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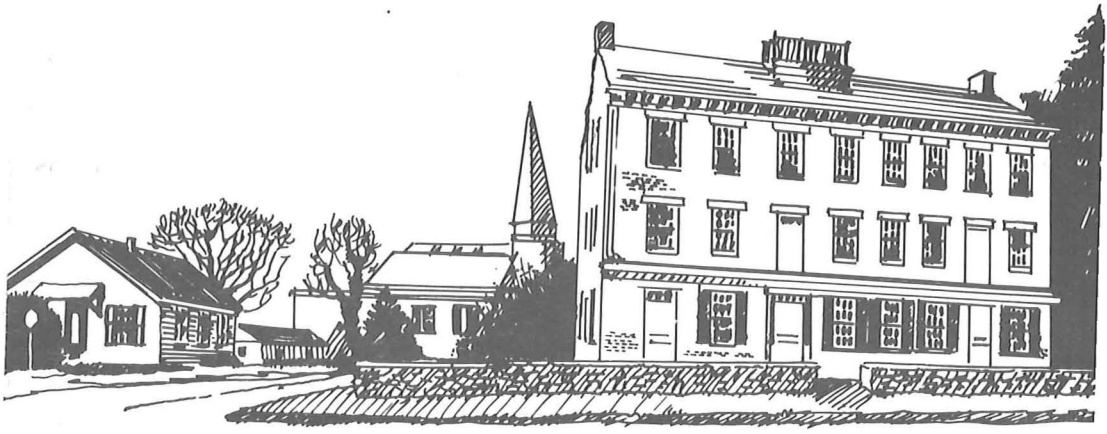

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COVER: The cover sketch of Shepherdstown is by Clyde McGeary, of Camp Hill. The most prominent feature is "Hilltop House," now the home of William Davis.

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The Rev. Thomas Barton's Conflict With Colonel John Armstrong, ca. 1758

James P. Myers, Jr.

Historical discussions of the Penn family's hereditary rule in Pennsylvania and of the authority exerted by its appointees conveniently stress that in 1764 the Proprietary faction tacitly entered into a successful coalition with Dissenting elements (predominantly Scots-Irish Presbyterians) and poorly represented city dwellers and frontiersmen. In thus setting aside its long-standing disdain for these earlier critics, the Proprietary successfully, if temporarily, checked the anti-Proprietary factions led by Benjamin Franklin and prominent Philadelphia Quakers.[1] In addition, at least one study has shown that during the years preceding 1764 the Penn appointees struggled to achieve their ends through an opportunistic uniting of the Penns' cause with their own (prosperity for the Penns meant prosperity for the latter) and through erecting a power base secured by friendships and intermarriage among themselves.[2]

Harmonious, fraternal pursuit of the higher Proprietary cause did not always come easily, however, for the faction itself was drawn from a volatile mix of peoples united by a long, convoluted history of discord with one another: English Protestants (usually Episcopalians), Anglo-Irish Episcopalians, Scots-Irish Dissenters (usually Presbyterians), and a sprinkling both of Germans and of former Irish-Catholics who, like George Croghan, had converted. The Pennsylvania colonial papers from this time reveal that conflict among Proprietary placemen was not unheard of; most notably, the long, controversial careers of George Croghan and Conrad Weiser often inspired hostility, jealousy, and envy among colleagues as well as those outside their faction. One of the more intriguing, although not so well-known, rivalries developed in Cumberland county shortly after its organization in 1750 and involved two forceful individuals who represented the Penns' interest in very different ways—the Reverend Thomas Barton, Anglican missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (usually abbreviated as "S.P.G."), and Colonel John Armstrong, of Carlisle, military leader and the Penns' official surveyor and land-agent.

What makes the Barton-Armstrong conflict so noteworthy is the way it dramatizes not only how cultural and religious differences, apparently transferred from colonial Ulster, could threaten the fragile coalition of disparate elements within the Proprietary party but also how the antagonists rather successfully managed to contain the more publicly disruptive and unseemly evidences of their rivalry, although it must be admitted, they probably did so more with an eye to the main chance than from a self-effacing dedication to the Proprietary. Of equal interest is the light it sheds upon those who had to endure daily the risk of walking the straight and narrow path of fidelity to their patrons: for, if nothing, else, the extant record implies profound insecurities lurking not far beneath the surface of the authoritative roles enacted by the two men.

The reasons for Barton's conflict with John Armstrong are no longer fully clear. Doubtless, as William Hunter and Robert G. Crist have suggested, their enmity had roots in the prevailing and more general hostility between New Light Presbyterians and Anglicans.[3] Armstrong's construction in Carlisle of a new stone Presbyterian meeting house opposite the Episcopal St. John's, at that time a humble log church, cannot, as Crist speculates further, have but exacerbated the tension between two representatives of Proprietary interests west of the Susquehanna. Not to be dismissed either is the importance of essential ethnic differences between the two: Presbyterian Armstrong, most probably a Scots-Irish immigrant from county Fermanagh,[4] would have shared with the Episcopal scion of a fallen Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, county Monaghan family the long legacy of competitiveness, frustration, intolerance, and bitterness that had accumulated in Ulster during the previous hundred years. Presbyterian, Scots-Irish and small landholder; Church of Ireland, Anglo-Irish, and landlord class—these inheritances would almost have guaranteed a collision between the two Ulstermen trying to secure prestige and fortune within the same narrow foothold on Pennsylvania's unstable frontier. In addition, it is likely that Armstrong still nourished a grudging memory of the honors that befell Barton following the publication in 1755 of the newcomer's[5] impassioned exhortation to the frontiermen to unite against their common foe during the grim months after Braddock's defeat. As a prominent Dissenter, he probably knew those honors to be largely undeserving, for Barton's plagiarism of an earlier sermon had been exposed and discussed in Philadelphia's coffee houses and the gossip immediately suppressed by Proprietary vested interest.[6]

Barton's earliest references to Armstrong occur randomly among his comments on the destruction of the strategically menacing Indian center at Kittanning in September 1756. Widely perceived at the time as the first successful counterstrike mounted by the English since Braddock's debacle, Armstrong's victory probably did more to check the frontier's growing demoralization than in decisively turning back the Indian threat.[7] Writing to William Smith in September 1756, whom he presumes was fully acquainted with details of the raid, Barton alludes only to the bare fact of the Carlisleian's leadership, "Mr. Armstrong's

Expedition to the Kittannon."[8] In a later report to Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford, he speaks of the new peace and the greater feeling of security achieved by "our destroying the Kittanning."[9] To Thomas Penn, however, Barton had already expressed himself a few weeks earlier less enthusiastically. Acknowledging that "since the Reduction of the Kittanning under Colonel Armstrong, we have not been much disturbed," Barton continues more guardedly: although

> the killing a few Indians & burning their Huts at the Kittanning is an Action not very considerable in itself; yet it is the best that has yet appear'd for this Province, And will I hope in the End countervail the Expence the Government has been at to maintain it.[10]

One wonders if Barton's minimization of Armstrong's victory might betoken an early coolness between the two leaders. Clearly, Barton gives Armstrong only the barest recognition in his letters. By contrast, he singles out Lieutenant Robert Callender (of future Middlesex), who had "distinguish'd himself by the most uncommon Bravery & Resolution," for special and extended praise.[11] Perhaps even more surprising, in light of the post-Braddock Indian outrages, is Barton's characterization of one enemy sachem's death as tragically Macbeth-like:

> the famous Captain Jacobs fought, & died, like a Soldier. He refus'd to surrender when the House was even on Fire over his Head; And when the Flame grew too violent for him, he rush'd out into the Body of our Men flourishing his Tomahawk, & told them he was born a Soldier, & would not died a Slave.[12]

Whatever trouble might have been evolving between Armstrong and Barton climaxed in July 1758 during final preparations for General John Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne. The first intimation that the two men had reached open conflict may be found in a pair of documents that later made their way into the Scottish Record Office.[13] The Episcopal congregations of Cumberland and York counties addressed a remonstrance to General Forbes on 5 July 1758. In it they petitioned the commander to investigate an occurrence of several days earlier:

> we are sensibly affected with the extraordinary & unprecedented Treatment given our Reverend & worthy Incumbent Mr. Barton on Sunday the second Day of this Instant July, by having an armed Messenger sent him, while he was performing Divine Service in his own Parish—ordering him to desist & dismiss the People.—As this Proceeding seems unhappily calculated to propagate Dissension & Animosity among us at a Time when Protestants of every Country & Denomination should join Heart & Hand to repel the common Enemy of all; & is a high Insult to the National & establish'd Church:—We pray that your Excellency would be pleas'd to enquire into this Affair, & restore us to that Ease & Satisfaction, which we have long enjoy'd under the Ministry of our laborious & very worthy Teacher.[14]

Signed principally by churchwardens and vestrymen of Christ's Church, located in Huntington township, near the present-day York Springs, Adams County, the document suggests that the interruption occurred in that township rather than Carlisle where Forbes's army was assembling. Significantly, it is written out in Barton's hand, and its style throughout betrays Barton's authorship.

In a letter of 8 July 1758 Armstrong, unwittingly, implies that he was the ultimate, if not the immediate, source for the impropriety. Describing a quarrel he had had with Forbes's deputy quartermaster general Sir John St. Clair, he lays direct blame on St. Clair for invading Barton's church. Armstrong wrote that

> a Quarrel ensu'd betwixt us, in the Course of which, Sr. John, after appointing parson Barton to preach, he Stop'd him again in the time of reading prayers, but soon found his Error, & he and the parson join their Forces to England.[15]

From this it is strongly probable that Armstrong must have said something to provoke the notoriously temperamental St. Clair into interrupting the service that he, St. Clair, had originally authorized. Later in the same letter, moreover, Armstrong foresees that "parson Barton will write you some very high Charge against me like Sacrilege, &c." Barton's conduct "is Still very extraordinary," he adds, although lately "he is . . . quiet, & I don't trouble my head with him" (ibid.).

In Armstrong's account Barton had turned down the "Governor's Commission" for the chaplaincy of the Pennsylvania Regiment's 3rd Battalion and instead obtained "a kind of Liberty from the General to go on the Expedition a Volunteer" (ibid.). Although Armstrong fails to state the obvious connection, Barton's declining of the provincial appointment probably resulted from the 3rd Battalion's stubborn determination to obtain a Presbyterian chaplain, an action Armstrong duly reports in the same letter. Ironically, the battalion's choice, the Reverend Andrew Bay of the Marsh Creek settlement in western York, now Adams, County, had disappeared into "Maryland upon hearing he would not be appointed."[16] Indeed, a petition of 4 July 1758 confirms details of Armstrong's narrative. In it the greater majority of officers of the 3rd Battalion requested that Forbes provide them with a chaplain representing the unit's overwhelming Presbyterian membership and recommended Bay "as a Gentleman equal to the Task."[17]

In December of 1759, well after the Forbes expedition had successfully completed its principal objective and half-a-year following his removal to Lancaster as rector of St. James's Church, Barton for some unstated reason was still trying to justify his 1758 decision to participate as chaplain on the expedition. He wrote:

> I went into the army for the reasons which I gave General Forbes in a letter[,] a Copy of which I enclose you with his answer. . . . I hope the Honble Society will not disapprove of this part of my conduct."[18]

As so often with Barton, his statement prompts several questions: Why, a year-and-a-half after he volunteered, does he feel compelled to defend his motives for joining the expedition? To what aspect of his conduct, beyond "this part," might the Society still be inclined to object? His defensiveness implies a disparity between his original intention simply to serve as Anglican chaplain and his later behavior. Did he meddle in affairs beyond the compass of his clerical responsibilities? Or did he, as the abrupt ending of his journal implies, withdraw from the expedition?[19] Once more, as is frequently the case with Barton, the historian can only speculate, leaving unresolved the questions insinuated by lost documents, passing references, innuendo, vague allusion, and the ambiguities within which he often appears deliberately to have shrouded his actions.

The copy of his letter to Forbes that Barton refers to is dated 8 July 1758, the same day as Armstrong's letter above and one day after Barton had received Governor William Denny's appointment to the chaplaincy of the 3rd Battalion.[20] In it he expresses his desire to attend to the "great number of the Forces under your command [who] are of the Communion of the Church of England" (ibid.). Forbes replied the following day. He commissioned Barton to discharge

> your ministerial and Episcopal duty to the Troops of the Episcopal persuasion under my command. . . . And all & Sundry are hereby ordered and required to pay all due Reverence and respect to you and the Reverend function you are vested with.[21]

Possibly with an eye to the Christ's Church remonstrance of 5 July and the 3rd Battalion's petition of 4 July, Forbes continued by reaffirming his support for Barton's calling: "And be assured that at all times & in all places, the Clergyman & those of the persuasion of the Church of England shall always be properly encouraged and protected" (ibid.).

The general's forthcoming and unambiguous response must have delighted Barton considerably. In effect, Barton was commissioned an Anglican chaplain-at-large, unattached to any one of the Pennsylvania Regiment's battalions and free to exercise his chaplaincy among *all* Episcopal troops under Forbes's command.[22] Forbes, sensitive to both the dignity of the Established Church Barton represented and the potential explosiveness of Barton's conflict with the collective will of the Presbyterian soldiers of the 3rd, sought to assuage the anxieties of the Anglican chaplain by guaranteeing his protection.

That Barton perceived a need for this kind of authoritative support, but that he tried to conceal his own role in obtaining it, is evident in an earlier letter he penned to fellow Anglican clergyman and Provincial Secretary Richard Peters on 19 July 1758. Expressing appreciation for the provincial governor's commission to the 3rd Battalion, Barton nonetheless laments that "it subjects me to the power of a Man, who has already shewn himself an enemy to that Cause which I am

The Reverend Thomas Barton

bound by every Tye of Conscience, Duty & Inclination to support."[23] He will, however, be able to rely upon the support of the battalion's commanding officer, Hugh Mercer; the regimental paymaster and commissary, Captain James Young; and Sr. John St. Clair, with whom he had indeed become reconciled, as well as several other unnamed officers. General Forbes, too, Barton tells Peters, soon after his arrival in Carlisle, extended Barton his own encouragement via the letter of 9 July, which Barton helpfully copied out for the provincial secretary.

Barton, however, had pointedly omitted several particulars in this retelling. Missing in his reconstruction of the events of July 1758 is mention of his own personal request to Forbes for a chaplaincy, one which would effectively position him beyond the total control of his regimental commander, Colonel John Armstrong. Lacking as well in the recopied letter is the opening major clause of Forbes's original, a statement which he duly preserved in his later, 21 December 1759, transcription for the Society. The deleted clause establishes that Forbes in fact responded to Barton's earlier appeal, not, as Barton would have Peters infer, that the general gratuitiously extended him a privileged situation: in the later and presumably more accurate transcription, Forbes writes that "I *am favoured with yours of the 8th and* am sorry to find that the Troops of the Communion of the Church of England are not properly provided with a Clergyman of their own profession."[24] But Barton's edited sentence in the earlier copy for Peters—"I am sorry to find that the Troops of the Communion of the Church of England, are not properly provided with a Clergyman of their own Profession"—attributes the entire discovery and consequent offer of the commission to Forbes's initiative.

Barton's editorial misrepresentation to the provincial secretary suggests an attempt to suppress evidence which might betray, say, his opportunism. It may also help obliquely to explain his puzzling silence on Armstrong's hostility:[25] He never, for example, accuses the colonel of blasphemy, as the latter had feared (in his letter of 8 July 1758), nor does he single him out for blame nor even refer to him by name. The closest he comes to criticizing Armstrong occurs in his 18 July letter to Peters where he protests being subjected to "the power of a Man, who has already shewn himself an enemy" to the Episcopal Church.[26] If he ever recorded particulars of his conflict with Armstrong in the now-lost field-copy of his Forbes expedition journal, he suppressed them in the fragment he revised sometime afterwards,[27] possibly with an intention to publish it. Combined with the evidence of his revision of the events alluded to, his silence on Armstrong might be seen as a ploy to eliminate intimations of character objectionable in a Proprietary client and an Anglican missionary who very much desired to persuade those with authority to reward him with a more secure and lucrative living.[28]

Insecurity has invariably distinguished those seeking advancement and courting the favor of the power brokers. This is as true of Armstrong as of Barton. As shown above, Armstrong feared, groundlessly, as events developed, that "parson Barton will write you [Richard Peters] some very high Charge against me like Sacrilege, &c."[29] The same anxiety dogged him during the later months of the expedition. In October, he wrote Peters from Raystown (i.e., Bedford) that

> if any person has inform'd you that I have had any religious dispute, more or less, they have injur'd themselves & imposed upon you, for upon the strictest truth, tho' there has been a great deal of reason for Such Altercation yet I have had none, nor any body else that I know of.[30]

Nor was the colonel any more free from suspicions of what the Anglican chaplain might have been about than the latter was of him, for in the same letter he segues easily, and logically, from denying charges of unspecified religious misbehavior into offering several observations on Thomas Barton:

> as for Mr. B_____n, I have not had the least Communication with him since I saw you, nor never intend to have. I have never been mistaken of that Gentn, but shall Leave his Character to Persons of his Own Community. (ibid.)

Initially, that statement appears parenthetical, an afterthought prompted by his earlier denial of religious impropriety. Armstrong's letter, however, is a reply to Peter's now-lost letter of 25 September:[31] Hence Armstrong's phrase "as for Mr. B_____n" may also be construed as linking into an inquiry concerning Barton made by the ever-vigilant Peters.

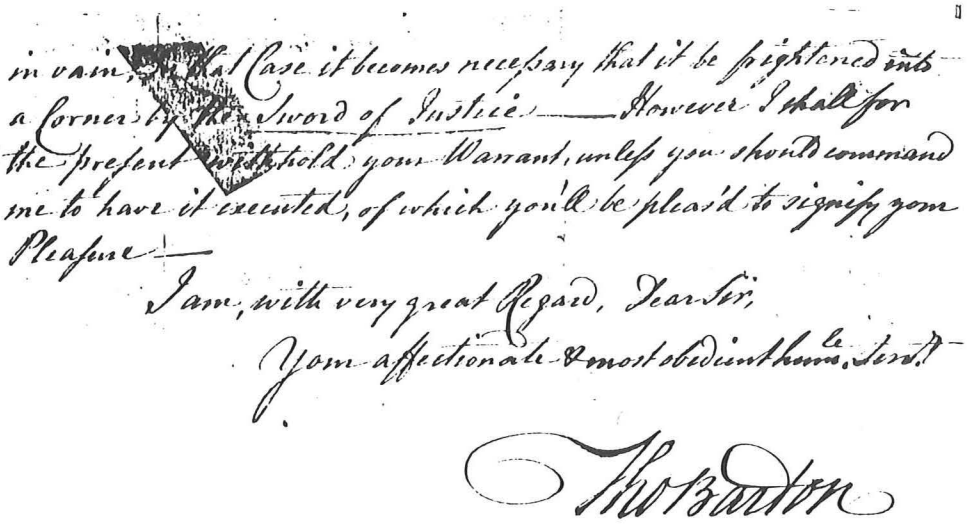
Armstrong's last observation, "I . . . shall leave his Character to Persons of his Own Community," intimates, moreover, that such troubles as existed between the two transcended purely doctrinal differences and further, that the Hero of Kittanning recognized that he had been, up to a point, out-maneuvered by the Episcopal chaplain who now enjoyed their commanding general's special protection, to say nothing of the favor which Thomas Penn accorded him.[32] Although he does not, like Barton, retreat completely into silence, he skillfully refuses, declines, or prefers not to elaborate further on a rival pointedly sanctioned by their mutual patrons.

Neither man's situation was ideal. Existing documents show that Armstrong's command was plagued by inadequate and poor supplies. His regiment's duties, moreover, had been largely relegated to protracted defensive and logistic activities that led to boredom, demoralization, desertion, and unruliness among his soldiers. In April of 1759, Armstrong wrote of charges brought against him and some of his troops for rioting.[33] In addition, the lieutenant colonel of his own 1st battalion, Hance Hamilton, the redoubtable Indian fighter and veteran of Kittanning from western York County, was forced to resign to avoid being court-martialed.[34]

Barton's journal reveals that its author suffered as well from the curse of inactivity: even as chaplain-at-large, his duties among the overwhelmingly Presbyterian soldiery were hardly taxing. William Hunter tallies the far from numerous clerical services Barton chronicled during this period: the chaplain

> preached eight sermons, baptized three children, buried one soldier, visited the hospitals at least once, [had] drawn up a will, and, finally, ministered to five condemned prisoners. Of eight Sundays that elapsed after his arrival at Raystown, he preached on six. . . . Of the other two Sundays, he makes no mention of services on August 6, and he records that the Highlanders' chaplain preached on September 24.[35]

Although Barton usually avoids offering personal criticism in his journal, he tacitly expresses dismay with military indifference to life. It must be recognized in this respect that Thomas Barton was no innocent concerning warfare. He had grown up in eighteenth-century Ireland, with its regularly recurring cycles of insurrection and ruthless repression; his own family had suffered the violence of the Williamite wars.[36] In addition, his letters from Cumberland and York counties witness the awful destruction of life and property wrought by Delaware and Shawnee raiding parties. He himself had exhorted the settlers to defend themselves and had organized his congregations into militia and led them against the Indian foe.[37]


in vain, that Case it becomes necessary that it be frightened into a Corner by the Sword of Justice ——— However I shall for the present withhold your Warrant, unless you should command me to have it executed, of which you'll be pleas'd to signify your Pleasure ——

I am, with very great Regard, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate & most obedient humble Serv.t ——

Tho.s Barton

SIGNATURE of Thomas Barton. Courtesy the author.

His early life in Ireland and his recent experiences on the Pennsylvania frontier notwithstanding, his journal records several instances reflecting disillusionment and dismay with military attitudes. In one episode Barton protested "against the Inhumanity as well as Indecency of" expeditiously tossing the naked corpse of a Virginian soldier "into a little Hole out of a Blanket."[38] In another, he felt "great Mortification" over "very little Sense of Religion" in a group of condemned deserters "who I found in Tears under terrible Apprehensions of approaching Death."[39] The final incident, which composes the very last episode in his journal, involves the execution of the deserter John Doyle. With no priest of his faith to succor him, the "Papist" Doyle "beg'd of me to stay with him the few Minutes he had to live, & attend him to the Place of Execution." Notwithstanding the man's courage and deeply repentant state of mind and his plea to the men in the firing squad "not [to] miss me, & take Care not to disfigure me," the executioners seem deliberately to have made butchery of their appointed task: aiming the muzzles of their muskets "within a Foot of his Body," their shots disembowelled Doyle and set his clothing on fire. His body thus desecrated, John Doyle "tumbled upon his Side; rais'd one Arm 2 or 3 Times, & soon expir'd. A shocking Spectakle to all around him."[40]

Barton abandons his journal with this episode, only days before Armstrong penned his 3 October letter to Peters complaining of Barton's character. There may be some connection between Barton's evident disillusionment with the callousness of martial justice and Armstrong's renewed attack on him. If so, one might postulate that Barton's distaste for certain, if not all, aspects of military discipline contributed even earlier to the friction between the two Proprietary representatives. Such an appreciation would give additional depth to Armstrong's

insistence in his 3 October 1758 communication that he had *"never been mistaken* of that Gentn" (author's emphasis): the latter's recently exhibited censoriousness of martial justice confirmed for Armstrong Barton's long-standing hostility to the rough expediency often required by frontier warfare. Although he might champion his parishioners' welfare by organizing them into defensive militia, and although he might support and even appeal to the proven martial integrity of a regular general officer like that of John Forbes, Barton also might well have abhorred a cruder provincial commander whose sensibilities recalled for him the vigilantes and yeomanry of eighteenth-century Ulster.

Whether Barton continued writing in his field journal or stopped deliberately at this point; or whether he chose later to end his revision at the disturbing event recorded on 26 September; or whether something else intervened to prevent his continuing on with the rewriting is not known. It is not even certain that Barton persevered in his clerical office in Forbes's army."[41] The next intelligence of him dates from the time of his transfer to Lancaster in the spring of 1759, a gap of six months.

In his writings dating from the years 1755-8, Barton mentions in passing several sources of displeasure and adversity, in effect justifying his desire to leave the back counties for a locale more settled and more secure. The high expectations he had nourished as a new itinerant missionary for the S. P. G. collapsed with Braddock's defeat in July of 1755, a debacle which brought frontier warfare effectively to the doors of his churches and his home. Hammered by the near-anarchy of the bleeding frontier, his parishioners, moreoever, never succeeded in providing him with the pittance they had never even succeeded in clearning the glebe lands in Huntington of their forest. With a growing family, he naturally aspired to a more stable lifestyle. Clearly, he also looked for greater opportunities for preferment than had been his lot in Cumberland and York counties. His journal additionally suggests profound disillusionment with certain attitudes among the soldiery of the Forbes campaign. Finally, there can be no question but that his collision with John Armstrong, whatever its causes, offered him a further strong motive to leave. By nature overly sensitive to personal criticism, Barton must have perceived in the "Man, who has . . . shewn himself an enemy to that Cause which I am bound by every Tye of Conscience, Duty & Inclination to support" an insumountable obstruction to fulfilling his many aspirations. Always suspecting the worst of his enemies and needing constantly to watch over his shoulder, as if were, Barton must have concluded that he would never obtain the peace of mind so essential to him.

When he embarked on the road leading back to Lancaster, he hoped for a life more rewarding than the one he had for four year endured "over Susquehanna." He could not, of course, have foreseen that his residency in Lancaster as rector of St. James's Church would be but another sojourn; that he would again set his foot

to the road, in 1778, this time for New York City. There he would die two years later, a Loyalist exiled from his eight children, demoralized and in ill-health, preparing for the return voyage to the islands from which he had emigrated some thirty years earlier in quest for the good life.

ENDNOTES

[1] For example, see Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776* (Harrisburg, 1953); and G. G. Warden, "The Proprietary Group in Pennsylvania, 1754-1764," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 21 (1964), 367-89.

[2] Warden, "The Proprietary Group."

[3] William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 95 (1971), 432-5; and Robert G. Crist, "John Armstrong: Proprietors' Man" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, the Pennsylvania State University, 1981), pp. 107-10.

[4] See Crist, pp. 4-7.

[5] Barton assumed his duties as S.P.G. missionary in York and Cumberland counties in May 1755.

[6] Barton's *Unanimity and Public Spirit, A Sermon Preached at Carlisle, and Some Other Episcopal Churches in the Counties of York and Cumberland . . .* (Philadelphia, 1755) freely and heavily plagiarized Samuel Robert's *Love to Our Country, . . . A Sermon Preach'd to a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Salisbury ...* (London, 1745). A future publication will discuss the plagiarism and the role of William Smith in suppressing the discovery.

[7] William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History,* 23 (1965), 405-7, and *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1960), 408-10; and Crist , pp. 72-7, discuss the effects of the expedition.

[8] Thomas Barton to William Smith, 23 September 1756, in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, II: Pennsylvania* (Hartford, Conn., 1871), 560.

[9] Barton to [Thomas Secker] the Bishop of Oxford, 12 March 1757, Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 2, fol. 109, from the copy in the York County Historical Society, miscellaneous file, no. 15212, p. 1.

[10] Barton to Thomas Penn, 28 February 1757, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 8:239 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[11] Barton to Thomas Penn, 28 February 1757, *ibid.* The following is Barton's glowing account of Callender's action: "One Mr. Callender, who at that Time bore only a Lieutenant's Commission, distinguish'd himself by the most uncommon Bravey & Resolution. It is asserted that when ["Captain"] Jacobs took to a House, out of which he kill'd & wounded Many of our Men—Callender undertook to fire it, which he accomplish'd at the infinite Hazard of his Life;—And that when our People precipitately retreated upon a Report prevailing that the French were to be up that Day from Fort-du Quesne, Callender not content to leave the Houses standing, went back with a small Party of Men, & set Fire to them all."

Even though the wounded Armstrong dictated his official report to Robert Callender, the former never mentions the latter's bravery.

[12] Barton to William Smith, 23 September 1756, Perry, ed., 2:560.

[13] [Presbyterian Officers of the 3rd Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment] to General Forbes, 4 July 1758, Dalhousie Muniments, Scottish Record Office, CD 45/2/33/2; and Members of the Episcopal Churches in the Counties of York & Cumberland in Pennsylvania to General Forbes, Dalhousie Muniments, 5 July 1758, Scottish Record Office, CD 45/2/56.

[14] Members of the Episcopal Churches in the Counties of York & Cumberland in Pennsylvania to General Forbes, 5 July 1758, *ibid.*, p. 1.

[15] John Armstrong to Richard Peters[?], 8 July 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives* (1), 3:447.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 448. See also John Armstrong to Governor Denny, 20 July 1758, *P. A.* (1), 3:483.

[17] [Officers of the Pennsylvania Regiment, 3rd Battalion] to General Forbes, 4 July 1758, p. 2.

[18] Barton to the Secretary, 21 December 1759, Perry, ed., 2:283.

[19] Hunter, "Thomas Barton," p. 435, and Marvin F. Russell, "Thomas Barton and Pennsylvania's Colonial Frontier," *P.H.,* 46 (1979), 317-18, explore Barton's motives for ending so abruptly.

[20] See Barton's first entry in Hunter's reprint of the journal in "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," p. 439.

[21] General Forbes to Thomas Barton, 9 July 1758, Perry, ed., 2:284.

[22] Barton's maneuvering and declining of the Provincial appointment to the 3rd Battalion left the official record very unclear. See *PA* (5), 1:132, where he is listed as chaplain of the 3rd; and *ibid.*, p. 177, where he is identified as regimental chaplain; and *ibid.*, p. 183, which shows Andrew Bay as chaplain of the 3rd.

[23] Barton to Richard Peters, 18 July 1758, *P.A.* (1), 3:451.

[24] General Forbes to Barton, 9 July 1758, Perry, ed., 2:284. The author's italics set off the part deleted in Barton's transcription.

[25] Puzzling because it is inconsistent with Barton's epistolary predeliction to complain of his numerous detractors, real and imagined.

[26] *P.A.* (1) 3:451.

[27] Hunter discusses evidence of revision in "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," p. 437.

[28] See Barton to Thomas Penn, 7 April 1758, Penn Papers, Official Cor., 9:21 (HSP), wherein Barton speaks of having requested "some Time ago . . . to be remov'd; & it is with Concern that I am oblig'd to renew my Application."

[29] Armstrong to Peters[?], 8 July 1758, *P.A.* (1), 3:447.

[30] John Armstrong to Richard Peters, 3 October 1758, *P.A.* (1), 3:551.

[31] Armstrong begins his reply with "Your favour of the 25th by Apty, I rec'd at the place I have been Order'd. . . . ."

[32] During this period, as throughout Barton's entire career, Thomas Penn's backing was constant. The following letters demonstrate that support: (1) Barton to Thomas Penn, 28 February 1757, Penn Mss., Official Cor., 8:239 (H.S.P.); Barton to Richard Peters, 7 March 1757, Peters Papers, 4:83 (H.S.P.); Barton to Thomas Penn, 9 April 1758, Penn MSS., Official Cor., 9:21 (H.S.P.); (2) Thomas Penn to Barton, 7 December 1756, *Records of the States of the States of the United States: Microfilms,* Pennsylvania, E.2b, reel 2, unit 3, p. 40; Thomas Penn to Barton, 10 January 1759, repr. in William Barton, *Memoirs of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813), p. 289; and (3) Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 11 December 1756, *Records of the States,* E.2b, reel 2, unit 3, p. 41.

[33] John Armstrong to Richard Peters, 24 April 1759, *P.A.,* 3:621-2. Crist, p. 141, discusses this episode in Armstrong's career.

[34] A number of letters in the Bouquet papers suggest that Hance Hamilton was to be court martialled for beating a subordinate officer and for other abuses of his rank. To avoid the trouble and humiliation of a court martial, he was allowed to resign in 1759. See *The Papers of Henry Bouquet,* ed. S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard (Harrisburg, 1951), vol. 2: Hans Hamilton to Henry Bouquet, 13 September 1758, 497; James Burd to Henry Bouquet, 29 September 1758, 545-6; Hans Hamilton to Henry Bouquet, 19 October 1758, 569-70; Henry Bouquet to John Forbes, 20 October 1758, 580; vol. 3: John Armstrong to Henry Bouquet, 26 April 1759, 259.

[35] Hunter, "Thomas Barton, " p. 438

[36] Thomas Barton's descent from his grandfather, Capt. William Barton of Carrickmacross Castle, county Monaghan, is shown in his son William's pedigree (16 April 1778), Pulman Collection, vol. 90, fol. 353/3 in the College of Arms, London; repr. in Stuart E. Brown, Jr., *Rev. Thomas Barton (1728-1780) and Some of His Descendants* (Berryville, Va., 1988).

On the destruction of Carrickmacross Castle, Evelyn Philip Shirley, *The History of the County of Monaghan* (London, 1879) writes the following: "according to tradition," Capt. William Barton's "family occupied the Castle of Carrick at the time that it is said to have been burnt; this appears to have been in 1688-9" (p. 274); and during "the Revolution of 1688 . . . . the Castle of Carrickmacross was taken and burnt by the Romish party, and Mr. Barton, . . . who lived there, lost all his goods" (pp. 129-30).

[37] Many contemporary reports praise Barton's martial activities. See, for example, Richard Peters to [Thomas Penn?], 16 September 1756, Penn MSS. (Official Corres.), 4:36 (H.S.P.): "Mr. Barton . . . deserves the commendations of all Lovers of the Country, for he has since November last put himself at the head of his Congregations and Marched by Night or by Day on every Alarm." A document entitled "Officers of the Provincial Service" (1755), the precise significance of which is somewhat unclear, includes "Rev. Thomas Barton" on a list of captains (*PA* [5], 1:31).

[38] "Journal," ed. Hunter, "Thomas Barton," Saturday, August 19, p. 452.

[39] *Ibid.,* Monday, September 25, p. 481.

[40] *Ibid.,* Tuesday, September 26, pp. 481-2.

41' Hunter ("Thomas Barton," p. 438) conjectures that Barton might well have ended his military duties with this execution, distressed by the callousness he had witnessed in the burial of the Virginian and the execution of Doyle.

Murder, Mischief & Mayhem in the Good Old Days in Cumberland County

Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann

When one thinks of the past, crime is not the first thing that jumps to one's mind; it would probably be the last thing, if thought about at all . Today when one thinks of crime, one thinks of muggings,robbery, murder—the same things that took place then. The most common crime then was assault & battery. Apparently the ultimate insult in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century was to call someone a "damned rascal." Those were fighting words and were quoted over and over again in depositions. When people were not hitting each other with sticks or fists, they seemed to have a penchant for smacking each other with cowhides, a practice which conjurs up a strange image and makes one wonder why so many people had cowhides at hand.

As it follows that for every action there is a reaction, for every crime there was a punishment, and punishment in the 18th Century was very different than it is now. The earliest punishment found in Cumberland County records was the result of a theft by Bridget Hagan in 1750, the year Cumberland County was created from Lancaster County. Bridget was required to restore the value of what she stole to the owner, pay the same amount to the Government, pay the prosecution costs (and money was scarce in the Colonies) and to receive fifteen lashes on her bare back at the public whipping post.[1] This was English soil, and English law prevailed.

The stocks, pillory and the whipping post, which was not done away with until 1789, were on the square in Carlisle. Records exist of six people having their ears cut off and nailed to the pillory, and there were probably many more.[2] Forgery and horse stealing brought stiff fines and the whipping post, but selling liquor to the Indians or to the public without a license, and assault & battery only resulted in a fine. Keeping a house of ill repute got one several hours in the stocks and a small fine. Between 1779 and 1787, alone, eleven men and two women were sen-

tenced to hang in Carlisle: three for murder, three for robbery, two for burglary, two for counterfeiting, one for rape, one for arson and one for the "unmentionable offense."[3]

What were the conditions like if one were sent to jail—in a word—wretched. As Edwin Tunis says, in his book *Colonial Living,*

> It occurred to no one in the 18th Century that a prison should have any quality other than strength. If you could keep a prisoner where you put him, his comfort and health needed no consideration. A Colonial prison cell usually had one barred window, small and high and a bundle of straw was provided for a bed. The prisoner's food was passed to him through a slot, and if he was at all aggressive he was kept in irons

There are many records in the basement of the court house[4] that tell what conditions were like in the jail. On April 21, 1752, Paul Cox, who had been in jail for five weeks for debt, said that for some part of the time he had been tortured with irons, "equal a common thief or criminal." In July 1753, Emanual Minskey, a silversmith, and four other prisoners said that they "are still detained without food or water for 24 hours past and must actually perish if not relieved by the court." Thomas James, who had been in jail for twenty-one weeks, in such deplorable conditions said that had it not been for Richard Parker the prison keeper he would have perished—and the stories go on and on.

One may wonder how these records of old crimes could be very interesting beyond who did what to whom, and what their punishment was. When someone was indicted for a crime, depositions, or statements, were taken from the victim, the witnesses and the accused. These records are the basis of this article. The inventory of a man's estate can tell what objects were in his house at the time of his death, and from this record one can visualize what kind of life he had. His will can recount who his family members were, and his account can tell a little about how he spent his money, but unless he left a diary or a journal, what he witnessed or took part in remains unknown. Indictments and depositions make it possible to open that door onto a scene from the past and at times to hear the actual words that were spoken. Below are a variety of interesting, amusing and poignant incidents to show how illuminating these records can be in visualizing the past.

Disputes between farmers with adjoining property were rather common and usually resulted in blows being struck, but this dispute brought quite a different result. This case of "nuisance" took place in 1787 at John Lemmon's in West Pennsborough Township. A common road and cartway led from Lemmon's meadow into the highway that ran from North Mountain to Pine Grove, and from the highway to Lemmon's house. On March 10, 1787, William Ewing dumped fif-

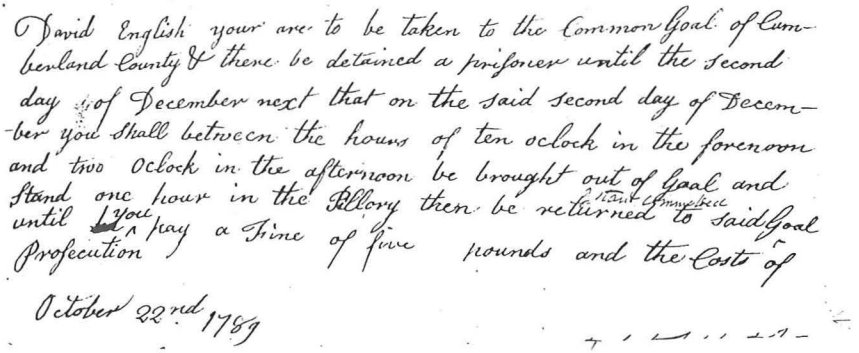
teen waggon loads of dung—forming a four-foot mound—on the road to hinder Lemmon and other "leige subjects of the Commonwealth." It would seem that a man would have to be pretty mad, or fed up, to do such a thing, and it sounds like something one neighbor might do to another. To test the theory, the author consulted the records of the Big Spring Presbyterian Church, Newville. Just two years after the above incident the church took a census of all its members, district by district; sure enough, John lemmon, aged forty-five and his family were neighbors of William Ewing, aged forty and his family. Although it is not recorded why William Ewing did what he did, there was probably a dispute between the men over a right-of-way, or over a property line. One wonders who cleaned up the mess and whether the men ever spoke to each other again. Ewing went to court, was found guilty of nuisance and appealed for a new trial. The case dragged on for years, and no evidence was found of his ever receiving a punishment.

On April 21, 1800, Robert Porter, innkeeper of Shippensburg, stabbed Barnabus Duffy, who had worked for him for six months. Duffy did not immediately die from his wounds and three days later gave the following account of the incident. On April 21, Robert Porter and Dr. David Jamison were engaged in a quarrel. Porter's horse was breaking his bridle, or thought to. Duffy went on: "I ran and jumped on the horse, and either the horse struck me with his foot on the breast or Porter struck me, so as to lay me helpless on the ground and senseless . . . I knew nothing until I found myself in the house and some person bleeding me further . . . I now find myself low." Duffy lived until June 3. The verdict of the Coroner's Jury[5] a week after Duffy's death adds the following information:

> "one Robert Porter, late of Shippensburg . . . innkeeper, not having God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the devil on the 21st day of April 1800, about two hours before the setting sun . . . at the plantation of John Somerville in Southampton Twp . . . upon Barnabus Duffy . . . made an assault . . . with a certain sword made of iron and steel of the value of 5 shillings [a value had to be placed on the murder weapon because it became the property of the state] . . . He held the sword in his right hand . . . and struck and pierced and gave to the said Barnabus Duffy, upon the right side (of his body) one mortal wound of the breadth of 1 inch and of the depth of several inches . . . Duffy did linger . . . until the morning of the 3rd day of June 1800."

A murder trial was held at the September court, and *Kline's Carlisle Gazette* ran the following on Sept. 10, 1800: "Robert Porter was tried for the murder of Barnabus Duffy, for stabbing said Duffy at a Regimental Review on the 21st of April last. The trial lasted two days-he was acquitted." Fortunately that is not all to be known about this case.

The *Shippensburg News* of Jan. 31, 1880, ran a lengthy article by an old, and well known resident entitled "Shippensburg in 1821, Our First Impressions of


David English your are to be taken to the Common Goal of Cumberland County & there be detained a prisoner until the second day of December next that on the said second day of December you shall between the hours of ten oclock in the forenoon and two oclock in the afternoon be brought out of Goal and Stand one hour in the Pillory then be returned to said Goal until you pay a Fine of five pounds and the Costs of Prosecution

October 22nd 1789

NOTIFICATION of 1789 sentence for David English to stand four hours in the Cumberland County pillory. From the Society collection.

Men." The author went up and down the streets of town, recalling who lived in each house and giving a character sketch of the occupants. Among these was Robert Porter, who killed Barnabus Duffy;

> time blurred the incident. I will now introduce you to that old gentleman who is seated on the porch, in front of the stone house, on the corner of the alley . . . Beside (him) is seated his white Spanish poodle dog, Purley, to which his master directs many expressions of endearment, and which the faithful animal appears to understand. This man is a native of the north of Ireland and emigrated to this country when quite young. He is the owner and proprietor of this house, which he has kept as a tavern for many years. He is small of stature, of ruddy complexion, is well proportioned and wears a cue. His dress consists of a gray coat, cut in the Continental style. On this coat are two rows of oval buttons of solid silver, upon which are engraved the initials "R.P.", which stand for Robert Porter, whose acquaintance we are now making. He wears a long vest . . . breeches with silver knee buckles, and shoes with large buckles of the same material . . .
>
> At one time during (his) life, Robert Porter was the owner of considerable property in and around Shippensburg, and was a man of considerable influence, but an unfortunate circumstance occurred which clouded his after-life, and both property and influence wasted away like snow beneath an April sun, and he died at an advanced age and was buried by the County. This affair was the killing, whilst in a passion, of an Irish lad who was in his employ and who had offended him in some manner. As the story ran, Mr. Porter was the Capt. of a military company and upon returning home one day from drill duty, somewhat under the influence of liquor, he became angry with the lad and stabbed him with his sword, wounding him so that he died a short time after. From the time of this occurance until the day of his death, it was said that fortune seemed to frown upon all his undertakings."[6] Thus, although Porter was acquitted of Duffy's death, at least he paid in other ways.

The next murder case is very tragic but is worth inclusion as well as words of the judge upon sentencing, and the editorial comments of the newspaper, to give a feel for the sentiment of the times. John McAllister of Tyrone Twp., now Perry Co., stated that in the forenoon of April 14, 1800, his brother William McAllister of Mifflin County discovered that someone had cut the strap of his saddle bags and had taken seven French crowns and $5. He accused Negro Cesear, who denied it but later confessed under duress. A full eye-witness account of the murder appeared in the Sept. 10, 1800 issue of the *Carlisle Gazette;* only a summary will be given here. McAllister took the negro to an apple mill, fastened a plough rope about the "negor's neck" and put him over the seep of the mill. He then stripped off his clothes and whipped him repeatedly. He said he did not mean to kill the negro, but only to get a confession.

The Carlisle newspaper then goes on to describe the guilty parties.

> John and William McAllister, on whom sentencing was pronounced on Sunday last, for murdering the negro of John McAllister, are men far advanced in life, the youngest being above 60 years of age. The Judge admonished them in the most solemn manner to repent for so great a crime. He mentioned that it was most probable that the jury would have been justified in finding their offense murder in the 1st Degree. They were sentenced to five years confinement in the jail & Penitentiary House of Philadelphia; 6 months of the time to be kept in solitude, and the residue at hard labor." . . . "The fate of these unfortunate men, who were respectable, who were also both of good moral character . . . ought to be useful warning to all holders of slaves . . . to avoid inhumane, barbrous treatment towards their unfortunate fellow men. Atrocious conduct by masters to their slaves is so much more frequent than is generally imagined. Many escape notice, who in private gratify the malignity of a wicked heart on those unhappy beings—who by the barbrous policy of our country, are nearly out of the protection of the laws. A series of cruel usage, too detailed to attract legal notice, gradually undermines the constitution of the unhappy victim, and he at last perishes without an answer. May we not, therefore, fondly hope the auspicious day is drawing near, when this stain upon Republican America will be wiped away. Difficulties unquestionably attend the abolition of slavery in the Southern states, but in Pennsylvania it ought no longer to exist.

The newspaper then went on to quote Thomas Jefferson, at length. Again, the year was 1800, and slavery would not be abolished in Pennsylvania for many years.

Until the present court house was built on the square in Carlisle in the 1960s a market had stood there since 1751. As long as there have been markets, there has been an official called the Clerk of the Market (a sort of market warden). James Roney had this position in 1814, when, in the third week of July he was indicted for "misdemeanor in office." On July 20 Roney shook his stick over a man's head

and attempted to take his basket, saying that the man owed him a penny for weighing a calf skin. Roney seized the man's hat and refused to return it.

Three days later Robert McClan said that soon after daylight Roney came to the market with his scales and weights. McClan stepped forward to watch Roney weigh a pound of butter that Christian Myers had brought to market, when a woman accused Roney of having a stone with a weight in the scales. John Sterret put his hand into the scales and took something out that looked like lead, and a dispute ensued. Why would the Clerk of the Market add a weight to the scale to make a pound of butter weigh less than a pound? "The Statutes of Pennsylvania" show that a law was enacted in 1751 stating that if an item brought to market for sale, weighed under the weight it was supposed to—ie. a pound of butter weighed less than a pound, it was confiscated and one third of the item went to the Clerk of the Market, and the other two thirds went to the Overseers of the Poor. It was a good way to get money for the town's poor, but apparently too tempting for Mr. Roney. He was charged with "fraud" at the August session of court. By the time the case came before the November 1815 court, Roney was dead.

A very interesting incident came before the court in 1809. John McGinnis, a Carlisle storekeeper, was indicted on a charge of insulting James Hamilton, Esq., President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Judge Hamilton gave the following statement about what happened. On the evening of July 25, 1809, at about 6:00, McGinnis made a great noise at the door of Hamilton's house (on West High Street near the corner of Pitt Street). Hamilton was near the fence of his garden in the rear of the barn, when he heard McGinnis calling in a loud voice. He believed McGinnis was intoxicated and hoped that he would go away without seeing him, but he came over to the barnyard and said "Hamilton, come and settle." The Judge made no reply, but walked towards the door of his house. McGinnis followed him, using insulting expressions. Hamilton went into the house and shut the door. McGinnis stood outside cursing and swearing, so the Judge opened the door and said to him, "I convict you on my view of drunkeness and intoxication" and said that the fine would be five shillings (sixteen cents). McGinnis would not pay the fine and called the Judge a liar and a scoundrel. Later that same evening, a young man who kept store for Frederick Fogle, called on Judge Hamilton about rents that were due. While they were sitting on the porch talking, McGinnis passed near to Hamilton's door, cracking a whip as he went by. (This man was really pushing it!) When he passed again he said to the young man, "don't be afraid of these damned judges." The Judge said he had never had any quarrel with McGinnis and that he had been very lenient on the over-due rents McGinnis owed him.

As it turned out, things had begun to snowball earlier in the day. Joseph Knox, a local storekeeper, said that McGinnis had come to his house at about 2:00 that

day and begun to talk about Judge Hamilton and their settlement about the rent. He said that he had been with the Judge and that he was a villain and rascal and that he would take him before his betters. McGinnis said that he would get a petition in a week to lay before the Legislature of this state, and have Hamilton broken. Then Knox said to McGinnis "you did not tell Judge Hamilton this to his face," and McGinnis replied "By God I did tell him so" and that he would tell him more. Later that day Knox saw McGinnis at Hamilton's door and heard him call the Judge a liar five times. McGinnis, in passing Knox's window, looked up at him and asked him "am I drunk?" Knox said, "you cannot be sober or you would not act so."

It took some time for the case to go before the Legislature, and when it did, the Judge was accused on nine counts for withholding the opinion of the court for an unreasonable time and for arrogant and arbitrary conduct toward juries. The Committee regretted that the State had been obliged to incur great expenses on account of the charges brought against the Judge, and that the individuals that brought the suit had not weighed the proofs enough—had basically wasted everyones time, and the charges were dropped.[7] Judge Hamilton died ten years later, and John McGinnis went on to lead a very eventful life in Carlisle.

This next case of "malicious mischief" is set in the Western portion of the county. On Monday night, December 2, 1816, in Springfield, a thriving village in West Pennsborough Township on the Big Spring, Isaac Askew, a hatter, went to attend a "singsong" at the tavern owned by John Gray called the "Indian King."[8] Singing was a very popular pastime, and itinerant singing masters would travel the countryside holding singsongs at local taverns. After the singsong, Askew went down the street to James Montgomery's tavern where a great number of persons had spent the evening dancing and pitching pennies. At 10:00 they scattered except for six men: Askew, Joseph Long, Robert Ingram, Samuel Ingram, Jr., a blacksmith in Springfield, Daniel Kerl a bricklayer and Daniel McBride. They drank beer and sang songs until 2:00 in the morning. James Montgomery, the tavernkeeper, offered a half pint of liquor to any one of them who would cut down John Gray's tavern sign. Samuel Ingram said that he would not do it for $100 and Askew agreed. Joseph Long threw off his great coat, asked for a saw and said he would cut it down.

Askew said he then left Montgomery's tavern to go home. He went to the opposive side of the street from John Gray's and saw that the sign was down. He was near the schoolhouse when Joseph Long overtook him and told Askew to get on his horse. Askew asked Long if he saw Gray's sign post lying down, and he said "yes." Askew got on Long's horse and rode to Jacob Wolf's where he stayed the night. Both Long and Montgomery the tavernkeeper were tried and found guilty. Montgomery had to pay the Government $25 and spend two weeks in jail. Long had to pay the Government $10 and go to jail for a week, and they both had

to be of good behavior to John Gray for one year.[9] Gray went on to keep a tavern in Springfield for many years, but Montgomery left soon after the incident.

Almost every Election Day ended with one or two incidents, usually an assault & battery or a charge of election fraud, but the Gubernatorial Election of 1820 brought an indictment for "riot" in Carlisle. William Findley, the Governor, was running against Joseph Heister, a Federalist. Heister won by only four votes in Carlisle. Passions must have been running high on both sides when a number of young men including John Officer, Jr., son of the Carlisle cabinetmaker, Robert Guthrie, Jr., William Hendel, and a dozen others gathered in Hanover Street. The Carlisle newspaper *The American Volunteer* of Oct. 26, 1820 ran the following account of what happened.

> The Heisterites commenced the work of reformation on Friday night last, by one of the most outrageous scenes that ever disgraced our borough. No sooner was it known that Joseph Heister was elected than a plan was set on foot by the reformers to bury the present Governor. The Republicans could not believe it possible that the borough of Carlisle could produce a sufficient number of characters so lost to all decency as to perpetrate so flagrant an outrage, but Friday night convinced our citizens that the burying scene was no idle rumor, but a preconcerted plan—for at about 11:00 the town was alarmed by the shrill notes of a fife, and something resembling the sound of a drum. Those who were curious enough to rise and see what was going forward, gave us the following description of the procession: First, a reformer who voted for Heister, was in front, armed with a gun and bayonet—next, the drummer and fifer playing something like a death march—then a thing in the shape of a coffin, the sides were of paper on which the name William Findley was written, inside of which candles were placed to give it translucency; it was borne upon the shoulders of four hopeful young reformers. The coffin was followed by a number of young men, who bid fair to grace a funeral of another kind, if a reformation of their morals do not take place. The whole procession was escorted or guarded by the flankers on each side, as protectors from any violence that might be offered the pall-bearers, mourners & musicians . . . The coffin was conducted towards the Negro burying ground. It is not known if it was interred or not. Now fellow citizens, what think ye of the party who have gained the ascendancy in the state! Are such men, or any who advocate such vile procedings, calculated to reform wither the moral or political state of the country? If the proper authority do not take cognizance of the above actors, we may probably give our readers the names of those who were connected in this disgraceful affair.

Three weeks later the newspaper reported that ten of the young men were indicted for riot, but the bill was ignored.

ENDNOTES

All indictments and depositions used in this article are housed at the Cumberland County Historical Society (County Records Collection)

[1] Cumberland County Quarter Session Docket #1 & 2 p. 2.

[2] *Carlisle Old and New,* Civic Club of Carlisle, 1907, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid,* p. 22.

[4] Cumberland County Court House, Prothonotary, Insolvent Debtor Petitions.

[5] *Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County,* The Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951, p. 96.

[6] *Cumberland Valley Chronicles,* William H. Burkhart, 1976, p. 109-110.

[7] Hamilton Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[8] Tavern Licenses, Cumberland County Historical Society (County Records Collection).

[9] Cumberland County Quarter Session Docket, 1816.

LEES CROSS ROADS, elevation 789 feet. Located in Southampton Township, at the highest point on the Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch. On February 18, 1962, Reading Company No. 253, westbound, passes the Lees Cross Roads station with a string of empty coal hoppers destined for Cumbo Yard, near Martinsburg, West Virginia.

"Hey Ollie, Let's Go Railroading"

Jim Bradley

Reproduced below are a number of the photographs which were displayed at the Cumberland County Historical Society as an exhibit "Hey Ollie, Let's Go Railroading." Over 250 photographs were put on display as a tribute to all the railroaders, both here and gone, who worked in the Cumberland Valley.

Featured in the photographs are six lines.

1. The Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch.

2. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Cumberland Valley Branch, extending from Harrisburg to Shippensburg. It has been abandoned from a point west of Carlisle to Shippensburg. The remaining segment is Conrail's Shippensburg Secondary Track.

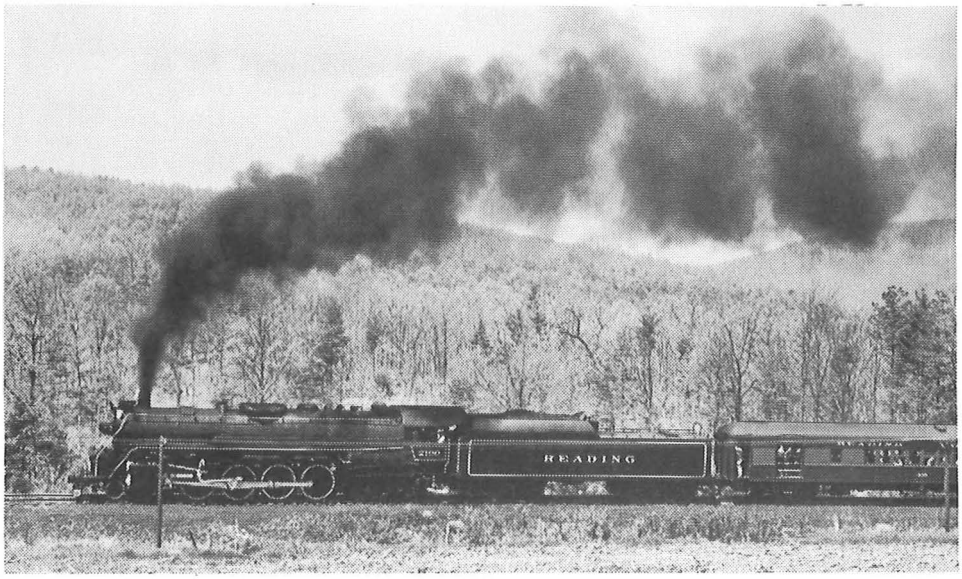
3. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Dillsburg Secondary Track, extending from a point west of Mechanicsburg to Dillsburg in York County. This line has been abandoned.

4. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Northern Central Branch, extending from Harrisburg (Lemoyne) southward into York County. This line has been abandoned.

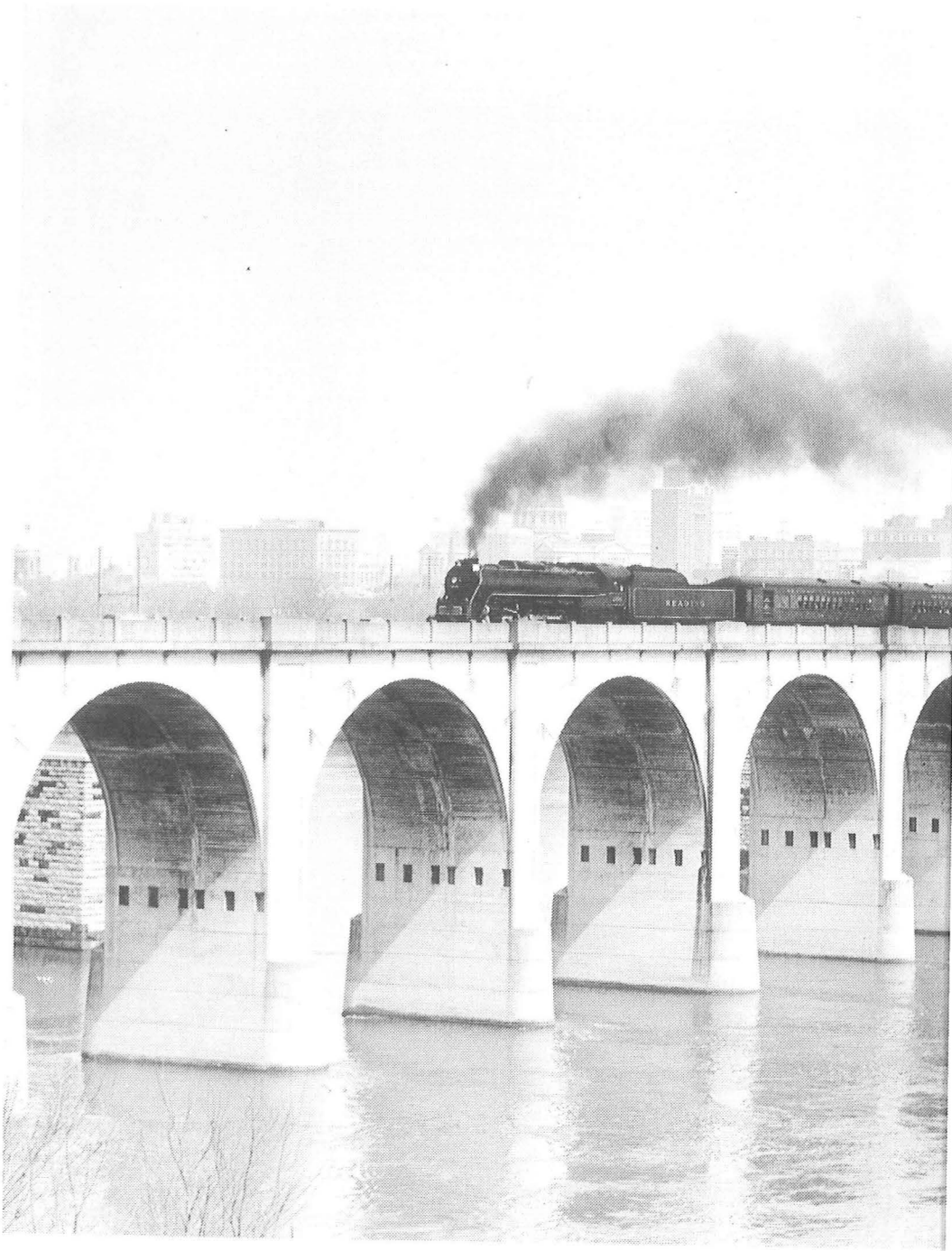
5. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Low Grade Line, extending between Enola Yard in East Pennsboro Township along the Susquehanna River into York County. It is currently Conrail's Enola Branch.

6. The Reading Company's Gettysburg and Harrisburg Branch, extending between Carlisle and Gettysburg. The portion between Carlisle and Carlisle Junction, in South Middleton Township near Mt. Holly Springs, was abandoned following Hurricane Agnes in June 1972. The remaining portion to Gettysburg is operated by the Gettysburg Railroad.

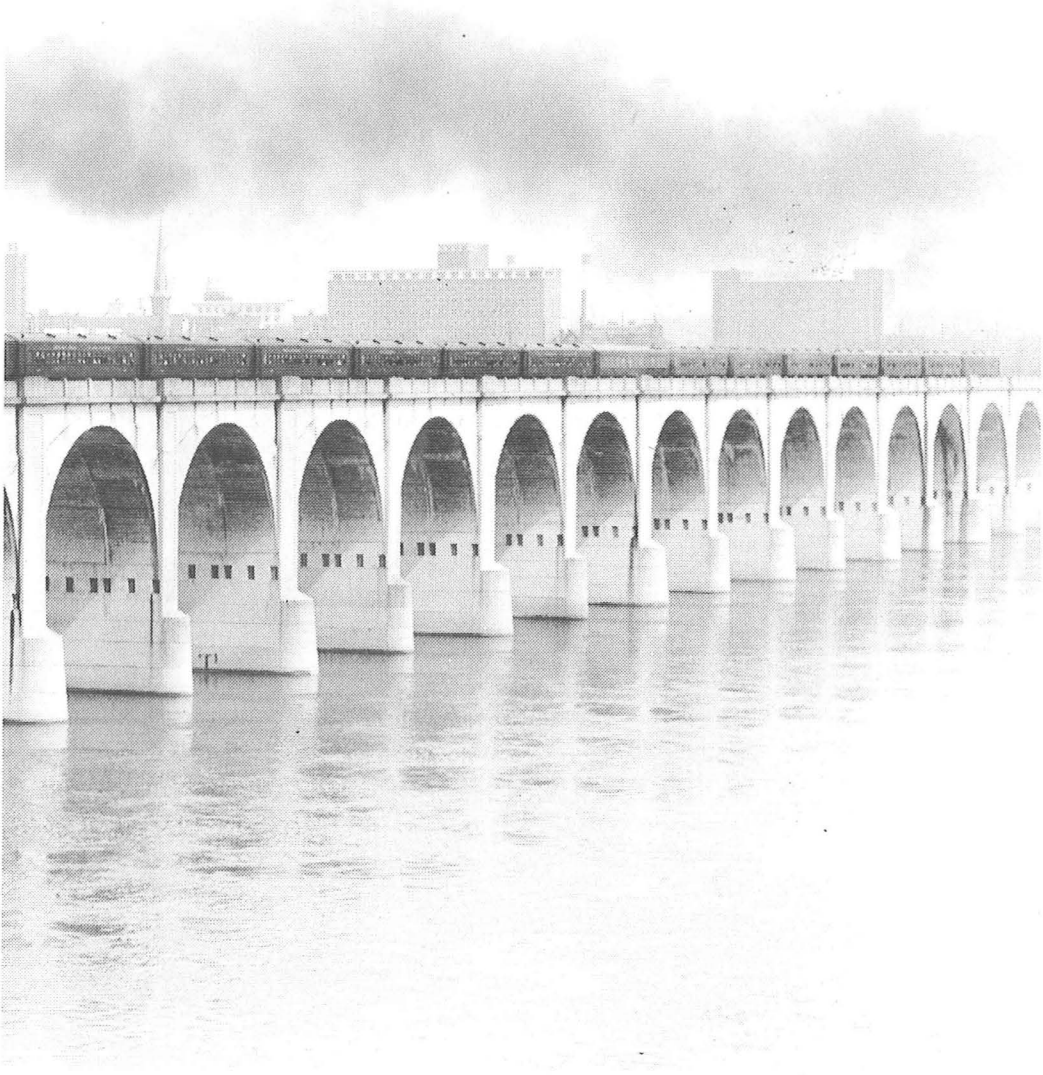
"HEY OLLIE, LET'S GO RAILROADING." On a pleasant summer Sunday afternoon, Ollie Gitt, Mt. Holly Springs, counts the cars of a coal drag cresting the eastbound grade of the Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch at Lees Cross Roads, Southampton Township, on the run from Hagerstown, Maryland, to Rutherford Yard, east of Harrisburg.



"APPLE BLOSSOM SPECIAL" Reading Company No. 2100 with an Iron Horse Ramble Excursion to Gettysburg marches upgrade along Piney Mountain, Dickinson Township, near Hunters Run on the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Branch.



ON APRIL 22, 1961, Reading Company T-1 4-8-4 No. 2100 struts w
Iron Horse Ramble Excursion on the Philadelphia, Harrisburg and
Branch.



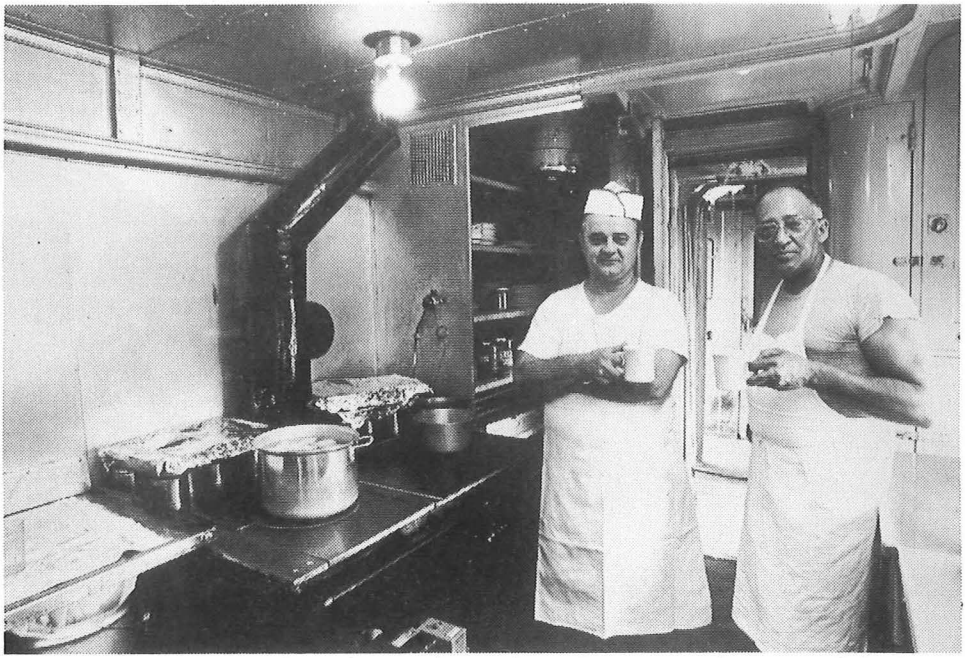
rd across the Susquehanna River Bridge at Harrisburg with a 16 car
ırgh Branch enroute to Gettysburg via the Gettysburg and Harrisburg

PENN ROAD INTERLOCKING TOWER, located in Southampton Township, Franklin County, junction of the Pennsylvania Railroad Cumberland Valley Branch and a connection to the Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch at SX Junction, east of Shippensburg. C. B. Ott, Shippensburg, first trick operator, hands on a train order to the rear-end crew of Penn Central No. 2305, southbound to Hagerstown, Maryland.

READING COMPANY ENGINE No. 2102 passes the old Reading Company station on East Pine Street in Mt. Holly Springs, returning with an Iron Horse Ramble Excursion from Gettysburg on the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Branch.

GILBERT TATE, Gardners, first trick operator, hands on a train-order to the rear-end crew of Pennsylvania Railroad No. 7528, an eastbound "Cumbo" (Martinsburg, West Virginia) coal drag, at Carlisle Junction, South Middleton Township, on the Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch.

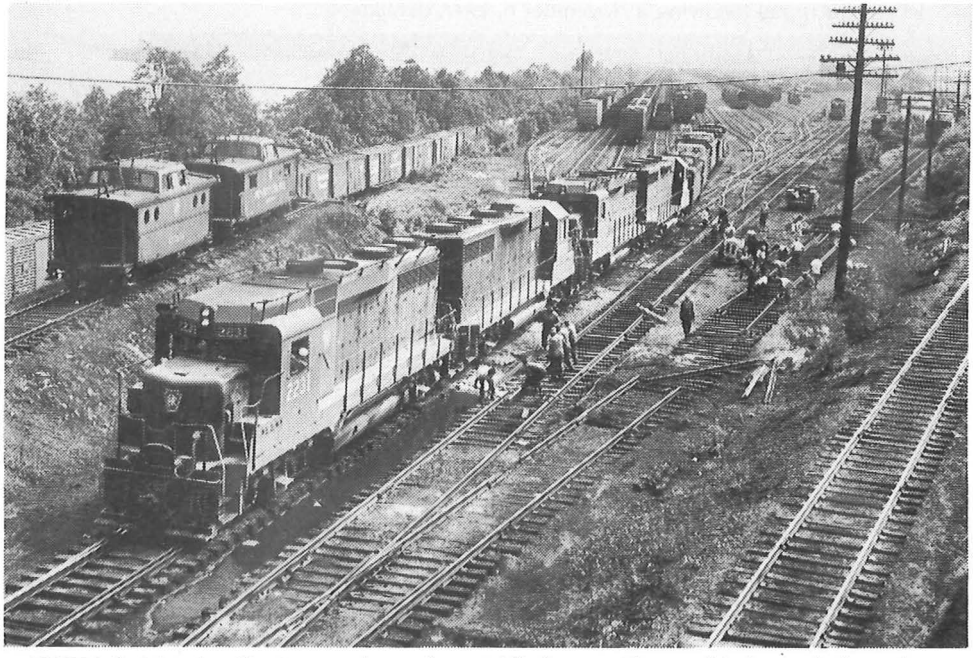
CONRAIL NO. 7567, northbound, departing Shiremantown Yard for Enola with 111 cars, Cumberland Valley Branch.



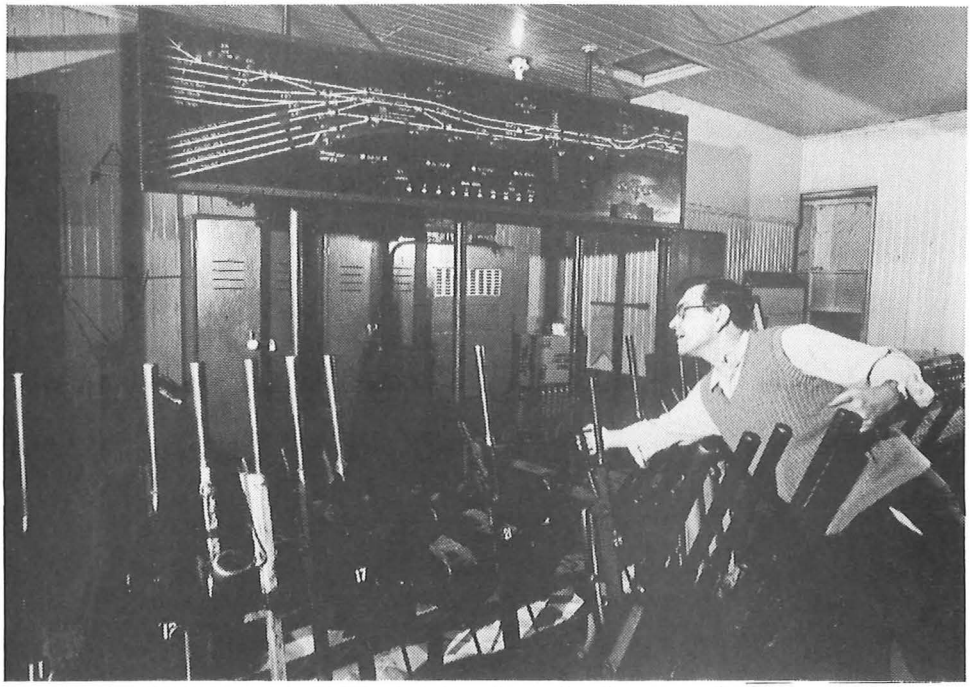
CONRAIL CAMP TRAIN housed on a siding in the yard on West High Street, Carlisle, supporting a track raising gang of 23 men working on the Cumberland Valley Branch near Newville. While pork chops and fried chicken simmer in the oven of the kerosene-fired Alaska stove, cooks Ed Bolick, Kulpmont, and Tommy Thompson, Carlisle, take a coffee break after preparing supper for the gang.

A PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD Atlantic City Excursion greets the rising sun heading north to Harrisburg, just south of New Kingstown on the Cumberland Valley Branch.

NIGHT TRICK at Conrail's Lemo Tower, junction of the former Pennsylvania Railroad's Northern Central Branch and the Cumberland Valley Branch, Lemoyne. The tower was closed on June 24, 1983 and later removed to Strasburg, Pa.



ENOLA freight classification yard . . . the world's largest. The yard is located along the Susquehanna River at the foot of Blue Mountain in East Pennsboro Township, junction of the Pennsylvania Railroad's Philadelphia-Pittsburgh Mainline with the Buffalo Mainline and the Low Grade Line to Baltimore and Philadelphia. On June 10, 1964, PRR No. 2231 switches cabin cars as a track gang replaces rail and ties at Overview, Enola West-end.



DAY INTERLOCKING TOWER, West Fairview, located at the east-end of the Pennsylvania Railroad's Enola Yard, junction with the York Haven or Low Grade Line. Jim Largent, Carlisle, second trick operator, works the levers on December 13, 1986. The tower was demolished by Conrail following a November 6, 1987, derailment.

CREW ROOM, Brick Office, Enola Yard. A Conrail Renovo crew, engineman F. G. DuBois, Harrisburg, R. I. Klinger, Millersburg, conductor and B. F. Hoffman, Sunbury, flagman, do their paper work prior to taking their train up the Buffalo Line to Renovo on May 24, 1979.

"BIG HOOKS." Wreck crews from the Western Maryland Railway at Hagerstown, Maryland, and the Reading Company at Rutherford Yard, tackle a derailment of box cars on the Reading Company's Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Branch.

NEVER TO BE USED AGAIN. The Reading Company's Gettysburg and Harrisburg Branch at Carlisle Junction remains in shambles following the Great Flood of June 1972 when Hurricane Agnes unleashed its fury upon Mountain Creek. The line would never be reopened between Carlisle Junction and Carlisle.

A Tale of Two Towns: Divergent Views of Eighteenth-Century Carlisle

Judith Ridner

Founded in 1751 by Proprietor Thomas penn, the town of Carlisle was erected to meet the mounting social, political, and economic needs of the ever-increasing number of people settling the rich agricultural hinterlands of Pennsylvania's Cumberland Valley. Once established, Carlisle served as both the official political and judicial seat of the newly-formed county of Cumberland and as one of the major social and economic focal points of backcountry Pennsylvania—acting as a major transit point for many westward-bound travellers. Situated along one of the most frequented overland routes to the Ohio country, the town of Carlisle marked one of several symbolic terminus points on the Pennsylvania frontier at which the westward-bound traveler departed from the more "civilized" methods of transport by wagon or coach and embarked on a journey into the often uncertain wilderness of the Allegheny Mountains via packhorse.[1]

Thus, as Cumberland's county seat, as a local marketing and service center for the farmers of the Cumberland Valley, and as one of the more important towns linking the eastern port cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore with the commerce of the west, Carlisle attracted considerable social, economic, and intellectual attention during the eighteenth century. Many local residents, foreign-born travellers, and westward-bound settlers took time from their daily labors to reflect in writing upon Carlisle's "place" in the larger world of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. While these observations were very personal and, at times, quite contradictory, most of these writers shared a common vision of the town that was highly idealistic, if not wholly mythical. Most writers simply overlooked or ignored Carlisle's "urban" realities and instead emphasized its pastoral and natural qualities. Eighteenth-century Carlisle was typically portrayed as a socially serene and economically prosperous "country" town set harmoniously in the midst of an all-abundant wilderness.

Not surprisingly, the town had been founded on the kind of high hopes that fostered the growth of such an idyllic image. Thomas Penn had finally chosen Carlisle as the site for Cumberland's county seat based not only on the practical asset of its favorable location, but, even more importantly, on what he and his advisors saw as the location's promise of future material wealth and physical abundance. In his instructions to lay out the town in 1751, Governor James Hamilton echoed the hopeful thoughts of Penn when he noted that there was

"said to be about it [Carlisle] a wholesome, dry, limestone Soil, good, air, and abundance of vacant land well covered with a variety of Wood."[2] Thus even before the town was formally established, Carlisle had already attained a pastoral and highly idealistic "aura" as a place that possessed all of the natural qualities necessary for the creation of a socially productive and economically lucrative frontier town.

Once the town was laid out and actually settled, writers continued to promote a highly idyllic image of what was really an undeniably small, fledgling, and still grubby frontier town. Carlisle was blessed with fertile soils and vast supplies of oak and hickory woods, limestone, and water from the eastwardly situated Letort Spring.[3] Carlisle had all those materials so needed by a young and growing town—lumber and stone for the construction of buildings and the water and fertile soil needed to support farming and industry. From all indications, the young town of Carlisle remained very much in harmony with its natural world.

Throughout the eighteenth-century, Carlisle remained the quintessential "country" town. Few writers demonstrated any recognition of man's impact on the local physical environment. The growing town of Carlisle was continually characterized by all of its seemingly wondrous "natural" qualities. This "beautiful" town contained "some of the most elegant stone buildings in the state," observed the French-born Michel-Guillaume St. Jean De Crevecoeur.[4] Crevecoeur was quite taken with Carlisle as a symbol of agrarian America. In his writings he marveled at the wonderfully harmonious relationship that the townspeople maintained with the natural world about them.

> This little place, gives the impression of youth to the traveler. Some of the most beautiful trees, preserved by the first colonists, still stand, beautifying the surroundings. Almost all built of stone, the houses, instead of adjoining one another, are separated either by an orchard or by a garden or a barn . . . All this, of course, enhances their natural beauty.[5]

To Crevecoeur, Carlisle was a unique place where man and nature interacted in a wholly non-competitive and non-destructive manner to fashion a landscape in which man-made structures subtly blended into the larger natural environment. Crececoeur only further perpetuated the pastoral mystique by offering a highly idyllic vision of the town that fully overlooked the all-too-obvious realities of urban life.

Town residents also played their part in furthering this "mythical" vision of Carlisle. In some of the promotional literature written for the newly-established Dickinson College, one of the school's trustees, Carlisle resident Robert Davidson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, dwelt considerably upon the vast natural beauty of Carlisle. As part of a conscious effort to attract new students to the fledgling Dickinson College, Davidson made every effort to depict Carlisle

as a most agreeable place to pursue the scholarly rigors of a college education. As a pristine spot of pastoral tranquility and natural attractiveness, Davidson noted that in Carlisle, "The air, is at all times of the year, pure, and the water excellent."[6] Carlisle had none of the urban problems that beset most eighteenth-century towns, rather, in its quiet country setting it was a place most notably "free from luxury, and other vices."[7] Located "in an open, large, and beautiful plain," and "surrounded by extensive common, from every part," in Carlisle, Davidson noted, "the prospect is very agreeable."[8]

Today, as twentieth-century readers faced with urban dilemmas on an almost daily basis, it seems amazing that these writers of the past could so completely ignore what would have been Carlisle's undeniable eighteenth-century-style "urban" character. While there is no disputing their contention that Carlisle was surrounded by an abundance of beautiful natural landscape and seemingly plentiful natural resources, the town itself offered a distinctly urban setting. The striking natural wonders of the Cumberland Valley could not negate the fact that by 1800, within the confines of the sixteen square-block radius that comprised the heart of the Borough of Carlisle, lived 2037 people in their many private dwellings, along with a market house, a court house, three churches, and numerous shops, boarding houses, taverns and inns.[9]

Carlisle was hardly the haven of rural tranquility that so many eighteenth-century observers portrayed. Indeed, in just being a "town" Carlisle acquired certain urban traits. Its grid-plan pattern and its long and narrow lots measuring 60' by 240' demanded that town residents live in close physical proximity to one another. While this intensive use of space intentionally focused the energies of town residents into the productive pursuits of local governing and regional commerce, it also brought individuals and their family units into close daily contact with one another. Community life in Carlisle often meant having quite intimate and often, unwanted, relationships with one's neighbors. It meant living in what was often a crowded, noisy, and particularly uncomfortable town.

Dickinson College's first President, the Reverend Charles Nisbet, readily acknowledged that life in Carlisle was usually neither pleasant nor serene. "Indeed," he complained, he and his wife had "a nosiy House and hear nothing from Morning to Night, but Dogs fighting, People killing Swine, Cows lowing, Etc. The most quiet Neighbors we have are the Waggonners passing, tho' they rarely pass without Noise."[10] To Nisbet, as to many other town residents, living so near to one's neighbors did not always provide the emotional comforts of friendship and community. Rather, more often, neighbors provided a whole host of audible nuisances and visible distractions that one simply endured on a daily basis.

Homesick and longing for the cultural sophistication of his native Scotland, Reverend Nisbet was more than happy to expound upon what he saw as Carlisle's numerous "faults." To Nisbet, the town lacked all natural beauty and

charm. Rather, "Carlisle," Nisbet glumly remarked, "is situated in a deep claypool, impassable unless for horses and carriages for a great Part of the Year."[11] According to Nisbet, Carlisle was not the place where the astute observer gloried in the harmonious interactions of man and nature. Rather, in this town, one suffered through nature's miseries of floods, mud, and a seemingly endless supply of dirt, while still enduring the unwanted company of one's neighbors. Despite the contrary observations of many writers, it is clear from Nisbet's remarks that "people" ultimately prevailed in Carlisle, while nature was pushed aside to accommodate the social, economic, and political needs of a densely concentrated population and its numerous man-made constructions.

Not surprisingly, as Nisbet implied, the town of Carlisle was no stranger to the problems associated with urban life. In April 1782, when the town of Carlisle was officially incorporated into a Borough, laws were also passed "For Regulating the Buildings, Preventing Nuisances, and Encroachments on the Commons, Squares, Streets, Lanes and Alleys of the Same . . . "[12] The town leaders, it appears, were having great difficulty regulating the actions of their fellow residents. In a town that had undergone rapid growth and development since its founding in 1751, space was increasingly tight, and the seemingly harmless behavior of one's neighbors was no longer just annoying, but hazardous. Regulations were greatly needed to curtail the disruptive and imposing practices of town residents. Thus, for "the better preventing all encroachments, nuisances, contentions, annoyances and inconveniences whatsoever," it was declared illegal to erect any structures on the streets, alleys, or square of the town. Only surveyors had the power to permit townspeople to construct gutters, channels, or fences on their private lots or to dig pits or quarries on the town commons. Clearly, in these statutes, local government was expressing its desperate need to assert a wholly rational and harmonious structural order over the town.[13]

In these statutes, however, lawmakers did more than simply reassert their authority. They also openly acknowledged the urban decay of the town and made a direct attempt to stem its progress. Restrictions were placed on the building and commercial activities of residents. To those townspeople digging cellars and constructing their homes, fines were established to punish those who "have thrown the clay and dirt from their cellars and the rubbish from their buildings into the streets, lanes, alleys and highways." While any inconsiderate person who presumed "to cast, carry, draw out or lay any dead carcass, or any excrement or filth from vaults, privies or necessary-houses and shall leave such carcass or filth without burying the same" would be assessed a thirty shilling fine plus the costs of removal.

Lastly, as part of a direct effort to regulate the working practices of some of the dirtiest, smelliest, and most imposing artisans in the town, a law was directed solely at Carlisle's numerous distillers, soap-boilers, and tallow-chandlers. The law warned that none "shall discharge any foul or nauseous liquor from any still-

house or work-shop," into the streets, nor could they "keep, collect or use, . . . any stale, stinking or putrid fat, grease or other matter." Likewise, Carlisle butchers received a stern warning not to keep "at or near his slaughter-house any garbage or filth whatsoever so as to annoy any neighbor or any other person whatsoever."[14] Clearly, the existence of highly unpleasant conditions prompted lawmakers to assert their authority. Air pollution and large amounts of street garbage and filth had obviously overwhelmed the sensibilities of many townspeople—some positive action was needed to remedy the all-too-unpleasant situation.

Ultimately, such statutes are an undeniable indication that urban complexity, rather than rural tranquility, more often determined the reality of eighteenth-century Carlisle. Despite the optimistic and wishful observations of writers like Crevecoeur, Carlisle apparently shared more common traits with other large eighteenth-century urban centers than with the always-striking and serene natural world that surrounded it. Carlisle, it appears, was most likely a rather self-oriented and, at times, impersonal community of diverse individuals who were beset on a daily basis by the same host of problems and dilemmas faced by almost all urban entities.

ENDNOTES

[1] Whitfield J. Bell, "Carlisle to Pittsburgh: A Gateway to the West, 1750-1815," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 35, #3 (1952): 157-166; Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), 245.

[2] As printed in D. W. Thompson, *Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County,* (Carlisle: The Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951), 18.

[3] Solomon Drown, letter to his wife describing his travels in Pennsylvania, October 31, 1788. Dickinson College Archives, Carlisle, Pa.

[4] Michel-Guillaume St. Jean De Crevecoeur, *Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York,* translated by Clarissa Spencer Bostlemann. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 24.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Robert Davidson, "A Brief State of the College of Carlisle—for publication—given by the Trustees of the same," 1791, Founders Collection, Dickinson College Archives, Carlisle, Pa.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Federal Census of 1800.

[10] Reverend Charles Nisbet, "Letter to his daughter Mary Turnbull of Pittsburgh," November 8, 1793, Nisbet Papers, Dickinson College Archives, Carlisle, Pa.

[11] Nisbet, "Letter to Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia," January 30, 1786, *Nisbet Papers.*

[12] *Statutes at Large,* (Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, 1898), 10: 423.

[13] *Ibid.,* 423-448.

[14] *Ibid.*

Forty-four in Forty Three: To War

In 1943 February 17 dawn found a hundred or more students shivering in overcoat and muffler weather as they stood about at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot in Carlisle. About two score were going to war. Half a century later those who survived could recall only Whit Bell from the faculty, but Ralph Schecter must have been there as well, for the single cheerful element that morning was his Dickinson College band. All musicians mustered for the occasion, except the woodwinds, exempted because their instruments might freeze.

A gracious touch for the departing students came from Charles Kollas, proprietor of the Hamilton Restaurant at High and Pitt Streets. All forty-four students on Special Orders #30 from the United States Army Third Service Command, Baltimore, had been invited as his guests at breakfast. Their stomachs full, the guests then marched behind the band three blocks north to the station at Penn Street near Pitt to await the 7:10 Harrisburg train, say good-bye to friends, and read copies of the *Drinkinsonian* which Bill Gillan[1] remembers were distributed that morning. An account had it that "familiar college songs were sung and cheers given to climax a stirring wartime scene."[2] Last to board the train was the acting corporal, Daniel Fenton Adams[3] whose job it was to count heads. A few were missing.

At the Harrisburg stop several boarded who had chosen to eat breakfast at home. These included Stan Adler,[4] whose parents came to wave goodbye, go home and file away a letter from President Fred Corson. Peg Martin, '35, Dr. Corson's secretary, typed this letter to all the inductees:

> It will be necessary for me to be away from Carlisle on Wednesday when you leave for Camp Lee. Both Mrs. Corson and I regret exceedingly that we cannot be at the station to give you our best wishes, but we shall follow your career in the Army and look forward to your return to the College when the war is over. Don't lose sight of the fact that you will have an important part in the reconstruction days of peace as well as in the immediate days of war.

RESTRICTED

SPECIAL ORDERS)
:
NO. 30)

HEADQUARTERS THIRD SERVICE COMMAND
UNITED STATES ARMY
BALTIMORE MARYLAND
- EXTRACT - February 4, 1943 E-4

8. Following Enl Res in gr of Pvt now in attendance at Dickinson College Carlisle Pa ordered to AD Feb 17 1943. WP that date to 1303rd SU Camp Lee Va:

Daniel F Adams 13091707
Stanley D Adler Jr 13094235
Joseph S Ammerman 13094231
Robert S Aronson 13089237
William F Borda 13157851
David M Boyd 13091782
Joseph P Bright Jr 13093034
Stanley S Brotman 13094230
Bruce E Cooper 13157856
Robert G Crist 13094237
Ralph E Foster Jr 13095178
Robert W Gillan Jr 13094242
Louis S Glover 13095126
Newton Greenblatt 13095123
Edward Honickor Jr 13095064
Larry I Houck 13090979
William F Kearney Jr 13094234
Charles A Langner 13094243
Norman L Levin 13157848
Robert E Lipsitt 13157850
Andrew R McNitt 13091793
Walter H Marshall 13094024
Donald W Meals 13091448
Robert A Myers 13095025
John S Newkam Jr 13157839
Clarence B Nixon Jr 13094026
Norman R Olewiler 13091036
Shamos A O'Shea 13157988
Edgar L Owens 13095068
Steve Padjen 13157847
Nicholas L Papadeas 13095004
Phillip D Paterson 13094416
John T Pfeiffer III 13094025
Robert D Rector 13094238
George L Richards 13157981
Vincent V Rovito 13091799
Charles F Saam 13091687
Vincent J Schafmeister Jr 13094246
Robert C Slutzkor 13094250
James H Soltow 13095102
Harry C Stonesifer 13095134
Marvin Z Wallen 13095002
Harry E Swartzbaugh 13157844
Stanley Francis 13095010

Each student will take with him a transcript of his college academic record for presentation to the Classification Officer.
TDN TNT FD 31 P 431-02 A 0425-23. AUTH: WD Memo No. W 150-1-43, Jan 27 1943.

By command of Major General RECKORD:

EDWIN BUTCHER
Colonel G S C
Chief of Staff

OFFICIAL:

F V M DYER
Lt Colonel A G D
Adjutant General

HEADQUARTERS THIRD SERVICE COMMAND
OFFICIAL

ORDERS OF 17 February 1943 sending forty-four Dickinsonians to active duty. Of these 44, some 32 survived the war and the fifty years that followed. Of these, thirty-one sent information about themselves. For four on the list addresses were not available. Eight of the forty-four have died, one during World War II and one on 17 February 1993, precisely fifty years after mobilization day.

CARLISLE Train Station from which the Dickinson students departed on 17 February 1943. Photo courtesy Jim Bradley.

The train, behind its steam engine, re-crossed the Susquehanna and proceeded south to Washington on the National Central tracks on the west shore of the river. The route itself was a bit of *deja vu.* In 1861 Secretary of War Simon Cameron, a principal owner of the NCRR, saw to it that Washington-bound troop trains, even those originating in New York and Philadelphia, were dispatched, circuitously for them but profitably for himself, via Harrisburg.

Two of the group listed on the orders, Bob Aronson and Lou Glover,[5] did not go to Camp Lee. Between the writing of the 4 February orders and 17 February departure they were directed to go directly to Haverford College to begin training in meteorology.

On the leisurely run south the forty-four did one of the things which students do, study. The object scrutinized was a copy of the Army's AFQ Test which Jay Bright[6] had obtained at the Dickinson psychology department. One's score was supposed to determine one's army assignment. That it did not might be shown by considering the cases of the four in the group who were tapped for both Phi Beta Kappa and Omicron Delta Kappa. Private Adams ended up training dogs; Norman Olewiler,[7] who reputedly scored the highest score in the history of the Camp Lee Reception Center remained a sergeant; Ted Owens[8] stayed an enlisted man; only Joe Ammerman's[9] potential was recognized; he was discharged a Captain of Engineers. As might be expected among a group of stu-

dents, not all studied. The older recruits taught the young ones something called "Australian Rot Gut," the rules of which were vague but which served to enrich the upperclassmen.

The train pulled into Union Station, Washington, two hours late but simultaneously with one bringing Madam Chiangkai-Shek. Eleanor Roosevelt with fifteen bodyguards met the wife of the Premier of China; Captain James M. Brown, USAF, with his wife Agnes Albright Brown, Dickinson '22, met the five members of Beta Theta Pi who had arrived.[10] Mrs. Roosevelt took her guest to the White House, Captain Brown escorted his to Bolling Field and their apartment for Pepsi Cola. It was the last hospitality they received for many months, but three of the five subsequently volunteered to join the Air Force.

Acting Corporal Adams lost part of his command in Washington. Charles Saam offered this account.

> Fenton . . . told us that the train would leave at 7:05 instead of 6:40 [p.m.] as scheduled. Ted Owens and I left to find some cough drops. We . . . learned that there were none to be had in Washington. We met Shamos O'Shea, Ralph Foster, and Harry Swartzbaugh[11] and went with them.
>
> We were back at the proper place at 6:45 but saw none of our fellows about. We waited and waited. Inquiries were of no avail. About 7:45 we made a final inquiry at the Service Men's Information Booth. The man sent O'Shea to the Station Master who told us the train had pulled in at 6:40 but left about 7:00. We were waiting there all the time. Well, he gave us a letter from the camp [sic] explaining that we missed the train because of mis-information. He gave us a pass to the next train which left at 3:35 a.m.[12]

The Washington-Richmond run remained as pesky a bottleneck in World War II as in the War Between the States. Traveling the 100 mile route monopoly of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac (Capital City Route) took for hours. The rolling equipment on 17 February seemed to be retreaded from the Civil War. Passengers sat on suitcases and on the lavatory facilities; four Marines who got off at Quantico worked on two quarts of whiskey; two sailors offered drinks to all passengers; others broke out in convivial singing. It was 11:45 p.m. when the train pulled into Petersburg Station and exactly 12:03 a.m. on 18 February when a bus clattered into the Camp Lee Reception Center, about 225 miles in 17 hours. Acting Corporal Adams had delivered thirty-seven privates only three minutes late. His rear guard of five arrived at camp the next morning at 11:30 a.m.

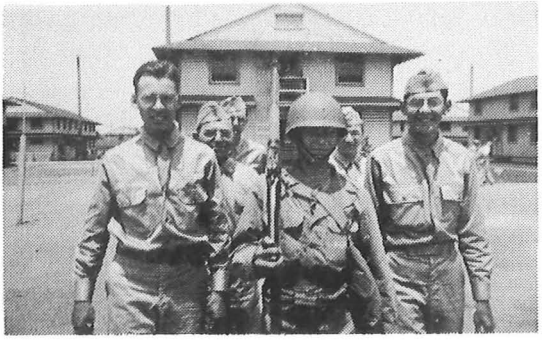
Processing began with a midnight "short arm" inspection and a disorderly march to reception center barracks where the recruits were bedded down at 1:30 a.m. Survivors recall a 5:30 reveille, turnout and roll call in the company street, breakfast, and clothes exchange. Each was issued items of olive drab, including towels and underclothing. Each sat for the AFQ exam and G.I. haircut, stood for

PHOTOGRAPH taken at the departure of the army enlistees. The identifications were made in 1993 by persons present: [front row] John Pfeifer and Ted Owens; [mid-pic] Dorothy Nagle, Dick Hulton (profile) and (two in white hats), Bud Nixon and Doug Rehor; [top left, full face visible] Bill Kearney. [upper right] with glasses John Alden Myers and extreme right (almost full face with fedora) Andy McNitt. Photo courtesy Dickinson College.

the shots, and shrank from the gaze of reception center cadre seeking recruits for K.P. and other unpleasant duty.

The Dickinsonians were divided for no apparent reason between Company A and Company F, 1303rd Service Unit. The Phi Psis and Kappa Sigs tended to be assigned to the former, from which a rumor spread that they had initiated into Phi Kappa Psi their company sergeant, with no known advantage to the inductees. Company F then initiated their sergeant into Alpha Chi Rho, or so it was said. Another sergeant was not amused when, after he had ordered the Dickinson boys to mop floors, an upperclassman replied that such work was only for freshmen.

Such risky witticisms notwithstanding, life at Lee was, with few exceptions, a bore. Professor Charles Swift's "Third Testament," *Time,* and other items were available at the post exchange. Movies were available at fifteen cents, cigarettes at thirteen cents, and milk shakes a dime, all affordable given the $50 per month which privates drew in 1943. Pay usually was reduced by the monthly $3.10 pre-



AT CAMP LEE Stan Adler does guard duty. Unhelpful companions are other privates: Bob Crist, ?, Fenton Adams, Charles Saam and Stan Brotman.

miums for life insurance, by the $18.75 each was asked to put into United States War Bonds, and by whatever "contributions" for company funds that sergeants could extort from the strategic positions they assumed at the end of payroll queues.

Soon duty rosters appeared on company bulletin boards. Working alphabetically, the Reception Center non-commissioned officers listed Adams (now deprived of his dignity as "acting corporal") and Adler first for 14 hours of K.P.; Bill Borda,[13] a few days before ranked as a college freshman, became barracks guard and attempted to get the former upperclassmen to mop floors for him; Stan Brotman, Bruce Cooper[14] and the author became fire guards, two hours on and four hours off duty. This involved manning two stoves which befouled Virginia air with bituminous coal fumes.

The following account suggests the army approach to the problem of idle privates:

> Lieutenant Jacobs walked out at 1 o'clock and sent the new boys on their rounds. Looking down the line he saw the ERC [Enlisted Reserve Corps] boys, and a council of war with the first sergeant followed. They retreated disgusted, being unable to figure out something to do with us. Wearied, they turned us over hopefully to two corporals. After another staff meeting the ratings decided we might as well break in our new shoes as sit around the barracks until we couldn't go any farther west, turned around and tramped back.[15]

Inevitably sickness struck. George Richards was one of the first to go off his feet with fevers and chills. Bob Slutzker and Newt Greenblatt followed.[16] (The sergeant insisted on calling the latter "Greenplant.")

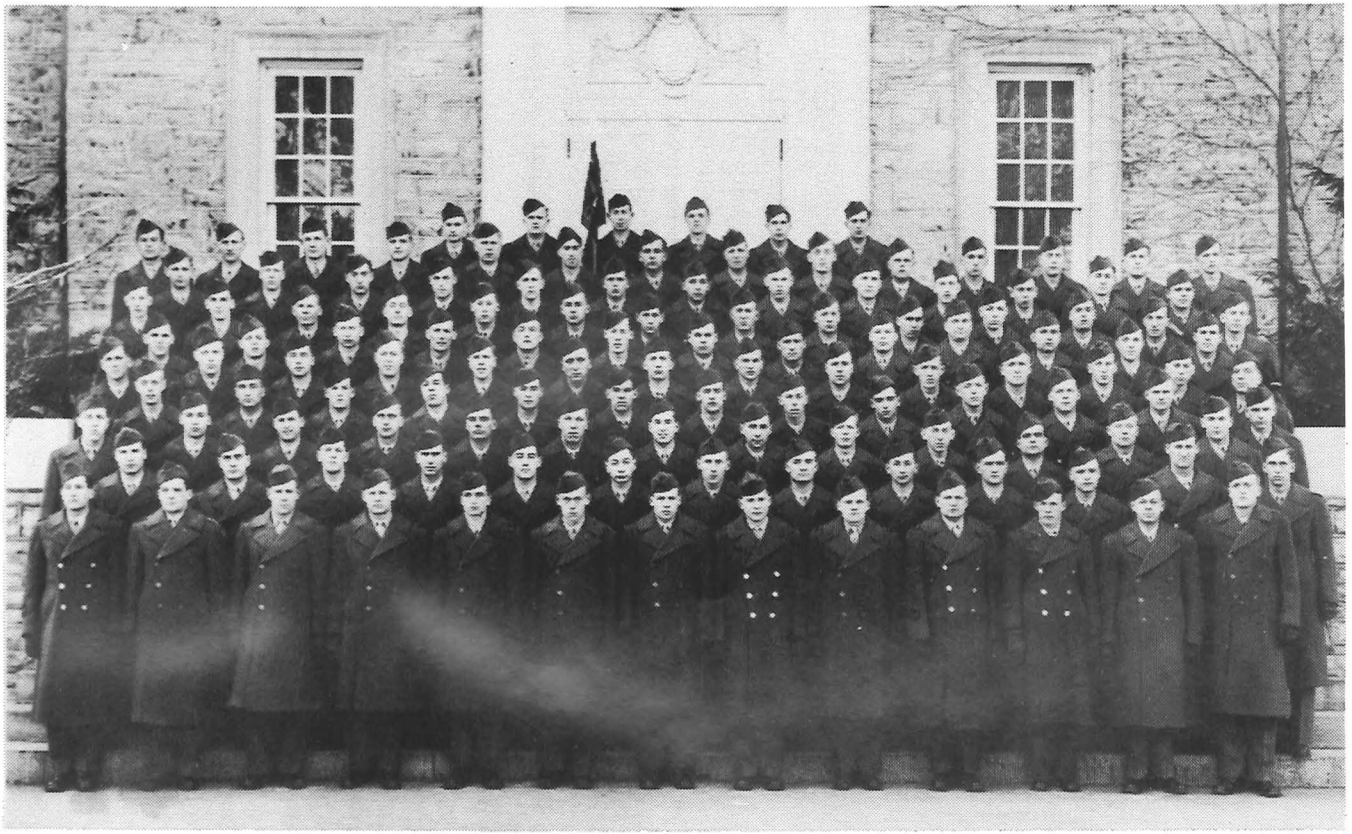
A different kind of roster as early as February 27 announced basic training camp destinations. When shipping orders went up on bulletin boards, many began to recall mid-autumn 1942 events back on campus. Dean E. A. Vuilleumier had announced at chapel services that recruiters from Air Corps, Navy, Marines and Army would visit the campus on November 18. The message from the representatives of the various services was that one should immediately volunteer for

the reserve components, thereby avoiding involuntary callup by the Selective Service. Doing so would enable the reservist to remain in college until graduation, or so they said.

Seventy-eight days later the Army called up its reserve. The Dickinsonians differed from draftees in two respects. First, throughout their enlisted careers they all bore serial numbers beginning with "13" (enlisted in the Third Service Command) rather than "33" (drafted in the Third Service Command). Second, theoretically they had some choice as to what branch would train them. Each was instructed to report to Camp Lee "with a transcript of his college academic record for presentation to the Classification Officer." Charles Saam, an employee of the Dickinson Registrar's Office, typed all of these for the forty-four.

The group consisted of six alumni who had been graduated at Dickinson's first mid-year Commencement on January 24, 1943, five seniors, six juniors, nine sophomores, fourteen freshmen, and Marvin Wallen,[17] who had just matriculated at the law school. Some of these (not all their records are available) later in the year were returned to college but none to Dickinson, and none remained at their army-selected college long enough for them to graduate. The War Department made arrangements with many colleges to use their facilities in accordance with special requirements laid down by the armed forces. Dickinson was chosen to house contingents of seven hundred air cadets taking pre-flight training. The University of Pennsylvania, for example, was designated for training in engineering and languages. Student soldiers served in these specialties until special replacement demands poured into Washington from field commands suffering casualties. The larger American losses connected with the Battle of the Bulge example, caused the Army to shut down virtually all of the engineering training and send the students to infantry divisions as replacements.

Eleven of the Dickinson group were assigned to the Air Corps. Nine stayed on at Camp Lee to receive five weeks of basic and eight more of technical training in Quartermaster Corps specialties. Charles Saam remained at Camp Lee after all others, having been selected for cadre duty. Bill Borda and Bruce Cooper volunteered for paratroop training and ended with the 82nd Airborne Division. Norman Levin and Bob Lipsitt[18] drew scarcely less arduous duty as combat Signal Corpsmen. Don Meals, Bud Nixon, and Norm Olewiler[19] fought their way across Europe as infantry non-commissioned officers. Jay Bright and Bob Myers[20] became cryptographers, Stan Adler a Signal Corps Lieutenant and cryptoanalyst. Stan Brotman wound up studying Burmese and serving with the Office of Strategic Services. The author studied German but was assigned to Japan as an Order of Battle Officer on MacArthur's G-2 staff. Jim Soltow[21] served as a military policeman, Harry Stonesifer[22] as a combat engineer, Charlie Langner as a drill instructor, Dave Boyd in vehicle maintenance, and Vince Schafmeister a warrant officer skippering a boat in the Aleutians for the Transportation Corps. Five of the forty-



AFTER the army and navy reserve units left Dickinson College the Air Force established its 32nd Training Detachment. Cadet classes of 140 entered each month for a five-month course. They were housed in Conway Hall and East College and attended classes in Denny, Tome and West College. The "old" gymnasium became their mess hall. Shown above (in front of the then "Alumni Gymnasium") is the last class. 2,260 air cadets passed through the program before it was terminated 29 January 1944. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Macy Miller, Dickinson 1947, who married Richard Miller, one of those pictured above.

four became weather specialists: Bob Aronson, Lou Glover, Newt Greenblatt, Bill Kearney and Vince Rovito.[23] By 2 March 1943 most of the Dickinsonians had left the reception center.

Almost an odd man out was the Dickinson student placed last on what was, for all but the last two names, an alphabetized list of the forty-four: "Stanley Francis." Major General Milton Reckord (or perhaps it was someone down the chain of command) dropped Stan's surname from the roster. He was and is Stanley F. Victor, who became a commissioned officer in the Transportation Corps.

After the war ended, twenty-six of the forty-four returned to Dickinson, from which twenty-five were graduated. Others finished their education elsewhere: Stan Brotman at Yale, Joe Bright at Princeton, Phil Peterson[24] at Juniata, Henry Swartzbaugh at Johns Hopkins, Bill Kearney at Franklin and Marshall, and George Richards and Vince Rovito at Lehigh. Adding in the five who were alumni when they entered the army, one finds among the forty-four some thirty-seven known to become college graduates, six with Phi Bete keys and a dozen who were tapped by Omicron Delta Kappa. For four of the forty-four there is no record or mailing address. One of the forty-four, Corporal Walter H. Marshall, of the Class of 1943, died 20 April 1944 with the sinking of the transport *U.S.S. Hamilton* by enemy action off Algers on route to Naples.[25]

No fewer than fifteen of the thirty-nine for whom there are records became attorneys. Ed Honnicker[26] chose banking. Three practiced medicine;[27] eight went into sales;[28] four chose teaching.[29] None forgot February 17, 1943.

In 1993 on Wednesday, February 17, dawn was again overcoat weather, but all passenger service had long been ended and the Depot boarded up. A retired Professor Bell now lived along the route to the Depot, and the Kollas family was still serving breakfast at the Hamilton, but the College no longer had a band. Thirty-three of the forty-four had survived those fifty years. Later that day it was thirty-two and counting. Another veteran that day breathed his last, Andy McNitt, a very popular member of the Class of 1943. —RGC.

ENDNOTES

[1] Bill, whose actual name is Robert, set several records for the 44. He earned the highest rank, Lt. Col.; served longest, 23 years; and was last to graduate from Dickinson, 1956.

[2] *Harrisburg Patriot* 18 February 1943.

[3] Fenton reports from Little Rock that he later once more got to be acting corporal but was subsequently reduced permanently to the rank of private. Since 1947 he has been teaching at law schools and during five years serving as acting dean of three of them.

[4] After graduating Phi Beta Kappa, Stan joined Pennsylvania Commercial Properties, Harrisburg, and became CEO.

[5] Bob, a Pitt law graduate, now lives in Florida; for Glover, no address, no information.

[7] Norm, later a trustee of Gettysburg College, practices law in his native York.

[8] Ted died in 1976 after a career with the Foreign Service.

[9] Joe served in the State Senate, the U.S. Congress and now as a judge in his home county, Clearfield.

[10] Charles Langner became president of an insurance company; Bob Slutkzer, President of Pennsylvania Commercial Interiors; the author, a writer; "Rope" Schafmeister, a trustee of Dickinson and its alumni secretary; and George Richards a surgeon. The last two, associated with the same Miami hospital, occasionally find time to go fishing together.

[11] Oddly, of the five for whom Dickinson had no address in 1993, three are Foster, O'Shea and Swartzbaugh, who missed the train in 1943. The fourth was Glover and the fifth Nicholas Papadeas, which the college listed as "Nicholas Papdakos." The author, writing to the latter, who is a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, received a kind reply from him stating that the "Nicholas Papadeas" on Special Order #30 was not he, that he never went to Camp Lee, was inducted 7 April 1943 and "wound up in the Air Corps and served as a control tower operator in the South Pacific."

[12] Charlie earned an advanced degree in psychology from the University of Pennsylvania and lives in Binghamton. The quotation is an extract from a letter he wrote his wife, the former Jean Lentz, D-son '46, who saw him off from the Depot in 1943.

[13] Bill, who served with the 11th Airborne in Europe, went back on duty during the Korean conflict. After the war he returned to his native Reading and worked in sales.

[14] Stan, a Yale College and Harvard Law graduate, is a Federal District Judge in New Jersey; Bruce, a practicing attorney, was the principal founder of Harrisburg Area Community College which he served as board chairman for two decades.

[15] This passage and much other data appearing in this article comes from correspondence between the author and the then Christine Myers, D-son '46, who was at the Depot 17 Feb. 43.

[16] Newt, a former municipal judge, practices law in Vineland, NJ.

[17] Marvin, was graduated Phi Beta Kappa, completed law school in Carlisle, and returned to his native Atlantic City, where he practices law.

[18] Norm won a Bronze Star fighting with the 97th Division in Europe and later served in the Army of Occupation in Japan. He finished law school in Carlisle and returned to his native Lewistown, where he is in practice; Bob returned from combat to his native Harrisburg where he was engaged in the clothing business and also worked for the State government.

[19] Don married his classmate, Kathleen Briner, who was at the Depot in 1943; earned a Ph.D. in Psychology at Penn, and worked in Massachusetts as a management consultant; Bud, finishing at Pitt in law, has practiced his profession ever since. Returning to College after the war, he re-instituted the Ravens Claw on campus.

[20] Bob moved to California after the war where he became board chairman of an insurance and brokerage firm.

[21] Jim married Martha Stough, D-son '46, earned a Ph.D. and taught economic history at Michigan State until his retirement. He has published six books.

[22] Harry finished Dickinson Law in 1949 and has practiced ever since in his hometown of Hanover; Dave, wounded in Europe, finished college and law school, became both a lawyer and a banker.

[23] Bill, who spent his career in sales, died in 1988; Vince, finished at Dickinson School of Law and practiced until his death in 1983.

[24] Phil Paterson, who was a fishing tackle manufacturer, died in 1977.

[25] *Dickinson Alumnus,* September 1944, 8.

[26] As a sergeant Ed was a Link Trainer instructor. He returned to his native Schuylkill County and became a trust officer. John Pfeiffer, a bank president in Schuylkill County, is also an attorney.

[27] John Newkam, who practiced in Carlisle, died years later while on reserve duty in a jeep accident; Bob Rector studied at Jefferson Medical College and practices in Chambersburg; for Richards see f.n. 10 *supra.*

[28] These included Larry Houck, a law graduate who headed an oil company until his death in 1992.

[29] Steve Padgen later earned a master's degree and spent his teaching career in Hanover; for Soltow see f.n. 21, Crist, f.n. 10, and Swartzbaugh, who also earned a master's degree and taught music in the Hagerstown school system.

What's in a Name Shepherdstown

Jack Davis

Shepherdstown is one of a score of small villages that have come and gone along the old Gettysburg Road since the beginning of the 19th century. Like the others, it commenced chiefly as an overnight stop for travelers, then later grew modestly into a trading center for farmers of the vicinity. And like most of the others, the advent of the automobile gradually put an end to its commercial role, relegating it once more to being a sleepy residential hamlet.

The village took its name from William Shepherd, though if original settlers count for anything, it should have been called McFalltown, after a widow believed to be the first resident in the future village. Shepherd came in the 1820s, and in 1828 the village, though never incorporated, took its permanent name. In its first twenty years it grew slowly, reflecting the growing traffic along the Gettysburg Pike. By 1845 it had spread out for a quarter mile along the road, anchored on two hills and filling the small defile in between. On the southernmost hill stood Jacob Culp's tavern and hotel, which would remain under varying ownerships well on toward the end of the century. On the northern hill sat the 1845 Union Church, a non-denominational house of worship open to all, and including within it a primary school. A general merchandise store appeared in 1822, serving not only the surrounding farmers, but also the inhabitants of the eighteen homes built on and between the hills, until it burned in 1873, to be replaced by another store, portions of which still stand as a private residence. The post office operated in this store well into the present century, until discontinued in the 1950s.

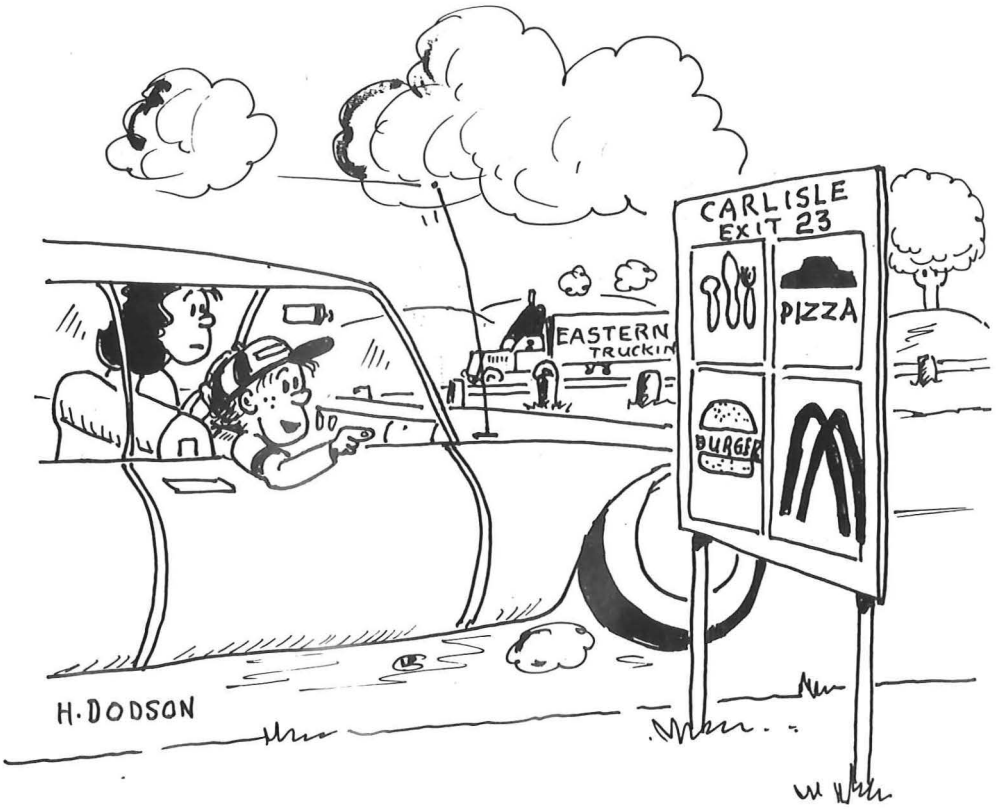
In the 1850s Allen Township built one of its eight identical brick one-room school houses immediately behind the Union Church, on what later became York Street, where it stood until torn down in the 1980s. Meanwhile, more business opened in the village. A substantial shoe store opened across from the general merchandise shop, a doctor became resident in the village, and another inn and tavern briefly operated.

In 1860 the focus of the village shifted to the northern hill when Abram Zook built what was then and still is the most imposing structure in Shepherdstown. At the summit of the hill, across York Street from the Union Church, he erected a huge three-story brick inn and tavern. Its original name is uncertain, but by the 1880s it was known as the Union Hotel, and thereafter as the Shepherdstown Hotel, and Hill Top Inn. Zook never operated the inn himself, but leased it to a tavern operator, as did most of its several subsequent owners. The inn also contained a two-level dry goods store, competing with the other stores in the village. Moreover, it became the focal point of village social functions, as well as for the surrounding area, thanks to its 1,500-square-foot third floor, a vast single room with an elevated stage at one end, that operators rented for public and civic fuctions.

Life in Shepherdstown differed little from that of other small villages along the pike. Visitors came and went constantly. Salesmen and "drummers" took up residence in the inns for a few nights to peddle wares to vicinity farmers. Telegraph lines running along the pike made the village a focal point for news, especially as the sectional crisis led to the Civil War. In 1861 townspeople gathered on the pike below the balcony of Zook's inn to hear the Declaration of Independence read, and for the next four years many an area planter walked into town from time to time to learn the latest, especially in June-July 1863 during the Gettysburg Campaign.

Following the war, life returned to normal for the village. Its commercial decline—such as it was—could be dated from Prohibition, when the Shepherdstown Hotel—the only remaining tavern—went out of business, and its store with it. The advent of automobiles, and the proximity to Mechanicsburg just three miles away, drove most of the remaining business from the other modest establishments in the village. By the 1920s the only businesses remaining were a small store and post office on the southern hill, and the Hill Top Inn, now a chicken and waffles restaurant. By the 1950s both were gone, though memories of the $1 "all you can eat" Sunday meals at Hill Top linger still among both residents of the area, and a startling number of others even outside the state.

Today all that remains are the private residences, some twenty-five of them, most dating in whole or part from 1860 and earlier. The old Union Hotel is also a private dwelling now, while the Union Church—which ceased to be used for services early this century—is an artist's studio. In 1976 Shepherdstown was declared a township Historic District by the Upper Allen Heritage Committee, in addition to which the Union Hotel has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. But for the heavy volume of modern traffic on the old Gettysburg Pike passing through it, Shepherdstown has returned to being just as sleepy a village as it was when the widow McFall and William Shepherd first settled here nearly two centuries ago.



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