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In This Issue

Contributions Solicited

The editor invites articles, notes, or documents on the history of Cumberland County and its people. Such articles may deal with new areas of research or may review what has been written and published in the past.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced. Citations should also be double-spaced; they should be placed at the end of the text.

Authors should follow the rules set out in the Chicago *Manual of Style.*

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

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Contributors

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Morris N. Shenk wrote a study of Crimes and Punishments in Provincial Pennsylvania, from which this is a portion, as a graduate student in history at Shippensburg University in 1962. He lives in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

William Thomas is a bibliophile and book collector of Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

The late George M. Diffenderfer had a unique career, as proprietor of a harness and leather business, service in the Air Force in World War II, and as a draftsmen at the Masland Company in Carlisle. In 1973 he donated to the Society a large collection of materials on the Carlisle Indian School, with which his father, pastor of the First Lutheran Church in Carlisle, had a long connection.

Christa Bassett Hess is librarian of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Crimes and Punishments in Provincial Cumberland County

Morris N. Shenk

It is impossible to compile an accurate list of crimes committed and punishments given during the provincial period because of incomplete records. There are instances where the record contains no more than the entry, "The King" v. the name of the defendant. In quite a number of cases it is not recorded whether the indictment was returned as a true bill or marked *ignoramus*. Some entries contain the name of the defendant, the fact that the indictment was returned a true bill, but make no mention of the disposition of the case. Many defendants were released on recognizance to appear at a later session, but a number of those released do not appear again in the records.

In spite of the incompleteness of the records, quite a variety of crimes are recorded in the five dockets covering the period. Assault and battery, and larceny appear more frequently than any other crimes, the former over two hundred times and the latter between one hundred and fifty and two hundred times. The incidence of crimes appearing most frequently is in the following order: assault and battery, larceny, keeping houses and taverns without license, crimes of immorality, riot, and trespass. Other crimes appearing one or more times include forgery, neglecting the highway, carrying liquor to the Indians, deceit, neglect of duty, threatening, cheat [sic], burglary, forcible entry, perjury, petty treason, nuisance, keeping a disorderly house, adultery, misdemeanor, breaking the Sabbath, and refusing to take the oath of a juryman.

Frontier conditions must have created an atmosphere conducive to making threats and beating individuals, for assault and battery appear so frequently. Even justices were called into court for the offense. At the July session of 1769, Justice James Elliot had a true bill of indictment for assault and battery returned against him. He pleaded not guilty and was released on recognizance of fifty pounds to appear at the next session. He failed to appear at the October

session and his recognizance was forfeited.[1] Justice William Thompson had a true bill of indictment for assault and battery returned against him at the July session of 1774. The disposition of the case is not indicated.[2] And at the April session of 1775, Justice William Elliot was fined six pence plus costs for the same offence.[3]

A defendant found guilty of assault and battery had to pay a fine, costs, and stand committed until judgment of the court was met. The largest fine given was ten pounds and the smallest six pence. The usual fines imposed were two shillings and six pence or six pence itself, both appearing about the same number of times.

Larceny also occurred very frequently but was punished much more severely than assault and battery. A person found guilty of larceny had to make restitution of the goods stolen or give a sum of money equal to the value of the goods stolen, pay a like sum to the governor, pay the costs of prosecution, receive a public whipping, and be committed until the judgment of the court was met. When lashes were a part of the punishment the court directed that they be given "on the bare back at the public whipping post well laid on." The number of lashes was at the discretion of the justices within the limits set by law. Twenty-one was the usual number given, but there are instances of five, seven, ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty, twenty-one, thirty, and thirty-nine lashes ordered by the court. There is record of over one hundred lashings administered during the provincial period.

Larceny was the first crime recorded at the first session held at Shippensburg. Bridget Hagan was sentenced by the court for stealing from Jacob Long. She was ordered to make restitution to Mr. Long in the sum of six pounds, seventeen shillings and six pence, pay a like sum to the Governor, pay costs of prosecution, received fifteen lashes, and be committed until fine and fees were paid.[4]

In the majority of cases the item stolen is not recorded, but the severest penalties were given to horse thieves. At the April session of 1752 a Mr. McKinney pleaded guilty to stealing a horse. He was ordered to make restitution in the value of eight pounds, pay a like fine to the Governor, receive twenty-one lashes, and be committed until fines and fees were paid.[5] Enock Nash was convicted by a jury at the October session of 1772 for stealing a horse. He was ordered to make restitution, pay a fine of the value of the horse stolen to the Governor, pay costs, spend one hour in the pillory, receive thirty-nine lashes, be imprisoned one month, and stand committed until the judgment of the court was met.[6] There are other entries involving horse thieves, but these are typical of the punishment given such offenders.

The third most frequent offense of keeping a tippling house, public house or tavern without license was punished by a fine. There was no variation in the

sentences because the law required a fine of five pounds.

Crimes involving immorality constitute the fourth largest category and yet represent only a small percentage of the crimes recorded. Sexual crimes were probably more frequent than the records indicate, and some cases were not prosecuted.

An incident is revealed in a voluntary examination under oath of Agnes Robinson before Justice James Oliver on November 16, 1773. According to her testimony, about the middle of April her brother and two others who had been fishing came into the house of James Semple. After she went upstairs to make their beds they came up and someone extinguished the candle. It was relighted and extinguished a second time. James Semple then threw her on the floor and had "carnal knowledge of her body." She testified that she became pregnant as a result of this episode.[7] There is no record that James Semple was ever prosecuted for this crime.

Fornication, and fornication and bastardy make up almost the entire total of sexual crimes and appear on the record over thirty times. Those found guilty were fined ten pounds, and the man was usually required to give security for the illegitimate child. An example is the sentence given James Mitchel who was found guilty at the April session of 1769.

> [The court ordered the defendant to] pay or Cause to be paid into the hands of Mary Steel the Mother of the said Bastard Child under whose Care the said Child is hereby ordered at the Rate of thirteen pounds per Annum Monthly until the said Child is two years Old & that a proportionate part thereof now become due be forthwith paid & when the said Child is Arrived at the age of Two full years that the Said James Mitchel Shall receive and take into his Care & Charge said Child and her to keep as not to become Chargeable to the Township an [sic] in the Maintime [sic] give Security to the Court for the due Performance of this Order.[8]

Riot was a common occurrence during the colonial era, and it is mentioned frequently in the minutes of the Governor's Council. It appears over twenty times in the court records of Cumberland County. Even justices participated as is evidenced by the incident involving William Smith as mentioned in Chapter IV. Another justice, John Armstrong, was accused of riot, and his name appears in the records of the April session of 1759. The case was apparently dropped, for there is a notation that "our sovereign Lord the King will not further prosecute.[9]"

It must have been difficult to prosecute for the crime of riot, for the records are very incomplete regarding the disposition of the cases. Those who were convicted or pleaded guilty were fined, and some were required to give security for their good behavior. The fines ranged from three pence to seven pounds

and twenty shillings.

The records reveal very little about trespass, the final crime in the list of crimes appearing most frequently. At least half the indictments for trespass were returned *ignoramus*. Those convicted were required to pay a fine.

Of the crimes appearing occasionally on the dockets, the disposition of the following is not clear: deceit, neglect of duty, threatening, cheat, and burglary. Fines were imposed for neglecting the highway, forcible entry, breaking the Sabbath (twenty shillings), and refusing to take the oath of juryman (ten shillings). In the cases of petty treason and adultery the indictments were returned *ignoramus*, and in the case involving perjury a jury returned a verdict of not guilty. The remainder of the crimes appearing infrequently, forgery, nuisance, keeping a disorderly house, misdemeanor, and carrying liquor to the Indians deserve special note.

Five cases of forgery are recorded. *Ignoramus* was marked on two of the indictments, and three were returned true bills. Of the three defendants against whom true bills were returned, one was found not guilty by a jury, and two were sentenced by the court. At the January session of 1774, Thomas Mathews was ordered to receive twenty-one lashes, stand in the pillory for one hour, pay the costs of prosecution, and stand committed, and at the January session of 1776, Richard Harden was fined six pence, ordered to receive twenty-one lashes, stand in the pillory one hour, pay costs, and be committed.[10]

Nuisance is listed in the dockets three times, but in none of the cases does it state the nature of the nuisance. It appears twice in 1774 and once in 1775. One indictment was marked *ignoramus* and two were returned true bills. At the January session of 1775, John Lamberton was ordered to pay five pounds to the supervisors of the roads of Middleton township and pay the costs of prosecution. The court further adjudged that the nuisance be abated.[11] In the other case, James Eattan and John Allen were fined fifty pounds each, ordered to pay the costs, and committed. Again the court ordered that the nuisance be abated.[12]

Two people were punished by the court for keeping a disorderly house. Martha Barclay was fined twenty shillings and ordered to spend two hours in the public stocks, and Mary Simonton was fined twenty shillings and ordered to spend one hour in the stocks.[13]

Misdemeanor appears in the records a number of times, but in only one instance is the specific crime mentioned. At the January session of 1768, John Anderson was found guilty by a jury of counterfeiting and altering money.[14] The sentence of the court was one of the severest given. He was ordered to receive twenty-one lashes on the 22nd of the month, and twenty-one again on the 29th; stand in the pillory for two hours; pay the costs of prosecution; give security for himself in two hundred pounds, and two good sureties in one hun-

dred pounds each for his good behavior for one year; and stand committed until the judgment was satisfied.[15]

The crime of carrying spirituous liquor to the Indians appears exclusively during the first several years of the period, and practically all the charges for the crime were brought at the July session of 1753. All fifteen entries at this session are for this crime. Four were indictments for carrying spirituous liquor to Indians outside the inhabited part of the province, while the remainder carried the general charge of carrying liquor to the Indians. Ten indictments were marked *ignoramus*, but the disposition of the other five is not stated.[16]

In nearly all cases, those appearing in court were placed in the custody of the sheriff until the costs of prosecution were paid. For some, this meant spending considerable time in jail or eventually being sold to satisfy the judgment of the court. There is record of twenty-two people who were ordered sold between the years 1750 and 1776. Where stated, the time for which the people were sold ranged from two to seven years. A few cases will illustrate the practice.

At a private session held May 24, 1766, Sheriff John Holmes made application to sell John Smith, Elizabeth Brooks, and Thomas Ezar to satisfy their restitution money, fees, and witnesses' expenses. He pointed out that the prisoners were "burthemsome and chargeable" to the county. The court ordered the sheriff to sell them out of the jail for a term of four years each for the highest price he could get.[17] John Smith and Elizabeth Brooks had been sentenced at the July session of 1765 and had spent ten months in prison, and Thomas Ezar had been sentenced at the October session of the same year remaining in prison seven months.

Two runaway servants, Charles Feeley and William Riley, were ordered to be sold to satisfy their prison fees and expenses at the July session of 1767. The court took this action because their masters had been notified "long ago" that they were in the "gaol" but had not come to claim them. The length of time for which they were sold is not recorded in the entry.[18]

A final illustration is the case of a man and his wife, Thomas and Margaret Plunket, ordered sold at a private session held August 7, 1767. They were sold for a term of three years to satisfy prosecution costs amounting to nineteen pounds, four shillings and four pence.[19]

An offense which frequently necessitated the attention of the court was the running away of indentured servants. These cases were usually heard at private sessions called as occasion demanded. The law specified that a servant absenting himself for the space of one day or more should serve five additional days for every day absent and make satisfaction to his master for damages and charges as the court saw fit.[20] Over fifty servants were ordered to serve additional time ranging from three months to four years. The first recorded case is illustrative

of court action.

> Upon application of John Montgomery It is Ordered and Adjudged that Margaret Craig Servant of the said John Montgomery do serve the said John Montgomery and his assigns the full Term of six Months over and above the time specified in her Indenture for Run away time, Charges & Expenses lost & sustained by the said John for & on Account of the said Margt & by means of her deserting his service.[21]

There are also five instances of additional time being given to indentured servants for giving birth to illegitimate children. One instance of twins being born is recorded. At a private session on August 23, 1766, a William Miller told the court that his servant, by her own confession, was delivered of two "base born" children at one birth. She was ordered to serve one additional year.[22] The additional time given in such cases ranged from one year to fifteen months. The law required not less than one year nor more than two at the discretion of the justices.[23]

The above discussion presents a rather clear picture of the extent and punishment of crimes that were not capital offenses. Unfortunately, the record of disposition of crimes punishable by death is very incomplete. The prothonotary's office in Philadelphia has no record of the cases tried during the provincial period. Sketchy information is contained in the *Colonial Records*, and private papers which are widely scattered. However, available records disclose that five executions were carried out and two pardons granted between 1750 and 1775.

The first hanging occurred September 28, 1765, when John Money went to the gallows for the murder of Archibald Gray on March 8, 1765. He had been tried at a court of Oyer and Terminer held at Carlisle on August 16, 1765, before Alexander Stedman, John Armstrong, and James Galbreath who had been assigned by special commission.[24]

Cornelius Connahy was the second person to go to the gallows. He was hanged January 13, 1770, for the murder of William King, having been sentenced at an Oyer and Terminer court held at Carlisle on November 29, 1769. The judges reported that Donnahy was an atrocious murderer and deserved no compassion.[25]

A transcript of a case by Jasper Yeates reveals a few details of the murder committed by Edward O'Neal who was the third person to be hanged. The transcript states that O'Neal thrust a knife into the right and left side of James Crowley's "belly and breast" making five wounds two inches wide and six inches deep. A jury found the defendant guilty, and the court sentenced him to be "hanged[26] by the neck until he be dead." His trial was held at Carlisle, June 5, 1771, before John Lawrence and Thomas Willing. The execution took place

July 24, 1771.[27]

The fourth and fifth hangings occurred July 16, 1774. On this day James Anderson went to the gallows for the murder of his son-in-law, William Barnet, and Peter Gillespie met the same fate for the murder of his wife, Bridget.[28]

According to the transcript of the Gillespie case, the defendant, "not having God before his eyes but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil," took a stick and inflected three mortal bruises two inches long and one inch wide upon his wife. He was found guilty by a jury and sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead.[29]

Giles Bower, alias Powell, is recorded as the first person pardoned in Cumberland County. He was given the death sentence for the crime of felony and burglary committed at the dwelling house of Ludwick Stull in Antrim township on August 2, 1766. His trial was held at Carlisle on May 17, 1768, before Justices William Allen, John Lawrence, and Thomas Willing. He was granted a pardon on June 13, 1768.[30]

Hugh Rippy was the recipient of the second and last pardon revealed in records of this early period. He was convicted at Carlisle for counterfeiting and passing dollars. His petition and the recommendation of several of the magistrates and other reputable inhabitants of the county representing him as an object of mercy and compassion were considered, and the Governor was advised to grant him a pardon. He was pardoned June 20, 1772.[31]

The number of people tried for capital offenses is impossible to determine, and the seven cases cited above do not represent the complete list. There is one entry in the court records for 1751 about a possible murder. At the April session Nehemiah Stover is listed on suspicion of the murder of Benjamin Moore, but whether he was every tried is not known, for no further reference to the case appears.[32] During the twenty-six years covered by this study there possibly were some acquittals, but there are no record of these. The complete story of this phase of crime in Cumberland County will probably never be known.

Indian Murders

Cumberland County was frontier territory during most of its provincial history, and the inhabitants lived in close proximity to the Indians. The majority of Indians moved farther west when land purchases were made from them by the government of Pennsylvania, but a number remained and lived among the white men. There were considerable tension and strife between the settlers on the frontier and the Indians of western Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War, but the relations between the inhabitants and the Indians who had settled among them were generally quite amicable.

There were two incidents which caused great concern on the part of the provincial authorities. Both involved the murder of Indians who were living among the whites, and the authorities were concerned lest the crimes would impair friendly relations with the Indians and cause them to make reprisals. No efforts were spared communicating the circumstances of the murders to the leaders of the Indians, assuring them that every effort would be put forth to apprehend and punish the guilty parties.

The first murder occurred near the town of Carlisle in the end of 1759 or the beginning of 1760. An Indian called Doctor John with his wife and two children had settled in Cumberland County in a hunting cabin along the Conodoguinet Creek near Carlisle. He had not lived in the area very long when he and his small son were found murdered and his wife and other child missing.[33] It was feared that they too had been murdered. The coroner conducted an inquest, and it was the opinion of the jury that they were wilfully murdered by some unknown people. A proclamation offering a reward of one hundred pounds for apprehending the murderers was issued by the Governor. A letter was also sent to Frederick Post asking him to inform Teedyuscung and the Indians at Wyomink of the deed, and to assure the chief that "no pains should be spared to discover and punish the authors."[34]

At a conference with Indian "relations" of Doctor John, held at Philadelphia on May 6, 1762, they were consoled and thanked for their peaceable behavior. The Governor made the following observation:

> Whilst there are wicked men in the World such accidents will happen both among White people and Indians, & some White People have been killed by Indians in several parts of the Province since the Peace, as well as a few Indians by White People, and that without any fault in those who conduct Publick Affairs on either side; These ought not to interrupt the Peace and Friendship that have been so happily restored between the English & Indians.[35]

There is no record that anybody was ever apprehended and punished for the crime.

The second murder which occurred January of 1768 not only gave concern to the authorities, but it placed a number of justices in Cumberland County in considerable difficulty. The murder is described in testimony sworn before William Allen, Chief Justice of the Province, who attended the Council of January 19, 1768, for the purpose of recording the deposition of William Blyth of Penn's Township. The information given under oath by Mr. Blyth is as follows:

> That hearing of the Murder of some Indians, by one Frederick Stump, a German, he went to the House of George Gabriel, where he understood Stump was, to enquire into the Truth of the matter; that he there met with Stump and several others, on the 12th of the present Month, January, and was there informed by the said Stump Himself, that on the Sunday Evening before, being the 10th day of the Month, six Indians, to Wit: the White Mingo, an Indian man named Cornelius, one other Man named John Campbell, one other Man named Jones, and two Women, came to his (Stump's) House, and being in Drink and Disorderly, he endeavoured to persuade them to leave his House, which they were not inclined to do, and he being apprehensive that they intended to do him some Mischief, killed them all, and afterwards, in order to conceal them, dragged them down to a Creek near his House, made a hole in the Ice, and threw them in; And that the said Frederick Stump further informed this Deponent that, fearing news of his killing the Indians might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next Day to two Cabbins about fourteen miles form thence, up Middle Creek, where he found One Woman, two Girls and one Child, which he killed, in order to prevent their carrying intelligence of the Death of the other Indians, killed as aforesaid, and afterwards put them into the Cabbins and burnt them; That this deponent afterwards sent four Men up the Creek, to where the Cabbins were, to know the Truth of the matter, who, upon their Return, informed him that they had found the Cabbins burnt, and discovered some remains of the Limbs of some Indians who had been burnt in them, and further saith not.[36]

Warrants were issued by the Chief Justice to the various officers of the law of the province, particularly to those in the counties of Cumberland, Lancaster, and Berks, for apprehending Stump and bringing him to justice. A reward of two hundred pounds was also offered for the apprehending of Stump, but the Governor was advised to delay publication of the reward until more secret means could be used to capture him lest he become aware of the reward and escape.[37]

The Governor was also advised to write to General Gage and Sir William Johnson informing them of the incident. Johnson was asked to communicate with the Six Nations assuring them that full satisfaction would be made for all

wrongs done and efforts made to preserve friendship.[38]

A letter dated January 19 was sent to the justices of Cumberland County by the Governor stating that the sheriff should be dispatched without delay to apprehend Stump and his servant who was with him when the women and children were murdered. The letter also directed the justices to have the coroner hold an inquest on the bodies that could be found and to give them a decent burial.[39]

Upon receipt of this letter the justices prepared a party of men to set out to apprehend Stump and his servant. However, before they left, the murderers were brought into Carlisle about 8 P.M. by Captain William Patterson and about twenty men from Juniata. In a letter to the Governor dated January 24, Justice John Armstrong related this information and stated that the sheriff would set out with the criminals in the morning.[40] However, a number of unforeseen events occurred and the prisoners never were taken to Philadelphia. Fear was expressed by some inhabitants that, if taken to Philadelphia, the prisoners would not be returned for trial to the county where the crime was committed. The justices considered the situation fraught with "a manifest Risque of complicated Evil," and Stump and his servant were kept in jail.[41]

The Governor was advised of the situation in a letter dated January 28 and written by John Armstrong, but he saw no reason to change his order. The sheriff was directed to take the prisoners to the border of the county and deliver them to the sheriff of Lancaster County so they could be taken to Philadelphia for examination.[42]

The order never was carried out, for on January 29, Stump and Ironcutter, his servant, were rescued from jail. John Armstrong and James Cunningham of Lancaster County were sitting at breakfast that morning when they saw a number of armed men surround the jail. Concluding that the men planned to rescue the murders they ran to the jail to prevent the attempt. Armstrong made his way to the door of the jail, and when he and the sheriff attempted to enter they were pushed back by members of the mob. The justice then stood on the steps and attempted by argument to foil the rescue. While Armstrong and several other justices who had arrived argued with the mob, several armed men appeared from within the jail with the two prisoners, pushed the officials aside and escaped from the town.[43]

When the Governor was advised of the incident he sent a letter to John Armstrong pointing out that if the justices had not interfered when the sheriff was about to execute his orders and carry the prisoners to Philadelphia, the unfortunate episode might have been avoided. He instructed the justice to assure the people concerned that the government never intended to try the criminals except in the county where the deed was performed, and to take the

measures necessary to apprehend the rescued prisoners and the rioters responsible for the act.[44]

Stump and Ironcutter were not apprehended, and on March 16, 1768, a new proclamation was issued by the Governor offering a reward of two hundred pounds for the capture of Stump and one hundred pounds for the capture of Ironcutter. The following description of the fugitives was also published:

> Frederick Stump, born in Heidleberg Township, Lancaster County, in Pennsylvania, of German Parents. He is about 33 Years of Age, five feet eight Inches High, a stout active Fellow, and well proportioned, of a brown Complexion, thin visaged, has small black eyes with a Down-cast Look, and wears short black Hair. He speaks the German language well, and the English but indifferently. He had on when rescued, a light brown Cloth Coat, A blue Great Coat, and old Hatt [sic], Leather Breeches, blue Leggings, and Mockasons.
>
> John Ironcutter, born in Germany, is about 19 Years of Age, five Feet six Inches high, a thick clumsy Fellow, round shouldered, of a dark Complexion, has a smooth full Face, Grey Eyes, wears short brown hair, and speaks very little English. He had on when rescued a Blanket Coat, an old Felt Hat, Buckskin Breeches, a pair of long Trowsers, coarse White Yarn stockings, and shoes with Brass Buckles.[45]

Justices John Armstrong, John Miller, and William Lyons were called before the Council in Philadelphia to answer questions regarding their conduct in handling the Stump and Ironcutter case. They appeared at several sessions of the council, and at the session of May 12, 1768, the Governor dismissed them with an admonition. It reviewed the circumstances of the incident and closed with the following words:

> Tho' the Transaction has not been proved in the aggravated Light in which it was represented to me, yet it was undoubtedly officious, and besides your Duty to interpose at all in the affair, as it was unjustifiable in the Sheriff to pay any Regard to your Interposition and your Conduct upon the Occasion, was in itself an Obstruction of Justice, and is not to be justified, however it may in some Measure be excused by the Motives of it. But, as I am satisfied from the Evidence, that both of you and the Sheriff were far from having any intention either to favour the Prisoners, or to offer the least Contempt to the Authority of the Chief Justice's Warrant, and that you acted for the best, in a Case of Perplexity, not expecting, but rather intending to prevent the Consequences which followed, I shall take no other Notice of the Matter than to admonish you for the future to be very careful, in confining your selves within the Bounds of your Jurisdiction, and not to interfere again in Matters which belong to a Superior Authority.[46]

Stump and Ironcutter never were apprehended and probably found refuge in Virginia.[47]

There is record of a third Indian murder, but this crime did not raise the same degree of apprehension as the two just described. An Indian, called "young" Seneca George, was shot on the west side of the Susquehanna near Middle Creek in 1769. A Peter Read, suspected of the murder, was apprehended and placed in the Lancaster jail. The Council suggested that a present of condolence should be sent to "old" Seneca George and other "relations" of the murdered man with a message of condolence from the government.[48] The present and message of sympathy were presented to the Indians at a conference held at Shamokin during the month of August.[49]

There is no record that any person or persons were ever punished for the three murders cited.

Notes

1. *Quarter Sessions Docket*, Book III & IV, 1765-1772, Part II, p. 61.
2. Ibid., Book V. 1772-1776, p. 155.
3. Ibid., p. 200.
4. Ibid., Book I & II, 1750-1765, Part I, p. 2.
5. Ibid., p. 22.
6. Ibid., Book V, 1772-1776, p. 30.
7. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Division of Public Records, Jasper Yeates papers, MSS group.
8. *Quarter Sessions Docket*, Book III & IV, 1765-1772, Part II, p. 49.
9. Ibid., Book I & II, 1750-1765, Part I, p. 80.
10. Ibid., Book V, 1772-1776, pp. 107 & 238.
11. Ibid., p. 173.
12. Ibid., p. 184.
13. Ibid., pp. 79 & 150.
14. Counterfeiting is a felony today and not a misdemeanor. However, in some cases, the term misdemeanor was used to refer to major offenses in this early period.
15. *Quarter Sessions Docket*, Book III & IV, 1765-1772, Part I, p. 122.
16. Ibid., Book I & II, 1750-1765, Part I, pp. 30-33.
17. Ibid., Book III & IV, 1765-1772, Part I, p. 28.
18. Ibid., p. 101.
19. Ibid., p. 102.
20. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX, p. 55.
21. *Quarter Sessions Docket*, Book I & II, 1750-1765, Part I, p. 89.
22. Ibid., Book III & IV, 1765-1772, Part I, p. 42.
23. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, CXXII, p. 182.
24. *Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, p. 282.
25. Ibid., pp. 631-632.

26. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania Misc., Reel #3, Microfilm made by the New York Public Library.
27. *Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, pp. 745-746.
28. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 181.
29. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania Misc., Reel #3, Microfilm made by the New York Public Library.
30. *Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, pp. 513-514.
31. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 50.
32. *Quarter Sessions Docket*, Book I & II, 1750-1765, Part I, p. 14.
33. *Colonial Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 712.
34. Ibid., p. 455.
35. Ibid., p. 712.
36. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 414-415.
37. Ibid., p. 415.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 417.
40. Ibid., p. 444.
41. Ibid., p. 445.
42. Ibid., p. 446.
43. Ibid., pp. 450-451.
44. Ibid., p. 452.
45. Ibid., pp. 489-490.
46. Ibid., p. 513.
47. Ibid., p. 486.
48. Ibid., p. 603.
49. Ibid., p. 611.

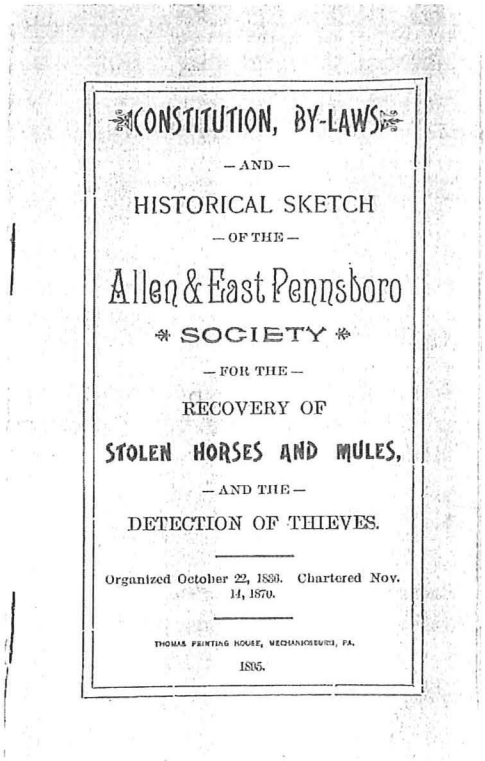
The Allen and East Pennsboro Society for the Recovery of Stolen Horses

William Thomas

Recently there has been increased interest in proposals to merge the several local police departments on the West Shore in order to improve efficiency and reduce crime. More than a century and half ago, when police forces were limited or non-existent, but a particular criminal act was not uncommon, citizens often banded together for their own defense. Thus on October 26, 1836, citizens of two Cumberland County townships formed an association they named The Allen & East Pennsboro Society for the Recovery of Stolen Horses and the Detection of Thieves. The name was later changed to include mules. (At this time there was a Cumberland County Society for the Detection of Horse Thieves, which seems to have covered the central and western parts of the county.)[1]

Horses and mules were not only valuable property in the nineteenth century but were essential, especially in rural communities, to travel and for hauling goods of all kinds to market. The loss of a horse, either because it strayed from its pasture or was stolen by a thief, was an acute embarrassment, especially to farmers and those who lived in small and scattered villages.

Accordingly, on the insistence of Dr. J. F. Stadinger a number of citizens of the northern portion of the county met at the public house of Frederick Kuster in Shiremanstown on September 24, 1836 and there formed an association for "mutual defense and assistance" in the recovery of horses and the detection of thieves. Daniel Sherban was named temporary president, and Levi Merkel was chosen secretary. The president, secretary, and William R. Gorgas were named a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws. "Whereas," the preamble read, "the stealing of horses and mules having become more frequent and daring, and ordinary precautions for the security of other property found inefficient, impressed with these considerations," this society was organized.



CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS

— AND —

HISTORICAL SKETCH

— OF THE —

Allen & East Pennsboro

SOCIETY

— FOR THE —

RECOVERY OF

STOLEN HORSES AND MULES,

— AND THE —

DETECTION OF THIEVES.

Organized October 22, 1836. Chartered Nov. 14, 1870.

THOMAS PRINTING HOUSE, MECHANICSBURG, PA.

1885.

Allen and East Pennsboro Society ... Constitution By-Laws and Historical Sketch... CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The group met again at Kuster's on October 26, approved the by-laws that Dr. Stadiger presented, and elected their permanent officers: William R. Gorgas, president; Jacob Rupp, secretary; Levi Merkel, treasurer; with Robert Church and Christian Stayman a Committee on Accounts. This committee was changed in 1854 to a Board of Managers, who were then John C. Dunlap, Joseph Mosser, John Sherrick, and George H. Sherban. Gorgas, a resident of Lower Allen Township, was one of the best known citizens of the area; a representative in the Pennsylvania Assembly and first president of the Beneficial Society of Shiremanstown. He served the Society also as secretary and a member of every important committee for nearly half a century. At the Society's semi-centennial in 1886, he was one of the two surviving original members.

The historian of the Society in 1886 boasted that it differed from many other societies of the time "in that neither age nor sex, wealth nor poverty, religion nor politics will prevent a person from becoming a member." In that year 12 women were members, although unmarried women members were not required to attend annual meetings.

The area over which the Society's protection extended was carefully defined: beginning at Goldsboro, thence along the Susquehanna River to the summit of the North Mountain, thence to Sterrett's Gap, thence to the County Poor House,

thence to Sheaffer's Mill, thence to Arnold's Mill, thence to Dillsburg, thence to Rossville, thence to Newberry, thence to the point of beginning. Original members of the Society who moved not more than three miles beyond these limits, remained under its protection. In 1886 the Society's protection extended to 50 miles.

The by-laws, as amended in 1886, indicate how the Society worked. It provided its members with "good brands, containing the letters A.E. at least three-fourths of an inch long . . . for branding on the [right front] hoof" and another brand, one and a half inches long, "for branding on the neck, under the mane." Any member whose horse was thus properly branded but not recovered within three months, might be compensated at 75% of the value of the lost animal (but not to exceed $200) as determined by a disinterested committee of three, chosen by the Board of Managers and the owner. For each horse or mule branded its owner paid the Society 50 cents. Membership fee was $3, raised in 1856 to $5. Changes and amendments to the by-laws were made in 1854, 1865, 1873, and 1886.

The early by-laws contain an instructive hint of the role such voluntary associations as the Allen and East Pennsboro Society played in educating and accustoming their members to parliamentary law and proper behavior. They required that anyone who left a meeting before adjournment should be fined 12 1/2 cents and that a penalty of 25 cents be levied "for talking or disturbing the meeting." The by-laws of 1886 read, "No member when speaking shall be interrupted, except by a call of order." The historian of the Society noted that "while there have been some careless and unruly members," it had "never been found necessary to impeach any of its officers." The president of the Society received $5 for each time he was called out to recover a stolen horse; and for their services the secretary received $10 and the treasurer $25 a year respectively.

The Board of Managers appointed several members each year as "detectives"—later called "riders"—as well as several "secret detectives." When a horse or mule was stolen, the owner was to call upon four or six men of his neighborhood to assist him in a search for the animal on penalty of a fine of $5 for refusing to go. For this service each detective would receive one dollar a day and five cents a mile. In 1886, upon recovery of the horse or mule and conviction of the thief, the detective received a reward of $50, to which the state, recognizing its duty to enforce the laws, added $20.

The first horse reported stolen belonged to Samuel Shoop in 1837; the history of the Society does not record whether it was recovered. But it is recorded that during the Society's first half century a total of 40 horses were stolen, all but six of which were recovered. Handbills describing the stolen beast were

1908 Official 1907

Detective Police Force and Officers

—OF THE—

Allen and East Pennsboro' Society

FOR THE RECOVERY OF

STOLEN HORSES AND MULES

And the Detection of Thieves

LIST OF RIDERS FOR 1908

Brenneman, V. C.
Seiber, A. E.
Totton, James M.
Moser, Henry G.
Zeamer, John H.
Koller, J. H.
Reed, A. H.
Westhafer, Grant
Nailor, J. R.
Bitner, E. H.
Reneker, Aaron B.
Swartz, John
Musser, J. B.
Mentzer, David
Myers, J. M.
Hoffman, B. F.

OFFICERS FOR 1908

A. G. Eberly, President
A. B. Harnish, Secretary
C. N. Owen, Vice President
H. B. Markley, Assistant Secretary
S. M. Hertzler, Treasurer

BOARD OF MANAGERS

C. Clendennin, 1 year
A. E. Sieber, 1 year
M S. Mumma, 1 year
C. H. Devinney, 2 years
F. H. Goodhart, 2 years
W. H. Reigle, 2 years

FINANCIAL STATEMENT DECEMBER 29, 1907

Balance on hand by statement, December 30, 1906		$3,886 51
Interest collected during 1907	$195 00	
Fines, memberships, fees, &c, during 1907	190 05	
		$385 05
Total		$4,271 56
Orders paid by Treasurer during 1907		194 20
Balance in Treasurer's hands December 29, 1907		$4,077 39
Of this balance, investment secured by mortgage	$1,900 00	
Interest certificate First National Bank	2,000 00	
Cash in Hands of Treasurer	177 36	
		$4,077 36

Audited by C. Clendennin and J. M. Hutton, Auditing Committee.

Your Attention is Called to the Following Four Requirements of the Constitution and By-Laws

FIRST. To be prepared to furnish an accurate description of stolen animal.

SECOND. To be able to furnish satisfactory evidence that the animal was brand with the Company's Brand when missing, and that the brand was visible.

THIRD. To immediately send out home riders with instructions to report to the President,f office on their return.

FOURTH. The owner of the horse to report in person to the President immediately after the home riders have been sent out, bringing with him a description of the missing animal and the evidence of its having been properly branded.

Handbill.....AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

printed and distributed. After the invention of the telegraph, officers and detectives were authorized to use that instrument.

The Society prospered. Membership, which was transferable, increased from the original number of 110 in 1836 to over 650 half a century later. The Society's treasury grew steadily, from $209 in 1842, to $665 in 1855, to $2388 in 1875. The Society was chartered on November 14, 1870. At its 50th annual meeting and dinner, held in Franklin Hall in Mechanicsburg on January 3, 1886, the secretary C.B. Niesley read a history, which the Society printed in its constitution and by-laws in 1895. Generally, presidents served a term of one year, but there were several exceptions: William R. Gorgas, the first president in 1836, was elected a second time three years later; Benjamin Mosser served four non-consecutive terms; and Dr. E. R. Brandt, a practicing physician of Mechanicsburg, who was elected in 1861 and re-elected the next year, was again elected and re-elected president for nineteen years from 1869 to 1888, when he was succeeded by William Penn Lloyd, a lawyer, former United States Collector Internal Revenue, and a veteran of the Civil War active in the G.A.R., who had a farm near Mechanicsburg.

The Society continued to function until the early twentieth century, as an official handbill of 1907-08 testifies. By this time, the automobile was replacing horses and mules, town police forces existed, and horse recovery societies, like that in Allen and East Pennsboro, were becoming primarily social organizations, held together by their treasury ($4077 in 1907) and convivial annual dinners.

Notes:

1. This account is based on *Constitution, By-Laws and Historical Sketch of the Allen & East Pennsboro Society for the Recovery of Stolen Horses and Mules, and the Detection of Thieves* (Mechanicsburg, PA, 1895) and a handbill *Official Detective Police Force and Officers of the Allen and East Pennsboro' Society . . .* ([Mechanicsburg, PA, 1907-08]), both of which are reproduced as illustrations.

Early Proverbs from Carlisle, Pennsylvania (1788-1821)

Mac E. Barrick

The present collection of proverbs began as an incidental by-product of a study on the life and times of Lewis the Robber, central Pennsylvania's folk-hero.[1] Examination of newspapers and other materials published in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, before 1820 revealed a wealth of proverbial material in dated occurrences prior to the starting date of Archer Taylor and Bartlett J. Whiting's *Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, 1820-80.*

The Hamilton Library Association in Carlisle possesses nearly complete files of early local newspapers so that a comparative collection of proverbs appearing between the years 1788-1820 was easily possible. The following Carlisle papers were consulted: *Carlisle Gazette* (later *Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*), August 6, 1788-July 27, 1791, Jan. 3, 1798-Dec. 28, 1804, Feb. 22, 1811, Jan. 27, 1815: *Carlisle Herald*, July 1, 1802 (first issue)-June 26, 1807; *Cumberland Register*, Sept. 20, 1805 (first issue)-Sept. 13, 1809; *American Volunteer*, Sept. 15, 1814 (first issue)-Dec. 27, 1821. A few miscellaneous papers existing in single copies or misbound with other volumes were also examined.

Shortly after the death of David Lewis the Robber on July 13, 1820, there appeared a spurious confession, purported to have been written and signed by him, but all evidence points to its having been written by John McFarland, a Carlisle printer and publisher of several newspapers.[2] The confession was first published in McFarland's *Carlisle Republican* beginning August 1, 1820, and was later issued in booklet form.[3]

* Reprinted from *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* (Fall, 1968), 193-217, by permission of the Center for Pennsylvania Culture Studies. Courtesy of Simon J. Bronner, Director.

A few proverbs and phrases occurring in this booklet are also listed below.

Most of the proverbs and phrases included here appeared in articles written by the editors themselves, or in pseudonymous letters to the editor. Many of the phrases were used as headlines, as indicated below. Just as today's editorial cartoonists use proverbs as titles or themes for their drawings, so these early publishers used them to editorialize about current political affairs. The use of Latin proverbs and learned allusions suggests that the level of education and cultural development of several of these editor-publishers was high. This is especially true of William and James Underwood, publishers of the *American Volunteer*, and of Archibald Loudon, publisher of the *Cumberland Register*.[4]

Interest in proverbs developed early among the Carlisle publishers. The *Carlisle Gazette* for March 18 and March 25, 1789, contained extensive listings of Poor Richard's proverbs in an article titled "On Oeconomy and Frugality." The *Cumberland Register* for May 19 and May 26, 1807, quoted at length from Franklin's *The Way to Wealth*:

God helps them that help themselves.

Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, for that is the stuff life is made of.

The sleeping fox catches no poultry, and there will be sleeping enough in the grave.

Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough always proves little enough.

Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry is easy; and he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.

Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hope will die fasting.

He that hath a trade, hath an estate; and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour.

Industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them.

Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then plough deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep.

Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow.

One to-day is worth two to-morrows.

There are no grains [sic] without pains.

Never leave that till to-morrow, what you can do to-day.

Constant dropping wears away stones; and by diligence and patience the

mouse eat in two the cable; and little strokes fell great oaks.
Employ thy time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure; and since thou art not sure of a minute throw not away an hour.
Many, without labour would live by their wits only, but they break for want to stock.
Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and now I have a sheep and a cow, everybody bids me good-morrow.
Three removes is as bad as a fire.
Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee.
If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.
The eye of the master will do more work than both his hands.
Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge.
Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open.
If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself.
A little neglect may breed great mischiefs.
A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, keep his nose all his life to the grind-stone, and die not worth a groat at last.
A fat kitchen makes a lean will.
If you would be wealthy, think of saving, as well as of getting.
What maintains one vice, would bring up two children.
A small leak will sink a great ship.
Who dainties love, shall beggars prove.
Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them.
Lying rides upon debt's back.
Rather go to bed supperless, than rise in debt.

(*Cumberland Register*, May 19, 1807)

Silks and sattins, scarlet and velvets, put out the kitchen fire.
A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees.
Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom.
If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing.
Pride breakfasted with plenty, dined with poverty, and supped with infamy.
Creditors have better memories than debtors, creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set days and times.
Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other.
They that will not be councelled cannot be helped.
Rember this saying, "The good paymaster is lord of another man's purse.

"It is easier to build two chimneys, than to keep one in fuel."
(*Cumberland Register*, May 26, 1807)

The *Carlisle Herald* for December 28, 1810, contains a compilation of sayings titled "MAXIMS OR EXPERIENCE which ought to be committed to memory as Rules of Conduct for Young Tradesmen":

A bad compromise is better than a successful lawsuit.
Always be found in your business if you wish to keep your customers.
A covetous man makes a halfpenny of a farthing, but a liberal man makes sixpence of it.
A civil word is as soon said as a rude one.
A quick landlord makes a careful tenant.
A wise man aims at nothing out of his reach.
A little kitchen maintains a large house.
All things are difficult to the slothful.
Beware of little expences.
Buy what you have no need of, and ere long you will have occasion to sell your necessaries.
Be not too hasty to outbid another.
Credit lost is like broken glass.
Credit is punctuality, and punctuality is wealth.
Consider slowly, and dispatch quickly.
Drive thy business; let not that drive thee.
Diligence is the mother of good luck.
Drinking water neither makes a man sick nor in debt.
Deride not the unfortunate.
Do what you must do to day, and do not leave it till tomorrow.
Every man for himself, and God for us all.
Every thing great is not always good, but all good things are great.
He that by the plough would thrive, himself must either hold or drive.
He is the only rich man who understands the use of wealth.
He who is idle, is tempted by a hundred devils.
He who pays well, is master of every body's purse.
He who is used to do kindnesses, finds them when he stands in need.
He who loses an hour in bed in the morning, is employed all the rest of the day running after it.
He that sows thistles, cannot expect to reap wheat.
Industry is the right hand, and frugality the left hand of fortune.
Industry and perseverance overcome all difficulties.

Idleness in youth causes a painful and miserable old age.
If you would know the worth of a guinea, go and borrow one.
Keep your shop, and your shop will keep you.
Nothing is good but what is honourable.
Nothing venture, nothing have.
Never sign a writing till you have read it.
One hour's sleep before midnight, is worth two hours after.
Obliging language costs little, and does much good.
Promise little, but perform what you promise.
Quick returns and small profits.
Real friends visit us in prosperity, when invited; but in adversity, they come of their own accord.
Sweep your own door for seven years after you begin trade, and in twice seven years you may ride in your carriage.
The word of a merchant is his bond.

These early newspapers contain a considerable number of historical and humorous anecdotes in which proverbial phrases occasionally figure, and these have been included in their entirety in the collection below. Only once, however, is an attempt made to explain the origin of a phrase:

Anecdote

"A man was hanged for leaving his liquor behind him."

As the above sentence is universally expressed among the **tiplers**, it may not be improper to indulge them with the origin of it; as nothing is more disagreeable than making use of a term without understanding its designation.

Prior to the year 1677, every convict going to execution to Tyburn, was entitled to a gill of wine, at the wine-tavern in Holborn. In the month of October in the above year, Denis O'Connor, going on the journey, and somewhat offended with the gross familiarity of the **gentleman** who was to launch him into eternity, ordered the cart to drive on, as he was not dry, and did not wish that Mr. Ketch should moisten his clay at his expense.—The cart was accordingly drove on; and before the unhappy culprit had hung so long as was equal to the time generally delayed while drinking the wine, a reprieve arrived; but too late to effect his recovery.—Hence the origin of the above expression.

(*Carlisle Gazette*, May 20, 1789)

For comparative purposes, indication has been made of the listings of the following proverbs in three collections of dated occurrences, Burton Stevenson's

Home Book of Proverbs (New York, 1948), Taylor and Whiting's *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Morris P. Tilley's *Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950). No further attempt has been made to multiply references. With the possible exception of the phrases "To shame a liar tell a greater lie," which, it is suggested, was originated by George Kline, publisher of the *Gazette*, all of these proverbs must have existed (at least orally) before the dates indicated here, but many of these dates, for lack of earlier sources, will stand as the earliest occurrence of the phrases in America.

abundance Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh (*Volunteer*, Sept. 28, 1820). Matt. 12:34; Luke 6:45. Stevenson 1111:10; Taylor-Whiting 2; Tilley A13.

actions Actions speak louder than words (*Gazette*, Mar. 17, 1802; *Volunteer*, Mar. 28, 1816); "Actions speak louder than words," says the wise man (*Volunteer*, Aug. 31, 1820). Stevenson 11:7, 2616:11; Taylor-Whiting 3.

Adam's Ale A spring that never yet grew stale; / Such virtue lies in Adam's Ale (*Gazette*, Mar. 9, 1791); Adam's Ale [poem title] (*Volunteer*, June 13, 1816). Stevenson 51:9; Taylor-Whiting 3. Cf. Arty Ash and Julius E. Day, *Immortal Turpin* (London, 1948), p. 144.

air See *trifles*

almanac It would be laid up with last year's almanac [i.e., as of no more value] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 7, 1820).

appearances Appearances often deceive us (*Volunteer*, Aug. 5, 1819). Stevenson 83:2; Taylor-Whiting 7; Tilley A285.

apples But he passes with the crowd, and may well say in the language of the . . . . . in the fable, "Oh! how we apples Swim." (*Herald*, July 16, 1813). Stevenson 86:2; Taylor-Whiting 8; Tilley A302.

April showers Her tears were like an April shower, through which the cheerful sun soon broke (*Confession*, p. 22).

ass May they be considered as asses in lions skins (*Volunteer*, May 11, 1815). Stevenson 101:7; Tilley A351.

bacon Take advice now—save your *bacon* (*Volunteer*, Nov. 7, 1816). Stevenson 114:4; Taylor-Whiting 14; Tilley B24.

beam 1. This dreadful denunciation will certainly make the old gentleman *kick the beam*. (*Gazette*, May 26, 1802).

2. One who was himself somewhat addicted to drink, undertook to reprove his neighbour, a German, for the same failing. The German thinking to reprove the reprover, by that precept of Scripture which teaches us to mend our faults before we censure those of others, said, "das ish all gute friend, aver I tink as you had better pull out *de rafter* from your own eyes, before you look of de beam das is in your neighbours." (*Register*, June 30, 1807). Luke 6:41. Stevenson 780:2; Taylor-Whiting 18; Tilley M1191.

bee It is whispered that even some of our *peace officers* get on the staging which surrounds the *tub* and take a sly *dip* or two, and come drizzling out like merinos from the washing, or bees from a tar barrel (*Volunteer*, Feb. 29, 1816). Taylor-Whiting 22: As bisy as bees in a tar-barrel.

bird 1. He sticks to the old adage—"A bird in the hand is worth two in a bush." (*Volunteer*, Sept. 14, 1820). Stevenson 181:3; Taylor-Whiting 27; Tilley B363.

2. You know the old song goes:—"April they build, / May they lay, / June they tune, / July they fly." (*Herald*, Dec. 30, 1814).

3. Birds of a feather should flock together (*Volunteer*, Dec. 14, 1815); Birds of a feather flock together (*Volunteer*, Sept. 24, 1818). Stevenson 1430:3; Taylor-Whiting 28; Tilley B393.

4. The cage was found but the birds were flown (*Herald*, July 6, 1820). Stevenson 178:7; Taylor-Whiting 29; Tilley B364.

5. We shall, as soon as we can find room, notice the different celebrations, in such a way as will afford "a bird's eye" view at least, to our readers (*Volunteer*, July 16, 1818).

blind man He's a blind man that can't see through a _____[obscenity?] (*Volunteer*, Apr. 12, 1821). Stevenson 197:4: He is blind enough who sees not through the holes of a sieve. Cf. Taylor-Whiting 212, s.v. *ladder*.

bone Here is a bone for his ex-majesty's subjects in Boston to gnaw upon (*Gazette*, Oct. 29, 1813). Stevenson 213:7; Tilley B522. Cf. Taylor-Whiting 37.

book A great book is a great evil (*Volunteer*, Feb. 8, 1821). Stevenson 216:3; Tilley B530.

bottle Able to "crack a bottle" with the best of them (*Confession*, p. 26).

brave None but the brave shall have the fair (*Volunteer,* June 29, 1815). Dryden, *Alexander's Feasts* None but the Brave deserves the Fair. Stevenson 435:10.

breeches The wife wore the breeches (*Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1798). Stevenson 2506:4; Taylor-Whiting 42; Tilley B645.

broom A New Broom Sweeps Clean [headline] (*Volunteer*, Apr. 12, 1821). Stevenson 246:12; Taylor-Whiting 44; Tilley B682.

bud The hopes of Holland are nipped in the bud. (*Gazette,* Mar. 18, 1814). Stevenson 245:10; Taylor-Whiting 45; Tilley B702.

business Another pithy adage is here directly in point—'What's every body's business is no body's business.' (*Herald*, Aug. 31, 1810). Stevenson 260.6; Taylor-Whiting 49; Tilley B746.

cap When a cap among a crowd is thrown, / Let him wear it that puts it on. (*Herald*, Oct. 26, 1804).

care They will discover the truth of the old adage "Care for nobody, and nobody will care for you." (*Herald*, June 28, 1811). Stevenson 287:4.

cat Miss Puss was let out of the bag (*Gazette,* March 14, 1798); The Cat let out of the Bag [headline] (*Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1803); The Cat out of the Bag [headline]. (*Volunteer*, May 22, 1819). Stevenson 295:6; Taylor-Whiting 61. Cf. Tilley C170: To buy a cat in a poke.

cents Take care of the cents and the dollars will take care of themselves (*Herald*, June 21, 1811). Stevenson 1772:4; Taylor-Whiting 279; pence, pounds.

Cerberus The obliging landlord usually watched the door like a faithful "Cerberus" to prevent intrusion (*Confession*, p. 27).

chaff His eloquence alone, would have driven the whole British fleet from our shores like chaff before the wind (*Volunteer*, Aug. 10, 1815).

child 1. A burnt child is afraid of the fire—Those who have once been taken in, are slow to confide again. (*Herald,* May 14, 1813); A burnt child

dreads the fire (*Volunteer,* March 9, 1815). Stevenson 727:2; Taylor-Whiting 68; Tilley C297.

2. "Train up a child," said the wisest of men, "in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." (*Volunteer,* June 22, 1820). Proverbs 22:6. Stevenson 340:1. Cf. Taylor-Whiting 68.

chip "Old Ironsides"—always victorious—may our national ships be chips of the old block (*Volunteer,* June 15, 1815). Stevenson 345:14; Taylor-Whiting 69; Tilley C352.

cobbler The Major . . . observed, that "every *cobler* might be d——d who wouldn't stick to the *last.*" (*Register,* Jan. 20, 1807). Stevenson 2098:4; Taylor-Whiting 75; Tilley C480.

cobbler's lapstone Old grandfather Time, so far as I have seen him pictured in all the editions of the New-England primer, is as bald as a cobler's lapstone (*Herald,* June 21, 1811).

cock 1. It's an old saying, that "as the old cock crows, the young one learns." (*Volunteer,* Apr. 10, 1817). Stevenson 374:9; Taylor-Whiting 75; Tilley C491.

2. He determined to die hard, to die like a cock (*Gazette,* Dec. 10, 1788).

communications Evil communications corrupt good morals (*Volunteer,* Sept. 21, 1820). I Corinthians 15:33: manners. Stevenson 390:5; Taylor-Whiting 78; Tilley C558.

crime Crime begets crime, and one crime furnishes an apology for another (*Confession,* p. 17). Erasmus, *Adagia*: Noxa item noxam parit. Cf. Stevenson 453:7; Tilley C826.

crow There was, in other words, more "crow than carrion" (*Herald,* June 7, 1805).

cry Great Cry and Little Wool [headline] (*Gazette,* Aug. 19, 1801); "Much cry and little wool," said his satanic majesty when he shaved the *pig* (*Volunteer,* Sept. 26, 1816). Stevenson 465:14; Taylor-Whiting 86; Tilley C871.

cured You very well know the old proverb says "what can't be cured must be endured" (*Herald,* Nov. 1, 1811). Stevenson 683:12; Taylor-Whiting 87; Tiley C922.

curiosity The "friendly visitors" to General Hampton's camp, begin to find out the truth of the old saying, that "there is no knowing *how far* curiosity will carry those who give way to it." (*Gazette,* Nov. 26, 1813).

daggers The silent rebuke of her heart searching eye, spoke daggers to my soul (*Confession*, p. 5). Stevenson 479:3, 1451:5; Taylor-Whiting 90: look daggers.

dark Our correspondents on the subject, seem determined to keep us in the dark! (*Volunteer*, Jan. 19, 1815). Taylor-Whiting 91. Cf. Stevenson 487:4.

day As clear as day (*Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1802). Stevenson 363:1; Taylor-Whiting 92; Tiley D56.

dead It has been said, that "it is rascally to speak ill of the dead" (*Volunteer*, Sept. 3, 1818). Stevenson 520:7; Taylor-Whiting 94; Tiley D124.

death 1. Death before dishonour, was his motto (*Volunteer*, June 4, 1818).
2. Death levels all distinction [headline] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 7, 1815). Stevenson 513:4-5; Tilley D143.

debtor It is an old saying that the "debtor is a slave to the creditor" (*Herald*, Jan. 17, 1812). Stevenson 531:7.

deel Irishmen! One and all of you—keep mind of the good old maxim: "an *old* kenn'd deel, is better than a *new* kenn'd deel." (*Volunteer,* Apr. 17, 1817).

delays It is an old maxim . . . that "*Delays are dangerous*" (*Volunteer*, Jan. 18, 1816). Stevenson 546:7; Taylor-Whiting 96; Tilley D195.

democrats One of the *pious* federal priests of New England, the *rev.* Mr. Jennings, of Dalton, Massachusetts, . . . lately asserted in his pulpit that "if all democrats were not horse thieves, all horse thieves were democrats" (*Volunteer*, July 13, 1815).

Denmark Something Rotten in the State of Denmark [headline] (*Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1801); We may then see, whether or no all has been right "in the state of Denmark" (*Herald,* Jan. 26, 1803); There is something Rotten in Denmark [headline] (*Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1820). *Hamlet*, I, iv, 90. Stevenson 2210:4.

devil 1. He will fight like the devil, for he has not a farthing left (*Register*, Nov. 5, 1805).
2. For it is a good old maxim "Give even the devil his due."

(*Herald,* July 26, 1805); "Give the Devil his due."—Adage. (*Herald,* July 16, 1813). Stevenson 568:1; Taylor-Whiting 100; Tilley D273.

3. Let the devil take the hindmost (*Herald,* Mar. 1, 1811). Stevenson 2058:10; Taylor-Whiting 99; Tilley D267.

4. The Devil can cite scripture for his purpose (*Herald,* Mar. 22, 1805). *Merchant of Venice,* I, iii, 99. Stevenson 566:2; Taylor-Whiting 98; Tilley D230.

5. There will be the Devil to Pay in the West Indies! (*Register,* May 31, 1809). Stevenson 561:2; Taylor-Whiting 99; Tilley D268.

6. See also deel.

diamond Diamond Cut Diamond [headline] (*Volunteer,* Jan. 5, 1815; Nov. 26, 1818). Stevenson 570:12; Taylor-Whiting 101; Tilley D323.

die The die is cast (*Gazette,* Mar. 7, 1798; *Register,* May 6, 1806). Stevenson 572:6; Taylor-Whiting 102; Tilley D326.

dirt He cares no more for them than the dirt under his feet (*Volunteer,* Sept. 11, 1817).

discretion He thought with Falstaff, "discretion is the better part of valor" (*Volunteer,* Nov. 24, 1814). Stevenson 584:6; Taylor-Whiting 103; Tilley D354.

divide "Divide and destroy," has long been a favorite maxim with the enemies of equal government (*Gazette,* Oct. 6, 1802). Stevenson 1014:5, Tilley D391: Divide and rule.

do The well known maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se* (*Gazette,* Jan. 14, 1801). Stevenson 535:9.

doctor Who shall decide when Doctors disagree? (*Volunteer,* Aug. 26, 1819). Pope, *Moral Essays.* Stevenson 594:2.

dog The oldschool party are getting along in this place, as harmoniously as dog and cat in a pantry, fighting about bones and cream (*Volunteer,* Aug. 24, 1820). Stevenson 48:9, 302:5; Taylor-Whiting 61-62; Tilley S165.

doornail Once let a quack doctor get foul of you, and ten to one, you are "dead as a door nail" (*Volunteer,* March 2, 1819). Stevenson 507:17; Taylor-Whiting 109-110; Tilley D567, to which add: James Mabbe, tr., *The Spanish Bawd* (1631), p. 189: hee is as dead as a doore-nayle.

dove They are "wise as serpents" and not "harmless as doves" (*Volunteer*, Feb. 19, 1818). Matthew 10:16. Tilley D572.

drug For some years back, town lots have been a mere drug (*Register*, July 29, 1806); It would seem that it is, as it ought to be, becoming a *drug* even among themselves (*Volunteer*, July 21, 1821). Taylor-Whiting 112.

duck Dived like a duck (*Volunteer*, Sept. 18, 1817).

dust The following are some further particulars respecting the last moments of marshall Ney. When the judgement was announced to him, he said, 'it would have been more military to have said, you are to bite the dust.' (*Volunteer*, Feb. 15, 1816). Stevenson 647:3; Taylor-Whiting 113. See also ground.

effects Great effects from trivial causes flow [headline] (*Volunteer*, Feb. 29, 1816).

end 'The end justifies the means.' The ultra Federal papers exhibit their adoption of this maxim. (*Volunteer*, June 5, 1817). Stevenson 681:11; Taylor-Whiting 120; Tilley E112.

enemy We have met the enemy and they are ours [epigraph over article dealing with the battle of Lake Champlain] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 22, 1814). Stevenson 687:5.

err "To err is human," but to presist in error is diabolical (*Volunteer*, Apr. 10, 1817). Stevenson 707:18; Tilley E179.

evil 1. "Evil be to him who evil thinks"—is an old adage (*Volunteer*, Apr. 17, 1817). Stevenson 712:16.

2. One asked his friend, why he, being so proper a man himself, had married so small a wife? Why, friend, he said, I thought you had known that of all evils we should chuse the least. (*Gazette*, July 10, 1799). Stevenson 716:2; Taylor-Whiting 122: Tilley E207. Cf. Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor* (c. 1343), st. 1617: Del mal, tomar lo menos: diselo el sabidor: Por end' de las mugeres la menor es mijor!

eyes 1. Wer Augen hat zu sehen, der sehe! [headline] (*Unpartheyische Americaner* [Carlisle], Sept. 13, 1809). Cf. Matthew 11:15: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

2. The American Indians have many curious proverbs, one of which is, "the man that turns in his eyes would turn out his friends" (*Herald*, May 2, 1804).

fashion I shall always keep in view that excellent old saying, more admired by me than the best of Solomon's proverbs, viz. that "one may as well be *dead* as out of the *fashion*" (*Herald*, Jan. 18, 1811). Stevenson 762:2.

feathers Feathers shew how the wind blows [headline] (*Herald*, Oct. 13, 1802). Stevenson 792:4; Taylor-Whiting 357: straws; Tilley S924: straws.

fig A fig for your foreign intelligence (*Herald*, June 7, 1805). Stevenson 797:6; Taylor-Whiting 131-132; Tilley F210.

fight Those when to fight do run away / May live to fight another day (*Gazette*, July 3, 1799); If they do "run away," it is evident "they live to fight another day" (*Herald*, Sept. 14, 1810). Stevenson 800:9; Taylor-Whiting 132; Tilley D79.

finger But 'tis the very deel to buy; / Yet have no finger in the pye (*Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1799). Stevenson 805:5; Taylor-Whiting 133; Tilley F228.

fish Swam like a fish (*Volunteer*, Sept. 18, 1817). Stevenson 2262:5; Taylor-Whiting 136; Tilley F328.

fleas Fleas are always drawn larger than llife [headline] (*Herald*, Aug. 16, 1811). Stevenson 830:19.

fly "Lord! what a dust we raise!"—said the fly on the chariot wheel (*Herald*, Aug. 23, 1811). Stevenson 837:7.

for He that is not for us is against us! [headline] (*Herald*, July 12, 1805). Matthew 12:30; Mark 9:40; Luke 9:50, 11:23. Stevenson 2407:8.

French leave As we predicted, the bell-weather of democracy, J.T. Haight, Esq. on Sunday night last, took "a French leave," or more properly speaking, rode off into the night without informing his creditors when or where they may find him (*Herald*, Sept. 14, 1803); [I] left the room unnoticed, taking a French leave of the company (*Confession*, p. 22); I took a French leave of him (*Confession*, p. 49); I took "French leave" of my master (*American Farmers' Almanac* [Hagerstown, Md.] 1831). Stevenson 1380:2; Taylor-Whiting 146.

frying pan This is what is termed getting out of the *frying pan* into the *fire* (*Volunteer*, July 16, 1818); If Bredin be elected, it will be out of the frying pan into the fire (*Volunteer*, Aug. 13, 1818). Stevenson 814:1; Taylor-Whiting 147-148; Tilley F784.

gadding As an old proverb says, "She's delighted in gadding abroad" (*Volunteer*, July 12, 1821). Stevenson 922:7.

Germany Among themselves they [New England peddlers] called it *lifting Germany*, when their plans succeeded and their tricks escaped detection (*Confession*, p. 18).

gizzard A carpenter of a ship lost a saw, and his suspicion fell on a negro boy, who was the captain's servant. He could not, however, ascertain it. Some days afterwards, as he was worklng, he muttered to himself, 'That damned saw still sticks in my gizzard.' Pompey, overhearing this, ran to his master's cabin quite overjoyed; 'O Massa!' says he 'me so glad!' 'What's the matter Pompey?' 'Massa carpenter found him saw.' "Ah! Where?' 'Massa, he say him tick in him gizzard.' (*Herald*, Apr. 4, 1804). Stevenson 961:10; Taylor-Whiting 85: crop.

glass My "glass was nearly run" (*Confession*, p. 48). Tilley G132.

glory Sic transit gloria mundi (*Volunteer*, March 2, 1819). Stevenson 963:5.

good Too good to be true [headline] (*Volunteer*, July 18, 1816). Stevenson 994:3; Taylor-Whiting 155; tilley N156.

grapes 1. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? (*Volunteer*, Feb. 19, 1818). Matthew 7:16. Stevenson 919:5; Tilley G411.
2. Sour Grapes [headline] (*Volunteer*, May 23, 1816). Stevenson 1021:2; Taylor-Whiting 158; Tilley F642.

green hand The Vermontese, were too much like their ancestors the Yankees, to permit a "green hand" like me to impose upon their credulity (*Confession*, p. 34). Stevenson 1039:15.

ground Poor Dunn and Jones, having rashly entered the lists, "dying bit the ground" (*Herald*, Dec. 1, 1802). Cf. *dust*, above.

gun Sure as a gun, M'Gossip is caught in his own snare (*Volunteer*, Apr. 17, 1817). Stevenson 2249:11; Taylor-Whiting 164; Tilley G480.

handwriting Oh! For a Daniel to interpret 'the hand writing on the wall' (*Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1817). Stevenson 2652:4.

head 1. There must be many, "empty heads and full purses"

(*Confession*, p. 26).

2. Over head and ears in debt (*Gazette,* Feb. 18, 1789). Stevenson 1093:8; Taylor-Whiting 176-177; Tilley H268.

heels He went heels-over-head to the foot of the dung heap (*Volunteer*, July 27, 1820). Stevenson 1123:9; Taylor-Whiting 180.

hell 1. They proclaim their wishes and determination as did Milton's devil—"Better to *reign* in hell, than *serve* in heaven." (*Volunteer,* Sept. 3, 1818*). Paradise Lost*, bk. I, 1. 263. Stevenson 1120:10.

2. A blacksmith in a neighbouring town, while shoeing a horse, was gazed at by a number of Negroes as they were passing by; being a little piqued at being the object of the blacks attention and attempting to cast a slur upon them, said, "I believe hell's broke loose."—Yes Massa (says one) I see de devil got hold de horse's foot. (*Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1789). Stevenson 1125:9; Taylor-Whiting 180; Tilley H403.

history History is philosophy, teaching by example (*Gazette*, Jan. 27, 1815). Stevenson 1143:7.

hollow This beats Bredin, *hollow*! (*Volunteer*, Oct. 8, 1818). Taylor-Whiting 186.

honesty Honesty is the best policy (*Herald*, Nov. 22, 1811, Dec. 22, 1811; *Volunteer*, July 20, 1815, Sept. 10,1818, March 1, 1821); Thinks I to myself, surely "honesty is not the best policy" (*Confession*, p. 15). Stevenson 1155:2; Taylor-Whiting 186; Tilley H543.

honour 1. "Give honour where it is due" (*Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1803). Stevenson 1163:13.

2. Honour among Rogues [headline] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 2, 1819). Stevenson 2296:13; Taylor-Whiting 187.

hope Hope deferred maketh the heart sick (*Volunteer*, May 25, 1815). Proverbs 13:12. Stevenson 1168:3; Taylor-Whiting 188; Tilley H600.

horn Dinner being ready, the horn blowed, and we dropped the subject (*Volunteer*, March 22, 1821): Still used figuratively (Aug., 1964): The bugle-horn blew [i.e., dinner's ready].

horse The five villains who then escaped are now all horse de combat (*Volunteer*, July 20, 1820).

house 1. He that lives in a Glass House should be careful how he throws stones (*Volunteer*, July 17, 1817). Stevenson 1193:2; Taylor-Whiting 194; Tilley H789.

2. *The Treasury.*—This is the House that Jack built. / *The Cash in the Treasury.*—This is the Malt that lay in the House that Jack built. / *The Legislature.*—This is the Rat that eat the Malt that lay in the House that Jack built. / *The People.*—This is the Cat that caught the Rat that eat the Malt that lay in the House that Jack built. (*Herald*, March 4, 1814).

hung "He that is born to be hung will never be shot." This old adage I do not recollect ever having seen applied in a case of imminent danger, except in the following instance (*Herald*, Jan. 8, 1813). Stevenson 1066:2; Taylor-Whiting 39; Tilley B139.

hush-money With democrats there should be no hush-money secrets (*Herald,* Feb. 2, 1803).

iron 1. M'Farland is really a terrible and afflicting ulcer upon you—having to boot, so many other irons in the fire (*Volunteer*, Nov. 15, 1821). Stevenson 1255:4; Taylor-Whiting 201; Tilley 199.

2. With the nerves of a Sampson, this son of a sledge, / By the anvil his livelyhood got, / With the skill of a Vulcan could temper an edge, / And strike—while the iron was hot (*Register*, Dec. 31, 1805); Enable us to strike while the iron is hot (Volunteer, Mar. 30, 1815). Stevenson 1256:11; Taylor-Whiting 201; Tilley 194.

Jack By trade a Jack of all trades (*Volunteer*, Sept. 7, 1820. Stevenson 1259:1; Taylor-Whiting 202; Tilley J19.

jackass They are as ignorant as jack asses (*Volunteer*, Oct. 8, 1818).

jack-straw *Jack-straw-man* are certain characters who, for a sum of money, can be procured to swear any thing told them (*Volunteer*, Aug. 20, 1818).

jig The Jigg's Up [headline] (*Gazette,* Dec. 31, 1800); Then said the other, *the jig's up* (*Volunteer,* Sept. 11, 1817); The jig's up (*Volunteer*, Nov. 20, 1817; March 26, 1818). Taylor-Whiting 204.

Jonathan I found "brother Jonathan" shrewd, intelligent and full of anecdote

(*Confession,* p. 18). Stevenson 60:6.

judge, sb. If in the judgment of Mr. Jefferson, high crimes and misdemeanors have been committed, let him remember this excellent maxim, *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur* (*Herald*, March 28, 1804). Publius Syrus, *Sententiae*, no. 296. Stevenson 1278:6.

judge, vb. Judge not, least you be Judg-ed [headline] (*Register*, Oct. 7, 1806). Matthew 7:1. Stevenson 1279:3.

know Let him begin with himself—"know thyself," is a wise maxim (*Volunteer,* Nov. 24, 1814). Stevenson 2066:4; Tilley K175.

laborer The labourer is worthy of his hire (*Herald*, Dec. 13, 1805; *Volunteer*, March 1, 1821). Luke 10:7. Stevenson 1339:9; Taylor-Whiting 212; Tilley L12.

land "If all the land was paper, And all the sea was ink," It would still be impossible for us to comply with the demands of the public (*Herald*, June 7, 1805).

late Better late than never (*Herald*, Jan. 11, 1805); Volunteer, Jan. 22, 1818). Stevenson 1348:5; Taylor-Whiting 215; Tilley L85.

leaf The times will continue hard, until the people turn over a new leaf (*Volunteer*, Aug. 8, 1816); When seated, then soon a new leaf I'll turn over (*Volunteer*, Aug. 14, 1817). Stevenson 1374:1; Taylor-Whiting 217; Tilley L146.

learning A little learning is a dangerous thing (*Herald*, Dec. 10, 1813). Pope, *Essay on Criticism.* Stevenson 1377:1; Taylor-Whiting 217.

leopard Can the leopard change its spots, or the tyger its skin? (*Volunteer*, Sept. 7, 1820). Jeremiah 13:23. Stevenson 1673:6; Taylor-Whiting 218; Tilley L206.

letter I thought it remarkable that the provision . . . should remain a *dead letter* (*Confession*, p. 42). Taylor-Whiting 218.

liar To shame a liar tell a greater lie (*Kline's Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1798); "To shame a liar, tell a greater lie" [headline] (*Volunteer*, Oct. 17, 1816); We intended to adhere to Kline's maxim—"To shame a liar, tell a greater lie." (*Volunteer*, May 22, 1817).

life While there is life there is hope (*Volunteer,* July 18, 1816).

Stevenson 1170:3; Taylor-Whiting 220; Tilley L269.

lightning He flew from the house like lightning (*Herald,* June 14, 1805). Stevenson 1424:6; Taylor-Whiting 221; Tilley L279.

lion 1. The first American commander . . . entered the Thames, and assailed the lion in his den (*Volunteer*, July 13, 1820). Stevenson 1437:7; Taylor-Whiting 224: beard.

2. If the Lion's skin fail, / Patch with the Fox's tail (Herald, Aug. 23, 1805). Tilley L319.

look Look Before You Leep [headline] (*Volunteer*, March 6, 1817); Look Before you Leap [headline] (*Volunteer*, April 9, 1818). Stevenson 1452:11; Taylor-Whiting 228; Tilley L429.

love *Love at first sight!* [headline] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 26, 1818). Stevenson 1462:5; Taylor-Whiting 229-230; Tilley L426.

lying "Will you play upon this pipe?—'Tis as easy as Lying." *Hamlet* (*Herald*, Sept. 15, 1802). Taylor-Whiting 231.

lyre Mr. Findlay would not dance to their *Lyre* (*Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1820). Stevenson 483:7: fiddle.

man 1. A drowning man will catch at a straw [headline] (*Register*, Oct. 1, 1805). Stevenson 643:5; Taylor-Whiting 233; Tilley M92.

2. The old adage, "Convince a man against his will, He's of the same opinion still." (*Volunteer*, Nov. 12, 1818). Stevenson 1719:10.

3. Connelly and Hanson proposed to make way with him, alledging that "dead men told no lies" (*Confession*, p. 38). Stevenson 505:5; Taylor-Whiting 234; Tilley M511.

4. It may be said, that "Man is made to mourn" (*Volunteer,* July 30, 1818). Stevenson 1631:13.

5. "Many men of many minds," is a common adage (*Register*, Sept. 20, 1805). Stevenson 1722:9; Taylor-Whiting 235; Tilley M583.

March hare I can cure him if [he] was as mad as a March hare (*Volunteer*, July 27, 1820). Stevenson 1497:9; Taylor-Whiting 171-172; Tilley H148.

marry Remember, but do not try the old proverb, Marry in haste, and repent at leisure (*Volunteer,* June 6, 1816). Stevenson 1539:1; Taylor-Whiting 172-173; Tilley H196.

master Like master, like man (*Volunteer*, Aug. 2, 1821). Stevenson 1547:4; Taylor-Whiting 239; Tilley M723.

merino Come drizzling out like merinos from the washing (*Volunteer*, Feb. 29, 1816).

mickle Recollect what old Robert says,—"many a mickle makes a muckle" (*Herald*, June 28, 1811).

millions "Millions for Defence, but not a cent for Tribute."—This was formerly given as a toast, when it suited the purpose of democracy, on every popular occasion (*Herald*, Aug. 9, 1811); The old federal maxim—Millions for defense—not a cent for tribute (*Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1815). Stevenson 545:5.

money 1. Avarice is a sordid passion—besides, the love of money is the root of all evil (*Volunteer*, Jan. 5, 1815). Stevenson 1608:1; Taylor-Whiting 230; Tilley C746.

2. *Misers* may say, that *money* makes the *man*, but in many instances, *taylors* make the *gentleman* (*Volunteer*, Nov. 7, 1816). Stevenson 1616:2.

mouse I was mute as a mouse (*Volunteer*, Sept. 11, 1817). Stevenson 1928:10; Taylor-Whiting 252; Tilley M1224.

mouth 1. Why are they [Pres. Madison's ministers] like a morsel almost swallowed? Because they are *down in the mouth*. (*Herald*, Jan. 6, 1815). Stevenson 1635:5; Taylor-Whiting 253.

2. Mr Maclay "made a very poor mouth," told us that Northumberland was very poor, & also that Dauphin county was very poor (*Herald*, Jan. 11, 1804). Stevenson 1635:10; Taylor-Whiting 253.

mum If Musgrave only continued mum, until after the election, he thought the matter would be smothered and kept secret from the people (*Confession*, p. 46). Stevenson 1640:7; Taylor-Whiting 254; Tilley M1310.

murder *Murder will out.* [headline] (*Volunteer*, Dec. 24, 1818); He reflects on the old true saying that "Murder will out" (*Greensburgh* [Pa.] *Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1819). Stevenson 1641:10; Taylor-Whiting 254-255; Tilley M1315.

necessity 1. It is said that *Necessity* is the mother of *invention* (*Volunteer*, May 21, 1818). Stevenson 1664:8; Taylor-Whiting 258; Tilley N61.

2. Necessitas non habet leges, or as Darby O'Bramble would say—A man cannot walk without legs (*Volunteer*, Jan. 2, 1817). Stevenson 1677:9;

Taylor-Whiting 258-259; Tilley N76.

neck He said . . . he would turn Congress neck and heels out of doors (*Herald*, Feb. 6, 1807). Taylor-Whiting 259; Tilley N65.

needle As difficult to find as—a needle in a haycock (*Volunteer,* Sept. 11, 1817). Stevenson 1671:9; Taylor-Whiting 259-260; Tilley N97.

oil Oil & Water [i.e., don't mix] [headline] (*Volunteer*, March 16, 1815). Taylor-Whiting 269.

owe The cant phrase of Ollapod, "I owe you one," has been pleasantly employed, in a song, by Mr. Dutten. (*Herald*, Sept. 28, 1805).

Paddy To George Kline yclep'd Esquire . . . If you ever come into my yard, to search for Boards you never lost, without shewing me your authority, you may expect what Paddy gave the drum—a d——d good beating [advertisement] (*Volunteer,* Dec. 7, 1815).

Paddy Cheetam If it [democracy] does not flow it must ebb, if not permitted to advance forward, as Paddy Cheetam says, it must inevitably "advance backward" (*Herald*, May 18, 1803).

Pandora's box Pandora's box held nothing worse than Whiskey (*Volunteer*, Feb. 22, 1816). Stevenson 1742:3; Tilley P40.

pence See *cent.*

penny 1. A Penny saved is as good as a penny earned, says the vulgar proverb (*Gazette*, June 29, 1791); A Penny saved is as good as a penny earned (*Gazette*, July 27, 1791). Stevenson 1772:8; Taylor-Whiting 279-280; Tilley P206.

2. Until our penny-wise Commissioners shall see fit to erect a stronger jail (*Volunteer*, May 9, 1816). Stevenson 1771:15; Taylor-Whiting 280; Tilley P218.

pepper-corn All else is not worth a *pepper-corn* in comparison with this (*Gazette,* Aug. 27, 1813). Cf. Stevenson 2641:11.

Peter A disposition to "rob *Peter* to pay *Paul,*" was evident in the Carlisle Gazette of last week (*Volunteer*, July 20, 1815). Stevenson 1783:8; Taylor-Whiting 281; Tilley P244.

pickle It is an ugly pickle to be in (*Volunteer*, July 19, 1821). Stevenson 1789:6; Taylor-Whiting 281; Tilley P276.

pig I have heard . . . of a pig in a poke, but never saw a sow in a sack before (*Herald*, Sept. 8, 1802). Stevenson 1791:10; Taylor-Whiting 284; Tilley P304.

pigeon Those poor youths began to boast of their plucking the "Georgia pigeon" (*Confession*, p. 26). Stevenson 1794:3.

piper *Some one must pay the piper* [headline] (*Volunteer*, Aug. 21, 1817); Without leaving a shot in the locker to pay the piper with (*Volunteer*, Sept. 7, 1820). Stevenson 1798:9; Taylor-Whiting 287; Tilley P349.

poison tree Corrupting like the "Poison tree of Java" every moral principle (*Confession*, p. 16).

potato John M. Taylor . . . *dropp'd* his man, John Steele, *like a hot potato*, and voted for Gen. Joseph Hiester! (*Volunteer*, Mar. 9, 1820). Taylor-Whiting 294.

pull "He that pulls down should build up." the truth of this maxim is too much felt and acknowledged, to be either denied or evaded (*Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1789). Cf. Tilley P635: It is easier to pull down than build up.

rage Straw hats and straw ornaments are "all the rage" (*Gazette*, July 10, 1797).

rat 1. Now we smell a rat (*Volunteer*, Oct. 24, 1816). Stevenson 1937:1; Taylor-Whiting 304; Tilley R31.

2. "Rats," it is said, "will desert a sinking ship" (*Volunteer*, June 3, 1819). Stevenson 1936:11.

republics Shame on the well known ingratitude of Republicks (*Herald*, Apr. 4, 1804); It is proverbial that, "Republicks are ungrateful" (*Volunteer*, Sept. 23, 1819). Taylor-Whiting 306.

rogues "When rogues disagree," &c. (*Herald*, July 5, 1805). Stevenson 2298:2; Tilley T122: When thieves fall out true men come by their goods.

Roland There's a Rowland for your Oliver [headline] (*Herald*, Dec. 22, 1802; *A Rowland for your OLIVER*!! [headline] (*Herald*, Oct. 8, 1805). Stevenson 2003:3; Taylor-Whiting 309-310: Tilley R195.

Rome Rome not being built in a day, as the proverb is (*Herald,* Feb. 5, 1813). Stevenson 2004:10; Taylor-Whiting 310; Tilley R163.

rope If they do not give to *such* patriots *rope enough* . . . (*Herald*, Apr. 4, 1804). Stevenson 2008:1; Taylor-Whiting 311; Tilley T104.

saddle The saddle should be placed on the right horse (*Volunteer,* July 6, 1820). Stevenson 2022:2; Taylor-Whiting 315; Tilley S16.

saucepan Tie a saucepan to a dog's tail, and another will fall on him (*Volunteer* , May 7, 1818).

scale Some "great partizan" . . . who had been tried in the scale and found wanting (*Confession*, p. 15). Daniel 5:27: balances. Stevenson 743:5.

screw Mr. Hiester was privy to the predicament and situation the farmer stood in; consequently he would take advantage of it and screw him unmercifully (*Volunteer*, Sept. 21, 1820). Taylor-Whiting 320: put on the screws.

serpents They are "wise as serpents" (*Volunteer*, Feb. 19, 1818). Matthew 10:16. Stevenson 2073:11. Cf. *dove,* above.

sheep It is a common saying, that there is always *one black sheep* in a flock (*Volunteer*, Oct. 8, 1818). Stevenson 2087:5.

shilling There is an old proverb, which in these times of war and scarcity is deserving of attention. "A *Shilling* is a *serious* thing." (*Herald,* Dec. 2, 1814).

ship "Don't give up the ship" The last order of the lamented [Capt. James] Lawrence appears to be adopted by our naval heroes as a standing order of battle (*Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1813). Stevenson 2091:6; Taylor-Whiting 327.

shot Without leaving a shot in the locker to pay the piper with (*Volunteer*, Sept. 20, 1820). Taylor-Whiting 330.

shoulder Let us be prepared to fix our shoulders to the wheel (*Gazette*, Jan 26, 1803). Stevenson 2101:7; Taylor-Whiting 331; Tilley S403.

side *Audi alterem partem*, or hear the other side is a charitable maxim (*Register*, Sept. 24, 1805). St. Augustine, *De Duabus Animabus*, ch. 14.

sight It would be good for the sore eyes till get a sight of him (*Herald,*

July 6, 1815). Taylor-Whiting 124. Cf. E.M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Penna. Germans* (Phila., 1915), no. 1545: Seeing a person whom you have not seen for a long time cures sore eyes.

silence If it be true that Silence is consent (*Volunteer*, No. 12, 1818). Stevenson 2112:3; Taylor-Whiting 333; Tilley S446.

Simon pure A broad-shouldered, thick-headed, lubberly-looking fellow, a *Simon Pure* (*Register*, Feb. 16, 1808). Stevenson 1910:8; Taylor-Whiting 334.

sky 1. The expression of a blue eye, vying for mildness with an April sky (*Confession*, p. 14). Cf. Taylor-Whiting 338: blue as the sky.

2. Mr. Bucher . . . always extolled governor Findlay to the "skies" (*Confession*, p. 46). Stevenson 2127:2; Tilley S518.

3. When the sky falls, you may catch larks (*Volunteer*, Aug. 10, 1815); When the sky falls, they may catch larks (*Volunteer*, Aug. 13, 1818). Stevenson 2126:9; Tilley S517.

snake Latet anguis in herba—or, an enemy in camp [headline] (*Volunteer*, Nov. 10, 1814). Virgil, *Eclogue III*, 93. Stevenson 2149:7; Taylor-Whiting 341; Tilley S585.

snow The brightness of a complexion that equalled in whiteness the new fallen snow (*Confession*, p. 14). Stevenson 2488:1; Taylor-Whiting 342; Tilley S591.

soft Finding him rather soft in the head we soon struck a bargain (*Confession*, p. 10).

sow It will verify commodore O'Brien's assertion, the "public sow has more *pigs* than *teats*" (*Volunteer*, Jan. 23, 1817).

Spain Perhaps Napoleon has not calculated so correctly as Lewis the XIVth did—when one of the ministers of that monarch advised him to invade Spain, the King replied, "Remember the old proverb—that he who goes to Spain weak, will be beaten; and he who goes there strong will be starved" (*Herald*, Dec. 28, 1810).

spring *Maxim.* Disagreeable qualities are often heightened by restraint, as the power of a spring increased by drawing it back (*Herald*, July 14, 1802).

statue I remained . . . transfixed to the spot like a statue of despair (*Confession*, p. 51). Taylor-Whiting 351.

stranger I was a stranger and he took me in, hungry and he fed me, naked and he clothed me (Confession, p. 29). Matthew 25:35. Stevenson 2224:4.

straws Straws shew which way the wind blows [headline] (*Herald*, May 29, 1807); Straws show how the wind blows (*Volunteer*, Feb. 23, 1815); Straws show which way the wind blows [headline] (*Volunteer*, Aug. 20, 1818). Stevenson 2225:3; Taylor-Whiting 357; Tilley S924.

stream The purer the stream the easier it is sullied (*Volunteer*, March 26, 1818).

strings You are now equipt with two strings to your bow (*Gazette*, March 7, 1798). Stevenson 2730:4; Taylor-Whiting 358; Tilley S937.

study Let him take a lesson from *Pope*. "The proper study of mankind is man." (*Volunteer*, Nov. 24, 1814). Pope, *An Essay on Man*. Stevenson 1519:7.

superstition Superstition is the spleen of the soul (*Volunteer*, June 3, 1819).

sword "Ferro iter aperiundum est." The way must be opened by the sword. (*Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1814).

tables THE TABLES TURNED [headline] (*Herald*, June 10, 1814). Stevenson 2267:2; Taylor-Whiting 364; Tilley T4.

tag-rag The "Conquerors of the Conquerors of Europe," &c. have been beaten by our own "tag-rag and bob-tail Yankees" at New Orleans (*Volunteer*, Feb. 9, 1815). Stevenson 2268:3; Taylor-Whiting 364; Tilley T10.

tail You have turned tail to those who were your friends (*Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1820). Stvenson 2268:9; Taylor-Whiting 365; Tilley T16.

take He acts on the law maxim, "capere, quia capere potest" (*Herald*, March 19, 1813). Stevenson 2270:6.

talebearer The words of a Tale-bearer are as wounds.—Proverbs [26:22] (*Volunteer*, Feb. 22, 1816).

thrive We have an English proverb that says, "He that would thrive, / Must ask his wife" (*Volunteer*, Aug. 27, 1818). Stevenson 2313:13.

time 1. Thy forelock fills me with such dread, I never take thee by

it [poem, "A Reckoning with Time," by George Colman, the younger] (*Register,* March 8, 1808); TAKE TIME BY THE FORETOP [headline] (*Herald,* June 21, 1811). Stevenson 2324:3; Taylor-Whiting 375; Tilley T311.

2. The times are hard, and getting worse, / Any money's scarce within my purse [advertisement] (*Volunteer,* Dec. 5, 1816).

3. Time about is fair play (*Volunteer,* July 31, 1817; Dec. 2, 1814). Stevenson 1806:10, 2399:7, Taylor-Whiting 386: turn.

4. TIME IS MONEY [headline] (*Gazette,* Dec. 2, 1814). Stevenson 2318:8; Taylor-Whiting 374; Tilley T329.

tit *Tit for tat* [headline] (*Herald,* Oct. 10, 1806). Stevenson 2332:7; Taylor-Whiting 375; Tilley T336.

trade The Jews had a proverb, "that whoever was not bred to a *trade,* was bred for the *gallows*" (*Volunteer,* June 22, 1820).

tree 1. The Tree is known by its Fruit [headline] (*Gazette,* May 26, 1802); The tree is known by its fruit (*Volunteer,* March 8, 1821). Matthew 12:33. Stevenson 2370:7; Taylor-Whiting 381; Tilley T497.

2. Old Dr. Hunter used to say, when he could not discover the cause of a man's sickness, "We'll try this, and we'll try that. We'll shoot into the tree, and if any thing falls, well and good." "Aye," replied a wag, "I fear this is too commonly the case, and, in your shooting into the tree, the first thing that generally falls is the patient." (*Herald,* July 7, 1802).

trifles "Trifles light as air," when compared with the pleasure our faithful servants may receive (*Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1798). *Othello III,* iii, 322. Stevenson 2374:3, Tilley A90.

turn 1. One good turn deserves another (*Volunteer,* Oct. 19, 1820; Feb. 15, 1821). Stevenson 1401:1; Taylor-Whiting 386; Tilley T616.

2. See also *time,* 3.

turnip A young fop with a fine dangling chain hanging from his fob, was accosted by an acquaintance with a common phrase "what o'clock by your turnip," *d—n you sir, cried the other, who the devil told you I had a turnip,* actually pulling one out and dashing it on the payment! (*Herald,* April, 10, 1807). Taylor-Whiting 386.

twig "Tis education forms the common mind, / Just as the twig is bent the trees inclin'd" (*Gazette,* Feb. 21, 1798). Pope, *Moral Essays,* Epist. I. Stevenson 2371:7; Taylor-Whiting 387.

union In Union there is Strength [headline] (*Volunteer*, Sept. 25, 1817). Stevenson 2407:6; Taylor-Whiting 390; Tilley U11.

variety Variety is the very spice of life, which gives it all its flavor (*Volunteer*, April 26, 1821). William Cowper, *The Task*. Stevenson 2416:1; Taylor-Whiting 391; Tilley C229.

voice Vox populi vox dei (*Volunteer*, July 9, 1818). Stevenson 1776:8; Taylor-Whiting 391; Tilley V95.

whip A whip for the Horse, a bridle for the Ass, and a rod for a Fool's back [headline] (*Herald*, Jan. 5, 1803).

whistle We conceive, as Franklin says, that they have this time "paid too dear for their whistle" (*Herald*, Sept. 14, 1803). Stevenson 2486:5; Taylor-Whiting 401.

willy wagtail The other . . . is so much of a "willy wagtail" in politics (*Volunteer*, Sept. 24, 1818).

wind If we sow the wind, we shall reap the whirlwind (*Gazette*, Mar. 17, 1802). Hosea 8:7. Stevenson 2179:1; Taylor-Whiting 404; Tilley W437.

wolf They were wolves treacherously disguised in the garb of borrowed innocency:—Wolves in Sheeps cloathing! (*Gazette*, May 26, 1802); Stripping the *Wolf* of his *sheeps clothing* (*Gazette*, April 17, 1817); The republicans have been faulty in letting some wolves in sheep's clothing slip into office (*Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1820). Stevenson 2555:2; Taylor-Whiting 407-408; Tilley W614.

words "*Fair words butter no parsnips*"—says an old proverb (*Herald*, July 6, 1815). Stevenson 2608:1; Taylor-Whiting 413; Tilley W791.

world A learned and witting Dissenting Minister, not many years deceased, married three wives; The first for her pecuniary advantages, the second on account of her personal charms, the third he married in his old age, for the sake of securing her attention and his own comfort; she, however, proved "a very shrew." "Well," said the Rev. to a friend, "I have in my time had three wives; the World, the Flesh, and the Devil!" (*Herald*, June 14, 1805). Stevenson 831:2.

worth Worth makes the man, the want of it the fellow (*Herald*, June 28, 1811).

yellow All things seem yellow unto jaundic'd eyes (*Volunteer*, March 26, 1818). Tilley A160.

NOTES

1. See Elenore Loring Kinietz, "Robin Hood of Pennsylvania," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, II (1957), 68-78; Barrick, "Lewis the Robber in Life and Legend," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:1, (Autumn, 1967), 10-12.
2. See David W. Thompson, *Early Publications of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1789-1835* (Carlisle, 1932), 67-69.
3. See Thompson, pp. 23-37.
4. *The Confession or Narrative of David Lewis.* Containing An account of the Life and Adventures of this celebrated Counterfeiter and Robber, From the commencement of his Career, until the period of his Death, in the Jail of Bellefonte, in consequence of a wound received in the attempt to retake him by the *Posse Comitatus* of Centre County. Carlisle: Printed and Published by John M'Farland' 1820.

WORMLY'S FERRY

The subcriber having for a number of years kept the above mentioned Ferry, and being well acquinted with the nature of Ferrying, begs leave to inform the Public in general, and his friends in particular, that he again occupies his Ferry, at the upper end of Harrisburgh, on the Cumberland County side; where he hath provided himself with good Flats and other Crafts to convey any kind of Teams and Passengers across the Susquehannah River, with the greatest safety and despatch. He therefore solicits a share of the public favor, who may relay, that no attention shall be wanting on his part, to merit a continuation of the same.

He also begs leave to inform the public, that he intends to open a House of Entertainment at said Ferry, for the accommodation of travellers and others.

John Wormly

March 18th, 1801

N.B. Good Flats and other Ferry Crafts of the same size and dimensions are kept at the Ferry on the opposite shore

(*Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette*, July 29, 1801)

Trains and Trolleys In and Out of Carlisle

George M. Diffenderfer

Editor's Note: The late George M. Diffenderfer in 1972 "'womped' together for his own amazement," as he wrote (and for his friends' amusement, one might add), a 126-page "compilation of nostaligia" that he titled "I Believe in Yesterday." Notes and vignettes of persons, places, and events, principally in Carlisle, that he remembered from his boyhood before World War I, the manuscript is remarkably detailed, personal, impressionistic, and often gossipy. The author's nostaligia for "yesterday" is often mixed with a humorous contempt.

From the many subjects Diffenderfer wrote about church suppers, parades, vacations, sports and pastimes, automobiling, town characters, and a score of topics "praising – practically nothing" – the sections on the trains and trolleys that ran in and out of Carlisle have been edited for presentation here.

Steam Cars

The Cumberland Valley Railroad's steam cars came into town from Harrisburg on an elevated trestle which started in the proximity of Spring Garden Street (between Louther and Main Streets) near the long-gone Carlisle Gas and Water's gas works, spanning the Letort spring and East Street and finally ending a bit east of the intersection of Bedford and Main Streets.

From there the track ran up the center of Main, past the passenger station on the northwest corner of Pitt and Main, to a point beyond West Street where it veered to the north side of Main and paralleled the curb by the Dickinson College campus. It continued on westward past the freight station at Main and Cherry and the roundhouse, crossing what is now known as Orange Street on an overpass, where it proceeded on toward the eleven-mile distant Newville.

A bit east of this overpass, a freight line curved off to the northeast, joining the main line at a place called Gettysburg Junction where the CVRR (Cumberland Valley Railroad) joined the G&H (Gettysburg and Harrisburg) branch of the P&R (Philadelphia and Reading Railroad).

The freight yard tracks were protected from straying cattle and citizenry by

an iron picket fence along Main Street Extended, starting at Cherry and continuing on to the overpass. This fence was removed at the beginning of World War II to provide metal for the war effort. Incidentally, freight cars parked along this fence provided bleacher seats for the town's freeloading fans as they watched Dickinson athletic contests held back of a high board fence surrounding Biddle Field.

Mentioned above was the Cumberland Valley Railroad's roundhouse. Actually it was but half round, having accommodations for but three "iron horses" with a turntable for reversing the direction of an engine. This turntable was an engineering marvel. The locomotive would be run onto the table and then the engineer, aided by his fireman and hostler, would alight and push (by main strength and a great deal of awkwardness) against wooden bars attached at opposite ends of the table. These three men could turn that engine around 360 degrees and head it in an opposite direction.

In the early 1900's there were 24 passenger trains in and out of Carlisle in a 24-hour period, some of which were locals, meaning they were made up in Carlisle and ran principally to Harrisburg to accommodate the commuters.

Taking off from and paralleling the main track a bit east of Cherry Street was a siding running down Main almost to West. It was on this siding that extra open vestibule passenger cars were stored until needed. These cars would be pulled westward into the yard, the turnaround engine hooked onto the front, and this made-up train would then proceed to the passenger station for the trip eastward.

South of where the College art center stands was a flour mill known as "Graybills." A spur track ran to this mill, taking off from the siding a bit west of the President's house. The curve of this track was much too sharp for a locomotive, so that the freight cars were moved in or out of the mill by horsepower furnished by Graybills.

All through trains had baggage or express cars attached. When a train had come to a halt in the vicinity of the passenger station, high-wheeled handcarts were pulled alongside the car doors so that the "baggage smasher" could slide heavy trunks, wood boxes and crates out of the cars onto the truck with a minimum of effort. In anticipation of a train's arrival, station personnel would pull these carts out onto Main Street anywhere from the vicinity of the old YMCA building westward to the front of the former Elks building (Bellaire House), thereby adding to the traffic confusion.

The station was equipped with a semaphore signal placed out where the curb should be (the sidewalk being "knitted" into the street level, thereby eliminating the curb as a stumbling block). This signal was used mainly for freights, since all regular passenger trains stopped at the station. Just why the railroad

insisted on running freight trains through the center of town when they had a freight track cutoff, has always been a mystery. But run them they did, completely disrupting the flow of traffic both north and south until the 100 or so cars had passed.

There was a constant confrontation betwixt townspeople and the railroad; the town had set a four-mile-per-hour speed limit on the trains and then complained bitterly about the long interruptions and inconveniences. Many traffic tickets were served on train engineers by the chief of police for exceeding this speed limit.

It is my recollection that when the semaphore was half set, the engineman of a freight would slow down and the stationmaster would come out alongside the track with an overgrown hoop to which was attached some mysterious message, and the fireman would retrieve the message and away the train would go.

The station was not imposing. Of brownstone construction (some of this stone may currently be seen in the apartment building at the corner of Parker and South Streets opposite the Carlisle Hospital), it had large half-circular windows protruding from the roof in a sort of overgrown dormer design toward the four points of the compass.

The station ticket office was in the center with a ladies' waiting room to the west, whilst a men's waiting room was to the east, with their latrine off to the north. This ticket office contained a bay window protruding southward, complete with curved glass windows. Telegraph instruments clicked out their messages from a bench directly in the bay. On the east wall of the office hung a large pendulum clock, and no native pedestrian Carlislian every passed without going up to the west bay window, cupping his hands against the glass to reduce the glare, and checking his watch with that most accurate of timepieces.

To the extreme west end of the station was a baggage room. Here one could check his impedimenta through to wherever he was going, the stuff then being placed on a cart and wheeled out onto the street preparatory to being shoved aboard.

If one had a hot shipment coming in or going out, he repaired to the north end of the station along the Pitt Street side and did business with the Adams Express Company (who, by the way, owned their own express handcarts, which added to its clutter on Main Street at train time).

The advent of a train's arrival was a big deal with many a citizen congregating about the station to see the train come hissing in and to ogle the passengers getting off or those bidding to someone about to leave. Some of the best town gossip originated at this station.

Adjacent to the baggage room west was Otis Conley's Cigar Store. Here at "Otis'" the male observers congregated to watch and comment on the flow of

rail traffic.

All through trains were met by omnibuses, hacks and/or jitneys, their drives drumming up trade for their respective employers (the various local hotels or "houses") by calling out to the arriving passengers: "Free rides to: Thudium House, Pennsylvania House, National Hotel," etc. Not to be left in the shade, there was always someone advertising the Mansion House, for notwithstanding the fact that that hostelry was directly opposite the station, the passengers alighted on the station side and the Mansion House was completely blocked out until the train pulled on, which might be too late.

The CVRR deemed two street crossings worthy of warning local traffic of approaching trains. One was at College and Main, guarded by a one-armed railroad veteran who sported a flaming red beard, the other at North Hanover and Spring Road where the freight track crossed. The watchman would pop out of his tiny watch box and flag down traffic by holding up a tin STOP sign during the day, or by waving a red coal oil lantern back and forth during the night-time hours. I disremember whether these crossings were guarded for 24 hours.

The G&H (Gettysburg and Harrisburg) branch of the P&R (Philadelphia and Reading, locally referred to as "the Reading") maintained a passenger and freight depot at the intersection of Main Street and York Road at the southwest corner opposite Albion Point. That this spur was but a twig on the branch of the Reading was evidenced by the fact that its single track started at Gettysburg Junction located west of the Frog and Switch Company between Louther and North Streets, where it connected with the CVRR, roughly 800 feet northeast of the depot. This twig then snaked its way southward through Bonny Brook, Craighead and Mt. Zion to the six-mile-distant Carlisle Junction located between Mt. Holly and Red Tank. There it met up with the main Reading line running on to Shippensburg.

At Carlisle Junction one could change cars and board a Reading train that meandered through the Holly Gap, eventually ending up at Gettysburg, the seat of Adams County. If one so desired, one could detrain from the Gettysburg-bound rattler at Hunters' Run Station and board a sometimes-waiting train of the Hunters' Run and Slate Belt Railroad (headed by the incomparable Kurt "Poppy" Givler) and journey through the mountains to Pine Grove Furnace, passing enroute such places as Toland, Henry Clay, and Laurel.

The original purpose of Mr. Givler's HR & SB Railroad was to move iron ore from the ore hole at Pine Grove. However, in the late 1800's the United Ice and Coal Company constructed a dam across the Mountain Creek, thus creating a sizable lake at Laurel that provided a supply of ice for the surrounding communities.

Ice, cut by handsaws during the winter, was stored in a huge icehouse situated along the railroad tracks, and then brought via the HR&SB and G&H Railroads to the Carlisle icehouse located along the Reading tracks on Spring Garden Street just south of East Pomfret Street. This icehouse was a large affair, having double wooden walls, the interval between the outside and inside walls was filled with sawdust which acted as insulation and insured the town of a supply of ice during the hot dry summers. This building was totally destroyed by fire on Saturday, August 25, 1973, and was reported by the news media as being the "fertilizer plant." It was a spectacular night fire, fed undoubtedly by the ancient rotten sawdust, a fact entirely overlooked by the news gatherers.

To get back on the track (the G&H that is), the passenger service to and from Carlisle Junction was sketchy, to say the least. The train was made up of a combination baggage-smoking car plus one passenger car. If traffic warranted, a box or freight car might be added. As the branch possessed no turntable at either junction, the train would come into town with the engine in front. However, on its southern run, it would back all six miles to the so-called Carlisle Junction with much whistling at each of the many country crossings.

The engine was of a different type than those used by the CVRR. Known as a "camel back," the cab was placed midway (front to rear) of the boiler, much like saddlebags slung over a horse or a motorcycle. The engineer rode in the right overhang whilst the fireman rode in the left overhang. When it became necessary for the fireman to stoke his fire, he had to climb rearward along a catwalk so as to shovel coal through the firedoor at the extreme rear of the contraption.

The Reading engine's whistles were distinctly different from those of the Cumberland Valley's, and native Carlinians had no difficulty distinguishing which railroad was making the noise. These natives claimed they could tell the weather by the sound of the whistles. The expression was often heard about town that "the whistle wants rain." Incidentally, there was nothing quite so mournful as a train whistle heard on an extremely foggy night.

The track of the Reading branch was not well kept. After all, there were but two trains per weekday, one in the morning, returning in the afternoon. Grass, weeds and overhanging branches almost obliterated the rails at places. The right-of-way followed the meandering Letort Spring as far as Bonny Brook. About a mile from town, nestling in the abounding trees by the spring, was what Carlinians called "Bummers' Retreat" which was indeed a misnomer. Bums or Bummers were a carryover from the Civil War (e.g., Sherman's Bummers on his march to the sea), and they were a shiftless, lazy, thieving lot.

This retreat along the spring was for tramps, sometimes jocularly known as "Knights of the Road." These men were free souls. Possessing itching feet, they

resented being tied down to any one place. They were not afraid to do a bit of honest toil (chop wood, carry water or hoe the garden) in return for a meal handed out the back door. Their comforts were few and their improvisations were something to behold. With meager possessions rolled into a bundle and tied to a good stout stick carried over the shoulder, they wandered over these broad United States. They were not above stealing a ride from the railroads by "riding the rods" (under the cars) or hitching a ride in the comparative comfort of an empty boxcar. The main lines of the railroads were well policed, so that these Knights were relegated to such branches as the G&H.

Carlisle boys would saunter out to Bummers' Retreat in the summertime and listen with wide-eyed wonder to the tales of faraway places these men would spin as they prepared their meals of beans and coffee, cooked over an open fire, interspersed with fresh-caught trout from the spring and roasting ears from an adjacent farmer's cornfield.

Some inhabitants of the Retreat represented themselves as Civil War veterans. Their yarns of how they lost an arm or leg enthralled multitude of the small fry clustered about their campfire. There were quite a few one-legged Knights, called "peg legs" by their contemporaries because prior to the advent of artificial limbs, a stick of the proper length was fitted with a crude socket into which the stump was stuffed. Although an awkward contraption, it was simply amazing how the amputee adjusted and was able to get about.

Not all of these "stumpies" could claim the war as their misfortune, for stealing rides on trains could be a hazardous business. Some lost an arm or leg by falling off the rods or by missing connections with a moving freight. It is well remembered the awe we kids had as we drank in all the gory details of a decapitated Knight who missed his footing whilst attempting to hop a freight in the pre-World War I days.

With steam cars traversing the very heart of town, there were many accidents as the independent populace disregarded the admonition to "STOP—LOOK—AND LISTEN."

Stage Coach to Perry County

Steam trains and electric trolley cars were not the only means of transportation in and out of the village. As late as the mid-1920's the Landisburg Stage made a semiweekly round trip to carry the mail and/or any one who might want to go to Perry County. This was real stagecoach of the same type seen in western movies or on TV.

Drawn by four good-sized horses, the stage left the Thudium House at the southwest corner of Hanover and North Streets (where the beasts were quartered in that hostler's stables) on Tuesdays and Thursdays and wended its way

out Spring Road, through Carlisle Springs, and up over Sterrett's Gap. Whilst negotiating this steep grade, all humans aboard, including the driver, were forced to alight and hoof it up the mountain on "shanks' mare," for the heavy stage was about all the four horses could drag up over that hump.

Once atop the North Mountain, all enjoyed a well-earned rest. As the horses were being changed, the humans refreshed themselves at The Inn's bar. This inn was astride the county line, and in the days of local option when Cumberland County voted dry, the enterprising innkeeper would simply move his bar across the hall to the Perry County side. It has never been recorded that both counties voted dry at the same election, so the weary traveler was always assured of a cool draught or two or a couple of good belts of locally distilled whiskey.

The trip down the other side of the mountain was equally as rough, for the coach had to be constantly braked in order not to run over the horses.

Trolley Cars

The trolley car was so called because of a pulley on a long pole attached to the top of a car which transferred electric power from an overhead wire to the car's motor.

For some 32 years the borough boasted an electric streetcar system known at various times as Cumberland Valley Traction, Cumberland Valley Electric Passenger Railway, Valley Railways and finally, Valley Traction. For a period of time these companies were under the complete control of the Cumberland Valley (steam) Railroad. The original cars (small 25-foot open vestibule single truck) were made at the Carlisle Manufacturing Company's plant located at the lower end of East Main Street.

A siding existed on Hanover Street in front of the old courthouse from Courthouse Avenue to Main, on which the "town" cars were parked preparatory to making their runs. Their schedules were quite generous, leaving the square every half hour at 15 and 45 minutes after the hour, from 6:15 a.m. until 10:45 p.m.

Larger "inter-urban" cars (40-foot double truck) parked on the "main line" (center of Hanover Street). These cars left every hour on the half hour from 4:30 a.m. until 10:30 p.m. for Harrisburg via Boiling Springs, Churchtown, Trindle Springs, Mechanicsburg, Shiremanstown and Camp Hill.

Town cars would start from their siding and proceed south on Hanover to Pomfret where the conductor of the car marked "Cave Hill" would proceed to throw the switch, thereby diverting the car westward onto Pomfret on a double curve at Borland's Corner. Incidentally, history tells us that this switch caused untold pain and embarrassment to trolley officials on their inauguration day (September 14, 1895) by derailing the first car when the motorman attempted

to take the curve at too-high speed.

After the Cave Hill car had safely negotiated this curve, the car marked "Ridge Street" would proceed out South Hanover to Ridge. Upon arriving at the Ridge Street terminus, the motorman would remove the hand control level from the rheostat and proceed through the car to the opposite end where he would install the lever on the rheostat at that end and turn the tin sign to read "Indian School."

Whilst these mechanics were being performed, the conductor would disengage the trolley pole from the overhead wire and "walk" the pole around the car to the opposite end. It was quite an operation to engage the steel pulley on the end of the pole against the wire and, when missed, the sparks and arcs were something to behold, especially at night.

This pulley was held against the wire by means of a tension spring and counterbalance weight on the roof of the car. The pulley was disengaged by means of a rope attached to the top of the pole and was anchored to the outside of the dashboard by means of a spring device contained in a round metal box which fitted into a bracket at each end of the car. This box had to be disengaged and then engaged at the opposite end, no mean feat in the rain, sleet, snow and in the dark. Whilst all of this was being performed, there would be no power and therefore no light.

In those early days the Traction Company allowed they could not afford two headlights, thus necessitating another trip from rear to front to unplug and plug in the headlight.

Once the conductor had performed these electrical engineering feats, he had one more little chore: to fold up the "cow catcher." The original town cars did not have such a device. However, they were not long in operation before it was deemed advisable to place a contraption on the front of a car to scoop up stray dogs, kids, and sundry impedimenta out of the right-of-way with a minimum of damage to all concerned. A "cow catcher" may roughly be described as a metal frame with ten iron slats suspended vertically in front of the running gear. Protruding horizontally from this frame was another of like design which was hinged to its vertical counterpart, the front portion being held in place by means of two chains attached to the car. When the direction of the car was reversed, it was imperative to fold the catcher in the rear up against the car to prevent kids and/or drunks from hitching a nonpaying ride.

After all of these tasks had been performed at Ridge Street, the car returned to the square and continued out North Hanover to Pratt Avenue where it turned eastward and proceeded to the entrance to the Indian School, at which point the entire weary turnaround procedure would be reenacted once again.

When crossing the CVRR tracks, the conductor had another chore to per-

form which has simply mystified me. Approaching the railroad, the car would stop and the moneychanger would alight armed with a crowbar which would be inserted into a slot alongside the track. Just what the purpose of this maneuver was I have been unable to fathom, and as of this writing have found no one who could shed any light on the subject. It has been theorized that the difference in track gauge and weight of rail betwixt the steam and electric tracks caused some difficulty in "crossing over." It is possible the conductor raised the level of his track in order to get the streetcar across; when he disengaged the crowbar, the track would recede so as not to interfere with the steam trains. In any event, this operation was performed where the trolley tracks crossed the railroad; e.g., at Main and Hanover, West and Main, West and Lincoln, and Hanover at Spring Road. In later years this operation was suspended. Possibly a "frog" had been developed that compensated for the gauge and rail weight differential.

The car marked "Cave Hill," after negotiating the switch off Hanover, ran west on Pomfret (crossing the tracks of the electric lines running to Mt. Holly Springs and to Newville at Pitt Street) to West Street where there was a tight 90° turn to the north at the law school. After crossing the CVRR passenger track at Main, the car proceeded on West to Penn where it had to negotiate the CVRR freight track (actually this crossing was between Penn and Lincoln) before it could proceed to its terminus on top of the hill over the Cave. Here the crew performed their various reversing tasks so they could make the run back to the square.

After the town cars had left the square, the big Harrisburg car would run down to Pomfret where its conductor (with crowbar) would divert it eastward. Proceeding on East Pomfret, it would pass the Traction Company's carbarn and power plant (erected on the site of an old tannery) along the west bank of the Letort Spring. At Spring Garden Street the car turned north to East Main where it turned right and, after crossing the G&H Railroad, proceeded down the Trindle Road past the Frog & Switch company plant and the Sadler property where it turned abruptly south and ran across a private right-of-way (known as Hogan's Alley) to the York Road. Incidentally, the reason for this Hogan's Alley detour was the fact that the Boslers objected to streetcars running in their "front yards" (actually the York Road between Albion Point and the Petersburg Road). After continuing down the York Road to "Mile Hill," the track veered to the right and paralleled the road to Boiling Springs, where it proceeded to all points east.

The Carlisle and Mt. Holly Railway and the Cumberland Railway to Newville provided their passengers with a waiting room located on the southeast corner of Pitt and Main in the converted Methodist Episcopal Church building. Origi-

nally the waiting room occupied the entire first floor with the administrative office off Pitt. Later the waiting room was reduced in size by Huston's Drugstore (on Main Street) whilst the Postal Telegraph took over the Pitt Street office. The main track ran down Pitt, dead-ending at Main, while a siding existed from Church Alley along the east curb to the waiting room. The Holly trolley would load on the siding whilst the Newville car parked on the center track.

The Holly car started south on Pitt, crossing the Valley Traction tracks at Pomfret, and proceeded on to Ridge where it turned left and continued to Hanover. Turning south, it ran down the center of Hanover until arriving at the Alonzo Bedford property, where it veered to the east side of the Holly Pike and continued southward to the former Papertown village.

The Newville car followed out Pitt to South where it was switched westward. Proceeding on South to Parker, it turned north to Main and, after crossing to the north side, it paralleled the CVRR tracks (past Biddle Field) to what is now known as Orange Street. Here it ducked under the railroad through an underpass and, turning sharply west, took off for "the town on a hill in a hollow," paralleling the State Road to that village, first on one side and then on the other.

All of the traction companies leaned over backward in an effort to keep their customers happy and the fares coming in, providing pre-airconditioned open cars for hot summer days and coal-fired stoves for blustery winters.

The open cars were really something. They were small (25-footers) divided into seven compartments, the seats running from side to side. A running board extended along both sides the entire length of the car that was hinged and could be turned up on the left side when the car was in forward motion. Also, the side not in use had a wooden bar running the car's length, seat high, to prevent passengers from falling out and/or entering or exiting in an unauthorized fashion. This running board provided a not-so-easy means of getting aboard. The two steps necessary, being most, very high, gave the blades (and olders as well) quite a thrill as a woman's ankle-length skirt was hiked upward.

Working from front to rear, the conductor collected his fares along the running board, ringing the number of fares by pulling a bell cord suspended along the roof line; this in turn registered the number and amount on a large clock-like dial placed at one end of the car.

Collecting fares frequently became death-defying, particularly when the last car for the day would be jam-packed with many "Johnny-Come-Latelies" hanging on the running boards, making it necessary for the collector to perform all manner of gymnastics along the narrow board.

Open cars could be a joy on bright sun-shiny days and a huge pain when thunder-busters and driving rain developed. Each compartment was equipped at either end with roller curtains made of a brown striped canvas of dubious

water-repellant consistency. Always there were gaps between one curtain and the next through which the rain was bound to come, drenching the unfortunate sitting on the end of the pew-like benches. Originally these cars were in truth "open," having no windshields or partitions to break the wind or to keep the bugs and/or rain from blowing from fore to aft. In later years glass partitions were added at each end back of the first row of seats. However, to my knowledge no protection was provided for the motorman; he simply stood out front and took it.

Heat was provided in the closed cars by means of a potbellied stove placed along one side, generally midway between front and rear, the smoke pipe extending up through the roof. As river coal (dredged from the Susquehanna River at Harrisburg) was burned, it was confusing to see an electric car coming down Hanover Street spouting billows of black smoke.

Somewhere around 1912 improvements were made by adding folding safety doors to the open vestibule cars, electric baseboard heaters, and installing roller destination signs, thereby eliminating the necessity of changing the hand-painted signs at the end of each run.

In the early automobile days there was no such thing as driving in winter snows; the autos were jacked up on blocks and stored in the barn until spring. Thus winter travel was by means of horse-drawn sleighs or sleds and it was advantageous not to plow the streets. However, for the electric and steam cars to operate in deep snow, the tracks had to be cleared and their tracks were plowed and swept. In the blizzards of 1912 and 1917 the middle of the streets represented a deep trench through the white stuff. The town having no ordinance for sidewalk shoveling caused the hardy pedestrians to use the cleared-off tracks as walkways. This could be a reason why some older citizens still insist on walking in the streets come deep snows, even in this age of bulldozers, plows, and cinder crews.

Streetcar crews were friendly and accommodating. Often a small lad would board the car at Diffley's Point and tell Barney Brenneman, the one-man crewmember, "My dad will pay the five cents fare when he sees you," and Brennie would halt in front of the South Hanover residence and deposit his small passenger.

Brennie was a large stout man. "Fats" Brenneman is well remembered at his motorman's station, his large weight tipping the small car down by the head, bouncing out South Hanover on his way to the Ridge Street terminus, after gaining momentum on the hill from Pomfret to South. By the time he arrived on the more-or-less flat, he was possibly doing all of ten miles-per-hour, bobbing up and down like the proverbial Toonerville Trolley.

Review Article

Fred Anderson, ***Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766.*** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000). xxiii, 862, illustrated, maps, index. Hardcover $40.00 (ISBN 0-375-40642-5); Paperback (New York: Vintage Books, 2001) $20.00 (ISBN 0-375-70636-4)

The paradox of writing history is that while researching one must stick to original sources and not rely upon other historians, yet one writes to be read. Thus, it is foolish to criticize Edward Gibbon for not citing in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* any secondary sources[1]; Gibbon will be read even if his every sentence were to be disproven by archaeological or literary discoveries. It is equally foolish, though, to say that since one has Gibbon, one does not need to bother with other modern histories of the ancient Roman world.

Likewise, although no one interested in the French and Indian War can ignore the works of Francis Parkman, there will continue to be new accounts to consider. Following now in the trail of Parkman is Fred Anderson, with *Crucible of War*. Anderson is a professor of history at the University of Colorado and made his mark with *A People's Army* (1984), about soldiers and civilians in Massachusetts during the French and Indian War. In *Crucible of War*, Anderson provides the panoramic view for the details so close to the local historian. He does so in one vast but readable volume, in the narrative tradition of Parkman and without the rancor of Francis Jennings, who in his three volumes on the War seems to take the injustices of the past as personal affronts.[2]

The French and Indian War, also called pompously by some The Great War for Empire and blandly by others The Seven Years' War, was the only global conflict to touch the Cumberland Valley. All other world wars have seen the valley send citizens off to fight; that war saw the fight come into the valley. This region, a sparse and vulnerable wilderness, was one of the frontiers of the then emerging British Empire. When so much attention during the War for Independence seems to center on Boston or Philadelphia, local students of history

point with pride to the importance of western Pennsylvania (as even Carlisle was then) in the earlier, more obscure, conflict.

To Carlisle came British troops and Pennsylvania diplomats loyal to the Crown. General John Forbes marched from Carlisle to Fort Duquesne; Benjamin Franklin and Conrad Weiser met in Carlisle with Indian leaders to woo them away from the French. After war broke out, local citizens such as John Armstrong took up arms alongside British regulars.[3] There was in Carlisle a British fort, discussed authoritatively by William A. Hunter, and there has been on that site a military presence ever since.

In academic circles it is fashionable to dismiss popular history, perhaps because it draws attention from esoteric analyses of socio-economic trends amongst the members of a community least likely to leave behind literary remains. Anderson declares from the outset his desire to write "a book accessible to general readers that will also satisfy [my] fellow historians' scholarly expectations."[4] He offers "a narrative intended to synthesize a sizable range of scholarship," and he has done so with the sort of sweeping and riveting story-telling as old-fashioned as a movie without foul language.

Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, another historian in the old style, has observed that "Anderson's research was confined to printed sources," that "he has spent most of his space and time on his narrative," and that "the amount of evidence he cites for his arguments is slight, though suggestive."[5] The reader becomes aware, however, that even when "confined to printed sources," Anderson has a large field to cover. He has mastered the literature, primary and secondary, from the diaries of George Washington to the seemingly encyclopedic tomes of Lawrence Henry Gipson. Of note also is his use of the work on the Iroquois by Daniel K. Richter, formerly professor of history at Dickinson College and now at the University of Pennsylvania.

Anderson is aware of the three empires in contest—the British, the French, the Indian—and the story he brings to life rivals the conflicts waged a century later in India or Africa. Had the French and Indian War occurred in the days of Rudyard Kipling, it would have the same exotic flavor of his many tales of empire: soldiers drawn from amongst Scots and Cockneys, fiercely protecting colonials—farmers and lawyers and shopkeepers who read Latin and mispronounced English—from indigenous peoples with the effrontery to fight for their own land. The local historian will find in Anderson's epic history scenes as familiar locally as the guerilla exploits of T. E. Lawrence.

Here is a sample of Anderson on Armstrong of Kittanning: "It must be noted that the only successful Anglo-American offensive to be mounted in America in 1756...was a daring attempt to attack...the Delaware settlement of Upper Kittanning." This attack was to avenge the assault in July 1756, by

French and Delaware upon Fort Granville. "Colonel John Armstrong, a surveyor from Carlisle, led a party of three hundred provincials overland from Aughwick and succeeded in surprising the town at dawn on August 8. Resistance proved stiff, however, and Armstrong's men suffered at least forty casualties before setting fire to the town and retiring, having recovered eleven English captives and taken perhaps a dozen scalps."[6] One confidently sets that bloody scene alongside any spattered across the pages of the long and sanguine history of the British Empire.

Anderson also mentions Colonel John Stanwix and his five companies of Royal Americans and their presence in Carlisle. "Stanwix's Royal Americans based at Carlisle," he says, "and the provincial companies posted at forts along the frontier could do little to deter enemy raiders."[7] Local citizens, though, were grateful for Stanwix's presence, electing him their member in the General Assembly. In 1757 his soldiers began earthworks on the northeastern edge of Carlisle, replacing the comparatively rickety fort on the Square, and the enterprising John Armstrong got permission to use the limestone the soldiers dug up for building a Presbyterian meetinghouse on the Square.

Here it is worth quoting William A. Hunter's succinct summary of the status of a fort in Carlisle: "[T]he fort was not created until the spring of 1756, in a season of severe Indian attacks. The fort, built of logs and timber, bore the same name as the town within which it stood, probably at the center square. The fort included no barracks, the garrison having their quarters in surrounding houses of the town."[8] The impressive stockade of Fort Louther, spanning from the Square to Pitt Street is the stuff of make-believe; the small log fort indicated by Hunter's research was soon superseded by Stanwix's encampment.

Of course, the war affected more than towns like Carlisle. The colonial pioneer, trying to go about daily life, was caught up in the great events. While troops marched into the woods, legislators put bounties on scalps, and not without cause.[9] In the then remote area of Sporting Hill, I. D. Rupp starkly notes, "During the French and Indian war, a man was shot by Indians near this place."[10] Amidst the battles and debates that engaged Montcalm and Wolfe, Pitt and Louis XV, Shingas and Pontiac, Anderson provides the context for the deaths of nameless men such as the one at Sporting Hill.

Anderson wisely sees the imperial days of colonials and Britons in common struggle against France as the unnecessary origin of the American War for Independence. The schism between the American colonies and the mother country was not a logical and necessary event, the product of the steady forward march of time. Just as the Second World War could have been avoided had the First World War ended differently, so too, Anderson argues, the War for Independence might never have happened. In each case, the aftermath of war—com-

placency combined with confiscatory taxation—led to events unthinkable a generation before.

A parallel between the two great wars of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries breaks down, of course, because in the eighteenth century the alliances change; British islanders and colonials fought the French, then the colonials and French fought the British. Yet, the French and Indian War and the First World War were wars defending empires and resulted in new nationalisms and movements for independence; the Second World War and the American War for Independence resulted in the fracturing of empires and in fledgling nations wobbling to their feet. When these wars are seen from such an angle of vision, Fred Anderson and his superb *Crucible of War* joins the ranks of Sir John Keegan and Sir Martin Gilbert, each with two narratives of the First and Second World Wars. Looming behind them all, however, will remain Francis Parkman and Sir Winston Churchill.

Carlisle, PA Daniel J. Heisey

Notes

1. As I once heard said by (*mirabile dictu*) a young professor of classical languages.
2. See John Shy's review of Francis Jennings' *Empire of Fortune*, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* CXIII (1989), 454: "While most historians stand gratefully on the shoulders of their predecessors, Jennings often aims higher—to put his scholarly boot to their heads."
3. See Milton E. Flower, *John Armstrong: First Citizen of Carlisle* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1971).
4. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, xv; quotations will be from the hardback edition.
5. Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, "Redcoats in Disarray," *Literary Review* (November, 2000), 29.
6. Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 163,
7. *Ibid.*, 205.
8. William A. Hunter, *The Provincial Fort at Carlisle (1755-1758)* (Carlisle: Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1956), 18; *cf.* William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960), 441, 446.
9. See Henry J. Young, "A Note on Scalp Bounties in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIV (1957), 5.
10. I. D. Rupp, *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties* (Lancaster: Gilbert Hills, 1846), 444.

Book Reviews

G. Kenneth Bishop, ***From Horses to Horsepower: How Goods Got and Get to Market.*** (Carlisle: 250th Anniversary Committee, 2000). 16 pp. Paperback $2.00 (This edition limited to 250 copies.)

For the compulsive researcher, this booklet is a catalyst. A survey of industry and transportation in Cumberland County from the 1730s to the present, it is a handy compendium of scattered secondary sources. A bibliography at the end points the way to further reading.

There is here an appreciation for the uncited sources of the older chroniclers. After quoting I. D. Rupp's statistics about businesses in Carlisle, Bishop observes, "Rupp took this inventory about 1840 or copied it from the 1840 census, or took it from William Robert Milner's inventory of valley businesses for the Cumberland Valley Railroad." Bishop understands the frustration caused by the classics in the field of county history failing to note their sources. Bishop's model seems to be Robert J. Smith's history of Penn Township, as published in the Winter, 1985, issue of this journal.

Geography and human ambition have combined to make the Cumberland Valley a center for commerce. Bishop briefly but deftly sketches the development of Indian paths into asphalt thoroughfares, with railways intersecting, but never replacing them. "Over one-third of the nation's population," he records, "is located within five hundred miles of our borders, and three major interstate highways juncture within the county." These facts, he adds, make Cumberland County "the most favorable geographic site for distribution to the largest regional population in the United States." With spare, straightforward prose Bishop tells this important story, one that is often overlooked or looked down upon. He clearly sees that before mills and barns were subjects for doctoral research, they were places of work and business.

Not all businesses prosper, but even failed ventures have consequences. Bishop reminds the reader of an attempt in the 1840s to establish on the West Shore a silk mill. The silk worms did not co-operate, but mulberry trees are now as common as weeds.

Bishop gives a fascinating glimpse at the effect of computers on getting goods to market. He is right to lament that "there is little attention paid to this enormous change in inventory control and its impact on the economy." The use of personal computers has in the last twenty years increased efficiency in commerce and elsewhere—never to be deplored—yet some readers will be too cautious to grant Bishop's prediction that "these advances will continue into the current century." As Bishop notes in another context, Western man spent more than a thousand years after the fall of Rome trying to remember how to pave roads.

This brisk overview, tantalizing and thoughtful, is an act of public service by one active in the transportation industry. He closes with an apology for "errors and omissions" probable "with any research done by an amateur." Any amateur, though, who can sum up the vagaries of historical events with two words—"Change continued"—has no reason to apologize. "Change continued" should be inscribed above the lecture halls of historians in all our colleges and universities. Bishop recognizes his essay is but a start; he knows that more always awaits discovery. With this booklet he has taken that first step which begins a long journey.

Carlisle, Pa. Daniel J. Heisey

Raphael S. Hays II, ***John Hays: Civil War Soldier, Lawyer, Businessman.*** (Carlisle 250th Anniversary Committee, 2000). Illustrated. Paperback $10.00

Civic commemoration, while a mainstay of the ship of state, can be hazardous to history. The facts of life and death and the commerce between remain the same, but interpretation based on the pride of a town or a family sometimes whitewashes a colorful reality. This is a genuine mess when it happens, not only for later historians who must peel off such nonsense, but also for the town or family who thought they were doing a good job in putting together something nice and leaving it at that. An attempt at real history, with its mud and sweat and laughter and yelling, is far more interesting and lasting than any featureless cover-up.

Raphael Hays II, the author of this portrait of his great-grandfather, John Hays, which was published for the recent county anniversary, has attempted real history and has succeeded decisively. John Hays (1837-1921) was a scion

of a distinguished Carlisle family, a Dickinson College graduate, a battle-hardened Civil War veteran of the 130th Pennsylvania Volunteers, a successful lawyer, and a businessman noted for his management of Carlisle Gas & Water Company, Carlisle Light, Heat, & Power Company, and Frog, Switch & Manufacturing Company. He was our homegrown representative of the Gilded Age, part of that grand age of local Names that included Bosler, Biddle, Lindner, and Watts, among others. He was a vocal and opinionated town leader who led a life in high profile and apologized to no one for it. His life, as given to us by our own Mr. Hays, is a dramatic ride through Carlisle history.

The book opens brilliantly with a preface by Mr. Hays that recalls Memorial Day of 1940, a jewel of description that suggests the relationships between family and memory and history. In the first chapter we go back thirty years to another masterful set-piece of prose, a walk by John Hays from his office to his home on North Hanover Street. Then the account takes up a straightforward chronology of Hays's life, from college and courtship to war and professional advancement. Each major business interest receives its own chapter. Controversies and corporate battles, especially the fights between Hays's utilities and the borough, are clearly recounted. The Frog, Switch chapter, since it has continuing relevance to the Carlisle of today, is especially compelling with its tale of entrepreneurial rescue, innovative industrial design, arson, and heroic recovery. The final major chapter accompanies Hays on his quest to recover his role in the battle of Chancellorsville and his possible accidental involvement in the death of Stonewall Jackson. For all his later success and strenuous engagement in the life of his beloved hometown, the war and its chances of life and death always haunted John Hays.

Notable features of this book include excellent photographs, careful endnotes with each chapter, and generous excerpts from contemporary accounts that recreate the public passions of the time. Better than all of these, however, are the plentiful quotations of Hays's letters and essays. Hays was a good writer, forceful and clear. The man strides forth from the page in his own words, and his great-grandson is wise to let him speak uninterruptedly.

As fine as this biography is, it will only whet the appetite for more good related historical work. The Frog, Switch & Manufacturing Company has its own memorial library; now it needs a solid corporate history. Raphael Hays II, currently CEO of his great-grandfather's company, could write his own story. In telling us such a vivid story of Carlisle and one of its finest citizens, he has only himself to hold responsible if more is wanted.

Carlisle, Pa. Jeffrey S. Wood

Walter Lewis Cressler, Jr., *Clyde A. Laughlin: "Postcard King of the Cumberland Valley"* (self-published, 2000) viii, 45 pp. appendix, illustrated. Paperback $16.95.

This little book is a gem. For historians and the collectors of early twentieth century postcards, it is a valuable resource. Written by Laughlin's grandson, it contains a chronicle of Clyde Laughlin's life and a comprehensive 86-page list of the postcards that he produced over the course of his 44-year career as a photographer in south central Pennsylvania.

Laughlin, a native of Newburg, Pennsylvania, was a prolific photographer, creating well over 3,000 negatives on glass and film. That is a huge amount of work considering that he photographed with a cumbersome, tripod-mounted 4x5" view camera. Although this was the standard technology of its time, it was anything but a "point and shoot" camera. Each photograph it produced came from an individually developed negative, the result of a labor intensive and time-consuming process. I was most impressed to read that during a two-week period in 1909 Laughlin produced and sold over 35,000 copies of postcards from 29 separate negatives shot of Carlisle's Old Home Week, an astounding 2,500 copies a day.

He began his career in early 1902, working for C.G. Miller in Shippensburg, and by July of that year, Laughlin had purchased the studio from him. Over the next four years he was in and out of the photography business until he was able to re-establish his own studio in 1906.

With a boom in postcard sales prompted by new postal regulations, Clyde and his wife, Agnes, ran a postcard store in Shippensburg, separate from his studio, from 1906 until its closing in 1908, shortly after the birth of their second daughter. After Agnes' departure, Clyde couldn't justify the increased overhead incurred by hiring an employee from outside the family and he closed the shop. He contained to combine his card work with his commercial business and produced cards until 1916, when his interest in postcards waned as their popularity decreased. Although he continued to make cards throughout the rest of his life, the 1907 to 1915 period was his most productive.

His subject matter consisted mostly of views of towns in south central Pennsylvania and of the documentation of noteworthy regional events that were typically celebrated by parades and festivals. These were his marketable images.

The reproduction quality in the book is good. However, Laughlin usually sepia-toned his postcards. That creates a challenge when reproducing the images in the book's black and white examples. There is a tendency for some of the postcards to be low in contrast.

Compared to other photographers working in the area at that time, Clyde

Laughlin's work stands out. His composition and technical execution were superb. In fact, counterfeit Laughlin postcards exist, proving that theft is really the sincerest form of flattery. As a benefit to the collector, the author points out the characteristics of these look-alike cards and shows several.

This chronicle of Clyde Laughlin's work serves as a valuable archive that documents many aspects of life in the early part of the last century. It provides ample proof that he was the "Postcard King of the Cumberland Valley."

Carlisle, Pa. Guy Freeman

Mel Spahr, *The Old Country Store on the Miracle Mile: A True Story.* (New York: Vantage Press, 2000). viii, 45, illustrated. Paperback $8.95 (ISBN 0-533-12837-4)

At one time almost every crossroad community in Pennsylvania had its own general store, so named because these businesses handled all types of general merchandise from food to hardware to clothing. Victims of the big-store competition made possible by a mobile society, few of the old stores remain.

The Old Country Story on the Miracle Mile: A True Story tells the tale of the general store that once operated in Middlesex, Pennsylvania, along what is now U.S. Route 11. The book was written by Mel Spahr, a life-long resident of Cumberland County, whose parents owned the establishment and who, as a young boy, worked in the store.

In a larger sense, however, this book does more than detail the operation of a specific local store; it is the history of a bygone era. The tales contained in this volume could have occurred—and in some form probably did occur—at almost any general store throughout this region.

The general store of old was a world apart from the modern supermarket or discount store. Customers presented their shopping list to the clerk, who filled the order for them. Few items were pre-packaged and brand selection was very limited. However, the owners and clerks developed a closeness with their regular customers that is uncommon in modern retailing.

The store was much more than a business establishment—it served as the center of a small community. Men would gather in the general store to play checkers and cards, to sing or to sit around the stove and tell stories. Young boys would meet at the store, playing baseball during warm weather and sledding in the wintertime.

The author's memories extend beyond the four walls of his parents' store. He recalls the local doctor making house calls in his buggy and young couples parking along what is now known as Shady Lane. He tells of swimming in the

Conodoguinet Creek behind the store, where he was occasionally joined by Carlisle Indian School student Jim Thorpe. He briefly discusses the history of the old Middlesex Power and Light Company, of which his father was a founder.

The author tells his story through the eyes of "Skip," his boyhood nickname. The overuse of this character's name in telling the story can be annoying to adult readers. But "Skip" seems to endear himself to children, making it easier for them to relate to the book.

Those who are old enough to have frequented the country stores in years gone by will find that this book brings back many fond memories. However, the true beneficiaries of this work will be the young readers, for whom the general store would be almost as foreign as petticoats, oil lamps or horse-drawn carriages.

Dickinson School of Law, Penn State University Mark W. Podvia

Daniel J. Heisey, ed., ***Cumberland County Government,*** (Carlisle: County of Cumberland, 2000). 54 pp. illustrated. Paperback, Free.

Ever wonder where local tax money goes or what it does? Although many of us certainly complain about taxes, few of us are probably aware of exactly where our percentage goes once the check is mailed. Gas needed in the Sheriff's cruiser? Grass mowing needed on the Courthouse lawn? Electric bill payment needed for the West Shore Public Library? These are Cumberland County taxes at work. Although I may appear to be advocating a county tax increase, I am actually advocating greater resident awareness of tax money through the local publication *Cumberland County Government.*

This pamphlet, available for free at the county courthouse and the county's public libraries, outlines each department in the county with its essential duties and connection with county residents. Thus, this pamphlet can be helpful in identifying current County responsibilities, the evolution of departments and joint-county responsibilities. For example: the County's Public Defender is mandated by the state, but financed through the County; the Finance Office was created in 1995 from the merger of the Budgeting, Purchasing, Tax Claim, and Tax Administration Departments; and the Drug and Alcohol Commission is a jointly-sponsored benefit between Cumberland and Perry Counties.

This is a great snapshot of County government in 2000, acting as a time capsule of sorts, and it appears that is the intent. However, its publication raises additional questions that a greater countywide publication or independent project could answer. The entries do vary from department to department within the publication and it would be nice to have consistent information about each:

specific date of department formation and history, parent and offshoot departments, responsibilities (historically and current), and contact information (though for many departments much of this is present). Although this pamphlet was created for the 250th celebration of the County, additional work in this area could be a great research tool for local historians. The chronology of a department provides clues to local policy and the issues of importance to the constituency. Another helpful aid for the researcher would be a departmental listing of record holdings, dates of inclusion, and their location (either within the office, in an archive, or off-site). Many researchers may be confused about local government records and how to find them, and many more are intimidated about learning more about their local government. Guides such as this could enable local historians to move beyond tax, probate, and land records to utilize other resources that flesh out the County's history.

But I digress from the purpose this guide, which is concise and informative—often a difficulty for government publications. Therein lies its usefulness. For the quick and handy reference for residents and historians, this pamphlet works well (as I assume this guide is meant to inform the public, not necessarily attract researchers). Hopefully future authors can build upon this work in order to further enrich us about more details concerning the use of our county tax dollars, but this is a good starting point.

New England Historic Genealogical Society Chad E. Leinaweaver

Recent Acquisitions

Black's Law Dictionary, Edited by Bryan Garner, 1999. 1738pp; hard cover. $39.95. West Group. 620 Opperman Drive, P.O. Box 64833, St. Paul, MN. 55164. Phone (800) 344-5009. Donated by Robert Black.

Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870-1900, Linda E. Smeins, 1999. 335pp; hard cover. $65.00. AltaMira Press. 1630 North Main Street, Suite 367, Walnut Creek, CA. 94596. Phone (800) 462-6420. Donated by Susan Hammel.

Children of the Indian Boarding Schools, Holly Littlefield, 2001. 48pp; hard cover. $22.60. Carolrhoda Books, Inc. 241 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, MN. 55401. Phone (800) 328-4929. Donated by The Lerner Publications Company.

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