



1997

## Adams County History 1997

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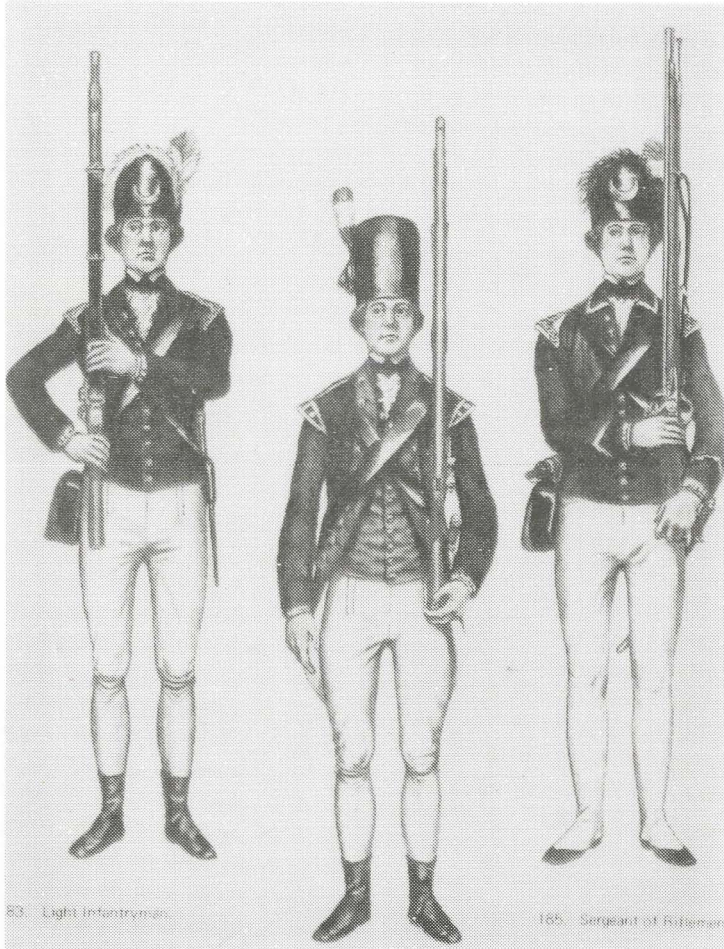
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# Adams County History 1997

## **Keywords**

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

# ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY

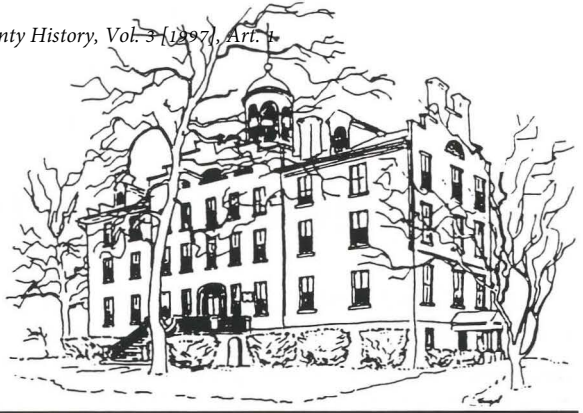


83. Light Infantryman

165. Sergeant of Riflemen

Published by the  
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# ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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1997

Volume 3

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## Contents

The Bermudian Creek Tories by James P. Myers, Jr. ....	4
Building a Battle Site: Roads to and through Gettysburg by Elwood W. Christ .....	41
Lavinia Dock: Adams County Suffragette by Mary Lou Schwartz .....	71

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## 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:

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## Notes from the Editor

This, our third issue of *Adams County History*, covers a full spectrum of the county's rich historical heritage. The editor of this journal summarizes his research into the virtually forgotten lives of four area British Loyalists whose fidelity to a government other than that which prevailed in Pennsylvania and the rest of the United States brought upon them the wrath of the patriots.

Society Assistant Director Elwood W. Christ once more—for his third appearance in these pages!—graces *ACH* with another noteworthy discussion: on this occasion, he explores how the complex system of roads which evolved to converge on Gettysburg made it a likely place for two rival armies to come together where they did in July of 1863.

Former society president Mary Lou Schwartz provides insight into the career of Adams county suffragette Lavinia Dock, whose sister, Mira, also achieved fame and acclaim for her determined efforts to reforest Pennsylvania around the turn of the century.

Even as we go to press with this issue, volume four is fast taking shape, with two articles on Gettysburg Civil War soldiers in preparation. We enthusiastically invite interested readers to submit articles or outlines (typed double-space) of proposals for articles which they might like to see included in what already promises to be a distinguished gathering of essays on Adams county history for the 1998 issue.

TRUCRO DUCE NIL DESPERANDUM.

First Battalion of PENNSYLVANIA LOYALISTS,  
commanded by His Excellency Sir WILLIAM  
HOWE, K. B.

ALL INTREPID ABLE-BODIED  
**H E R O E S,**

**W**HO are willing to serve His MAJESTY KING  
GEORGE the Third, in Defence of their  
Country, Laws and Constitution, against the arbitrary  
Usurpations of a tyrannical Congress, have now not  
only an Opportunity of manifesting their Spirit, by  
assisting in reducing to Obedience their too-long de-  
luded Countrymen, but also of acquiring the polite  
Accomplishments of a Soldier, by serving only two  
Years, or during the present Rebellion in America.

Such spirited Fellows, who are willing to engage,  
will be rewarded at the End of the War, besides their  
Laurels, with 50 Acres of Land, where every gallant  
Hero may retire, and enjoy his Bottle and Lads.

Each Volunteer will receive, as a Bounty, FIVE  
DOLLARS, besides Arms, Cloathing and Accoutre-  
ments, and every other Requisite proper to accommo-  
date a Gentleman Soldier, by applying to Lieutenant  
Colonel ALLEN, or at Captain KEARNY's Ren-  
dezvous, at PATRICK TONRY's, three Doors above  
Market-street, in Second-street.

Loyalist recruiting poster for General William Howe's army in  
Philadelphia, 1777.



## The Bermudian Creek Tories

by James P. Myers, Jr.

*The historian does not simply come in to replenish the gap of memory. He constantly challenges even those memories that have survived intact.*

—Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi<sup>1</sup>

The history of the American Revolution which most Americans have learned and which is everyday reinforced in the public media is essentially but one of several competing interpretations of that conflict. We rarely think about this, so successfully has that particular history taken root in our culture. Common sense, however, should caution us that the British also possess a version or versions which differ in important ways from ours. The French, our allies during the Revolution, offer yet another construction, one stressing that war's place in their own long history of conflict with Great Britain. And had the northeastern American Indians possessed a written, instead of an oral, tradition, doubtless they would have recorded how their involvement in the war between the two English-speaking opponents hastened the destruction of their culture.<sup>2</sup>

At least one other interpretation exists, and we look for it in the scattered documents, published memoirs, and manuscripts of the Americans who lost the war. A great many Americans in colonial America—they may have numbered as high as 40% of the population—remained or tried to remain faithful to their British allegiance. Although a great portion of these British Loyalists tried to make the best of a bad situation by saying or doing nothing—a most difficult endeavor under the trying circumstances—others were not so passive: They refused to accept the new nation and were accordingly punished. The story of these British Loyalists, or “Tories” as they were contemptuously called, is gradually becoming better known, clearer.

In part, the recovery of this Loyalist history began with the earlier groundbreaking work of Carl Van Doren.<sup>3</sup> First printed in 1941, Van Doren's appropriately titled *Secret History of the American Revolution* sought to correct the accepted version articulated and publicized by the winners of the Revolutionary War. It is a commonplace that victors of wars write the official histories. Van Doren tried to revise the winners' version by adding to it a part that had been more or less suppressed or simply “lost”—a narrative of the great resistance mounted by the Loyalists. In considerable detail, he tells the stories of various influential and

prominent Loyalist participants who lost their homes, their livelihoods, even their lives. Other historians have since supplemented Van Doren's effort to make the American Loyalist story less of a secret.<sup>4</sup>

Because of the work of these researchers, a growing number of Americans has come gradually to understand the Revolution as also a virulent civil war in which neighbor fought neighbor and in which families often became sadly divided. Pennsylvania Chief Justice Thomas McKean recognized this truth in 1781 when he said that "Pennsylvania was not a nation at war with another nation but a country in a state of *civil war*."<sup>5</sup> Unknown to many, the conflict that began in 1776 was indeed the United States' *first* civil war. As we know from study of the Civil War (1861-5) itself and of other civil wars, such conflicts are often far more destructive, cruel, and ferocious than "more common" dynastic and territorial wars.

Notwithstanding the recent readjustment in our perception of the Revolutionary War, however, the secret history of what occurred in today's Adams county has remained very much a secret history. Published county histories barely acknowledge that a significant Loyalist opposition existed. A few scattered allusions to the activities of some local individuals and the rediscovery of hitherto unknown or unexamined sources, however, suggest that a local drama of great poignancy and, indeed, tragedy unfolded.<sup>6</sup> Although perhaps beyond full recovery, it is a history that contributes greatly to appreciating the complex and troubled beginnings of our present community and confronts us with a picture considerably, and disturbingly, at variance with inherited traditions and attitudes. The story that can now be told concerns principally three or four individuals, but it is clear that the hands'-count of Adams county Loyalists who left behind them something of an historical memory simply reflects in obvious ways a surprisingly widespread and powerful groundswell of resistance in Tyrone, Huntington, Menallen, Berwick, and possibly Reading townships to the direction Pennsylvania's more radical patriots were steering or trying to steer the new state. John Curry, James Bracken, John Wilson, Jr., and Daniel Batwelle were not isolated, solitary rebels against the Revolutionary spirit. Commonsense, as well as bits of sketchy and circumstantial evidence, suggest that they were supported by a submerged foundation of Loyalist sentiment in their community.

Three of the four, and possibly the fourth as well, were affiliated with the Church of England or Episcopal church, which in rural Pennsylvania at least remained firm in its fidelity to the British cause. Fearing a resurgence of the political tyranny which had persecuted them in Europe, moreover, the Quakers and a surprising proportion of Germans —



Lutherans, Reformed, and Mennonites—also refused to support a government which, in Pennsylvania, at first appeared to reflect the intolerance of a militant, radical brand of Presbyterianism.<sup>7</sup> Having fled to Pennsylvania to obtain religious freedom and having secured relatively secure places in Pennsylvania's pluralistic society, the Society of Friends and the Germans were not about to submit to the rule of a faction whose intolerance and vindictiveness toward other religious sects was a matter of record. Differing from the opposition generally expressed by the Episcopalian church, these religious dissenters had historical cause to suspect the motives of the politicians whom the Quakers distrusted and dismissed as but the latest manifestation of abusive civil authority—of “those in power” to use the phrase customarily used by Quakers to describe the various governments who refused to tolerate them.

The three groups—Anglicans, Quakers, and the various German denominations—who had settled in western York county were sandwiched in, as it were, between heavy Scots-Irish Presbyterian concentrations to the south in the Marsh Creek settlement and to the north in Cumberland county, the latter sometimes thought of as the Presbyterian capital of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania: of necessity, they were thrown together into an awkward, if informal, alliance against what they perceived as their common enemy. And because so many lived in the area drained by Bermudian Creek, they were apparently referred to as the “Bermudian Creek Tories.” One of their number, the Reverend Daniel Batwelle, incumbent of Christ Church (Huntington township), wrote of the upper Adams political dissenters: their Loyalist sentiments “soon brought upon them annoyance from without. They were looked upon with a jealous eye both at York & Carlisle & distinguished by the name of Bermudian Creek Tories.”<sup>8</sup>

Several historians have already explored the radical patriotic faction's rise to power in Pennsylvania during the early days of the Revolution, and the interested reader may consult their works for the detail that cannot be provided here. Suffice it to say, however, that soon after 4 July 1776 an informal association of American patriots gradually consolidated its interests and power to displace both the moderate, more libertarian patriots and other groups it perceived as hostile to its narrower interests. With a long-standing feeling that they had never received their just political desserts in both Pennsylvania and Great Britain, those who largely comprised this faction were predominantly Scots-Irish, Presbyterian, agrarian, and fiercely anti-English. Beyond the more obvious goal of strengthening the new state and the new republic, it also set out to settle grudges it had accumulated against the Pennsylvania Penn

proprietary and its supporters in the Church of England and also against the Quaker faction whose distinctly different religion and ethical code and political inclinations had for so many decades obstructed its own aspirations for a place in Pennsylvania's political and economic sun. These goals it sought to achieve through a combination of legislation and executive decree, once it obtained virtual control of the fledgling Pennsylvania government, and of social harassment and outright vigilantism. Paradoxically, from 1777 through 1779, Pennsylvania, once one of the most vital nurseries of freedom in the colonies, became one of the new nation's most politically and religiously repressive states, a community where, howsoever briefly, the motto "If you're not with us, you're against us" best expressed the philosophy of the ruling faction.<sup>9</sup>

On levels of local and regional politics, mob rule was commonplace. Social ostracism and intimidation were often the norm, and when these milder strategies failed, bands of armed men from nearby York-town and Carlisle, sometimes militia, successfully reinforced the cause: political dissenters were assaulted on the roads or were dragged from their homes and incarcerated in the common jails without respect for legalities and due process. Anarchy reigned in both town and countryside.

On loftier, more formal levels of political organization in Pennsylvania, the apparatus of the state itself came into play. Among other tried and true strategies for enforcing ideological uniformity, the so-called Test-Act or Test-Oath evolved into a particularly powerful instrument for controlling both rabid Loyalists and less-than-enthusiastic middle-of-the-roads alike.

During 1775 and 1776, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed legislation intended to insure political conformity to the American cause. In June of 1777, it ratified one of its most stringent, controversial, and unpopular laws. This "Test-Act" required that all white male inhabitants of 18 years or older take an oath or affirmation to the new state, that they repudiate their earlier oath to the king of England, and that they never act against the freedom and independence of Pennsylvania. At the same time, they had to swear to report any conspiracies and treasons they might know of or witness.<sup>10</sup> Refusal to swear or affirm the oath made the offender liable to imprisonment without bail.

As the war dragged on, and the British obtained increasing military advantage, even occupying Philadelphia itself in the autumn of 1777, more Pennsylvanians gradually questioned the direction in which its assembly was taking them and expressed resentment over the already unpopular Test-Act. The legislature responded by stubbornly and defensively revising the law several times, making each new version more



Draconian than the previous. By April 1778, the Test-Act made it virtually impossible for pacifists such as Quakers, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders, as well as other political dissenters, to survive without paying heavy fines, enduring imprisonment, and even losing their properties and being banished from the state: refusal to take the oath could ultimately result, among other penalties, in an individual's "forfeiting his personal property to the commonwealth and his realty to the person entitled to inherit";<sup>11</sup> banishment from the state inevitably followed. As Wayne L. Bockleman and Owen S. Ireland have observed, by the time the radical-dominated Assembly adjourned in September of 1779, "it effectively disenfranchised most of the pacifist Quakers and Mennonites as well as a sizable number of reluctant revolutionaries among the Anglicans and the German Lutherans."<sup>12</sup> The principal instrument employed by the Assembly was the "state loyalty oath which demanded abjuration of George III and a pledge of allegiance to Pennsylvania, as well as a sworn statement that no aid had been given to the British since the Declaration of Independence." It is thus easy to see why many individuals who simply felt threatened, as well as those openly menaced by this coercive power, might be driven into joining the British cause out of desperation—to survive, they had few if any alternatives. Their property seized, their lives ruined, exiled from Pennsylvania, what had they to lose by joining the British army and thereby possibly get back something of what they had been dispossessed of?

The fate of John Curry illustrates well how social coercion and legal procedures combined to drive a single dissenting voice in Abbottstown into the British military.

### John Curry

John Curry is a shadowy, fleeting figure. The little we know of him derives from his formal appeal to the British government for compensation for losses he sustained as a faithful subject of the king. Following the Revolutionary War, thousands of American Loyalists who had fled the United States were, under provisions offered by the British government, allowed to petition the Crown for reimbursement for their services and their lost livelihoods and property. In order to qualify for compensation, they had to submit formal claims to the special commission appointed by Parliament for determining the legitimacy of such petitions. Typically, the claim had to include a personal statement or "memorial" by the applicant detailing the extent of his services and a "schedule" or inventory of his financial losses. Additionally, the claimant also

had to include written statements, "certificates," by British subjects and other Loyalists testifying to the truthfulness of his petition. These American Loyalist claims today provide an invaluable record to anyone looking into the detailed history of the counter-revolutionary activities of the great number of Americans who remained faithful to what they perceived as their higher, inviolable political allegiance.

Other than the few details he provided in his claim to the British government for losses he endured because of his fidelity to the crown, we know virtually nothing of John Curry's existence in Berwick township. A relatively new arrival, he had little time and opportunity to leave much evidence of his life. During his short stay, however, his British loyalism clearly inflamed the anger of his neighbors.

After the war, Curry testified that he was Irish—"your Memorialist is a Native of Hibernia."<sup>13</sup> His using the Latin term for *Ireland* suggests that he was an educated man and possibly one who wanted to be distinguished from ordinary ethnic Irishmen. He declares further that at the "Commencement of the late Rebellion" he "took a decided part in favour of the [British] Government, and opposed to the utmost of his power the measures recommended and pursued by Congress and their adherents in inferior Stations."<sup>14</sup> Precisely what this entailed we do not know, but later testimony makes clear that he refused to pay the muster fines and to swear the Test-Oath. Possibly, he also argued against what he perceived as traitorous behavior in his neighbors. For "this kind of conduct," he was imprisoned three times and fined close to £400. He finally fled in 1779, abandoning everything.

In New York, he served in various capacities in the British army, mostly in transportation and supply, until he sailed to Great Britain, in the course of which voyage he was shipwrecked off the Isle of Wight, again losing everything. His petition concludes with a "Schedule of Losses sustained . . . in Consequence of his Loyalty and Attachment to the British Government." This included £900 for 300 acres of land in Dublin township in what was then Bedford county; £909.11.4 for his still house and two stills (he was obviously a distiller of whiskey); and £396.12 for his fines. The £2,206 in Pennsylvania currency he valued at £1,323 sterling.<sup>15</sup>

His supporting sworn deposition yields some additional information. From this we learn that he arrived in Philadelphia in December 1773 (just in time for the Revolution, we note) with linen worth £200 and two servants, and settled in Lancaster county, although Curry's earlier memorial identified York county (maybe, as many did, he lived first in Lancaster before moving to York county). He then reviews his military



service and describes his financial claims, explaining that he has no actual deed to the Bedford county property (with “15 Acres improved—but no buildings or Fences”) between the Juniata River and Raystown (today’s Bedford). He next recalls that he had constructed a still on the “Property he rented adjoining Abbotts-Town,” this in 1775. Moreover, he claims was fined £900 for carrying on the distillery one day longer than permitted by Congress—upon which transparent evidence legal persecution he fled to New York.<sup>16</sup>

Admiral Robert Digby, Joseph Galloway (the famed Philadelphia Loyalist and one-time associate of Benjamin Franklin), the Reverend Daniel Batwelle and others supported Curry’s claim, but their letters, though acknowledged and summarized are not included among the papers. The full text of William Rankin’s certification, however, is preserved as the conclusion to Curry’s appeal. Rankin was one of the most important Loyalists in York county and leader of a far-reaching conspiracy which will be discussed later. He testifies that he knew Curry as a man “looked upon as a Loyalist” and as a distiller in Abbottstown.<sup>17</sup> Rankin inflates the financial claim as best he can—he seems to anticipate that bureaucrats will inevitably deflate the estimate—and goes on to affirm the sincerity of Curry’s Loyalist beliefs: he believes Curry “would have continued in the Country but he believes him [Curry] to have been a strict Loyalist and the neighbours all mentioned that he had refused paying muster Fines.”<sup>18</sup>

It is difficult to learn more of John Curry, for he resided in Berwick township for no more than five years, possibly less than that. Surviving tax records show him assessed in 1777 and possibly 1778.<sup>19</sup> He was probably related to the Andrew Curry in Berwick assessed in 1772, 1775, and 1778. In the 1775 and 1776(?) returns, Andrew Curry is identified as having property to rent and is thus possibly the owner of the land John claims he rented. It might be significant that this Andrew was not taxed in 1777, the year John Curry was.

I suspect that John Curry belonged to the Christ’s Episcopal Church in Huntington township. The other two known Loyalists (John Wilson, Jr., and James Bracken) in the area did, and the Church of England minister Daniel Batwelle formally recommended him. *Curry* is, of course, a very Irish name—and the Irish are principally Roman Catholic. But the Christ’s Church records show a James Currie marrying Catherine Armstrong in 1758.<sup>20</sup> And *Curry* is also a Scottish name—Scots-born William Curry was an Episcopalian minister near Philadelphia at this time. The name *Andrew* which shows up in the Berwick tax records is, moreover, a favorite Scottish forename. John Curry, who insisted that



he was Hibernian, might well have been one of the numerous Scots-Irish or Ulster-Irish who migrated here, and although we know that most Scots-Irish were Presbyterian, Christ's Church did include a number of Scots-Irish in its records.<sup>21</sup>

It is easy to infer how Curry might have fanned the patriotic fervor of his neighbors. A well-to-do newcomer from Ireland, the language of his petition gives us the image of a man who might have tried to lord it over the backcountry settlers of Abbottstown, Adams county's oldest town, what with his expensive linen, two servants, aspirations to become a local power via of his distilling operation, and 300 acres of land on the Juniata near Raystown—and perhaps as well in his stated insistence that he was a Hibernian, not an American. Refusing the oath and the muster fines would have exacerbated whatever ill-feelings he had already inspired. It is not difficult to imagine him stridently haranguing his customers and townsmen for their traitorous words and deeds—in his own testimony, he “opposed to the utmost of his power the measures recommended and pursued by Congress and their adherents in inferior Stations.”

Curry's claim for losses and services suitably impressed the commissioners in charge of examining petitions. In explaining their decision on 16 February 1784, they observed that

His Conduct seems to have been perfectly loyal from the beginning. The first step which he took was highly meritorious to refuse the Oath to the Rebel States when it was tendered to him & he seems to have objected to all their Proceedings from the first.<sup>22</sup>

Recognizing that he was already “in a comfortable or perhaps lucrative Situation,” receiving a “Dollar a Day up to Christmas last,” they hoped “that we shall be considered as not extravagant in recommending to him an allowance of £30 a year.”<sup>23</sup>

Curry's repeated fines and imprisonment and the vindictive application of the law's letter when he missed by one day the deadline stipulated by Congress, and then the generous allowance awarded him by the commissioners, compel us to conclude that newcomer John Curry was lucky to escape when he did. Very lucky indeed. The fate endured by most Loyalists was of a distinctly different order, and nowhere is this more obvious than in the instance of American-born James Bracken.

## James Bracken

James Bracken, who lived in what is now Centre Mills, Butler township, wrote and signed his last will and testament on 11 September 1778, ironically one year after Sir William Howe, marching to invest Philadelphia, had won the battle of Brandywine over George Washington. We know that he died within a few weeks because on 2 October of the same year Thomas Baldwin and Ephraim Johnston compiled an inventory of his estate and filed it in the countyseat of York-town, on the 29th. A gravestone in the Episcopalian Christ's Church burial ground situated near the marker of his brother, "Iohn Brackon" (who had died the previous year), and inscribed simply with the initials "I. B." (the "I" was often used on older gravestones instead of "J") suggests that James was interred without much ceremony, fuss, or, indeed, expense.

If we look closely at the inventory of James Bracken's estate, we immediately see, however,



**Probable gravestone of James Bracken, located in the Bracken plot, Christ Church ("White Church") graveyard, Huntington township.**

that he was not a poor man. In fact, he died possessed of rather more than most of his contemporary farmers in the part of York county that is now upper Adams—5 horses, 8 cows and 4 calves, 4 pigs and 7 shoats, 20 sheep. His barn, outbuildings, and fields were filled with corn, hemp, flax, oats, wheat, and rye. To this day, the bottom land he once owned, south of where Forked Run joins Opossum Creek, is remarkably fertile and productive.<sup>24</sup> Among the listing of the usual household items, clothing, and farm implements, we see, moreover, intimations that James Bracken probably enjoyed some distinction among his peers, for apart from the impressive catalogue of worldly goods which made his farmer's life easier and perhaps more productive—"Grubbing Hoes, 2 Mawl Rings, 2 Old Axes . . . one Side of Harnesses," etc.—we read with some surprise, perhaps, "one Violeen,"<sup>25</sup> that is, one violin.



Although not unique among contemporary wills, this single reference to a musical instrument in a farmer's inventory of 1778 is a rare occurrence indeed, and it reminds us that eighteenth-century life among the Episcopalian, Lutheran, Reformed, Quakers, and Presbyterian farmers of upper Adams county was not quite so cheerless as church records and estate inventories sometimes imply. *One Violeen*: what kind of music did James Bracken enjoy, perhaps play?—Handel and Bach? the Scots-Irish tunes that even then were evolving into what became Bluegrass and the folk music of Appalachia?

It is difficult for us today to reconstruct much of the life of James Bracken. He remains a showy factor in these events. We do not know what his ethnic origins were; we do not even know his date of birth. We do know that his brother John had died the previous year at age 40 and that his father, Thomas, died the following year.<sup>26</sup> Thomas, his father, was the son of William, a fairly prosperous landowner and farmer who had lived in New Castle county, Delaware, or what was known then as the "Lower Three Counties." Family tradition maintains that William Bracken immigrated from Yorkshire.<sup>27</sup> The Bracken surname, however, occurs not only in England, but also in Scotland and Ireland. That the Brackens were Anglican or Episcopalian is also adduced as evidence of an English origin, but in Pennsylvania not a few of the frontier Scots-Irish and, of course, Anglo-Irish were Episcopalian. In fact, the Anglican congregation of Christ's Church in Huntington township consisted largely of Anglo-Irish and, as noted, Scots-Irish families. The Brackens, then, might have well originated in Scotland or, more probably, Northern Ireland.

Beyond the *Violeen*, one other item on the inventory gives us pause. Near the end of the list of James Bracken's worldly possessions, in between "One Slat" and "One Note on Mr Percy" (with no amount entered), we read the curious notation "2 Guns Taken," again with no valuation given. Twelve years later, when James's widow, Mary (Dill) was settling the estate in preparation for moving to Pittsburgh to join those of her children who had already located at the Forks of the Ohio, the executors submitted their accounting. In this document, they itemized all the monies that had come into the estate and all the outstanding claims against it. Under the former, we learn that at least one of the guns had been paid for: "a Sum on Money Rec.<sup>d</sup> for a Gun (no Sum put to it) Amounting to £4.0.0." Why the value of the other gun was never recovered we do not know, nor do we know with certainty why the guns originally were "Taken." We can, however, speculate that the reason might have had to do with the unusual circumstances which surround James Bracken's

death in the autumn of 1778 and which may, in fact, be at least partly responsible for his death.

In May of 1778 James Bracken and his presumed acquaintance and possible friend John Wilson, Jr.—they lived relatively near each other and were communicants at Christ Church—were the only inhabitants of today's Adams county to be charged with high treason by Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council on the grounds that they had joined the British army:

John Wilson, late of the Township of Huntingdon; And James Bracken, late of the Township of Tyronne . . . knowingly & willingly aided & assisted the Enemies of this State, and of the United States of America, by having joined their Armies at Philadelphia, . . . on pain that every of them stand & be attainted of High Treason, to all intents & purposes. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Another decree on the same day provides that if those accused do not appear and stand trial by 25 June 1778, they "shall suffer such pains & penalties, & undergo all such forfeitures as persons attainted of High Treason ought to do."<sup>29</sup> Invariably, "Pains & penalties" included expulsion from the state and seizure of the named person's property. (Only in rare cases was execution actually employed.)

Writing a genealogical series featured in the *Gettysburg Times*, Beryl F. MacPherson in 1938 published a notice on James's brother, John, which, although apparently confused with details of the lives of his father and brother, might nonetheless shed some additional light on the former's fate. The account in part reads as follows:

Shortly before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War [John Bracken] made his will and left his entire estate to Christ Episcopal church, for next to his love of country was his love of the established church. . . . During the early days of the Revolution John Brackon [sic] was considered a Tory, and as such was not held in very high esteem. His brother-in-law, Col. Matthew Dill, was a member of the Committee of Safety and in some way he discovered that the authorities planned to confiscate John Brackon's property. Colonel Dill managed to warn his Tory brother-in-law. In any case John Brackon determined that his estate was to become the property of the church. He died very suddenly a few days later and since his property had not yet been confiscated, his will was valid. It is thought that John Brackon committed suicide, although there is no proof that he did.<sup>30</sup>

As a researcher in local history, Beryl MacPherson suffers the fate of



one who played freely and loosely with facts, often garbling details, sometime manufacturing evidence to advance her own theories and versions of what occurred. Notwithstanding the damage she often wrought, MacPherson occasionally preserved some important nugget of truth that her tireless research had turned up. This seems to be the case with her account of John Bracken's supposed Tory sentiments. Although one cannot be absolutely certain, it appears that MacPherson confused details in the wills of John, James, and their father Thomas. One clue to this mix-up comes from her assertion that, knowing the "authorities planned to confiscate" his property, "John Bracken determined that his estate was to become the property of the church. He died suddenly a few days later and since his property had not yet been confiscated, his will was valid."

Looking at the John's will, we notice immediately two outstanding facts: (1) rather than direct that his estate "become the property of the church," he does not even mention Christ Church in his will. The proceeds from his estate are to be apportioned only to members of his family (MacPherson is even led wrongly to "imagine that he was a bachelor"). And (2), although his gravestone records that John died on "the 20th day of December . . . 1777," the will was signed on 15 May 1777: John Bracken, if the inscription is to be credited, did not die "suddenly a few days" after making his will, as MacPherson maintains.

The matter of the legacy bequeathed to Christ Church may be cleared up readily. In his will of 6 April 1779 (and entered for probate on 14 November 1780), John's father, Thomas, provided that Christ Church receive a bequest of £30, "which shall be put to Interest and the Money arising from s<sup>d</sup>. Sum shall be laid out for the use of the poor belonging to Christ Church." The year-and-half gap between the drawing of the will and its date of probate suggests, moreover, that Thomas Bracken also did not die shortly after he made his will. Insofar as MacPherson discusses Thomas Bracken in middle of her notice on John, it is clear that she has mixed up her facts, probably from copies of the two wills before her, and possibly confusing these further with some vague family recollection that derives ultimately from James Bracken, whom she does not discuss and to whose will she never refers.

As any historian knows well, family "traditions" indeed often warp, distort, and suppress truth as much as they preserve it. In the case of James Bracken, another such tradition provides the investigator with valuable lessons. Henry M. Bracken's published genealogy of the descendants of William Bracken of New Castle, Delaware, preserves a recollection, the improbability of which draws suspicion as iron attracts

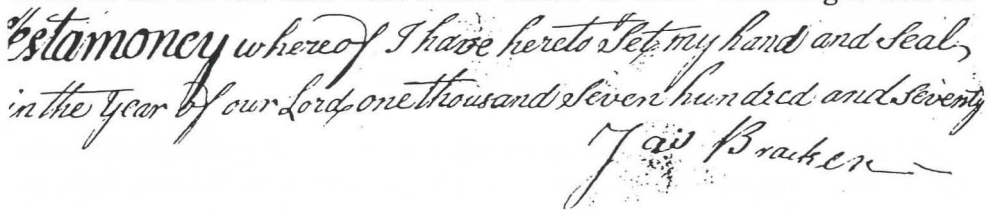


lightning. The passage is so extraordinary that it requires full quotation:

Tradition says that [James Bracken] was a colonel in the Revolutionary army; that he was a friend of Washington; that Washington visited at his home. One descendant has an old chair . . . in which Washington is said to have sat. Another descendant has one of the Colonial fifty dollar bills which is said to have been paid him for services in the army. It is said that he sickened while in the service and went home where he died. The traditional history seems all right, but his name does not appear in the war records. This is not strange, for the war records are very imperfect. The places that he might have filled are occupied by the names of others. It is possible that the name of his successor alone appears, his name having been lost sight of by historians. It is also possible—but not probable—that his war record antedated the Revolution.<sup>31</sup>

In light of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council's charging James Bracken with high treason for "having joined the British . . . Armies at Philadelphia," Henry M. Bracken's "tradition" appears to be an endeavor to whitewash the family's very black sheep. Although James's having been a colonel in the American army might not perhaps impress one as too improbable, George Washington's taking leave of his hard-pressed army at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia sometime during the years 1776-1778 to sit with his good friend James Bracken on the banks of Possum Creek challenges the imagination to soar to new levels of credulity. Among the unmentioned possibilities explaining why James's name does not appear in the American war records is the obvious one: his participation in the Revolutionary War was as a British Loyalist, as the bill of attainder makes clear. And if we find no mention of him in surviving British records before the date of his death, we must recall that those records are even more incomplete than the American ones.

Beneath the veneer of heavy whitewash, one detail in Henry Bracken's account might preserve a vestige of truth: namely, that "he sickened while in the service and went home where he died." This might well be



*testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and Seal,  
in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy  
James Bracken*

**Signature of James Bracken as it appears on his will of 11 September 1778 (York County Will Book, D 169).**

confirmed in the unusual dispatch with which the legalities of James's will were executed: knowing or suspecting that was dying, James made his will on 11 September 1778; his inventory was taken on 2 October 1778; and his will was probated on 29 October 1778. If James Bracken had "sickened" while in the British service, he might have returned home both to die and to insure that his estate remain legally within the family. Insofar as he had not apparently, as mandated by the bill of attainder, presented himself to the Pennsylvania authorities by 25 June 1778 to stand "legal trial" for high treason, his estate would have been open to seizure by the state—this is what occurred in effect with John Wilson's Jr.'s estate. By dying, with his will legally made and then speedily executed before the proceedings could be initiated, however, James succeeded in passing his estate on to his family. Beryl MacPherson's confused notice in the *Gettysburg Times*, in fact, allows one to speculate that the tradition that John Bracken killed himself to prevent the seizure of his property might actually derive from James.

We have noted that MacPherson's account confuses, for whatever reason, details of Thomas's, John's, and James's wills. We have also seen that, not only did John die in 1777, before bills of attainder began appearing on a regular basis (from 1778 on), but that he was never even legally proclaimed a traitor. The nearly five-year gap in time between his will and its probating, moreover, hardly suggests the haste to secure John's estate that MacPherson writes of.<sup>32</sup> James's estate, however, was settled with unaccustomed speediness within a month-and-a-half of the will's date. What appears to be his gravestone, near those of his brother John and possibly his father, is unobtrusively inscribed only with his initials "I. B.," an unusual practice respecting the head of a family, but an understandable one if there were some controversy over burying a suicide in sacred ground. Remembering MacPherson's recollection of a family tradition of suicide, it is not implausible that, knowing that his illness, or possibly war wound, was grave and being warned, possibly by his brother-in-law Colonel Matthew Dill, that the state was about to initiate confiscation proceedings against him now that he had returned home, James Bracken accelerated the inevitable by taking his own life.

John Wilson, Jr.

If James Bracken's activities as a Loyalist and the circumstances of his death are shrouded in obscurity, Lieutenant John Wilson, Jr.'s, career is considerably more open to investigation. Recent discoveries in the British archives and in the published memoirs of his commanding



officer, however, reveal him to have been a man of remarkable dedication and achievement.

John Wilson introduces his memorial by noting, perhaps with some exaggeration or the distortion that comes inevitably with the passage of time, "That about the beginning of the Revolt he was required to enter into Association against Great Britain and to take Oaths renouncing his allegiance to his Majesty, all of which he declined complying with."<sup>33</sup> More than this, Wilson continued, he also took an active part in endeavoring to "promote a spirit of Loyalty in that part of the Country where he had any influence." Very possibly, he joined with his neighbor James Bracken and his minister, Daniel Batwelle, in leading the other so-called "Bermudian Creek Tories" to resist the growing determination of the new Pennsylvania state government to coerce a patriotic uniformity of belief among its citizenry. His actions resulted in his being

seized in Nov. 1776 [and] imprisoned in the Common Gaol of Carlisle and sentenced to be published in the News Papers as an Enemy to the Liberties of America and being thus held up he soon found himself rendered so obnoxious that he could no longer remain with safety in the Country.

John Wilson fled Pennsylvania in May of 1777, making his way to New York on the British frigate *Roebuck*, then on the Delaware River helping blockade Philadelphia. In New York he joined the Queen's Rangers, a Loyalist regiment that had evolved out of the famed French and Indian War unit Rogers' Rangers. Wilson enlisted "first as a Volunteer and soon after received a commission and Continued to serve in that Regiment all the War."

Wilson's war activities are confirmed and described in several sources. A muster roll for Captain Francis Stephenson's company, 25 August to 24 November 1777, names an Ensign John Wilson, who enlisted 12 September 1777.<sup>34</sup> This was one day after William Howe's victory over George Washington at Brandywine. Insofar as Wilson's documents show him landing with Howe at Head of Elk, it is reasonable to infer that he fought at Brandywine in the ranks as a volunteer and received his commission when the Queen's Rangers, which had fought with distinction, had to replace its heavy losses. Wilson continued as an ensign (which roughly corresponds to the modern rank of second lieutenant) until February 1779, when the muster roll of Captain Stair Agnew's company lists him as a lieutenant. By 25 October 1780, he had been transferred to Captain John Saunder's company, in which unit he remained for the duration of

the war. Personal certificates testifying to his loyalty and war service were submitted by Colonel John Graves Simcoe, Colonel George Campbell, Joseph Galloway, the most important leader of Pennsylvania's Loyalists, and William Franklin, the loyalist governor of New Jersey and patriot Benjamin Franklin's son.

The fullest account of Wilson's service is provided by John Graves Simcoe in his war memoirs published in 1844.<sup>35</sup> During the Revolution, the Queen's Rangers was respected by sides for its efficiency and discipline. Already acclaimed for its successes when it had borne the name of Roberts' Rangers, the Queen's Rangers, led by the dashing and classically learned Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, was singled out again and again by the British high command to execute those tasks best performed by elite irregular troops (that is, "rangers"). It is clear from Simcoe's history, moreover, that he regarded the Virginian Captain Saunders's company, with its lieutenant from Pennsylvania, John Wilson, and its ensign from New York, Thomas Merritt, to be an elite among the elite, for, in a work which extolls the not inconsiderable war record of its own author, Simcoe's memoir frequently identifies that company and its officers for special mention and in one unique instance digresses for several pages to describe an especially successful mission it undertook in Virginia.<sup>36</sup> Saunders's company was clearly Simcoe's favorite among all those under his command. In an appendix he reproduces Lieutenant John Wilson's letter congratulating him, Simcoe, while still a prisoner of the Americans, on his survival after the regiment had despairingly thought he had been killed during a spectacularly successful night attack along the Raritan River near South Amboy, New Jersey. The original survives as well in the Clinton papers at the William Clements Library; it reads as follows:

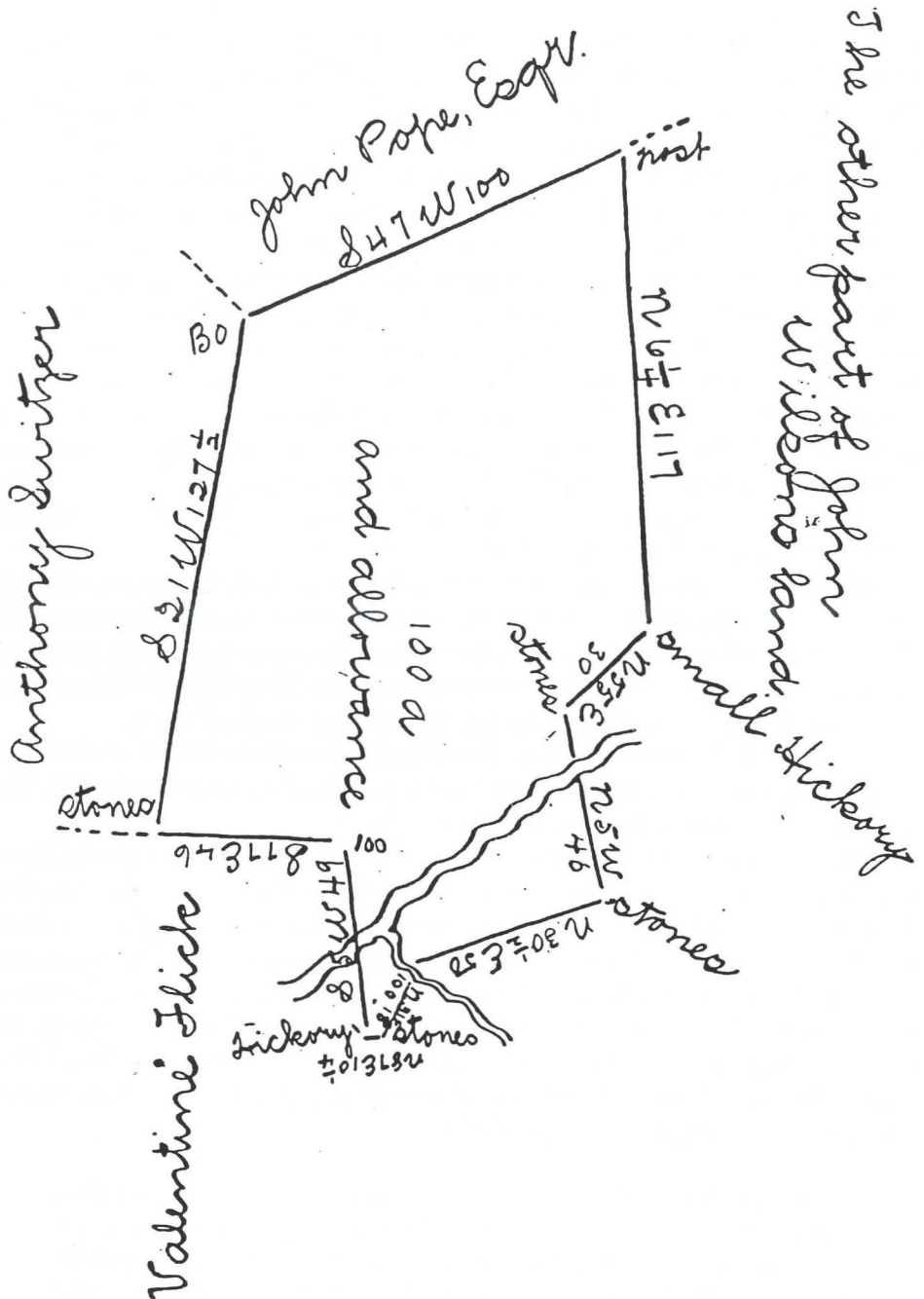
Richmond, Oct. 28, 1779

Yesterday and part of the day before there was nothing but the picture of distress in every Countenance, but this Morning the Soldiers are shouting, the Father of the Rangers is alive—In short, nothing Can exceed the joy which appear [sic] in the Countenance of officer and soldier—and prayers for your speedy recovery—but none can possibly be more sincere than those of . . .

Your truly affectionate

[John Wilson]<sup>37</sup>

The war-compensation papers Wilson submitted considerably flesh out the life of the shadowy figure appearing in the tax records of Tyrone



**Survey of John Wilson, Jr.'s., confiscated lands in the PA, 6th series, 13:131. The survey shows most of Wilson's property lying south of Bermudian Creek, in Tyrone township.**



and Huntington townships and, fleetingly, in the minutes of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council. From extant land surveys and confiscation proceedings, we know that Wilson held legal title to about 100 acres of improved land along the Oxford Road where that important north-south route crosses Bermudian Creek, the boundary separating Tyrone and Huntington townships.<sup>38</sup> Together with his description of his land holdings, Wilson's "schedule" of property losses reveals him to have been a man of relatively prosperous means. His 100 acres contained "two new Dwelling Houses, Barns, Orchards, Meadows, &c, val<sup>d</sup>, at . . . £900." According to a summary of individual documents not included, Wilson "built one House himself and a Man to whom he let a part of the Land built another, his own House was partly Stone & partly Logs."<sup>39</sup> Dr. Henry Norris, another witness, adds that "There was a Barn and two or three Little Houses in which he had Tenants."<sup>40</sup> According to the Reverend Daniel Batwelle, Wilson's plantation "was like a Farm in England for Cultivation."<sup>41</sup>

Wilson also claimed two other tracts of land in different parts of Pennsylvania. He had 300 acres in Northumberland county and another 600 acres in the Ohio River country. Because this latter territory, he maintained, was disputed by both Pennsylvania and Maryland,<sup>42</sup> Wilson tried to secure his right to it by erecting "4 or 5 Log Houses" on it.

Together with the loss of his "Household Furniture Stock of all Kinds & Implements of Husbandry," Wilson submitted a claim for £1,500. The commission eventually awarded him £600.<sup>43</sup>

Additional testimony sheds light on John Wilson's marital status. Some extant records, apparently derived from descendants of John's brother, James, maintain that he had married an Ann, who appears in documents confusingly associated with the Bermudian Creek property and who can now be identified as the wife of Jasper Wilson.<sup>44</sup> John, however, refers to his having married a South Carolinian of some property. He does not submit a formal claim for compensation covering the loss of her lands; he does, however, establish grounds for a future claim should that become necessary and possible:

That your Mem.<sup>st</sup>'s Property in South Carolina in right of his Wife is also confiscated but he is uncertain in what State that property is he therefore means nothing more at present, that to prefer a Claim thereunto in Order to preserve a right to Claim hereafter, if it should then appear that the property is lost.<sup>45</sup>

During the last year of the war, the Queen's Rangers was stationed at

Georgetown, South Carolina, where, apparently, Wilson met and married his wife. These circumstances misled Lorenzo Sabine when he came to prepare his note on John Wilson's Loyalist career:

**Wilson, John.** Of Georgetown, South Carolina. Banished and estate confiscated. Went to England. His wife, who "descended from one of the most respectable and affluent families" of that State, and who, "without hesitation, bade adieu to her native country and numerous relatives, to share his fate," died at London in 1814.<sup>46</sup>

Like the vast majority of expatriate Tories eking out an existence in England after the war, Wilson appears not to have fared well, notwithstanding his government allowance. Driven to extremes, he finally petitioned King George III himself for a long-promised captain's commission in the reorganized Queen's Rangers. Referring to glowing recommendations from a veritable Who's Who of the British military command—Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Rawdon, Major General Leslie, and, of course, John Graves Simcoe—he details the desperate circumstances that he, loyal and unemployed soldier of the king, had to endure. He recalls to the king that

In the progress of the Contest [he had received] several severe wounds; and, from the uninterrupted exposure of that regiment to the fatigues, and hardships of War, in the Various Climates of America [he] now labours under the consequent wretchedness of a dibilitated Constitution added to the unhappiness of the great pecuniary deficiency of his situation.<sup>47</sup>

Wilson apparently never obtained his commission.

With the help of these and other records, we can now understand more

*to said vacancies of Captain of Cavalry in the Queens  
Rangers; as with such other Relief, as Your Majesty's benevolent  
wisdom shall think meet.*

*Your Memorialist will ever pray &c &c*

*John Wilson*

*104 Castle Street  
Leicesterfield  
July 1<sup>st</sup> 1785 -*

**John Wilson's, Jr.'s, signature as it appears on his appeal to George III, 1 July 1785 (Sir Henry Clinton Papers, 202:37, Courtesy William L. Clements Library).**

clearly than earlier the heretofore muddled relationships of the Wilsons who had settled along the Oxford Road and whose 200 acres fell within Tyrone and Huntington townships.

The names of Jasper, John, and James Wilson occur early in the records of Christ Church. The earliest document from that congregation, a 3 October 1748 petition to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for a resident minister, is signed and subscribed to by a John Wilson and a mysterious "Mickal Wilson." The vestry books of Thomas Barton, whose incumbency ran from 1755 to 1759, have been lost, but his successor's, William Thomson's (incumbent 1760-69) frequently list Jasper, John, and James Wilson's names as vestrymen and churchwardens.<sup>48</sup>

Tax records and surveys suggest that Jasper and John, Sr., settled on Bermudian Creek sometime between the years 1741 and 1746. Extant Chester county tax lists for London Grove township (point of departure for many families who settled in upper Adams) show a "Jesper Willson" for the years 1734-40. The Chester tax rolls for 1741-46 are missing, but that for 1747 does not include his name.<sup>49</sup>

Although he does appear on the earliest extant tax roll for Tyrone township, the York county tax for 1762, Jasper Wilson evidently applied for neither a warrant nor a survey for his property. Surveys of adjoining property, however, indicate him as enjoying squatter's rights to the land.<sup>50</sup> Possibly because Jasper appeared to be dying in 1769,<sup>51</sup> John, Sr., secured legal title to at least some of the property by applying for a warrant on 5 April 1769 and had it surveyed in 1773, at which time the surveyors noted that the 200 acres called "Wilson's Lot" had been "Improved about 24 Years."<sup>52</sup> Depending on whether we subtract from the year of the warrant or of the survey, this statement suggests a settlement date of either 1745 or 1749.

Considerable confusion concerning the relationships of Jasper, John, Sr., Mary, and Ann Wilson persists to this day. Without unduly obscuring things more than they already are by citing inaccurate versions, the estate and other papers of these four individuals require that we see (1) Jasper and John, Sr., as brothers; (2) Ann as the wife of Jasper; (3) Mary as the wife of John, Sr.; and (4) John, Jr., and James as the sons of John, Sr., and Mary Wilson.<sup>53</sup> Although we cannot be absolutely certain, this Bermudian Creek, Church of England family appears unrelated to any of the Quaker and Presbyterian families of the same popular surname settled near Round Hill or near the site of today's Bendersville or on the Manor of Masque or near the Possum Creek Manor or in nearby areas of Cumberland county.



Ironically, Wilson's Loyalist claims papers and Simcoe's history of the Queen's Rangers tell us more about his life after he left Bermudian Creek than what he actually said or did while in that settlement. We know from his own testimony that his refusal to repudiate his oath to King George and to swear allegiance to Pennsylvania and the United States and that his leadership of the Bermudian Creek Tories resulted in his imprisonment, ostracism and persecution. One document recently found shows that he was in some way involved in the conspiracy of the Associated Loyalists (see appendix).<sup>54</sup> His spiritual leader, the Reverend Daniel Batwelle, however, played something of a key Loyalist role in the area comprehended by today's Cumberland, Adams, York, and even Lancaster counties.

### The Reverend Daniel Batwelle

The Reverend Mr. Daniel Batwelle<sup>55</sup> was clearly one of the central actors in the Loyalist resistance. And, indeed, my earlier curiosity about Batwelle's possible involvement is what gradually led to further investigation into the so-called "secret history." In order to help focus this figure, it might be helpful to recreate here an episode the details of which bring his remote historical moment vividly alive.

About the end of July or beginning of August 1777 on the western bank of the Susquehanna River in Newberry township, York county, a canoe made its way from Prunk's Tavern.<sup>56</sup> Moving in the direction of Shelly's Island, hardby Three Mile Island, the canoe tipped over—then as now, people were easily deceived by the placid-seeming Susquehanna. It is never clear how many men were in the canoe—possibly it was overloaded and thus top-heavy—but shaken by the accident, they swam and waded the remainder of the way to Shelly's Island, technically in Lancaster county, where one Daniel Shelly, of Swiss Mennonite extraction, made his home. After Shelly returned from a funeral, they laid before him a plan to seize the American arsenals in Carlisle and York: a colonel's commission would be his, Shelly's, if he agreed to join the plot. Each of the men promised to raise large numbers of supporters—Alexander McDonald, a Scot who lived in Cumberland county near Croghan's Gap, and the Reverend Daniel Batwelle who resided in Huntington township, York county, and who also claimed to have contacts with "Friends in Marsh Creek."<sup>57</sup> The conspirators also confirmed that the sheriff of Lancaster county, John Farree, could also be counted on to raise enough men to take and destroy the depot in Lancaster. These schemers strike us today as the wildest of dreamers.

Records and correspondence that cover the next several years, however, show that the conspirators were not merely fantasizing, for by the time the prominent Rankin brothers of York county—James, a former Pennsylvania assemblyman, and William, a colonel of militia—came to guide the conspiracy, the Associated Loyalists, as they termed themselves, were boasting a membership of some 2,000 men. They were actually in communication with General William Howe and Colonel John Graves Simcoe, endeavoring to obtain British troops and supplies to bolster their counterinsurgency.

In any case, the apparently loose-tongued Shelly was soon kidnapped, or arrested—it depends altogether on one's point of view—he was seized by the ever-vigilant patriots of Cumberland county. He was then imprisoned in the same Carlisle jail that also had held John Wilson and there “persuaded” to divulge names.

Superficially, we should not be surprised that the Rev. Batwelle of Huntington township was involved. Generally, the rural clergy of Pennsylvania, as opposed to those in Philadelphia, were Loyalists, as were their congregations. As its official name suggests, the Church of England enjoyed close ties with the British cause. And although the Church of England was not an officially established and government-supported church in Pennsylvania, as it was in Great Britain and the southern colonies (Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas), the rural clergy did rely for financial support on their missionary society which was based in England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG).<sup>58</sup> In addition, Batwelle, alone among the Pennsylvania Church of England clergy, was English-born, Oxford educated, and had served successfully as a minister in England before coming here in 1774.

Surprisingly, if we look at Batwelle's first years in this area, we see that he was generally sympathetic to the American situation more than most of his other rural colleagues. His early letters speak of the good impression he initially made during the troubled times when he began his incumbency. And we have as well supporting testimony from others concerning his sympathy. Lawyer and Penn representative in York county, Samuel Johnston of York,<sup>59</sup> for example, described in November of 1776 Batwelle's early relations with his congregations and the local Dissenting Protestants:

When the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Batwell was sent here [in 1774] Protestants of all Denominations seemed very pleased with him. The Dissenters took Seats in the Church, & afforded the pleasing Prospect that, at least their Children would, at a future Day become [?] no small addition to

# S E R M O N,

PREACHED AT YORK-TOWN,  
Before CAPTAIN MORGAN'S and CAPTAIN  
PRICE'S Companies of RIFLE-MEN,

ON THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1775.

BEING THE DAY RECOMMENDED BY THE  
HONORABLE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS  
FOR  
A GENERAL FAST  
THROUGHOUT THE  
TWELVE UNITED COLONIES  
OF NORTH-AMERICA.

---

BY DANIEL BATWELL, M. A.

---

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A :  
PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP, IN MARKET-STREET.

M, DCC, LXXV.



Title page of the 20 July 1775 fast-day sermon preached by Daniel Batwelle in York.



our Congregation. On our sides we made no Distinction between them and ourselves, except in the Church Officers & management of the Church, which was always Confined to the Church People only.<sup>60</sup>

This agreeable state of affairs was not to endure. The first assault on the Church of England's freedom of worship came when the continental and provincial legislatures began to interfere in the way Anglicans worshipped. This coercion initially targeted two principal issues.

During 1775 and 1776, decrees were passed ordering that churches be open on stipulated days for fasting and prayer on behalf of the American cause. Some Loyalist clergy refused to observe the mandated fast days—several, in fact, foreseeing what was coming, resigned, packed their bags, and sailed back to Great Britain. If Batwelle experienced a deep conflict of conscience, we have no record of it—a great many letters and documents from those years have been lost, even destroyed. Destruction was certainly the eventual fate after Batwelle's papers were seized by the state authorities.<sup>61</sup> Surviving from Batwelle's hand, however, is a sermon he delivered and published in 1775 to honor one of the fast days authorized by Congress.

Remarkably, the sermon is free from double-talk, sneering irony, or any sign other than that Batwelle, within specified parameters, endorsed those who advocated sweeping reform. A few passages should conveniently illustrate Batwelle's accord with at least some of the patriots' convictions:

With respect to the present unnatural disputes, it would ill become my place and station to say any thing with the tone of decisive authority: My master's kingdom is not of this world, nor am I appointed a Ruler, a Judge, or a Divider: But if nothing more is designed, than what is professed; if to preserve our rights and privileges be the sole aim of the Continental Congress, and of those who assemble at their biddings; if no sparks of disloyalty, no desire of change, no intentions of removing the ancient land marks, lie concealed beneath the fair outside of public good; . . . then we have a good cause, and may expect the blessing of Heaven upon our endeavours.<sup>62</sup>

Here as throughout his sermon, Batwelle pointedly rebukes only those who would deny the very freedoms they piously purported to advocate. His address gradually rises to a stirring exhortation that only the most radical and tyrannical could have objected to:

[the] many defenders of this land . . . now before me. . . I will exhort to go on to their appointed destination, in the fear of God, in the sentiments of true honor, in the love of Liberty and of their Country. . . Go, and defend our franchises, our wives, our children, and possessions: Go, and bring us back a speedy and honourable peace.<sup>63</sup>

Concluding, Batwelle offers his hope for a successful resolution to the impending conflict, praying

That virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land: That America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state on terms constitutional and honourable to both: And that her civil and religious Liberties may be secured to the latest posterity.<sup>64</sup>

The second target attacked by the radical patriots involved the Church of England liturgy itself. The Anglican services of those times contained prayers for the king and his family and even for the English government. Throughout the early months of 1776 and certainly after the Declaration of Independence was signed, saying such prayers came to represent an act of high treason. Moreover, the Congress actually substituted its own prayers for the Continental Congress for those formerly honoring the royal family. This government meddling in religious practices of the Episcopal church confronted ministers like Batwelle with an especially troubling crisis, for on becoming clergymen, all Anglican clerics had to swear the Oath of Uniformity binding them to perform public worship without change to or mutilation of the liturgy of the Church of England. Thus, when the new government prohibited the old prayers and provided for new ones, the Episcopalian clergy were being required to break their solemn oaths—and we need to remember that in the eighteenth century Christian clergy believed that breaking an oath would bring upon them divine retribution. Although we do not know Batwelle's thoughts on this issue, his later actions imply that he shared the same convictions as most of his rural Pennsylvania colleagues. One of them, Philip Reading of Apoquinimink, has left us a detailed and eloquent justification for his refusal to comply with the new legislation:

my answer to such representations is—that having taken the oaths of allegiance to his present Majesty—having vowed canonical obedience at my ordination—and when I was licensed by the Bishop, having subscribed the Liturgy of the Church, I do not think myself at

liberty to dispense with these solemn obligations; but shall persevere by God's grace, in complying with them. Such is the zeal of some, who are most warm on the patriotic Side (as it is called) of the question.<sup>65</sup>

Like other rural colleagues, Batwelle eventually boarded up his churches in York and Carlisle rather than forswear his oath by reading the mutilated liturgy. Christ Church in Huntington remained open longer because of its relative isolation from the militant Scots-Irish Presbyterian radicals based in the two towns. For a short while, Batwelle wrote, his home in Huntington was the only place in the two counties which "produced bread for his family and was perhaps the only safe place" to eat that bread.<sup>66</sup> He boasted—not altogether truthfully<sup>67</sup>—he boasted of his Huntington congregation that it possessed not one "single associator" or super-patriot. Additionally, he found support of a kind among the surrounding Quakers, who were also experiencing persecution, and the Lutherans who were using his church because Bender's Church had not yet been constructed.<sup>68</sup> But "the jealous eye"—Batwelle's phrase<sup>69</sup>—of the radicals in Carlisle and York soon targeted his Huntington township congregation. "They" were denounced as the "Bermudian Creek Tories"<sup>70</sup> and were accordingly and frequently abused and harassed by soldiers from the towns: "in March & Harvest 1776 large bodies of armed Militia treated them with great barbarity," he wrote. And thus by degrees, the Loyalists in the area were "reduced . . . to complete slavery." Inevitably, even the remote church in Huntington township had to be closed.

*I am with great Respect*

*Sir*

*Your most humble,  
most obedient Servant*

*York Prison*

*Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> 1777.*

*Dan<sup>d</sup>. Batwelle.*

Signature of Daniel Batwelle as it appears on his 1 October 1777 appeal to John Hancock.



All his churches finally boarded shut, he continued to baptize and serve his people as best he could despite continuing harassment. He refers to a musket being leveled at his back once and to being plunged into a river. This last event, elaborated on by Samuel Johnston, reveals something of the treatment meted out to religious leaders who refused to be coerced. Johnston wrote that in September 1776, against everybody's advice that he avoid the towns, Batwelle journeyed to York to obtain provisions for his family:

and as he was going to return a Number of the People here, all Germans, seized his Horse by the Bridle and insisted it was stole. The Man he bought the Horse from happened to be in sight, and immediately went up and informed them, it was bought from him. They then pretended, they would shew him the right owner, and to lead him to the Water, which runs through this Town, where with more than savage Cruelty, they soused him in the Water several Times. They then made him run from Town in that Condition about twelve Miles before he got dry Cloths. Happily for him and his Family, he did not get Cold by this piece of Barbarity.<sup>71</sup>

Twelve miles, presumably west, from York would have brought Batwelle to the vicinity of Abbottstown, and thus to the house of either John Abbot, prominent in the affairs of Christ Church, or John Curry who, as we saw, might also have been a member of that congregation.

After General Sir William Howe landed at the head of the Elk River, defeated Washington at the Brandywine, and occupied Philadelphia in 1777, the radical patriots redoubled their coercion. In a letter to John Hancock, Batwelle described what happened: during "the Night between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of September [thirteen days after the British victory at Brandywine] I was Siezed in my Bed in a dangerous Sickness, and being unable to Stand, or help myself, was put with my Bed into a Waggon, and conveyed to York Prison, where I have Since lain in a most languishing Condition."<sup>72</sup> In the same letter, Batwelle pleaded with Hancock, then president of the Congress:

After protesting (as I do in the most solemn manner) my absolute Innocence of the Crimes laid to my Charge, I petition that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Congress would be pleased to enquire into the matter, and either discharge me out of Prison, or admit me to Bail, as my Situation is Such, that if confined longer, I must be lost for want of proper Assistance.<sup>73</sup>

Several petitions and many months later, he was given the opportu-

nity to take the oath of allegiance to the new government or leave the state. His treatment by the York and Cumberland county officials evidently proved an embarrassment to people higher up on the state and national levels of command, and the regional authorities relented by giving Batwelle his chance to escape an incarceration which was killing him.

The loyalty oath proved the breaking point for many Americans who, although they might have supported the cry for England's recognition of their rights, would not take the new oath mainly because it meant breaking their older oath to the king. Many German immigrants in particular had fairly recently become naturalized citizens, and in so doing they had sworn oaths to King George. They therefore objected stridently to swearing a new oath, thus breaking their older one—if oaths could be broken and made so easily, they reasoned, what meaning do, or can, they have? Oaths are not meant to be broken—period. Thus, the new legal ratification of patriotic fervor and coercion produced new victims. Batwelle, of course, and again like his rural colleagues, refused the oath and was accordingly expelled from the state. In an ultimate ritual of desecration, his “Churches at York & Carlisle [were] converted into magazines by the rebels.”<sup>74</sup>

The SPG summary of his report preserves for us the pathos of Batwelle's fate: on 21 February 1778, having refused to swear the new test oath, he was allowed “to get into a Waggon with his family, in which he passed [out of] the Co[unty] covered with Snow, & crossed the Susquehannah on the ice[,] being 7 Days in performing a journey of 89 miles” to Philadelphia. There Batwelle found himself “well nigh blind” and still unable to walk because of “the severity with which he has been treated” by his jailers.<sup>75</sup>

What were the actual crimes for which Daniel Batwelle was arrested in the middle of the night and hauled off in his sick bed to prison in York? His original arrest warrant has survived in the state archives. Reading it today is instructive. Dated 30 September 1777, it charges him with

being concerned in forming a Combination Plot or conspiracy (together with Several other Persons) to destroy the public Stores and Magazines at Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, . . . and with carrying on a traitorous Correspondence with the Enemies of this State, and of the United States of America; contrary to the Form of the Acts of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth.<sup>76</sup>

It is difficult to determine the actual truth in all of these events.

The pro-forma annual reports the missionaries were required to submit to their superiors in London, or even letters to each other, were wildly construed as traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Batwelle, on the other hand, was in some fashion indeed partner to discussions of military action against the American arsenals. He may, additionally, have exhorted his parishioners to resist forcefully—it is certainly significant that the only local men officially condemned as traitors were members of his Christ Church congregation—James Bracken, John Wilson, Jr., and probably John Curry. And yet in the extant correspondence sent by other Pennsylvania Loyalists such as James and William Rankin, Christopher Sower III, and Dr. Henry Norris of Middletown to Generals Howe and Clinton and to British spymaster Major John André, nothing explicitly establishes Batwelle's actual participation or speaks of his willingness to raise troops.

Consistently, Batwelle maintained that he was innocent of the charges. Considerable evidence, moreover, discloses that the Anglican clergy in Pennsylvania were systematically persecuted, even when, as in the case of the Rev. William Smith of Philadelphia, they complied with the mandated oath taking. Unquestionably, the radical and largely Presbyterian patriots in charge of the Pennsylvania government were waging a vendetta against the local Church of England leadership.

Two final notes on Batwelle remain. The Loyalist claim records show that he requested £1,250 Sterling from the British crown for his losses. Some aspects about his petition were apparently questionable—for one, he still seemed to hold title to 200 acres near Carlisle. For another, he was still receiving his missionary's income from the SPG. Consequently, his claim was disallowed. He received no lump-sum in compensation. More sadly, John Wilson in his letter supporting Batwelle's claim pointed out that the clergyman's wife had gone insane.<sup>77</sup>

About the degree of Batwelle's innocence or guilt, we simply have to withhold final judgment. What is clear, however, is that even in a remote area like western York county the virulence of civil war, based as much upon ethnic and religious animosities as upon irreconcilable political differences, shook and overturned the very foundations of civil and religious life.

\* \* \*

Several years ago, Arthur Weaner first brought the lives of John Wilson, Jr., and James Bracken to our attention. In an article in the society's *Newsletter* entitled "The 'Traitor' and 'Tory' John Wilson, Jr., of



Tyrone and Huntington Townships" (February 1991), he collected and presented the little information that was readily available. Discovery of new materials among the York county wills, British archives, and John Graves Simcoe's Revolutionary War memoirs has resulted in a clearer, more detailed picture of the lives of John Wilson, Jr., and even James Bracken. Additionally, inspired by the "secret history" Weaner had begun exhuming, this author soon uncovered documentation on other Adams county Tories who had resisted the tide of history and suffered—John Curry and the Reverend Daniel Batwelle—as well as more general evidence in the Quaker Warrington Monthly Meeting records and the 1781 tax lists that many others paid the penalty for fidelity to their consciences.

In his 1991 article, Arthur Weaner speculated on the ill feelings, the anguish, the social coercion that would have accurately described the turmoil in the close-knit communities situated in this small section of the Pennsylvania backcountry. He intimated a picture rather different from the half-romanticized, half-idealized image we tend to nurture of a society, recently unified but sure of its direction, laboring to liberate itself from the tyrannies of a decadent European world power. The new evidence aids us in perceiving that the terrible inner conflicts and persecutions we know occurred in some areas like the Delaware Valley, Chesapeake Bay, and the Carolinas were far from unknown here: the bucolic farming area watered by Bermudian and Possum Creeks experienced the convulsions of what may be thought of as our first civil war and of the smoldering hostilities and enmities of the years that followed that upheaval. As Arthur Weaner reminded us in his earlier notice, "it is certain that many on the stage of life during those uncertain years did not enjoy a 'glorious Fourth,' and accordingly took their memories silently and bitterly with them when they departed from this world."

## Appendix

### [John Wilson] to Sir Henry Clinton(?), c. 1781

In the Month of December 1780 I was requested by two Gentleman [sic] in the Province of Pennsylvania by some means or other to make known to the Commander in Chief,<sup>78</sup> that each of them had accepted of a Lieutenant Colonelcy in the Militia, that they were convinced of the good disposition of Government towards the Colonies and very sensible of their Errors and the prevailing delusion, and as they had taken an active part against their lawful Sovereign they were desirous of distinguishing themselves in His behalf, that they beg'd leave to offer their Services to His Excellency, in what ever Line he might think them of Use, and that if he thought proper and would Save [?] them harmless of any penalties denounced against Rebels, in the Manifesto of his Majesty's Commissioners, they would continue to hold their Commissions under the present usurped Authority, to prevent any unfavourable Suspicions on the part of the Rebels, and that if there [sic] offers were approved they wished to have a Watch Word as a Check upon Travellers & Impostors.<sup>79</sup> —All which I communicated to His Excellency through Sir William Erskine<sup>80</sup> and was by the latter directed to assure those Gentlemen of the General's favourable acceptance of their Offers etc. —Some Time after each of them acquainted the General of their Success and that they had a full Battallion ready to join the Indians, (if his Excellency would order them to Act in the vicinity of their Abodes.) or to act otherwise as required when called upon. Whereupon they were requested to destroy the Magazine of Carlisle in a Clandestine manner to which they answered they were rather inclined to Seize \instead\ then destroy the said Magazine as the Friends to Government knew of no other way to Arm themselves, but if the General still wished it destroyed it should instantly be set about; that people were already appointed to inlist in the Artillery of that place, and to blow it up when on duty. —The request was not renewed and the Magazine of course not hurt. —In the Month of June or July 79, a British deserter returned to this City<sup>81</sup> with an account, that he had raised 600 Men in that Province, who had all combined themselves by Oath to take up Arms for His Majesty against the Rebels, and wished to be encouraged with a party of the British Troops in the Cheasapeak [sic] to act in Conjunction with his party. —I was hereupon requested to dispatch a person to one of those Gentlemen to enquire of the Truth of his Assertions and was answered by \one of them\ him that said Deserter had actually raised 623 Men, under pretense of being a British Officer [sic] and sent on that Business by the General; that his credulous party was much alarmed on hearing his true Character and wished him detained within these lines least he should betray them on his Return, which was accordingly done, he lodged in the Provost for some time and was since transported to Great-Britain—And also that another worthy Gentleman had likewise raised 600 Men mostly Germans who \had all\ together with those already mentioned had all put them-

selves under his Command. —That he feared much of being detected, which would oblige him and his party to fly to the Mountains and their [sic] defend themselves in best manner possible, and if they could not get any assistance from here, to go to the extreames of Fire & Sword. —However they conducted in such a manner, that the Rebels, (notwithstanding all their pains) could not make any material discovery. They have since, so as there number encreased, repeatedly informed the Commander in Chief of their Strength and Situation and prayed for a party of Troops in the Cheasapeak or Lower Counties with Some [?] Arms and Ammunition whome [?] they would join, and did not doubt they would bring Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Delaware State to a Sense of duty. They also represented to have a number of Waggon, Horses etc. ready for the Service and that many of those who profess'd to be conscienciously scrupelous [sic] of bearing Arms would assist in Seizing and Securing the principal and ringleading Rebels. —And that he much feared some warm [?] and indiscreat person would take the advantage of the forwardness of the People, take the lead out of his hands and endanger the Whole. —In his last letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> October Instant he declares his party in the three \Counties\ Provinces afore-said to consist of \three\ Seven thousand effective Men. [John Graves Simcoe Papers (1774-1824) courtesy William L. Clements Library.]



## Notes

1. *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle, 1982), p. 94.

2. For an excellent attempt to recover the Native American perspective, see Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988).

3. *The Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941).

4. Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* (Philadelphia, 1959); Wayne L. Bockleman and Owen S. Ireland, "The Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania: An Ethnic-Religious Interpretation," *Pennsylvania History* 41 (1974), 125-59 (cited hereafter as *PH*); Robert Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (Harrisburg, 1971); Owen S. Ireland, "The Crux of Politics: Religion and Party in Pennsylvania, 1778-1789," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 42 (1985), 453-75 (cited hereafter as *WMQ*); Ann Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (New York, Westport, Conn., and London, 1987); and Henry J. Young, "The Treatment of Loyalists in Pennsylvania" (Ph. D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1955), and "Treason and Its Punishment in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 90 (1966), 287-313.

5. *Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1790-1807), *Respublica vs. Chapman*, 1:58.

6. For an exception, see Arthur Weaner, "The 'Traitor' and 'Tory' John Wilson, Jr., of Tyrone and Huntington Townships," *Adams County Historical Society Newsletter*, 18 (Feb. 1991), 1-3.

7. Religious foundations of the Revolution in Pennsylvania have been explored in Bockleman and Ireland, Ireland, and Ousterhout.

8. 25 March 1778/June 1778, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series B, 21:363 (from the transcript in the York County Historical Soci-

ety).

9. Ousterhout, *passim*, and Brunhouse, pp. 18-87, provide detailed accounts of the rise to power of the radical party during these years.

10. See Ousterhout, pp. 161-2; Young; Bockleman; Ireland; Brunhouse, etc.

11. Ousterhout, p. 191.

12. Bockleman and Ireland, p. 155. Charles H. Glatfelter has noted that "York is one of the few counties, perhaps the only county, for which the lists of those who took the oath of allegiance have survived."

13. Records of the American Loyalist Claims Commission (cited hereafter as *Loyalist Claims*), 1776-1831, John Curry, AO 12, 42:86, British Public Record Office (cited hereafter as *PRO*).

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, AO 12, 42:87.

16. *Ibid.*, AO 12, 42:89. If the penalty exacted of Curry strikes one as over-scrupulous, it would be well to remember that Loyalists frequently exaggerated their evidence and testimony in order to obtain maximum compensation.

17. *Ibid.*, AO 12, 42:90.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Tax Returns, Berwick Township, Adams County Historical Society (cited hereafter as *ACHS*).

20. The original vestry book of Christ Church is in the library of St. James Episcopal Church, Lancaster, Pa., copy and transcript in *ACHS*.

21. Some of the more obvious Scots-Irish surnames are McGrew, Maxwell, Wilson, Thomson; possibly also Kennedy, Collins, and Bracken.

22. *Loyalist Claims*, AO 12, 100:146.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Today, James Bracken's place corresponds to the farmland owned by the Ryman family of Centre Mills.

25. York County Will Book, D:169 (copy in *ACHS*).

26. *Ibid.*, E:363 (copy in *ACHS*).

27. Henry M. Bracken, *William Bracken of New Castle, Co., Delaware, and His Descendants* (n. p., 1901), p. 7.

28. Supreme Executive Council, 8 May 1778, *Colonial Records*, 11:438 (cited hereafter as *CR*).

29. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

30. Beryl F. MacPherson, "Backgrounds of Adams County, No. 49," *Gettysburg Times*, 23 July 1938. Both John's will and his gravestone indicate that he apparently spelled his name with an "o"—*Brackon*. Notwithstanding this, I have normalized the spelling throughout to *Bracken* except in quotations.

31. Henry M. Bracken, 1901, p. 33.

32. There is, however, something irregular about the proceedings. One of the executors named by John, his brother-in-law Archibald McGrew, "for Divers good and sufficient Reasons and Causes me thereunto Especially moving" to renounce the administration of the will. This makes one conjecture that patriot McGrew—he was a colonel in the American army—tried to disassociate himself from his Tory in-law.

33. Loyalist Claims, AO 12, 42:367.

34. *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War*, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1981), 2:560.

35. John Graves Simcoe, *A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, Called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel J. G. Simcoe, During the War of the American Revolution . . .* (New York, 1844).

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-8.

37. Sir Henry Clinton Papers, vol. 78, William L. Clements Library (the signature has been cut away, but Simcoe, p. 266, quotes the letter showing John Wilson as its author).

Another letter of Wilson's in the Clinton Papers reveals him ready to participate in a raid to recapture the regiment's revered colonel from the clutches of "those wretched Rebels" (2 December 1779, 78:36).

38. Various surveys under Wilson and adjoining property owners in the Huntington and Tyrone townships survey collections, ACHS.

39. American Loyalist Transcripts, 51:92-97, New York Public Library.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

42. Survey of the Mason-Dixon line in 1763-7 resolved the dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Possibly, Wilson writing after the Revolutionary War had ended, refers to the Ohio territories still disputed by Virginia and Pennsylvania.

43. Loyalists Claims, AO 12, vol. 109:308.

44. See, for example, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6th series, 13:125-6; 447-8 (cited hereafter as *PA*).

45. AO 12, vol. 42:368.

46. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1864), 2:438.

The New Yorker, Ensign Thomas Merritt, of Captain Saunders's company, also married at Georgetown, South Carolina.

47. John Wilson to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1 July 1785, the Sir Henry Clinton papers, 202:31, William Clements Library.

48. In St. James Episcopal Church, Lancaster, Pa. (copy and transcript in ACHS).

49. Chester Tax Rolls—microfilm copy (ACHS).

John Wilson is too common a name to trace in this way. For example, there are five John Wilsons in the Chester county tax rolls for the year 1740, although none is included under London Grove.

50. See, for example, surveys for the Rev. William Thompson, 24 March 1763 (warranted 22 February 1763), and for William Delap, 8 May 1771 (warranted 30 May 1751).

51. Jasper's estate papers establish that he made his last will on 23 July 1770, which was duly recorded for probate on 27 November 1770. (York County Will Book, C:7).

52. Survey for John Wilson, 5 May 1773, pursuant to his application no. 5425, 5 April 1769 (ACHS).

53. The principal documents are the Wilson family wills in the York County Will Books: Jasper, C:7 (probated 27 November



1770); Mary, H:296 (probated 27 March 1792); and Ann, H:318 (probated 4 May 1792). See also Ann Wilson's deed of trust, 25 August 1785, York County Deed Book, 2M:14.

54. An unsigned, undated letter among the Simcoe papers at the Clements Library, in John Wilson's handwriting and apparently addressed to General Sir Henry Clinton, details the plots of the Associated Loyalists to seize or destroy the arsenal in Carlisle and raise the backcountry to rebellion against the "Rebel" government. The writer, clearly Wilson, speaks of his role as a go-between for the British high command and the clandestine Loyalist militia who are endeavoring to obtain both official authorization and material support for their planned activities. I have reprinted the letter's text in a separate appendix, courtesy of the William L. Clements Library.

55. Although nearly all sources employ the spelling *Batwell*, I use throughout this essay the form favored by the clergyman every time he signed his name, *Batwelle*.

56. Details of Batwelle's involvement in the Tory opposition derive from these principal sources: Deposition of William Beckworth and Adam Laughlin, 10 September 1777, PA, 1st series, 5:624-5; Supreme Executive Council to John Creigh, 16 September 1777, *ibid.*, 628-9; John Carothers to William Henry, 25 September 1777, *ibid.*, p. 634; George Stevenson to William Henry, 25 September 1777, *ibid.*, p. 635; Deposition of Daniel Shelly, 22 September 1777, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Government, 1775-1790, Record Group 27, microfilm, roll 12, frames 1093-4; PA, 2nd series, 3:126 and 136; and E. Elayne Alexander, "The Conspiracy on Shelly's Island," *Mennonite Family History*, 4 (1985), 64.

57. Shelly's deposition, frame 1094.

58. The Philadelphia clergy, on the other hand, were more dependent on local support and trimmed their sails accordingly. See Solon J. Buck, "The Anglican Clergy of Pennsylvania in the American Revolution,"

*PMHB*, 63 (1939), 401-31; and David L. Holmes, "The Episcopal Church and the American Revolution," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 47 (1978), 261-91.

59. Johnston held the posts of clerk of courts, prothonotary, recorder of deeds, and register of wills.

60. Samuel Johnston to the SPG, 25 November 1776, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:44.

61. "He writes that all his papers having been taken from him, he cannot ascertain his last [letter] to the society," 25 March/June 1778, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:313 (transcription in the York County Historical Society, cited hereafter as YCHS).

62. *Sermon, Preached at York-Town, before Captain Morgan's and Captain Price's Companies of Rifle-Men, on Thursday, July 20, 1775. Being the Day Recommended by the Honorable Continental Congress for a General Fast throughout the Twelve United Colonies of North-America* (Philadelphia, 1775), pp. 16-17.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

65. Philip Reading to Dr. Hind, 19 September 1775, Gratz Mss., Colonial Clergymen, Box 24, Case 8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (cited hereafter as HSP).

66. 25 March/June 1778, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:313 (YCHS transcript).

67. Archibald McGrew, for one, variously a vestryman and churchwarden at Christ Church, became a colonel in the Pennsylvania militia.

68. 25 March/June 1778, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:313 (YCHS transcript). Although Batwelle does not refer to the Reformed Germans, Charles H. Glatfelter feels that, insofar as Bender's was a "union church," they too might have used Christ Church at this time.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.* The SPG summary of Batwelle's lost 25 March 1778 letter leaves unclear whether the "they" and therefore the phrase "Bermudian Creek Tories" re-



fer only to the Christ Church congregation or more inclusively to the Quakers and German Lutherans, who are also being discussed at this point: "But this conduct which secured inn [inner, spiritual assurance?] and peace, soon brought upon them annoyance from without. They were looked upon with a jealous eye both at York & Carlisle & distinguished by the name of Bermudian Creek Tories."

The minutes of the Warrington Monthly meeting from this time show that the Quakers were indeed also experiencing persecution (microfilm copy, ACHS).

71. Samuel Johnston to the SPG, 25 November 1776, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:45.

72. Batwelle to John Hancock, 1 October 1777, Gratz Collection, American Colonial Clergy, Case 8, Box 21, HSP.

73. *Ibid.*

74. 25 March/June 1778, SPG Letter Books, Series B, 21:45 (transcript YCHS).

75. *Ibid.*

76. Mittimus for Daniel Batwell [sic], 30 September 1777, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775-1790, Record Group 27, microfilm, roll 12, frame 1101.

77. Loyalist Claims, AO 12, 42:310.

78. Sir Henry Clinton.

79. Carl van Doren, *Secret History*, pp. 129-34, provides confirming details of this plot. He identifies Colonel William Rankin of York county and Captain Martin Weaver of Northampton county as working "in concert" and notes the involvement of another colonel of militia in Lancaster county whom he cannot identify. Christopher Sower III, scion of the famed printer family of Germantown, and Andrew Fürstner, a refugee from Lancaster, also appears to have functioned as go-betweens in the negotiations.

Van Doren adds the following interesting detail regarding the secret password: "Since the watchword was to be spoken only, not written, it does not appear [in Sower's letter, from which van Doren is citing], but for a sign the answer by Fürstner was enclosed in a Continental bill—in this case for \$6" (p. 131).

80. General Sir William Erksine was an aid to Clinton.

81. Probably New York.

# **Building A Battle Site: Roads To and Through Gettysburg 1747-1863<sup>1</sup>**

by Elwood W. Christ

On the morning of 1 July 1863, lead elements of Confederate General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia advanced on the town of Gettysburg situated in the lush farm lands of south-central Pennsylvania just eight miles east of the South Mountain in Adams county. The Southern reconnaissance in force made early that summer morning was destined not only to change the history of the struggling Confederacy, but also to set the infant United States republic, indeed the world, on courses towards more democratic forms of government.

Although many historians have dwelled on those three fateful days in 1863, few emphasize the role the major roads played in the drama that unfolded at Gettysburg. However, events that transpired over a 116-year period prior to the great battle actually created the highway system that was to draw the opposing forces to town—a hub of ten major roads.

This essay will briefly explore the development of state- and county-ordained roads to and through the site of Gettysburg from 1747 until the year of the battle. After a brief history of the colonial development in the greater Adams county area, emphasis will be placed on the evolution of the ten major roads that join at Gettysburg and how the development of the town affected their positioning and that of some ancillary roads within the borough limits.

## **The Native Americans**

A history of the road system to and through Gettysburg would not be complete without a brief mention of the native populations, for they, too, left their mark in Adams county. Verbal tradition implies that the Gettysburg area may have served as seasonal hunting grounds and that a site near the southwest slope of Big Round Top may have been the location of a large encampment or battle ground. Indeed, archaeological evidence suggests that the Marsh, Rock and Conewago creek watersheds

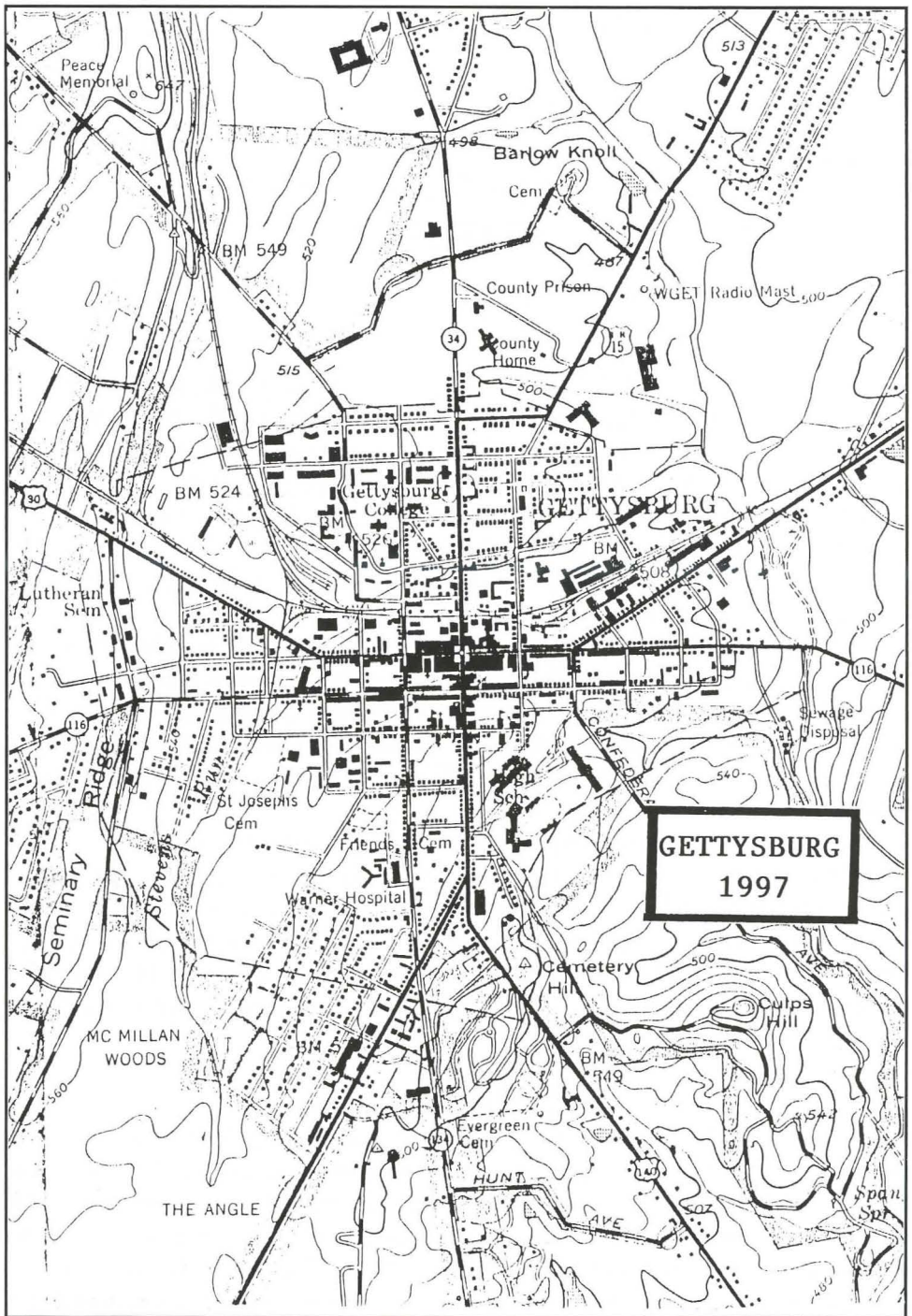


Fig. 1



around Gettysburg were visited by Native Americans, and sixty-four pre-historic sites have been found in Adams county (Archaic and Early Woodland occupations), five in Cumberland township which nearly encompasses Gettysburg.<sup>2</sup>

The Native Americans in the vicinity undoubtedly developed a system of trails to link at least some of their seasonal campsites with major traces, such as the Monocacy Trail that cut through what later became the southeast portion of Adams county.<sup>3</sup> In 1920 George P. Donahoo wrote in *A Short Sketch of the Indian Trails of Pennsylvania*:

The . . . gaps in the South Mountain, . . . Trent's Gap south of Carlisle; and Lindsey's, or Black's Gap, southeast of Chambersburg . . . through [the future site of] York to Lancaster, and to the Indian villages on the lower Susquehanna. . . . These trails . . . have become the lines followed by the [modern] highways leading east and west. . . .<sup>4</sup>

However, with the arrival of European traders, missionaries and settlers, the indigenous cultures deteriorated and eventually many of the Native Americans were forced into subsistence farming or into migrations westward.

### **"Best Poor Man's Country" The Colonial Period, Circa 1736-1783**

Though Captain John Smith of the Virginia colony had made contact with a party of Susquehannock Indians near the mouth of the Susquehanna River in 1608 and allegedly visited an Indian town in present Lancaster County, the area of present York and Adams counties did not see European immigrants until William Penn and George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, established their colonies along the Delaware River and the Chesapeake Bay, respectively, during the second half of the seventeenth-century. By 1700 settlements in the colony of Pennsylvania had reached the east banks of the Susquehanna and that year the area to the west was transferred to the Penns by the Susquehannock Indians. However, the question of who was the official grantor that year was not settled until the fall of 1736 when the Penns signed a new agreement, re-purchasing the lands from the Iroquois, the conquerors of the Susquehannocks. The area west of the Susquehanna, which included present Franklin, Cumberland, Adams and York counties, then became part of Lancaster County.

Nonetheless, trading posts had been established along the banks of

the Susquehanna shortly after 1700 from the future site of Harris's Ferry (Harrisburg) south towards modern Washington borough in Lancaster County. "As early as 1721 the settlers east of the Susquehanna cast longing glances across the river, desiring to have the first opportunity to take up the lands in the rich valleys."<sup>5</sup> and a year later Keith's Mine or Newberry Tract and the original Springettsberry Manor (later re-surveyed; included within it was the present site of York) were laid out along the west bank of the river near the present site of Wrightsville. In future Adams county, John Hanson Steelman (or Hans Tilgman) had been operating his trading post in the vicinity of the present site of Zora in Liberty township, possibly as early as 1718.<sup>6</sup>

However, extension of the Penns' sovereignty to the west initiated a border dispute between the Penns and the proprietors of Maryland. Although a temporary province line was established in 1739, conflicts continued until the Mason-Dixon line was laid out between 1762 and 1767.

Between the late 1720s and 1760s, some conflicting claims were settled peaceably, notably "Carroll's Delight" and "Carrollsbury" laid out and patented by the Maryland proprietors in 1732 near the present site of Fairfield, eight miles southwest of Gettysburg. But some disputes broke down into heated clashes. One example was the settlement of "Digges' Choice" (later known as McAllisterstown), the site of Hanover located fifteen miles southeast of Gettysburg. The controversy over which colony had jurisdiction of the area spanned fifteen years and peaked with the murder of Dudley Digges in 1752.<sup>7</sup>

Nonetheless, other settlers, mostly Scots-Irish, continued their migration west of the Susquehanna. Some settled along the banks of the Great Conewago Creek in present eastern Adams county, while other Scots-Irish settled in the Marsh and Rock creek watersheds, the area of present Gettysburg. This latter habitation, referred to as the Marsh Creek Settlement, extended nine miles southwest of the Great Conewago Settlement towards Carroll's Delight. Though the number of original Marsh Creek settlers is not known, the general consensus of Gettysburg historians suggests that by 1741 as many as 170 Scots-Irish families had established homesteads about the future site of Gettysburg, and eight years later with the influx of settlers west of the Susquehanna, the inhabitants petitioned the authorities, and thus in 1749 York county was formed.<sup>8</sup>

However, in 1740 the Penns established on paper their Manor of Maske, eventually seventy-two square miles of territory extending twelve miles in length north of the disputed province line and stretching six miles wide. The Manor included much of the Marsh Creek Settlement. Its in-



habitants then were considered squatters, and when the Penns attempted to lay out their manor in 1741, their surveyors met local resistance.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, the manor controversy was settled peaceably; those residents who could show that their lands had been improved prior to the establishment of the Manor received official title from the Penns. One of them was Samuel Gettys. On 16 April 1765 John Penn signed a warrant at the Lands Office at Philadelphia granting Gettys some 250 acres in Cumberland township, York county, just west of Rock Creek. After the surveyor completed his duties that June, Gettys' farmstead encompassed 381.5 acres.<sup>10</sup>

With settlement west of the Susquehanna River, thoroughfares were needed to link the hinterlands with population centers, especially the seat of county governments. As early as 1736 a road was laid out that linked the Susquehanna River at Harris's Ferry with the Potomac River.<sup>11</sup> Today that old road trace approximates Rt. 11 from the west shore of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg down the Cumberland Valley to the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland.

Another byway, the old Monocacy Road paralleling the old Native American trail, was laid out sometime prior to 1739 linking the site of Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna with the Potomac near the mouth of the Monocacy.<sup>12</sup> Today this trace approximates old Rt. 30 (Rt. 462) from Wrightsville, York county to York, and then parallels Rt. 116 tracking southwest from York through the town of Hanover. From there the Monocacy Road approximates present Rt. 194 southwesterly through Taneytown, Maryland towards Frederick.

Likewise, with the establishment of the Marsh Creek and Great Conewago settlements, Carrollsburg and Carroll's Delight, some thoroughfare was needed to link that backcountry near the province line with Maryland to the county seat and market center at Lancaster.

Between 3 February and 25 April 1747 the first public road through present Adams county was laid out, joining the area about the present site of Chambersburg and the headwaters of the "Conogochege Creek" in present Franklin county with Lancaster. When laid out, this path, dubbed the Black's Gap Road, passed through "Chamber's or Black's Gap," exited the east side of the South Mountains by "Witherspoon's Round Top," and passed by or through the future sites of Hilltown, Mummasburg, Hunterstown (site of the Great Conewago Presbyterian Church five miles northeast of Gettysburg), New Oxford and Abbottstown.<sup>13</sup>

Today the trace of the Black's Gap Road approximates the following path: Rt. 30 west from York to a point about 2.5 miles west of New Ox-



ford. There, the road coursed towards the northwest approximating Swift Run Road and Rt. 394 past Hunterstown to its junction with the Goldenville Road. Then it approximated the latter trace through to Mummasburg where the old roadway today is designated the Hilltown Road. Passing through Hilltown, the old trace joins the old Lincoln Highway just east of Bingaman Road in Black's Gap, today known as the Cashtown Pass. From that point the route paralleled old Rt. 30 westerly past Mt. Newman.

In November 1747 a second road was laid out, linking the headwaters of the "Andretum [Antietam] Creek" in present southeastern Franklin county with Lancaster. Later referred to as the York-Nichols' Gap Road, it extended from the "temporary [province] line," traversed the mountains at Willoughby's or Nichols' Gap, crossed Marsh and Rock Creeks and joined the Black's Gap Road where it angled to the north east. Thus Carroll's Delight and the Marsh Creek Settlement were linked to Lancaster. This second thoroughfare crossed the plantation that later, as part of Cumberland township, York county, was claimed by Samuel Gettys in 1765.<sup>14</sup>

Today, the trace of this second colonial period highway passes through Monterey Pass (Nichols' Gap) and by the present site of Fairfield. Continuing northeasterly, the old road approximated present Rt. 116 to Gettysburg. Crossing Rock Creek some 200 yards north of the present Rt. 116 bridge, the old path then followed a northeasterly route along the high ground south of present Rt. 30. Eventually, the old road approximated the path of Rt. 30 East from the vicinity of the present Rt. 30-15 interchange to the its juncture with Swift Run (Black's Gap) Road 2.5 miles west of New Oxford.

The continued growth of the Marsh Creek Settlement increased the need for roads to link residents with the established agricultural markets, and geography and economics spurred commercial ties with Maryland. James T. Lemon in his pioneering work, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, wrote that York had been established in the eastern part of York County to help direct commerce towards distant Philadelphia, but the mile-wide Susquehanna River flowing towards the Chesapeake Bay created a costly and time-consuming barrier to east-west trade. To York county businessmen, trade with Maryland merchants was more profitable than with those in Lancaster and Philadelphia. "Immediately after York was laid out in 1741 its citizens participated in the construction of a road to the Chesapeake at Joppa, and Baltimore's rapid rise after 1750 was partly a consequence of the development of trans-Susquehanna, Pennsylvania."<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, the emergence of the Chesapeake Bay as an outlet for farmers' crops encouraged development of north-south highways in future Adams county. A preliminary accounting of roads laid out by the Lancaster and York county governments between 1747 and 1800 suggests that although some twenty-two east-west or northeast-southwest oriented roads—or ancillary paths connecting with those east-west roads—had been established, some thirty-eight additional highways had a north-south orientation. In essence, by a ratio of nearly 3 to 2 the inhabitants of the west bank of the Susquehanna favored Baltimore rather than Lancaster as a destination.<sup>16</sup>

One of the first north-south oriented highways in future Adams county was requested on 28 April 1752 when residents of Menallen township submitted a petition to the York county government. This road, beginning at "Captain Trent's Gap," extended to the south-southeast towards the province line "leading to the Patapsco [River]."<sup>17</sup> This road approximated present Rt. 94 from Mt. Holly Springs in Cumberland county south through Hanover.

Thirteen years later, in July 1765, residents of Mount Joy and Cumberland townships petitioned for a road that was laid out in 1769. Beginning at a point on the Black's Gap Road near the home of Sarah Black (Black's Tavern as early as 1759) at the present site of Mummasburg, "three and a half miles" east of "Witherspoon's Round Top," the road extended southeasterly to the providence line "near Adam Boose's." This highway crossed the York-Nichols' Gap Road by "Samuel Gattys" and passed "Samuel Gatty's [McAllister's] mill" on Rock Creek. This trace became a section of the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road.<sup>18</sup>

Hence, the first road to be laid out that intersected at Gettysburg during the battle in 1863, was the Mummasburg Road, for its courses and distances from Mummasburg to Gettysburg nearly match those of a four-mile stretch of the 1769 highway—from Sarah Black's House towards the York-Nichols' Gap Road.

After crossing the York-Nichols' Gap Road by Gettys' home, the 1769 road bed angled just west of south, descending to a point in the hollow, which later became the southern end of Gettysburg. The path then approximated present Wainwright Avenue on the eastern slopes of Cemetery Hill and eventually crossed Rock Creek adjacent to the present Rt. 97 bridge. From that point, the old road approximated Rt. 97 through Littlestown to the Mason-Dixon line.

The York-Nichols' Gap and Shippensburg-Baltimore roads, then, linked the Marsh Creek Settlement with the Maryland markets insuring commercial growth in the area. Moreover, the increased traffic on the two



major roadways, especially the Baltimore-Shippensburg Road (the eighteenth-century equivalent of a modern interstate highway), made their intersection by Samuel Gettys' tavern a potential center for town development and real estate speculation.

The exact traces and location of the intersection of the York-Nichols' and the Shippensburg-Baltimore roads within the current borough limits of Gettysburg has been debated for at least four decades. Unfortunately, physical evidence probably has been obliterated by urban development. Nevertheless, by noting some intriguing early lot sub-divisions on the north side of the first block of York Street, utilizing the courses and distances in the 1747 and 1769 road papers, and reasonably placing the location of the last course change of the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road before reaching the York-Nichols' Gap Road, the old traces and their intersection can be better approximated.<sup>19</sup>

After its last course change before reaching the York-Nichols' Gap Road (near the present juncture of the Mummasburg Road, College Avenue, and Broadway), the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road angled southeasterly traversing the present Gettysburg College Campus linking up with Mummasburg Street. Following the course of that street, the road intersected the York-Nichols' Gap Road at a point located about 300 feet east of Carlisle Street and about 100 feet south of East Race Horse Alley. Thus, the old intersection was situated in what was until recently Wogen's Drug Store (28 York Street), approximately at the location of the pharmaceutical counter. From that point, the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road coursed "South seven and one half degrees west" to a point near the east side of present Baltimore Street and located just north of present Pfeffer Alley, an east-west passageway situated just north of Lefever Street. From that point, the old road angled off to the southeast linking up with and approximating present Wainwright Avenue.

According to its Lancaster Road docket book entry, the York-Nichols' Gap Road traversed Gettys' farm tract due east-west. Crossing Rock Creek some 200 yards upstream from the present Rt. 116 bridge, this road actually paralleled the north side of present York and Chambersburg Streets and the south side of Race Horse Alley. Near the intersection of present Chambersburg and West Streets with Springs and Buford Avenues, the road angled off to the west-southwest and crossed Seminary Ridge near the present intersection of West Confederate Avenue and Rt. 116.

During the Battle at Gettysburg, a small section of this 1747 highway still existed. As seen in a Matthew Brady photograph taken in August 1863 from a point about fifty yards north of the intersection of present



Fairfield Road with West Confederate Avenue, this section can be clearly seen running west-southwest from the intersection of Chambersburg Street, the Chambersburg Pike, and an unnamed side street (today's West Street) to a point near the intersection of the Fairfield Road (Rt. 116) and West Confederate Avenue. This last vestige of the York-Nichols' Gap Road within the borough limits was obliterated when Springs Avenue was laid out and the area developed ca. 1892.<sup>20</sup>

### Federal Period: 1783-1835

The American Revolution and the national fiscal policy adopted under the Articles of Confederation created a monetary calamity. The effects of the national depression, rapid inflation of and speculation in paper Continental money were causes behind the decline of Samuel Gettys' fortunes. Gettys owed more than 10,000 Pounds. Many of the debts were satisfied by proceeds generated by sheriff sales. The case that resulted in the sale of Samuel Gettys' farmstead was first heard before the York county court during the January Term 1784. Allegedly Gettys owed 6,000 Pounds in *Peter Light (for the use of Henry Weaver) v. Samuel Gettys*, where the judge ruled in favor of the plaintiff. A writ of *fieri facias* was issued (the sheriff authorized to sell Gettys' property to recoup the debt) and the case was continued to the July Term 1784.<sup>21</sup>

However, buyers for the Gettys' property were non-existent, for one year later the court issued a writ of *vendoni exponas*, requiring a sale to be made by the sheriff at any price. Case record indicated the suit was continued eight more times with seven additional writs being issued until the April Term 1787.<sup>22</sup>

Nonetheless, one buyer did come forth after the April Term 1785—James Gettys, Samuel's middle son, for John Forsythe surveyed a 116-acre parcel containing "the quantity of land sold to James Gettys as the estate of Sam'l Gettys on the [19th] day of April, 1785 by virtue of sundry Writs of *ven. exponas*" and executed by the sheriff on 9 October 1785. However, the sale was not confirmed by the York County Court of Common Pleas until the October Term 1786.<sup>23</sup>

Between 19 April 1785 and 10 January 1786,<sup>24</sup> John Forsythe laid out James Gettys' 116 acres into 210 numbered lots, and thus "Gettysburgh" was born. We suspect that Forsythe first laid out the center square or diamond by measuring its full width along the south berm of the York-Nicholas' Gap Road starting at a point some 100 yards west of Gettys' house. With the north side of the diamond delineated, Forsythe probably laid out two perpendicular lines that formed the diamond's east

and west sides, and then shot two forty-five-degree bearings to ensure he had laid out a perfect square. With the Diamond established, it probably was a simple process of laying out a grid pattern of streets.

When Forsythe was done, the town was a simple block plan. Four sixty-foot wide main streets radiated from the square in the four major directions of the compass. These main streets were interconnected with five fifty-foot wide side streets and numerous twelve-foot wide alleys. The north-south thoroughfare through the square was named North Baltimore (now Carlisle) and South Baltimore streets, and the east-west path was labeled East York and West York (now Chambersburg) streets. One block east of the square and paralleling North and South Baltimore streets, was East (now Stratton) Street. One block west of the square was West (now Washington) Street. The three remaining fifty-foot wide streets paralleled East and West York streets. North (now Railroad) Street was laid out one block north of the square. To the south, Middle street was laid out one block away, with High Street laid out one block further south.<sup>25</sup>

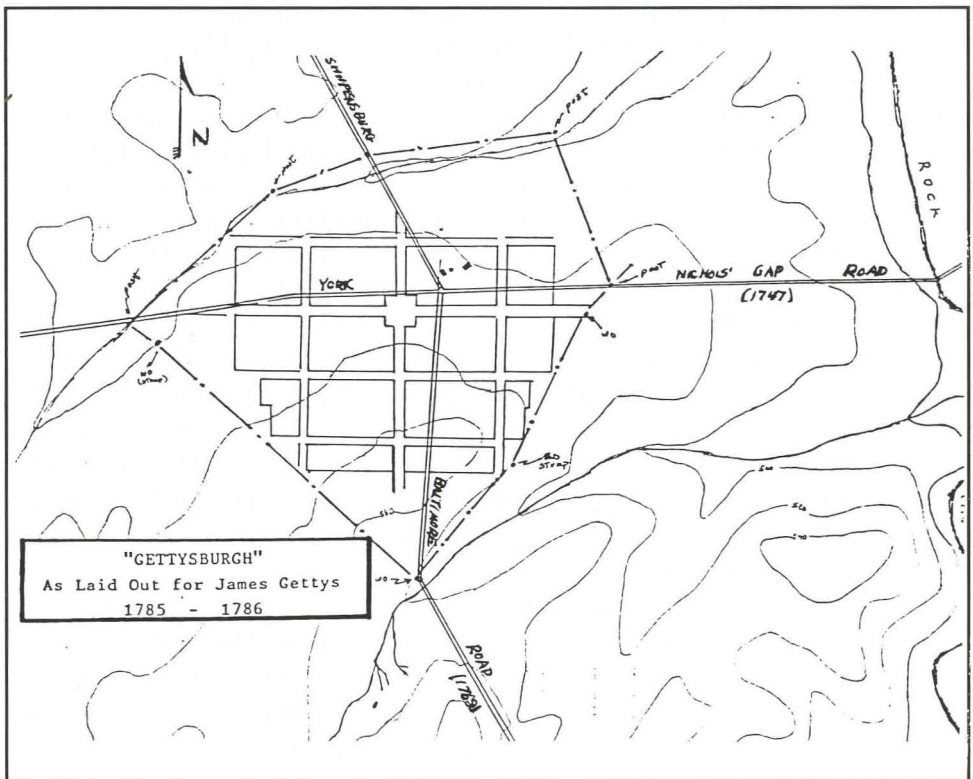


Fig. 2

After the town was surveyed, North Baltimore Street intersected with the Mummasburg Road at the present site of Carlisle Street and Delap Alley,<sup>26</sup> and West York joined the York-Nichols' Gap Road near the present west end of Chambersburg Street.

However, the ends of East York and South Baltimore streets did not intersect with the old road beds. We suspect that East York Street terminated at a point approximately eighty feet south of the York-Nichols' Gap Road, while South Baltimore Street ended at a point some 160 feet west of the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road just south of present Wall Alley.

Although no road papers have been found to date, we suspect that within a short time new traces were established that linked East York and South Baltimore streets with the old roads.

Based on evidence on the 1850 map of Gettysburg and the course and distances noted in the road documents establishing the Hanover Road, East York Street probably was linked with the York-Nichols' Gap Road by a connector that angled east-northeasterly a short distance, probably no farther than 200 yards until it joined the old roadbed.

The link between South Baltimore Street and the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road is more problematic. No maps, road papers, or written accounts describe the joining of those two roads. On the basis of present physical evidence, we suspect that at the very top of the hill south of present Wall Alley, a short trace angled off to the east and linked Gettys' new street with the old roadway. This possibly could explain the current existence of Wade Avenue, a fifty-foot-wide street that is today only 142 feet long.

As Gettys' town grew, demographic changes taking place in western York county led to the formation of Adams county and the selection of Gettysburg as the new county's seat.

A preliminary analysis of Pennsylvania Septennial Census figures from 1786 to 1800, suggests that consistently two thirds of the taxable inhabitants in twelve townships (which later composed most of Adams county) were counted in townships east of Marsh Creek with the remaining majority being counted in the vicinity of Fairfield and Carroll's Tract (Hamiltonban township). During the fourteen-year period, the overall number of taxables counted increased by 16.5% (from 2,115 to 2,464), with the largest increases occurring in the townships about the triangle formed by Abbottstown, Gettysburg and Hanover. However, nearly two-thirds of the overall increase in taxables counted in the townships took place during the first seven-year period. By 1793 the total number counted had risen by 10.5%, but Cumberland township had seen a 54% increase



(150 to 231). Moreover, though Cumberland township contained only 10% of the total taxables counted in the twelve townships that year, Cumberland's increase accounted for 37% of the total increase of taxables counted in those twelve townships. By 1800 the number enumerated in Cumberland township increased another 11%—a total of 71% in fourteen years and 30% of the total number of taxables counted in the twelve townships.<sup>27</sup> The population increase produced several consequences that improved travel and communications in western York county and further crystallized the movement for a new county.

Though the subject was raised in 1790, and several petitions for and against the formation of a new county were submitted to the legislature at Philadelphia, a decade passed before Adams county was formed. The *1886 History of Cumberland and Adams County* suggested that the Scots-Irish majority, in favor of forming a new county, was opposed by the Dutch and Pennsylvania German minority who feared Scots-Irish dominance of the county government, but by 1798 opposition had abated. However, historian Charles H. Glatfelter has suggested that the new county movement may have stemmed from regional pride and political motivation. For example, five former York county judges, including Robert McPherson, Samuel Edie and John McConaughy; two York county sheriffs, William McClellan and Nicholas Gelwicks; and two county commissioners, William McClellan and Robert McPherson, all resided in the "western end" of York County.<sup>28</sup>

Before the county's establishment, however, a site for the governmental seat had to be found, and a list of potential sites was compiled. Eventually, the competition was narrowed to two sites: Hunterstown in Straban township, situated towards the population center of the proposed county, and Gettysburg, located five miles southwest of Hunterstown and thus nearer to the geographical center. Moreover, a justification for locating the seat at Gettysburg was that the town and Cumberland township were located about an intersection of two main highways (the York-Nichols' Gap and the Shippensburg-Baltimore roads) and were undergoing an accelerated growth at this time. Straban township's growth, on the other hand, was sluggish at best, and Hunterstown was not situated at any major crossroads. Nonetheless, to help persuade officials to select Gettysburg, Gettys deeded all his town lot quitrents to Alexander Dobbin and David Moore, Sr., and at least two lots on 24 January 1799 "in trust for, and to the only proper use of the [new] county," which included a parcel reserved for the county jail. Furthermore, prominent Gettysburg residents including Henry Hoke, William McClellan, William McPherson and Alexander Russell signed a bond

for \$7,000 for the construction of a court house and jail.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, on 22 January 1800, Adams county was formed, named after President John Adams, with Gettysburg being selected as the county seat. A year later on 23 February 1801 Dobbin and Moore transferred Gettys' property and quitrents to the Adams county commissioners. On 10 March 1806, the Pennsylvania legislature voted to establish Gettysburg as a borough. According to Joseph Scott in *A Geographic Description of Pennsylvania*, published that same year, Gettysburg consisted of some 180 dwellings.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, during the 1780s and 1790s, the influx of settlers produced increased traffic on an aging road system, especially taxing the Black's Gap and York-Nichols' Gap roads which were nearly half a century old and in need of repair. In 1795, by an act of Congress, a post road was to be established between the postal offices at York, Pennsylvania, and Hagerstown, Maryland, and that December a petition was filed with the York County Court of Quarter Sessions requesting a new thoroughfare to be built from York to "Gettysburgh," which was laid out by June 1796. Today, the Gettysburg post road nearly follows the present trace of Rt. 30 from York to Gettysburg.<sup>31</sup>

With the Gettysburg-York Post Road surveyed, post office records listed new offices at Fairfield, Gettysburg, Abbottstown, Littlestown and Hanover, serving the populated areas. The following year a "public road from Gettysburg to the Franklin county line in Nicholson's [Nichols'] Gap" was laid out, completing another section of the post road.<sup>32</sup> This Gettysburg-Hagerstown road followed a section of the old 1747 path, from the west end of present Chambersburg Street to the intersection of West Confederate Avenue and Rt. 116. From that point on Seminary Ridge, the new post road followed the present trace of Rt. 116 through Fairfield and into the South Mountain.

Thus, the York and the Hagerstown or Fairfield roads became the second and third highways, respectively, to be laid out that formed the 1863 road hub at Gettysburg.

Two years after the Hagerstown Road was established, a fourth highway was laid out in June 1799, possibly in anticipation of Gettysburg's becoming the new county seat. The new road linked Gettysburg with Carlisle, the Cumberland county seat some thirty-five miles to the north. This highway started at the county line near Trent's Gap and followed a nearly southerly path.<sup>33</sup>

Today this old road approximates Rt. 34 from the county line through Idaville to a point south of Bermudian Creek. The path then continued south along present Old Carlisle Road through Center Mills, crossing

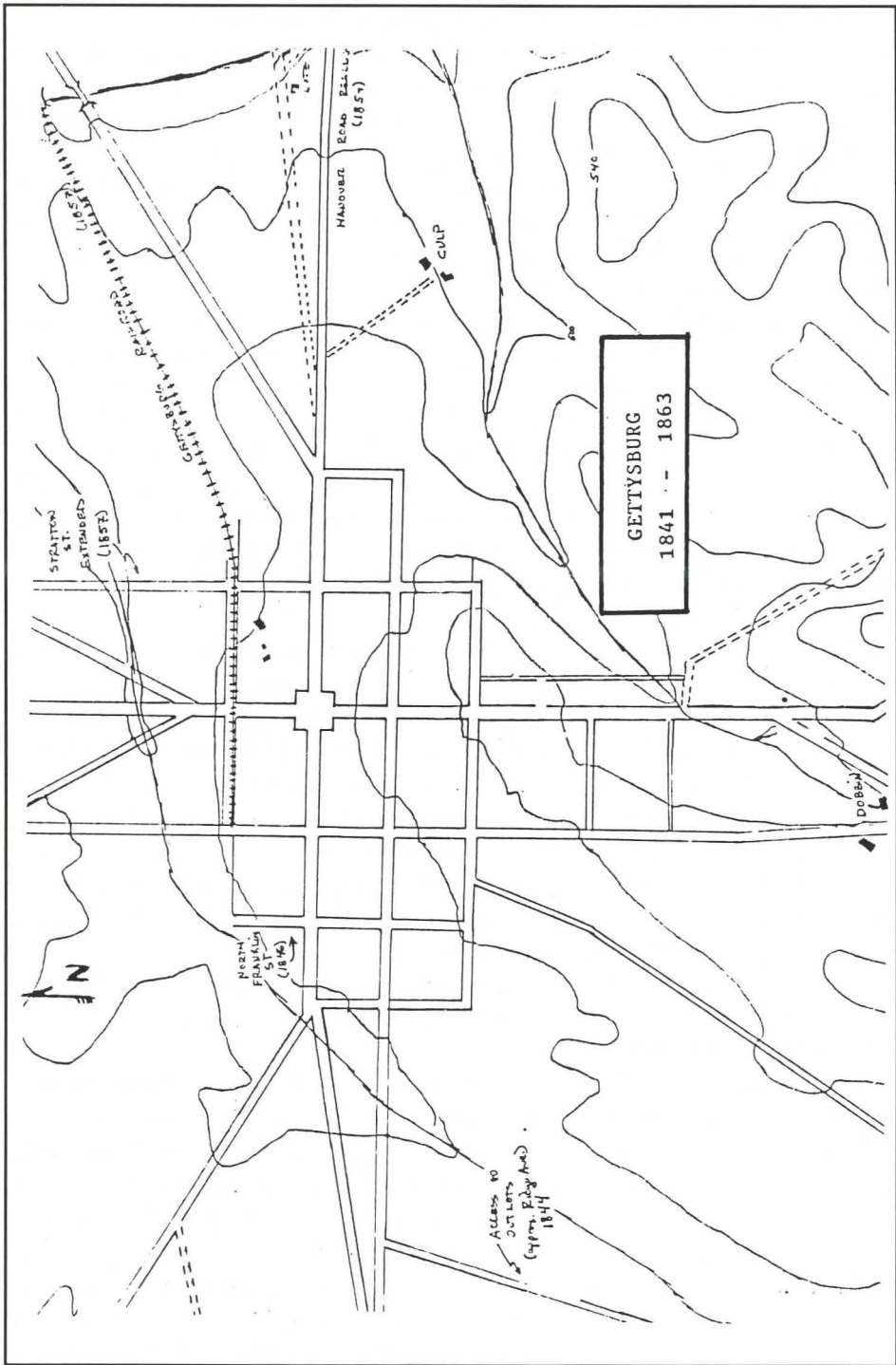


Fig. 3



Rt. 234 some two miles northeast of Biglerville, and continued towards Table Rock. Crossing Conewago Creek, the old road followed Rt. 394 through Table Rock to the Table Rock Road. Following Table Rock Road, the old trace crossed present Rt. 34 about 1.1 miles north of Gettysburg's square. Continuing in a south-southwesterly course, the old Carlisle Road passed through the present rear section of the Adams County Motors property and linked up with a center section of Howard Avenue on the Gettysburg Battlefield. The newly-constructed portion of the Carlisle Road then terminated on the Mummasburg Road at a point about 100 yards north of the present intersection of College Avenue and Broadway. However, in the road paper, the courses and distances continued the Carlisle Road down the Mummasburg Road to North Baltimore Street, and hence south down that thoroughfare to Gettysburg's center square.<sup>34</sup>

No sooner had Gettysburg been considered as the county seat, than joiners to Gettys' town tract speculated that land adjoining the town might be sold at a premium. Between 1798 and ca. 1808, John Troxell, Sr., acquired a northwest portion of Dobbin's lands and a western parcel of Gettys' town tract which Troxell laid out into lots. That development became known as Troxell's Addition. Alexander Cobean also laid out parcels of his lands located adjacent to Dobbin's and Gettys' western boundaries. To the east of Gettysburg, Henry Weaver laid out "Greenfields" from a point near the present "Y" formed by the York and Hanover roads to the west bank of Rock Creek. Greenfields then straddled the York post road and extended south at least to the old York-Nichols' Gap trace.<sup>35</sup>

Sometime between 1786 and ca. 1808, Alexander Dobbin laid out thirty-seven outlots bordering the southwest boundary of Gettys' town tract and the southeast boundary of lands owned by Alexander Cobean. Twenty of these parcels, called "spring lots" were laid out along "Water Street," Dobbin's extension of Gettys' South Baltimore Street.<sup>36</sup> This path extended Gettys' South Baltimore Street southward to a point just short of the present juncture of Baltimore Street and Steinwehr Avenue.

Sometime between 1786 and 1808 Gettys also further improved his town tract by laying out at least forty-three additional building lots, some of them extending beyond the end of his South Baltimore Street at present Wall Alley. We suspect that about that time, the new county commissioners received the petition to realign the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road—the connector from Gettys' South Baltimore Street to the old road bed. This re-alignment was laid out by 24 January 1801. Starting at Gettysburg's square, the road extended down South Baltimore Street some 1,353 feet, or approximately a quarter mile, and then angled

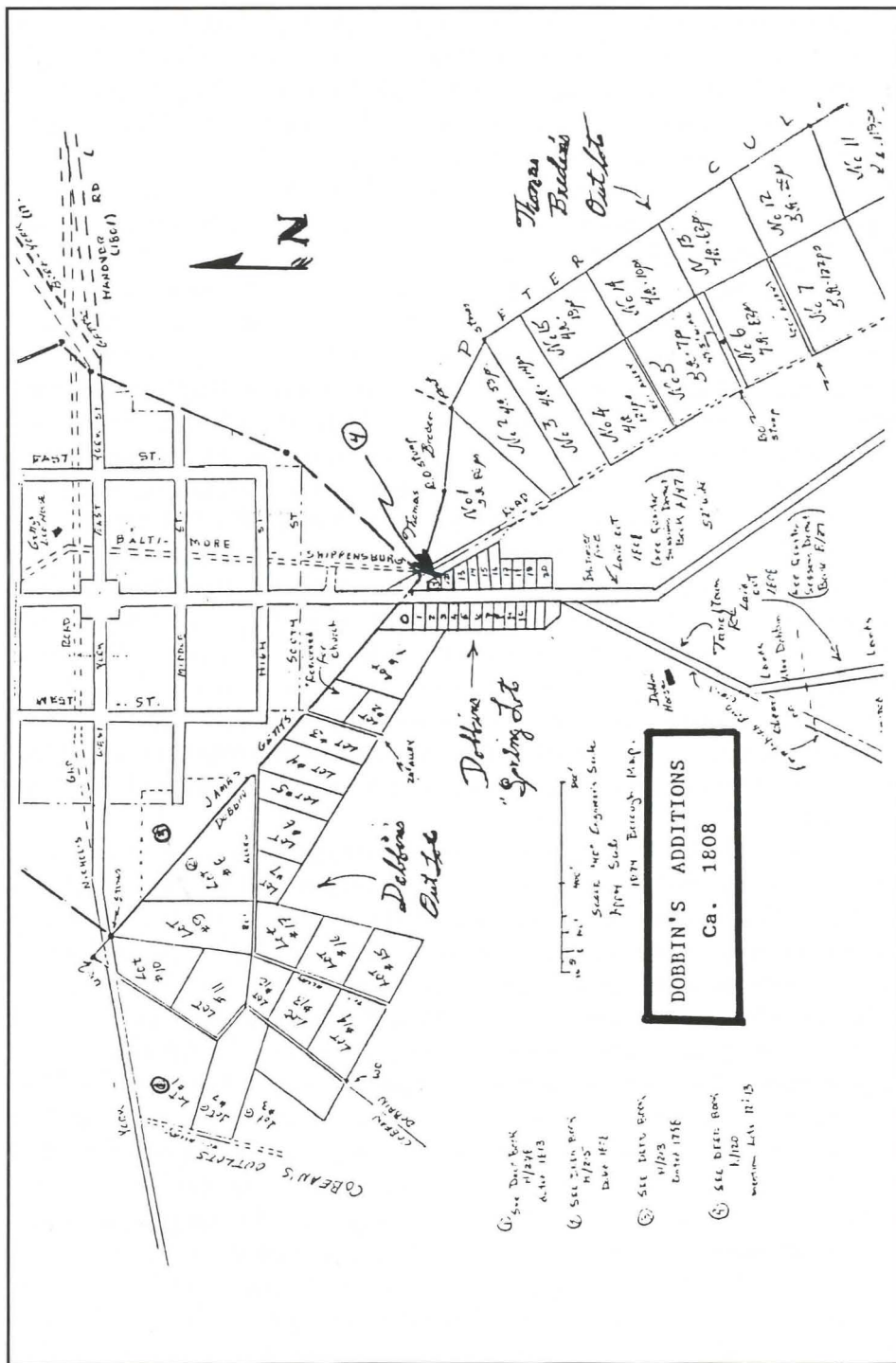


Fig. 4

off to the southeast.<sup>37</sup> In essence, then, South Baltimore Street was officially extended about one block further south (to the present site of 312 Baltimore Street) and then an in-line connector was laid out to the Shippensburg-Baltimore Road. Possibly at this time, the old connector nearer the top of the hill south of present Wall Alley became the “fifty-foot wide street” presently called Wade Avenue.

Another consequence of the establishment of Gettysburg as the county seat in 1800 was the push to connect it with the outside world. Within a twelve-year period some five additional roads ran to and through Gettysburg not only to link the remote parts of the county with its seat, but also to connect Gettysburg with more distant economical/political centers. In 1801 two such roads were established. East of town, a road was laid out and officially confirmed on 2 April which linked the village of “Bonaughtown” with Gettysburg. With very few derivations, today this trace follows the current path of the Hanover Road (Rt. 116) from Bonneauville to the east bank of Rock Creek. At that point, however, the road crossed the stream at a site adjacent to the north side of the present Rt. 116 bridge and then followed the creek’s west bank about 100 yards northward where it joined the old York-Nichols’ Gap Road bed. From that juncture, the new highway approximated the old York-Nichols’ Gap Road bed into town.<sup>38</sup>

In essence, then, what had been that portion of the old road from Gettysburg to York, between the end of East York Street and Rock Creek, became a portion of a new road from the Adams county seat to Bonaughtown. Twenty-seven years later another road was laid out that linked Bonaughtown with McSherrytown, thus completing the road from Gettysburg to Hanover.<sup>39</sup>

The second 1801 road, officially confirmed on 18 November, extended Gettys’ Baltimore Street another 905 feet to the south where it then coursed south-southwesterly to “the mouth of Caldwell’s lane” near the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>40</sup> This highway, the forerunner of the Emmittsburg Road, nearly followed the present trace of Business Rt. 15 from a point just south of present Breckenridge Street on Baltimore Street to its present juncture with Steinwehr Avenue (thus incorporating Dobbin’s Water Street) and then followed the path of the current avenue and Business Rt. 15 south-southwesterly to the state line.

During the January Session 1808 of the Adams County Court of Quarter Sessions, six men were appointed to lay out a sixth new road to Gettysburg. By 16 August the men had completed their mission. This new highway started at “a post on the south end of Baltimore Street and was laid out along Dobbin’s “Water Street” to its juncture with the



Emmitsburg Road (present intersection of Baltimore Street and Steinwehr Avenue). From that point the new highway followed the Emmitsburg Road some 375 yards to the south-southwest where it coursed off in a southerly direction, extending to the east end of McKinney's lane on the road leading from Routzsong's Mill to Taneytown. Thus was the Taneytown Road born.<sup>41</sup>

As several Adams countians planned to lay out the Taneytown Road, others joined together and formed the Gettysburg and Petersburg Turnpike (GPT) Company which was officially incorporated by an act of the Pennsylvania legislature on 7 April 1807. The company was "to make an artificial Road from the Court House in Gettysburg [which stood in the center of the square], through Petersburg [Littlestown] to the Maryland Line at Biddler's Mill."<sup>42</sup>

Today, the GPT turnpike's trace follows the present track of Baltimore Street and Rt. 97. Starting at the square, the new road ran due south some 2,800 feet to a point on Cemetery Hill. Angling off to the south-southeast, the turnpike passed through Two Taverns and Littlestown to the Mason-Dixon line. Thus, that section of the old Shippensburg-Baltimore Road, which ran from Baltimore Street along the eastern base of Cemetery Hill (approximately Wainwright Avenue) to Rock Creek, was abandoned.

On 4 April 1809, the state legislature passed another act permitting the GPT directors to extend their toll road northwest of Gettysburg to link up with the old Black's Gap Road at or near "Gallaher's [sic] Mill" in Black's Gap, and then to extend the turnpike to Chambersburg.<sup>43</sup>

Today, this section of the GPT—the Chambersburg Pike—follows the trace of present day Rt. 30 from Gettysburg's square to a point just west of the village of Seven Stars where it follows Old Route 30 through McKnightstown and Cashtown to its juncture with the Hilltown Road near Bingaman Road.

Edward McPherson, in an article that appeared in the 14 May 1895 *Star and Sentinel*, noted that the new route created conflicts within the GPT company. As a result, several directors resigned and formed the Gettysburg and Black's Tavern Turnpike (GBTT) Company which was incorporated by the state legislature on 6 February 1811. The GBTT extended from Gettysburg's square to Black's Tavern via the Mummasburg Road. On 22 December 1812, the legislature extended the turnpike to include that section of the old Black's Gap Road from Mummasburg to its juncture with the GPT near Gallagher's saw mill. Four years later, during the Quarter Sessions court's January Sessions in 1815, the county vacated the Mummasburg Road between Gettysburg

and Mummasburg.<sup>44</sup>

The establishment of the GPT and the GBTT companies sparked the formation of other turnpikes on established roadways. The day after it permitted the GBTT to be extended to Gallagher's saw mill, the state legislature incorporated the York-Millerstown (Fairfield) Turnpike Company on 31 March 1812. Three years later, the York-Gettysburg Turnpike Company was incorporated on 11 March 1815.<sup>45</sup>

About eight months after the Chambersburg Pike was surveyed, a seventh new highway was officially confirmed on 6 August 1811 which incorporated the old road from Gettysburg heading towards Emmittsburg, Maryland. Beginning at a point near "Eichelberger's Tavern" near the York county line, the road coursed to the south-southwest and followed "main street of Petersburg [present York Springs]." Continuing to the south-southwest, the road crossed Rock Creek and coursed "South twenty eight and one half degrees West" approximately 4,818 yards. There is angled nearly due south and coursed some 1,062 feet through Gettysburg to Dobbin's spring lots. From that point, the new road appropriated the old Emmittsburg Road bed to the state line.<sup>46</sup>

Today, the northern section of this path is the Old Harrisburg Road which approximately follows the path of Business Rt. 15. Starting on the York county line on County Line Road, the route passed through York Springs and Heidlersburg and crossed the old Black's Gap Road (Rt. 394) at Schirver's Corner. Continuing southwesterly, the road crossed Rock Creek just southeast of the Josiah Benner farmhouse and coursed in a straight line to a point some 800 feet north of Gettysburg's square—a point just north of the present site of 143 Carlisle Street. From there, the highway followed Carlisle and Baltimore streets to the south. At the foot of Cemetery Hill, the road then angled off to the south-southwest following the present trace of Steinwehr Avenue-Business Rt. 15, and crossed the Mason-Dixon line approximately 1.8 miles south of "Moritz's Tavern."

As Gettysburg continued to grow, we suspect that some of the town citizens desired an alternative route from town to the Gettysburg-Black's Tavern Turnpike and the Carlisle Road. Intriguingly, though the path of the proposed extension was within Gettysburg's borough limits, the county Court of Quarter Sessions, not the borough council, ordained the roadway. Thus by 8 November 1817 a 330-yard northern extension of West (Washington) Street, was laid out. The new street extended from the north side of present West Railroad Street "to intersect with the Black's Tavern Turnpike [Mummasburg Road] at or near the partition . . . between the lots of William McClellan and Adam Swope,"<sup>47</sup> a point just



north of the present junction of North Washington and West Stevens Streets.

Three years later, during the fall of 1820, sundry persons petitioned the court for a road "leading from the [south] end of West street near McConaughy's [United Presbyterian] church . . . to the Emmitsburg road near the house of Matthew Dobbin."<sup>48</sup> This roadway is the present trace of Washington Street south from its old terminus at its intersection with West High. Running nearly 440 yards due south from that intersection, the road angled slightly to the east so that it would link up with that section of the Taneytown Road were it angled off to the south from the Emmitsburg Road.

After the extension of South Washington from West High to the junction of the Taneytown and Emmitsburg roads was laid out, an entrepreneur, Thomas J. Cooper, purchased some twelve acres of land at a sheriff's sale. By the end of 1828 he had divided the majority of the acreage into twelve buildings lots which became known as "Cooper's Addition" to the borough.<sup>49</sup>

About the time Cooper's Addition was laid out, the state legislature, on 23 April 1829, approved a new state road that was to run

from the borough of Gettysburg, in the county of Adams, through Newville, in the county of Cumberland, . . . to a point at or near the summit of the Conococheague hill, in Perry county. . . .

The Adams county section of the "Newville" or "state" road, laid out in 1830-1831, ran southward from the Cumberland county line "thru the lands of Henry Brame," Bendersville, "Wrightsville [Floradale]," to the courthouse in Gettysburg's square. However, due to several conflicts, a section about 1.5 miles north of town was re-routed.<sup>50</sup>

When completed, the Newville road approximated the following: tracking southeasterly from the Cumberland county line somewhere in the area of present Flick Hill (Forest) and Pine Grove Furnace Roads, the trace then approximated present Wenksville Road through Bendersville to the Bendersville Road's juncture with Rt. 34. From that point, the old road paralleled present Rt. 34 past its juncture with Quaker Valley Road (Wrightsville) through Biglerville to Carlisle Street in Gettysburg. Approximately two years later, on 3 February 1833, that 1,067-yard section of the old Carlisle Road from the gatehouse on the Black's Tavern Turnpike (northeast corner of Mummasburg Road and Broadway) to its intersection with the Newville Road at "Sloan's woods" (vicinity of Falloon's Car Wash) was vacated.<sup>51</sup>



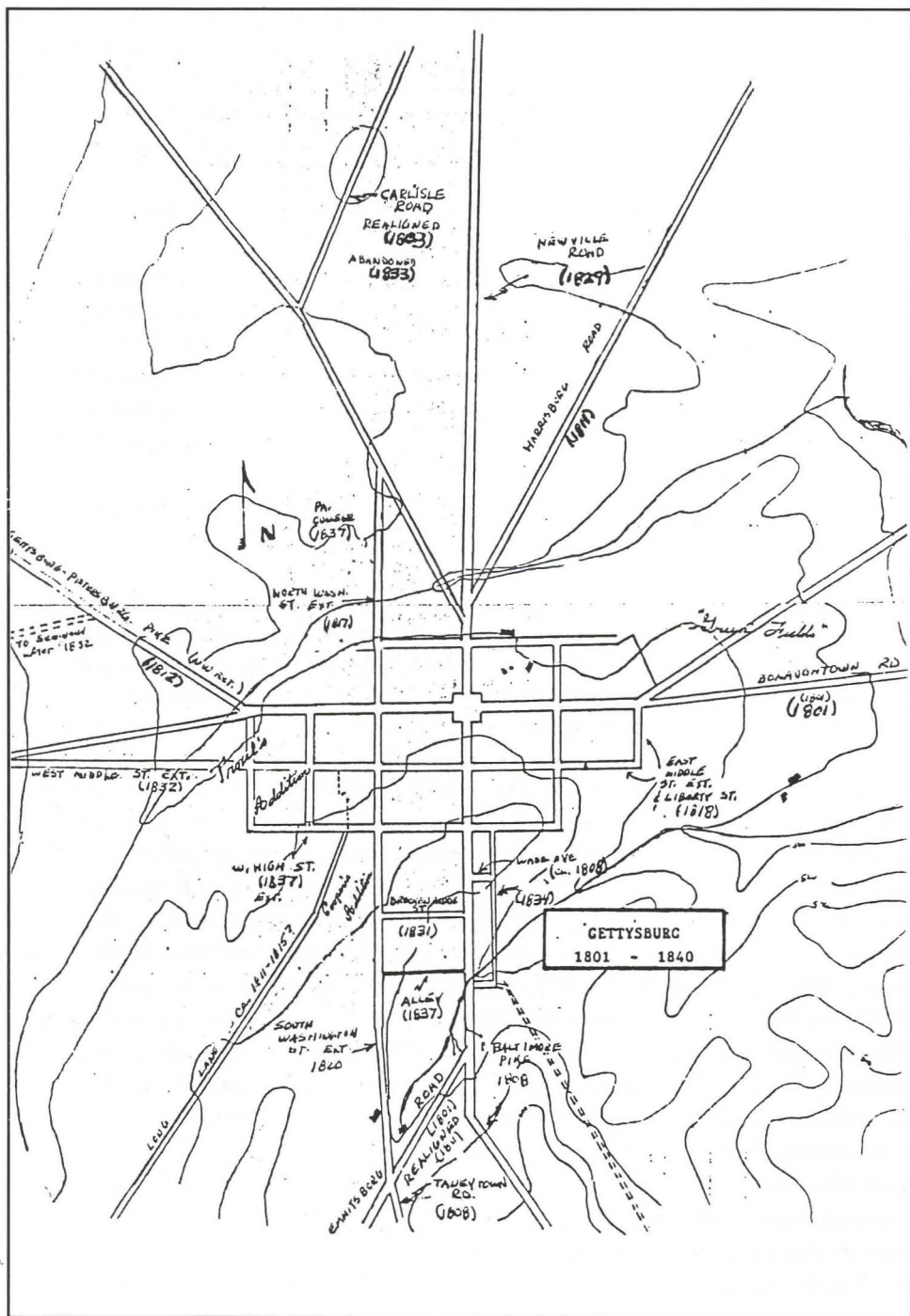


Fig. 5

As the Newville Road was being completed, several new streets and alleys were ordained within the borough limits which opened additional areas for development. They included the first block of Breckenridge Street (1831), and the extension of West Middle Street from its present intersection with Franklin Street to the crest of Seminary Ridge (1832).<sup>52</sup>

### **Antebellum and Wartime Gettysburg, 1836-1863**

Since Gettysburg's establishment as the county seat and borough, the town had experienced a period of phenomenal growth. Professional people and service-related industries flocked to town. According to U.S. Census figures, over a forty-year period commencing in 1810, Gettysburg tripled in size from 710 souls in 1810 to 2,180 in 1850. The largest percentage increase occurred between 1810 and 1820 when the number of inhabitants jumped from 710 people to 1,102—a 54.6% increase.

I. Daniel Rupp in his 1846 gazetteer of south-central Pennsylvania noted that Gettysburg

contains about 300 dwellings, which are generally neat and substantial, though not expensive. . . . The inhabitants are industrious and enterprising, many of whom are devoted to mechanical pursuits, and particularly to the manufacture of carriages of every description . . . principally [sold] in Maryland and Virginia.

Rupp also indicated that by the "1830 [1840?]" census there were at least nine stores, one foundry, two tanneries, one brewery, one pottery, four printing offices, three weekly newspapers, one college (established in 1832), one seminary (1826), and some seven schools.<sup>53</sup> A traveler who visited Gettysburg in 1846, and whose letter was reprinted in the 2 August issue of Gettysburg's *Adams Sentinel*, also observed that Gettysburg was a "good-looking, well built, and considerably sized place" whose residents were "honest, active and intelligent . . . and generally well to do." On average, the town was in "an excellent state of preservation" and contained some "five or six stores, along with a number of smaller ones as well as a number of smiths and various kinds of shops."

As Gettysburg thrived, additional streets and passages were laid out over the next decade. They included a western extension of High Street from present South Washington to West Street (1837); an alley that later was widened to form present South Street (1837); another alley that provided access to additional outlots and the McMillian Farm, today known as Ridge Avenue (1844); and the northern section of North Franklin Street (1846).<sup>54</sup>

By the 1850's, we suspect that numerous inhabitants of southeast Adams and lower York counties desired an improved highway. This roadway was to extend from Gettysburg via Hanover and Shrewsbury in York county to the Buck Tavern in Lancaster county. On 31 July 1854, the Adams County Quarter Sessions Court officially confirmed that section of the highway within its jurisdiction. Although this thoroughfare only slightly altered the Hanover Road between that town and Gettysburg, a significant change was made between Rock Creek and the developed east end of Gettysburg. The Hanover Road followed its old trace down the western slopes of Benner's Hill and crossed Rock Creek adjacent to the north side of the present Rt. 116 bridge. However, from that point, a new road section coursed nearly due west to the intersection of York Street and the York Pike. Thus the last remaining section of the 1747 Black's Gap Road east of Gettysburg was abandoned.<sup>55</sup> With these alterations, the Hanover Road became the tenth and final major highway which completed the road hub of 1863.

During the antebellum period, the northern side of town was not immune from development. At a sheriff's sale held in the summer of 1825, Thaddeus Stevens purchased the remaining 160 acres of the old Samuel Gettys' farmstead. This acreage included lands that today are approximately bounded on the south by Railroad Street, Stevens Run, and the Chambersburg Pike; on the west by Oak Ridge; on the north by the Mummasburg Road and Lincoln Avenue; and on the east by North 4th Street. When the founding fathers of Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College looked for a permanent site for their institution, Stevens sold them lands adjacent to the north extension of North Washington Street west of its juncture with the Mummasburg Road. With the completion of the college's Old Dorm, this, in turn, spurred land speculation and residential development north of Stevens Run.<sup>56</sup>

The decade of the 1850s also heralded the establishment of the Gettysburg Railroad. As the tracks were extended towards town, the North Street corridor between Carlisle and North Stratton Streets had been selected as the railroad right-of-way.

Thus, the impending arrival of the rail line spurred commercial development in the neighborhood. Entrepreneurs probably desired a street to run from the northern terminus of Stratton Street to the Harrisburg Road to siphon off commercial traffic coming down that road to the rail head. On 8 August 1857, three months before the rail line construction reached Gettysburg, the Quarter Sessions Court ordained North Stratton Street extended. Within a three-year period not only were warehouses and a new hotel readied on the three corners of the intersection of Carlisle



and North streets adjacent to the site of the railroad passenger station, but also at the intersection of North and Stratton streets, a gas works and lime kilns were built near the site of the proposed freight station and engine house. Further north along the North Stratton Street extended new construction including structures built for Henry Barbehenn, a gas worker, and those of John Kuhn who established his brickyard just north of Stevens Run.<sup>57</sup> The extension of North Stratton Street was the last substantial road to be laid out in town prior to the battle in 1863.

Although Gettysburg was well on its way to becoming a regional commercial center, the destiny of the town took a radical turn during the summer of 1863. The road system that connected Gettysburg with greater south-central Pennsylvania and western Maryland then served as a magnet for 160,000 troops. Once General Robert E. Lee decided to concentrate his army in the vicinity of Cashtown, nestled near the eastern slopes of Witherspoon's Round Top and Hog Mountain at Blacks' Gap, and Major General George G. Meade contemplated a potential position near Taneytown, Maryland, Gettysburg took on major tactical significance to both sides. The army that controlled Gettysburg would also control the traffic flow in a considerable section of south-central Pennsylvania, and the road hub would serve as an ideal spot to draw together elements of a dispersed army.

Through the morning mist along the banks of Marsh Creek on 1 July 1863, Lieutenant Marcellus Jones of Company E, 8th Illinois Cavalry, picketed with his company on Belmont Ridge straddling the Chambersburg Turnpike, fired at Southern infantry approaching the Marsh Creek bridge. Over the next five days tens of thousands of troops traveled along the Chambersburg Pike. One wonders how much toll money might have been collected if they had been paying customers.

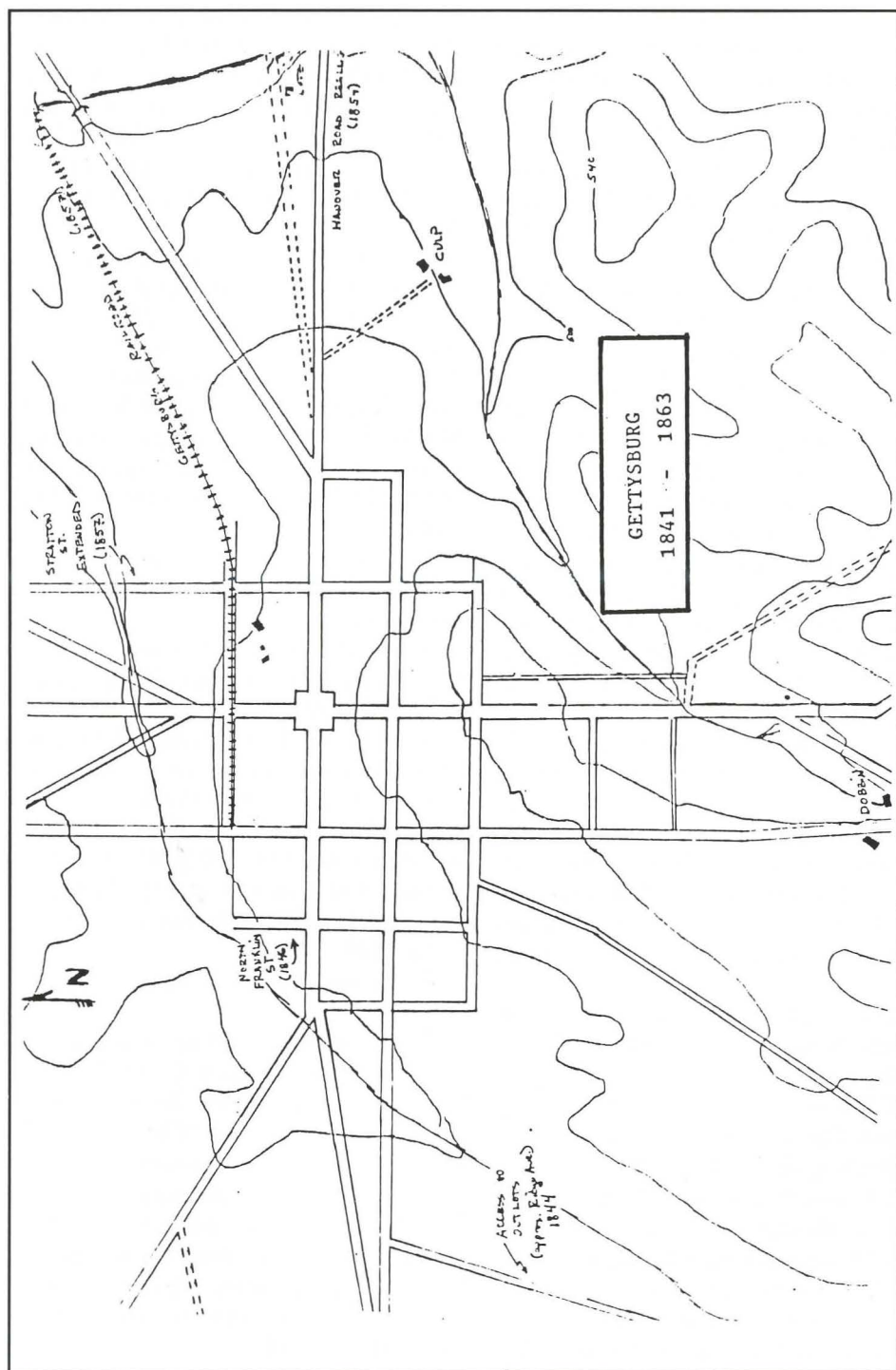


Fig. 6

## Notes

1. The time needed to compile this article would have been tripled if not for the timeless efforts of Arthur Weaner and the late J. William Long. The information they have amassed over the years on the roads to and through Adams county is on file at the society.

2. *History of Adams County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1886), 237; Jerry D. Fairchild, Archaeological Assessment Gettysburg National Military Park: December, 1985, "Corrected" Draft Copy, dated 27 December 1985, 30-35 (in the possession of Mr. Fairchild) referencing W. F. Kinsey, "Determination of Need for the Gettysburg 201 Plan," Gettysburg National Military Park/Eisenhower National Historic Site (GETT/EISE), Unpublished Paper, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, dated 1979 (on file at GETT/EISE Library).

3. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1961), 42.

4. George P. Donehoo, "A Short Sketch of the Indian Trails of Pennsylvania," *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, PA*, 17 (1920), 23.

5. George R. Prowell, *History of York County, Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1907), 1:17.

6. Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, PA, 1992), 7.

7. Prowell, *History York County*, I:70-73. Though John Digges had received a land warrant from Maryland in 1727, a Penn agent land warrant also was issued to Digges for some of the same lands in 1738. Despite the

laying out of a temporary boundary line in 1739, the question of which proprietorship had jurisdiction over Digges' Choice continued and climaxed with Dudley's murder—a Pennsylvania sheriff arrested a suspect, but a sheriff from Maryland disputed the other's authority.

8. Charles H. Glatfelter and Arthur Weaner, *The Manor of Maske: Its History and Individual Properties* (Gettysburg, 1992), 50-55. "A List of Names of Such Persons as Settled and made Improvements in the Manor of Maske Before the 18th day of June 1741 ..." signed by James Agnew and Robert McPherson and dated April 6, 1765.

9. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st Series, 1:625 & 635. Samuel Gettys' name was not listed.

10. Cumberland Township Land Drafts, Samuel Gettys (D-84-144 & 145; on file ACHS).

11. Charles H. Glatfelter, Extracts from the Road and Quarter Sessions Dockets, Lancaster and York Counties, Pennsylvania, dated 1974, unpublished manuscript on file ACHS, referencing Lancaster County General Quarter Sessions Dockets, 1 (1729-1742), 140.

12. Bloom, *History of Adams County*, 30.

13. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Lancaster County Court House, Clerk of Courts Office, Road Docket, 2:58, a road from the "Conogochege" through the Gap to Lancaster.

14. *Ibid.*, 2:56. A road through Marsh Creek and Conewago settlements into another road leading from Conogochege to York. "Another road from the Conogochege to York" is the Black's Gap Road.



15. James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (New York, 1976), 133-34.

16. This raw analysis was compiled by using the pertinent information gleaned from Glatfelter, Extracts.

17. Glatfelter, Extracts, York Quarter Sessions Dockets, 9:52. For a road from "Captain Trent's Gap" by a mill on Possum Creek to the southern boundary of the county & "leading to the Patapsco."

18. *Ibid.*, York Quarter Sessions Dockets, 8:16; 9:21, 85, 95, & 117; and York County Court House Archives (YCCHA), County Road Papers, 1769, "Return of the Road From Black's Gap to Adam Booce's."

19. Notes by author regarding lot subdivisions on north side of the first block of York Street, see J. William Long, History of Gettysburg Town Lots, unpublished manuscript, 2 vols. See Lots 83-87.

20. Adams County, Pennsylvania, Adams County Court House, Register/Recorders Office, Deeds, 64/490.

21. Charles H. Glatfelter, compiler, Notes made from York County Court of Common Pleas Dockets dated 1781 to 1791, YCCHA, referencing Book 1781-1783: 71, 94, 97, 109, 113, 122, 240, 336, 370, 375, 392, 393, & 397; Docket 1783-1785: 4, 21, 27, 103, 109, 155, 230, 259, 305, 345, and 415; and Docket 1785-88: 294 & 307.

The author examined the majority of these docket entries (which are now on microfilm at the ACHS). Possibly there were additional law suits against the Gettys family, for there are some pages missing from the docket books. Moreover, caution should be used in assessing the amount of debt: appar-

ently some were assessed in pounds, sterling, and others in paper Continental money which had dropped drastically in value. See also York County Common Pleas Docket 1783-1785: 109. In this report, the notation "Cessit [sic?] six weeks" appears. According to Black's Law Dictionary, "Cessavit per biennoin" is a writ, also called a "cessavit" which enables "a landlord to recover land from his tenant after two years of failure to pay rent or render the prescribed services." In our case, possibly Gettys was six weeks delinquent in repaying some debt to Peter Light, and Light filed the suit, to benefit Henry Weaver. Though the nature of the debt is not known, it may have been assessed in "Continental money," for in the report of another suit that term, *John Jack and Benjamin Reed v. Samuel Gettys and Reynold Ramsey* (Dockets, 1783-1785:103), a notation, "Continental money," appears next to the "Sum. debt" of 1,812 Pounds. Furthermore, the Peter Light case may have been the basis of a land dispute between James Gettys, Samuel's son, and Weaver in 1798 which was not resolved until 1812.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Cumberland Township Land Drafts, 116 acres to James Gettys, surveyed 4 August 1785 by John Forsythe, D. S., ACHS; York County Common Pleas Dockets, 1785-1788:191; York County Records Office, Deeds: 2M:505; and Adams County Deeds: E:253.

24. Unrecorded Deed, James Gettys to Michael Hoke, dated 30 November 1787, for Lot #87, in the possession of Angela Eckert, R.D. #8, Gettysburg. This indenture included the statement that quitrents were to date from 10

January 1786. Logically, the town must have been laid out between that date and the date of the sheriff's sale in April 1785.

25. See tracing of John Forsythe's Plan for the Town of Gettysburg, n. d. (but probably ca. 1785), traced by S. Miley Miller, 11 February 1920 (copy on file at ACHS). Also see *1886 History of Adams County*, 182. According to the writer, "An old plot of the town, on parchment," had been found "in Harrisburg," allegedly traced out by John Forsythe, deputy surveyor, the gentleman who surveyed Gettys' town tract in August, 1785. Recently, the ACHS acquired either the above-referenced parchment town plan or an original copy thereof.

26. See Gettysburg Historic Building Survey Committee, Historic Resource Survey Form GETT/HBSC-143-88 (on file ACHS), specifically Adams County Deeds, WW/230.

27. Pennsylvania Septennial Census, York County 1786 & 1793, and Adams County, 1800 (on microfilm at ACHS). Additional research and statistical analysis is required, however, to decipher whether any of the taxable inhabitants were counted in more than one township, migrated between townships, were youths reaching adulthood, or new settlers entering the area. Also see J. William Long, Taxable Inhabitants of Cumberland Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania, unpublished manuscript, dated 1975 (on file at ACHS).

28. *1886 History of Adams County*, 36-37; Prowell, *History of York County*, 478 & 574; and author's conversation with Glatfelter at ACHS, December 1989.

29. *1886 History of Adams County*,

37 & 41; Adams County Deeds, A:66.

30. Adams County Deeds, A:255; James T. Mitchell, J. Willis Martin & Hamilton L. Carson, compilers, *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, 1806-1809*, 125; and Bloom; *History of Adams County*, 70.

31. Glatfelter, Extracts, York County Quarter Sessions Dockets, 16:98 & 99. Indeed, road construction appeared to be a priority after the formation of Adams county. For example, for a three-month period in 1800, ten road petitions were filed. See Quarter Sessions Docket (the June and August terms), at the ACCH, Clerk of Courts Office.

32. *Ibid.*, York County Quarter Sessions Dockets, 16:138-140.

33. *Ibid.* York County Quarter Sessions Dockets, 16:179.

34. Adams County, Clerk of Courts Office, Quarter Sessions Dockets, A:184.

35. See Adams County Deeds, H:213 & 215. To date, no land draft has been found in the records of the Adams County Courthouse which precisely defines the bounds of Troxell's Addition. However, based on existing deed records, the tract had been laid out into lots, and it abutted Gettys' town lots west and immediately south of the northeast corner of the intersection of present South Franklin and West Middle Streets. Moreover, road petitions in Quarter Session Dockets imply that Troxell laid out at least two streets in his addition, one of them being present West Street. Also see Arthur Weaner, Monograph and Land Draft of Greenfields, Gettysburg, PA, in Gettysburg 105: "Greenfields" file, ACHS.

36. See Charles H. Glatfelter and



Arthur Weaner, *The Manor of Maske Monographs*, unpublished data on file ACHS; see MM-73. See photocopies of land drafts found in the Adams County Prothonotary's Office.

37. Long, Town Lot Histories, Lots 211 through 216, and 242-243 and Deed WW:230 (the highest numbered Gettys lot seems to have been located at the southwest corner of the Mummasburg Road and Carlisle Street, which, in 1860, was referred to as Lot #252) and Adams County Court House, Clerk of Courts Office, Quarter Sessions, Common Pleas, and Orphans Court Dockets (June 1800), Petition to Re-align the Baltimore Road; and Quarter Sessions Dockets, A:47, Confirmation.

38. Quarter Sessions Dockets, A:63; and Adams County Land Drafts: Gettysburg-Office Use Only, see "Land Draft of the Area about the Crossing on Rock Creek of the Hanover Road." The diagram illustrates the location of the old road bed, its crossing, and the Hanover Road's present trace.

39. Quarter Sessions Dockets, D:214.

40. Quarter Sessions Dockets, A:106-107.

41. Quarter Sessions Dockets, B:26.

42. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania (1806-1809)*, 525.

43. *Ibid.*, 1137.

44. *Laws of Pennsylvania (1810-11)*, 21-22 & 68; *Laws of Pennsylvania, (1812-13)*, 185; and Quarter Sessions Dockets, C:21.

45. *Laws of Pennsylvania (1811-12)*, 232-235; *Laws of Pennsylvania (1814-1815)*, 120-122.

46. Quarter Sessions Dockets, B:171.

47. Quarter Sessions Dockets,

C:116.

48. *Ibid.*, 288.

49. Land Drafts: Gettysburg, Thomas J. Cooper, survey dated December 1828; and Historic Resource Survey Forms, GETT/HBSC-127-89; -171-89; -180-89; -205-89; -206-89; and -207-89 for pertinent South Washington Street properties located in Cooper's Addition.

50. For authorization for the Newville Road, see *Laws of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania (1828-1829)*, 326-327. For courses and distances, see Road and Bridge Papers: Diagram of [Newville] Road Filed April Court 1830 (ACHS).

51. Quarter Sessions Dockets, D:8.

52. *Ibid.*, 229 & 316.

53. I. Daniel Rupp, *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams and Perry Counties* (Lancaster, PA, 1846), 527.

54. Quarter Sessions Dockets, E:165 & 178, F:139 & 191; Gettysburg Compiler 5/01/1894; Adams County Land Drafts: Cumberland township (See Alexander Dobbin's outlots draft, n.d., photographic copy on file ACHS); and GETT/HBSC-131-88; and Quarter Sessions Docket Book, F:191.

55. Adams County Court House, Clerk of Courts Office, Adams County Road Dockets, A:70.

56. See pertinent Historic Resource Survey Forms: GETT/HBSC-101-87, -121-89, -122-89, -123-89, -133-88; -140-88, -177-89, -178-89, -179-89, -183-89, -191-89, -192-89, -193-89, -194-89, -195-89, -196-89, -197-89, -198-89, -199-89, -219-89, -221-89, and -233-89; and Charles H. Glatfelter, *A Salutory Influence: Gettysburg College 1832-1985* (Gettysburg, PA, 1987), I-58-59.

57. See "Improvement" columns in the following issues of the Gettysburg



*Compiler:* 11/16/1857, 12/7/1857, 3/29/  
1858, 5/17/1858, 5/16/1859, and 8/29/  
1859; Road Dockets, A:130; and GETT/  
HBSC-122-89 & -123-89.

# Lavinia Dock: Adams County Suffragette

by Mary Lou Schwartz

The fiftieth anniversary in 1995 of the passing of the twentieth amendment granting women the right to vote has come and gone. In the aftermath of the celebrations held to commemorate this event, it is fitting to remember an Adams county resident who figured prominently in the most militant phase of the suffrage campaign—Lavinia Lloyd Dock.

Lavinia Dock was born February 26, 1858, the second child of Gilliard and Lavinia Lloyd Bombaugh Dock. Gilliard, who had attended Gettysburg College, was a well-to-do engineer and machinist. Both parents were liberal in their views. Lavinia said that “Father had some whimsical masculine prejudices, but Mother was broad on all subjects and very tolerant and charitable towards persons.”<sup>1</sup> Although the family, eventually numbering five daughters and one son, grew up in this parental atmosphere that encouraged enlightened thinking, nothing in Lavinia’s privileged life gave any hint of the distinguished if unusual career that she would make for herself.



Nurses of the New York Settlement House about 1900: Standing left to right: Jane Hitchcock, Sue Foote, Jeanne Travis. Second Row, seated: Mary Magoun Brown, Lavinia Dock, Lillian D. Wald, Ysabella Waters, Henrietta Van Cleft. In front: “Little Sammy” Brofsky and “Florrie” Long.

In 1884, at age twenty six, Lavinia read an article in *Century* magazine about the Bellevue Hospital Nursing School in New York City. She decided to become a registered nurse. At the time she made this decision, despite the respected example of Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton, nursing was not held in great esteem. In fact, an acquaintance of the family, when Lavinia entered nursing school, remarked: "But I thought the Dock girls were ladies."<sup>2</sup> In 1884 ladies did not seek employment. In her affluent home at 1427 North Front Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, no financial need forced her into a career, but off to Bellevue she went.

After graduation, Dock worked as a visiting nurse among the poor, working for a charitable society in Norwich, Connecticut, and for the Mission and Tract Society in New York City. In 1888, she went to Jacksonville, Florida to help in the yellow fever outbreak, and in 1889 she served with Clara Barton at the Johnstown flood in Pennsylvania. (Undoubtedly because of this and later community nursing experiences, she was asked in 1895 to formulate the rules for visiting nurses in Harrisburg, which were in force for years.)

In 1890 Lavinia returned to Bellevue as Night Supervisor. It was at this time that she began what was to become a very respected and remunerative literary career. She realized that there was a need for a book about medicine for nurses. With advice from her physician brother, she wrote *Materia Medica for Nurses*. The Putnam publishing house would not print her book without a guaranteed advance, so her father financed the first edition. This book was an immediate success. It became a standard text for nursing schools and was reprinted and revised through the 1930s.

Her four-volume *History of Nursing*, 1907-1912, also became a classic text for nursing schools. Adelaide Nutting, her student at Hopkins, assisted with volumes 1 and 2. In 1920, Dock published *A Short History of Nursing* with Isabelle Stewart. This book was given for many years at Bellevue graduation to the student with the highest scholastic standing. Also from this period came *Hygiene And Morality* in 1901. This was a nurses' manual outlining the medical, social and legal aspects of venereal disease. In this book, Dock, always fearless and advanced beyond her associates, called for the abolition of the double standard of morality, demanded self-control by men . . . and argued for women's suffrage. As an early and almost lone crusader against venereal disease, she became one of the earliest writers to bring this forbidden subject out into the open. The *History of Red Cross Nursing* in 1922 was her last book.

Her first known magazine article appeared in the first issue of the



*American Journal of Nursing* in 1900. (She also functioned as editor of the magazine's foreign department). Although she wrote on many areas of nursing, her favorite themes stressed the needs for accredited registration, and the dignity and importance of the profession, independent of doctors.

In 1880, Dock left Bellevue to become the Assistant Superintendent of Nurses at the new Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland. She established such a lasting record of superb quality of instruction, remembered through the years, that in 1955 Hopkins named a chemistry laboratory in her honor, stating that "in no small way its graduates pay tribute to Lavinia Dock, one of the first members of its brilliant faculty."<sup>3</sup>

Dock was invited to lecture at an international conference on hospitals organized by Hopkins doctor in Chicago in 1893 in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition. Her paper, "The Relation of Training Schools to Hospitals," a favorite subject of hers, approved independent schools.<sup>4</sup> She was never totally convinced that student nurses should do the routine hospital nursing typical of the hospital-training school. She was concerned with the balance between the values of practical experience and possible exploitation.

Lavinia remained in Chicago as Superintendent of the Illinois Training School at Cook County Hospital. This was her last supervisory position because she felt that she was a poor supervisor, maintaining that she had no skill in personal relations.

Never financially deprived, Dock traveled to Europe frequently. On July 1, 1899, in England, she became the secretary of the International Council of Nurses, a position she held until 1922. The *American Journal of Nursing*, August 1933, printed this testimonial of her importance to the Council: "To her rare personality, unceasing work, literary ability, and unique gifts the development of the Council is largely due."<sup>5</sup> In America, she was a founder of the American Nurses Association and of a Superintendent of Nurses group.

In 1896 Lavinia made a move which undoubtedly changed her thinking and her life. She moved to New York City to work with Lillian Wald at the Henry Street Settlement House at 265 Henry Street which had been established by Wald to administer to the lower East Side. Dock stayed at Henry Street for twenty years. "It was at Henry Street that I really learned to think," she later said.

From her experiences working with the poor, Lavinia became influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin's theories of social evolution through mutual aid and cooperation. She became increasingly active in seeking

to improve the working conditions of women and helped to organize a women's local of the United Garment Workers of America. In 1909 she picketed in a shirtwaist factory strike. As a founder of the American Nurses Association, she tried to interest this group in working women and their conditions in factories, but the association remained too conservative and gave her little help.

Lavinia proved herself so energetic and committed in these efforts that the well-known anarchist and Russian immigrant Emma Goldman praised her work: "Miss Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock . . . were among the first American women I met who felt an interest in the economic condition of the masses. They were genuinely concerned with the people of the East Side. My contact with them . . . brought me close to new American types, men and women of ideals, capable of fine, generous deeds . . . they . . . had come from wealthy homes and had completely consecrated themselves to what they considered a great cause."<sup>7</sup>

In addition to her activities at Henry Street, Dock also lectured at the Teachers College of Columbia University, where a post-graduate course for nurses had been established.

Soon, however, Lavinia would be leaving Henry Street to take part in the culminating events in the great campaign for suffrage. Ever since the 1848 Seneca Falls Conference in New York State, women had been attempting, always politely as ladies should, to get the legal vote. In the early twentieth century the main suffrage group was the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Dissatisfied with NAWSA's lack of progress, the Congressional Union For Women Suffrage was formed in 1913 by a group of dissidents led by Alice Paul. By 1917, it was known as the National Women's Party.

This new party supported the Susan B. Anthony amendment which provided that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The only platform of this newly formed Women's Party was suffrage. The outstanding qualities of this new group were that although small in number, the members were well educated; they were wealthy; they had influential friends; and they were young (Lavinia would become one of the oldest members of the group). They were also totally committed to a militant approach to getting the vote. In this respect they may have been influenced by the belligerent tactics of the English suffragettes. (The Americans chose to be referred to as *suffragists*.)

Fortunately, events were changing the mores of the country. As World War I continued, women were proving that they could handle a variety of jobs and situations left vacant by men in the armed forces. As Carrie



Chapman Catt said, "The greatest thing that came out of the War was the emancipation of women, for which no man fought."

As early as 1896, Lavinia had shown interest in suffrage when she tried to vote in a New York City election. She was arrested and refused to pay a fine. Police Commissioner Teddy Roosevelt would not jail her. By 1912, Lavinia was fully committed to the suffrage movement. In that year, Rosalie Jones conceived the idea of "suffrage hikes." She decided to organize a hike from New York City to Albany to present a suffrage petition Governor William Sulzer. About two hundred women began the march, but only five completed it—Miss Jones, Ida Craft, Katherine Stiles, Sybil Wiber and . . . Lavinia Dock. The result of this over 170-mile march, from December 16 to December 28, was publicity for the movement but nothing else.

Dock's next known suffrage activity involved working for the 1913 New York City suffrage parade. She organized the East Side Women, who paraded carrying banners that asked for the vote in ten languages. It is not known if Lavinia marched in the 1913 suffrage parade in D.C., where Alice Paul had decided to concentrate the new party's suffrage activity. Definitely Lavinia joined them later after she resigned from Henry Street in 1915. She had become too militant for Wald, who was sympathetic to suffrage but never active. A Wald biographer says that Wald "left that to fierce, warm-hearted little Lavinia L. Dock, brilliant graduate of Bellevue, one of the early family members on Henry Street."<sup>8</sup>

Many women's groups appealed in person to President Woodrow Wilson for suffrage. His consistent answer was that it was a state decision. His unchanging position convinced Paul that more overt activities were needed. She therefore decided to picket the White House, placing women holding suffrage banners on the sidewalk. Lavinia became one of the first of these stalwarts.

Since the Clayton Act legalized the right to picket, the women were not breaking a law. All that they did was stand on the pavement at the White House gate. On January 10, 1917, the first picketing began with Lavinia present as one of the oldest. The pickets did not appear on Sundays, but on other days regardless of the weather, they stood silently with their banners. Incredibly, the pickets had to endure a great deal of oral and sometimes even physical abuse from bystanders—mostly men. At least, on June 22, 1917, the police began arrests for "Obstructing the highway." The unfairness of this charge was obvious.

Lavinia Dock was arrested three times in 1917, serving jail terms on two occasions. On June 27, she spent three days in jail for refusing to pay a fine of \$25.00. Then on August 16, she and five others were sen-



tenced to Occuquan workhouse in Virginia for 30 days. Great publicity resulted, especially in agitation for their release. Great publicity also exposed the abominable conditions in the prison and the cruel and inhuman treatment the pickets endured.

The Gettysburg *Star & Sentinel* published several articles of which the following are excerpts: "Saturday, August 25, 1917 . . . Lavinia Dock near Graeffenburg, who has for some months been among the crowd of suffragists pickets at the White House, was one of the six who were given a 30 day workhouse sentence." "Saturday, September 6, 1917, Mira Lloyd Dock (elder sister of Lavinia) visited there and returned in a mood to condemn the habitually and unsanitary and other conditions in the place of confinement."

Lavinia's writings about her experience show her continued interest in helping others. Working to improve conditions in the prisons, she wrote: "the sanitation of the place . . . is calculated permanently to impair the health of the inmates." She refers to the common drinking cup, the bucket used for sanitation, the weekly shower with one piece of soap shared by all and no soap the rest of the week, the inedible food often wormy or rotten. Dock states that as short terms, the pickets were fearless in complaints hoping to improve or to draw attention to the prison situation for those in longer incarceration. "The other unfortunate inmates had not our fearlessness in criticism, and as they must eat the prison food or starve, for their sakes, we complained as loudly and as often as possible." It would seem the pickets continued their militancy. Dock also writes about this experience: "The disgrace, the shame of an American administration it is and will remain that American women are first compelled to plead and petition for enfranchisement, and then are sent to jail and to the endurance of conditions such as are here set forth for seeking their rights to citizenship." Hopefully, the president and the Congress read her words.

Lavinia always thought young! At the age of 59, in the middle of the eventful year of 1917, she wrote the following for the *Suffragist*. It epitomizes her belief in the young:

#### "The Young Are At the Gates"

If anyone says to me: "Why the picketing for Suffrage? I should say in reply, "Why the fearless spirit of youth? Why does it exist and make itself manifest?"

Is it not really that our whole social world would be likely to harden and toughen into a dreary mass of conventional negations and forbidding—into hopeless layers of conformity and caste, did

not the irrepressible energy and animation of youth, when joined to the clear-eyed sham-hating intelligence of the young, break up the dull masses and set a new pace for laggards to follow?

What is the potent spirit of youth? Is it not the spirit of revolt, of rebellion against senseless and useless and deadening things? Most of all, against injustice, which is of all stupid things the stupidest?

Such thoughts come to one in looking over the field of the Suffrage campaign and watching the pickets at the White House and at the Capitol, where sit the men who complacently enjoy the rights they deny to the women at their gates. Surely, nothing but the creeping paralysis of mental old age can account for the phenomenon of American men, lawmakers, officials, administrators, and guardians of the peace, who can see nothing in the intrepid young pickets with their banners, asking for bare justice but common obstructors of traffic, nagger-nuisances that are to be abolished by passing stupid laws forbidding and repressing to add to the old junk heap of laws which forbid and repress? Can it be possible that any brain cells not totally crystallized could imagine that giving a stone instead of bread would answer conclusively the demands of the women who, because they are young, fearless, eager, and rebellious, are fighting and winning a cause for all women—even for those who are timid, conventional, and inert?

A fatal error—a losing fight. The old stiff minds must give way. The old selfish minds must go. Obstructive reactionaries must move on. The young are at the gates!

(June 30, 1917, *The Suffragist*)

After her imprisonment, Lavinia retired to the family home near Caledonia, which the eldest Dock sister Mira had built in 1913. She continued writing for nursing periodicals. The combination of her pacifist World War I posture and her continuing advanced thinking became unpopular with her always conservative colleagues, so she had fewer articles published. An example of her forward thinking was shown in articles written in 1921 in support of Margaret Sanger for “Teaching poor working women what all well-to-do women may learn from reliable authority if they wish it.”<sup>9</sup>

Dock continued her interest in the working woman and job opportunities. In 1926, she wrote “Labor laws for women only are vertical, and like a wall, may be so built as to shut out as many as they shut in. The Woman’s Party supported E R A. It also hardened its resistance to sex-based or, as it was often called, ‘protective’ labor regulations for women.

Its spokeswomen argued that these laws treated women as invalids and set up the possibility for limiting their economic opportunity."<sup>10</sup> Familiar sounds?

The other Dock sisters were Episcopalians, but Lavinia had no church affiliation. Lavinia said frequently that "there should be less devotion to an unseen power and more effort to follow the example and teaching of Jesus." Mary Roberts in the *American Journal of Nursing* says that "In her devotion to others and in her efforts to make conditions better, she has shown her adherence to the Christian ethics."<sup>11</sup>

In looking back over her life, Lavinia Dock said that she had derived her greatest satisfaction from going to jail for suffrage and collaborating with Miss Nutting in the preparation for *History of Nursing*. She was once described as "Mildly socialistic, ardently pacifist, and a militant suffragist."<sup>12</sup> Certainly, she helped frame the institution of professional nursing, and by writing its history, did much to establish its identity.

Lavinia died April 18, 1956, from pneumonia following a hip fracture. During her long life, which spanned nearly a century, she had traveled a far path from the pampered, wealthy girl of the Victorian era to the socially conscious, forthright author-suffragist of the twentieth century.



## Notes

1. Mary M. Roberts, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock – Nurse. Feminist, Internationalist," *The American Journal of Nursing*, 56 (1956), 176.
2. Roberts, p. 176.
3. *The Gettysburg Times*, 18 April 1956.
4. Lavinia L. Dock, "The Relation of Training Schools To Hospitals," *Hospitals, Dispensaries and Nursing* (Baltimore, 1894).
5. "The International Council of Nurses," *The American Journal of Nursing*, 33 (1933), 778.
6. Roberts, p. 176.
7. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), 1:160.
8. Beryl Williams Epstein, *Lillian Wald—Angel of Henry Street* (New York, 1949), p. 185.
9. Alice K. Marshall "Little Doc—Architect of Modern Nursing," *Pennsylvania Heritage*, 10 (Spring, 1984), 10.
10. Lynn Dumenil *The Modern Temper* (New York, 1995), p. 104.
11. Roberts, p. 176.
12. Marshall, p. 8.



