Thomas Barton (1730-1780) Victim of the Revolution

by Theodore W. Jeffries

Until the revolution Thomas Barton was one of the leading figures of the colonies' intellectual scene. He was regarded as the "most learned member" of the American Philosophical society.[1] By the revolution he was plunged to the depths of despair, for he was faced by, what he regarded, as the choice between God and country; and he loved both.

Thomas Barton was born in Carvickmacross, County Monaghan, Ireland in 1730, graduated from Trinity College, Dublin and came to Pennsylvania in 1751. Arriving at Norriton as schoolmaster, he made the acquaintance of David Rittenhouse and his sister, Esther. David, a clockmaker, was two years younger than Barton. They formed a lifelong friendship. Barton had wide interests, particularly in the sciences and especially the study of natural history.[2] In 1752 he was hired as an assistant tutor in the Academy of Philadelphia where he worked for two years. He sent books and encouragement to David Rittenhouse and his regards to Esther. In Philadelphia he met William Smith (1727-1793) who in 1754 took charge of the Academy. This was one of the friendships he made which was later to assist fate in working its will with his son Benjamin (named Smith after William).

While teaching, Thomas socialized with Anglicans at York, Huntington (now York Springs) and Carlisle. There may have been more than religion at work, for he married Esther at Swede's Church, Philadelphia December 8, 1753.[3]

Their first child, William was born April 11, 1754, no doubt from bundling, but in Summer?!

On April 17, unknown at the time to Barton, hostilities began between the French and British (The French and Indian War or Seven Years' War). The Pennsylvanians and Virginians had begun a westward movement into the Ohio Valley which was part of the French trading area. Just two years previously the French attacked the trading

post at Pickawillany and killed its defenders. George Washington (aged 21) had been sent by Lt. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia with 150 men to occupy a post at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers in February 1754, but the French got there first so that in May he built Fort Necessity at Great Meadows.

In this same year Thomas Barton resigned from the Academy of Philadelphia and armed with testimonial letters from the professors of the college, the clergy of the Province of Pennsylvania together with an earnest petition from the Anglicans of Huntington, Pennsylvania that he be appointed their missionary, went to England for his ordination.[4]

Barton could not help but worry as he had left his wife and newborn child behind as both England and France had enlisted the aid of various Indian tribes to act in concert with the troops. While in general the civilian population were in no great danger from regular troops , the Indians presented a different danger. They feared the English encroachment on their lands and did not always act according to the white man's standard for conducting wars.

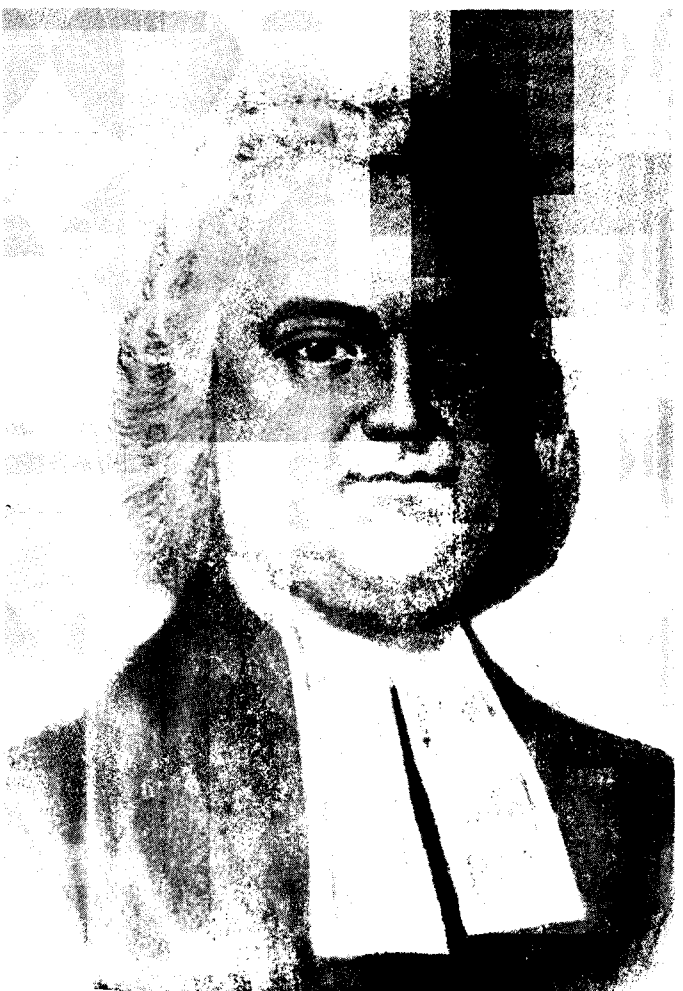
While in England he was well received and treated kindly by the Hon. Thomas Penn, one of the proprietors of the colony. This acquaintance gave Barton a substantial increase in his allowance as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G. hereafter). In return he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the interests of the proprietories and further showed his gratitude by sending them periodically fossils and other "natural productions" for their enjoyment and entertainment.[5] Thomas Penn was a grasping, stubborn and determined man and was the principal proprietor after 1740.

Barton arrived in Philadelphia about April 10, 1755 bringing a parcel of books for Rittenhouse, just four days before General Edward Braddock landed in Virginia as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Both were faced with transportation problems.

In order to place these men, and others, within a stage setting, a brief description of the environment seems in order.

By 1755 it is estimated that of the total European population of 220,000, about 100,000, or almost one-half, were non-English. Franklin estimated that the makeup of the population was about one-third English Quakers, one-third Germans and one-third a mixture but primarily Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The English, who were largely Quakers and Anglicans, and by occupation bankers and merchants, settled chiefly in Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks County. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were farmers and settled in York and Cumberland Counties. The Germans, made up of Lutheran and Reformed as well as a number of pietistic sects, such as the Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites and Dunkers, were farmers and craftmen.[6] In addition to this rather mixed European population, there were about 4,000 slaves by 1730.

Geographically "... Pennsylvania forms a rectangle upon which three small triangles have been superimposed, two of them in the east, outlining the course of the Delaware River, and the third in the northwest, known as the Erie Triangle. The average length of the state from east to west is 285 miles, and its average breadth from north to south is 156 miles. It occupies an area of 45,045 square miles lying approximately between the 40th and the 42nd parallels of north latitude, and the 74th and the 81st lines of west longitude. It had four outlets by water; to the Atlantic Ocean through Delaware Bay; to the Chesapeake Bay via the Susquehanna River; to the Great Lakes and the Gulf of St. Lawrence through Lake Erie; and to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Ohio Mississippi Rivers." [7]



Rev. Thomas Barton, M.A.
Rector St. James Parish 1759 to 1778.

The rivers were neither sluggish nor rushing but flowed rapidly, which provided an easier access to the interior. The Indian paths and game trails formed a basis for the early roads. Its resources included a fertile soil underlaying with coal, iron ore, petroleum, limestone and clay, as well as heavy woods which were primarily hardwoods and conifers. Running diagonally across the state are the Appalachian Mountains. In the southeast are a low range known as the Blue Mountains. In the west the main ridges of the Appalachians, known as the Allegheny Mountains, form a parallel barrier fifty miles wide and constitute the water shed which separates the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean and those which flow into the Gulf of Mexico.[8]

Barton's immediate travels did not require him to go through the mountains. He wrote to the people of Huntington and told them that he had arrived and they immediately sent a number of wagons to move his effects. It was about the end of May when he reached his new station at Sulphur Springs near Carlisle.[9]

On the other hand Braddock's task was more difficult. He had to move 1,400 British regulars, 450 colonial troops, under the command of Lt. Col. Washington, and a number of Indians with supplies to the region of what is now Ohio. Franklin was commissioned to procure 150 wagons and 1,500 pack-horses. Within a few weeks all the wagons, and 250 pack-horses were obtained in Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties. Filled with provisions, they were to meet the troops on Willis' Creek, Fort Cumberland.[10]

Meanwhile, Thomas Barton began to organize his ministry of the region. He first checked the condition and numbers of the three congregations of York, Huntington and Carlisle and then organized Wardens and Vestrymen in each. The Vestries met with Barton and determined that he should officiate three Sundays in six at Huntington, two at Carlisle, and one at York. When he discovered that there were a large number of Anglicans in Shippensburg, and some four or five other settlements nearby, he determined to visit each of those places four times a year, to prepare them for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to baptize their children.[11]

In addition to the Anglicans he ministered to, Barton was concerned over the plight of the Indians, as there were some who lived nearby. He heard that some had come to Carlisle from the Ohio to trade their fur and deer-skin, and he went to them in an attempt to obtain their good will and to help them. He invited those who knew some English to church and they came and seemed interested. They returned with some of their brethren to shake hands with him and gave him hope of being able to convert them. The Moravians were having success at this, and what success Barton might have had is rather conjecture as other events caused Barton to break off his attempts.[12]

By July 17, 1755, Braddock's forces, which were moving toward Fort Duquesne had reached the Monongahela, and on the ninth day,

some eight miles below the fort, met a mixed force of 900 French and Indians, was surrounded and defeated. (Battle of the Wilderness). Braddock had five horses shot from under him and was fatally wounded with a ball through the arms and lungs. Sixty-four out of eighty-four of his officers and one-half of his privates were killed or wounded. Washington led the remnant in retreat to Fort Cumberland. [13]

The defeat inspired the French and dispirited the British and Colonists. It was more than symbolic to those living on the frontier for it prefaced an era of terror.

The role of the pulpit as an early news medium and a formulator of public opinion perhaps has not been properly explored. Ministers all over the land reacted to the defeat, as soon as the news reached them. Barton delivered a sermon on "Unanimity and Public Spirit" at Carlisle and some other Episcopal Churches in the counties of York and Cumberland soon after General Braddock's defeat. Urged to publish his sermon Barton sent a copy of it to his old friend Reverend Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia (which the Academy had by then become), for his comments. The Sermon together with a letter from Reverend Smith was published by B. Franklin in Philadelphia in 1755. The preface is dated August 25, in Carlisle, and in part states, "... I was animated only with a desire of contributing my best endeavors towards the support of our common Protestant cause, according to the duties of my station, in this time of Public danger."

Reverend Smith's letter is in part critical of Barton's sermon. "I must inform you, then, that I think the subject well chosen, and highly seasonable; but, in your manner of handling it, I believe want of method will be objected, as the parts are not strictly arranged, you have fallen into several repetitions." What sermon does not? Times haven't greatly changed the habits of ministers nor with their critics.

> "I am sensible ... that your appearing warm in these grand concerns will even procure opposition to your ministry in general, as well as objections to this sermon in particular ... you will hear it said — "A minister professing the doctrine of the meek and blessed Jesus, should confine himself to subjects spiritual and eternal. What have the clergy to do with civil and temporal concerns? And as to blowing the trumpet of war, and declaiming against Popery, a subject so long exhausted, — What purpose can it serve but to kindle the flame of Persecution, and banish Christian charity from the habitations of men?' "

Smith argues that the ministry has a larger duty than the administration of the sacraments. "Thus the priesthood rests on the same foundation with Society itself, and takes its rise from the necessity of human offices, which requires some institution for assisting the busy, rousing the indolent, and informing all." He also recognizes one of the chief problems besetting the colonists.

"We are a people, thrown together from various quarters of the world, differing in all things — language, manners, and sentiment. We are blessed with privileges ... [however] Liberty never designs to dwell

but with a prudent, a sensible and a manly people. Our general character is, I fear, too much the reverse ... Add to all this, that an enterprising enemy behind us, is ready to snatch every advantage against us. We are continually advancing ... towards one another in our frontier settlements; and have here no ocean nor wall of brass, to serve between us as an impregnable barrier."

"Now, in such a situation, what can ever unite us among ourselves, or keep us a separate people from our crafty foes, but the consciousness of having separate interests, both civil and religious? It should therefore, be the constant endeavor of the clergy, in all their public addresses, to inspire every bosom with a rational zeal for our holy Protestant faith, and an utter aversion to all sorts of slavery, especially in the present emergency."

"And ... indeed that you should be more than ordinarily alarmed is not to be wondered at; for while we sit as yet safe in our Metropolis, [Philadelphia], you who inhabit the frontiers are in a very dismal situation. Some late accounts from your posts are truly distressing — Murderers [Indians] stealing thro' midnight darkness and polluting the bed of the rest with savage death [The inhuman practice of scalping]! Our poor backsettlers, who after much hardship and toil, had but just begun to taste ease and comfort, daily forced to fly from their habitations, leaving their unreaped harvests to the spoiler; and —what is far more piercing —leaving, some a beloved wife, some an affectionate husband... —leaving them bleeding beneath the unrelenting hand of a merciless barbarian!"

The evils as seen by both Smith and Barton are then two fold. An immediate one from the Indians and a long range one from the Roman Catholic French. Barton states, "Dark and dismal is the cloud that hangs over us! The troops sent for our protection sadly defeated, and forced to retreat behind us into the very heart of the country! We who inhabit the frontiers left an unarmed prey to a savage multitude, who are cruel, and have no mercy."

On the other evil, Barton says,

> "... Instead of calling on the exalted Name of our God and worshipping in Spirit and in Truth, we must bow down to Images, and pay a mock Homage to departed Saints, Angels and Relicks. All Freedom of Debate, Speech and Writing will be taken from us. Examine and prove and profess the Truth we must not. The crafty Heads of the Romish Church know that Error and Delusion cannot stand before the severe Eye of free Enquiry. That Church, therefore, has enjoined an implicit Obedience, and allows of no Toleration. Non-conformity is not, as with us, combated by fair Argument, or an Exclusion from Places seldom of much Profit, often of much Trouble. The Stake, the Fire and the Faggot plead the Cause of Mother Church; or, if any of her stubborn Sons are favoured with a more particular Indulgence, the Gallies or the Dungeon must be their less rigorous Lot!"
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> "But the Loss of our pure reformed Religion is not all. Our Property and our flourishing Trade will of Course become precarious. The Fat of the Earth must go to feed the Drones of it; and the First-Fruits of our Labor to those who are the greatest Enemies of all Labor; — a luxurious Race of Priests, and

Monks, and Inquisitors, and other Tools of a foreign Yoke, sent to hold our Souls and Bodies in miserable Bondage! All the valuable Acquisitions, for which our Fathers toiled and fought, and bled, must be tamely resigned. Our Sovereignty of the Seas will be lost, and our Commerce, if it might then deserve that Name, will be circumscribed and restrained. And as fast as foreign Commodities flow in, our little remaining Wealth will be drained out; till in Time we shall become like Tyre ..." The danger and fear of the Indians, from the people's point of view, was the greater evil.

"...From the following letter, dated Lancaster, December 1st, 1755, addressed to James Hamilton, Esq., we may learn that the inhabitants of the county feared the incursions of the Indians:

"Honored Sir: — I received the favor of yours of the 24th, November, and we are all much pleased by your willingness to contribute to the building of a block-house. The savages who committed the murders in Paxton are now believed to be very numerous, perhaps, one hundred. A number of families, but thirty-five miles from us, are entirely cut off. Farmers are flying from their plantations to Reading. An alarm, last night, about twelve o'clock; we assembled in the square, say, three hundred, but with fifty guns; it was shocking to hear at such a moment, when in expectation of the savages, that we had neither a sufficiency of guns, nor ammuntion. Thanks be to God, the alarm was false. — The block-house will be built on the north side of the north end of Queen street. There will be a wide ditch around it, a small draw bridge; one important use is to place our wives, girls and children within, that they may be in safety. — These are fearful times. God only knows how they will end. I am yours, Edward Shippen."[14]

"On the 14th of December 1755, the savages attacked the house of F. Reichelsderfer, in Albany township, Berks county. R. was in the field and escaped. The Indians murdered his two children, set his buildings on fire, destroyed his grain, and killed his cattle. At Jacob Gerhart's, neighbor of Mr. Reichelsderfer, they killed one man, two women. Six Children, slipped under the bed, one of whom was burned the other escaped.

In March 1756, they burned the house and barn of Barnabas Seitle, and the mill of Peter Conrad, in Berks county, and killed the wife of Balser Neytong, and made captive his son, a lad of eight years of age ..." [15]

Barton wrote to the S. P. G.:

"I repine not ... at my lot in being placed here, but esteem it a happiness since I hope God has enabled me to do some service for our pure Protestant religion in spite of its enemies. I have the pleasure every Sunday to see my people crowding the churches with their muskets on their shoulders, declaring that they will die Protestants and Freedmen, sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves."

In the same letter he reports:

"I have baptized 160 infants and 10 adults." [16]

In response to the Indian attacks, Barton organized his own people for defense against their enemies. He often led marches either by night or day whenever there was an alarm. He too had a family to protect as his second child Esther was born in 1756.[17]

His parishioners were strong supporters. On week days they were ready to respond to the inspiriting call of their parson and to stand

with him in defense of their families, their homes, and their cattle. To be able to make the resistance (and, upon occasion, the attack) the more effective, he kept urging the secretary of the province (the Revd. Richard Peters, D.D.), [also later President Board of Trustees, College of Philadelphia], to send up guns and other necessaries." [18]

In 1758 his second son, David Cradock, was born and Thomas Barton took a more active role in the war. The young men of his mission offered to join the army if Barton would go with them. He led them and offered his services to General Forbes as Chaplain of the troops.[19] (the 60th Royal American Regiment).[20] During this time he made the acquaintance of Washington, Mercer and other army officers. It was from Barton's acquaintance with Washington that Rittenhouse met him and for whom he made a surveyor's compass and later spectacles and a reading glass.[21]

Barton, apparently, was not an ideal leader, at least from the standpoint of General John Armstrong:

> ..."I doubt not parson Barton will write you some very high Charge against me like Sacrilege &c. I have neither time nor inclination to trouble you with a detail of his conduct, only that it is still very extraordinary, for the Publicks and your sake, I have not Open'd his Conduct nor Character to the General — he is at present quiet & I don't trouble my head with him, he won't suffer himself to be called a Chaplan to the Battalion nor Act under the Governors Commission, but has procur'd a kind of Liberty from the General to go on the Expedition a Voluntier." [22]

By 1759 the settlers' confidence was somewhat restored by Sir William Johnson's success at Fort Niagara and General Wolfe's at Quebec. It marked the birth of his son Thomas and a move to Lancaster, where for nearly twenty years he was rector, at St. James which he founded. Lancaster itself was a borough of 600 houses and as Barton commented in a letter to the S.P.G. November 16, 1760, "The County of Lancaster contains upwards of 40,000 souls; of this number not more than 500 can be reckoned as belonging to the Church of England ..."[23] But he also served a wider area dividing his Sunday labours with two other churches, at Carnarvon about 20 miles away and the other at Pequea about the same distance but in a different direction. He also officiated occasionally at New London (35 miles away) and White Clay Creek (60 miles away).[24]

In his letters to the S.P.G. he expresses his gratitude to the proprietories [he was living on the land of Thomas Penn] and to Britain. He also describes the growth of Lancaster, the increase in population and the return of prosperity.[25]

Major building projects and improvements were financed by the use of lotteries. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* contains a number of lottery notices.

> "A $2,135 lottery for erecting the School House for the High Dutch Reformed Congregation at Lancaster ... [is noted as well as] one for ... $565 to

enable the wardens of St. James Church ... to complete the work begun by them." "... A lottery for the building of a bridge over Great Conestoga Creek where the Great Road between Lancaster and Philadelphia crosses it." This lottery recites that the Great trade carried on between the city of Philadelphia and the Boro of Lancaster." ... But as it is altogether carried on by land carriage, every method that can render it more safe and easy ought to be pursued. ... as it is ofttimes impassable and dangerous for a long time..." [27]

There are notices of run-away servants and slaves and for the sale of slaves. Crime too was ever present and on November 4, 1762 "... the Court ... of Lancaster County three persons were convicted of burglary and sentenced to death."

Thus it appears that the lottery was an almost universal means of putting across any project, needing money, which the people were not able to raise the ordinary manner. It would seem that loans were not thought of.[28] While the death penalty did not deter crime, at least the same persons weren't doing it.

When Montreal capitulated, in 1760, he again thought of the possibility of doing missionary work among the Indians. He wrote to the S.P.G. that since, "... by a train of glorious conquests, we have extended our Dominions far into America, and have obliged many barbarous nations who are immersed in the grossest idolatry and without even the knowledge of the God that made them, to become the subjects of Great Britain. [And thus,] Whenever our superiors at home think proper to command us, a number of missionaries will be found who would cheerfully expose themselves to all the dangers and fatigues of so hazardous an attempt." [29] He was awarded an honorary A.M. from the College of Philadelphia.[30]

While waiting a response from the S.P.G., Barton continued his duties with such vigor that his health was greatly impaired. He was already known, both in this country and abroad, as a patron of science and letters, and wrote introductory letters for John Morgan when the latter went to England and Edinburgh to study medicine. [31] His family continued to grow as Julianna Susanna was born in 1761 and another son Matthis in 1762. As the Anglicans were dragging their feet in the missionary field, the Moravians and others were not. One of the problems that they had with the European was that while the Christian words sounded well, they did not seem to be accompanied by Christian acts. Their actions in life were based on a sense of personal values. "A man should be proud of right action ... from which he would derive a feeling of good conscience ..." [34] Indians also had a keen sense of justice. "They readily forgave injury whenever it arose from accident; but when wronged by intent they sought blood revenge. In respect for their elders, consideration of their womenfolk and love for their children, the Indians maintained standards comparable to the Europeans." [35] In the balance of cultural exchange, one cannot be sure who came out ahead. The Indians contributed potatoes, beans, squash, tomatoes, as well as corn which depleted the soil, and tobacco, which has become a primary

killer. The Indians in return received whiskey, smallpox, syphilis, as well as a number of diseases which though mild in the Europeans was catastrophic to the Indians.

A number of religious organizations had set up missionary activities among the Indians, one of the more successful ones, from the Indians' standpoint, was that of the Moravians under Reverend David Zeisberger and Reverend John Heckewelder, both in Pennsylvania and later in the Ohio territory.[36]

The insecurity of the frontier against Indian raids had been shown by the French and Indian Wars. Early attempts to placate the Indians had included the appointment of Sir William Johnson as Indian Commissioner in 1755 and the Treaty of Easton (Oct. 1758) which prohibited settlement west of the Alleghenies. This was reaffirmed by the Proclamation of 1763 but settlement had continued as did increasing friction with the Indians.

The frustrations of the Indians finally broke into open warfare in May of 1763 with Pontiac's rebellion which put an end to Barton's plan of going as a missionary to the Indians, which he had planned for the following year, and caused great consternation to the peaceful Indians and their Moravian missionaries.

In 1763 Rittenhouse and Provost William Smith made surveys to connect Lake Erie by water with the Delaware River to enhance trade to New York and Baltimore, and in 1763 Rittenhouse was hired by Reverend Richard Peters, secretary to the Province of Pennsylvania to calculate and fix boundary points.

> "... On August 4 the Indians are collecting in York County and in East Carlisle. Refugees are fleeing these parts; and are being well taken care of by moneys collected by many church congregations; and that the Quakers and Mennonites were very liberal in this enterprise. They gave large sums of money and hired and paid armed men to go to the defense and to help get in the crops, in the dangerous sections. ..." [37]
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> "... On September 8 a body of 110 men went from Lancaster and other neighborhoods to Great Island in the West Branch of Susquehanna (the frontier), to fight the savages. ..." [38]
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> "... On October 17 near Wyoming nine men and a woman were killed. The woman was roasted and had two large barn door hinges in her hands, put there red hot to torture her. Several of the men had awls thrust into their eyes, and spears, arrows and pitchforks stuck into their bodies by the Indians. ..." [39]
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> "Hostilities were kept up by the Indians, and barbarities committed, calculated to excite the calmest to revenge the wrongs which the inhabitants of Lancaster and the adjacent countries, suffered at the hands of hostile Indians, from 1754 to 1765.

The continuing attacks on the Pennsylvania frontier by maurading bands of Indians (1754-63) irked and outraged the western countries, and they appealed to the Pennsylvania assembly for troops to protect them. The assembly which was largely Quaker controlled and located safely from the frontier, failed to respond. Whereupon a mob from

Paxton and Donegal attacked the Conestoga Indians (Dec. 13-27) in Lancaster County and made no distinction among them as to who was peaceable.

A number of friendly Indians had been placed in jail to protect them and the following letter shows what happened. William Henry describes the event at Lancaster ...

> "There are few if any murders to be compared with the cruel murder committed on the Conestoga Indians in the gaol of Lancaster in 1763, by the Paxton boys, [as they were then called]. From 15 to 20 Indians, as report stated, were placed there for protection. A regiment of Highlanders were at the time quartered at the barracks in the town, and yet these murderers were permitted to break open the doors of the city gaol, and commit the horrid deed. The first notice I had of this affair, was that while at my father's store, near the court house, I saw a number of people running down street towards the gaol, which enticed me and other lads to follow them. At about sixty or eighty yards from the gaol, we met from 25 to 30 men, well mounted on horses, and with rifles, tomahawks, and scalping knives, equipped for murder. I ran into the prison yard, and there, O what a horrid sight presented itself to my view! — Near the back door of the prison, lay an old Indian and his squaw particularly well known and esteemed by the people of the town, on account of his placid and friendly conduct. His name was Will Sock; across him and his squaw lay two children, of about the age of three years, whose heads were split with the tomahawk, and their scalps all taken off. Towards the middle of the gaol yard, along the west side of the wall, lay a stout Indian, whom I particularly noticed to have been shot in the breast, his legs were chopped with the tomahawk, his hands cut off, and finally a rifle ball discharged in his mouth, so that his head was blown to atoms, and the brains were splashed against, and yet hanging to the wall, for three or four feet around. This man's hands and feet had also been chopped off with a tomahawk. In this manner lay the whole of them, men, women, and children, spread about the prison yard: shot—scalped—hacked—and cut to pieces." [41]

The assembly having failed to act for the protection of the frontier ordered the "Paxton Boys" arrested and brought to Philadelphia for trial. The frontiersmen prepared to do battle but were dissuaded by Franklin and issued a formal protest by which they obtained more representation in the legislature.[42]

In the following year (1764) Thomas Barton produced a son, Richard Peters, and an anonymous pamphlet "The Conduct of the Paxton-Men, impartially represented with some remarks on the narrative" in which he defended their action and attacked the failure of the legislature to protect the frontier.

> "What need I adduce any further influences than these: If killing the Indians in Lancaster County, was a Violation of the Laws of Faith and Hospitality, I must then declare it, as my Opinion, that every Nation under Heaven, have been guilty of this Crime in a much higher Degree than the Paxton People, and with less Provocation. ..." [43]
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> "... The Miseries of the back Inhabitants are really beyond the Power of Description — Nor are the dreadful Barbarities committed upon such of our unhappy Brethren as fell into the Paws of the Enemy, to be equalled in all the Volumes of History. Figure to yourself some Thousand of Families, seated in Safe and Plenty, enjoying every Necessary of Life, which hard Labour and In-

dustry had procured for them; without a Moment's Warning, and in the Shades of Night, driven from their Habitations; and obliged to flee through a lonely tractless Wilderness, without so much as knowing whither they directed their trembling Steps! —When the Morning arrives — O what a Scene does it discover! — The Husband lamenting his murdered faithful Wife! — The Wife tearing her Hair in all the Horror of Distress, shrieking, and calling upon her breathless Husband to hasten to her Relief! — Here lies the provident Father welt-ring in his own Blood, his Scalp torn off, his Body ript up, his Bowels dragg'd out, and his private Parts fluffed into his Mouth! — There the virtuous tender Mother lies stretched on her Bed, dreadfully mangled, with her new-born Infant scalped and placed under her Head for a Pillow, and a stake drove into her — Modesty forbids me to name it — On this side lie the Bodies of a numerous Family, half devoured by Wolves and Swine — On that Side lie the mangled Limbs of Men, Women, Children and Brute Beasts, promiscuously scattered upon the Earth, scarce to be distinguished from one another! — Or perhaps the Bodies of their unhappy People, with their Horses, their Cattle, their Houses and their Grain, all burnt to Ashes in one general Flame!"[44]

"David Rittenhouse, in a letter to a friend, speaking of the Paxton Boys in Philadelphia, on this occasion, says: 'About fifty of the scoundrels marched by my work-shop. I have seen hundreds of Indians traveling the country, and can with truth affirm, that the behavior of these fellows was ten times more savage and brutal than theirs. Frightening women, by running the muzzles of their guns through windows, swearing and hallooing; attacking men without the least provocation; dragging them by the hair to the ground, and pretending to scalp them; shooting a number of dogs and fowls; these are some of their exploits.'"[45]

Rittenhouse's personality, his family background, his experiences, and his reason led him to the attitude of the Quaker-Assembly faction even though that may not have been an expedient position from the viewpoint of his career. He found himself in the opposite camp from his brother-in-law. Barton was not only tied to the Anglican-Presbyterian-Proprietary faction but his time spent among the frontiersmen and his war experience gave him a sympathy Rittenhouse could not understand.[46]

Although Rittenhouse and Barton held opposite views, they still remained firm friends.

1764 was notable in a larger sense. The French and Indian wars had left the British with a large postwar debt, heavy taxation and the need to support an army in America. Hence Lord Bute's ministry sought revenue from the colonies. George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented an American Revenue Act (the "Sugar Act") to sweeten the pot, and was determined to get revenue from the trade laws by making the custom service effective in enforcing them.

Americans already hard hit by the postwar business decline reacted against the new measures by protests and by the end of the year were following a policy of nonimportation.

For the non-Anglican man a fear greater than economic or political control by Britain was that of religious control. The Great Awakening, an evangelical religious revival, was disruptive even with those evangelists who were conservative in theology, their manner was that of a

rabble-rouser. Hostilities between sects were magnified.[47]

Thomas Barton wrote to the S.P.G. November 16, 1764 concerning the progress and prospects of the Established Church in the colonies in spite of the "rage and wildness of Fanaticism" and the travels of Methodist ministers and New Light Presbyterians. He was sure of the future triumph of the Church if she were granted "the immediate influence and direction of her lawful Governors, the Bishops." He noted with the political conflict between the Quakers and Presbyterians "that this [the establishment of Bishops] could never in any former time, be introduced with more success than at present . . . I hope to be indulged if, with all humility, I should further observe, that it is thought the lands lately belonging to the Romish Clergy in Canada, are sufficient to support a Bishop in America, and a number of missionaries in the new conquests, without adding to the burden of the Mother country; and that his Majesty, if properly applied to would be graciously pleased to appropriate them to this use."[48]

With no bishop resident in the colonies, such as the Roman (in Quebec) and Moravian Church had, the Anglicans were at a disadvantage. Men, such as Barton, seeking holy orders had to go to England to be ordained and even the confirmation of church members required a bishop.

The dissenters, who were a majority in Pennsylvania viewed the effort to set up an American bishop as one more effort of the Tories to place imperial control on the colonies.

> "Propagandists against Great Britain found it easy to correlate the movement to bring over an Anglican bishop with the danger of popery and threats to American liberty. Congregationalists in Connecticut and Presbyterians in New York, Pennsylvania, and other colonies set up committees of correspondence to bring the problem to the attention of Dissenters influential in politics in England. They might have saved their energy, because the King's party had no intention of appointing an American bishop. The King's men were intent upon concentrating power in London instead of diffusing it . . .".
>
> After 1765, most of these groups were ardent propagandists for the patroit cause, Congregational and Presbyterian pulpits rang with condemnations of the Tories. In the northern colonies, the Anglicans fought the King's cause; but in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, where Anglicans had long been dominant, they were frequently as zealous in their opposition to the Crown as were the Dissenters. Not all of the minority faiths were anti-British. For example, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who had grown prosperous and conservative, were naturally opposed to the violent propaganda emanating from Samuel Adams and his radicals in Boston. Likewise the Baptists, who had found New England Congregationalists and Virginia Anglicans ready to invoke statutes against them, found much of the talk about liberty merely sounding brass. Though they had no love for British rule, they had found that local tyrannies might be worse. But wherever Scotch-Irish Presbyterians gathered, in the towns or on the frontiers, they shouted about injustice and demanded freedom. In the years of controversy, the pulpit, as always in America, took sides and exerted a powerful influence."[49]

Party and religious squabbles penetrated every aspect of life. The

Reverend William Smith and Richard Peters succeeded in swaying the College and Academy of Philadelphia to the Church of England by 1764 to such an extent that the Proprietors and Archbishop of Canterbury who were afraid of the anger of dissenters, warned the trustees against too much zeal. This same fear kept the Church of England from appointing bishops in America.[50]

The passage of the Quartering Act and the Stamp Act in 1765 heaped coals on the flames and brought forth the Sons of Liberty (summer of '65), the Stamp Act Congress (Oct. '65) and a new impetus to nonimportation. Earlier the same year the Reverend John Andrews, sent by the S.P.G.[51] took over Barton's duties at Yorktown so that by September Barton was able to visit Sir William Johnson in New York and propose the establishment of three boys' schools at a cost of 450 pounds per year. Sir William was, in addition to being superintendent of the Indians for the northern colonies, a generous builder of churches and was interested in schools and Indian missions. While agreeing with Barton's scheme in principal, he proposed day schools which were less expensive.[52]

Barton wrote the S.P.G. January 23, 1766 and told them of his visit to Sir William in regard to Indian missions and the offer he had received from General Gage to be chaplain to the garrison of Montreal which he had declined. He also wrote of the conflicts arising from the Stamp Act.

> "I am sincerely concerned at the present turbulent and disturbed situation in the colonies. Every day presents us with indecent and inflammatory papers. It is hoped the mother country will be able to discover who the people are that first raised and encouraged these disturbances, that the innocent may not be involved with the guilty."

He knew however of the strength of the Sons of Liberty and committees of Safety and concluded, "But this is a subject on which it is not safe for a man, who has not virtue enough to make him a martyr, to speak or write freely here." [53]

On February 10, 1766 Benjamin Smith Barton was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In the same month the Reverend Thomas Barton officiated at the marriage vows of David Rittenhouse and Esther Coulston, and by March Parliament had repealed the despised Stamp Act. So much for the good news.

Thomas Barton wrote to his intimate friend Sir William Johnson on October 31, 1766, "Since I had the honour of writing you last, I was so unfortunate as to lose my second son [David Cradock] in the Smallpox; which with the long and dangerous illness of Mrs. Barton, have for some time deprived me of the pleasure of addressing a letter to you."[54]

Sir William Johnson, who was really involved in Indian affairs, responded by sending to Barton one of his illegitimate sons, William, who was part Indian, to be instructed.

In 1767 Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pre-

pared and had Parliament pass a Revenue Act which provided an import duty for Americans on glass, lead, paints, paper and tea, which again revived the doctrine of nonimportation.

The Townshend Act seemed of little importance. Thomas Barton, Peters and Smith competed in trying to make David Rittenhouse free for creative projects and to bring him into the Philadelphia milleu. Rittenhouse was made a corresponding member of the American Society, which met in Philadelphia, for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge in its first selection of non-resident members March 27, 1767. Smith convinced the trustees and faculty of the College of Philadelphia to award Rittenhouse an honorary Master of Arts degree in November even though at that point he had no material achievements other than being the maker of superior clocks and instruments. Thomas Barton, in his attempt to advance Rittenhouse, wrote to Thomas Penn, Pennsylvania's proprietor in London, a description of Rittenhouse's proposed orrery (a clocklike device showing the position of the sun, moon, earth and other planets at any time past, present or future). Penn responded with considerable enthusiasm which pleased Rittenhouse.

Rittenhouse, Smith and Barton were elected members of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in 1768. Smith became one of the leaders of this group and as secretary introduced Rittenhouse's description of his orrery as the first scientific paper read to the society. The article was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Chronicle* which gave Rittenhouse considerable local fame.

Barton named his ninth child David Rittenhouse. As he gained a natural son, Barton also lost the foster son. Several Indian murders in central Pennsylvania together with the rescue of the murderers by the colonists so disturbed William that he returned to his father's home at Johnson Hall in the Province of New York.

> "Out on the frontier, at Lancaster, largest inland town in the colonies, the Juliana Library Company became virtually a branch chapter of the American Philosophical Society. Edward Shippen was the presiding genius of this circle, and the Reverend Thomas Barton its most learned member." [55]
>
> "On Friday, the 17th of June 1768, about 2 o'clock p.m. the sky was overspread with flying clouds, apparently charged with heavy rain. The wind blew pretty fresh from the southeast, and thickened the clouds in the opposite quarter; so that about 4 o'clock there was darkness visible in the northwest attended with distant rumbling thunder, and now and then with a small gleam of lightning, without any explosions. The clouds deepened more and more in the north-west, and thus seemed to make a stand, being opposed by the wind from the opposite points. At half-after four, they assumed a frightful appearance, and at last a large crescent, with its concave sides to the wide, and its inner edges tinged with a dusky violet color. About five the wind veered about to the north-west, which immediately gave motion to the clouds, and discharged a most dreadful and destructive volley of hail ... Some measured nine inches in circumference, some seven, whilst others were not larger than peas ... (At Lancaster about the size of peas) ... The damage done by this storm is very great; the county of Lancaster alone, it is thought, has suffered several thousand pounds." [56]

Rev. Smith was able to convince Joseph Galloway, speaker of the House, and the Pennsylvania Assembly of the value and necessity of making observations of the transit of Venus (a transit is the passage of a planet across the face of the sun). Funds were appropriated for making observations. The Rev. Thomas Barton assisted his brother-in-law in making the observation June 3, 1769 at Norriton. Later the same year (Nov. 9) Rittenhouse made observations of the transit of Mercury.

Rittenhouse moved to Philadelphia, his wife died and he lost interest in everything for two years until his marriage to Hannah Jacobs December 31, 1772. He observed Lexell's Comet of 1770 and completed orreries for the College of Philadelphia and Princeton. These activities in addition to his regular papers to the American Philosophical Society made him a well known figure in Pennsylvania and indeed even abroad.

In 1770 the Townshend duties were reduced to cover only the imports on tea which lessened tension and agitation. Barton was awarded the Honorary degree of Master of Arts from Kings College, N.Y. and between 1770 and 1772 devoted his time and energy to the fight against "enthusiasm" and to teaching so that he did not even visit Philadelphia once in three years. [57] He wrote a small article in 1770 which was circulated in manuscript form in which he described "a broken officer, an English Baker, a Dutch Shoemaker and a crazy Planter, besides a number of strolling Methodists" who as enthusiastic leaders had created among their followers "dereliction and despair; and has made many of them fitter objects for a hospital than a church." He reported to the S.P.G. that, "Among my own people, I am sure it [the article] has done good," and by 1771 he reported that the "Phrenze of Enthusiasm is somewhat abated." He had not layed up treasure on earth as the tax roll lists his possessions as 2 horses, 2 cows and 1 servant on which he paid a tax of 15 shillings.[58]

The S.P.G. had made a special grant for the teaching of poor children and in 1772 Barton had twelve to whom he gave instruction and on Sunday evenings held instructions for blacks. [59] Although physically he remained at Lancaster, Barton's spirit ranged far. In an anonymous article, signed Clericus, which appeared in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* Feb. 20, 1772 he makes "Observations on the Improvement of Public Roads occasioned by a Petition to Assembly for a Turnpike Road from Philadelphia to Wrights Ferry on Susquehanna, Humbly addressed to the True Friends of Pennsylvania." His identity is revealed in a letter to Thomas Penn in London April 28, 1773.

"I published last year in the Pennsylvania Gazette some Observations upon public Roads and Proposals for a kind of Turnpike from Wright's Ferry on Susquehanna to Philadelphia, which your Honour, no Doubt, has taken notice of, as you receive the paper. I had the pleasure to find that they were well received. The Amendment of our public Roads and Inland Navigation very much engage the Attention of the People here at present." [60]

He attempted in his letters to rekindle his brother-in-law's interest in life and to console him after the death of Eleanor, but it was not until Rittenhouse remarried Hannah Jacobs December 31, 1772 that life became enjoyable again.

In the latter part of 1772 and the first of 1773, the "radicals" of the north reformed and expanded their committees of correspondence and at the end of 1773 Boston had a little tea party. The teed off British Parliament responded with a series of acts in 1774 - Coercive Acts, Quebec Act, an enlarged Quartering Act, all of which irked and inflamed the colonists and led eventually to the First Continental Congress (5 Sept. - 26 Oct. 1774).

> "June 1. This being the day when the cruel act for blocking up the harbor of Boston took effect, many of the inhabitants of this city, to express their sympathy and show their concern for their suffering brethren in the common cause of liberty, had their shops shut up, their houses kept close from hurry and business; also the ring of bells at Christ Church were muffled, and rung solemn peal at intervals, from morning till night; the colors of the vessels in the harbor were hoisted half mast high; the several houses of different worship were crowded, where divine service was performed, and particular discourses, suitable to the occasion, were preached by F. Allison, Duffield, Sprout, and Blair. Sorrow, mixed with indignation, seemed pictured in the countenances of the inhabitants, and indeed the whole city wore the aspect of deep distress, being a melancholy occasion." [61]

In the same month the distress was far more personal to Thomas Barton. "Notice is taken (issue of June 29, 1774) of the death of a third prominent woman of our country. 'Early on Saturday morning the 18th, died at Lancaster in the 43rd year of her age, Mrs. Esther Barton, wife of Rev. Thomas Barton of that place and sister to Mr. David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia. It is not easy to do justice to the character of this amiable and excellent woman without incurring the suspicion of flattery, among those who did not know her. Blessed with a superior understanding, a sound judgment, a peculiar sweetness of temper she always knew what was proper conduct on any occasion and how to be agreeable in every company. But she considered it to be her highest honor, as it was her chief desire to shine in her own family as a dutiful wife and tender mother; setting an example of virtue and economy to her children, and preferring the calm walk of domestic happiness to all those fantastic and adventitious joys in the presence of which too many waste their precious time."

> "On Sunday evening her remains were interred in the chancel of St. James church, her pall having been supported to the grave by six magistrates. All denominations of people seemed to follow as mourners and at the head of these as a true picture of distress and sorrow were a bereaved husband and eight weeping children [aged 20 to six]. A pathetic discourse well suited to the occasion was delivered by Rev. Mr. Helmuth, minister of the German Lutheran church of the place." [62]

> "The delegates from the several counties of this Province have sat every day (First Day excepted) since the 15th inst., preparing a set of general resolves declaratory of the sense of this Province on the present state of British

ence, that, instead of the Parliament liquidating the Sum to be paid by every Province, from Year to Year, each Province had granted a certain Quota for one Year, and for the subsequent Years, to enlarge, or diminish it, in such a Manner, as would best suit the situation and Circumstances of the People, and as the Exigencies of the State might require; and that Requisitions might be occasionally made as heretofore . . . This, I say, they wish had been done; as they imagine it would at least have paved the Way for an Accomodation. All this is the Language of the People here . . . I make no Comment upon it. The Parliament will meet very soon, when I hope something will be done towards healing the Wound; tho' indeed there is only room left to hope it, unless our Assemblies will make some advance." [69]

In the expedition against Quebec, Fort St. John was taken on the second of November 1775 and British prisoners were sent to a number of places in the colonies, among the prisoners sent to Lancaster was Lieutenant John André! Officers were permitted to give their parole, which André did on Feb. 23, 1776. They had to pay for their own food and lodging which was frequently at a tavern or Inn since the request for civilian quarters was refused as e.g. by Christopher Marshall. "Visited by two English officers, prisoners, to know if I would let them part of my house. I received them politely yet let them know my sentiments so fully that they will not make a fresh inquiry, I think." [70]

André was well received by Loyalist sympathizers such as the Rev. Thomas Barton and Caleb Cope, a Quaker gentleman. He had "a taste for painting, poetry, music, and dramatic representations ... (and) Whether as a mere amusement, or as a means of ingratiating himself with the people of Lancaster, he set about teaching some of their children to draw." [71] Benjamin Smith Barton, aged 12, and Cope's son were among the children to receive instruction. In March André was sent to Carlisle and in December 1776 was exchanged and went to Long Island.

Only in November 1776 after a full year, was Thomas Barton able to communicate with the S.P.G., since letters "... being subject to be opened, scrutinized, and perhaps returned back for the censures of the Congress," [72] by sending a letter with an exchanged British officer. In this letter he reports, ...

"I have been obliged to shut up my churches, to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the Liturgy to be used, unless the Collects and Prayers for the King and Royal Family were omitted, which neither my conscience nor the declaration I made and subscribed, when ordained would allow me to comply with; and although I used every prudent step to give no offense even to those who usurped authority and rule, and exercised the severest tyranny over us, yet my life and property have been threatened, upon mere suspicion of being unfriendly to what is called the 'American cause.' Indeed, every clergyman of the Church of England, who dared to act upon proper principles, was marked out for infamy and insult in consequence of which, the Missionaries in particular have suffered greatly. Some of them have been dragged from their horses, assaulted with stones and dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their habitations and families, laid under arrests and imprisoned. I believe they were all (or at least most of them) reduced to the same necessity with me of shutting up their churches. It is, however, a great pleasure to me to assure the Venerable So-

financial control and immediate control of the church rested with the local vestry. Marshall in his diary for Feb. 19, 1776 notes, "Past eleven, joined and went in procession with Congress, assembly, committee of Safety, Corporation, I.C., to the Calvanist Church in Race Street (Philadelphia) where a funeral sermon was delivered by Dr. Smith, on the death of General Montgomery."

Barton's friend Smith tended to support the Revolution but,

> "The most important factor, however, which inclined the Anglican clergy to loyalty towards the crown, was the fact that the king of England was head of the Church (to quote from the Act of Supremacy, 'in so far as the law of Christ alloweth'). They owed him allegiance, then not merely as temporal head of the state, but as spiritual sovereign on earth as well."

In August 1775 Barton sent his letters to the S.P.G. with his son William who went to London to study law. He writes to the Secretary of the S.P.G., "Matters have now got to such a crisis that is is neither prudent nor safe to write or speak one's sentiments. Would to God an accommodation would take place! Everything here, at present, wears a dreadful aspect. Religion and all the arts of peace are lost amidst the horrid apparatus of war." And in the same month hostilities were reported in Philadelphia.

In Christopher Marshall's Diary of the American Revolution Aug. 1775,

> "About four, the Constitutional Post arrived; also, about six, an express arrived from the camp, with sundry advances, among which were that the regulars were attempting to repair the light house that was burnt down, upon notice of which, Major Tucker was sent to command three hundred men, who landed under a severe heavy fire, and then attacked them, killed the commanding officer, with ten or twelve of the others, on the spot, and took the remainder, about thirty-five in number prisoners, and ten tory carpenters (and) demolished all their work." [68]

William wrote the following letter to his father in October:

> "Since my arrival here, I have taken a good deal of pains to discover the sentiments of the People here with regard to the Contest subsisting between Grt. Britain and the Colonies. I am sorry to find that we seem to have few friends. They say the Ministry are determined to reduce the Inhabitants of New England to Obedience and such of the other Colonies as continue to resist them . . . That if Matters are not soon accommodated Virginia and South Carolina, with the New-England Provinces, are to be made Examples of, and that great Numbers of Troops will be sent to America for that Purpose . . . That the Non-importation and Non-exportation are so far from distressing the trading People of this Country, that Commerce was never in a more flourishing condition here, than at present . . . They profess themselves extremely desirous that a Reconciliation should take place: but say, that it cannot be effected, unless the Congress be dissolved, and the several Assemblies either petition, or make some kind of Propositions . . . They declare that Government has no Designs inimical to the Liberties of the Americans; but that it wishes, they would put it in their Power to reconcile both Countries once more . . . They wish the several Assemblies had accepted the Terms contained in Lord North's Motion in the House of Commons, with this Differ-

ence, that, instead of the Parliament liquidating the Sum to be paid by every Province, from Year to Year, each Province had granted a certain Quota for one Year, and for the subsequent Years, to enlarge, or diminish it, in such a Manner, as would best suit the situation and Circumstances of the People, and as the Exigencies of the State might require; and that Requisitions might be occasionally made as heretofore . . . This, I say, they wish had been done; as they imagine it would at least have paved the Way for an Accomodation. All this is the Language of the People here . . . I make no Comment upon it. The Parliament will meet very soon, when I hope something will be done towards healing the Wound; tho' indeed there is only room left to hope it, unless our Assemblies will make some advance." [69]

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ciety that, though I have been deprived of the satisfaction of discharging my public duties to my congregations, I have endeavored (I trust not unsuccessfully) to be beneficial to them in another way. 'I have visited them from house to house regularly, instructed their families, baptized and catechised their children, and performed such other duties in private as atoned for my suspension from public preaching.''[73]

Barton married a second time in 1776. His second wife was Mrs. Sarah DeNormandie.

Barton's activities were increasingly restricted. An act was passed by the state Assembly providing that,

> "... No male white inhabitant, above the age of 18, who had not taken the test, [allegiance to the American cause] should, under penalty of imprisonment, go out of the county in which he resided."

He got around this act by meeting near the boundaries of Lancaster County" ... women [who were not subject to the law] with their young ones to be catechized, and their infants to be christened."[74] Between 1776 and 1778 he baptized 347 children and 23 adults, and of these eleven were baptized on the day he left Pennsylvania.

In 1778 the state assembly passed an act requiring all males over 18 to take an oath of allegiance to the State or to leave it.

Barton petitioned the assembly on May 20, "In behalf of himself and the rest of the Protestant Episcopal Missionaries of Pennsylvania ... "pleading that they be exempt from the act. He explains that the purpose of the S.P.G., is "To inculcate submission to government and obedience to authority, ... To exhort their people ... to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, and to take special care to give no offence to the civil Government by intermeddling in affairs not relating to their own calling or function." He then states, "In conformity to these Instructions, the Missionaries ... beg leave to declare ... that they have not intermeddled directly or indirectly in the present ... contest, nor done any act ... inimical to the liberty or welfare of America." [75]

He contends they should be granted that "protection and liberty of conscience" allowed even to "Popish Missionaries" by the "Great Mogul" and by potentates "throughout Asia and Africa, the Philipine (sic) Islands, and the Isles called the Ladrones in the South Seas." [76]

> "What have we done to deserve this hard treatment from our former friends and fellow Citizens? We have not intermeddles with any matters inconsistent with our Callings and Functions. We have studied to be quiet and to give no offence to the present rulers. We have obeyed the Laws and Government now in being, as far as our Consciences and prior obligations would permit. ...Notwithstanding the present depressed and persecuted state of the Church of England here ... I ... still ... hope and believe that she will one day ... be the Glory of the new world. The Evidence she has ... given of her moderation and peaceableness, and the general conduct of her Clergy throughout the whole of this violent contest, must at length recommend her ... to the Esteem ... of the people, as soon as their present ... prejudices cool and subside: particularly to those who ... have never heard anything from the Pulpit

but angry Invectives against the best of sovereigns; treasonable Declamations against the best of Governments; Wrath, Bitterness, and persecution against peaceable and innocent people." [77]

Barton's pleas were in vain as the entry for May 22, 1778 of Marshall's Diary states:

"... In the evening had some conversation with several of our assembly respecting petitions being sent to them to take the abjuration out of the Test of Allegiance and Fidelity. One of them was from the Moravian [Minister], one from Thos. Barton, Minister of the Church of England in this borough, both of which were rejected." The entry for June 4, 1778 states:

"... A day or two past, [May 30] Thomas Barton,
Missionary, petitioned Council for leave to sell his estate and to remove out of this state, which was granted ..." [78]

Barton disposed of his property August 26 to Paul Zantzinger, his son-in-law. [79]

In order to leave Pennsylvania for New York, Barton applied for passes for himself and his wife and these were granted by the Council Sept. 17. [80]

"At his departure ... the people of Pequea and Carnarvon testified their esteem and regard for him by paying the arrears of his salary, presenting him with 50 pounds, taking a house in Carnarvon for his eight children, [sic William was in Europe and Esther had married] and giving the kindest assurance that they should be supported, till it might please God to unite them again." [81]

Marshall comments for October 3, "This morning, I presume, Parson Barton moved off the last of his effects, in two covered wagons." He left his children with a heavy heart since the act that provided that Loyalists would leave the state also stipulated that the children must stay and be educated in loyalty to the United States of America.

Barton wrote the S.P.G. January 8, 1779 from New York,

"With this sum [his salary arrears and the 50 pound gift] and what arose from the sale of my furniture, in my pocket, I am now in this very expensive city, cherished, however, by some hopes that, before it is quite expended, I shall be enabled either to return to my children and churches, or to obtain the Society's permission to quit this ungrateful country altogether, and under their benevolent patronage to solicit some humble appointment in England, where, I trust, my fidelity in their service for near 24 years, will recommend me to something that may place me above want in my declining days." [82]

He had high hopes of returning to Pennsylvania based,

"on the Zeal and Activity of the present Commander in Chief, the Spirit that now appears in the Army and the important Changes, that have taken place, within a few Weeks, — The Congress are distracted in their Counsels; many of the principal leaders are quarrelling with each other and several have resigned. — A Majority of the People begin to see, that They have been made only the Tools of despotic Authority: They begin to feel the Tyranny of their masters and secretly wish for a Deliverance." [83]

Writing to a friend on January 30, Barton notes, "I am just inform-

ed that my son [William] has returned to his native country . . . How melancholy and distressing is my situation! Separated from eight children and three congregations ..." [84]

William hurried to Lancaster County and gradually assumed responsibility and care of the younger Barton children. He made several attempts, with Paul Zantzinger [85] to visit his father in New York.

But as we see from a letter dated 5 March 1779 from the Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council to General Washington their motives were suspect.

> "... At the same time, this board ever watchful of the public safety and happiness, think it behooves them to communicate to you, their suspicions, that Mr. Paul Zantzinger is lately gone hence for Camp, has a design of getting liberty to pass into New York, for this purpose he will probably set forth his desire to visit his father-in-law the Rev. Mr. Thomas Barton, now in that City. When you know the character and conduct of this Divine, Your Excellancy will Judge better of such a request. Mr. Barton has long been a missionary stationed at Lancaster by the Society in England for propagating the Gospel. It is believed that he has been very instrumental in poisoning the minds of his parishioners who are generally of very disaffected disciples as to the present contest, proofs of allegiance to this State and abjure the King of Great Britain, and in taking the benefits of the indulgence of our legislature, which allowed him to sell his lands, and retire as he said to Europe and above all his acceptance of a Chaplaincy in a British Regiment at New York, [as in credibly reported here] and thus actively joining the Enemy, confirm the worst ideas that have been entertained of this gentleman. I would suggest that Mr. Zantzinger as a Trader, who has never manifested much attention to the present contest and very likely to be drawn by interested views to a mart where European merchandises are sold at prices inviting to men who seek profit merely." [86]

David Rittenhouse being known throughout the state was appointed in 1775 as engineer to the committee on safety, vice president of the council of safety and a member of the Board of War of the Supreme Executive Council. "He was one of twenty-four men having the power of life and death." [87] It was undoubtedly his influence that gained William Barton's appointment to the Loan Office representing Lancaster July 14, 1779. It was probably his influence that gained a pass for William Barton and Paul Zantzinger, his brother-in-law to visit Thomas Barton in Elizabethtown, N.J. on February 18, 1780 and again on April 14.

William Barton repeatedly petitioned council to allow his father to return to Pennsylvania. Thomas Barton was ill and had spent the summer of 1779 at Staten Island bathing and resting at the beach. William Barton's last request is dated Friday, May 19, 1780. Council replied ". . . the many and great inconveniences which must attend the examples, as well as from the impropriety of the thing itself, the council cannot consistent with their duty to the public grant the said petition."

Thomas Barton paid for a passage to England but died three days before the ship sailed on May 25, 1780 of heart failure. He was buried within the chancel in front of the altar in St. George's Church in New

York. None of his children were present and in a sense one might say that they had been orphaned by the war two years previously.

The dissolution of the family began with Esther's marriage and William's departure for England continued as Julianna Susanna married Thomas White, Richard Peters Barton emigrated to Virginia, and Benjamin Smith Barton was sent to York for schooling.

Lorain County Community College

Theodore W. Jeffries, F.R.S.S.A.
Associate Professor of Sciences

NOTES

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