tax lists to correct the probate records or to see how inclusive or representative they are, this author went through the tax lists for the years already mentioned to find the number of decedents on each list.[22] In 1753 there were 17.9 percent of the taxables with estates on the list. By 1763 the number had slightly grown to 18.6 percent, and in 1773 it peaked at 20.1 percent. However, by 1783 the number of taxables with estates had dropped to 10.2 percent, and in 1793 the number was down further to 6.6 percent. It was seen from this method of inquiry that those with estate records were a minority of the population.

As an additional context for the study, 1798 federal tax records were used to determine the size of buildings into which these inventories fit. This tax gave the dimensions of the house on the property, the number of stories it had, the number of windows in it and the number of panes of glass in each window. It also listed the type of building material for each house.

The 1798 tax was composed of three lists. In this study the first list or "List A" was used. It recorded all the buildings which exceeded the value of one hundred dollars. This is the list which enumerated what the assessor believed to be the top one half of the taxables in the township.[23]

Tabulating this list, the author found that the average home in Allen Township measured 20.9 feet x 26.4 feet. Locating the houses of the last thirteen decedents or those who died between 1797 and 1800, the question asked was whether or not their houses differed from the average. The average house measured nineteen feet x twenty-eight feet, or approximately the same as those enumerated on the entire list. Of the thirteen, only two houses were two stories in height, and only two were constructed of stone. The remainder were constructed of wood and only one story high. Consequently, the author estimated the majority of the inventories fit into two rooms with a loft above. As a result not much furniture, tools and utensils were needed to make these houses cluttered, a point many museums have yet to learn.[24]

Of the forty-three estates for the period 1760 to 1800, thirty-six had wills listed, and the remaining seven were marked as administrations. Administrations were created when there was no will, and the court appointed administrators to settle the estate. Two of these administrations had no inventory, a finding which appeared odd because a purpose of an inventory was the equitable distribution of the estate.

This researcher listed all the material possessions mentioned in the thirty-five wills. Of major concern to the writers of the wills was the distribution of his land and movable or personal estate. In all cases where there was land bequeathed, it went to a son or sons. These legatees usually had to pay their brothers or sisters an equivalent value in currency over a period of time.

Jacob Cocklin House, 1790. Photograph by Donna Doderhoff.

Some wills specified certain movable items to daughters other than the usual monetary allotment. These most often included a bed and bedding, a cow or horse and saddle. William Brooks bequeathed his mills to his two sons with the stipulation that they should not only support him and his wife but "furnish one half a house for each of the girls when married and pay their lodging, victuals and sufficient clothing until they are of age."

Many wills detailed how the widow should be maintained during the remainder of her life. (There were only two wills written by women.) John McNeal willed his wife "the privilege of the store room of my house." McNeal possibly meant the stove room, as this room is occasionally mentioned in inventories throughout the county.[25] Casper Weaver directed his sons to "build at request of wife at their cost a log house not less than 15 X 12 in the clear proper for her to dwell in." John Knower specified that his widow should have the "privilidge of livin in the old mantian house" which was to be kept under good roof for her.

The fact that the sons received the land and the widow and daughters the personal property or movables corresponds with what Barbara Ward found in her study of Connecticut inventories. She stated that the widow would take the utilitarian items, knowing the family items would go to the daughters.[26] She found the administrator of an estate to be the closest relative to the widow.

Of the specific items mentioned in wills, these were named most often: beds, cows, horses, saddles and wearing apparel. In this era these were the basic necessities of life. The beds and clothing were labor-intensive items, almost entirely handmade during this period. The cows provided a food staple, and the horses enabled travel. Writing in the 1750's, Gottlieb Mittelberger found that "all people, men and women, ride to church on horseback, though they had only half an hour to walk."[27] Evidently, the residents of Pennsylvania early on used horses for travel instead of walking, as they did in Germany. Of course the dispersed farmsteads of Pennsylvania were quite different from the clustered communities of Europe.

Wills provide a glimpse into the lives of ordinary people of the eighteenth century whose history otherwise may have been obliterated. Jacob Knopf, who died in 1789, wanted his family to "dwell together" until his son John arrived at age twenty-one. At that point if his widow Ann chooses not to live with either son, "they are to build her house at some convenient place." Knopf specified the amount of wheat, Indian corn, pork, beef, hemp or flax, wool and cordwood to be provided for his widow. Although Knopf had only purchased his land in 1771, he evidently had a deep desire to keep his family on it.[28]

Jacob Cocklin's will mentioned his son David's "right to take water out of the old race to water his meadow." This indicated the Cocklin family was still following the practice of irrigating their meadows, an European tradition to increase the growth of grasses.[29] Ann Margaret Weaver's will gave notice that they were

still storing grain in their house, and John Knower's mention of his "John Spangenberge" sermon book suggested that his family was or had been a member of the Moravian Church.

This study compared the items listed in the wills with those items mentioned in the inventories. Although many of the wills corresponded well with the inventories, some did not. The average Anglo will corresponded with its inventory just under fifty percent of the time while the average German will showed a similarity just over fifty percent of the time. This indicated that certain items bequeathed in wills were either taken by the family before the inventory was taken or were implicitly not to be inventoried.

Next, this study takes an in-depth look at the inventories of Allen Township. One definition of inventory is "an itemized list of current assets."[30] An inventory listed the goods or property a deceased person owned at the time of death. All aspects of the person's estate were included: wearing apparel, animals, kitchen utensils, furniture, tools, farming equipment, crops, money, debts and bonds. According to Alice Jones, a principal reason for filing inventories of assets with the court was to protect creditors and heirs by preventing assets from being dissipated before claims were settled.[31]

To see if a pattern of goods owned by the decedent existed, this researcher set up a list of items which seemed to be revealing (See Figure 1). First established was a category for the value of the estate. This was to determine whether wealth made a difference in the quantity of goods. Only fifteen of the thirty-three inventories had total values listed. Of these, the average worth of the estate was 247 pounds. This was probably skewed low, for Samuel Wallace had notes and bonds valued at 374 pounds, but had no total value of his estate marked. Likewise, Casper Weaver had notes and bonds of 1,061 pounds, but no total value of his estate was noted either.

Then nineteen items were listed which seemed to denote ethnic identity and living conditions at this time. Some of the items, such as stoves, feather beds and chests, were chosen because they have been identified with Pennsylvania Germans in southeastern Pennsylvania. Other items, such as chests of drawers, bake kettles and dough troughs have been identified as English or Scots-Irish.[32] The andirons, shovels and tongs were listed because Abbott Lowell Cummings' studies in New England showed these could be used to determine the number of hearths in a household.[33] Books were chosen because they can be indicators of national origin, religious preference and possible educational background of the decedent.

Stoves were important in the German household of Central Europe because open hearths required large amounts of fuel, and fuel was not free for the taking in the German forests.[34] On the other hand, the Scots-Irish coming from Ulster would have been accustomed to burning peat on their hearths. This, they could have harvested from their bogs for nothing.[35]

Figure 1

Decedent _____

Inventory Taken _____

Appraisers _____

Value of the Estate _____

Value of Notes and Bonds _____

Items

1. Stoves _____
2. Feather Beds _____

   Number of Beds _____
3. Chests _____
4. Chests of Drawers _____
5. Dough Trays _____
6. Clocks _____

   Watches _____
7. Bake Ovens (Kettles) _____
8. Andirons _____
9. Shovels _____
10. Tongs _____
11. Pottery (Earthenware) _____
12. Sickles (Reaping Hook) _____
13. Scythes _____
14. Flax Heckles _____
15. Flax Brake _____
16. Books _____
17. Religious Books _____
18. Bibles _____
19. Lighting _____

Tools that indicate a trade _____

Ethnic Words _____

Date of Letters _____

Inventory Number _____

Signed _____

The residents of Allen Township continued in these traditions; only one Anglo inventory in the period 1760 to 1790 noted a stove. As time went on, both groups gained more wealth a fact which enabled more cultural exchange as well. In the period 1790 to 1800, thirty percent of the Anglos had stoves while eighty-three percent of the German inventories listed them. Andrew Crocket was cited with a "small Duch stove" in 1791. Henry Weaver's 1800 inventory listed three stoves, "one stove with ten plates, one ten plate stove with side doors, and one six plate stove." In the same year, Solomon Hutton was tabulated with "one six plate stove and five feet of tin pipe."

The dependency of the Anglo population on the use of the hearth is confirmed by the fact that over eighty percent of their inventories had shovels and tongs listed while only about twenty-five percent of the Germans had them. Although the Germans would have been cooking on the hearth also, some baking and cooking on their stoves took place as well. None of the inventories noted more than one set of shovels and tongs, possibly indicating that none of these homes had more than one working fireplace.

It came as no surprise that the Anglo population had a greater number of feather beds than their German counterparts. A similar reading emerges in a study of Toboyne Township inventories.[36] (Toboyne Township was situated on the western border of Cumberland County from 1763 to 1820.) In Allen Township there was not as great a margin of difference between the two groups. It would be natural to have fewer feather beds in a frontier area if Peter Benes was correct in his estimation that it took about fifty years to produce enough feathers for one bed.[37]

Don Yoder explained that English Americans slept on feather beds, whereas the Pennsylvania Germans slept under them.[38] The Germans filled a bag or tick with feathers the size of the bed. This was used like what is locally known as a comfort, but it was warmer and lighter than a comfort.

Feathers at that time were an expensive item, and appraisers took the time to weigh the feather beds. For example, James McTeer was listed with "one fether bed 46½ pounds @ 5-15-0" and "one fether bed 21 pounds @ 2-7-2." Anthony McCue's inventory gave an indication of the price difference between chaff and the size of the bed with feathers. This was used like what is locally known as a & coverlid @ 1-0-4" and "one fether bed single tick 44 pounds @ 3-17-4."

The term bed itself has changed in meaning since the period of this study. One can think of a bed as an item in its entirety. According to Webster's definition in 1828, a bed was "a sack or tick filled with feathers or wool; but a bed may be made of straw or any other material."[39] The Allen Township inventories proved this meaning to be true. The beds, bedsteads and bed clothing were listed individually.

The feather bed itself was more valuable than the bedstead. An example was taken from the inventory of John McTeer, who was listed with "one fether bed plain tick weight 27 pounds @3-0-3, a walnut bedstead sacking bottom @1-5-0, and a fether bed bedstead & bed cloaths @9-0-0." The last example shows how much more the bedclothes added to the value of the bed. Most textiles found in the house were made by the women of the household. Because fabric production was labor intensive, the linens on a bed were worth more than the frame.[40]

The appraisers of John Nailer's estate were very specific in the locations of his beds. He was noted with the following: "one bed & all furniture in the Little Stone room, one bed in the fire room, one Bed in the old end, and the other a chaft bed." The present-day scholar learns from this that John Nailer had at least three rooms in his house and possibly all served as bedrooms among other purposes. When the appraiser stated, bed and all the furniture, he did not mean furniture such as chairs and tables. His meaning of furniture was "the equipment that is necessary."[41] Another example of this meaning was taken from Andrew Emmack's inventory in which he was listed with "shelf furniture." Henry Weaver was appraised with "one dresser, pewter, potts, ladles & other kitchen furniture." "Kitchen furniture" in the last example meant all the items that belong to a kitchen dresser.

Peter Benes found "promiscuous" sleeping conditions in his study of Newbury, Massachusetts.[42] His definition of promiscuous was where more than one person slept in a bed. This was true in Allen Township as well. The number of beds ranged from one to seven according to the inventories, with an average of 2.6 beds per household. Taking the number of children as mentioned in the wills, there seemed to be 6.5 persons per household. This meant two to three people had to sleep in one bed.[43] Sleeping conditions would remain crowded in the average two-room house with a loft where the family's priority was clearing the land and establishing themselves financially. This is illustrated in Cazenove's travels through Pennsylvania where he noted large barns in which the care of the farmer's animals possibly were better attended to then the comfort of his own family.[44]

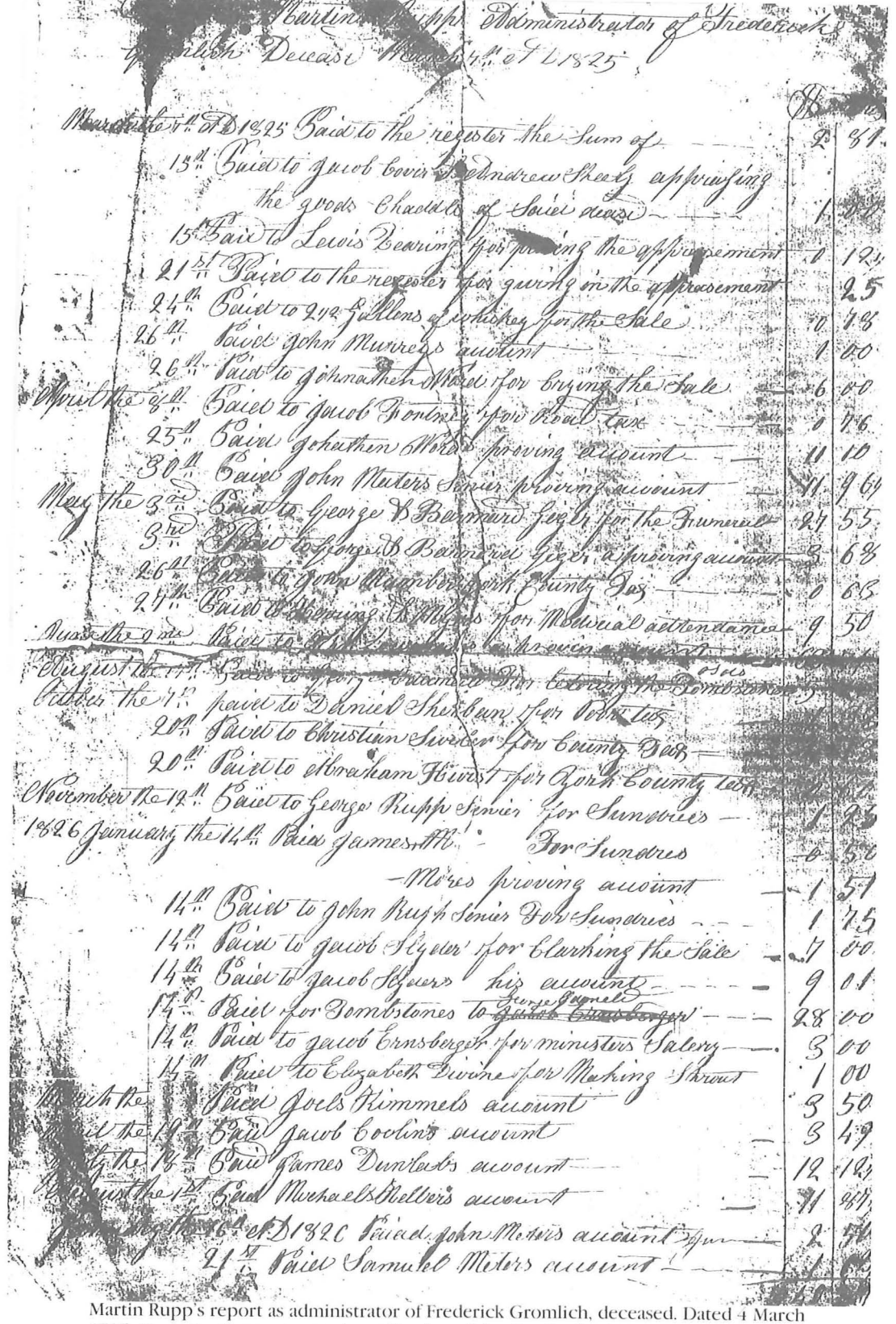
As expected, a high percentage of the decedents had a chest listed in their inventory. In fact, this item had the highest overall ownership rate of any item on the list. As Abbott Lowell Cummings has written, chests were vital at that time when there were few or no closets for storage.[45] Of those chests described in Allen, the majority were walnut with a few poplar and pine. Often the chests were called "chists" and sometimes were described as "old."

About twice as many Anglos as Germans had chests of draws noted in their estates. Often these were listed as a "case of drawers," and in Samuel Wallace's inventory as "one set drawers." Samuel Mateer was appraised with "one case of drawers with mounting." This item was appraised higher than the case of drawers willed to his widow.

The first record of a bake oven or kettle in the Allen Township inventories was that of Jenet Work whose inventory was dated 1799. She was noted with "one beache cettle." It would appear bake kettles were a later innovation or did not come into popular use until late in the century. This writer's study of Toboyne Township inventories for the period 1795-1812 showed nearly fifty percent of the Anglo population and over twenty percent of the German population with these kitchen items.

Among the kitchen utensils of James Crocket in 1791 was "a Duch oven." Don Yoder described a "Dutch Oven" as a large covered skillet standing on a tripod which could be placed over a fire to fry or bake food.[46]

More than a third of the inventories of both ethnic groups had pottery in their household. There was slightly more pottery noted here than in Toboyne. The first mention of pottery was in the inventory of Rowland McDaniel who was simply listed with "earthenware" in 1782. Anthony McCue was noted with "potters old ware." Possibly McCue had purchased seconds from a potter or had been a potter himself. John McTeer was listed with "4 Earthen dishes, 3 jarrs and one Earthen mugh." The most pottery was found in the inventory of Ann Margaret Weaver who had: "five Erthen garrs, 18 Erthen pots, one Dye Crock and one Crock Clover seed."



Martin Rupp's report as administrator of Frederick Gromlich, deceased. Dated 4 March 1825. From the Rupp manuscript collection of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

The inventories showed pottery much lower in value than pewter. As Edwin Barber said, the large part of the output of potteries was intended for ordinary use, being of such a nature that it could be sold at a low price and readily replaced when broken.[47]

It was unforeseen that less than half of the inventories would list sickles and scythes. It was surprising because these were a necessity at harvest time. With the rural background of the area, the only way to survive without possessing one, would have been to borrow one. Possibly the appraisers considered them too common to note. Supporting this theory is the fact that those inventories which did mention sickles, showed them to be numerous. Anthony McCue's inventory listed "9 old sickles." John Knower had "two grass hookes and 8 sickles."

Samuel John's inventory noted, "one dutch syth and hangins and anvil." This indicated John was borrowing a German tradition in which a small hammer and anvil was taken along to the fields to sharpen when necessary the blade of the German scythe which was traditionally thinner and sharper than the blades of the English style scythe.[48]

About half of the Germans owned flax heckles. Almost forty percent of the Anglos had the same. There was also a good number of spinning wheels, flax wheels, big wheels, hemp, flax and flaxseed found in these inventories. The historian, T. J. Wertenbaker, said the culture of hemp and flax was of major importance to the Germanic peoples.[49] Likewise, the English peoples had to manufacture their own yarn and cloth for there were no nearby stores, and the cost would have been prohibitive anyway.

As already mentioned, books may be indicators of national origin, religious preference and possible educational background of the decedent. However, a majority of the Allen inventories that noted books did not list their titles. For example, Rowland McDaniel's inventory listed them as "a Quantity of Books of Sundry Sorts." Among the books listed for Jacob Cocklin's estate was: "A Book Named Ready Recknor, and two Doctor Books." Notations on his inventory indicated all his books went to relatives. Two other inventories designated that the books were to go to the children or heirs of the deceased. Could this be why most inventories did not make a close notation of them? Samuel John's books included, "The works of John Griffith and 4 Welch Books." These books indicate Samuel John was of Welsh heritage.

The loom, indicative of the weaver's trade, was found in ten out of the thirty-three inventories. Samuel Mateer was listed with, "One Loom Quill wheel swifts & all belonging to her." John McTeer was appraised in addition to the loom and tacklings with, "18 cuts coverlet yarn, 15 cuts liney yarn and 6 cuts blew cotton."

The tools in the inventories also revealed: four carpenters, four shoemakers, three woodworkers, one joiner, a tailor and a mason. Actually, the tools and the trades they represent indicated what these farmers did on their spare time. This was confirmed by the 1807 septennial tax in which the men were enumerated by their trade. A break down of these trades showed shoemaking, of the trades mentioned above, with the highest percentage of workers, and that was under four percent. These findings were substantiated by Warren Roberts, who found that cabinetmakers in Pennsylvania and the Midwest were also farmers.[50]

A point of interest is that four of the inventories were taken by appraisers, both of whom were German. (This never occurred in Toboyne Township.) In two of the cases, both signed in German. So how did the inventory come out in English? This problem was possibly solved by the finding of a receipt in the Rupp Collection at the Cumberland County Historical Society. The estate of Frederick Gramlich paid Jacob Slyder in 1826 "to clerking one day at the appraising."[51] This indicated that a clerk went along with the appraisers, explaining how an appraiser could sign in German or with a mark.

These inventories disclosed that many small tools were kept in the house and sometimes the grain as well. It also appeared that the hemp, flax, wool and spinning wheels were sometimes kept on the loft along with the beds. John McNeal's inventory specifically noted, "Wheat in the house and barn by the bushel." John McTeer's inventory also suggested that wheat and buckwheat were stored in the house. Robert Bucher has written of Germans storing grain in the attic in southeastern Pennsylvania, and it would appear the Anglo population were doing the same.[52]

The earliest inventories showed the most sparsely furnished houses. For example, John McCurdy's inventory of 1761 had, "Dishos trunshors & spoons & a can." (Trenchers were wooden plates which traditionally were used by poorer people instead of pewter or china.[53] The basic furniture of James Davis's inventory of 1767 was, "a table, half a dozen chairs, benches, stools and a chest." In 1790, Anthony McCue had "a pine table, a walnut table, half a dozen chairs, delf ware and small drinking glass." And by 1800, Solomon Hutton had, "two walnut tables, one long painted table, five chairs, one armd chair, one winsor chair, one rocking chair, and one kitchen cupboard." This corresponds with Jack Michel's study in which he found that as Pennsylvanians were able to obtain more goods, they bought not simply more, but more of particular kinds. He stated, "It is impossible to reconstruct the actual purchasing patterns of farmers, but it appears that as they were able most attempted to provide beds, plates, spoons, and knives and then chairs for each family member."[54]

In conclusion, by examining the travel logs, local histories and the primary records of Allen Township, one can demonstrate that this area remained virtually a frontier area until the very end of the eighteenth century. The study further showed that lifestyles in this rural area changed slowly. By comparing the tax records with the estates, one can adduce additional proof that only the upper one-quarter of the taxables would have written a will or have their estate settled by an administrator. Consequently, the poorest people in the area would never have an inventory.

The 1798 federal tax indicated that even some of the well-to-do of eighteenth century Allen Township lived in a small one or two-room houses of only one story. A few of the inventories and estates gave additional information on the number of rooms in the house and the space considered adequate for maintaining the widow. It was shown that as these farmers prospered they acquired more of what they already had. They were interested in providing well for their families. This was reiterated in their wills which often itemized in detail the care to be given the widow and the provisions made for the children.

The inventories showed how language has changed over time as items of importance in our lives have changed. As an example, wearing apparel and bed clothes were important items in a decedents estate when everything was handmade.

This study of inventories has shown some of the similarities and dissimilarities with past studies of inventories in New England and southeastern Pennsylvania. It also pointed out that cultural exchange between the German and Anglo populations was already taking place. Some Anglos were using "Dutch" ovens and scythes, and the Germans were taking on the English language. Generally, these inventories were more specific than those found in Toboyne Township. Possibly this was due to the greater population mix? Here was an environment in which different and unfamiliar articles demanded more description.

Notes

[1] Although Wing's *History of Cumberland County*, published in 1879, p. 124 states that Allen Township was formed in 1766, I found estate records going back to 1760 and tax records back to 1753.

[2] *Atlas of Cumberland County* (New York: F. W. Beers & Co., 1872), pp. 45-47.

[3] James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), p. 222.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[5] Robert G. Crist, *Manor on the Market* (Camp Hill, Pa.: Cumb. Co. Hist. Soc., 1969), p. 7.

[6] Robert G. Crist, *The Land in Cumberland Called Lowther* (Lemoyne, Pa.: Lemoyne Trust Co., 1957), p. 34.

[7] *Ibid.*, *Manor* p. 13, 20.

[8] Theophile Cazenove, *Cazenove Journal 1794: A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove Through New Jersey and Pennsylvania* ed. and trans. Rayne W. Kelsey p. 55.

[9] Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation 1783-84* ed. and trans. Alfred J. Morrison (Phila.: Wm. J. Campbell, 1911), P. 213.

[10] Jerry A. Clouse, "What the Inventories of Toboyne Township Reveal," unpublished paper, 1987.

[11] Writer's knowledge from architectural research in the townships of Monroe, Upper Allen, and Lower Allen.

[12] Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Pa. Hist. & Museum Com., 1971), p. 38.

[13] *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties* (Lancaster, Pa.: Gilbert Hills, Proprietor & Publisher, 1846), p. 35.

[14] *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Phila.: The Muhlenberg Press, 1958), Vol. III, p. 44.

[15] MSS Tax Records of Cumberland County.

[16] MSS Recommendation Samuel Martin to William Brown, 1806, writer's collection.

[17] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. IV (Oxford: University Press, 1961), p. 467.

[18] *Ibid.*, Crist, p. 13.

[19] I. Daniel Rupp, *A Brief Biographic Memorial of Joh. Jonas Rupp* (W. Phila.: L. W. Robinson, 1875), p. 36.

[20] *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pa.* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1886), p. 59.

[21] *Ibid.*, Lemon, p. 227.

[22] Kevin M. Sweeney, "Using Tax Lists to Detect and Correct Biases in Probate Inventories" Lecture at Deerfield, July 11, 1987.

[23] Jerry A. Clouse, "Toboyne Township in 1798," unpublished paper, 1986.

[24] James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1977), p. 157.

[25] Samuel Adams inventory, 1823. Margaret B. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pa. Inventories 1684-1850* (Norristown, Pa.: Schiffer Pub. Co., 1980), p. 214.

[26] Barbara M. Ward, "Women's Property and Family Continuity in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," Lecture at Deerfield, July 11, 1987.

[27] *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and Return to Germany in the year 1754* trans. Carl Theo. Eben (Phila.: John James McVey, 1898), p. 57.

[28] Gilbert W. Beckley, *The Sampler from Seventy-Six* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1975), p. 37.

[29] Amos Long, Jr., *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm* (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pa. German Soc., 1972), p. 24. R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Farm Buildings of Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1982), p. 21.

[30] *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1980), p. 603.

[31] Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation To Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1980), p. 4.

[32] Scott Swank, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1983) p. 53. In my study of Toboyne Township 50 percent more of the Anglo population had cases of drawers then the German.

[33] Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Reflections on Inventories and Architecture" Lecture at Deerfield, July 11, 1987.

[34] William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House" *Winterthur Portfolio* (Winter 1986), p. 255.

[35] Henry H. Glassie, Lecture at Millersville University, Millersville, Pa., Feb., 1987.

[36] *Ibid.*, Clouse, "What the Inventories of Tobyne···.

[37] Peter Benes, "The Household of Henry Lunt, Hatter, of Seventeenth-Century Newbury, Mass." Lecture at Deerfield, 1987.

[38] Don Yoder, letter dated 4 April 1987.

[39] *Ibid.*, Schiffer, p. 97.

[40] H. Winslow Fegley, *Farming, Always Farming* (Birdsboro, Pa.: Pa. German Soc., 1987), p. 264.

[41] *Ibid.*, *Webster's*, p. 462.

[42] *Ibid.*, Peter Benes.

[43] This household size approximates what James Lemon found in his study of eighteenth-century America. James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America" *Agricultural History*, 4i (1967) 67.

[44] *Ibid.*, Swank, p. 47.

[45] Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories 1675-1775* (Boston, MA: 1964), p. XVI.

[46] Don Yoder, "Historical Sources for American Traditional Cookery: Examples from the Penna. German Culture" *Penna. Folklife* 19 (Spring, 1970) 3: 28.

[47] Edwin Atlee Barber, "Lead Glazed Pottery" *Art Primer* (Phila.: 1907), p. 7.

[48] Christopher S. Witmer conversation 1986.

[49] Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 274.

[50] Warren Roberts, "Early Tool Inventories: Opportunities and Challenges" *The Chronicle* 39 (1986) 40.

[51] Cumberland County MSS Collection---Rupp Collection Box IV.

[52] Robert C. Bucher, "Grain in the Attic" *Penna. Folklife* 13 (Winter 1962-63) 2: 7.

[53] Don Yoder letter 4 April 1987.

[54] Jack Michel, "In a Manner and Fashion Suitable to their Degree: A Preliminary Investigation of the Material Culture of Early Rural Penna." *Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center* Vol. 5, No. 1 (1981) p. 19.

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James Crawford, 1775, (none)

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James Beatty, 1777, inventory 35

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John Sands, 1798, will book F 129

Samuel Wallace, 1798, will book F 119, inventory 98

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Jacob Cocklin, Sr., 1799, will book F 162, inventory 92

Solomon Hutton, 1800, will book F 164, inventory 88

Justice Henry Weaver, 1800, will book F 165, inventory 104

Ann Margaret Weaver, 1800, will book F 183, inventory 102

James Gregory, 1800, will book F 190, inventory 55

Samuel Mateer, 1800, will book F 199, inventory 221

Arsenic in the Leaven

Mary Anne Morefield

Life for the Scottish Carothers clan in East Pennsborough, now Silver Spring Township, was neither calm nor peaceful in that tiny fragment of time between 1798 and 1801. Four murders occurred within two of the families, the John Carothers and the Andrew Carothers. A fifth Carother's death within the county was the beating death of James Carothers Sr. at the hands of his own sons, John and James in 1803. Whether this family was also located in East Pennsborough is not known.

A recent article in Cumberland County History, "Chloe's Story," written by Nancy Loughridge tells the sad tale of the murder of the two small daughters of Andrew and Mary Carothers in 1801 by their slave Chloe. This branch of the family traces from Robert Carothers, who died in 1771 through his only son, John Carothers who died in 1783, to his son Andrew.

Another shocking tale is the story of the poisoning deaths within the John Carothers branch of the family in 1798. Again, two deaths occurred; again, a serving girl was involved.

John Carothers, born in 1739, and his wife, Mary born in 1740, appeared in East Pennsborough in 1767 when they acquired 266 acres of land by warrant dated March 31, 1767. Upon this land seven miles from Carlisle on the banks of the Conodoguinet Creek, they built a farm which eventually consisted of "2 dwelling houses, two barns, one of them a large stone bank barn, a stone spring house with never-failing limestone spring, a good bearing orchard, 30 acres of good meadow and about 130 acres of plow land clear."[1] This farm can be identified on the 1858 map as the property of Michael Kreider, located today on the present Rich Valley Road.

John and Mary Carothers were the parents of seven children: James, William, John, Thomas, Andrew, Jean and Ann. John Sr. was a justice of the peace of the county.

By 1798 the children were young adults, and five of them were married. John Carothers married Sarah Hogue, daughter of Jonathan, 1725-1800. Records variously call his wife Sallie or Sally. They were living in Carlisle in a stone home owned by Jacob Hindle. John was the Sheriff of Cumberland County.

James Carothers married Elizabeth. Thomas also had a wife Elizabeth, while William was married to Margaret. Jean Carothers, also called Jane, was married to James Bell.

In 1798, James and William shared a property bordering John Orr. Thomas lived in a large stone house belonging to John Walker, Esq. Assuming that Jean lived away from her family, only Ann and the nineteen-year old Andrew were living at the John Carother's farm when a terrible plot was conceived in the head of young Sarah Clark.

Sarah Clark was a local woman, "born about 1766 within two miles of Carlisle."[2] The tragedy which was to come was the result of a love triangle. Sarah or Sallie lived in the house of the John Douglas family. Sallie was fond of the Douglas son. The son, however, appeared to be interested in Ann Carothers. Apparently this relationship went on for some years giving Sarah time to devise her plot. She left the employ of Mr. Douglas and became a serving girl in the house of John Carothers. Her idea wa to kill Ann by poisoning her. To this end, she purchased "one ounce of white arsenic" from Dr. Gustine in the fall of 1797.[3] She apparently could not find the right time to give Ann the arsenic, so she put it into a crock of leaven from which bread was made. From this, those family members living at home became sick. This included John, Mary, Ann and Andrew.

John Carothers died on February 26. He was buried the next day at the Silver Spring Meeting House. The paper notes that "the funeral was uncommonly large; his friends and acquaintances from a considerable distance attending in great numbers to testify their regret at the loss of a man respectable for his social and domestic qualities."[4]

His wife lingered until the third of June when she died, and a second burial took place at the Silver Spring Meeting House. *Kline's Gazette* says of Mary Carothers that "she possessed all the virtues calculated to promote domestic happiness being a dutiful, an affectionate mother, a good neighbor."[5]

By June 12, Sarah Clark was in the county jail on suspicion of murdering the family. By the following week, she had confessed to James McCormick Esq., a justice of the peace as to what she had done. It was then that the tale of the purchase of the arsenic was told. She also revealed that when Ann did not die, she made a second purchase of an ounce of yellow arsenic from Dr. Stinneckle in order to give Ann a "dose to herself." This portion she put in a crock in Thomas Carother's spring house. It was discovered as well as arsenic which she still had in her possession.

The newspaper reported that neighbors who came to help the family became ill from eating butter which had been poisoned, but they were not in danger. Ann it was felt would recover, but Andrew was not expect to recover.

Sarah Clark was tried at the October term of Oyer and Terminer with James Riddle sitting as President Judge, Samuel Laird and John Montgomery, Associates.

Bennet Bellman in his *History of the Bar of Cumberland County* reports that she was convicted of murder in the first degree. She was tried only for the death of John Carothers.

Her sentencing took place on August 5, 1799. She received "the awful sentence of DEATH."[6] James Riddle Esq., president of the court of Oyer and Terminer, spoke the following to Sarah:

> It is considered and ordered by the court that you, Sarah Clark be taken to the goal of Cumberland County, the place from whence you came and from there to the place of execution and there be hanged by neck until you are dead!
> May God have mercy on your soul.

The execution took place on October 30, 1799 on the commons east of Carlisle sometime between 12 and 2. The last mention of the case in the *Kline's Gazette* reports that Sarah Clark "was attended to the place of execution by the Rev. Mr. Hauts and the Rev. Mr. Herbt, the two German clergymen of this place. She appeared very penitent and received her fate with resignation and seeming resolution - and the moment previous to her entering into eternity declared herself dying an innocent murderer."[7]

Neither Ann nor Andrew died as a result of the poisoning, for they are both listed as heirs of John Carothers when the Carother's plantation was sold to John Noble of Carlisle for 2,169 pounds six shillings on October 28, 1800. The property contained 295 acres and 145 perches and a fourth. It was bounded by the land of Andrew Irvine, William Walker, Matthew Loudon, and Joseph McClure.

The poisoning radically changed the life of Andrew Carothers. As a young man, he was trained in cabinet making. The poisoning left him crippled, however, and he could not pursue this career. Leaving cabinetry behind he became a lawyer, "by a course of reading and study with such aids as he could obtain at home."[8] He married Catherine Loudon of East Pennsborough on June 11, 1812. After her death in 1820, he married Isabella Alexander in 1824. A trustee of Dickinson College, he died on July 27, 1836. Bennet Bellman states that "Mr. Carothers was remarkable for his amiability of temper, his purity of character, his unlimited disposition to charity and his love of justice."[9] His obituary notes that "he early made his way to competence and distinction."[10]

Perhaps as a trustee of Dickinson he reminisced on the events of his youth with another Dickinson trustee, Dr. Samuel Allan McCoskry. R. L. Sibbet writes, "It is said of Dr. McCoskry that he anlayzed the butter into which a large quantity of arsenic had been introduced by Sally Clark; and that his testimony before the court of Carlisle secured the conviction and execution of the girl . . ."[11]

The incident lingers in the history of the township and in the poetry of Miss Isabella Oliver, daughter of James Oliver and a friend of the families involved, who published a book of poetry in 1805. Included among her poems is "Melancholy Instance of Human Depravity." The poem begins

Upon the bank of a slow winding flood
The good Alphonso's modest mansion stood;
A man he was throughout the county known
Of sterling sense, to social converse prone.
He walked the plains with such majestic grace
When time had drawn its furrows on his face,
'Twas easy to infer his youthful charm,
When first the fair Maria blessed his arms;
Maria-Oh! what mixed emotions rise,
Grief, pity, indignation and surprise,
At thought of thee!
Thy sweetness might have moved the harshest mind;
Thy kindness taught th'ungentlest to be kind;
And yet a fiend enshrined in female mould
Could thy heartrending agony behold;
When by her cruel wiles thy wedded heart
Was basely severed from its dearest part...

The events which were to occur to the Andrew Carothers family in 1801 bear no direct relationship to the deaths of John and Mary Carothers in 1798. John Carothers, son of John, Sheriff of Cumberland County and the one to whom the death warrant for Chloe was issued, however, was the cousin of Andrew, father of the dead children, four year old Lucetta and six year old Polly.

The gravestones of John, Mary, and Andrew Carothers are still readable in the graveyard of Silver Spring Presbyterian Church. The turmoil at the turn of the nineteenth century forgotten by all but á few.

Notes

[1] Kline's Carlisle *Weekly Gazette*, January 7, 1799.

[2] Wing, Rev. Conway, *History of Cumberland County*, 1879, p. 116.

[3] Kline's Carlisle *Weekly Gazette*, June 20, 1798.

[4] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1798.

[5] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1798.

[6] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1799.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1799.

[8] Wing, Rev. Conway, *History of Cumberland County*, 1879, p. 162.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Carlisle Herald*, August 4, 1836.

[11] Wing, p. 66.

A Portfolio of Artistic Genius: The Architecture of James W. Minick

Randolph H. Bates

On the evening of December 23, 1949, Floyd Rice's tractor-trailer engine broke down on the Camp Hill By-pass. It was a Friday, and traffic in the usual Christmas rush continued around the stranded vehicle. Not far from Rice's truck, a family gathered awaiting the arrival home of a husband and father. The table was set with the traditional Christmas dinner, and neatly wrapped presents lay beneath the decorated tree. On his way home from a Christmas party and possibly mulling over changes to his latest project, the Danville State Hospital, one driver never saw Rice's truck. The 1947 Mercury slammed into the rear of the tractor-trailer instantly killing the driver. There would be no festivities that evening in the nearby Minick house: only yards from his home and family, James W. Minick's body was pulled from the wreckage of that car.

At fifty-one and at the peak of his artistic career, Jim Minick's life ended. His dreams, his artistic prowess, and his presence cut short by the tragedy of that accident. Nevertheless, Minick's spirit and artistic vision remain in the buildings he designed which stand today as a testimonial and a memorial to his artistic diversity and genius.

As a native of Cumberland County, having been born in Carlisle on September 14, 1898, James Minick was considered by many to be "one of the finest residential architects in this country."[1] From the house he grew up in on Market Street in Lemoyne to the night of the accident on the By-pass, Minick's life was devoted to fulfilling his artistic dreams in Cumberland County. Dreams and inspirations that would be built, like a sound building, from the foundation up.

As the second child and only son of James Drawbaugh Minick and Emma Grace Minick, Jim Minick had little desire to follow his father's calling as a butcher. Instead, and much to the consternation of his parents, he looked toward being an architect from an early age. For his father the difference between being a butcher and an architect meant the difference between an honest job and not having a job. Yet, Jim Minick answered the internal calling of his artistic desires and set about becoming an architect.

Minick was graduated from the Harrisburg Technical High School in 1917 and went on to attend Pennsylvania State College from 1918 to 1920. In 1920 he trans-

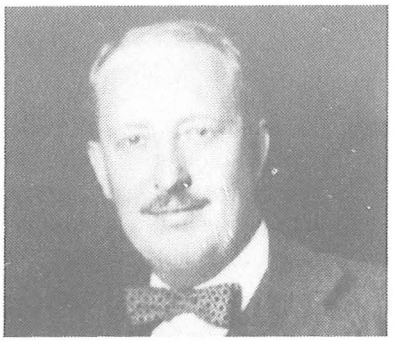
ferred to Carnegie Institute of Technology, now Carnegie-Mellon, to complete his studies in architecture. Graduating in 1922 with an A.B. in Architecture, he had received the best schooling of the day in traditional architecture design and theory. Departing the academic environment, he returned to Cumberland County to begin practicing his trade.

Minick found employment with the noted firm of Lawrie and Green in Harrisburg and began carving out a niche for himself in the community. While at Lawrie and Green, Minick worked on a number of school buildings, projects that would be the mainstay of his future career. After several years Minick accepted a challenging offer to work in Florida as part of a team designing the first hotel on the beach in Miami. Yet within two years, the rolling green hills of Cumberland County beckoned him home. After that hiatus in Florida, Minick would remain in Cumberland County for the remainder of his life.

Upon his return he became associated with Clayton Lappley and assisted him in a number of projects. Most notable though was his work on the John Harris High School, Hale and Market Streets, Harrisburg, and other schools throughout the area. By 1928 Minick had grasped the essentials of the traditional eclectic architecture and formed the first of several partnerships. Samuel Jamison and Minick went into business in 1928 and appeared to weather the storm of most embryonic business ventures. Fate though would not be kind to the nation nor to Minick: within a year the stock market crash became the first domino in the catastrophic Great Depression and his partner Jamison would become ill. It was during this time, however, that Minick honed his skills and abilities on the eclectic architecture of the day.

The Eclectic Style, in vogue since the early 1880's, was a combination of "taking up forms of proven and natural beauty from the formal and the vernacular architecture of the past and adapting them learnedly but with personal touches, to modern building programs."[2] Homes in this trend were designed in the styles of Tudor, Georgian, or Cotswold. Schools were often patterned after the Tudor (Oxford) or Jacobean (Eton) custom. Churches either were Colonial or Gothic and synagogues if not Hebraic, usually followed the Moorish or Byzantine design. The eclectic architect while imitating the various styles was also free to add variations of his own to enhance or suppress aspects of ornamentation.

Working in this symbiotic vein of architecture, Minick produced some outstanding examples of eclectic design. The quintessential example of his early works is the residence for Mrs. Katharine D. Deen in Camp Hill (Project Number 115 at 225 Willow Avenue). Designed in October of 1929 by Minick, it is the apogee of imitated Tudor styling. The half-timber construction with brick in-fill, heavy lead glass windows, and slate roofs is unquestionably a replica of the original in the truest sense. Minick had exhibited his total immersion in the prevailing practice of eclectic emulation in numerous other residential structures throughout Cumberland County and the Commonwealth.



James W. Minick
1898-1949

Having been so taken by the English styles, Minick and his wife, Leah Kennedy of Landisburg, began buying heavy English furniture to decorate their house. Envisioning his dream house, Minick's mind quickly turned to throughts of a grand English-styled manor. Yet, in the midst of this great facade of eclecticism came two more events to drastically influence Minick's artistic perceptions. As the Depression continued to exacerbate economic conditions, the number of commissions the firm received continued to decline. With plenty of time and little paid work, Minick began to examine and reflect on the changes swirling about him. As early as 1930 the architectural profession had been ideologically bifurcated with each side "denouncing the other as shallow and dishonest."[3]

This split had taken place, as had a similar earlier split in the figurative arts, over old versus new. In architecture the warring factions would be eclectics versus the modernists, Eclecticism was denounced by the contemporary artists as,

> Artistically valueless imitation of old, and therefore irrelevant, architectural styles for the gratification of the predatory, philistine rich by sentimental or dishonest architects who ignore their duty to create a vital twentieth-century architecture at the service of the people.[4]

The aesthetic concern of the avant garde architects was "based primarily on the nature of modern materials and structures and upon the modern requirements in planning."[5] These translated into a concern for the conception of a building in terms of volume, regularity as the basis of composition, flexibility in the building plan, and technical perfection and fineness of proportion.[6]

This radical departure from the past had its birth in the dawn of the Twentieth Century. Not only were traditional concepts being challenged in the arts and architecture, but the political, social, and economic landscapes also became a battleground for new and, often perceived, iconoclastic theories. Traditional beliefs and practices in America were reexamined under the desperately trying economic milieu of the early decades of this century.

The shift in architecture grew out of the growing reaction to the "weakly sentimental, esthetic, and decorative architecture"[7] of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Working from his Bauhaus ("Building Institute") School of Arts in Weimar, and later Dessau, Germany, Walter Gropius and his disciples sought to implement a process of "rational analysis and creative synthesis"[8] in all aspects of art. Gropius's Bauhaus was conceived of as a school of design concen-

trating on innovative concepts in painting, sculpture, architecture, and industrial arts. The most important aspect that made these new theories structurally feasible, was the study of modern materials and the new methods of construction.

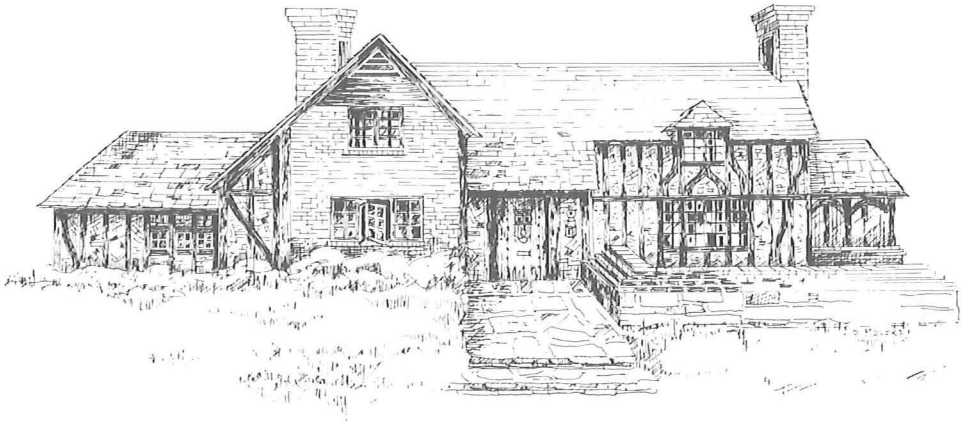
The great Bauhaus exhibition of 1923, *Bauhaus Ausstellung,* demonstrated to Gropius that the new ideas "stood like an island of integrity, in a melange of chaotic modernistic caprice."[9] The Bauhaus ideas were adopted, emulated, and enhanced by the "new masters" throughout Europe in the twenties and thirties: Le Corbusier in France, Mies Van der Rohe in Germany, and J. J. P. Oud in the Netherlands.

In America the movement was gaining momentum by the late twenties. In 1928 the English translation of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* attracted wide attention throughout the architectural profession. This was followed the next year by the publication of Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Modern Architecture,* and an increase in activity by students of the new theories. The Bauhaus movement had its nationwide debut three years later in 1932. Much like the celebrated Armory Show in 1917, the International Exhibition of Modern Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York was the launching of nationwide appeal and ridicule. Writing in the catalog for that exhibition, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson labeled the modern form the "International Style," due to its worldwide acceptance and development.

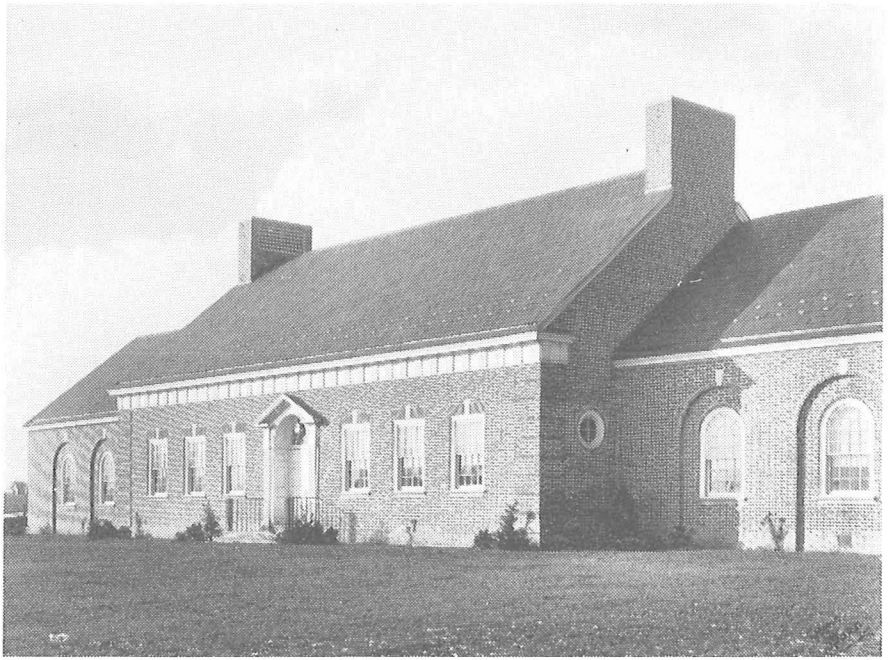
Much of the public, and a generation of older architects, found nothing of value in the "boxes of stilts" and "cold white factories" presented. Years earlier at the Armory Show, similar protests had been made about the abstract nature of the works presented. Marcel Duchamp's "Nude Descending a Staircase" was all that was either good or heinous about the revolutionary figurative art trends. Yet, Americans were not that different from their European counterparts in viewing these works. A building, like a painting, heretofore could be explained without having to look directly at it.[10] The Eclectic Style, for many, was a certainty with historical context in the face of these "overgrown garages."

The 1932 Exhibition showcased both European and American architects working in the new style. There had been significant advancements made in America by Richard Neutra, Raymond Hood, and the Bowman Brothers of Chicago. More important for Pennsylvanians though was the inclusion of George Howe and William Lescaze's Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building in nearby Philadelphia. The PSFS Building, constructed from 1930 to 1932, attracted worldwide attention as the first skyscraper designed in the "International Style."

In the midst of all this activity, Minick continued to design traditional structures. In his spare time though, he spent hours reading architectural journals and books on the new International Style. When an opportunity permitted him to travel, Minick, and many others, now stood at the divergence of their artistic careers. To those already embattled by a depressing economy, there was little to praise in the new radical style. Others reacted in a counter revolution praising the old and denouncing the "cold abstractions" of the new.



In 1929 he designed this house, rich in detailing after the half-timber Tudor fashion, for Katherine and Carl Deen on Willow Street, Camp Hill. Sketch by Jane Meyers, who with her husband is the owner in 1988.



In 1929 the Camp Hill School District constructed this building, the Nathan C. Schaeffer Elementary School, after a Minick design. Note "Colonial" door, quoins, multi-paned windows, jack arches and cornice. Photograph from the editor's collection.

For H. L. Manning Minick provided the design for this house at 1915 Walnut Street. "International" or "Bauhaus" design replaces the English Tudor for this house and for a more expansive version which Minick built for his own use on the Camp Hill By-pass Sketch by Thomas Middleton.

For Camp Hill School District Minick designed a high school gymnasium, auditorium, office and two classrooms on South 24th Street. The structure, erected in 1937, remains in use as part of an expanded complex to which other architects subsequently contributed. Photograph from the editor's collection.

The cacophony of the disbelievers did not stifle Minick's desire to understand what appeared as the only way out of a stagnant ideology of design. The new masters insisted on a "functional and structural architecture free of decoration. If there was to be decoration at all, it should grow out of the materials and functions of the design itself."[11] Walter Gropius elaborated upon these ideas in the *Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus,* writing:

> Architecture during the last few generations has become weakly sentimental, esthetic and decorative. Its chief concern has been with ornamentation, with the formalistic use of motifs, ornaments and mouldings on the exterior of the building—as if upon a dead and superficial mass—not as part of a living organism.
>
> In this decadence architecture lost touch with new materials; the architect was engulfed in academic estheticism, a slave to narrow conventions, and the planning of cities was no longer his job.
>
> This kind of architecture we disown. We want to create a clear, organic architecture, whose inner logic will be radiant and naked, unencumbered by lying facades and trickeries; we want an architecture adapted to our world of machines, radios and fast motor cars, an architecture whose function is clearly recognizable in the relation of its forms.[12]

Minick understood that by embracing these new theories it meant that designs like the Deen Residence were *passe* — a "slave to narrow conventions." Yet, there was something in the old that still intrigued him. The eclectic tradition continued to dominate the larger segment of society that found praise for Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Harrisburg as a "fine example of architectural beauty."[13] Whereas, those working throughout the country — Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra, The Bowman Brothers, and fellow Pennsylvanian Albert Kahn — in the International Style animated and inspired the artist within Minick to burst forward.

As early as 1930 the influences of the International Style can be seen in several of Minick's designs. His plan for the Marysville High School was a cautious sprinkling of the new with the old. By 1932 Minick parted with Jamison and established his own architectural firm. That same year he was also appointed as the Chief of the Technical Advisory Board of the Civilian Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg. Minick served in that capacity until 1934 and then returned in earnest to experiment with the modern ideologies of design.

In the thirties, after Minick had returned to his solo practice, he took in various architects and draftsmen to assist him. Of this number one man undoubtedly propelled him further toward embracing the new style. Trained at the Royal Frederick Institute in Oslo and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, Rolf G. Loddengaard was fresh from the trenches of the Bauhaus movement when he arrived in the United States. Loddengaard proved an invaluable source of knowledge in the technical aspects of design and supervision during construction. Yet, it was Minick, then and always, that was the driving force behind the initial conceptualization of the designs.

It would be several years before the full effects of the International Style would surface in one structure designed by Minick. In June of 1936, Minick presented the West Shore Lodge, Number 681, F & AM, of Camp Hill with a design (Project Number 161 at 23rd & Market Streets) for a truly modern building. The proposed structure stood in stark contrast to the traditional styles previously considered with pitched roofs and "lying facades." The resulting structure was the first modern commercial building in the area. It appeared, to some, that Minick was ready to completely embrace the new and cast off the old.

However, in October of 1936 Minick presented George Deubel of Harrisburg with a hybrid of the International and Eclectic Style (Project Number 157). Cantilevered roof lines on a portion of the house, glass brick, and windows that abutted the corners of the structure accented the International elements. These features, however, had been worked into the larger structure of a traditional pitched roof house with slate shingles.

Minick had been searching for an opportunity to design *in toto* a residential structure in the Bauhaus spirit. Two months later, in December of 1936, that opportunity presented itself. Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Manning, friends of Minick, approached him to design their home to be built in Camp Hill. Minick presented them (Project Number 163 at 1915 Walnut Street) with plans for a flat roof, cinder block house designed entirely in the International Style.

Expecting a quaint traditional home, the Mannings were taken aback, and only after much discussion did they acquiesce. As the Winter of 1936 settled on Camp Hill, the first truly modern residential structure in the area went under construction. Minick's use of "brick square lines . . . smooth exterior, glass brick, and scarcity of ornament."[14] was a radical departure for Cumberland County. For those inclined to enjoy the beauty of a vernacular farm house, the "clear organic architecture" and "inner logic"[15] of the Manning residence were lost somewhere in the missing pitched roof and expected ornamentation.

The Manning residence was true to the Bauhaus spirit of cubic and rectilinear forms placed in agreement with the surrounding landscape. Instead of jutting forward from the horizon, International Style structures sought a harmony with that line. Additionally, the movement away from the traditional symmetrical relationship of the whole to an equilibrium of the parts was another reoccurring theme in the Bauhaus spirit. "This new concept," Gropius wrote in 1929, "transmutes the dead symmetry of similar parts into an asymmetrical but rhythmical balance. The spirit of new architecture wants to overcome inertia, to balance contrasts."[16]

An indication of Minick's understanding of the new style is best evidenced in the treatment of the interiors in the Manning residence. The interior spaces in the Bauhaus style were as equally important as those on the exterior. To this end he expended great energy on the design of furniture for the particular rooms in the Manning house. Minick's concept of furniture is echoed in the sentiments of Marcel Breuer who felt that,

> A piece of furniture is not an arbitrary composition: It is a necessary component of our environment. In itself impersonal, it takes on meaning only from the way it is used or as a part of a complete scheme.[17]

Minick was able to complete the Bauhaus scheme in the Manning residence by his religious devotion to detail and his constant striving for artistic perfection. If Minick's work ethic resembled that of a monk, it was perhaps attributed to the origin of his family name. The Germanic root of Minick literally translates to a monk or a male member of a religious order. Yet, it was his unfaltering faith in architecture that propelled him onward.

In October of 1937 Minick secured the contract for the Addition to the Camp Hill High School (Project Bumber 171 Chestnut and South 24th Streets) under the aegis of the Federal Emergency Administration's Public Works Administration. Minick brought his recent successes in the International Style to this new project. The resulting structure was one of clean lines, horizontal symmetry, and a unique balance of contrasts. Minick's reputation as an architect continued to grow as the pace of work quickened in the late thirties. His standing as a noteworthy school designer also blossomed as he continued to win an increasing number of school projects throughout Central Pennsylvania and particularly Cumberland County. What Minick, and most architects, liked about these projects was the substantial fee generated by them. While residential work had its own distinctive interests, it was the commerical and governmental contracts that provided the bulk of an architect's income.

By the late thirties a clear pattern had developed in Minick's approach to his design strategy. Most of Minick's residential structures, bowing to the demands of the clients, were executed in the Eclectic Style. Where he could, Minick would add a touch of the International Style to the structure. An example of this approach can be observed in his design for the residence of H. M. Schelden in Camp Hill (Project Number 243, 341 North 26th Street). The overall pattern was of traditional design with a few touches of the International Style. Another example of this "new eclecticism" can be seen in his work for the residence of Mrs. Millicent L. Kitzmiller of Carlisle (Project Number 253) designed in June of 1941. Here Minick used the cantilevered roof line with a rectilinear structure; yet, the house is neither International nor Eclectic, but a hybrid of the two styles.

The commercial and governmental structures, on the other hand, tended to be executed almost entirely in the Bauhaus spirit. Minick's design for the alterations and additions to the Colonial Country Club in Harrisburg (Project Number 191) in February of 1938 was completely in the International Style. The composition of his work here consisted of cantilevered roof lines, use of glass block, and the prevailing rectilinear form of the structure. These would be common elements that would continue to reappear in numerous Minick designed structures in the commercial and government sphere.

As economic conditions continued to improve in the late thirties, a steady flow of work kept Minick busy. In 1941 Minick left his solo practice to form a partnership with H. Gravell, an engineer from Philadelphia. Working as Gravell and Minick Associates and with Minick's respected reputation in the area, numerous

significant contracts were won by the firm. Possibly more important, however, was Minick's ability to understand the political climate of the region. Having been a Democrat was advantageous in Pennsylvania during the early thirties. Relief funded projects generally went to the individuals that had aligned themselves favorably with the party in power.

However, after the term of a Democratic Governor, George H. Earle III, from 1935 to 1939, the Commonwealth and the region were again dominated by Republicans. The Democrats had reverted to their role as the party out of power and were eager to savor whatever scraps were thrown from the Republican table. M. Harvey Taylor, the local Republican boss, was able to exert considerable influence in the awarding of projects throughout Central Pennsylvania. Minick sensing the shifting winds quickly aligned himself with the local Republican party. It was not long before Minick was rewarded with his largest contract – the Mechanicsburg Naval Supply Depot.

The immense proportion of this job necessitated the opening of a second office at the site to deal exclusively with the installation project. This in turn allowed Minick to continue working on other projects in the area. Eventually he would proceed to design other significant buildings, fulfilling every architect's dream, in Cumberland County and Central Pennsylvania. Among these was the Science Building and Gymnasium at the Shippensburg State Teachers College, the Main Hospital at the Mont Alto Sanitarium, and as a part of the design team of the Zembo Temple in Harrisburg. Working on another government contract in Virginia, he did much of the work for the Guadalcanal area of the Quantico Marine Corps base. Minick's star continued to rise during these years.

His most important project though was the fulfillment of his own personal aspiration, the design and construction of his dream house. Minick, always striving to seek perfection in everything, would accept nothing less on his own personal project. He believed that his house would be the closest realization of perfection he could ever achieve. In other projects Minick was often known to place his foot through a wall that was not to his liking or to instruct workmen to undo what they had spent all day doing. Yet, even such artistic privileges had a limit when he was working for someone else. Now though he was his own client and would spare no expense and accept nothing less than perfection.

Minick purchased a three acre plot of land off of the Camp Hill By-pass near the West Shore Country Club in Camp Hill. Shortly thereafter he began the design work for the structure. In the winter of 1939 the construction was complete and the finished product stood as a testimony to Minick's affinity for the Bauhaus style.

The sloping terrain of the site was an ideal location for the placement of a house that accented open spaces. Minick had strived to create the ideal house in the ideal setting, and had succeeded. To deal with the problem of traffic on the by-pass Minick situated the major portion of the house on an oblique to the road. A second floor was cross-placed extending toward the road and situated so

as to provide the optimum amount of privacy. This cross-placement also allowed for the use of the roof as a deck with a view of the countryside and mountains in the distance.

The house is a perfect representation of all the qualities of the International Style. The rectilinear shape, the use of modern materials honestly, the open floor plan, technical perfection and proportion, and the embodiment of the concept that a house should be a machine for living.[18] The meticulously planned landscaping also allows the house to become a part of the earth rather than to rise obtrusively from it.

The quintessential Bauhaus style house Minick designed for himself is a true indication of his commitment and understanding of the new style. There were those, nevertheless, that viewed the house with dismay and puzzlement. Riding the bus one day in Camp Hill, Mrs. Minick overhead the reference to her house as reminding one of a "milk station."[19] because of its bare and industrial image. Even those that may have admired the style still sought out Minick to design their house in a traditional style. Minick's residential projects continued to be largely within the eclectic mode.

This however was not necessarily a rejection of the Bauhaus ideals, but rather an acceptance of the demands of society's prevailing cultural values. Eclectic architects at their best, Minick being in that number, "created possibilities for visual experience that go beyond fashion and are still valid"[20] today as they were at the dawn of the eclectic movement.

Minick continued to design in the pattern that had emerged in the early thirties. By 1947 though he again returned to practice on his own and continued his work in the region. Minick's reputation as an architect was due both to his artistic ability and to his continual striving for perfection. His goal was always to come as close to that ideal as possible even if the final product rarely satisfied him.

As an artist Minick's work went beyond the blueprints on a drafting table. Minick was also an accomplished painter spending much of his leisure time with palette and paper. Painting was a consuming passion for Minick. Had circumstances in his childhood been different, he would have followed his true artistic calling to paint on canvas rather than on the earth. Minick's style, generally executed in watercolor, was loose and impressionistic. It is interesting that he choose a style representative of the new rather than the old realist technique, as he had done in expressing himself artistically in his architecture.

Minick was able to stand at the divergence of artistic cultures and accept the new without denouncing the old. His artistic insight and ability allowed him to reap the possibilities of a new era. As Ralph Waldo Emerson said in 1837,

> If there is any period . . . to be born in, is it not the age of Revolution – when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and by hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it.

While Jim Minick had the foresight to grasp the artistic future, he could not foresee his own. On December eighteenth of 1947, Claude Robbins, Mayor of Harrisburg, opened a week long driver safety clinic for motorists. "Human failings," the *Sunday Patriot-News* reported, was "responsible for four-fifths of all accidents."[21] Within the week James Minick's car careened into the rear of Floyd Rice's tractor-trailer ending the life of one of Cumberland County's most noted architects.

Notes

[1] Harrisburg *Patriot,* December 24, 1949.

[2] Walter C. Kidney, *The Architecture of Choice: Eclecticism in America 1880-1930* (NY: George Braziller, 1974), p. 1.

[3] Kidney, p. 51.

[4] Kidney, p. 67.

[5] *Built in the USA: Since 1932,* Edited by Elizabeth Mock, Forward by Philip L. Goodwin (NY: Museum of Modern Art, 1944), p. 10.

[6] *Built in the USA,* p. 10.

[7] Walter Gropius, Herbert Bayer, and Ise Gropius, *The Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus,* Preface by Alfred H. Barr (Boston: Charles T. Branford Company, 1959), p. 27. Hereafter cited as *Bauhaus.*

[8] *Bauhaus,* p. 1.

[9] *Built in the USA,* p. 13.

[10] William Fleming, *Arts and Ideas,* Seventh Edition (NY: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1986), p. 449.

[11] *Bauhaus,* p. 27.

[12] Harrisburg *Patriot,* Diamond Jubilee Edition, 1929, "Modern Structures Keep Step with City's Growth."

[13] Robert Grant Crist, *Camp Hill: A History* (Camp Hill, PA: By the Author, 1984), p. 137.

[14] *Bauhaus,* p. 27.

[15] *Bauhaus,* p. 28.

[16] *Bauhaus,* p. 126.

[17] See "For an Architect's Most Critical Client: Suburban Residence of Camp Hill, PA, Designed for Himself by James W. Minick, Architect," *Architectural Record,* July 1944, pp. 66-71

[18] Conversation with Mrs. Leah Walker of Camp Hill, PA, on April 3, 1987.

[19] Kidney, p. 68.

[20] Harrisburg *Sunday Patriot-News,* December 18, 1949.

The Death of Death . . .

Morton G. Glise

Thomas R. McIntosh, a teacher and bibliophile from Harrisburg, has called my attention to an interesting book by John Owen, D.D., which he had recently. It was printed in Carlisle, by George Kline in 1792 under the title, "The Death of Death in the Death of Christ." Actually it is a reprint of Owen's work originally published in England in 1647. Owen (1616-1683), an Oxford professor and a strict Calvinist theologically, wrote "The Death of Death . . . " in order to counteract a growing interest in the theology of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), who challenged Calvinistic dogmatics with respect to predestination and grace. The Arminian view gave rise to what became known as Universalism, namely, that Christ died for all, therefore eventually all will be saved. Calvin, on the other hand, held that Christ died for the elect and only the elect will be saved.

An interesting feature of the first American printing of Owen's *Death of Death . . .* is a listing in the back of the book of the names and home towns of 635 persons who subscribed for about 1,000 copies. The subscription list is impressive. It includes General John Armstrong, Sr., and Dr. Charles Nisbet, Principal of Dickinson College, along with a number of the Dickinson College faculty. Of the nineteen clergy who subscribed, twelve were members of Carlisle Presbytery, and most of the others were members of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. Included also are lawyers, physicians, military officers and residents from all of the central Pennsylvania counties. Some subscribers are listed with out-of-state addresses. One bookseller from Philadelphia subscribed for one hundred copies and another for twenty-five.

Such widespread interest in John Owen's *Death of Death . . .* arouses our curiosity. Why such intense interest? Why so many subscribers? And what did they have in common? It appears that interest in the book and the arguments presented were a concern primarily of Calvinist-oriented Presbyterians of this area. For a decade or more prior to 1792 they had become uneasy about the growing popularity of universalist theology which was spreading from New England into Pennsylvania and threatening to confuse and divide the church. Dr. Benjamin Rush was a leading exponent of universalist views in the Philadelphia area and a prominent layman, educated at Presbyterian-related Nottingham Academy and the College of New Jersey. He became enamored with Universalism and worked hard to establish Universalist churches in the Philadelphia area in the late 1780s.

This distressed many of Rush's Presbyterian friends, so much so that the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1792 decided "that Universalists be not admitted to the sealing ordinances of the gospel." This edict was tantamount to excommunication and deposition.

So concerned were Presbyterians in the Cumberland Valley with the Universalist issue that a movement was started to reprint John Owen's classic work of 1647 in order to educate Presbyterians and others about this "heresy." The reprint of 1792 resulted.

Owen deals with the subject of Universalism in four sections of his book. Book I, "In general of the END of the death of Christ, as it is in the Scripture proposed." By his own definition, the END is "what His Father and Himself intended in it, and that which was effectually fulfilled and accomplished in it." Book II, "Some previous considerations, to a more particular inquiry after the proper end and effect of the death of Christ," Book III, "Arguments against the universality of redemption." Book IV, "Things previously to be considered, to the solutions of objections." This latter section contains arguments for universal redemption, followed by objections to these arguments as found in the Scriptures. Book IV occupies more than half of the 320 pages of the text.

Apparently Owen's book had its desired effect. No Universalist churches were established in the Cumberland Valley. This is not to say that some were not persuaded by the arguments for the universalist position. However, if they were persuaded, their numbers were not sufficient to support a Universalist Church in this area such as Dr. Rush and others succeeded in organizing in Philadelphia.

With one thousand copies being underwritten in 1792, mostly by Cumberland countians, there must still be a number of copies gathering dust in local attics and bookshelves. The list of 635 subscribers and their home towns is a gold mine for those doing genealogical research in the central Pennsylvania counties of the 1790s. Through the courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society their copy was made available to me for this review.

Lemoyne

Debra Forker

Early settlement of Lemoyne began in 1724 when John Kelso and his ferrying partner and putative relative John Harris built a stone house at the east end of the future borough. In 1750, Thomas Penn officially named the settlement "Manor of Lowther."[1] After the completion of the Camelback bridge in 1815, the settlement was named "Bridgeport," while the area south of Market Street was called "Riverton."[2]

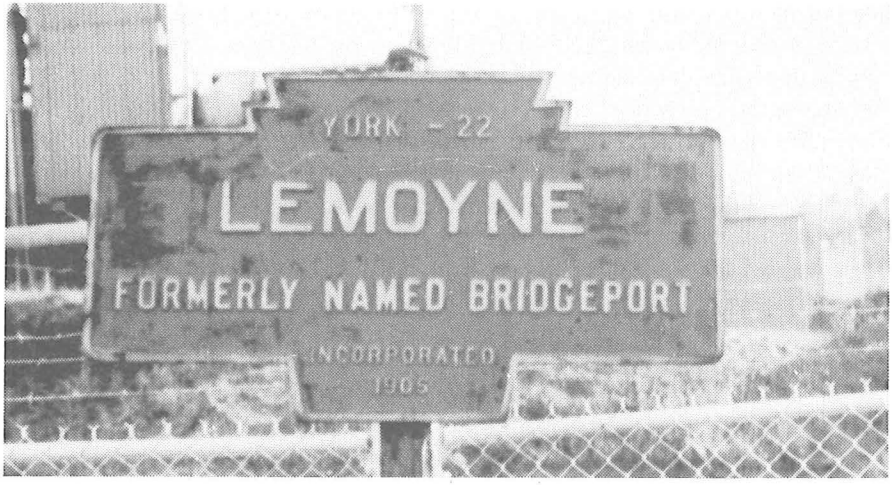
Bridgeport was not to remain the official name, for the United States Post Office objected because there already was a Bridgeport near Norristown. In 1905, John Bowman M.D. suggested the name Lemoyne, the French translation being "go between" or "mediator." Did Dr. Bowman choose "Lemoyne" to honor a French explorer, as school children were once taught; or did he have in mind a more distingushed man in American history? Ralph H. Kinter, writing for the *West Shore Times*, believed Dr. Bowman named the town for another physician Dr. Francis J. Lemoyne. Dr. Lemoyne was a "college professor, a leading abolitionist of pre-civil war days, and three times unsuccessful candidate for the vice presidency."[3] It seems more likely that Dr. Bowman had in mind one of his own profession rather than a French trader of the 1600's.

Historian I. D. Rupp writing in 1845 could only count four or five dwellings and one tavern in the community. One of the early and more noteworthy was the "Yellow Tavern." This old wooden building was located at the split where Old Gettysburg Road broke off from the Carlisle Turnpike, what would now be Market and State Street. The tavern keeper was a Jacob Bigler who sold the tavern to his brother John around 1822.

Jacob Bigler fathered two sons who "achieved high distinction and honor in public life."[4] John Bigler, journalist and lawyer, traveled west where in 1852 he became Governor of California. The second son, William Bigler, established a newspaper in Clearfield, Pennsylvania, and later entered the lumber business. Maintaining an interest in politics, William became a State Senator in 1841 and Speaker of the Senate in 1843 and 1844. From 1851 to 1854 William served as Governor of Pennsylvania. Failing to be re-elected in 1854, he was chosen to serve as United States Senator.

This quiet community did not escape the Civil War. In 1863, Major-General Darius Nash Couch, arriving in Harrisburg to recruit manpower and develop an offensive to ward off the advancing Confederates, had two earthwork forts established as defense lines to prevent Confederate troops from advancing into the Capital.[5] Fort Washington was located near Old Fort Road, and Fort Couch between Ohio and Indiana Avenues.[6] The Confederate troops never reached the forts, for they were stopped at Oyster Point, Camp Hill, by General Couch's infantry.[7]

Over the years the settlement of Bridgeport grew to include the surrounding areas of Riverton, North Riverton, Fort Washington and Washington Heights. John E. Myers writing about the history of Lemoyne reveals how over several years these territories were annexed by court orders giving us present day Lemoyne.[8] Another interesting observation by Mr. Myers was that Lemoyne geographically resembles human lungs, a right lobe and a left lobe connected by an artery, in this case the Third Street bridge. Mr. Myers maintains this shape was the result of the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad company maintaining right-of-way, as territories were annexed. Access between the lobes was made easier in 1934

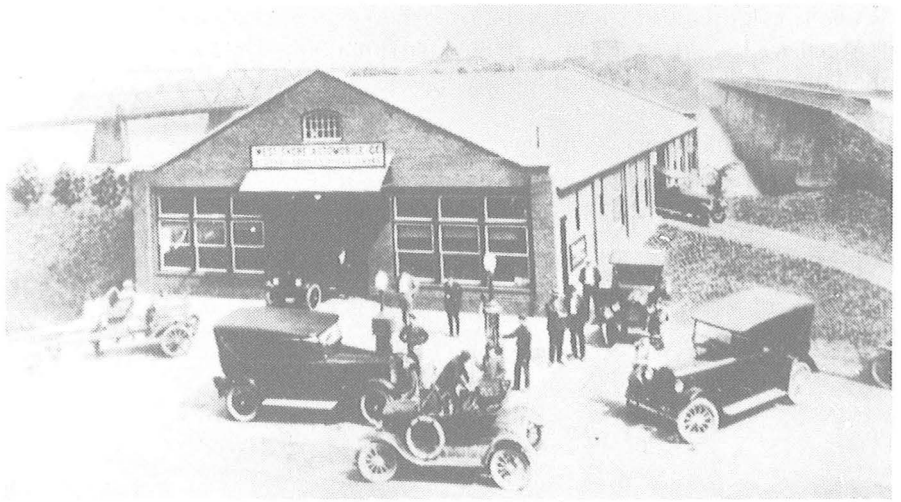


The State Highway Department iron sign erected in the 1920's still stands marking one of the entrances to Lemoyne Borough.

when a pedestrian bridge was built over the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. The borough secured right-of-way from the railroad in order to obtain an order from the Public Utility Commission for the bridge.

The early settlement of Lemoyne can be attributed to the development of travel, first ferrying, then later railroads. The development of these industries provided opportunities for this community to grow, to become the gate way of the West Shore.

Lemoyne since 1905 has been the "Gateway to the West Shore." Approaching the Borough over the Walnut Street Bridge in 1928, one saw on the riverbank Edward Shissler's river coal yard. Note on the horizon the first five houses to sit on the bluff, in 1863 the site of Fort Washington, a defensive installation dug to house Union militia assigned to stop the CSA invasion. Photo courtesy of Marlene Shissler Magness in the Society files.



On the Susquehanna River bank looking east c. 1920 from a spot between the Walnut Street Bridge and the Market Street Birdge, then only two-lanes. Raymond Myers's automobile showroom had just been built. Photograph courtesy of Richard Myers.

End Notes

[1] *Harrisburg Patriot News*, 14 July 1980, p. 1".

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1".

[3] *West Shore Times*, 20 May 1955.

[4] J.R. Schwarz and J. Zeamer, *Cumberland Blue Book* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Mount Pleasant Press, 1908), p. "8.

[5] Robert Grant Crist, *Confederate Invasion of The West Shore 1863* (Lemoyne, Pa.: Lemoyne Trust Company, 1963), p. 9.

[6] *Harrisburg Patriot News* " July 1980, p. 1".

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1".

[8] John E. Myers, "History of Lemoyne," manuscript of address c. 1962 to Cumberland County Historical Society, original at Hamilton Library.

Editor:

The tale of a wife auction that I sent you which appeared in your last issue was not what it seemed. I found the article in an 1832 Philadelphia newspaper *(The Philadelphian)*, reprinted from a Lancaster paper, and rashly assumed that the Carlisle referred to was Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Some belated research now convinces me that the incident must have occurred in Carlisle, Cumberland County, England, not in Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. For one thing, no village of Hexham — mentioned in the article as being near Carlisle — is listed in any early gazetteer of Pennsylvania, though Hexham does appear as a place name on maps of England, about 30 miles from that nation's Carlisle. There are other discrepancies I should have spotted.

I'm sorry to have misled your readers.

Alice Marshall

Partial List of Cumberland County Publications in Print

Order your copy by sending a check (adding 6% sales tax and 85¢ postage and handling) to the Society at 21 North Pitt Street, P.O. Box 626, Carlisle 17013).

Biographies

Jim Thorpe: Carlisle Indian. Wilbur Gobrecht. $3.00

Peter Chartier: Knave of the Wild Frontier. William Hunter. $2.50

William Thompson: A Shooting Star. Allan Crist. $2.50

George Stevenon: Conservative as Revolutionary. Roland Baumann. $3.00

Community History

Planning of Carlisle and its Center Square. James Flower. $5

James Silver and his Community. Norman Keefer. $2

History of Cumberland County. Conway Wing. Reprint $40

18th and 19th Century Courthouses. Murray and Flower. $2.25

Camp Hill, A History. Robert G. Crist. $23 including tax and mailing.

Other

Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, R. H. Pratt. Reprint. $3

The Lyceum in Carlisle and Cumberland County. Warren Gates. $2.25

Index to the Biographical Annals of Cumberland County. Cordelia Neitz. $5

Three Cumberland County Woodcarvers: Schimmel, Mountz, and Barret. Milton E. Flower, $10.

Guide to the Historical Markers of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. $1.00

Cumberland County History. Previous Issues, $5.00