



1995

Adams County History 1995

Follow this and additional works at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ach>

 Part of the [American Art and Architecture Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [History of Christianity Commons](#), [Military History Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), [United States History Commons](#), and the [Women's History Commons](#)

Share feedback about the accessibility of this item.

(1995) "Adams County History 1995," *Adams County History*: Vol. 1 , Article 1.
Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ach/vol1/iss1/1>

This open access complete issue is brought to you by The Cupola: Scholarship at Gettysburg College. It has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of The Cupola. For more information, please contact cupola@gettysburg.edu.

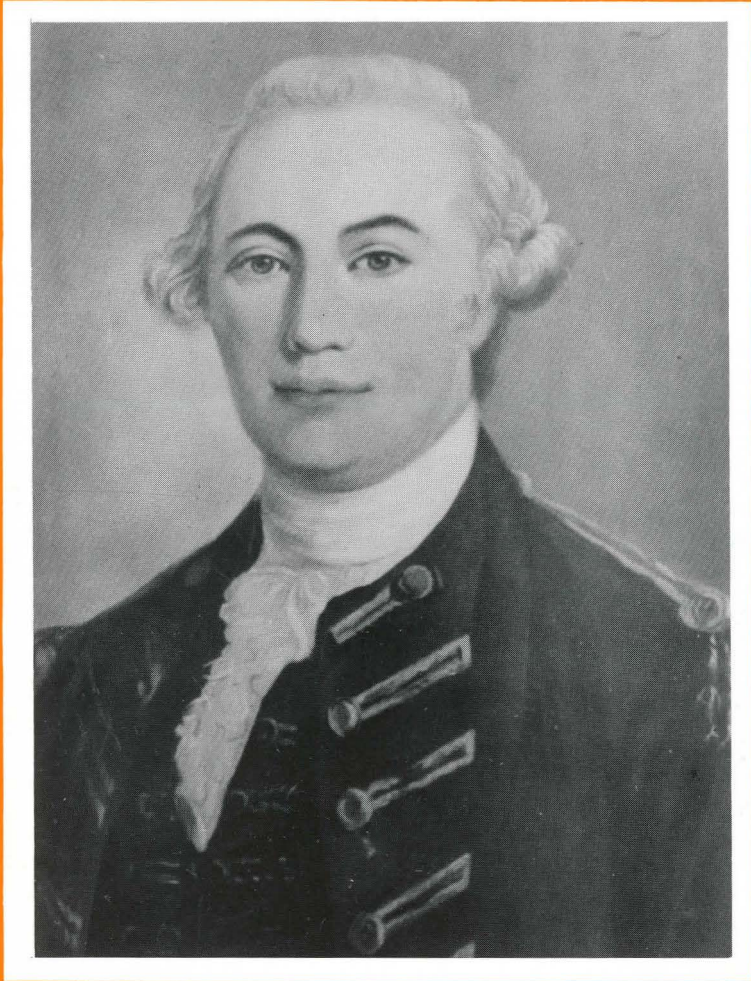
Adams County History 1995

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History

et al.: Adams County History 1995

ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



Published by the
Adams County Historical Society

1995

Volume 1

ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



1995

Volume 1

Contents

Preparations for the Forbes Expedition, 1758, in Adams County, with Particular Focus on the Reverend Thomas Barton by James P. Myers, Jr.	4
Anatomy of a Log House in Adams County, Pennsylvania and Its Unspoken Language by Elwood W. Christ	27
Catherine Mary White Foster's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Gettysburg, with Background on the Foster Family Union Soldiers edited by David A. Murdoch	45
Funeral Practices in Upper Northeast Adams by Nancy DeLong	68

Editorial Board

Dr. James P. Myers, Jr., editor
William A. Frassanito
Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter
Dr. Walter L. Powell
Reverend Frederick J. Weiser

Copyright 1995 by the Adams County Historical Society

Statement of Purpose

The Adams County Historical Society is committed to the presentation of the social, economic, political, and religious history of the county and to the promotion of the study of that history. Expressing its commitment, the society maintains museum displays and a valuable library of publications, and archival and manuscript material which includes estate papers, deed books, land surveys, and newspapers. In addition, it publishes important historical studies and reprints of earlier studies on Adams county history, a monthly newsletter, and a journal.

The editorial board of *Adams County History* encourages and invites the submission of essays and notices reflecting the rich history of Adams county. Submissions should be typed double spaced. Contributors should retain copies of the typescript submitted. If they desire return of their submissions, they should enclose a self-addressed envelope with sufficient postage.

Submissions and inquiries should be addressed to:

James P. Myers, Jr., Editor
Adams County History
The Adams County Historical Society
Box 4325
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 17325

Note From the Editor

With this, the premier issue of *Adams County History*, we at the Adams County Historical Society undertake an initial endeavor to open new possibilities for the study and appreciation of Adams county history. Already energetically committed to a policy of distribution and publication, the Board of Directors has enthusiastically chosen to support this further effort to publicize areas and topics of local historical interest. Whether or not *Adams County History* will see a second issue very much depends upon readers' submitting manuscripts for future publications—we cannot publish what we have not seen, what we do not have. One idea we are exploring for future issues is reprinting important material from the society's archives. Always, we are open to suggestions and comments.

The present issue brings together four essays as diverse in their appeal as they are representative of a wide span of history. First because it deals with an event that occurred historically the earliest, the Forbes Expedition of 1758, the editor's own article reflects the most recent direction his life-long fascination with the French and Indian Wars has taken. It explores the largely unknown role Adams countians played in General John Forbes's march on Fort Duquesne and suggests where additional information may be found.

Elwood ("Woody") W. Christ, research assistant at the society, discusses the Adams county log house—its widespread, often hidden-to-the-modern-eye occurrence, its construction and restoration. After explaining the physical building itself, Woody engagingly speculates on the primitive structure's cultural and historical symbolism.

Pittsburgh attorney David A. Murdoch edits and annotates the eye-witness account of the battle of Gettysburg written down by his ancestor, Catherine Mary White Foster. Determined not to leave their brick house on Washington Street, Catherine Mary's family hosted soldiers of both sides, hid a Union soldier eluding capture, endured being robbed at gunpoint, and survived shelling by artillery.

Having over the years researched, spoken, and written on attitudes toward living and dying in early Adams county, Nancy DeLong presents here an absorbing discussion of funeral practices in upper Adams county, an area where she lives and in which many of her ancestors settled long ago. Her investigations rely upon published material, family records, and interviews with those whose memories reach far-back into local history and thus orally maintain a bridge between present-day and olden-times.

We hope that the diverse coverage and professional presentation of these articles will encourage enough readers to submit material so that the society will be able to bring out next year its second issue of *Adams County History*.



The Reverend Thomas Barton (c. 1728 - 1780)

Preparations for the Forbes Expedition, 1758, in Adams County, with Particular Focus on the Reverend Thomas Barton

by James P. Myers, Jr.

In the year 1755, two events occurred which left their impress upon the history of what was to become Adams county. One was momentous, and its consequences, like concentric ripples produced by a stone hurled into a large body of water, continued to move and shape the history of Pennsylvania's frontier long afterwards. By comparison, the other was insignificant, the mere, almost undetectable slipping of a pebble into the rushing torrent of Time. Yet this second happening eventuated in ways that profoundly contributed to our understanding of Adams county's, and Pennsylvania's, history during the years 1755-59.

The lesser of these occurrences had its genesis in the religious needs of a people often neglected in accounts of colonial Pennsylvania, the Anglicans (or members of the Church of England) ¹ who dwelt along the western frontier and who, as it fell out, were largely Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish in origin. Numerically fewer than their Presbyterian neighbors clustered to the north in Cumberland county and to the south in the settlements of Marsh Creek, the people of the Church of England had informally staked out an area for themselves along the Conewago and the Bermudian Creeks in Huntington, Tyrone and Reading townships in what was then western York county. A shoal precariously situated in a sea of Presbyterians, Seceders, and Covenanters, and cut off from the nearest Anglican church, St. James's in Lancaster, by the triple geographic barriers of dense forest, broad river, and vast distance, they felt the survival of their religion an uncertain thing indeed. "We Are in A Starving Condition for y^e Spiritual Nourishment, of our Souls," the "Inhabitants of . . . Conniwaga" wrote in a petition of 3 October 1748,

nor can we Ever hear Divine Service without traveling Many Miles. . . . we Dread to think of our Children being brought Up in Ignorance as to all Divine Knowledge and [it] Cuts us to y^e very harte, to See our poor Infants Dye without being Made Members of Christ, by Baptism. ²

So desperate was their desire to attract a resident minister that they had already set aside 180 acres of glebe land "for y^e Use of y^e Minister"

and erected "A small Church . . . which we have Called Christ Church of thirty foot Long & twenty wide." ³ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the "S.P.G."), to which the settlers directed their petition, was not able to send them a resident missionary until the spring of 1755. In that year, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Barton, newly ordained by the Bishop of London and commissioned by the S.P.G., made his arduous way "over Susquehanna" to the Conewago settlements and there took charge of his Anglican flocks, which were scattered over an area stretching from Shippensburg to York-town, from Sherman's Valley to Marsh Creek.

In many respects, his parishioners could hardly have obtained a more suitable itinerant missionary. An immigrant, like many of them, from Ulster (co. Monaghan), a former school teacher, a naturalist with a special attraction to botany and mineralogy, and a militant defender of king and their Protestant faith, Barton became their fierce advocate. More significantly for them, and for us as well, he employed his considerable literary and rhetorical energy in their cause, leaving a rich legacy of letters, reports, and pamphlets which open a unique window into the lives of those who dwelt within the shadow of the frontier's edge during the years 1755-59.

Missionaries of the S.P.G. were required to return a yearly report of their activities to the society in London. Typically, the annual account, or *notitia parochialis*, enumerated parishioners, baptisms, and marriages, and summarized the more significant problems and conflicts that had challenged the missionary during the year. Thomas Barton's reports, however, were atypical, for they elaborated and analyzed to a much greater extent events that his colleagues would have normally only have mentioned, if even that. His first *notitia parochialis*, written over a year after he arrived in Conewago, runs to no less than twenty-two quarto pages and accordingly preserves a wealth of detail relating to the problems besetting the Anglican communities of the Pennsylvania backcountry in the year 1755-6. Pertinent to the present study, it also records the crisis that confronted Barton and his people as a consequence of the other, more momentous event alluded to earlier.

During the summer of 1755, a British army commanded by Major General Edward Braddock set out to seize Fort Duquesne, the French stronghold situated at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers, on the site of present-day Pittsburgh. As every schoolchild knows, Braddock's army, moving north along the Monongahela, was routed on 9 July 1755, a few miles south of Ft. Duquesne. A disaster for Braddock's combined colonial and royal army, the massacre also plunged

Pennsylvania's frontier into chaos, for the French and their Indian allies subsequently were able to use Ft. Duquesne to raid with impugntiy the settlements recently established on the western margin of the Susquehanna.

In the wake of Braddock's debacle, Barton directed a stream of letters to Philadelphia and London recording the panic and terror that swept through Cumberland and western York counties like a wild fire. One of these, dated "3 o'clock in the Morning, November 2nd, 1755," registered vividly the near-hysteria that gripped the frontier after the French-and-Indian victory:

I am just come from Carlisle. You may see by the inclosed in what a Situation I left it. The great Cove is entirely reduced to ashes. Andrew Montour charged Mr. Buchanon last night at John Harris' to hasten home & remove his wife and children. ⁴ I suppose by to-morrow there will not be one Woman or Child in the Town.

Mr. Hans Hamilton marches this morning with a party of Sixty men from Carlisle to Shippen's Town. Mr. Pope and Mr. McConaughy came over with me to raise Reinforcements in order to join Mr. Hamilton immediately.

I intend this morning to return to Carlisle with a Party of men to guard that Town; the Gentⁿ. there desire me to request your assistance without Delay. ⁵

Hans Hamilton is discussed below. The "Mr. McConaughy" Barton refers to must be the David McConaughy who appears prominently in county records as a landowner, a mill owner, an officer of militia, a provisioner/victualer for the military, and, ultimately, a debtor. "Mr. Pope" would be Quaker John Pope, and his mention opens a most intriguing window into the religious controversies surrounding the defense of Pennsylvania's frontier at this time.

John Pope is listed in York country records as a justice of the peace (1751-64) and an assemblyman (1772-4). On 17 January 1756, Pope and another Quaker prominent in county government, John Blackburn, ⁶ were disciplined by the Menallen Friends' Meeting for going "out in a warlike manner to meet" the Indians raiding in Cumberland county, "Contrary to our Peaceable principles." ⁷ The two men, however, repented and "were continued in membership." In 1758, Pope once more appears at the center of a controversy. In a letter filled with details concerning several Quakers who had, contrary to their church's peace testimony,

sought commissions in the new companies being raised for the Forbes expedition in 1758, George Stevenson remarks that he fully expected that John Pope "would have accepted, but I believe the influence of the [Quaker] meetings has over ballanced mine."⁸ General opposition to the war and attempts to prevent their members from participating in the military preparations brought criticism and hostility upon the Friends.

Barton's long 8 November 1756 report to the society, however, is perhaps more valuable to us than his shorter letters, for in surveying the past year-and-a-half he poignantly conveys a feeling of precipitous, catastrophic reversal, of buoyant expectancy drowned in a riptide of irrepressible fear and anguish:

Just when I was big with the Hopes of being able to do Service . . . we receiv'd the melancholy News, that our Forces under the Command of General Braddock, were defeated. . . . This was soon succeeded by an Alienation of the Indians in our Interest:—And from that Day to this, poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad Effects of Popish Tyranny, & Savage Cruelty!—A great Part of five of her Counties have been depopulated & laid waste, & some Hundreds of her sturdiest Sons either murder'd, or carried into barbarous Captivity!⁹

Daily, he witnessed the sufferings of a teeming humanity who, having abandoned their homesteads, now fled eastward,

groaning under a Burden of Calamities; some having lost their Husbands, some their Wives, some their Children,—And all, the Labour of many Years! In this Condition (my Heart bleeds in relating what I am an Eye Witness to) they now wander about, without Bread of their own to eat, or a House to shelter themselves in from the Inclemency of the approaching Winter!¹⁰

Both religious leader of his people and *de facto* representative of the Penn Proprietary, Barton himself lost no time meeting the emergency. In the autumn of 1775, responding to widespread appeals that he do so, he published his sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit*. Reinforced with a prefatory essay by his friend and colleague, the Reverend William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia and one of the colony's leading intellectual lights, the pamphlet exhorted the frontiersmen, irrespective of religious affiliation, to set aside their factional interests to meet the common threat of a merciless, tyrannical enemy. More pragmatically, and not to be outdone by his Presbyterian colleagues, the Rev-

erends John Steel of Cumberland county and Andrew Bay of the Marsh Creek settlement,¹¹ Barton organized his parishioners into working parties to improve the fortifications at Carlisle and militia which might effectively defend against the war parties. Writing from Huntington township to the Reverend Richard Peters, friend, Anglican minister, and secretary of the province, he described the new militant role fate had thrust upon him:

I was oblig'd more than once to *call* together the Inhabitants to meet in a Body at my House,¹² in Order to encourage them under their present fearful Apprehensions.—Some skulking Indians which were seen to pass towards the South-Mountains, have rais'd such Commotions among them, that they are ready to quit their Habitations, & flee to preserve their Lives. . . . what a poor, defenceless Situation this is. Not a Man in Ten is able to purchase a Gun.—Not a House in Twenty has a Door with either Lock or Bolt to it. So that a very small number of Indians might totally destroy the whole Inhabitants (in their present Circumstances) without the least Opposition.¹³

Barton's contemporaries praised his seizing the initiative. William Smith, for example, wrote the Bishop of Oxford in 1756 that

poor M^r. Barton has stood . . . upwards of a Year at the Risk of his Life, like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his People in the character of a Clergyman, and sometimes in that of a Captain, being often obliged, when they should go to Church, to gird on their Swords and go against the Enemy.¹⁴

Together with Andrew Bay and John Steel, Barton provided the frontiersmen with the immediate leadership and inspiration they looked for in vain to Philadelphia. The people of the backcounties fortunately found in these "men of God" the martial strength and expertise they required. Smith makes this clear in the same letter. If Barton, he continued,

and two worthy Presbyterians Ministers had not stood it out, I believe all the parts beyond Susquehanah, where his Mission lies, would have been long ago deserted.¹⁵

When Barton reported to superiors on the new martial attitude of his congregations, he did so with an enthusiasm and pride that he must have shared with the Reverends Bay and Steel:

Tho' my Churches, are Churches militant indeed, subject to Dangers & Trials of the most alarming Kind; yet I have the Pleasure every Sunday (even at the worst of Times) to see my People coming crowding with their Muskets on their Shoulders; declaring that they will dye Protestants & Freemen, sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves.¹⁶

As we can infer from these remarks, the response of the settlers in York and Cumberland counties was immediate. Like the fearful inhabitants of Pennsylvania's other exposed counties,¹⁷ they commenced petitioning the provincial government to undertake such measures as would help them to withstand the new threats. They particularly wished to see erected a chain of fortifications which would extend a defensive line beginning at the Delaware River and running west and southwest to the Maryland border. On 30 October 1755, Sheriff John Potter of Cumberland county summoned a meeting in Shippensburg. Augmented with "Assistant Members" from York county, the General Council of Cumberland County resolved that five "large forts" should be constructed at the following locations: "Carlisle, Shippensburg, Collonell Chambers's [i.e., today's Chambersburg], Steells Meeting House [near present-day Mercersburg], & at Will^m Allison's Esq^r. [i.e., today's Greencastle]."¹⁸ In short time, these and other posts were in fact erected along the exposed frontier, their purposes being to reduce enemy infiltration and to provide protection during actual attacks.

A second, more far-reaching response was also more controversial insofar as it required legislation to raise a militia and provide funds to pay for and supply an army and to build forts. The Pennsylvania Assembly was at this time dominated by the pacifist faction, principally Quaker, which initially thwarted attempts to pass militia and supply bills. In time, however, the measures were enacted. Until they were, Governor Robert Hunter Morris in July 1755 authorized the setting up of "associated companies."¹⁹ These were in effect voluntary associations of militia whose legality lay with royal charter rather than with provincial legislation.²⁰ Additionally, to meet the emergency and later to augment the thin line of provincial forts, private individuals erected their own fortifications. Frequently, these were little more than blockhouses. McCord's, McDowell's, and Chambers's originated as privately built defenses intended to fill the urgent need. Similarly, tradition has it that a number of such forts, probably blockhouses, were built in what is now Adams county.²¹

It is difficult to identify with certainty the many from Adams county

who participated in the initial defense.²² A compilation dated 4 November 1756 and titled "List of Associated Companys in York County" shows a great number of names of individuals we know to have lived in the county at that time.²³ The trouble with any listing of largely Scots-Irish people, however, is that their stock of names admits relatively little variety: many exemplars of the same surname may be found in the same or different locales at the same time. A few however, stand out because their forenames may be unusual; or they may recur over a long period of time in the same situation and can thus be identified more accurately from later records; or the names may also be particularized further with a title such as *Doctor* or *Reverend*. Thus, the name of "the Rev^d. Mr. Bay" occurring among those listed as attending the 30 October 1755 emergency meeting in Shippensburg is surely that of the Presbyterian parson of the Marsh Creek settlement, the Reverend Andrew Bay, who continued to participate energetically in the defense of western York county. The Samuel Reynolds whose name appears immediately beneath that of Bay might also be the same Samuel Reynolds who held land on the Manor of Maske adjoining the property of Andrew Bay.²⁴

Similarly, a list in the Pennsylvania state archives entitled "Officers of the Provincial Service—1755" includes as a captain the Reverend Thomas Barton, thus giving us official confirmation of Barton's active military involvement in the associated companies authorized by Governor Morris in July 1755. Also included on the same list is the name of Hans Hamilton. Owner of a Manor of Maske plantation adjoining the lands of Samuel Reynolds,²⁵ Hans Hamilton is of course well-known in Adams county history as the first sheriff of York county, an associate judge, a mill owner, and an Indian fighter. An important participant in this episode of Adams county history, his early involvement in the defense of the area merits some attention.

In extant documents of this time, the Scots-Irishman figures with fair regularity. He appears to have impressed his superiors as a soldier who could be relied upon. In 1756, he was given command of one of the new "strong Forts" erected by the province, Fort Lyttelton, and appears to have remained its commandant until his promotion to lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, at the outset of Forbes's march to Ft. Duquesne. Extant pay accounts in his hand from 1758, showing the names of soldiers recognizable as from Adams county, survived and were reprinted by Edward McPherson.²⁶

Lyttelton was one of three fortifications Captain George Croghan, Indian trader, later principal deputy for Indian superintendent Sir William Johnson, and friend of Barton, was charged with building.²⁷ It was

constructed near the present-day town of Fort Lyttelton, then known as the Sugar Cabins, and located about midway between Carlisle and Ray's-town (today's Bedford). Pennsylvania's Governor Morris wrote on 9 February 1756 that Lyttelton, situated on a

road that within a few miles Joyns Gen^l Braddocks rout[e,] . . . will prevent the march of any regulars that way into the Province and at the same time serve as an advanced post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward.²⁸

A stockaded enclosure of about 100 square feet, with bastions at each corner, and garrisoned with about 70 men, Fort Lyttelton occupied a position of strategic importance, as the year 1756 soon dramatized.

During the early spring, Indians struck as far east as present-day Chambersburg. On 1 April they attacked and destroyed a private fortification, McCord's Fort, situated northwest of Benjamin's Chambers fortified mills. Retreating, they were pursued by militia from Lurgan township, Cumberland county. Reinforced by 19 men from Hans Hamilton's company at Fort Lyttelton, the combined forces intercepted the war party at Sideling Hill on 2 April. In a letter written two days later, Hamilton sent early news of the provincials' defeat:

These are to Inform you of the Malancholy News that Occurd on the 2nd Instant. . . . Our men Engaged about 2 hours, being about 36 in Number, & we should have had the better had not thirty Indians Came to their Assistance. Some of our men fir^d 24 Rounds a piece, and when their Amunition Fail^d were oblig'd to Fly.²⁹

Lyttelton's importance was again implied later that same year when Colonel John Armstrong's expedition arrived there to regroup during its return from the successful attack on the Indian stronghold at Kittanning. Located on the Allegheny River, north of Fort Duquesne, Kittanning was the principal Delaware staging point for the devastating raids led by the *sachems* Shingas and Captain Jacobs, or Tewea, on the English settlements. The attack that destroyed McCord's Fort had been launched from Kittanning.

Of even greater strategic significance than the attack on McCord's Fort, a French-and-Indian war party at the end of July 1756 captured and burned the provincial fort that stood on the site to today's Lewistown, Mifflin county, Fort Granville. In the assessment of William A. Hunter, authority on Pennsylvania's French-and-Indian War forts, "the loss of

this fort was a stunning blow.”³⁰ Indeed, just how imperiled the settlers felt may be appreciated in a missive Barton sent to Richard Peters from Carlisle:

I came here this Morning, where all is Confusion. Such a Panick has seized the Hearts of People in general, since the Reduction of Fort Granville, that this Country is almost relinquished, & Marsh Creek in York County is become a Frontier. . . .

I should be extremely glad to have the Pleasure of a Line or two from you. Your Advice would be of service to me at this Time, when I know not what to do, whether to quit this Place, or to remain a little longer, to see whether any thing favourable will turn out for us.³¹

The day before he wrote Peters, Barton had sent another communication to Governor Robert Hunter Morris. In his tersely worded covering letter, he told Morris that he was enclosing a “Petition at the Solicitation of a great number of People” in York county. He goes on to stress the urgency of the predicament faced by the frontiersmen of both York and Cumberland counties:

Marsh Creek is the now the Frontier, and such a Panick has seiz’d the Hearts of the People in general, that unless we soon have some favourable Turn in our Affairs, I am affraid the Enemy need not long be at the Point to dispute a claim to those two Counties.³²

Reprinted in the *Colonial Records* (7:233), the petition itself pleads at length for military aid from the provincial government against “the outrages of [a] barbarous and savage enemy.” It is an eloquently devised appeal, and its vocabulary and phrasing suggest that Thomas Barton, one of its signatories, was also its principal author. Lacking in the *Colonial Records* text, however, is the list of actual signatories—“the great number of People” referred to by Barton. Fortunately for us, George Prowell reproduced that list, and we can thus perceive that Barton hardly exaggerated, for no less than 191 names appear on it.³³ Although Prowell maintains that “most of the signers were Scotch-Irish or English Quakers,” a comparison of the names with those on various church lists we possess indicates that actually few, if any, were Quakers and that most were in fact Presbyterians and Anglicans. The list of 191 names survives as a valuable compilation of males who lived, largely, in what is

now Adams county in the year 1756 and who willingly put their names to a petition requesting the governor "to take some measure to ease our calamities; perhaps to command . . . the Royal American Regiment, to be forthwith sent to our relief."

These two letters to Peters and Morris show us another dimension to Thomas Barton's character. Beyond holding a commission as captain in one of Governor Morris's associated companies and leading his congregations against the Indians, he was busily helping write and dispatch petitions to Philadelphia, on 21 August from York/Reading, on 22 August from Carlisle. Indeed, we catch a brief glimpse of Barton the following year busily carrying yet another "Application . . . for a further Protection."³⁴ This time he is in Easton, delivering it to the new governor, William Denny, who remarks of parson Barton that "he waits only for an Answer, and is very much wanted at home."

Granville's destruction, then, revealed the weaknesses of what later became known at the outbreak of World War II as the "Maginot mentality," i.e., of passively relying upon a line of fortifications that were "widely spaced, lightly garrisoned, and difficult to supply and to reinforce."³⁵ More dramatically, the Indian success inspired the settlers to set aside their defensive passivity and take the offense. This they did by carrying the war into Indian country itself and eliminating the Delaware stronghold.

The raid upon Kittanning was for the most part executed by the Pennsylvania Regiment's Second Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong of Carlisle. Again, it is difficult to identify most of those from western York county who participated, but certainly not a few did. As the records show, Capt. Hans Hamilton was one of them.

The story of the attack has been well told by others.³⁶ Briefly, after moving across the Alleghenies undetected, Armstrong's men completely surprised the Indian town on the dawn of Wednesday, 8 September 1756. Nonetheless, by the time they broke off their assault, they had lost 17 known dead, with as many wounded, including Armstrong himself. The settlement, however, was put to the torch and the dreaded Captain Jacobs killed.

Although Barton did not march with the Second Battalion, he knew men who had, and at least one of them, possibly Lieutenant Robert Callender, one of his parishioners and the officer Armstrong used as his secretary after he had been wounded, passed on to him details omitted from Armstrong's official report, written 14 September 1756, in Fort Lyttelton.³⁷ Barton's letter to Proprietor Thomas Penn, written from his plantation or farm below Mud Run in Reading township on 28 February

1757, is remarkable for several reasons. In it, Barton employs a tone implying that his relationship to Penn is something other than that of a mere client addressing his patron and benefactor. This attitude may help to explain why Barton does not adopt the more general feeling of euphoria expressed by many other inhabitants of the back counties once they realized that Kittanning and the threat it represented had been destroyed.³⁸ As one who had met Penn in London in 1754 and who could continue to count on the latter's generosity—Thomas Penn was not usually acclaimed for his largesse—Barton wrote more candidly than others. Thus, although he acknowledges that "Since the Reduction of the Kittanning under Colonel Armstrong, we have not been much disturb'd," he also fears that "the approaching Spring will again make us tremble. We have a great deal to do, & but little done."³⁹ He perceives, moreover, that "the killing of a few Indians & burning their Huts at Kittanning is an Action not very considerable in itself." Clearly, his guarded attitude departs from the more general enthusiasm accorded Armstrong's recent victory. Although he may be responding with the coolness of one who already felt the effects of a rivalry developing between himself and the Proprietary's other important placeman in the Carlisle area, the "Hero of Kittanning," Barton's fear that "the approaching Spring will again make us tremble" proved well-taken.

Additionally, Barton uses the opportunity to inform his benefactor of Callender's bravery, a fact not stressed by Armstrong in his official account. Callender, who copied down Armstrong's report, might well have mentioned the omission to his minister. Barton said the following of Callender:

One Mr. Callender . . . distinguish'd himself by the most uncommon Bravery & Resolution. It is asserted that when Jacobs took to a House, out of which he kill'd & wounded Many of our Men—Callender undertook to fire it, which he accomplish'd at the infinite Hazard of his Life;—And that when our People precipitately retreated upon a Report pervailing that the French were to be up that Day from Fort-du Quesne, Callender not content to leave the Houses standing, went back with a small Party of Men, & set Fire to them all.⁴⁰

Although Barton's bringing this instance of Callender's heroism to the notice of the Proprietor might not be that unusual, his apparent respect for Captain Jacob's death must certainly stand out as unique in a cleric and a settler who had witnessed first-hand the sufferings everywhere

evident on the Pennsylvania frontier. Rather than expectedly turning the killing of Jacobs into a homily on the evil pagan receiving his just deserts, Barton in another letter perceives in the *sachem's* end intimations of the tragic deaths celebrated in the ancient epics and plays of Greece and in John Foxe's popular history, the *Book of Martyrs*:

the famous Captain Jacobs fought, & died, like a Soldier. He refus'd to surrender when the House was even on Fire over his Head; And when the Flame grew too violent for him, he rush'd out into the Body of our Men flourishing his Tomahawk, & told them he was born a Soldier, & would not die a Slave.⁴¹

As Barton foresaw, the French-and Indian raids resumed, until in the following year Delaware and Shawnee were once more attacking the back settlers frequently and without much resistance. The 5 April 1758 attack on Buchanan Valley is well-known, for it was this incursion that carried Mary Jamieson off into a world she came eventually to prefer to the one from which she had been forcibly abducted. Not quite so famous was the raid that occurred eight days later and which Barton described to Peters with an urgency we can feel to this day:

I have the misfortune to acquaint you that we are all Confusion. Within 12 miles of my House, two Families consisting of 11 Persons were murder'd & taken. . . . The poor Inhabitants are flying in numbers into the interior Parts. I prevail'd yesterday upon the Inhabitants of Canawago & Bermudian to assemble themselves together, & forming themselves into Companies, to guard the Frontiers of this County. . . .⁴²

Barton here refers to an attack that occurred in the vicinity of present-day Virginia Mills in Hamiltonban township. Fortunately one of the captives, Richard Baird, later made his escape to Ft. Lyttelton, survived, and left us a particularly vivid eye-witness account.⁴³

By the spring of 1758, Brigadier General John Forbes was in Philadelphia laying plans for a campaign against Ft. Duquesne. Relying upon a combined army of both provincial and royal forces, his strategy was designed to drive the French from Pennsylvania, thereby depriving the Delaware and Shawnees of their major support.

The Pennsylvania Regiment was eventually reorganized, with Colonel John Armstrong given actual leadership of the regiment, although Governor William Denny enjoyed nominal command as colonel-in-chief. And

in turn, although Armstrong, as colonel, theoretically still commanded a battalion, the First, Lieutenant-Colonel Hans Hamilton became *de facto* commander of that unit. Colonel James Burd commanded the Second Battalion.⁴⁴ To increase the strength of the regiment and to represent the trans-Susquehanna settlements more fully, the authorities deemed it necessary to raise still a third unit. Records show that most of the men in three of the new companies formed for the Third Battalion came from today's Adams county (another company raised locally was joined to the First).

In a 30 April 1758 letter to Provincial Secretary Richard Peters, proprietary land agent and surveyor for the county of York, George Stevenson, identified Archibald McGrew as a man who "has signified to me his Inclination to serve his King & Country in the Station of a Captain of Rangers."⁴⁵ A resident of Huntington township, a vestryman of Barton's Christ's Church, a county coroner, and a former officer in a York county associated company,⁴⁶ McGrew has, Stevenson noted, behaved in all "Stations . . . to the satisfaction of the People as well as myself."

Beyond recommending Archibald McGrew for a commission, Stevenson writes of two other important concerns. He records—"what is most remarkable"—that four leading York county Quakers have finally made common cause with the imperiled settlers and recently supported their efforts to raise a local militia of "45 men." Secondly, Stevenson suggests the possibility that

four or five good Companies could be rais'd in a very short Time here if proper Officers are chosen, & that in a Short Time. If the Governor & Council should think my Services necessary, I mean in recommending Officers & raising Men, &c., &c., all Fatigues of that kind will be a Pleasure to me.⁴⁷

Stevenson's pleasure was soon to be great, indeed, for Richard Peters replied forthwith, observing not only that the governor had granted Archibald McGrew his "Captain's Commission," but also that he (Peters) and John Armstrong had already been exploring the possibility of raising new companies.⁴⁸ Although nothing seems to have come of the plan, Peters also stressed the desirability of commissioning "one full set of Officers of German Farmers and Freeholders." An ordained Anglican priest himself, he further advises Stevenson to urge the "Ministers . . . in different and proper parts of the Country . . . to appoint Meetings, and animate the People to raise Levees with all possible Dispatch."⁴⁹

Stevenson's letter of 21 May details his difficulties in raising the new companies. Some candidates for officers' commissions had withdrawn or were perceived as unfit; new names appear.⁵⁰ Gradually, four new companies emerged. These were to be commanded by western York countians, namely, Captains David Hunter, Robert McPherson, Archibald McGrew, and Thomas Hamilton (Hans Hamilton's son). The plans for a fifth unit composed of Germans seems not to have materialized.

Stevenson also relays news of success in enlisting local clerics to whip up support for the war:

The Rev^d Mr. Craddock gave me the Pleasure of a Visit, & preach'd an excellent War Sermon from Mr. Listry's Pulpit, on Friday last, in the hearing of Messrs. Barton, Bay, & Listry; he went with Mr. Barton yesterday, is to deliver another Sermon to the same Purpose to day from Mr. Barton's Pulpit.⁵¹

Anglican Thomas Craddock, an influential Maryland clergyman, had apparently been invited by the proprietary to preach what in effect was an ecumenical sermon to a congregation which included Anglican Barton, Presbyterian Andrew Bay, and the German Reformed John Jacob Listry or Lishy. Thematic similarities to Barton's 1755 sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit* imply that it might have helped inspire Craddock's exhortation to unity against the dreaded foe.⁵²

Stevenson's efforts as recruiting officer had its lighter moments, though maybe only to us far-removed in time. In one letter, for example, he launched into a digression on uniforms for the new companies:

Must the men buy green Cloathing? I fear this will hurt us much. I think linnen Stockings, red below the Knee, Petticoat Trowsers, reaching to the thick of the Leg, made of strong Linnen, and a Sailor's Frock made of the same, would be best.⁵³

Green uniforms, providing better camouflage than the traditional scarlet worn by British regiments, were popular among colonial units.

More typically, Stevenson was greatly challenged to put the new companies into readiness. Simply trying to assemble the new recruits who were "so scattered throughout the Country," as his assistant David Jamieson put it, was an arduous chore.⁵⁴ But trying to raise full complements for the new companies, and move weapons and provisions, as General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet were to discover later in respect to the entire campaign, proved enormously wearying. David Jamieson com-

plained that of the recruits whom he had seen in York, "not one-third of them had arms, or could be prevailed on to gett them."⁵⁵ To find transport for the munitions and provisions, Stevenson had to scour the area for wagons. On 6 June 1758, he informed Peters that, having already made contracts for 35 wagons at York, he would be travelling the following Thursday "22 Miles West of York . . . there to contract for Wagons, in pursuance of a Power from Colonel Bouquet for that Purpose."⁵⁶

Travelling "22 Miles" west on the Menallen-York Road (today's state Rt. 234), then the east-west route of travel, would have brought Stevenson and Jamieson approximately to the intersection of the Oxford Road, near present-day Heidlersburg. Continuing a few miles south of that point on the Oxford Rd. would have placed him in the vicinity of Victor King's tavern and mill in Tyrone township, on the north side of the Great Conewago Creek. King, commissioned 16 May 1758 as a lieutenant in Capt. Thomas Hamilton's company, was, with Capt. Robert McPherson, also actively involved in the supply effort.⁵⁷ Thus, it is very possible that Stevenson alludes to plans to journey to Victor King's, site of a mill and a tavern, and thus a natural mustering and meeting place, an ideal locale for negotiating the hiring of wagons.

In the event, Thomas Hamilton's, Robert McPherson's, and Archibald McGrew's companies marched north to Carlisle along the Oxford Road to become integrated into the new Third Battalion, while the fourth, David Hunter's, joined the First.⁵⁸ Before the Pennsylvania Regiment was deemed ready as a fighting unit, however, a decision had to be made on how to resolve the heated question of who would be commissioned its chaplain, or, rephrased, how diplomatically to find a place for the Proprietary's religious representative, Anglican itinerant minister, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Barton.

Of all the conflicts and rivalries which must have occurred during those busy preparations for the campaign and which we know of, it is perhaps surprising that one of the most strident should involve the position of chaplain in the Third Battalion. Yet that it did is surely the measure of gravity with which Anglicans and Presbyterians, particularly Anglo-Irish Episcopalians and Scots-Irish Presbyterians, regarded the role of spiritual advisor. As well, it reflects the degree to which the old animosities spawned in their mutual homeland of Ulster apparently continued to divide the people inhabiting the frontier.

The full controversy has been detailed elsewhere, permitting us here to note only its general character.⁵⁹ Suppression of the full details by the principals, John Armstrong and Thomas Barton, and missing documents obscure for us what actually transpired during July 1758. Briefly, it ap-

pears that Thomas Barton, although appointed chaplain to the entire Pennsylvania Regiment,⁶⁰ had for some reason to settle for the chaplaincy of the Third Battalion.⁶¹ The overwhelming numbers of Presbyterians in that unit, however, instead petitioned General Forbes to commission for them one of their own creed, as was the case in both the First and Second Battalions.⁶² Apparently because he had been denied the spiritual authority of the entire regiment and because great numbers of Presbyterians in the Third resented him, Barton refused the governor's commission to the Third. Instead, he requested that Forbes employ him as a kind of Anglican chaplain-at-large for the entire expeditionary force, thus escaping the acutely critical eye of Presbyterian and rival Colonel John Armstrong. Forbes agreed, and on 9 July 1758, he commissioned the Anglo-Irishman: "you are hereby invited & authoriz'd to the Discharge of all Ministerial Functions belonging to a Clergyman of the Church of England amongst the Troops under my Command."⁶³

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the documentation relating to the Forbes campaign for evidence of participation by Adams countians. Many references in the Pennsylvania state archives and the *Bouquet Papers* to the companies of Captains Thomas Hamilton, Robert McPherson, Archibald McGrew, and David Hunter suggest something of the duties they performed. Enjoying a rank of greater responsibility, Lt.-Colonel Hans Hamilton has left behind a larger, what we now term, "paper trail": by means of this we may trace the path by which he distinguished himself as a soldier and then allowed his violent temper to force his resignation in 1759.

We may also consult the 1758 war journal of Thomas Barton. Discovered in manuscript in 1970 and printed the following year, Barton's diary is filled with important details and significant observations.⁶⁴ Interestingly, it appears to trace his growing disillusionment with military life. Beginning on 7 July and breaking off abruptly on 26 September 1758, it unfortunately stops well before the capture of Ft. Duquesne on 23 November 1758, prompting speculation that Barton, depressed or demoralized by his circumstances, might have withdrawn from the campaign.⁶⁵

Recently discovered evidence, however, establishes that, for whatever reason Barton chose to stop his journal in September, he did in fact continue all the way to Fort Duquesne. An anonymous letter printed in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 14 December 1758 (no. 1564) and jubilantly announcing the fall of the French fortress is clearly from Barton's pen. In the eighteenth century, newspapers did not normally identify their sources for news beyond the city where they were

published—i.e., writers whom we today would call “news correspondents.” Comparing the letter’s style with other writings of Barton allows us to recognize transparent similarities in syntax, vocabulary, figures of speech, and tone. We know from a later occasion that he indeed anonymously sent news of military interest to the *Gazette*. In 1763 a letter describing atrocities committed during Pontiac’s War was printed anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: it duplicates the structure, phrasing, and vocabulary of a letter Barton had sent a few weeks earlier to Richard Peters on the same subject.⁶⁶ Additionally, Franklin also printed Barton’s war sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit* in 1755. All this evidence shows that Franklin, during the years 1755-61, was publishing writings by Barton.⁶⁷

Finally, a letter by Thomas Penn to Barton commending the latter for his participation in the Forbes campaign also thanks him for sending both “your account of the flourishing state of the frontier Settlements . . . [and] your account of the Lands in the back parts of the Province.”⁶⁸ The Proprietor’s next remark suggests that Barton’s second “account” was of the new territories opened with the fall of Ft. Duquesne: “but [I] believe we must not think of making Settlements on the Ohio ‘till the next Age.”⁶⁹ Barton had seen and described for Penn the new rich lands that lay about and beyond the Forks of the Ohio, hoping to encourage him to open that territory to settlement.

The full text of what is certainly then Thomas Barton’s letter to Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette* follows and fittingly concludes this essay. Appropriately, it is perhaps one of the final extant communications Barton wrote before he removed to Lancaster in 1759. His celebration of the destruction of Fort Duquesne and of his general’s great victory rounds off a sequence of events that in effect commenced with the virtual beginning of his incumbency in Christ’s Church, Huntington township, and the inglorious defeat of another British general marching to seize the French stronghold at the Forks of the Ohio. Barton’s euphoria matches in degree the despair and the anguish that distinguished his first letters, penned within the shadows of the forest of Huntington and Reading townships three-and-a-half years earlier.

* * * *

Thomas Barton[?] to *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (no. 1564, 14 December 1758):

The following Letter from that General’s ⁷⁰ Army, being wrote by one, who seems to be no Stranger to the true Interest of these Colonies, nor to

Indian Affairs, we hope will not be unacceptable to our Readers.

Pittsburgh (formerly Fort Duquesne) Nov. 28, 1758

SIR,

I have the Pleasure to write this Letter upon the Spot where *Fort Duquesne* once stood, while the *British* Flag flies over the Debris of its Bastions in Triumph.

Blessed be God, the long look'd for Day is arrived, that has now fixed us on the Banks of the *Ohio!* with great Propriety called *La Belle Riviere*, in the quiet and peaceable Possession of the finest and most fertile Country of *America*, lying in the happiest Climate in the Universe. This valuable Acquisition lays open to all his Majesty's Subjects a Vein of Treasure, which, if rightly managed, may prove richer than the Mines of *Mexico*, the Trade with the numerous Nations of *Western Indians*: It deprives our Enemies of the Benefits they expected from their deep laid Schemes, and breaks asunder the Chain of Communication betwixt *Canada* and *Louisiana*, a Chain that threatened this Continent with Slavery, and therefore the chief Favourite and Mistress of the *French* Court. These Advantages have been procured for us by the Prudence and Abilities of General FORBES, without Stroke of Sword, tho' had they been purchased at the Price of much Blood and Treasure, every Lover of his Country must have allowed that they would have been cheaply bought.

The Difficulties he had to struggle with were great. To maintain Armies in a Wilderness, Hundreds of Miles from the Settlements; to march them by untrodden Paths, over almost impassable Mountains, thro' thick Woods and dangerous Defiles, required both Foresight and Experience, especially if you consider the Efforts of an active Enemy, frequently attempting to cut off our Convoys; consider also his long and dangerous Sickness, under which a Man of less Spirits must have sunk; and the advanced Season, which would have deterred a less determined Leader, and think that he has surmounted all these Difficulties, that he has conquered all this Country, has driven the *French* from the *Ohio*, and obliged them to blow up their Fort (when we were within a few Miles of it we heard the Explosion) he has now reconciled the several Nations of *Indians* at War with us, and with one another, regained our lost Interest among them, and fixed it on so firm a Foundation, as not again to be shaken; so that our Back Settlements, instead of being frightful Fields of Blood, will once more smile with Peace and Plenty. These Things have rendered him the Delight of the Army, and must endear him to the Provinces.

All his Motions were narrowly watched by the Enemy, who, finding that he not only proceeded with Care and Circumspection, but with inflexible Steadiness, and that they could neither face him in the Field, retard his March, nor resist him in their Fort, retired to their Batteaus,⁷¹ and fell⁷² down the River, we hear, to a Fort, built two or three Years ago, near the Junction of the *Ohio* with the *Cherokee* River, where their united Stream falls into the *Mississippi*, Eight Hundred Miles from hence.

The Twenty-sixth of this Month was observed, by the General's Orders, as a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for our Success; the Day after we had a grand *feu de Joye*, and To-day a great Detachment goes to *Braddock's* Field of Battle, to bury the Bones of our slaughtered Countrymen, many of whom were butchered in cold Blood by (those crueller than Savages) the *French*, who, to the eternal Shame and Infamy of their Country, have left them lying above Ground ever since. The unburied Bodies of those killed since, and strewed round this Fort, equally reproach them, and proclaim loudly, to all civilized Nations, their Barbarity.

Thanks to Heaven, their Reign on this Continent promises no long Duration! especially if Mr. PITT⁷³ be preserved, whose great Soul animates all our Measures, infuses new Courage into our Soldiers and Sailors, and inspires our Generals and Admirals with the most commendable Conduct.

NOTES

1. The term *Episcopalian* was not widely or officially employed until after the Revolution.

2. Petition of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Huntington and Tyrone . . . on the West Side of the Susquehanna, 3 October 1748, S.P.G. Letters, 16:116 (also included in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, 2: Pennsylvania* [Hartford, Conn., 1871], 255).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Andrew Montour, also called Henry, was the eldest son of the famous Indian interpreter Madame Montour, who claimed descent from a Huron and one of the governors of Canada. Andrew, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, figures prominently in Pennsylvania history as an interpreter, scout, and officer in the French and Indian wars. In the words of historian C. Hale Sipes (*The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania* [Harrisburg, 1931], p. 171): "A Town, a creek, an island, a county, a mountain range—all in Pennsylvania—are named for him and his mother."

"Mr. Buchanon" would probably be William Buchanan of Lurgan township, Cumberland (now Franklin) county, who contributed significantly to the defense of that area.

John Harris was the owner of the strategically important ferry at the site of today's Harrisburg.

5. Thomas Barton to the Governor, 2 November 1755, *Colonial Records*, 6:675.

6. John Blackburn (Jr.) was York county justice of the peace (1751-5, 1764-7), assemblyman (1760-7), and treasurer (1759-64, 1766-7).

7. Cited in Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1902), p. 231.

8. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 15 May 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st series, 3:395 (cited hereafter as P.A.).

9. Thomas Barton to the Secretary, 8 November 1756, S.P.G. Letters, Series B,

no. 1, p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11. Several documents show John Steel and Andrew Bay to have been active in the defense of Cumberland and York counties. See, for example, William Smith's 1 November 1756 letter to the Bishop of Oxford, (*Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 2:566), where Smith credits Barton and "two worthy Presbyterian Ministers" with setting martial examples for their people. In addition, the Minutes of the General Council of Cumberland County, 30 October 1755 (Lamberton Scots-Irish Collection, 1:23, Historical Society of Pennsylvania) includes the names of Bay and Steel as attending the war council.

12. Barton's plantation was located in Reading township, south of Mud Run, on the site of today's Gerald M. Ebersole farm along state Rt. 394. (I thank Arthur Weaner for this information.)

13. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 30 July 1755, Peters Papers, 4:36, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (cited hereafter as H.S.P.).

14. William Smith to the Bishop of Oxford, [1 November 1756], *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 2:556.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Barton to the Secretary, 8 November 1756, p. 7.

17. See, for example, the petition from Lancaster, 1 November 1755, P.A., 1st ser., 2:450-1.

18. Minutes of the General Council of Cumberland County, 30 October 1755, Lamberton Scots-Irish Collection, H.S.P., 1:23.

19. William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg, 1960), p. 184.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Robert L. Bloom writes in *History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, 1992): "Tradition exists that a fort was erected just north of Arendtsville, another in Butler Township, one between

Two Taverns and Bonneauville, another near Gulden's in Straban Township, and one located in Latimore Township. It seems hardly possible that such forts, if indeed they had been built in the central and eastern parts of the county, would have provided much protection to Adams Countians to the west" (n. 5, p. 18).

The present author has learned that a blockhouse, possibly the above-mentioned one "in Butler township," was erected on 'Possum Creek, near the point where Stone Jug Road crosses it, at the site where David McConaughy, active in local defense, had a mill.

22. See C. Bradsby, *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1886), pp. 7-12, for an account of early attacks and responses.

23. Certified by Richard peters, P.A. (1st ser.), 3:20. The officers listed are as follows: Captains: Isaa[c] Sadler, Hugh Dunwoody, James Agnew, David Hunter, Samuel Gordon, Andrew Findley, William Gibson, Francis Holton. Lieutenants: Archibald McGrew, Charles McMullen, John Miller, John Correy, William Smiley, William Gamell, William Thompson, Joseph Ross. Ensigns: William Duffell [Duffield], James Smith, Samuel With[er]row, John Barnes, John Little, Moses Lawson, Casper Little, John McCall. The list indicates that the 8 companies included 642 "private men."

24. York County Deed A-332, 20 March 1759. (I am indebted to Arthur Weaner for this material on Samuel Reynolds.)

25. *Ibid.*

26. See "Hance Hamilton in the French-Indian Campaign of 1758 and His Associates in Command," *Star and Sentinel*, 2 August 1887.

27. Hunter, p. 410.

28. Cited in Hunter, p. 411.

29. Hans Hamilton to [?], 4 April 1756, P.A., 1st ser., 2:611-12.

30. P. 391.

31. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 22 August 1756, P.A., 1st ser., 2:756.

32. Thomas Barton to William Hunter Morris, 21 August 1756, P.A., 1st ser., 2:755.

33. See George Prowell, *History of York County*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1907), 1:154-5.

34. William Denny to [?], 21 July 1757, P.A., 1st ser., 3:235.

35. Hunter, p. 392.

36. By Armstrong himself; see Colonel John Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, P.A., 1st ser., 2:767-75. See also William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History*, 23 (1956), 376-407.

37. Colonel John Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, *ibid.*

38. For an example of the more typical response, see Robert Hunter Morris's to [?] September 1756: "I think the Expedition will be of great use to the Publick as it will raise the spirits of the People and serve to remove that Dread and Panick which has seized the generality of the People" (Gratz Collection, Case 15, Box 18, H.S.P.).

39. Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, 28 Feb. 1757, Penn Manuscripts (Official Correspondence), 8:239, H.S.P.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Thomas Barton to William Smith, 23 September 1756, Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 2:560.

Interestingly, Armstrong separates several elements that occur in Barton's version and speaks of Jacobs more laconically, compelling one to wonder what actually transpired. In one place, Armstrong writes generally of an unnamed Indian who, asked to surrender, "said he was a Man and would not be a Prisoner." Later he describes only how "Cap^t Jacob[s] tumbled himself out at a Garret or Cock Loft Window, at which he was Shot." See Colonel Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, 14 September 1756, P.A., 1st ser., 2:769.

42. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 11 April 1758, P.A., 1st ser., 3:377.

43. See Richard Baird's Deposition, 12 May 1758, P.A., 1st ser., 3:396-7.

44. See P.A., (5th ser.), 1:128-31.

45. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 30 April 1758, P.A., 1st ser., 3:384.

46. See above, n. 23.

47. *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:384-5.

48. Richard Peters to George Stevenson, 3 May 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:386-7.

Peters also mentions several names of local interest: Thomas Armour, Robert Stevenson, Joseph Armstrong, David M'Conoway (i.e., McConaughy), Thomas Minshall, Benjamin Smith, and Sheriff [Hans] Hamilton.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

50. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 21 May 1758, *P.A.* 1st ser., 3:400-1.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

52. See David Curtis Skaggs, *The Poetic Writings of Thomas Cradock, 1718-1770* (Newark, N.J., London, and Toronto, 1983), pp. 38-9.

53. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 8 May 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:392.

54. David Jamieson to Gov. Denny, 6 June 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:412.

55. *Ibid.*

56. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 6 June 1758, *P.A.*, 1st. ser., 3:411.

57. King and McPherson.

58. *P.A.*, 5th ser., 1:128-31, lists the officers for the Third Battalion: field officers—Colonel Commandant Hugh Mercer, Lt. Colonel Patrick Work, Major George Armstrong; company officers in the three units raised in present-day Adams county—(1) Capt. Robert McPherson, Lt. James Ewing, Ensign Peter Meem; (2) Capt. Archibald McGrew, Lt. Alexander McCain, Ensign James Armstrong; and (3) Capt. Thomas Hamilton, Lt. Victor King, Ensign William McDowell. The company that joined the First Battalion: Capt. David Hunter, Lt. Andrew Finley, Ensign William Hadden.

59. See James P. Myers, Jr., "The Reverend Thomas Barton's Conflict with Colonel John Armstrong," *Cumberland County History*, 10 (1993), 3-14, particularly pp. 5-9.

60. See *P.A.*, 5th ser., 1:177.

61. In his Journal, 7 July 1758, Barton wrote of receiving "the Governor's Commission appointing me Chaplain to the 3rd Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment . . .

and a Letter from the Secretary apologizing for my not having the Preference of the other two" (Journal, ed. William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 95 [1971], 439).

62. *P.A.*, 5th ser., 1:132, records Presbyterians Charles Beaty and John Steel as chaplains of the First and Second Battalions, respectively.

For Presbyterian opposition to Barton, see the Petition of the Presbyterian Officers of the Third Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, to General Forbes, 4 July 1758, Dalhousie Muniments, CD 45/2/33/2, Scottish Record Office.

63. General John Forbes to Thomas Barton, 9 July 1758, quoted by Barton for Richard Peters, 18 July 1758, Society Collection, H.S.P.

64. William A. Hunter discusses and reprints the journal in "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *P.M.H.B.*, 95 (1971), 431-83. The manuscript of the journal is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

65. See Hunter, "Thomas Barton," p. 438.

66. Compare Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 5 July 1763, Peters Papers, 6:10, H.S.P., with the account from Lancaster (where Barton was living at that time) in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 July 1763, no. 1805.

7. Another letter, dated 6 December 1758, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, no. 1565, reporting on the massacre and torture of Major James Grant's men also sounds like Barton.

68. Thomas Penn to Thomas Barton, 21 March 1761, Records of the U.S., E 2b, reel 3, unit 2, pp. 2-3.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

70. I.e., John Forbes's.

71. Originating with French fur traders and trappers, batteaus were shallow-draft boats convenient for river travel.

72. I.e., descended, made their way.

73. William Pitt the Elder (1708-78), British prime minister at the time of the Forbes Expedition.

Anatomy of a Log House in Adams County, Pennsylvania and Its Unspoken Language*

by Elwood W. Christ

The Typical Adams County Log House: A Statistical Analysis of the U.S. Direct Tax of 1798 Data for Adams County Townships

Sixteen years after the end of the Revolution, and on the eve of the formation of Adams county, the United States became embroiled in a “quasi-war” with France (1797-1801) which strained the federal treasury. As a result of the diplomatic disagreement, Congress approved several bills to fund America’s military build-up. One of these, the U.S. Evaluation Tax of July 9, 1798, was signed into law to raise two million dollars in revenues. The direct or “window tax” was levied based on land-holdings, buildings and the number of glass lights, and slaves—in essence, a federal property tax.

Although the “window tax” was considered a burden by most contemporaries, it was a blessing for modern cultural scientists. Fulfilling their duty by compiling at least five schedules for each township, the assessors described each major structure on nearly every farmstead and in every village and town in York county, noting building dimensions, number of stories, number of windows and lights, and construction materials. Although some schedules have not survived, the remainder graphically illustrate that most of the dwelling houses in Adams county by the summer of 1798 were made of wood.

Of the 1,725 structures listed by the assessors as “dwellings” or “cabins” in the twelve townships that comprised the bulk of Adams county in 1800, 1,548 were listed as dwellings valued at \$100 or more.¹ However, those schedules containing data on building materials, dimensions and/or structure heights were missing or could not be reconstructed from other tax records for Hamiltonban, Huntington, and Straban townships. Thus, only 1,230 structures, valued at or above \$100, in the remaining eight townships could be analyzed according to building materials, or approximately 79.5 percent of the overall number of dwellings counted.

** This paper is adapted from the original prepared in 1991 by the author as partial fulfillment of the Master’s Program in American Studies at Pennsylvania State University-Capital College*

Nevertheless, in those eight townships, about 89.7percent of the identifiable dwellings were constructed of wood (see table below).

***Preliminary Statistical Overview:
Dwellings in Adams County, ca. 1800***

1,230 Dwellings in 8 Townships
Identified by Building Materials
in the U.S. Direct Tax of 1798

Material	No. of Buildings	Percentage of Total
WOOD* -----	1,103	89.7%
STONE -----	89	7.2%
WOOD & STONE ----	17	1.4%
BRICK -----	12	1.0%
WOOD & BRICK ----	7	0.6%
STONE & BRICK ----	1	Less > 0.1%
WOOD & CLAY -----	1	Less > 0.1%
	1,230	100.0%

**Includes LOG, FRAME and LOG & FRAME dwellings.*

Secondly, we computed the average dimensions for all buildings in those eight townships, valued at \$100 or more and regardless of building material, and for one- and two- story log houses. The average one-story log home was roughly 26-by-20 feet, but the average two-story variety was nearly 30-by-25 feet—about 43 percent larger than the one-story dwelling and covering an additional area of approximately 226 square feet. Generally, one-story log houses were 12 percent smaller than the overall average house in Adams county, while two-story log homes were 26 percent larger than the overall average.

Construction of a Log Dwelling á la Art Snyder

Although an analysis of the Direct Tax data gives the material culturist some insight into the physical size and shape of log dwellings that stood in Adams county 200 years ago, the numbers are sterile—devoid of any human characteristics except for the penmanship of the tax assessor. The numbers neither relate the three-dimensionality of the log struc-

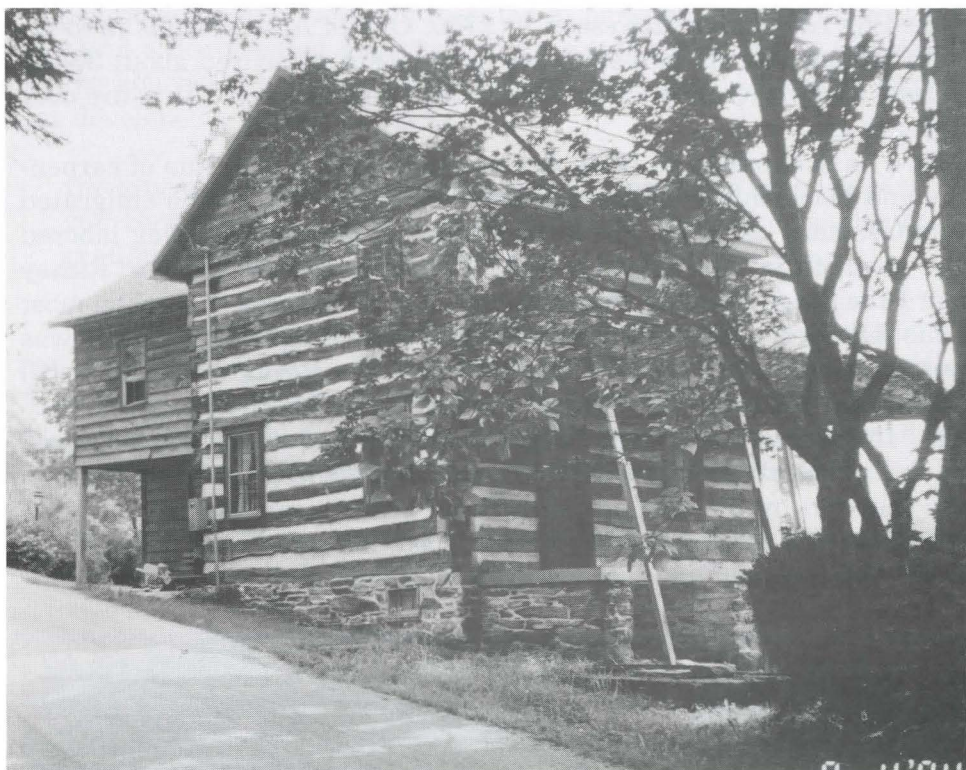


Fig. 1 - H. Endy House (1872 Atlas), Spigot Valley Rd., Franklin township. Situated near the banks of Marsh Creek, this log house is a fine example of home construction in Adams county during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

tures nor the craftsmanship that was chopped, hewn and carved into them. According to Art Snyder of Liberty township, Adams county, a twentieth-century “joiner,” blacksmith and farmer,

sometimes there are things that you see in a [log] building that really doesn’t make sense until you start workin’ on or workin’ with it somehow or another, . . . then you realize why some of the timbers were set the way they were . . . Each building is its own entity . . . and you have to, first off—in order to understand a specific building—you have to understand the use of it, and sometimes you sort’a have to understand to some extent what kind of a person it was who had it—what *his* peculiarities were.²

Mr. Snyder lives with his wife and two young daughters on the family farm, the remnants of the old plantation that was first permanently

settled by Alexander McKesson in 1750. One of Art's dreams is to rebuild McKesson's old two-story, log house (that measured about 30-by-25 feet) and attached kitchen, all of which was destroyed in a fire over 30 years ago.

Born near Fairfield in 1949, Art descends from a long line of carpenters and blacksmiths on his mother's side of the family who emigrated from Germany ca. 1800. His father, Anton L. Snyder, however, labored as a "steam fitter" and helped to build "Site R" associated with Fort Richey near Blue Ridge Summit, Pennsylvania. Art reminisced that when most of his teenaged peers were hot-rodding around the countryside, he was content to hitch up a team of "hay burners" to a spring wagon. Art still recalls that his father thought of him as "a two-hundred year old left-over." In essence, Art is a self-taught carpenter and mason who acquired his skills from observation, imitation and experience, but his motivation was inspired by his late grandmother, Sarah Susan "Annie" (Bishop) Hoffman, who reminisced about "the good, old days," her love of folk crafts, and a way of life that was gone with the wind.



Fig. 2 - Roby House, Fairfield Rd. (Rt. 116), Hamiltonban township. Located about one mile southwest of Fairfield, this home was recently renovated by Art Snyder. A fine example of log house restoration.

Undoubtedly, Mrs. Hoffman instilled in her grandson her love of history and a deep-seated appreciation for anything historical, especially old log houses and their builders, for over the years, Art states that he has developed a keen interest in

the type of architecture that was done . . . previous to the American Revolution . . . and tries to strive for the same quality of craftsmanship. . . .

Art's first experience in log structure restoration and construction began on April Fool's Day 1970 at the age of twenty-one. After a terrible wind storm, Art convinced his father to allow him to repair the family barn, originally a double-crib log structure that had been converted to a bank barn. To Art, the barn, or any old structure, represents

part of the legacy that our fore-fathers left here, and for us to just wantonly tear it down just to get rid of it . . . , to me, [makes] no sense.

Having met Mr. Snyder through a mutual friend during the summer of 1990, I thought he would be the best person to provide insights into eighteenth-century log construction. To glean a rudimentary understanding of early log houses, I visited Art at his "McKesson's Blacksmith Shop" on Tract Road nestled in the shadow of Ski Liberty, south of Fairfield. During our conversation, we often hypothesized how Alexander McKesson might have built his home.

After McKesson arrived on his newly purchased tract in the Marsh Creek settlement in 1750, he would have constructed a crude log cabin to protect himself and his family from the elements while he located water supplies and determined the best sites for his farm buildings. Once he selected those sites, built substantial shelter for his animals, cleared the land and started farm operations to provide food for his family, McKesson then would have contemplated the construction of a permanent dwelling. Although many people believe that most settlers knew how to build log homes, Art feels that the expertise was not common knowledge, that some families, in fact, especially those who had some money, probably hired a "joiner," the eighteenth-century version of the modern building contractor. Moreover, additional help might have come from family relatives also living in the area.

After the house site had been selected, McKesson and/or the joiner would begin work on the foundation and the chimney. This would have



Fig. 3 - J. Lauver House (1858 Map), Bingaman Rd., Franklin township. Situated near the banks of a tributary to Little Marsh Creek, we shall use this structure as an example of log house construction in subsequent illustrations.

taken nearly two years to complete:

You gotta dig the hole [trench]; you've got a lotta dirt there to move. You never realize how much dirt you have until you have to start wheelbarrowin' that out [by] ox-cart or whatever, and then you have all those stones to haul in.

Art recalled a conversation with an old farmer who was building a bank barn in Maryland. When Art asked him the question, "how am I gonna know when I have enough [rocks]," the gentleman replied:

Well, you haul in what you think is enough, then you haul that many more in, and then you have half enough. . . . That was his rule of thumb, and it kindda' works out that way.

After the joiner believed that he had collected enough rocks, the foundation and chimney would be built. Art believes that some joiners threw ballast (loose stone) into the trench to serve as a “French drain,” to prevent the accumulation of moisture from building up and weakening the foundation wall. When I asked Art, from his experience, whether chimneys were interior or exterior in Adams county, he replied that:

you would find right around here—the climate was a little bit warmer—you’d find both; you start gettin’ north of here, its almost exclusively on the inside.

As the laying of the foundation proceeded, trees were cut, usually white oak, for the dwelling’s walls; and pine, poplar, or chestnut for trim, though chestnut is “kind of splintery.” Moreover, trees with very little taper that were between eight to twelve inches in diameter at their thinnest end were preferred. Furthermore, trees were cut during the winter, and at least a year before they were actually used in construction. Of the logs used for constructing the house, Art said:



Fig. 4 - Log House Construction: Step #1, the Foundation. General Rule of Thumb: collect stones. When you think you have enough, double the amount. Then you still do not have enough.

The older craftsman, they did not want timber that was not cut in the dead of winter—when the sap was down. You know what the insects were after?—the sap, the sugar in the sap. Many of those old-timers knew that. After the middle of February, they would not cut any timber. Well, that was a no-no. I heard a lot of old-timers say, when you talk about going there and cuttin' a tree that has leaves on it, man, they'd think that you were gonna upset the whole world or somethin' . . . You wait to . . . the latter part of December or January to cut your timber. You know, it didn't matter if you just wanted a few fence rails. I mean, that just wasn't done, that's all.

Indeed, sometimes the winter weather did not cooperate with timber harvesting. Several years ago, Art recalls, a friend came over to his home to help him cut some trees:

This was, like, in January; we had about fourteen inches of snow on the ground. I really wasn't looking for him that mornin'. He came in that mornin' said, "Heeey! Are you ready to get those logs down from out of the woods?" I said—You're kidding!

Nevertheless, if the log house were to be built to last, the trees had to be cut at the optimum time.

With the foundation completed and the logs properly seasoned, sometimes the summer kitchen was built first "to get [your family] into a better house." Art believes that McKesson built his kitchen first, with the idea that he would add a two-story dwelling at one end. Thus, when McKesson and his family were snug in their new summer kitchen, the foundation of the main house could be built. Splicing two log structures together, however, "took a little finesse":

The way to do that . . . After you're getting to the point where you're going to be putting the rest of your log house up, you just take a crosscut saw and you cut the whole back wall off [of the summer kitchen] and let it fall out . . . [and then] you put in posts and mortice your logs [on the kitchen's side walls] into [the posts] as you lay [the logs of the main house] up, . . .

As logs were needed, the hewing process commenced; this activity changed the rounded native log into a rectilinear timber. First, when the

desired thickness of the finished timber was decided, a chalk line was drawn along the length of the log. Next, using a regular ax, several cuts were made into the log to the depth indicated by the chalk line. The wood between the cuts were



Fig. 5 - Lauver House, Back Building. This structure probably is the oldest section of the dwelling. An analysis of the U.S. Direct Tax of 1798 revealed that the majority of dwellings were one story.

essentially . . . slit off rough, then it was scored down to the chalk line, then taken off with the rest with a broad ax.

The logs, roughly a foot in diameter, would be hewn down to rectangular timbers between six to eight inches wide, with a particular type of corner timbering at the ends formed with adzes as the walls were “laid up.” Art estimates that the most practiced joiners probably could hew three, 30-foot logs a day.

However, not every hewn log matched the entire length or width of the house, and sometimes those used as sleepers or summer beams on the first floor were hewn only on one side. The second-floor joists were either hewn or sawed, and passed through the exterior walls, although

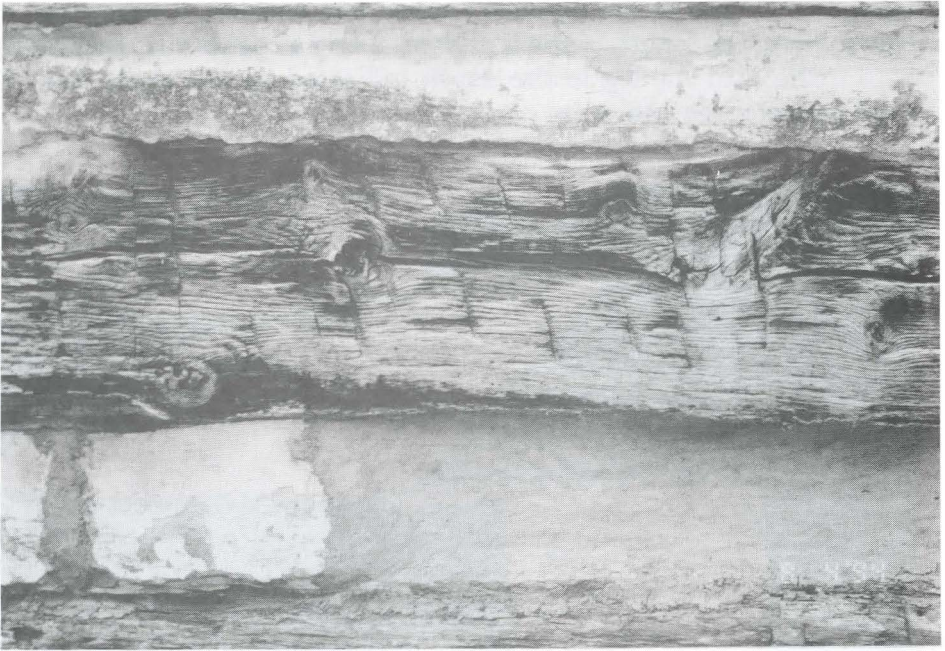


Fig. 6 - Log House Construction: Log Hewing. For a longer lasting home, trees should be cut in the dead of winter and allowed to season for about one year. In the above illustration, adz marks are still visible; the result of the joiner finishing the hewing process. Note paint chipping of plaster that was added on top of the chinking between the logs.

some were fitted into notches in the wall timbers. Shorter timbers were used in the walls to accommodate windows and doorways. For example, early window frames—the lintels, sills and side pieces—were hewn, mortised and tenoned together, and then tied into the log walls with pegs:

Your channels that your sash sets in is part of the piece. The [window] molding is not added on, it is carved out of the same piece of wood.

Today, Art uses hundred-year old planes for cutting beads into moldings, following an original pattern he found during his restoration of the Charles Robey house just southwest of Fairfield on Rt. 116.

Some joiners may have hewn their logs in the woods where they were felled; many logs, however, were shaped next to the construction site, for the chips could be used as chinking, usually added after the walls were

completed. Furthermore, the best clay material used with wood chips to plug up the gaps between the logs was a scarce commodity in Adams county. Art maintains that

you save your mortar, because you have to haul it in here. You do not use the clay that's around your property unless you have pipe clay or something that's really good, [for] this area [southwestern Adams County] is not noted for good clay.

The critical part of any log house's construction is the corner timbering, for "it binds the timbers together, prevents lateral slippage, and bears most of the weight of the entire building."³ Numerous notching types were used in the American colonies, but according to Art

it's what you get used to. There's a trick to cuttin' all of these, . . . but to me the flat notch is the meanest so-and-so notch that ever came down the pike. . . . The saddle notch might be about the easiest. . . . I use the A-notch or the inverted "V."



Fig. 7 - Log House Construction: Chinking. Wood chips, left over from the hewing process, small stones, and clay were used to plug the gaps between logs. Note several wood chips seen between the modern rain spouting.

Indeed, the V-notch was the most popular corner timbering. From their research, Terry G. Jordon and Matti Kaumps concluded in their work *The American Backwoods Frontier* that

The geographical distribution of Midland V-notching provides impressive testimony to the importance of Pennsylvania as a cultural hearth. Very common in the Keystone State, it also occurs from Ontario to Florida, from the southern Appalachians to northern Arizona, the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State and British Columbia.⁴



Fig. 8 - Log House Construction: Corner Timbering. Although there are several types of notching, the A- or inverted V- notch (seen here) is the most common.

Nonetheless, Art has seen several half-dovetail buildings in Adams county, including one which he partially salvaged for building a smaller half-dovetailed, one-story log building on his farm.

With the completion of the exterior walls, the framing for the roof (rafters) was completed on the ground. A numbering system was marked into each timber to simplify its mortise-and-tenon assembly. After the rafters were in place, purlins were secured to them onto which roof shingles or thatching were then attached.

When I asked Art how long it took to complete a two-story log house from foundation to the completed interior, he estimated about three to four years. Nonetheless, Art believes that with American independence from Britain, the motivation to build a quality log dwelling declined and construction time shortened, for the joiners were no longer answerable to the Crown for shoddy workmanship. With advances in lumbering technologies and the ability to produce wood siding economically, mistakes could be covered up.



Fig. 9 - Roby House, Front Facade Detail. Note the mortise-and-tenoned window frames and the ends of ceiling joists protruding through the plaster chinking.

The Unspoken Language of Log House Construction.

Many people tend to fall into the cultural trap described in 1928 by Roger Hincks as the "Superstition of the Antique":

. . . there comes a moment in the history of every civilization when it turns its back to look at the ground it has covered . . . [and] experiences an overwhelming desire to build an artificial paradise out of the ruins of the past. The forms in which this desire is satisfied are explicit and tangible: no sophisticated *recherche du temps perdu*, but an almost avaricious clutching at the material relics of yesterday.⁵

Tragically, the artifacts with the most longevity—houses, mills and barns—are the ones that the general public seems to "clutch at" the least. Possibly due to their size (they are too big for a museum), many old dwellings have been razed, notwithstanding their historical, archaeological, or anthropological significance, strictly for monetary and aesthetic reasons. Preservationists constantly do battle with developers to save those that remain.

However, as with all human-made objects, their design and the physical act of their construction reflect something of the psyche of the people who built them and the society in which they lived. Simon J. Bronner in *Grasping Things* writes that houses are things that enclose us, behind whose walls humans hide and build their own interpretations of reality through material possessions and decorations:

The house is a community of relations inside and out. In shape, material and design, the house is an expandable, manipulable skin announcing status being grasped at and values being held.⁶

Furthermore, reflecting on Henry David Thoreau's experiences at Walden Pond during the period 1845-47, Bronner states that:

Working from the foundation, Thoreau found that the house is man, his body and senses, working in relation to his social and natural environment.⁷

In one sense, Thoreau attempted to rediscover nature, which he believed American society had lost through the Industrial Revolution.

Though at face value an eighteenth-century log house appears to be nothing more than wood, stone, clay and mortar, it reflects a society and a reality based on the monumental human effort required to transform and control Nature. The gathering and quarrying of stone for the foundation, the felling of trees and hewing their rounded and irregular forms were followed by a reorganization of these entities into an ordered, rectilinear, symmetrical, man-made reality reflecting humankind's interpretation of civilized society.

In pre-Industrial America, the physical efforts of man and domesticated animals alone challenged Mother Nature to see who would dominate. The felling of trees, the clearing of farm land, the harnessing of horse and oxen power, the damming of streams—all reflect man's attempt to subdue the natural environment and to impose an agrarian atmosphere in which he could dwell. The farmer, the miller, and especially the joiner took the raw materials gleaned from (what appeared to them to be) an unstructured, haphazard environment and transformed them into their impression of an ordered utopia.

Likewise, the act of hewing timbers for his home suggests that, in some ways, Man mocked Nature by “killing” the trees, “skinning” their carcasses, and displaying them as trophies for all to see. Like the forager or fisherman home from the hunt with his kill or the proud Roman conqueror triumphantly home from the war displaying the vanquished, the builder of log structures recalled or evoked the daily rituals of an ancient hunter-gatherer society.

However, the battle to rule over Nature, to forge a dwelling out of the wilderness of Adams county, was not easy, for, as we have seen, Man's “conquest” of the environment took up to four years to complete. The longer a man took to conquer Nature, possibly the sweeter was his feeling of victory. Each phase of construction reinforced Man's ego as he slowly and methodically conquered the environment, surprising Nature with another *fête accompli*.

As applied to log dwellings, Hincks's “superstition of the antique” may define nostalgic reminiscences of earlier or “simpler” times when the individual felt in command of his own destiny; he wrestled to control his environment, natural and historic, manipulating forms he preferred. Humankind oft-times won those battles. Spiritually reflecting on his past, Man may have seen himself as evolving closer to God, whom the Christian Bible celebrates as creating the heavens and the earth in six days. On the frontier, Man created his own universe—his home—in four years.

With the Industrial Revolution, however, Man developed machines to conquer Nature, and advances in building technologies required less

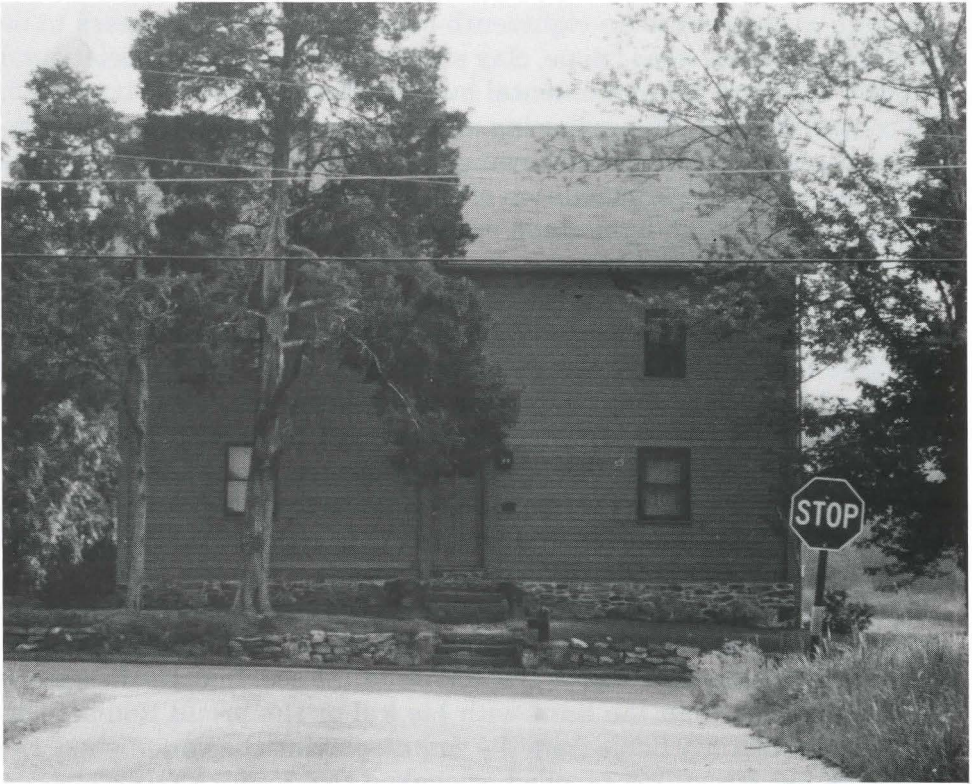


Fig. 10 - Wirts House, Shrivvers Corner Rd. (Rt. 394), Straban township. This dwelling is a fine example of a log dwelling that has been covered with wood siding. Placed on the National Register of Historic Places several years ago, the nucleus of this building may date as early as 1765.

skilled labor and time to produce a dwelling. Instead of log dwellings which symbolized Man's victory over the environment, they came to be viewed as old-fashioned and crude, reflecting Man's position lower on the evolutionary and spiritual scale. Indeed, structural components became more rectilinear or unnatural in shape. Weatherboarding (siding) was added to log structures for practical reasons—to protect the old logs from the weather, provide some insulation from cold temperatures, and reduce the need for seasonal repairs to the chinking between the logs. However, the weatherboarding of a log house could also reflect humanity's subconscious need to hide remaining physical references to the crude natural environment and its less enlightened, and less civilized, past. Indeed, "people identified with what they produced . . . [whereas today, they are] geared toward consumption . . ." of man-made objects several processes removed from their natural components.⁸

Thus, with scientific progress, mankind simultaneously began to lose touch with his natural surroundings. Increasingly, humankind's challenge, then, was not to manipulate Mother Nature's forms, but to mold more complicated man-made ones, which in turn, further alienated him from Nature. Through his adventure at Walden Pond, Thoreau, in part, realized that Man *had* lost touch with the natural environment, that his dwellings were taking on a life in themselves and beginning to manipulate human interactions. "But lo! man has become tools of his tools," Thoreau wrote. Today, how many people escape from the stark harshness of the universal reality by retreating to their homes, rigged with high fences and iron gratings, wherein behind walls decorated with esthetically pleasing paintings and photographs they switch on their televisions, VCRs and computers to immerse themselves in a multitude of "virtual realities" that often skew their concepts of the universal reality?

Over the past 200 years, as Man tried to conquer Nature, she has surreptitiously counter-attacked, threatening humankind. Pollution, acid rain, global warming illustrate how Nature is responding to centuries of Man's quest to command and shape his reality.

Although many people may respond that log houses remind us of a simpler time, log structures may also mark the beginning of an era when humanity began to remove itself from its ecosystem and started down the road to the polluted reality of today. Indeed, this hypothesis could explain why many people are ambivalent over the preservation of log buildings, for subconsciously the structures may remind us of where humankind made a wrong decision—to conquer Nature rather than trying to live with her.

Notes

1. When the Adams-York county boundary was laid out in 1800, it coincided with only one existing line—Beaver Creek at the east end of Berwick township. Small sections of Monaghan and Warrington townships northeast of Latimore and Bermudian creeks became part of Huntington township, which lost a tiny parcel by the confluence of Bermudian Creek and Mud Run to York county. Sizable tracts of Mannheim and Heidelberg townships also were partitioned and became Conewago township of Adams county in 1801, while Reading township lost a considerable area to York county. Thus, to simplify my analysis, those areas of Warrington, Monaghan, Mannheim and Heidelberg townships were not counted, while those in that portion of Reading township that remained in York county were tallied.

2. Unless otherwise specified, Art Snyder's quotations were recorded during an interview conducted by the author at Mr. Snyder's home at 1145 Tract Road, Fairfield, Pennsylvania, on the evening of 9 April 1991.

3. Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 141.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

5. Roger Hincks, "Superstition of the Antique," *Museum*, 2 (1928), 10, as quoted by Simon J. Bronner, *Grasping Things* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), p. 179.

6. Bronner, *Grasping Things*, pp. 23-25.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Catherine Mary White Foster's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Gettysburg, with Background on the Foster Family Union Soldiers* ¹

Edited by David A. Murdoch

Catherine Mary White Foster lived with her elderly parents in the red brick house on the northwest corner of Washington and High Streets in Gettysburg at the time of the battle, 1-3 July 1863.² She was the only child of James White Foster and Catherine (nee Swope) Foster (a former resident of Lancaster county), who married on 11 May 1817 and settled in Gettysburg, Adams county, Pennsylvania. Her father, James White Foster, had served his country as a first lieutenant in the War of 1812. Her grandparents, James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, had emigrated with her father and five older children from county Donegal, Ireland, in 1790, and settled near New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.³



Fig. 1 - Catherine M. W. Foster's home, 155 S. Washington Street, Gettysburg, PA.

**Copyright ©1994 by David A. Murdoch, All Rights Reserved.*

Catherine Mary White Foster was born on 28 July 1825, and raised in Adams county. At the time of the Battle of Gettysburg, she was 37 years of age. After the battle, she stayed in Gettysburg until her parents died, and she buried them there in Evergreen Cemetery (Lot 31, Area F). She subsequently lived for a while with her cousin, Bell M. Stewart, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where they were present in 1889 at the time of the flood. During the flood, Catherine Mary White Foster leaped from her frame house, which was being swept away by the flood, to a flat roof nearby and avoided being drowned. After these narrow escapes from death, Catherine Mary White Foster lived a long life and finally died a natural death on 15 January 1917. She was buried with her parents in Evergreen Cemetery.

In her will, she directed that her headstone refer to 1 Thessalonians 4:14-15: "For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep. For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep." ⁴

She left modest bequests to the Evergreen Cemetery, the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of America for mission or education work "among the colored people" of North American Freed men of the South, the Woman's Board of the United Presbyterian Church for mission work "among the Indians of North America," and missions to the Jews in New York and Pittsburgh. She wanted her will to be probated in Adams county and her body buried in Evergreen Cemetery so "that friends or relatives visiting Gettysburg would also visit the cemetery—if reminded of my will, [and] might search for it, . . ." ⁵

Catherine Mary White Foster maintained a record, recently discovered during the writing of this article, of her seven cousins (all great-grandsons of the immigrants, James and Catherine Foster) who served in the Union Army: (a) **Lieutenant John Alexander Hastings Foster**, Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who was wounded at Little Round Top, Gettysburg, on 2 July 1863, and cared for at Catherine Mary's home; ⁶ (b) **Sergeant William G. Foster**, Company K of the 53rd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who was wounded at the Battle of Fredericksburg, VA, 13 December 1862, fought at Gettysburg, 1-3 July 1863, and was later killed at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House on 12 May 1864; ⁷ (c) **Private John Wise Robinson**, Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (the 40th R.P.V.) wounded at Second Bull Run; ⁸ (d) **Corporal Robert Foster Robinson** (John's brother), also Company I of the 11th Regi-

ment, wounded at Second Bull Run and at Fredericksburg, 13 December 1862 (he died shortly thereafter);⁹ (e) **Edwin Bruer Foster**, who died of wounds received in battle;¹⁰ (f) **John Foster Brown**, a teacher who enlisted as one of Pennsylvania's emergency men;¹¹ and (g) **Sergeant James Millen** (a younger brother of the editor's great-grandmother, Eliza Jane Millen Murdoch) of Company H of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who fought at Gettysburg, 2-3 July 1863, and was later killed at the Battle of the Wilderness, 5 May 1864.¹²

One rendition of Catherine Mary White Foster's report of the Battle of Gettysburg was previously printed in the *Gettysburg Compiler*, 29 June and 6 July 1904, under the headline "The Story of the Battle by a Citizen Whose Home was Pierced by Flying Shells: Some of the Things the People of the Town Went Through and What They Were Called Upon to Suffer." The *Compiler* version refers to citizens of Gettysburg, Colonel C. H. Buehler, Dr. Fahnestock, John Culp, and Dr. Schmucker, and to one citizen's decision not to shoot General Robert E. Lee on 3 July 1864, while he was in the cupola of the St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church on High Street. It does not mention the name of the Confederate Captain Hodge Kitchin of the 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops, who searched her home, ineffectively, for Yankees, and is identified in this story.

This version of Catherine Mary White Foster's eyewitness account was found among the editor's father's genealogical papers and is reprinted here because of its still-compelling story. It was printed with the History of the Foster Family which Catherine Mary White Foster wrote in 1891-92. In 1896, Gilbert Ernest Swope lamented his inability to include in the Swope family history Catherine Mary White Foster's story of the Battle of Gettysburg.¹³ This is the earlier version of 1891-92.

* * * *

By urgent request of some of our number, I give my experience and some incidents, as seen by citizens of the famous battle of Gettysburg.

All who have read accounts of the battles of '63 are aware that immediately after the battle of Chancellorsville, General Lee began to arrange for the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Early in the month of June, the Marylanders bordering on Pennsylvania began to move their horses through our town to Harrisburg and places north of the Susquehanna. Sometimes as rumors of the Confederates' approach ceased, they returned. But on reaching their homes, and sometimes before they reached they were again startled with alarm, and back they

turned toward the Susquehanna. Thus for three weeks we were entertained with the tramp, tramp of droves of horses, marching to and fro. But from June 20th, occasionally the enemy's camp fires were in sight. Then our town became an isolated spot. None came in to bring us tidings good or bad, and no one ventured out, excepting once when the suspense became intolerable (and to which the battle itself brought relief), two prominent citizens, still discrediting the rumored nearness of the rebels in force, decided to ride out on horseback until they would learn something reliable. They went on the Chambersburg road, six miles, to Cashtown, at the foot of the South Mountain. Here they alighted and went into a hotel to make inquiry. They were inside only a few minutes, when lo! a squad of rebel cavalry rode up and captured their horses. One of the gentlemen had ridden his family pony, a very valuable and idolized animal. And now, under the impulse of anxiety for the animal's welfare, he hastened out, and with *apparent* generosity, made a present of him to General Wade Hampton.¹⁴ A few days later, when the Confederates took possession of Gettysburg, this man with his family deserted their home, and traveling on foot to go outside the lines of battle; five miles from town they crossed the path of their pony, mounted by a General.

These two gentlemen came back to town minus their horses, thus bringing the inscrutable evidence that they had *seen* the rebels. The next day they appeared in sight of town, but retreated. A day or two later, June 26th they made their raid upon the town, capturing part of our militia (40 the records say), which they claimed to have found in barns, hogsheds, etc. They boldly raised their flag over our town and played Dixie tunes in the court house. But they did not succeed in gathering any booty in the place, so next morning they left us. As yet we had no knowledge of the whereabouts of our men, hence were in increased suspense until 28th, Sabbath noon, when two regiments of Union cavalry arrived, under command of General Copeland.¹⁵ Then our doors and windows opened, and our soldiers were greeted with songs and shouts, as well as fed with bread and pie. My father, then seventy-nine years of age, sat in his arm-chair very composedly, cogitating, "If those 'Hessians' were only here now we would make a pot-pie of them."¹⁶ But early Monday morning our reconnoitering guardians marched in the opposite direction from the enemy, and the somber cloud of suspense and dread enveloped us more densely than before. For several weeks our business houses had been closed, goods and bank possessions had been sent to Philadelphia. Five hundred of our population were colored people, who feared the approach of the Southern rebels more than death. These played hiding and

peeping all this time. On one of these Sabbaths their quarterly meeting was to be held. Their bishop, a large, fine looking and able speaker came, and with the few who would venture out he commenced the meeting. I was invited to hear him and went. He spoke kindly and courageously to them, but whilst singing, "The year of jubilee has come," the oft repeated rumor, "The rebels are coming," came also, and in a moment bishop and people had disappeared, some of them were never discovered till after the battle.

June 30th, at 9:30, the rebel's advance force came within one-half mile of Gettysburg, but retreated a short distance at 11:30. Our hearts and spirits were revived by the entrance of Buford's cavalry, 6,000 coming from the direction of Emmetsburg (southwest).¹⁷ They passed through Washington Street, on which we lived, to a grove north of Pennsylvania College. With these 6,000 Union cavalry between us and the enemy, we felt the battle begun and victory won! July 1st, when skirmishing commenced, we went to our western balcony to watch the maneuvering at 10 A.M. The artillery began to play, and First Corps came up, General Reynolds dashing through our streets, and called to us to go to our cellar.¹⁸ The infantry were marching double quick, some on the street and others on different lines west, through the fields to west of Seminary Hill, whilst cavalry messengers flew over fences and fields like a shower of meteors. Occupants of the seminary and other buildings on the ridge came running down the hill faster than "Double quick." Old Lady Thompson, occupant of Lee's headquarters, however, never deserted her house.¹⁹ Her house and lot were filled with Union wounded and dying during the first day; she remained to care for them, and had a daughter living at the foot of the hill, who baked up a barrel of flour into bread, which she carried up the hill to the wounded, and refused to cease doing so during the three days. Her clothes were riddled with bullets. She was about seventy years of age. Her son and family, consisting of wife and two children, the younger one day old, were obliged to leave their house, carrying their children. They were passed through the rebel lines to their rear. They all survived to tell the tale.

We remained on our balcony watching the forming of the left wing, notwithstanding the unseen shells whizzing over our heads[. I]t being our first experience, we neither realized danger nor obeyed orders of passing officers until 1 P.M., the Eleventh Corps coming rushing in Washington Street, urged on to support the right wing, our attention was called to their pleading for water.²⁰ They dare not stop to drink, but we carried it to our front door and poured into their tins as they passed. The officers frequently said to us, "Stop giving water, they have not time to

drink." Many of them got their last drink from our hands, as they were hurried along, saying as they went, "We'll fight the enemy from your doors, we'll drive them or we'll die." A few minutes after we left the balcony, a twelve pound shell struck it, demolishing roof and ceiling. For two hours we carried water to the front door and poured into their tin cups. Then came the sudden 3 o'clock reversal, no one asked for water now, though the officers still called to us to go to our cellar. But, as we had not been *hit* yet, we did not heed further than respect for them, [they] induced us to retire till they were out of sight. As artillery wagons, cavalry and infantry dashed along, pell mell upon each other, we failed to observe the men dropping into nook and corner wherever any opening offered. The last time we were ordered to our cellar, we inquired for the meaning of this rush, they replied they were only changing fronts, but urged our retreat to the cellar. We again turned in, but only to reappear when *lo!* horses and men were falling under the enemy's charge, and our own garments grazed by bullets. We fell back, as if met by a storm, locked the door and made for the cellar, where we had placed my aged parents several hours before. Passing through to the inside cellar door we spied a soldier crouched in the open door of a back porch. I inquired if he was wounded, he said, "slightly," and if invited would go with us to the cellar. We regarded him simply as a slightly wounded man, and so invited him; but my first thought was to repair to the cellar window to take in the situation; my first sight was a space of thirty or forty feet. Then, instead of the Blue, the Grey. Their leaders, hatless, with long hair standing on edge, furious yelling and firing, curdling one's blood as the situation flashed upon us. In this moment of time our soldier had concealed his gun in a stovepipe, which stood in a corner, and his knapsack in the ashes of a fire place and himself under a potato bin. When I announced the situation, he said it will come all right, only please cover me with these chips. I began to pile on him the kindling near by, but the outer door opened and down came a rebel captain and two privates. The latter began to explore the cellar, whilst the captain very politely inquired whether there were any "Yankees" here. In this perilous situation there was not time for deliberation, but somehow, rather assuming than trying to conceal anxiety, I replied, "We are all here, I suppose you call us all 'Yankees.'" He said he meant soldiers in arms, as they overtook them they rushed into hiding places and they must hunt them out. By this time the other two came very near my "Yankee," and as he was not well concealed, I sprang between them and him, assuming nervous anxiety for my aged parents, which was a part, inasmuch as we knew not the consequence, if the soldier should be discovered. The cap-

tain, evidently moved with compassion ordered them to pass on up-stairs, "all is right here," he said. Then to us, he said, "We must search the house, but come with us and see that nothing will be disturbed." But so glad to get them out of the cellar, I said, "Go where you please," and as soon as they were out we more securely covered up the Yankee. And though they searched every few hours, he escaped²¹ whilst 2,500 others were marched to Libby and Andersonville. With these were three of our citizens, who a year after were liberated from Libby and sent home. Two of them were not recognized by their families and friends. The other never seemed to recognize his home and died a mute two weeks after his arrival.

After the Retreat

General Howard with his remaining force took position on Cemetery Hill and our town was a mass of rebels. Only now the order which had been given in the morning by General Reynolds, for those residing on the west side of town to remove to the north or east side, reached us. My cousin, Bell M. Stewart, who was with us (from Westmoreland County, attending the Female Seminary), and my father, were very anxious to try to go.²² She had a large trunk containing her wardrobe, probably provided for a year's wear. This she commenced analyzing, and after putting two full suits on her person with a number of extras, she secured a pillow or bolster case, packed and stuffed it until she succeeded in stowing into it and an ordinary sized band-box, every article of her goods. Taking one under each arm she started for the door. My father followed her. They succeeded in getting my mother and me outside the door and the door locked behind us, with a promise from the rebels (who were urging us to go) that nothing should be disturbed. But what now, where and how could we go? I spied a neighbor at his door and ran to him and requested him to help me dissuade my father. Together we prevailed on him and my cousin to return to our house and cellar and share the fate of the Yankee, trusting the Supreme Ruler to guide and guard. And our gratitude to Him who so directed and preserved us is everlasting. When night approached we locked our doors and retired to our rooms, listening to the picket firing all through the night, undisturbed till break of day, then we heard an effort to open the back door, and to prevent them breaking in I hastened to open it. Two roughs, supposed to be Louisiana Tigers, stood there and demanded a light to "search for Yankees."²³ I remonstrated, informing them that their officers had repeatedly searched the day before. They swore at their officers and said they would

search for themselves. I proposed to go for a light, at the same time slipping to the cellar to see that the Yankee was still secure. While absent my father entered the room, one of them approached him, pointing his gun to father's breast, demanded fifty dollars. He told him he had not fifty in the house. Then the fellow said, "Give me what you have." Father took out his pocket-book containing only three dollars, and handed it over. Then swearing at him, they left. Our first concern now was to secrete the Yankee in a more secure place. This being done, I went to the front door to report these desperadoes. Two officers stood before the door, and on seeing me commenced inquiry concerning the dead on the street. I reported the conduct of the two men. They said I should have come to the door immediately and sent word by any one to General Rhodes [that is, Rodes]²⁴ on the next corner, Middle Street. But they assured me we should be guarded another night. Accordingly, Captain Kitchen, I think of North Carolina, came and presented the men who were to protect our house.²⁵ We were not again disturbed in two succeeding nights and days. The last night they asked permission for the ambulance officers to occupy our porch to superintend the bringing in of their wounded from the Southwestern part of the field. This movement, however, was only the beginning of their retreat.

On the second day there was nothing but picket firing until 4 P.M. Hence citizens and surgeons were busy looking after the wounded.

Our front door bell ran. I went and opened. My glad surprise on seeing a Union officer in the midst of such a scene, I can never express. It was Dr. Heard, of Boston, and Dr. Bache, of Philadelphia, both members of Reynolds' staff.²⁶ They were held as prisoners in the rebel lines during the battle, but allowed to be on hospital duty. They lodged in our house after this until they were ordered to join their Regiment on the morning of the 5th.

About 4 P.M., 100 rebel guns opened their belching throats and sent their screaming missiles over us. They were quickly responded to by as many more from the center and left wing of our lines. The work of those hours from 4 to 9 o'clock—the fearful charges—the alternate advances and repulses, first upon the left and then upon the right—the volleys of musketry on Culp's Hill, the terrible roar of which, combined with that of two or three hundred guns, to those between the armies, was like to an anticipation of "the rending of the Heavens and the crashing of worlds."²⁷

Thankful we were, when informed that the battle was over for the night, though only to be renewed by daybreak in the morning. At 4 A.M. of the 3d we were startled by the first gun, and so quickly was this sig-

nal answered that a very short time elapsed before we were again in our accustomed retreat, the cellar. The noise soon resumed the convulsive intensity of the previous evening.²⁸ We became anxious about the surgeons in an upper room; after 6 o'clock we called them. They had been up watching the direction of the cheers and shouts and did not wish to disturb us. We gave them a light breakfast; one of them was too solicitous to eat. They hurried off to their duty, and had scarcely made their exit, when a shell entered the room in which they had slept, tearing away the mantel, across the bed, leaving not a vestige of clothing upon it. And as my cousin and I were returning from the breakfast room to the cellar, another shell entered that room above the mantel, demolishing everything in its way, carrying the weight of a clock into an opposite partition, and breaking everything on the table, even the forks. We could hardly be expected to have attained by this time the degree of composure manifested by General Howard the day before.²⁹ While sitting on a tombstone reading a message, a shell bursting beside him, defacing the stone, yet it was said his eyes were not diverted from his paper.³⁰ But it is truly marvelous what a calming effect such terrific scenes and emergencies, resulting from the contending powers of right and wrong, do have upon humanity. Every entering shell, with its increased demonstration of destruction, only imparted new vigor and fortitude to our patriotism.

All this day the 300 guns continued their fearful work, only interrupted by two or three lulls, during which the bellowing of cattle and the mournful chirping of birds and fowls produced a sad refrain. In the afternoon our rebel guests became reticent; they gave us no more information. They were evidently preparing to retreat. Time and space are insufficient to tell of their shrewd maneuvering in the evening to cover their prospective march.

Many were the incidents of this day, even the effect of which may ever remain untold. But oh! that we could convey an idea of the glorious "4th of July" that dawned upon Gettysburg after the night of the 3d. When the voices of citizens were again heard greeting each other from their chamber windows, as if they had just been resurrected from an untold ordeal to breathe their native atmosphere. Altho' the army had disappeared and ours could not venture rashly in, for we were still under fire of sharp-shooters covering their retreat, we could not be certain of the glad tidings of victory which had already reached the most distant parts of our country. Now began the influx of strangers and friends from every State, on the sad mission of search for their loved ones among the wounded and dead, alas! too sad here to relate.

And now, dear friends, allow me to close by adding that after burying my parents, my father aged 86 and my mother 94, I left Gettysburg to reside, at least for a time, in Johnstown, with my cousin, who shared the battle with me, as well as later days of trial. Of our flood experience, many of you know.³¹

Yes, through this, too, we were wonderfully protected by the same kind Hand which

“—plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.”³²

C.M.W.F.

APPENDIX

Seven Great-Grandsons of James and Catherine Foster The Foster Family's Union Soldiers

JOHN ALEXANDER HASTINGS FOSTER



Fig. 2 - John Alexander Hastings Foster fought at Gettysburg with Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. (This picture is found in John T. Porter's history of the 155th Regiment, *Under the Maltese Cross*, at page 503).

John Alexander Hastings Foster was born about 1836, the son of David White Foster (b. 17 January 1814 - d. 1849) and Sarah Elizabeth Hastings (d. 19 January 1836), married 19 February 1836. John Alexander Hastings Foster's grandparents were Alexander Foster and Martha (nee Ralston) Foster of Rural Village, Armstrong and Westmoreland counties, PA. His great-grandparents were emigrants from county Donegal, Ire-

land, James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster. John Alexander Hastings Foster died 7 April 1876, at Rural Village, Armstrong county, PA.

John Alexander Hastings Foster was married by the Reverend William F. Morgan at the Presbyterian church in Rural Village, Armstrong county, PA, on 29 June 1858, to Mary J. Strain (d. 19 August 1916, Downer's Grove, IL). They had one son, Ira Foster. John served as a first lieutenant in Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac. He was severely wounded by a gunshot in the leg at Little Round Top. Gettysburg, on 2 July 1863. The regimental historian told the tale:

Our first division was halted and brought swiftly back to Little Round Top, just in time to meet the flushed and confident foe as they came up aside of that rocky elevation. Here Sergeant Foster, of Company K, was severely wounded in the leg. John Cowan, of Company K, was shot in the bowels and died as a result of the wound. Two others were wounded, Kirkpatrick and Hetrick. A little farther up, General S. H. Weed and General Strong Vincent were killed. Lieutenant Charles E. Hazlett, Fifth United States Artillery, stooping over his friend, General Weed, was also killed, and also Colonel Patrick H. O'Rourke, of the One Hundred and Fortieth New York. These brave officers came to their death at the hands of sharpshooters in the Devil's Den. Our line of troops were the first to occupy Little Round Top, a most important and strategic point. Weed's cannoniers stopped the enemy's advance and caused their retreat.³³

Sergeant Foster, soon to be promoted to lieutenant, was cared for at the Gettysburg home of his great-uncle, James White Foster, by James' daughter, Catherine Mary White Foster.

John Alexander Hastings Foster enlisted at Kittanning, Indiana county, PA, on 18 August 1862, in Captain J. A. Cline's Company K. He served as a second sergeant until he was promoted to second lieutenant on 3 July 1863. He was promoted to first lieutenant on 15 February 1865, and was honorably discharged and mustered out with his regiment at Washington, D.C. on 1 June 1865.

His cousin, Catherine Mary White Foster, related this story about Lieutenant Foster:

He left a young wife and boy, Ira, of Rural Village, and joined a company for the war, served successfully for many months till

the battle of Gettysburg, on the 2d of July, 1863. His corps (Fifth) was immediately put into position to hold Little Round Top, where he very soon received a bullet, by which he fell, and laid on the battlefield till the evening of July 4th, when he was conveyed to the house of his father's uncle, James W. Foster in Gettysburg. There he was kindly cared for, and faithfully visited by his regiment's surgeon, Dr. Reed, of York County, but he became so homesick that, before he was quite able to travel, his surgeon gave him permission to go home. His friends, learning that the first train would go south, via Baltimore, instead of westward, told him he must wait for the next train, but he replied, "I'll go by the first train, if I must go via New Orleans." He went, and reached home safely, and after some time returned to his place in the army.³⁴

WILLIAM G. FOSTER

William G. Foster, the son of James Foster and Eliza (nee George) Foster, was born in Westmoreland county, PA, in 1832. He had two sisters, Mary L. and Anna E., and two brothers, Robert A. Foster and James Wallace Foster. William G. Foster was killed in action at age 32 at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House on 12 May 1864.

William G. Foster mustered into Captain William B. Coulter's Company K of the 53rd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in Latrobe, PA. He immediately became a sergeant and was promoted from fourth sergeant to first sergeant, 14 December 1862, by order of Colonel McMichael, the day after he was wounded at the Battle of Fredericksburg. At the Battle of Gettysburg, the 53rd Regiment fought under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Richards McMichael and was assigned to the Fourth Brigade (Colonel John R. Brooke), First Division (Brigadier General John C. Caldwell), of the Second Army Corps (Major General Winfield S. Hancock).³⁵ On 23 December 1863, near Stevensburg, VA, First Sergeant Foster mustered out by discharge because he re-enlisted as a Veteran Volunteer under the provisions of General Order No. 191, Series of 1863, from the War Department.

By occupation, Foster identified himself as a carpenter. He was married and survived by one son. At the time of his death, he was owed two months and twelve days' pay at \$21 per month, for a total of \$51.96. He had received a \$110 bounty for re-enlistment and was due \$290 as "retained bounty." He had received from the United States clothing amounting to \$14.86.³⁶

JOHN WISE ROBINSON

John Wise Robertson, third child of Mary (Polly) (nee Foster) Robinson and Adam Robinson (m. 18 March 1833), enlisted at the age of seventeen years with his older brother, Robert Foster Robinson, in Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Reserves (the 40th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers).

John Wise Robinson enlisted at Greensburg, PA, on 8 February 1862, as a private in Captain Cribbs' Company. He was honorably discharged on a Surgeon's Certificate by Surgeon David P. Smith on 7 February 1863, having had one year of service, because he was wounded at or near Second Bull Run on or about 30 August 1862, when he received a gunshot wound in the right ankle which shattered the bone and resulted in necrosis of the fibia. Catherine Mary White Foster told the story of the day he was wounded:

John Wise, the third child, also enlisted in the "Old Eleventh" Pennsylvania Volunteers, at the age of seventeen, and was wounded at Bull Run, upon the same day as his brother. Together they lay as prisoners in the "Old Stone House" upon the field of battle, and together were carried to the same hospital at Fairfax Seminary, Va. He, being more severely wounded, was discharged, and returned home after exactly one year's service.³⁷

Prisoner of War Records show him paroled on Groveton battlefield, 2 September 1862.

John Wise Robinson identified himself as a farmer and was 5 feet, 9 and 3/4 inches tall, with a fair complexion, grey eyes, and dark hair. He was born in Westmoreland county, PA. Robinson died on 28 January 1900, at Ben Avon, Allegheny county.³⁸ His wife, Nannie H. (nee McIlwaine) Robinson, died on 30 June 1919. They had been married by the Reverend W. W. Woodend on 3 June 1873, at the First Presbyterian Church of Saltsburg, Indiana county, PA. They had two boys, Robert Foster Robinson, born 16 March 1874, and William M. Robinson, born 17 June 1878.³⁹

ROBERT FOSTER ROBINSON

Robert Foster Robinson, John Robinson's brother, enlisted as a corporal in Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (the 40th R. P. V.). This regiment was assigned to the Third Brigade of the

Second Division, First Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Robinson was wounded and missing in action at Second Bull Run, 30 August 1862. He recovered from his wound, and returned to his regiment three days before the fateful battle of Fredericksburg. He was severely wounded at Fredericksburg, VA, 13 December 1862, and died shortly thereafter. His cousin, Catherine Mary White Foster, reported in her family history that after he was wounded at Fredericksburg, he was

reported 'missing' and from that day no reliable tidings ever came to those who wearily waited at home, though hope never died entirely until every prison had been emptied at the close of the war. All that remains to tell of his sad story is his name and a simple couplet on the family memorial stone:

'He rests where he wearied;
He lies where he fell.' ⁴⁰

EDWIN BRUER FOSTER

Edwin Bruer Foster and his twin sister, Ella Ann Foster, were born on 3 August 1847, the children of David White Foster (1814-1849) and Mary Ann (nee Gibson) Foster. According to the family history of Catherine Mary White Foster, Edwin Bruer Foster enlisted during the Civil War, was wounded in battle, and died in the Woman's Hospital, New York City, 6 December 1863. His twin sister, Ella, married George Iseman, of Freeport, PA, and they had three sons and two daughters.⁴¹

JOHN FOSTER BROWN

John Foster Brown was the grandson of immigrant Catherine (nee Foster) Brown (b. Ireland, 1779 - d. 1813), who married John Brown, Sr., in 1798. John Foster Brown's parents were John Brown, the second (b. Sugar Creek township, Armstrong county, PA, 23 July 1807 - d. 4 March 1891) and Elizabeth (nee Craig) Brown, married, 2 May 1839. Their oldest son, John Foster Brown, was born 10 April 1840, and died in Ellwood City, 9 April 1910. John Foster Brown married Elizabeth McClelland, 20 March 1862, and moved to a farm near Worthington, Armstrong county, PA.

According to the family history by Mattie Noble Brown:

John Foster Brown taught school in Armstrong County and later enlisted as an emergency man during the Civil War. He was a

man of unusual intellect and deep religious convictions, and it is to be regretted that he did not enter the ministry. His literary talents were of a high order. He wrote the History of West Glade Run church, in which church he was an elder. In his community, he was always the first person called, where there was sickness or trouble of any kind.⁴²

John and Elizabeth (nee McClelland) Brown had several children: Mary Belle, James Harvey, John Franklin, Charlotte Elizabeth, Charles, Sarah Foreman, Jessie, Esther Jane, and Nora Blanche.⁴³

JAMES MILLEN



Fig. 3 - James Millen fought at Gettysburg with Company H of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers; pictured here as a corporal.

James Millen was born in 1839, the son of Joseph Millen (1803-1874), an emigrant from Ireland, and Mary "Polly" Brown (1803-1895), the daughter of Irish immigrants, John Brown, Sr. (1758-1835), from county Down, Ireland, and Catherine (nee Foster) Brown (1779-1813), from county Donegal, Ireland. John and Catherine Brown were members of the Presbyterian church in Cowansville, Armstrong county, PA. Catherine

(nee Foster) Brown was the daughter of James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, who emigrated from county Donegal, Ireland to America with their six children about 1790 and settled near New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, PA.

James Millen enlisted on 19 August 1861, for three years, in Captain Tracy's Company H of Colonel McKnight's 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. At the time, James Millen was twenty-two years of age, 5 feet, 9 and 1/2 inches tall, and had blue eyes and a sandy complexion. He interrupted his studies for the ministry to enter the army with

many of his young friends. He was mustered in 9 September 1861, at Pittsburgh, PA, and was appointed a second corporal. He became first corporal in November or December 1861, was taken prisoner of war by the Confederates at Bristoe Station, on 26 August 1862, and paroled.

On 7 February 1863, Millen was promoted from first corporal to second sergeant. He became the first sergeant of Company H on 1 May 1863. Millen's regiment was commanded at Gettysburg by Colonel Calvin A. Craig and fought with the First Brigade (Brigadier General Charles K. Graham) of the First Division (Major General David B. Birney) of the Third Army Corps (Major General Daniel E. Sickles).⁴⁴ On 20-27 December 1863, First Sergeant James Millen was discharged by virtue of re-enlistment as a veteran Volunteer under the provisions of General Orders Nos. 191, 305, and 376, War Department Series of 1863. The bounty due on re-enlistment was \$100. This re-enlistment occurred at Brandy, VA, under Captain John Dougherty, recruiting officer. At the time, First Sergeant Millen was twenty-four years old and identified himself as a farmer.

First Sergeant Millen was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness on 5 May 1864, while his unit, the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, which was assigned to the brigade of General Alexander Hays (also killed that afternoon) was coming to the support of General Frank Wheaton's Brigade on the Brock Road.⁴⁵

Notes

1. I acknowledge the gracious assistance which I received in verifying facts in Ms. Foster's account from Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter of the Adams County Historical Society, Mr. Brian Kennell at the Evergreen Cemetery, and the office of Betty H. Pitzer, Register & Recorder at the Adams County Courthouse. Dr. Glatfelter also obtained information about Mary Long Thompson, the Swope family, and a different version of Catherine Mary White Foster's story published in the *Gettysburg Compiler* on 29 June and 6 July 1904 (hereafter the "Gettysburg Compiler version").

2. Recorder of Deeds, Adams County, PA, Deed Book "Z", p. 336. The red brick house still stands on the corner at 155 Washington Street, with its second-floor, rear balcony facing northwest of Gettysburg where the battle began.

3. Catherine Mary White Foster, "History of the Foster Family, 1891-1892," private paper now on file with the Adams County Historical Society (hereafter, Foster, "Foster Family"); Gilbert Ernest Swope, compiler and editor, *History of the Swope Family and Their Connections, 1678-1896* (Lancaster, PA: T. B. & H. B. Cochran, Printers, 1896), pp. 268-71.

4. Register of Wills, Adams County, PA, Will File # B-120. The Bible reference is to 1 Thess. 4:14-15, which was transcribed onto the headstone following her name as follows: "Catherine M. W. Foster Died January 15, 1917 Aged 91 years 5 M 19 D. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. 1st Thess. 4:14,14." Her parents are identified on the reverse side of the headstone thus: "James W. Foster Born in Ireland Oct. 1784 Died in Gettysburg Nov. 30, 1870. Catherine Swope wife of James W. Foster Born in Lancaster March 1784 Died in Gettysburg Jan. 14, 1878."

5. *Ibid.*

6. John T. Porter, ed., *Under the Maltese Cross, Antietam to Appomattox, The Loyal Uprising in Western Pennsylvania, 1861-1865, Campaigns 155th Pennsylvania Regiment Narrated by The Rank and File*, (Akron: Werner Company, 1910), p. 503; National Archives, Pension File, John Alexander Hastings Foster, WC390-321. Biographical sketches of Catherine Mary White Foster's seven cousins, who fought for the Union Army in the Civil War, are set forth in an appendix to this article.

7. National Archives, Military File, William G. Foster, Co. K, 53 Pennsylvania Inf.

8. National Archives, Pension File, John Wise Robinson, WC 670-402.

9. National Archives, Military File, Robert Foster Robinson, Co. I, 11 Pennsylvania Inf.

10. Foster, "Foster Family."

11. Mattie Noble Brown, "History of John Brown, Sr., and His Descendants," private paper and family history now on file with the Adams County Historical Society. Emergency men enrolled for short periods in the militia in Pennsylvania during the crisis of 1863. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 5, pp. 1222-1231.

12. Kate M. Scott, *History of the One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Philadelphia: New-World Publishing Company, 1877. Reprint. Baltimore, MD: Butternut and Blue in conjunction with Jefferson County Historical Society, 1993), p. 311; National Archives, Military File, James Millen, Co. H, 105 Pennsylvania Infantry; Foster, "Foster Family"; and Brown, "History of John Brown, Sr."

13. Swope, *Swope Family*, pp. 268-71.

14. Wade Hampton (1818-1902), a Confederate general from South Carolina, was assigned a brigade of cavalry in July 1862, served as second in command to J. E. B. Stuart after 2 September 1862, fought in the Antietam campaign, and took part in the Chambersburg and Gettysburg campaign, where he was wounded for the third time (previously wounded at First Bull Run and at Seven Pines). After Gettysburg, Hampton received promotions to major

general and to lieutenant general. After the war, he served as governor of South Carolina in 1876 and 1878 and as a United States senator until 1891 (Mark M. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, rev. ed. [New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1988], pp. 370-71).

15. Joseph Tarr Copeland (1830-1893) was named lieutenant colonel, 1st Michigan Cavalry, 22 August 1861, was mustered out 29 August 1862 and was commissioned colonel, 5th Michigan Cavalry, 30 August 1862 and brigadier general, United States Volunteers, 29 November 1862. He fought at Second Bull Run, commanded the Provision Brigade, Casey's Military District, Washington and First Brigade, Cavalry Division, XXII corps, Washington, as well as the Annapolis Draft Rendezvous, (Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, p. 175). On the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg, Copeland's regiments were taken from him and assigned to General George A. Custer, as part of an overhaul of the cavalry, with the change from General Hooker to General Meade. General Copeland was overage for a cavalry commander; he was born at Newcasttle, Maine, on 2 May 1813; he was 50 years of age at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg. Copeland had a distinguished legal career after he graduated from Harvard College and studied under Daniel Webster. He served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan before the Civil War (Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* [Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Reprint 1991], p. 92).

16. James White Foster was 12 years old when his father died in 1796. His father had intended him for the ministry, and had started his education, in which he had advanced considerably in English and Latin, with this end in view. At his father's death, James' older brother, Robert, was entrusted with his education. Although he did not become a minister, James persevered in his education until he acquired a competency to devote his life to teaching, which he undertook in Adams county until the War of

1812 broke out, when, according to his daughter's family history, he enlisted in Maryland and served as a first lieutenant. (In the Gettysburg *Compiler* version, Catherine Mary White Foster omitted her father's muttering reference to the Confederates as "Hessians," which may have reflected his bias arising from prior military experience, although the Hessians fought for the British in the Revolutionary War.) In 1817, James W. Foster married Catherine Swope, who was born 7 March 1784, and raised in Upper Leacock township, Lancaster county. Catherine Swope had been previously married to Adam Woods, who died early at the hands of Indians in Kentucky, and Captain Samuel Long, of Littlestown, PA, who died of disease contracted while serving in the War of 1812. Catherine Swope had one child with Mr. Woods and five children with Mr. Long before she married James White Foster (Swope, *History of the Swope Family*, pp. 267-68, and Foster, "Foster Family"). Catherine Mary White Foster, the author of this eyewitness account, lived with her parents in Gettysburg until her father's death, 30 November 1870, at age 86 (Register of Wills, Adams County, PA, Will File #4635) and her mother's death in 1878 at age 94.

17. John Buford (1826-1863), a brigadier general in the cavalry of the Union Army, encountered the Confederates advancing on Gettysburg from the northwest on 1 July 1863. He immediately dismounted his cavalry troopers to hold McPherson Ridge until the infantry arrived. His grasp of the situation and quick action helped make Gettysburg one of the decisive battles of the Civil War. Buford set up his headquarters at the Lutheran Seminary until General John F. Reynolds and the infantry troops arrived. Although he survived the Battle of Gettysburg, General Buford contracted typhoid fever during the Rappahannock campaign in the fall and died in Washington, D.C. on 16 December 1863. He was commissioned a major general on his deathbed (Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 52-53).

18. Major General John F. Reynolds (born in Lancaster county, PA, 20 September 1820; died at Gettysburg, 1 July 1863), commander of the First Corps, arrived in time to meet the attack of Confederate Harry Heth's division of 7,500 men. As Reynolds waved the famous Iron Brigade into battle, he was struck by a Minie ball and thrown from his saddle. His death was a major loss for the Union Army and for Pennsylvania (Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 396-97). It is obvious from this report that Catherine Mary White Foster was one of the last civilians who saw, from her western balcony, General Reynolds ride into battle. Indeed, according to her report, General Reynolds "called to us to go to our cellar." In the Gettysburg *Compiler* version, Catherine Mary White Foster reported, "About an hour, perhaps less time, before General Reynolds fell, he halted at our balcony, requesting us to go to our cellar, at the same time inquiring for the Taneytown road, . . ." For further reading about General Reynolds, see his biography by Edward J. Nichols, *Toward Gettysburg: A Biography of General John R. Reynolds* (University Park, PA: the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1958). His death and removal from the field were observed by Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell in his manuscript, "The Battle of Gettysburg," reprinted in Colonel William C. Oates and Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell, *Gettysburg*, edited by Glenn La Fantasie (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), pp. 150-51; and by Sergeant Charles Henry Veil, *The Memoirs of Charles Henry Veil*, ed. Herman J. Viola (New York: Orion Books, 1993), pp. 28-31 and 34-36. See also, Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son's, 1968. First paperback edition, 1984), p. 269.

19. After the first day of battle, which resulted in a Confederate victory north and west of Gettysburg, Robert E. Lee's headquarters were established at Seminary Hill late in the day on 1 July 1863 (Craig L. Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*,

cartography by William J. Clipson [Baltimore, MD: the Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1992], p. 37). "Old Lady Thompson" was Mary Long Thompson (1793-1873), who had married Joshua Thompson, but he had long since left Gettysburg. General Lee may have used Mrs. Thompson's house, but it is not thought that her house was his official headquarters. See Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, PA: Adams County Historical Society, 1992), p. 216, which includes a picture of the house as it appeared in a photograph made by Matthew Brady in July 1863.

20. The Eleventh Corps, under the command of Major General Oliver Otis Howard, was placed in the center of the Federal line on Cemetery Hill (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, p. 39).

21. Catherine Mary White Foster inserted her own footnote here: "The secreted Yankee still lives to relate his narrow escape, in Titusville, Pa. Lawyer Leander Wilcox." According to the Crawford County Historical Society records of Civil War soldiers and the National Archives, Leander W. Wilcox was born in 1833 and died on 18 September 1893; he was buried in Plot No. C-76 at the Woodlawn Cemetery in Oil Creek Township, Crawford county, PA. Wilcox was mustered in for nine months service on 20 September 1862, in Company F of the 151st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. He served as a corporal, was wounded at Gettysburg on 1 July 1863, and mustered out on 27 July 1863. He married Anna S. Hecker on 25 February 1864, and they lived in Titusville, Crawford county, PA, the rest of their lives. Anna S. Wilcox died on 23 April 1921. I have not discovered evidence that he was a lawyer (National Archives, Pension Records, Leander W. Wilcox, W.C. 412.699). The 151st Regiment was commanded at Gettysburg by Lieutenant Colonel George F. McFarland, who lost his leg there, and fought with the First Brigade, Third Division, of the First Army Corps (Samuel P. Bates, *History of*

Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865, 5 vols. [Harrisburg: D. Singerly, State Printers, 1869], vol. 4, pp. 678-80; Richard D. Sauers and the Capitol Preservation Committee, *Advanced the Colors! Pennsylvania Civil Battle Flags*, 2 vols. [Lebanon, PA: Capitol Preservation Committee, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1991], vol. 2, p. 453).

22. Bell M. Stewart was the daughter of James Stewart and Ellen (nee McGaw) Stewart, the granddaughter of William Stewart, and the great-granddaughter of George Stewart and Margery (nee Foster) Stewart. Margery was the oldest daughter of James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, who had married George Stewart in Ireland in 1786 before they came to America in 1790 with her father and with Catherine Mary White Foster's father and grandparents (Foster, "Foster Family").

23. The Louisiana Tigers was the name used to denote one of two Louisiana brigades in the Army of Northern Virginia. Dick Taylor commanded the Louisiana Tigers, which consisted of the 8th Brigade of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell's division during Jackson's Valley campaign. The 8th Brigade was composed of I. G. Seymour's 6th Louisiana; H. T. Hay's 7th Louisiana; H. B. Kelly's 8th Louisiana; L. A. Stafford's 9th Louisiana; and Rob Wheat's Louisiana Battalion ("Tigers"). The brigade adopted the nickname of Wheat's battalion, and called itself the Louisiana Tigers (Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, p. 493).

24. Major General Robert E. Rhodes commanded a division of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell's Second Army Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. On the second day of the Battle of Gettysburg, Rhodes' troops occupied the town. On the third day, Rhodes' division moved to the southwest of Gettysburg, in front of Lee's headquarters and to the left of Generals Trimble and Pettigrew, who were supporting Pickett's charge. General Rhodes' division did not participate in Pickett's attack (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, pp. 35, 37, and 59).

25. Captain Kitchen may well have been William Hodge Kitchen, a captain in Company I of the 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops. Captain Kitchen had recently been promoted to captain on 15 March 1863, having advanced from a private in Company G to the rank of second lieutenant in Company I on 15 January 1863. The 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops was commanded at Gettysburg by Lieutenant Colonel W. S. Davis in the brigade commanded by Brigadier General Alfred Iverson, who reported to Major General R. E. Rhodes, commander of a division in the Second Army Corps of Confederate Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell. General Iverson reported his activities at Gettysburg, which included the following actions consistent with Catherine Mary White Foster's story: "Arriving in the town, and having but very few troops left, I informed General Ramseur that I would attach them to his brigade, act in concert with him, and we formed on the street facing the heights beyond Gettysburg occupied by the enemy, where we remained till the night of July 2, when I was informed by General Ramseur that a night attack was ordered upon the position of the enemy to the right of town. . . . when other parts of the line fell back, I also gave the order to retreat, and formed in the road, in which we maintained a position during that night and the whole of July 3, while the fight of that day was progressing, and from which we fell back about 3 A.M. of July 4 to the ridge near the theological seminary" (*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 27, pt. 2, Serial 44, pp. 578-580; Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., compiler, *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865: A Roster*, vol. 5: Infantry: 11th-15th Regiments [Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1975], p. 110). Captain Kitchen was "Present or accounted for until captured at Spotsylvania Court House, Virginia, May 10-12, 1864,

Confined at Fort Delaware, Delaware, until transferred to Hilton Head, South Carolina, August 20, 1864. . . . Released at Fort Delaware on June 16, 1865, after taking the Oath of Allegiance" (Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, p. 218). Captain Kitchin resided in Halifax county, and was a student prior to his enlistment at Norfolk, Virginia, at age 26, on 11 June 1861 (Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, p. 167). The battle referred to in Iverson's report and the activities of General Rodes are reviewed at length in the recent publication by Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 276-283. On 16 November 1910, Governor W. W. Kitchin of North Carolina (relationship, if any, to Captain Kitchin unknown at this writing) helped dedicate the memorial erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in memory of the soldiers of Pennsylvania who perished in the Confederate prison at Salisbury, North Carolina, 1864 and 1865 (*Pennsylvania at Salisbury, North Carolina, 1910*, C. E. Aughinbaugh, printer to the State of Pennsylvania, 1912), pp. 28-29.

26. Dr. John Theodore Heard graduated from Harvard University with a Doctor of Medicine degree in 1859. On 16 July 1861, at the age of 25 years, he mustered into the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers as an assistant surgeon under surgeon A. W. Whitney. He served on active duty for over four years until 25 October 1865, when he mustered out as a surgeon. After prior appointments as brigade and division surgeon, Dr. Heard was assigned as medical director of the First Army Corps, commanded by General John F. Reynolds. He remained in that position after the death of General Reynolds at Gettysburg and until the First Army Corps was consolidated with the Fifth Army Corps in March 1864. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the artillery reserve of the Army of the Potomac and later the medical director of the Army of the Cumberland. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel on 13 March 1865. After

the war, Dr. Heard lived at Louisberg Square in Boston. He maintained a book of "scraps relating to the rebellion of 1861" which contains evidence of his membership in the Society of the Army of the Cumberland and newspaper articles mainly about the death of General Reynolds. In response to one of these articles (16 February 1878), which stated that General Buford "knew on June 30, that he had a heavy force to contend with," Dr. Heard penciled in his scrapbook, "I have the remembrance that Buford reported to Reynolds on the eve of June 30th that he was beyond Gettysburg and had no enemy in his front. J. T. H." (John Theodore Heard papers, 1848-1885, at the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also, Nichols, *Towards Gettysburg*, p. 196, and *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 27, pt. 1, Serial 43, pp. 923-24, and pt. 3, Serial 45, pp. 417-18 (1889), which includes General Buford's official report to General Reynolds and appears to confirm Dr. Heard's "remembrance" (Charles E. Davis, Jr., *Three Years in the Army: The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers from July 16, 1861, to August 1, 1864* [Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1894], p. 424 and pp. 225-249; Austin C. Stearns, *Sergt.*, ed. Arthur A. Kent, *Three Years with Company K* [Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976], pp. 178-207; and *Roster of Regimental Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons in the U.S. Army Medical Department During the Civil War*, originally published by Newton Allen Strait in 1882 [Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, Inc. Reprint with introduction by F. Terry Hambrecht, M.D., 1989], p. 80. Dr. Thomas H. Bache was appointed as a Surgeon and a Major in the Union Army from Pennsylvania on August 3, 1861. He had served as the Surgeon for the Seventeenth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Quaker Regi-

ment, from 25 April 1861 until 2 August 1861 (Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865*, 5 vols. [Harrisburg: D. Singerly, State Printers, 1869], vol. 1, p. 161 and vol. 5, p. 1140). He then joined General Reynolds' staff. Doctors Heard and Bache may have taken, or accompanied, the body of General Reynolds to the Young stone house on Emmitsburg road before they stayed at the Foster home (Gettysburg *Compiler*, Obituary of Catherine M. W. Foster, 20 January 1917; but see Nichols, *Towards Gettysburg*, pp. 205-206, and note 49 for reports that Sergeant Charles Veil or members of the 76th New York or the 84th New York carried the body of General Reynolds from the field). In the *Compiler* version of this account, Catherine Mary White Foster stated at this point that "Six public buildings and nearly all the private houses on High street were now well filled with the first day's wounded" (6 July 1904).

27. Catherine Mary White Foster's reference is obscure, but her three narrow escapes from death, once while bathing in the surf at Cape May, New Jersey, another at the Battle of Gettysburg, and later during the Johnstown flood, grounded her in faith and attuned her writing and thinking to religious literature, poetry, and hymns with apocalyptic themes. She believes that "... the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night ..." (I Thessalonians 5:2), and "... then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up" (2 Peter 3:10; see also, Isaiah 13:13).

28. At 3:30 A.M. on the third day of battle, Federal Major General Alpheus Williams ordered 26 Union guns to open fire on Confederate positions on the southern slope of Culp's Hill. After heavy fighting between Confederate General Johnson's forces and the Union Army, the Federals recovered their old lines on Culp's Hill by 11:00 A.M. and re-established the now famous "fishhook" line (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, p. 67; Pfan,

Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill, p. 285).

29. Major General Oliver Otis Howard (1830-1909) commanded the Eleventh Army Corps at the Battle of Gettysburg. Ezra Warner summarized his performance at Gettysburg as follows: "At Gettysburg he was in command of the field on the first day after the death of John F. Reynolds and until the arrival of W. S. Hancock. Here he displayed a conspicuous lack of decision, but was voted the thanks of Congress for selecting Cemetery Hill and Ridge as a position for the I and XI Corps to fall back on. Although the evidence conclusively proves they were driven there, Howard's principal contribution was that he personally rallied the I Corps in the cemetery proper" (*Generals in Blue*, p. 238).

30. General Howards' aplomb was also observed on 2 July 1863, at Gettysburg by correspondent Whitelaw Reid: "Two or three general officers, with a retinue of staff and orderlies, come galloping by. Foremost is the spare and somewhat stooped form of the Commanding General [George Gordon Meade]. He is not cheered, indeed is scarcely recognized. He is an approved corps General, but he has not yet vindicated his right to command the Army of the Potomac. By his side is the calm, honest, manly face of General Oliver O. Howard. An empty coat sleeve is pinned to his shoulder—memento of a hard fought field before, and reminder of many a battle scene his splendid Christian courage has illumined" (cited in Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day* [Chapel Hill and London: the North Carolina Press, 1987], p. 59; James G. Smart, ed., *A Radical View: The "Agate" Dispatches of Whitelaw Reid 1861-1865* [Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1976], vol. 2, p. 23; Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Two Witnesses at Gettysburg: The Personal Accounts of Whitelaw Reid and A. J. L. Fremantle* [St. James, New York: Brandywine Press, 1994], pp. 25-27. Howard lost his right arm at the Battle of Seven Pines.

31. The Johnstown Flood occurred in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1889; see David McCullough, *The Johnstown Flood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968, 2d ed., 1987). In the Johnstown flood, Catherine Mary White Foster's residence, a frame house, was caught by the first surge, lifted and carried away. She and the other occupants of the floating house escaped from the attic to the flat roof of a house in passing and were saved (Swope, *History of the Swope Family*, p. 271). As reported in the *Gettysburg Compiler* on 20 January 1917, Catherine Mary White Foster died in Johnstown, and her body was brought to Gettysburg on the morning train over the Western Maryland Railroad and taken directly to Evergreen Cemetery.

32. God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea
And rides upon the storm.

By William Cowper (1731-1800) in "O God, in a Mysterious Way" *Olney Hymns* (1779), no. 1, written with John Newton (author of "Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound)," this poem, which has five additional verses, is also known as "Light Shining Out of Darkness" (H. S. Milford, ed., *The Poetical Works of William Cowper* [London: Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1934. Reprint, 1959], p. 455). Among many other writings, Cowper penned the anti-slavery poem, "The Negro's Complaint," in 1788, when he declared "Minds are never to be sold!" *ibid.*, pp. 371-72.

34. Foster, "Foster Family"; Porter, ed., *Under the Maltese Cross*, p. 503; National Archives, Pension File, John Alexander Hastings Foster, WC 390-321. Dr. J. A. E. Reed served as Surgeon of the 155th Regiment from March 1863 until January 1865; his last known address after the war was

Lancaster county, PA (*Roster of Regimental Surgeons*, p. 208).

35. The plaque describing this regiment's actions is located on the Gettysburg battlefield on Sedgwick Avenue near the Pennsylvania monument.

36. National Archives, Military File, William G. Foster, Co. K, 53 Pennsylvania Inf.

37. Foster, "Foster Family."

38. Register of Wills, Allegheny County, PA, Estate File, Record of Death, vol. 13, 373.

39. National Archives, Pension File, John Wise Robinson, WC 670-402.

40. Foster, "Foster Family"; National Archives, Military File, Robert Foster Robinson, Co. I, 11 Pennsylvania Inf.

41. Foster, "Foster Family."

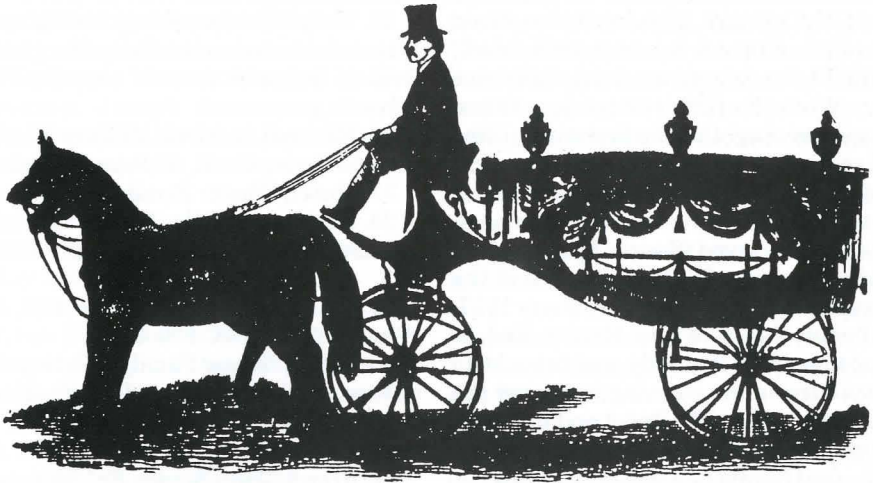
42. Brown, "John Brown, Sr." Emergency and state militia troops of 1863, and their actions during the crisis caused by General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, are identified in Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 5, pp. 1222 *et. seq.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Scott, *History of One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, pp. 79-87. The plaque describing this brigade's experience on the Gettysburg battlefield is located at the Peach Orchard.

45. *Ibid.*, 94-105; National Archives, Military File, James Millen, Co. H, 105 Pennsylvania Infantry; Foster, "Foster Family"; and Brown, "John Brown, Sr." See generally, Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness: May 5-6, 1864* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), p. 203; and Robert Garth Scott, *Into the Wilderness with the Army of the Potomac* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1985, revised and enlarged edition, 1992), pp. 77-85.

ADVERTISEMENTS.



PERFECT PRESERVATION

OF THE DEAD,

WITHOUT ICE OR MUTILATION.

Avoids the annoyance of ice box. Also have a

NEW PATENT ICE CASKET.

Can keep the dead from 3 days to 3 weeks. I am thoroughly prepared to attend to the dead with the finest hearse in York, Adams or Franklin counties. Have on hand at all times a large stock of Undertakers Trimmings, Coffins and Caskets. Have a full line of Catholic and Protestant emblems.

Can furnish a fine coffin for \$20.00.

No charge for Hearse, nor for embalming for a short time.

If you want to remove the discoloration of the dead;

If you want to give the composure of peace, beauty and tranquillity to the dead;

If you want to be able to arrange the time of funerals for those at a distance;

If you want humid exhalations to cease, so that contagion cannot be communicated,

GIVE ME A TRIAL AND BE CONVINCED.

R. BARNES,

Between the Square and the Railroad,

LITTLESTOWN, PA.

ALSO, FURNITURE DEALER. See page 80.

From The History and Directory of the Boroughs of Adams County (Gettysburg, 1880), p. 84.

Funeral Practices in Upper Northeast Adams*

by Nancy DeLong

Introduction

She has gone and left us and
only did she leave us sorrow;
She has gone up yonder to a
home in heaven — Never come back
any more no — never come back any
more.

— Stone of Hetty Ann Elizabeth
d. 1867, aged 19 years,
Quaker-Dunkard Cemetery
near Center Mills, Pa.

In 1994 in upper north-east Adams county, local people relate thoughts of death with advanced age, hospitals, and nursing homes. Occasionally, there is an accident or irreversible medical problem involving a younger person. These infrequent occurrences receive much attention from the community. Widespread fear of infant mortality is not manifest.

However, in this same area, from colonial times until about 1920 death occurred in a more widely dispersed fashion: far from being merely the prospect of the elderly, death's inevitability was the unseen companion of young and old alike. Death could occur at random. Mortality was a distinct possibility for every child. The cultural effects of the ensuing, profoundly different perspective are evidenced in the area's music, art, and folk beliefs.

* "Funeral Practices" is but one segment of a larger report titled, "Attitudes Toward Living and Dying: A Cultural Perspective." The complete work is available for study at the Adams County Historical Society in Gettysburg.

This section was written only because Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter insisted that this topic would be significant in a study of cultural patterns in Adams county; thus it has been only through Dr. Glatfelter's encouragement that the following information has been assembled.

Funeral Practices Within the Upper North-East Adams-County Locale, Nineteenth Century Through the Early Twentieth Century

Funeral practices comprise a series of activities beginning immediately after a death has occurred and ending after the interment of the body, with the dispersal of worldly goods which were once the dead person's property. Within the sequence of activities, there has always been some sort of formal service of spiritual accounting and also some sort of gathering of friends, family, and community. Of all the areas of cultural research surveyed in this report, funeral practices seem to have been the customs most resistant to change. In order, therefore, to gain a clearer evolutionary appreciation of this aspect of culture, surveying a lengthier time-frame seems appropriate

The Undertaker's Goods and Services

The most consistently available source of information about Adams county funerals 1800-1920 has been the estate papers housed at the Adams County Historical Society. The earliest county estate accounts show only a bill for the coffin. This implies that at first the family or family and physician prepared the body for burial themselves. Levi Hutton's estate, for example, indicates that in 1844 a coffin could cost as little as \$6.00. (Levi is buried in the old Quaker burial grounds east of Biglerville.) However, the coffin of John Bender, buried at Bender's Church in 1816, cost \$8.00, a third again as much Levi's. It may be assumed that this substantial difference in cost reflected the use of a different type of wood, amount of detailing, etc. Prices of caskets today are still dependent on such features.

In order to have what was considered a decent burial in colonial times, not only did the family need to procure a coffin, but it also needed a winding sheet or cloth called a *shroud*. The use of burial shrouds dates back to pre-biblical times. Indeed, in many ancient cultures the shroud was the essential physical burial feature: coffins were not used.

With each succeeding decade during the period 1800-1920 Adams countians increasingly employed more standardized funeral-related goods

and services. These physical funeral arrangements were supplied by the major undertaking establishments of the locale. For example, while the earliest local shrouds were no doubt provided directly through the efforts of family members, the most recent shrouds were exclusively procured through undertakers. The following paragraphs serve to illustrate these particular parallel trends.

The term *undertaker* came into standard use in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. The cultural developments which served to standardize the local undertaker's business occurred relatively passively. At first, a local man who could practice only one specialized trade was simply not practical to his community. Just as the cobbler also made horse harnesses because he was knowledgeable in working leather, the carpenter and cabinet-maker also made coffins because they possessed expertise in working wood. One did not decide to become an undertaker; rather, one answered a community need to make coffins because one had the skills and materials readily available. As styles and mores changed, one either adapted to fill the soon-to-be-common role of *undertaker*, or one fulfilled other community and personal needs. The career of the locale's most prominent early undertaker, Mr. Jonas Routzahn/Routsong provides an excellent illustration of this trend.

It seems that Jonas Routzahn/Routsong (1813-1889) never actually set out to become a professional undertaker, yet his account books show that he supplied more than 2,200 local funerals from his establishment in Bendersville.¹ The 1850 census announces Jonas's trade as "carpenter," yet he had already been supplying coffins to order for some time. In the 1850's Jones contracted for the building of three wooden bridges in upper Adams, the largest being built over the Bermudian Creek in 1854 for the sum of \$1,456.00. The census of 1860 identifies Jonas as a "cabinet-maker." When he was almost fifty years of age, Jonas was more inclined to supply furniture to the community than to continue with large-scale construction. Supplying coffins was part of being a "cabinet-maker," c. 1860. It is interesting to note that the 1889 appraisal of Jonas's own estate lists a significantly greater value in furniture inventory than in funeral items. His own obituary lists him as a good citizen, a carpenter, a contractor, and an undertaker—in that order.

The role of undertaker continued to evolve throughout the period 1800-1920. As mentioned, the earliest local shrouds were provided by family members, while the most recent came exclusively from the undertaker's stock. Estate records throughout the period hint that standardization was slowly taking place.

After the Civil War, the notations “coffin &c.” or “coffin and shroud” were often used next to an undertaker’s name, indicating that his establishment could provide families with an extended list of burial-related goods and services: the extended list was becoming common. The items requested, however, were by no means equal to the standardized package of goods and services that one encounters in today’s funeral home.

Often, funeral supplies were also procured in unique ways. For example, in 1850 records for the estate of George Group, administered by John Burkholder, Esq., indicate that undertaker Jonas Routzahn of the Bendersville borough provided a “coffin” for \$10.00 (probably with at least some decorative handles, for such a price). The next notation in the account is to a S. A. Burkholder: “for shrouds &c. . . . \$5.34.” S. A. Burkholder was probably a relative of John Burkholder, Esq., executor of the estate of George Group. John was thus employing the goods and services of two suppliers to provide for the Group funeral. Using two suppliers would be unheard of today unless a body needed to be moved a long distance. Citing further examples from the pre-Civil War period would only serve to illustrate how various were the earlier means of procuring appropriate arrangements for burials.

By 1920 the estate wording for all burial provisions had changed again. The common notation became the less explicit term—“Funeral Expense.” In most cases about this time, the lawyer’s wording gives no clue even as to which undertaker provided services for each funeral.

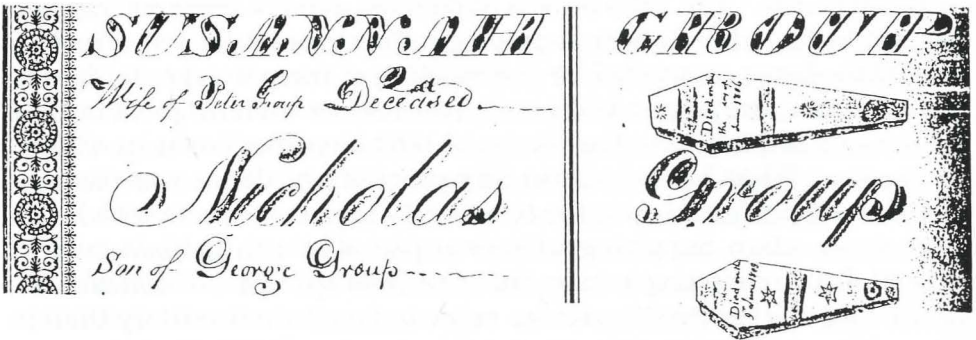


Fig. 1 - Sketches depicting the earliest coffin shape from Group family Bible in the author’s possession. (Susannah Group died 1806. Nicholas Group died 1809).

During the earliest part of the time period, the self-sufficiency of the local people resisted trends toward standardization. Local folks were comfortable with the idea of doing all that they could for themselves and their immediate neighbors. Conversely, urban centers were always decades ahead of the rural areas when it came to “stylish funerals.” Vari-

ous local men made the custom-sized coffins that folks were used to purchasing. As already mentioned, their coffin-making work often took on the aspect of a business side-line. Archie Guise of Tyrone township recalls seeing the iron rods that farmer George Fissel of Gardners once used to measure out the dimensions of coffins. Coffin making required precise carpentry skills because the shape of the coffins needed to conform to an ancient prototype (see figure No. 1) The distant Egyptians had even used this shape for their burial receptacles long before the time of Christ.

The wood of a typical coffin was only a quarter of an inch thick. (This thickness was commonly employed in a variety of other uses.) The fit of the early coffins was designed to be extremely snug and was custom-measured in each case. In the early 1800s, coffin lids were seldom flat, but instead were peaked.

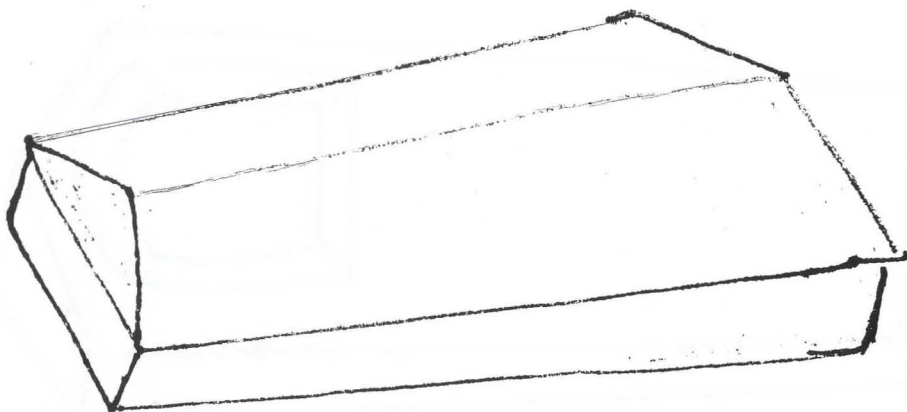


Fig. 2 - Coffin lids were often peaked.

By Victorian times it became common to provide children and young girls with coffins painted white, presumably to denote their innocence. By that period, the work of making coffins (which often had windows) was more likely to be delegated to persons whose primary skills were in carpentry. Popular York Springs undertaker Anthony Deardorff used to hire the carpenter Isaac Kesselring of Biglerville to custom-make caskets and rough boxes for him as the demand arose. The Routzahn undertakers of Bendersville never had any problems procuring specialists for building coffins. As previously stated, Jonas himself was an excellent builder and ran a custom furniture business from his home, as well as serving the community's undertaking needs—this was the legacy

which he left his heirs. Quite possibly, this precise combination of careers (carpentry and undertaking) was most likely to develop into a highly successful funeral establishment.

During the height of the Victorian period, society's interest in the individual became increasingly manifest. Flat coffin lids came into vogue, and in many coffins, a glass window was placed over the area of the face. "She Is Only Sleeping" read the typical tombstone of the period. "See her sleep," the windowed coffins seemed to say. A custom-designed separate wooden panel covered the glass for the burial. Coffins were lined with padding to make them appear more bed-like, and shrouds gradually became old-fashioned. The windowed version of the coffin remained common until the modern view of death began to make substantial inroads in the burial attitudes of American society around the end of World War I.

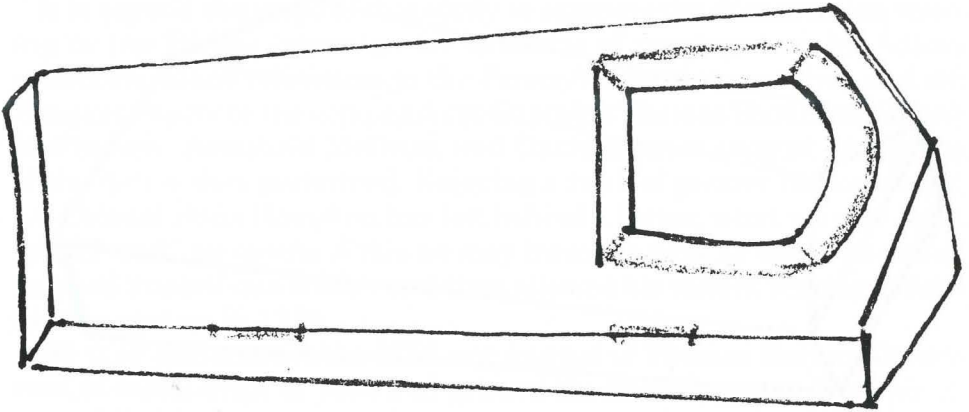


Fig. 3 - In this locally popular Victorian coffin, a separate wooden panel was used to cover the glass window just before burial.

As early as 1875, both caskets and coffins were marketed in Adams county undertaking establishments side-by-side. The casket represented modern innovation. Its design presented a new and neutral shape that was so different as to need a new word, *casket*. The casket was shaped like a large chest and had the look of a newly-purchased shiny piece of furniture. With the use of a casket, the shroud could be completely discarded since the new rectangular shape was roomy enough to require considerable padding. The bed-like effect of the padding was highly agreeable in its connotation of sleep for the departed. A familiar and popular

Victorian ideal was being espoused with this padding, while the design of the coffin's shiny outer shell had been wiped clean of death's old-fashioned and depressing stigma. James A. Hijiya summarizes the casket's significance as follows:

Even though the death-sleep connotation of the coffin's padding had been ubiquitous during Victorian decades, the new coffin shape was highly significant of the modern mind-set with regard to death. Since the turn of the century American funeral practices have sought with ever-increasing fervor to negate the pain and mystery of death by refusing to acknowledge death altogether.²

Of course, not everybody liked these new-fangled "caskets." Caskets had to coexist with the more traditional coffins for decades until they themselves had become familiar. Only then would many local people even entertain the notion of using one. According to estate records (1883) Margaret, the widow of George Group, was among the first locally buried in a casket. Her "casket, shroud, and c." totaled \$40.50, which seems a standard sum for that time. Her estate was not settled by a family member or close friend but by the lawyer "D. McConaughy."

Adams county undertaking advertisements of the 1880s specifically list "coffins" and "caskets" among the goods and services offered. As time went on, however, the two terms gradually lost their distinct connotations. Many individuals no doubt employed the terms interchangeably, even prior to the abandonment of the ancient coffin shape.

Jonas Routzahn's estate papers (1889) show an inventory of seventeen completed "coffins" and sixteen rough boxes in stock but no "caskets." The values of his coffins ranged from \$13.00 to \$2.75. In contrast to these values, a typical 1880s estate notation for "coffin &c" was in the \$50.00 range. Perhaps the "&c" items were of great value. Jonas's inventory also noted nine shrouds with prices ranging from \$3.50 to \$.50. The expense of coffin hardware and handles seems to have made up most of the difference in cost for the average local 1880s funeral. (Routzahn inventory values were probably appraised low, since both the executor and the prospective purchaser of the items were sons of Jonas.) The hardware pieces were attached after customers had specified which exact types they desired. There were Catholic and Protestant hardware emblems available, many of which had been imported from Europe. These bore traditional religious symbols.

Undertakers knew that the role of the pallbearers in a funeral was very important to the customers, i.e., generally the family. The family would choose those men who had strengthened the individual's community and family ties during life to carry the dead member to the grave. This gesture helped prolong the bonding of various factions, both among the living and with the dead. Pallbearers would use and notice those fine handles when they performed their duty. Thus, the nicer the handles, the greater the gesture of respect.

Jonas Routzahn was succeeded in the undertaking business by his son, George R., and later by his grandson, William O. Routzahn. The business is currently run by a sixth generation of family descended from Jonas, with every prospect of the succession continuing into a seventh generation.

William O. Routzahn is remembered by several of the persons interviewed for the purposes of preparing this article. Archie Guise recalls that prior to 1918 Mr. Routzahn used to order a set of ten or twelve rough boxes which would arrive at the Gardners station by freight train. He would then pick these up with his wagon and team. Mr. Guise also recalls Mr. Routzahn's driving his horse-drawn hearse past the Gardners schoolhouse. He must have been on his way to one of the Bermudian churches, for soon the children could hear a church bell toll. Mr. Guise did not start attending school at Gardners until 1917, so the horse-drawn hearse was still in local use at that time.

Rough boxes anticipated the modern cement or metal vault. No one interviewed remembered or heard tell of a time before rough boxes were used, nor did anyone report seeing a shroud or an old-style shaped coffin in use. The word *shroud*, however, was used figuratively in a local newspaper account of 1905, so that term at least was still generally meaningful to readers after the turn of the century.

All across America, the use of the hearse was offered free when one employed the services of an undertaker. This business arrangement was extremely shrewd because many people were much more interested in having the use of the fancy hearse and high-stepping, matched team than they were in having the "extras" that could be purchased with the coffin. Providing the hearse at no cost was a way of insuring that the undertaker "got your business" and could then encourage the sale of many fine funeral options.

Very few local families could boast a fine matched team of horses, for such animals were a great expense both to purchase and to maintain. However, virtually all local families appreciated a high-stepping, beautiful team. To use such transport for a family member's funeral proved

the high regard the family felt for the dead. In addition, very early on the hearse acquired a specialized wagon shape. A family wanting a funeral “conducted in a manner corresponding with their estate and station in life” simply could not substitute their own Sunday buggy for a hearse. Hearses were designed to appear expensive, thus suggesting the deceased had achieved prestige and success during his or her lifetime. In 1889, for example, the horse-drawn hearse of Jonas Routzahn was valued at \$175.00 and was the single most expensive item in the inventory.

Embalming was introduced to Adams county in 1882 by Hanson P. Mark of Arendtsville, the county’s first licensed practitioner of that skill. Gradually, this preservative measure received hesitant acceptance from the public, a hesitancy implied by some of the advertisements placed by undertakers doing business in the largest county boroughs (see first illustration). People, apparently accustomed to the idea of ice boxes, were afraid that embalming involved mutilating the dead. The inventory of Jonas Routzahn in 1889 lists two “Boddie Freezers” valued at \$1.50 and \$2.00, but no specific embalming supplies. Undertakers generally maintained supplies of ice in their spring houses packed in saw dust and straw. The body freezers used ice packed around the torso and possessed the advantage that the ice and the dead person could be arranged for viewing without fear that the melting ice would ruin preparations.

Embalming had been used much more commonly in Europe for decades but only achieved some measure of acceptance in America during the Civil War. During that crisis, the practical necessity of providing mass transport of bodies overrode philosophical concerns. Washington, D.C., was the first center of American embalming practices. Prior to 1880, embalming schools were established in large American cities. W. O. Routzahn, son of Jonas, was the first man in the rural area to receive a degree from one of these schools, reportedly in 1910. Personal interviews indicate that by 1918 professional embalming was taking place often, but that the undertaker performed this task at the family residence.

The preference of the family for remaining physically close to the one whose life was over appears to have been a need of universal and ancient origin. Folks felt a great reluctance to surrender the body of a family member to any undertaker. To have this man prepare or keep the body in his establishment seemed a very foreign notion. For Adams countians prior to 1918 or 1920 death was a fact of life—a phenomenon with which most were intimately familiar. And, except for a rural Victorian effort to shield the youngest children from the details of prepara-

tion, a family fully expected, indeed, actually hoped that bodies of family members would receive loving attentions from those who had been close in life.

The Victorian undertaker was employed to provide specific goods and services at the direction of the family. However, by this time embalming and funeral procession arrangements had become so involved that undertakers heartily wished to perform their preparations on their own turf, and they took every opportunity to influence the public to accept services that were not home-based. At the close of the period, the local undertaker had still not become a funeral director in the modern sense: the family stubbornly retained that function, and a sustained tension still existed between the "old-fashioned" and the "modern" ways of "doin' things."

Viewings and Wakes

Following ancient folk tradition, if a person could not be present when a loved one died, the next best thing was to go to the deceased's home and see him/her before the burial. This was called "paying your respects." There were two aspects involved in these semi-formal parlor viewings. In addition to the very real need to be with the body for a final time, there was also the desire to visit with the family who had sustained the loss. Not only would one offer consolation, but one would also gain knowledge of the inner fabric of the immediate family network, the family dealings with one another and with the death itself. Alfred Delp of Idaville reports that his family traditionally held both funeral services and viewings at the family home until well after 1920. Generally, local people were intensely socially concerned beings, and family and community bonds were of paramount importance. At least one family member would generally be in attendance in the front room or parlor as long as the body was in the house.

At first, what came to be called "the viewing" at the home was not confined to any set day or time. By 1918 the custom of meeting at the house before the trip to the church and cemetery served as a formal viewing time. Many local folks remember that when the services of an undertaker were requested at a home, the undertaker would hang a special black crepe funeral wreath on the front door. The funeral wreath announced death's tidings in no uncertain terms to any would-be casual visitors.



Fig. 4 - At the close of the period black roses of twisted crepe cloth hung on front doors to announce a death within.

Ralph Hikes recalls that when his grandmother died in 1922, the family was there to help as the undertaker prepared her body in the home. He remembers their being asked to find a certain size of crock. He also recalls that the family set up a schedule so that her body was never left alone until the burial took place. He does not recall anyone using the word *wake*, the formal term for such a watch. Not only did the practice of a death watch traditionally provide a sustained period of family contact and grieving, but it also provided a practical safety check to see if the person were really dead. Premature burial was always considered a distinct possibility. In her scrap book of newspaper clippings from the 1930's, for example, Laura Group saved the printed story of a Rumanian woman who was buried alive. According to the clipping, grave-robbers unearthed the coffin, raised the lid, and ran away trembling when they heard the woman mumbling. The woman then ran home through the bitter cold and had a desperate time convincing her family to open the door to her: they thought that she was a ghost.

Given the past level of common medical knowledge, it is surely no wonder why hearing even one such story a year would be enough to maintain the tradition of the "wake"—to keep the tradition vital as long as bodies were kept in homes before burial. There is to date little documentation available concerning local wake practices, but Jessie Deatricks recalls the following in her written history of York Springs:

The next [home] was the Adam Grove place. I don't know anything about the family; but my parents told me they thought he was buried alive as steam was seen on the glass of the coffin lid.³

Communication: Bearing Death's Tidings

When a death occurred, family and friends had to be notified at once. Ralph Hikes recalls working in the fields, hearing the church bell toll, and wondering who had died. In his Upper Bermudian congregation, a grieving family would hasten to inform the sexton, who would in turn hasten to toll the bell each time a death occurred. Family members who lived near and far made every effort to attend funeral gatherings. The post bore the sad news with black-edged mourning card announcements in the decades around 1900. Some local families were not interested in the look of their death announcements and used plain postcards, with messages scrawled in pencil to serve the purpose.

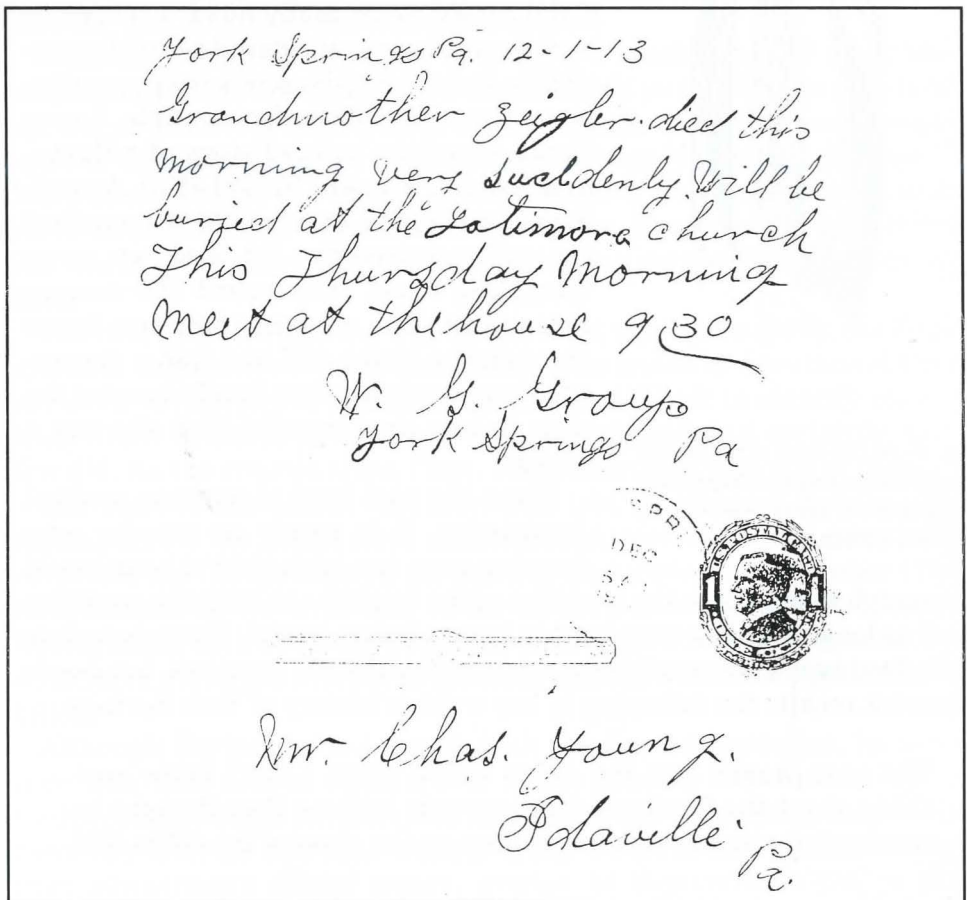


Fig. 5

Throughout the period, the content of a newspaper obituary was not standardized as it is today. Before 1880, it was not even standardized practice to have an obituary printed for each family member. However, by 1918 the newspaper obituary had assumed the duty of informing others of the death so that they might be able to attend the funeral service. The obituary of Eliza June Slusser in 1918 clearly states that "friends and family are to take this as announcement of the death," implying that they could then make plans to attend the service which was scheduled a day or two after the article appeared. In later instances, the names of the pallbearers were even printed in the newspaper in order to notify the men that they had been chosen for this duty. Apparently, the arrival of the telephone took some of the strain from the post and the newspaper because the phone could instantly bring individuals news of a personal nature.

Often, the newspaper played another role in the common experience of death in a family. Not only did some families employ it to announce a pending funeral service, but perhaps as commonly, they used the newspaper to print a poem expressing their grief and usually their faith in God. They frequently selected a pre-composed poem, then signed their names to the poem to indicate that the lyric expressed their own sentiments. Locally, the use of these poems dates back to the advent of the Victorian era and lasted into the 1920's. The following poem was placed in the *Compiler* (April 2) by Mr. and Mrs. George Wiedner on the occasion of the death of three of their children of scarlet fever in 1901:

Dearest children, thou hast left us.
Still thy loss we deeply feel
But this God who hast bereft us
He will all our sorrows heal.

Yet again we hope to meet thee.
When the day of life is fled;
And with joy in heaven to greet thee,
Where no farewell tear is shed.

Frequently, poems such as this were placed in the paper on the anniversary of a person's death.

Local Victorian styles of gravestones carried the same poems which folks choose to have printed in the newspapers. These particular gravestones with their engraved poems lost popularity after 1900, but the lyrics continued to appear in newsprint for at least another 20 years.

On Funeral Day

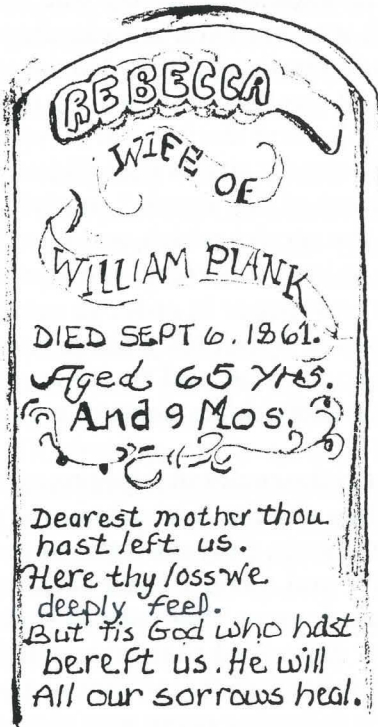


Fig. 6

There seems to have been a standard sequence of events governing the activities of the actual day of the funeral.

Funeral gatherings generally began at the home of the family. Sometimes there was a formal service at the home itself. From there, mourners generally rode with the coffin in a procession to the church for a sit-down service. Then they moved outside to the grave site and finally returned to the family home again—this time for a less formal gathering, complete with a nourishing meal. After the meal, the will, if any, was read to an assembly of those mentioned therein.

Perhaps the funeral service sometimes took place after the interment, as in the case of Reverend John Barnhart, a small-pox victim who was buried in extreme haste.⁴ However, no one interviewed was able to confirm this as a fact. The earliest local funeral service of which there is

substantial record is that of Mr. Thomas Wood of Philadelphia, who died while on a visit to York Sulphur Springs in 1813. This service seems to have been rather a grim affair:

A very desolate looking old grave yard is still seen surrounding the spot where "Christ Church, Huntington" once stood, in all about four acres, which still belongs to the remnant of the congregation. The enclosure or grave yard proper contains an area of from 1/2 to 3/4 of an acre, and is quite full of graves. The earliest graves were marked by common flat stones, set at head and foot. The oldest lettered stone is a common sandstone, and marks the grave of William Field, of whom there was a tradition that he shot a bear which had hold of his brother—killing the bear, but not injuring the man. The first marble stone in this yard marks the grave of Thomas Wood, of Philadelphia, who died at York Sulphur Springs in July, 1813. There were at that time no facili-

ties for transporting coffins—hence he was compelled to be buried in this obscure place, far from kindred, none of whom perhaps ever visited his grave. The only mourner present was a son, apparently about sixteen years of age, who, after the services were over, walked sadly up to the grave, and gathered a handful of the dust—the last relic of his departed father. The funeral sermon was preached by old Dr. Campbell, from the text “Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end.” This was the last time the old gentleman entered that pulpit. These old grave stones are becoming covered with moss; but still erect and in good condition, although tended by no affectionate hand.⁵

The family of Mrs. Helen Kennedy of Gardners handed down the memory of another rather depressing early funeral. According to tradition, Rock Chapel had one of the “wateriest graveyards ‘round abouts.” During one rainy period, the mourners were having a funeral (perhaps of one of the many Sadlers buried there) and it was pouring. While some attended the service inside, others were busy outside bailing out the pre-dug grave which kept filling up with water.

A funeral service commonly contained all the substance of a standard church service, complete with congregational singing. A broad selection of funeral texts was also in use.

The attendance of the community at funeral services in the past was proportionally far greater than today. For example, vivacious school girl Laura Group attended at least 19 funerals in 1895, according to her notebook. She recorded 19 funeral texts in her notebook in that year. Sometimes, the number of persons attending a funeral served as a gauge of the deceased’s significance within the community. Sometimes, a large attendance was due to other community interests. Local newspapers took notice of large crowds at a funeral: a gathering of 300 - 500 was newsworthy. In the case of the funeral of soldier Frank E. Gardner who died in 1918, a newspaper clipping announced that 500 people had assembled at the “Idaville Evangelical Church” for the military funeral. The attraction seems to have been that this was a military funeral; however, the Gardners were also a well-respected family within the community.

According to the notes of the pastor of the Upper Bermudian Church, more than 500 people attended some funerals. Funerals of suicide victims usually attracted very large crowds since the strong cultural taboos against suicide spawned tinges of perverse curiosity about such events.

Until services began to be held at the funeral director's parlor (after 1920), it seems that funeral services generally took place at church, at home, or at the grave-site; sometimes at all three. An infant's burial more frequently took place only at the grave site.

The use of flowers in funeral services is hard to document before the close of the period. Pennsylvania-German ladies have always been noted for their cultivation of flowers. From tulip to rose, gravestones throughout the period bear tribute to the people's love of these brief-lived, yet beautiful symbols of life and association with death. Jessie Deatrick's history of York Springs is sprinkled with references to various ladies who cared for large collections of transplanted wild and cultivated flowers along their white Victorian picket fences. Laura Group spoke of decorating the Evangelical United Brethren churches of Cline's and Mount Tabor for special evening services. Local women who came to take pride in their flower collections often became involved in decorating the area's churches, according to the season. Just when and how often flowers were used in decor for funeral services are unknown, but one may assume considerable individual variation in the practice prior to 1920. After 1920 Gettysburg borough undertakers sometimes listed "flowers" on their itemized funeral bills. The first florist of the locale appears to have been Mrs. Nina Houck Kuntz who began a greenhouse in Biglerville in 1943. Pastor Biles of the Lutheran charge centered in Bendersville finds it remarkable that today local people prefer such a large profusion of floral bouquets at funeral services.

Ralph Hikes possesses a wealth of information about traditional behavior at a local church funeral service. The customs he discussed were so firmly entrenched in generations-old tradition that no living Adams countian seems to be able to remember ever hearing a rationale for them.

As is the case in local church funerals today, family members would all be seated to the right of the aisle, facing the casket. The closest relatives would be seated in the front row, with the parents or wife or husband on the inside end of the aisle. Mr. Hikes also recalled that friends would be seated on the left-hand side of the church.

It was customary to wear black to a funeral. In a local church service, ladies wore coats, gloves and hats with added black veils. Men wore hats, jackets and overcoats. Men kept these hats, jackets, and overcoats on while they sat in the pews for the duration of the service, regardless of the heat.

Generally, the casket would be open for the duration of the service. As it concluded, there would be a great wailing and moaning as the closest family members themselves closed up the casket, with the whole assem-

bly of folks looking on. (Today the funeral director performs this duty, and it is done in private.) Then the closest family members symbolically surrendered the casket to the pallbearers. These more distant family members and friends carried the casket to the grave. Everyone followed, and there would be a shorter grave-side ceremony which concluded with everyone walking away after the final prayer.

Lowering the casket into the ground and filling in the grave were done immediately after the close of the service, after the family had left the graveyard to return to the home-place for refreshment and socializing. Mr. Hikes' statements about funerals dating back to 1920 have been substantiated by many elder Adams countians.

Estate papers after 1840 fail to detail the kind or amount of foods and drinks served following the service. It appears that those who authorized the preparations for these gatherings were the executors, who were often also family members. The various expenditures incurred for a funeral were added together and listed as one amount next to the executor's name. An exception to this is found in the estate of B. F. Slusser (d. 1918): "\$10.00" designated to Laura Group for "funeral expenses." Laura Group was a daughter but not an executrix. An interview with Laura's daughter confirmed that Laura had supplied all the food (\$10.00 could buy a great quantity of food in 1918).

Before 1840 it is possible to find an occasional estate entry that specifically notes the type of drink used in the post-funeral gathering. The estate of a John Bender (d. 1816 and buried at Bender's Church) records the following expenses: "Coffin . . . \$8.00, Whiskey . . . \$4.00"—considerable money at a time when a local farm laborer earned but 20 cents a day. The availability of a quantity of alcohol at a funeral could signify the prestige of the deceased and also of the family, just as alcohol (and food) does at a wedding today. In his 1992 history of Adams county, Dr. Robert L. Bloom commented on the pre-temperance social function of liquor: "In the decades before the Civil War, Americans of all classes and sections consumed prodigious quantities of alcoholic drink. It was said that they indulged on all occasions and even between occasions."⁶ Just what types of foods and drinks were served at funeral gatherings may have been important to those who attended, but Adams county wills seldom specify any precise arrangements.

In 1918, while Isabel Group recalled a full funeral meal with several kinds of meat and pie, Ralph Hikes recalled lighter fare—rice pudding with bananas and the traditional Pennsylvania-Dutch raisin pie. Raisin pie was sometimes locally called "funeral pie." It was considered a treat because raisins were very expensive, and the pie was reserved for spe-

cial occasions, one of which would have been a funeral gathering.

Despite the lack of available detail, it is apparent that Adams countians considered the post-service gathering at the home an essential component of a proper funeral. Wills were read or plans for dispersal of property were made at the home after the meal. Several wills throughout the period specify that the will be produced and read at the family home after the funeral had taken place. The following quotation is from the will of Levi Hutton, penned April 11, 1838:

F. Keener is to keep this will in his possession until after my demise so long as he is a resident of this county To read it to the heirs at my house [or] upon his leaving this county to leave this will with [illegible].

Often, it is very touching to note the special concern which a will-maker put into making arrangements for the loved ones he hoped would survive him. Husbands commonly asked that their wives be supplied with firewood, chopped and brought "sufficient for their needs." John Bender (d. 1816) specified that his wife not only have the wood but also that she own the stove in which to burn it. Old bones "minded the cold" with advancing years, it was said. In his will, Levi Hutton went to great length to provide for a handicapped son, perhaps implying why he so earnestly desired that his will be read in a timely manner.

The reading of the will on funeral day completed all the essential practical and emotional tasks that comprised a funeral 1800-1920.

Summary

Surveyed in totality, the funeral practices of northeast Adams county, 1800-1920, reveal a lack of standardization akin to that observed in the many other cultural areas. Rural Adams county funeral practices lagged decades behind those of large American cities. Local people were more likely to dispense with the more ostentatious aspects of stylish funeral etiquette (for instance, the black-edged mourning cards) and to stress instead the family's emotional needs and expressions. Additionally, the lack of standardization seems to have been linked with meager economic resources as well as with the level of personal involvement which the grieving family strove to maintain, a personal involvement with the dead person who had left their midst as well as an involvement with the extended family and community.

Appendix

Individual Profiles Which Pertain to "Funeral Practices"

The following are excerpts from the report lodged at the Adams County Historical Society. This section traces the lives of a number of individuals who lived in upper north-east Adams county for the majority of the years of their lives. Subjects were chosen from a cross-section of heterogeneous groupings.

Sources consulted were the same that figure in the rest of the report: wills and estate papers, church records, obituaries, gravestone descriptions and inscriptions, diaries, letters, and personal interviews.

* * * *

A.

Eliza Jane Murtoff Slusser, 1839-1918

Eliza Jane Murtoff Slusser of Mt. Tabor was the mother of two sons and four daughters, all of whom lived to attain adulthood. She was the wife of Benjamin Franklin Slusser, a farmer and Civil War veteran.

Daughter Laura Group (d. 1972) recalled that her mother was a Sunday school teacher at Mt. Tabor United Brethren Church. She also recalled that after the family got their organ in the parlor, in 1896, "Mother would come into the room whenever we were playing and sing the alto to 'Near My God to Thee' and 'Jesus, Lover of my Soul.'"

According to the memory of Eliza Jane's granddaughter, Isabel Group (d. 1990), when Eliza and her husband, B. Franklin, were in ill health in the late fall of 1917 their eldest son, John, brought the two aging parents to the home of his sister Laura and announced that they were to stay with her father for the winter for health reasons. John had not discussed this plan with Laura or her husband prior to his action. As the winter progressed the two needed increasing assistance.

One day, as Isabel, a first grader, was walking home from school she was startled by the report of a neighbor woman who lived up the road: "Isabel, your grandma's dead. Your grandma just died." She hurried home and found this to be true. She remembers seeing her grandma's body laid out on the cot where she had slept. She remembers being kept out of the room during some sort of preparations and remembers the arrival of all her mother's brothers and sisters at the house, even Aunt Vi, who was well-to-do and lived at a distance and was thus seldom seen. Little

Isabel did not go to the church service, nor did her grandpa, who could not walk.

Wife Fatally Stricken while Attending her Sick Husband.

May 7 1418
My. Eliza Jane Slusser, wife of B. S. Slusser, of Mt. Tabor, died very suddenly at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Charles Group, Gardners Station, on Monday afternoon at 1:45 o'clock. Her husband has been ill for about a year and as she was giving him his dinner she fell over and died ten minutes later. She was aged 79 years and 23 days.

Mrs. Slusser was a daughter of the late Moses and Elizabeth Murtorff, of Mt. Tabor.

She leaves her husband and the following sons and daughters: William Slusser and Mrs. William Murtorff, of Gardners Station; John Slusser, of Newark, N.J.; Mrs. William Seton, Wyncote, Pa.; Mrs. Charles Group, Gardners Station; and Mrs. John Deardorff, of Boswell; also sixteen grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

She also leaves the following brothers: William Murtorff, Reading; John Murtorff, Gardners; Lewis Murtorff, Bendersville; and Albert Murtorff, Boiling Springs. She was a member of the Mt. Tabor United Brethren church.

The funeral services will be held on Thursday morning, meeting at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Charles Group, Gardners, at 10 o'clock. Services and interment at Mt. Tabor United Brethren church, Rev. Charles Gardner officiating.

Friends and relatives will please take this as notice of the funeral.

Fig. 7 - A copy of part of Eliza Jean's obituary saved by her family.

Isabel recalls the open casket being brought over to her grandfather's chair right before the people left with it for the church. "My grandfather looked sorrowfully down at her body and reached out to touch her hand with a very soulful expression on his face. All the family were looking on and Aunt Vi said, 'Oh, It'll kill the man!' Aunt Vi seemed to be the outspoken one of the family. It felt as though her comment at that time was not appreciated. My Grandfather said nothing."

Laura Group recorded the text Genesis 23:2 used by Reverend Gardner for her mother's service: "Sarah died, and Abraham mourned for her."

Personal Recollections of Funeral Practices

by Isabel P. Group (1918)

When my grandpa died several months after Grandma, his death was not unexpected. He had gangrene in his leg and he was in a great deal of pain all the time. He had gotten very frail and small. The bullet in his shoulder from his Civil War injury had always troubled him, but it was nothing compared with the pain of the gangrene.

At any rate, when he died, and after we children saw him still and quiet, my father went to the shop (Dad was a carpenter/plaster by trade) and got a long, wide board. He brought this into the main room where Grandpa had had his bed while he was staying with us, and where he had died. He placed Grandpa's body on the board. My mother proceeded to wash Grandpa's body and arrange his features. She shaved him also at that time and then dressed him in his good suit, which of course looked very big on him. When the undertaker [W. O. Routzahn] arrived, I was not allowed in the room, but the adults were.

I remember that there was again much discussion as to whether or not all of mother's brothers and sisters would come for the funeral. Of course, they all did come. It was quite a to-do getting ready for them, and mother had had all the care of nursing the aged parents as well as the first funeral a few months before. Mother managed to prepare everything very efficiently, including all sorts of meats and foods to serve after the service. We all helped her and did as we were told; still we were aware that there were extraordinary responsibilities involved with getting ready for this funeral.

I don't remember going to the service itself, as I was only eight years old; perhaps I didn't go.

After the supper when it came time for the reading of the will, the adults assembled in the front room. I didn't remember anything about this, but my mother talked about it with me later when I was grown up. It seems that mother had vividly remembered what transpired as the will was read because her oldest brother John questioned her about the cash that their father had with him when he died. This question offended Laura who felt it was an insult to her integrity. "I think she should keep the money," interrupted Aunt Vi. No one seemed to pay any attention to Vi. My mother, Laura, took the cash out of her pocket (it was about \$100.00) and quickly traversed the space between her chair and John's. She pushed the money into his hand and told him that if he had to ask he'd better keep it himself . . . and he did!

* * * *

B.

Ralph Hikes 1914-

Ralph Hikes is a semi-retired farmer and local historian who has lived in Huntington township all his life. He is the son of the late Elmer H.

Hikes and Elsie C. Bream. He was raised within the congregation of the Upper Bermudian Lutheran Church and has held various church and cemetery board positions since youth. Currently, Ralph is active in many organizations of a historical and benevolent nature. He is a charter member of the York Springs Historical Society and a member of the Adams County Historical Society. His wife is the lovely Mary E. (Betty) Lier Hikes. The couple has raised three children: Carl L., Saverna Forest, Md.; Alice M. Hikes, York Springs; and Martha J. Muratsuka, Hawaii.

Ralph's recollections of funeral practices in upper north-east Adams county form an integral part of "Funeral Practices." His information is a composite formed by attending many, many funerals held mostly at his local church. In addition, he recalls the family preparations for the service of his grandmother, Caroline Meals Fissel, who died in 1922. It is certainly noteworthy that most of Ralph's memories date from about 1918. The consistency of local customs begun prior to that date is thus extended past it through the 1920s.

* * * *

Personal Recollection, Bell-Tolling at Local Churches

by Ralph Hikes

* * * *

The last time I recall of our Upper Bermudian church bell tolling was to observe the bicentennial celebration in 1976. Church bells used to be used for all sorts of occasions, weddings, deaths, the Fourth of July, Christmas. . . . Now it seems that the custom has slackened off.

Different ones that lived near our church complained about the sound of the bell—it used to ring a half hour before services on Sunday mornings—said their sleep was disturbed. So we finally quit using the bell altogether.

There was a custom we had for funerals—not only did we toll the bell when there was news of someone having died, but on the day of the funeral the bell ringer would start to toll the bell from the tower as soon as he could see the hearse coming over the rise in the road.

When I was a boy at home I could hear the different church bells from the different directions—York Springs, Idaville, Upper Bermudian. Each bell had its own tone. When it was damp sometimes the sounds would really carry. It was pleasant to expect the sound of the bells on Sunday mornings.

NOTES

1. Gettysburg *Compiler*, 11 June 1889.
2. Cited in William M. Lamers and Robert W. Habenstein, *History of American Funeral Directing* (Milwaukee, 1955), p. 61.
3. Jessie Deatrick, "Memories of York Springs" (unpublished manuscript, 1967), p. 7.
4. *Compiler*, 9 Jan. 1903.
5. John T. Reily, *History and Directory of the Boroughs of Adams County* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1880), p. 95.
6. Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990*, (Gettysburg, Pa., 1992), p. 133.

Contributors

ELWOOD ("WOODY") W. CHRIST, a 1975 graduate of Gettysburg College, a resident of Gettysburg, and a licensed battlefield guide, has served as chief researcher/surveyor/writer for Gettysburg's Historical Building Survey Committee (1987-90) and as an assistant in the borough's Phase I Archaeological Survey (1989-90), looking for the remains of Samuel Getty's log house, site of the present parking deck. Woody's other publications have included several articles in the society's *Newsletter*, and the book *"Over a Wide, Hot, . . . Crimson Plain": the Struggle for the Bliss Farm at Gettysburg, 2-3 July 1863* (Baltimore, 1993).

NANCY DELONG, descendant of several important Upper Adams families, teaches music in the Bermudian Springs School District and lives in Tyrone township. She has used her deep interest in local history, her connections with several Upper Adams churches, and her knowledge of the oral traditions of many residents of Upper Adams, including several of her own relatives, to speak and write on such aspects of local social and cultural history, music, and attitudes toward living and dying.

DAVID A. MURDOCH received his A.B. degree *magna cum laude* in Modern European History from Harvard College in 1964. Following graduation from Harvard Law School in 1967, he served in the United States Army (1968-71) as a first lieutenant and a captain. He practices law as a partner with the Pittsburgh, PA firm of Kirkpatrick & Lockhart. He is a descendant of the immigrants James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, who were Ms. Foster's grandparents. Two of Mr. Murdoch's great-uncles, Sergeant James Millen, a cousin of Ms. Foster and a soldier in Company H of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (see appendix), and Private Nathan Divvens, Company I of the 139th Regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers, fought at Gettysburg.

JAMES P. MYERS, JR., editor of this journal and the Adams County Historical Society *Newsletter*, lives in Tyrone township and teaches literature at Gettysburg College. His recently completed work on the life of the Anglican missionary the Reverend Thomas Barton reflects his wider interest in the activities of the Anglo-Irish on the American pre-Revolutionary frontier.

