

Lancaster County in Province, State and Nation (A Bi-Centennial Review)

By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

LANCASTER County has had a remarkable influence in province, state and nation, throughout our entire colonial and national life as a people. Since 1929 is the bi-centennial anniversary of the creation of the county it is herein purposed to set forth the relations of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to the Province and later to the State of Pennsylvania and also to the Nation. We shall be able to show the remarkable service which this county contributed to province, state and nation, in our crises as a people and as the processes of development of our country produced their complete work, from small beginnings to what we are today. Some of the services which this county rendered to the province, state and nation as time went on are, its aid in the establishment of religious freedom and liberty in America, in the first introduction of intensive agriculture here, its invaluable services in helping to win the French and Indian Wars, when young America was going through her great critical period, its momentous services in the Revolutionary War, its part in populating sections of the south, the midwest, the southwest, the far west, the northwest and southern Canada, by strong, clean migrations which set out in early and later days from Lancaster County, its contribution of able souls who were champions of some of the great constitutional principles of our federal government and Constitution; its contributions to overthrow Secession and its power and place in our general development, in the inter-bellum epochs down to the present day.

I. Our Part In Establishing Religious Liberty Here

The Quakers of Pennsylvania were, predominantly and consistently the most zealous of all the people of the thirteen original colonies, in insisting upon religious liberty and freedom. In the aspect of opposition to an established or state church and to state interference with, or control over, conscience, the non-resistant Swiss, the German-Swiss and the Palatinates co-operated with the Quakers. Their densest settled center was Lancaster County and their domain, early extended throughout the lower Susquehanna and upper Schuylkill and into parts of the Lehigh, Valleys. Moreover, the seat of their central church government was established here in Conestoga where in 1727 they first adopted their historical confession of faith in America (except as a small com-

munity of their persuasion earlier practiced it in German-town). Their doctrinal practices and principles emanated from this region. Other religious faiths demanding religious freedom early grew into strength here also, but the non-resistant pious pioneers of 1710, first above stated, introduced religious liberty and freedom here. Thus Lancaster County was prominent in introducing and in establishing freedom of religion in this region of America.

We of Lancaster County and of Pennsylvania never perverted but ever perpetuated this central doctrine both of religion and government here in the Western Hemisphere, so firmly ordained now and fixed in the Constitution of our country in the First Amendment thereof.

Virginia never made the religious very prominent in her beginnings. She turned to trade. Massachusetts began with religious zeal, virtually established a state church and in a short while bound religion and politics hopelessly, helplessly and fatally together; built up a religious Commonwealth, persecuted Williams, Hutchinson, Wheelwright and hundreds of others, banished the Quakers and passed judgment of death upon those who returned. Connecticut was no more than settled when it contracted the Massachusetts malady. Themselves driven out of Massachusetts, by religious bigotry, they soon organized the Connecticut government on strictly religious principles and only church members were allowed to vote. Maryland began her career guaranteeing all, religious freedom and equality, and held to it for 20 years, and then the Catholics, who founded the colony and granted religious liberty to all, were overthrown by the Protestants and all Catholics disfranchised on account of religion; and civil war broke out on account of it in 1755. It smouldered along 35 years and another civil war broke out because of oppression upon the Catholics. In New York, New Hampshire, Delaware, the Carolinas and Georgia, religious freedom did not come to the front. It was a subordinate matter to them in early days. Next to Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Rhode Island were the colonies in which religious liberty was always prominent and always very effectively practiced, enjoyed and appreciated.

The people who first settled Lancaster County were champions of religious freedom for 200 years before they landed here in 1710; and we have held to that view and doctrine considerably over 200 years, since here.

In 1532, at Soffingen, Switzerland, the ancestors of our first settlers of Lancaster County, in reply to a command by the Swiss Government, that they must adhere to and support the State Church of Switzerland, declared that the state must not interfere with matters of faith and conscience—that the state has nothing

to do with religion. These views, they contended, came from the scriptures and were according to Apostolic models and not those of statutes enforced by inquisition, the galleys, or by fagots and fire. (Historical Background of Lancaster County p. 43). Among those who adhered to that doctrine we find the names of Hoffman, Stumpf, Hollinger, Graybill, Reublin, Baumgardner, Manz, Mentzer, Seckler, Wagner, Schoener, Muller, Huth, Weidman, Keller, Zug, Frantz, Sweitzer, Hoffer, Huber, Weiler, Staley, Hostetter, Garber, Rupp, Kolb, Bricker, Snyder, Herman and many others.

A hundred years later, at Dortrecht, Holland, these people, adopted their Confession of Faith, in which there was an article on the "Law of Christ" as the only authority over conscience as set forth in the New Testament. There is also an article on relation to the civil state and it requires the believers to obey the secular authority and officers of state in all matters except religion; declares that, in its proper sphere, government is instituted by God and to be obeyed; that officers are to be respected; that taxes and customs are to be paid and that prayers should be offered continually for those who rule and for prosperity for the country. (Do. 82).

For asserting religious liberty these people were imprisoned, tortured, banished, slain, during 100 years in Switzerland, but they would not yield. Burkholders, Mylins, Herrs, Millers, Goods, Kauffmans, Schlabachs, Wertzes, Everlings, Landises, Mowrers, Brennemans, Rissers, Snavelys, Stauffers, Baumans, Lehman, Shens, Keiffers, Roots, Weavers, Eshlemans and scores of other familiar Lancaster County names appear among the list of those so ill-treated, and slain by the state authorities. (Do. 101 et seq.) The result was to strengthen their faith in religious liberty and to drive them and others of similar beliefs to Lancaster County and other regions in the valley of the Susquehanna (Do.)

At the end of the said hundred years, in 1727, the old Dortrecht Confession of Faith was adopted by these same people's descendants in Conestoga, where 15 Mennonite ministers signed the approval of the Confession. Among them were Hans Burkholder, Christian Herr, Benedict Hershey and Martin Bear of Conestoga; Daniel Longenecker of Manatany, and Henry Hunsecker of Germantown. (Do. 228).

That they asserted freedom of conscience here, is shown in Governor Keith's message to the Assembly in 1725, in which he says it was not proper to pass laws discouraging these people or interfering with their freedom of conscience. (Do. 222). It appears that Great Britain feared these people would carry religious liberty too far and would not be loyal to English authority, for the governor stated to the Assembly that he had orders from England not to admit any more of them. (Do. 230).

These Palatines, from the time of their first coming here tenaciously struggled for laws to relieve them from acts and forms which impinged on their sense of religious liberty. They prevailed on the younger Penn to demand laws protecting them in their religious rights. (3 C. R. 64). They and the Quakers moved England to approve for them the "Great Act of Liberty" about 1719. (3 St. L. 438). They filed a petition in Assembly in 1721 setting forth their reasons for leaving the father-land, to wit, suppression of their religious liberty, and they prayed to be relieved from bearing arms and to be naturalized. (2 V. 297). They prevailed on Gov. Keith in 1725 to have a law passed for the greater ease of their conscience, who asked the Assembly to favor it. (2 V. 451). A committee of Assembly appointed in 1728 to examine into them said that thousands of them were expected to arrive that year and that those who were then here "are honest, respectful, pay their taxes and are sober and very religious." (3 V. 45). They originated the religious exemption from bearing arms in the United States, together with the Quakers, and at least to as great an extent as the latter did. (3 V. 46). In latter day wars those who cannot for conscience sake bear arms can be made as efficient in war as those who bear arms, in other tasks which war demands. The whole trend now is to lay down all arms and settle matters that heretofore were referred to war—by reasonable methods. They insisted that the promises Penn made to their fathers as to religion's liberty be kept. (3 V. 100).

These Lancaster County Palatines joined with the Quakers about 1740 and as the governor then said the Quakers and the Germans or Palatines entered into consultations and came to the resolution to exert their whole power to secure a considerable majority of their own people in Assembly and the result was that all of the Assemblymen except three were Quakers. (4 St. L. 468-70).

This will suffice to show that the great co-ordinate power in Pennsylvania, or co-operative power, acting with the Quakers to work out the securing of religious liberty here in this state, so pre-eminent as it was, being as well the richest and most populous state in early days, was that of the non resistant local Swiss, German-Swiss and Palatines. They were more numerous than the Quakers, which fact we generally overlook. Thirty thousand of them came here from 1710 to 1760. They were coming in hordes from 1717 to 1740. The great bulk of them came here in Lancaster County. When they turned to politics as they did about 1742, they swept everything before them. We assert again, they were equally potent with the Quaker in establishing religious liberty in Pennsylvania against the power of England, which early saw that religious liberty here at this time was the first letter of

what later was to spell "liberty" on a wider plan, including Independence itself. Of course the Quakers and Palatines were not the sole forces which demanded and established religious liberty here.

The Scotch-Irish and other nationalities settled here, worked for it also. The Presbyterians in early Lancaster County were also strong for religious liberty. They acted in a conspicuous way in 1739 to get rid of unnecessary legal forms and were the authors, in part, of the Presbyterian oath, which is an oath without kissing the Bible or laying the hand upon it and swearing upon it. The oath of the uplifted hand is their creature. This incident was a hot, though not lengthy, struggle. But our Lancaster County people were leaders in securing the enactment. (3 V. 338-42-4 C. R. 336 and 4 St. L. 337). The act prescribes that whereas liberty of conscience enjoyed in Pennsylvania encouraged great numbers of protestants of different persuasions to remove themselves here . . . who have labored under difficulties in the form of taking oaths . . . And whereas the Quakers were relieved of taking any oath and might make affirmation instead and whereas protestant dissenters though willing to take an oath, object to the form of it, to wit, kissing the Bible being of the Presbyterian persuasion therefore they may take the oath by repeating the same, the ceremony of the book excepted, etc. Thus our Presbyterians have done their part in liberty of conscience.

On the subject of liberty of conscience Andrew Hamilton said we had perfect religious liberty in Pennsylvania among all the religious sects. (3 V. 350). Very few early colonies could have had that said truthfully of them. Yet today, there is no part of the American Constitution that is more revered and would be more savagely fought for, and to defend it than that guaranty that "no law shall be made with regard to establishment of religion nor interfering with the free exercise thereof." And the same privilege and immunity are found in the constitution of every state today. No territory of equal area can claim larger part in this result than the territory of our own great Lancaster County.

In their struggle for religious liberty the aforesaid classes of our Lancaster County ancestors unconsciously fought to success a great Constitutional battle, different from that of any other people in America. The others fought for their religious rights as subjects, natural subjects—British Subjects—in these colonies. Our said ancestors were foreigners, and they established the principle that religious liberty is the right not only of citizens or subjects of a country but of all people who dwell in it, foreign as well as native—that religious liberty is an endowment of the Almighty and not at all the gift of a sovereign, whether the sovereign be a people or a king or emperor. Anciently foreigners did not enjoy

these and similar rights which citizens and subjects did in the countries and nations where they lived; but were denied them. Thus it happens that, in several clauses of the National Constitution, certain rights, liberties and immunities are guaranteed to all the people within the confines of our land and are not limited only to citizens. Exempli gratia, we have congressional representation, of all the people living in the United States; the First Amendment, that guaranteeing religious liberty extends to all; the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendments, relating to search, seizure, criminal prosecution, etc., reach all; the Thirteenth Amendment against slavery extends to all; the guarantees of "due process" and of equal protection of the law in the Fourteenth Amendment extend to all people in the States. At some time in the early days of American provincial, state and national life, these fundamental rights were guaranteed to all mankind and not only to the citizens. Our primitive Lancaster County had a part in that extension and establishment. Thus our Swiss, German-Swiss and Palatine ancestors had this additional problem to face and solve. Herein we differed from the Quakers who were national born subjects of Great Britain and thus at once citizens of the colonies and not foreigners as our ancestors were. The early Pennsylvania provincial records contain many applications made to Assembly and to Governor and Council by our local foreign ancestors, for religious and other rights which they insisted belonged to them, as people in spite of the fact that they were not British subjects by nature nor by naturalization.

One of these rights was their asserted religious right to be exempt from bearing arms and killing human beings, which exemption they asserted in the time of the French and Indian Wars and they were accordingly exempted from the Militia Act then passed. Thus, acquiescence in their asserted religious right to this exemption prevailed, even though the exemption was from a duty or an activity upon the performance of which the very life and existence of the nation depended, a defensive or even aggressive war for the preservation of its existence.

Whatever we may think about such an attitude, since the non-resistants could be used in positions which did not require killing, the cause of religious liberty in America was inestimably pushed forward and its immutability, inviolability and inalienability measurably established, by this and similar attitudes taken by our own local Lancaster County ancestors.

II. Our County's Introduction Of Intensive Agriculture Into The United States

FROM the very beginning of permanent settlement in Lancaster County intensive agriculture was entered upon, on a large scale. The first settlers' application for land, was for 10,000 acres on Pequea Creek, in the summer of 1710, and by October 6,400 acres of it were actually seated and divided up into eleven fine farms ranging from 265 to 1,060 acres each. The people who took up the land and the task of farming, here, at the outset, were serious, earnest and efficient and they very quickly made these valleys the "Garden Spot" of the English Colonies, in America.

In the first four years of settlement, over 60,000 acres or nearly a hundred square miles of land here, were surveyed and mostly settled, on the Pequea and the Conestoga (*Taylor Papers 3323*); and in 1719, before the end of ten years of settlement, the proprietary's surveyors reported that there was very little land left on Conestoga and Pequea. (*Do. 2920 and 2932*). By 1724 there were over 1,200 Swiss, German-Swiss and Palatines in the Conestoga section alone—all farmers. (*Vol. 9, p. 151*). As early as 1718 the thrift and prosperity of these farm people of Lancaster County made the Provincial authorities jealous and fearful of the agricultural wealth and development here. (*2 V. 212-220*). The governor advised the Assembly to protect Pennsylvania from the inconvenience which might arise out of this great foreign agricultural development in the Susquehanna Valley. Perfectly astounded at the numbers of tillers of the soil, the vigor and zeal shown, the lustiness of results and the virility of these agrarian experts, creating wealth and power like magic—perfectly astounded, I say, were the tradesmen of Philadelphia. The transformation was unbelievable in this region. So bewildering was the boundless and irresistible growth, that the government itself declared, in 1717, "some discreet regulation to allay the apprehension" the people of old eastern Pennsylvania were under, within a radius of 30 miles from Philadelphia, for fear all the old traditions, the authority and the power of the Province would be overwhelmed by the great, busy, intensive agriculturalists of the frontier, was absolutely necessary to be adopted. The Assembly declared they were afraid of the consequences of these people settling in one place, here in Lancaster County. (*Votes Assembly 1718*).

In 1728 the products from the Susquehanna Valley were moving on to Philadelphia in Conestoga's wagons in great quantities and constancy, according to Samuel Blunston (*1 Pa. Arch 216*). By 1755 it was stated, as we shall see later, that 500 ships were necessary to carry the trade products of Pennsylvania, much of which came from the Susquehanna Valley.

At the time this county was organized in 1729 an aggregate of 130,400 acres or nearly 200 square miles of farms were taken up here. These were taken up, as the records show, at Conestoga, Cocalico, Chickies, Donegal, Octoraro, Pequea, Salisbury, Strasburg, Branch of Conestoga and Susquehanna. The whole of Conestoga Manor was long before surveyed and several townships were organized here, while we were yet part of Chester County.

In 1730 the governor of Pennsylvania said of these people, "They have hitherto behaved themselves well and have generally so good a character for honesty and industry as deserves the esteem of the government." (*C. R.*).

By 1738 the governor declared, "The Province has been, for some time, the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany and I believe it may, with truth, be said that the present flourishing condition of it (the Province) is, in a great measure, owing to the industry of these people; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither it may well be apprehended that the value of your land will fall and your advances to wealth be much slower; for it is not altogether the goodness of the soil, but the number and industry of the people that make a flourishing country." (*4 C. R. 315*). Here he plainly says the prosperity of Pennsylvania was largely due to the Lancaster County and adjacent farmers. There was, surely, something splendid in them, when their devotion to agriculture and their character, turned the suspicion, formerly held against them, in 1730, to such fulsome praise in 1738.

That they had established the agricultural industry here, to a degree that made them ambitious to plan ways and means to spread out in the culture of new crops and to export their surplus, is shown in the petition of our Lancaster County farmers for a bounty on flax, in order to get away from over-production of wheat, which they said was too heavy for profitable transportation for export, in the wagons they had; and thus they asked for encouragement to turn to flax and hemp as lighter, yet very valuable cargoes which could be shipped to Philadelphia and abroad much more cheaply and profitably than commodities of heavier carriage and cost. (*3 V. 231*). They also grew hemp and their hemp fields became our Hempfield Townships.

The jealousy stirred up by these tillers, stock raisers and rural up-builders continually asserted itself and thereby perennially attested the growing agricultural greatness of these people. In 1741 the Assembly of Pennsylvania saw fit to deny that they had opposed and oppressed the German-Swiss, saying in part, "Who are they that look with jealous eyes at the German Palatines? The governor has not been pleased to inform us; nor do we know. Nothing of the kind can be attributed to us. The legislature of

the Province has generally, on application made by them, admitted the Germans to partake of the privileges enjoyed by the King's natural subjects; and as we look upon them to be a laborious industrious people we shall cheerfully perform what can be expected from us for their benefit and for those who may hereafter arrive." (3 V. 460).

About this time, too (in 1738) Lancaster County had 2,560 taxables which would account for 13,000 people and at least 10,000 of them were the Swiss, German-Swiss and Palatine people we are discussing. (5 Haz. Reg. 115). The town had about 200 taxables or 1,000 people (Do.) Thus we had nearly 2,400 farmers here, about 25 years after the first settlers landed, and when the county was less than 10 years old, who with their wives and children made up about 10,000 sturdy rural folk in our county, as it then extended, including regions now in Berks, Lebanon, Dauphin and York Counties.

By 1742 Great Britain was convinced these hardy farmers were not a menace to the English Province of Pennsylvania. Governor Thomas said to the Assembly, "Some look with jealous eye upon the yearly concourse of Germans to this Province; but the Parliament of Great Britain see it in a different light and have given great encouragement by their late Act to all such foreign Protestants as shall settle in his Majesty's domains; and indeed every man who will consider this matter must allow that every industrious laborer of Europe is a real addition to the wealth of this Province." (2 V. 48-9).

Something on the condition of Lancaster County agriculture in 1744 is shown by the diary of Witham Marshe wherein he says of Lancaster, "They have a very good market well filled with provisions of all kinds and prodigiously cheap" (Marshe Diary). It is inferable that at this time there was a farming population here of about 15,000, since in 1738 there were about 13,000 and in 1752 about 18,000. Marshe notices the growth of the town also in 1744 stating that it was "Laid out into sundry streets and one main street in the midst of which the Court House stands. Through the main street runs the road to the back country on to the Susquehanna River. There are several cross streets on each side of the main street."

In 1750 the following estimate of these pioneers of agriculture here is given: "By reason of their constant industry, and thrift, tilling of the soil and pursuing the trade of weaving, by their simple mode of living, they are able to produce more than any others" (Mueller 245).

By 1752 they were raising immense wheat crops here. So much was grown that swine were fed and fattened with wheat. Many distilleries were erected to convert what could not be exported (Chron. Eph. 190).

At this date the county had 3,977 taxables of whom 3,666 lived in the country and 311 in the town, accounting for about 18,000 rural people and 1,500 in the town (*5 H. 115*).

In 1754 Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, visited Lancaster County and said "Between Lancaster and Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna I saw the finest farms one can possibly conceive. They belong to the Sweitzers. Here I saw a method of watering meadows by cutting troughs in the side of the hill for the spring to run into. The water would overflow the sides and water the whole ground. (*6 H. 28 and 9*). He also said that the town at that time had 500 houses or about 2,000 people. (*Do.*)

Something of our Lancaster County farmers' equipment is shown in the wagons and four stout horses to each team which they contributed to Braddock's expedition in 1755. It is stated he received 200 of them from Lancaster County Germans and later 190 more wagons loaded with corn, and 60 head of cattle were also sent. (*8 Haz. 456*). The Pennsylvania Gazette also had a news article on this surprising ability of these German-Swiss farmers to give their aid and it also states that they could have doubled the said teams, etc.

In 1760 the county had 5,631 taxables about 5,200 of whom were in the country accounting for 26,000 people who had tilled 436,346 acres of land. They paid 6,178 pounds in taxes. (*5 H. 22*).

In 1770 there were 6,608 taxable or about 33,000 people here of whom nearly 30,000 were in the country (*4 H. 12*). About that time, to be exact in 1766, the town had 600 taxables (*4 H. 391*). In 1779 there were 8,433 taxables or 42,125 people.

About 1763 many Scotch-Irish began moving out, to go westward, and the Germans purchased their improvements and developed them (*5 H. 22*). The article detailing this move says that where the former owners made only scant and sparse income and improvement and in a measure failed, these German-Swiss purchasers soon raised great heavy crops on the same land.

At an early date our farmers here began stock raising, raised many sheep and in 1755 a considerable number of them were killed and sent to Braddock's soldiers. Nor did the women neglect to utilize the wool from the sheep. By 1770 an elaborate textile manufactory was carried on here by our industrious German-Swiss women. From May, 1769, to May, 1770, woolen and linen goods, consisting of clothing and bed clothing, curtains, etc., of thirteen varieties made by the Lancaster County women reached 28,000 yards and there were in the looms material for 8,000 yards more. And many hundreds or thousands of yards more were not reported at all, as the Germans feared it was sought for taxation. One good mother alone wove 600 yards herself while operating one of the principal hotels. (*Pa. Gazette, June 14, 1770*).

But they turned to silk also. Rewards were offered for the best reeled silk throughout the Province and Lancaster County led the contest. Widow Stoner raised 72,800 cocoons, Casper Falkner, 22,845, and Catharine Steiner, 21,800, all of this county. (*Gazette, Mar. 17, 1773*). The reeled silk was also surprising in amount and splendid quality.

The wealth this fine farming brought was also amazing. By the end of the said century to wit about 1800, these thrifty farmers had about (\$6,000,000) six million dollars accumulated while older counties of the Province did not have one-third as much, except Philadelphia.

The development in the country districts of our county is shown also in the number of highways that had been laid out, upon petition of the people. By 1760 there were 92 roads laid out by Court and opened in the rural or country districts of Lancaster County, within the present county area, records of which may be found in the first two dockets of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The map made by the writer some years ago shows that those roads ramify every section, reach every township of the county and radiate from Lancaster Town in every direction to the very edge of the county and on into other counties. They were and are connected with cross roads and the map-appearance is that of criss-cross ample highways—a veritable spider's web of road way. Their mileage totalled undoubtedly 700 to 1,000 miles. Besides these roads laid out by law there were scores, perhaps more than a hundred shorter roads known as "customary roads" by the same date, that is, roads which became public roads by the custom of using certain tracks until they were recognized as roads for public use. These were always on the dividing lines between the many 1,000-acre and other large farms, then numerous, owned, as the Lancaster County land warrants recorded in Volume 19 of the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives show. These customary roads were most largely found in the German-Swiss settlements, for they were the principal rural owners of large farms and in fact the sole owners, in all sections, except in the southern, eastern and northwestern sections, of rather (and certainly comparatively) small extent.

Personal comments on the agriculture of Lancaster County about the end of the said century, similar to those which we have noticed about the end of the first quarter of the century and toward the middle thereof, will give us another view of the intensive agriculture of this great county in the early times. I will therefore give a few of them.

In 1800 an authority replying to a list of questions as to where the place of greatest fertility in the United States was, answered that Lancaster County raised more bushels of agricultural products per acre than any other section and "Lancaster County is prover-

bial for the fertility of its soil and the excellence of tillage." (4 H. 50). In 1814 a tabulation of the various counties of Pennsylvania gave Lancaster County the highest value in the State, as follows: 11,346 taxables or nearly 60,000 people, about 170,000 acres of first rate land valued at \$64 per acre; 255,000 acres of second rate land valued at \$47 per acre; third and fourth rate land 85,000 acres at \$10 to \$29 per acre, a total of 508,000 acres cultivated, the balance being woods no doubt, which balance was about one-third of the county. It was assessed at \$22,000,000 and the personal property was valued at nearly \$7,000,000, a total nearly \$29,000,000, which was a valuation \$300,000 higher than Philadelphia city and \$10,000,000 more than Philadelphia County outside of that city. Thus as our capital town had according to the census of 1800 a population of 4,300, it had in 1814 perhaps 5,000 people, and as the estates in the town were then very modest compared with the fine holdings of the farmers round about, we can say that the great rural Lancaster County of that day was equal in value to the whole of Philadelphia City, all made by our expert farmers carrying on the best and most intensive agriculture in the United States, and that in spite of Philadelphia's 30 years of lead in time and age.

Within the next ten years the following encomiums on Lancaster County agriculture were pronounced by those who saw and knew the condition of which they spoke and wrote.

A writer in 1829, signing himself as "Traveller" said that Lancaster County was then one of the richest in the Union. He declared that on a Lancaster County farm, the minor farm products would pay the expense of the farm, and the whiskey, hogs, wheat and cattle would be all clear gain; the butter paid the grocery bills. Another writer the same year, 1829 said that on a certain 300 acre farm here the owner sold, in one year, \$2,533 worth of whiskey to Baltimore, \$569 worth of hogs; 550 bushels of wheat at \$1.25 or \$775, making \$3,877. He took many other products to market,—oats, barley, hay, fruit, butter; fattened 20 to 30 head of cattle and was getting along better every year; and that, "We have a hundred other farmers in our county who can do as well as that." (4 H. 112).

The next year (1830) an article in the National Gazette, on Pennsylvania says, "We are accustomed to hear the population of Pennsylvania sneered at and condemned as vulgar and ignorant; and our Germans branded as animals not much higher in intellect than their horses. By their fruits ye shall know them; and thus tested they are not surpassed by any population in the country. They are intelligent and honest; they understand perfectly the business that belongs to them; they do all that they have to do in the best manner and with the best results; they are civil, kind and hospitable and their general information, far beyond what

they have credit for; they are not highly educated but they have strong native sense, a sagacity of observation and an extraordinary faculty of employing their knowledge in practical useful objects. THERE IS NO AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES LIKE THAT OF THE GERMANS OF PENNSYLVANIA — THERE IS NONE SUPERIOR ANYWHERE. This could not be done by an ignorant, stupid race of men. I have known farms on which other occupants have starved and have been ejected by the sheriff and were then succeeded by Germans who in a few years covered the barren fields with rich crops and became prosperous and wealthy. Pennsylvania may be proud of her population; they are making her rich and great; they are unfolding and bringing into use the inexhaustible resources of her climate and soil and rearing on her bosom industrious and hardy yeomanry." (6 H. 69).

Two years later another writer of the times said, "Lancaster County, the 17th county of the state in territory, is the first in wealth and population (except Philadelphia made up of the city and surrounding country). Its wealth has sprung chiefly from agriculture. The Conestoga, Pequea and Chickies, afford many mill-seats where flour is made for Philadelphia and Baltimore markets. Distilleries are numerous and to supply them an immense quantity of rye is raised. The millers and distillers of Lancaster County purchase a large quantity of grain from the Susquehanna country. The Germans bear the same proportion to the population of Lancaster County as the Quakers do to Chester County. They have high stone barns and gigantic horses. The rich soil is the basis of its prosperity and it is a district unsurpassed by none on the continent." (12 H. 56).

And now we feel we have shown that Lancaster County, in the State of Pennsylvania, introduced into the United States the first intensive agriculture, the first great basis of all our national wealth and the basis without which we could not have reached the super-eminent in the world we now proudly hold as a nation. That intensive agriculture, the great people of this county nourished, cherished, expanded, exalted;— and planted firmly in the foundation of this section of American prosperity so that the frivolity or frailty of later races might not, in their foolish chasing of the modern mirages, up-root it or overturn it;—so that when sense again return, they would here find their ancient heritage secure, awaiting a chastened people once grown city-mad, willing to return to the holiest of all secular possessions and property—the soil, the sweet soil of their native land,—blessed with the work and the vision of a score of former noble generations of their race,—enriched with the hallowed graves of the brave souls whose stern wills first broke the stubborn glebe.

III. Lancaster County In The French And Indian Wars

THE first two French and Indian Wars—King William's and Queen Anne's—were confined in America, to New England and southeastern Canada.

When King George's War (the third of the French and Indian Wars) was declared in 1744, at once involving all of the thirteen original colonies, Lancaster County immediately loomed large in the conflict.

We promptly provided troops. Thomas Edwards of Earl-town, raised a company of Northeastern Lancaster County soldiers and became captain of it. (*5 A. vol. 1, p. 3*). He was likely Judge Thomas Edwards of our county, who died in 1764, aged 91. His body is buried in the Welsh Cemetery just west of Terre Hill Boro. Reese Morgan was his lieutenant. Another company on the northern edge of the county was raised in 1745 by William Maxwell captain, and James Wilkins was its ensign.

In 1747 the Pennsylvania people entered into "An Association For Defense" and several companies were formed. (*5 C. R. 172*). The Lancaster County Defenders were raised and organized in the west end of the county on Susquehanna, the same year. (*5 A. vol. 1, p. 22*), Col. James Gillespie and Col. Thos. Cookson commanding a double associated regiment of them, consisting of 21 companies. (*Do. pp. 22 and 23*). Col. Benj. Chambers also commanded "An Associated Regiment of Lancaster County," over the Susquehanna River, consisting of 14 companies at the same time. (*Do. 24*). The names of the captains, lieutenants and ensigns of each of these 35 companies are given in the records; but none of the privates. Lancaster County manfully did her share in this enterprise of defense against the French. While Bucks County raised a regiment of 19 companies, and Chester County one of 26 companies, and New Castle County one of 20 companies, and Kent County one of 4 companies,—Lancaster County, as we have seen, raised two regiments totalling 35 companies. Philadelphia raised only 19 companies.

The service our said Lancaster County soldiers of 1747-48 performed is set forth in a statement of the President of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania declaring that many of the inhabitants became alarmed and voluntarily entered into an association of defense. He says the result was that, "The Province which lately was in a defenseless state, is now, through the zeal and activity of some who have the love of their country sincerely at heart, rendered capable of defending itself against the design of our enemies, many thousands of the inhabitants having voluntarily entered into the most solemn engagements for that purpose." (*5 C. R. 172-4*).

The names of these 105 local captains, lieutenants and ensigns show us that they represented every section of the county of Lancaster as well as the townstead. (*Do.*)

Our town of Lancaster was chosen by the Governor of Pennsylvania, (who at the beseeching request of the Governors of Maryland and Virginia, called the Indian Conference with the Six Nations together), as the place to hold the Indian Treaty of 1744, as soon as it was learned that King George's War was declared (*4 C. R. 687*). The Assembly of Pennsylvania urged Lancaster, as the proper place to hold the conference. There were 252 Indians at the treaty. (*Marshe's Diary. Annals of Susquehanoeks, etc., p. 345*). The Six Nations were a powerful confederacy; and the supreme object of the treaty was to have this great power to covenant that they would form a barrier between the English and the French and their Indian allies on the Ohio, the Great Lakes and in Canada. The Six Nations were the masters of nearly all the other Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, south to the Carolinas. With the Six Nations helping the French, the English could not have prevented a most destructive, devastating, and demoralizing bloody invasion.

Perfect amity and co-operation existed between the Six Nations and Pennsylvania, cemented by many treaties, down to 1742 and by the love for Penn which passed down from generation to generation of the Indians. But both Virginia and Maryland had incurred the dangerous displeasure of the Six Nations. Therefore these two colonies appealed to Pennsylvania to bring them and the Six Nations into friendly conference. Thus came to pass the Treaty of 1744 at Lancaster. It was said that the Maryland and Virginia governments were strangers to the Six Nations, and that a treaty without the governor of Pennsylvania could not succeed, because it would lack "the confidence which the Indians repose in him." It was argued too, that the conference would be a means of renewing the friendship of the Six Nations with us, and Pennsylvania as well as with others.

The assembly and governor of Pennsylvania, accordingly, invited the Six Nations to meet the governments of Maryland and Virginia in a treaty-conference at Lancaster and they cheerfully accepted. (*Do. 698*). The meeting opened June 22, 1744 and lasted till the prophetic July 4. Powerful chiefs and braves of the Onondagos, Senecas, Cayugas, Oneida and Tuscoraras and others were present. (*Do. 699*). The main bitterness between the Indians on one side and Maryland and Virginia on the other, was an old standing unsettled dispute about back lands in those colonies, which the Indians contended the whites were incroaching upon, against Indian protests. (*p. 699*). There had been fighting and bloodshed in this clash. (*Do. 700*). The governor and

assembly of Pennsylvania agreed that it was "very necessary at this time and for the good of all the English colonies that peace and friendship be established between Virginia and Maryland and the Six Nations." It was explained that these Indians "are frontiers of some of the English colonies, and if friends, capable of defending the white settlements, if enemies, capable of making cruel ravages on them, and if neutral may deny the French passage through their country and also give us notice of danger." (*Do.* 700). It was decided, too, that substantial presents to them were necessary because they were poor, owing to their contact with the white settlements.

The Governor of Pennsylvania made a fine tactful speech, introducing all of the subjects for which the meeting was called and then offered to withdraw, having brought the parties together. But neither side would consent to let him go and insisted that he preside over all the meetings, to the end; and he did so.

Maryland gave goods and gold to the value of 300 pounds for the Indians' rights to her back lands. (*p.* 715), and also 100 pounds in gold for the promise that the Indians would be faithful to the English in the war. (*p.* 730). Virginia gave like sums for similar purposes and promises. (*p.* 726 and *p.* 729). Governor Thomas then informed the Indians of the Declaration of War by England on France and said, "We hope you will perform your part, and we expect you will not allow the French or Indians with them, to march through your country to our settlements." He further said "This is what you agreed to, in many treaties with Pennsylvania." He desired they do the same, now for Maryland and Virginia, since the back land question was now smoothed out. The Indians agreed. He also said that since they promised and agreed to what he asked, for his friends, Maryland and Virginia, he now presented them with a fine belt of wampum and goods worth 300 pounds to confirm all treaties and for firm friendship. (*p.* 729).

These results were attained by means of many speeches by the governor of Pennsylvania, the commissioners of Maryland and Virginia and the Indians. The conference minutes required 45 pages, or more, in the Colonial Records. As a whole it was a remarkable piece of diplomacy and will repay one's careful perusal.

The Indians all executed deeds for the lands in dispute. (*pp.* 723 and 727). The consideration the Indians received was goods and gold to the amount of 1200 pounds. The goods consisted of clothing, blankets, adornments, powder, lead, swan-shot, guns, vermilion and jews-harps. They were treated to punch, wine and rum. They were not given any of these to regale themselves on their way home.

What they promised the English colonists appears in the following quotations. "We own, with pleasure, that the covenant chain between us and Pennsylvania is of old-standing and has never contracted any unrest. We wish it always may continue as bright as it has been hitherto." (*p. 731*).

To Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and all our colonies they said, "You and we are now but one heart, one head, one eye, one ear and one hand. We shall have all your country under our eye and will take all the care we can to prevent any enemy coming into it. We will tell the French governor of Canada that neither he nor any of his people should come through our country to hurt our brethren the English or any of the settlements belonging to them." (*p. 731*). They said also, "The Six Nations have a great authority and influence over sundry tribes of Indians in alliance with the French and to show our further care, we have engaged these very Indians and other Indians, allies of the French, for you. They will not join the French against you. We have put antipathy against the French in these people." (*p. 732*).

They said to Maryland and Virginia that as the dispute about land is settled "we shall act for the future as becomes brethren." (*p. 733*).

And at the conclusion they said the Six Nations had "a grateful sense to Onas (Pennsylvania and its governors) for all their kindness to the Indians." (*p. 737*).

Thus was accomplished here at Lancaster as the place whose atmosphere on the frontier fringe of settlement could best contribute to success, (then a town about 16 years old, of perhaps 250 houses) a most remarkable diplomatic achievement, by which, a barrier was erected, stable for 10 years, preventing bloody, cruel incursion of fiendish French and barbarious savage hordes to butcher and may be exterminate the weak settlements of central Pennsylvania and the back settlements of Maryland and Virginia. This barrier held back the French frontier for 10 years, to Canada, the Lakes, the Ohio and the Mississippi, and barred them out of the coveted lands to the eastward. In those 10 years the English settlements grew in strength, ten times as fast as the French did in their American domain. And so, when the last of the French and Indian Wars broke out, at the end of that decade, in 1754, we completely vanquished the French enemy in America. Thus closed successfully for the English the first campaign in that epic struggle of two opposing forces in early American civilization and government wherein it was fought out and decided which system of national life and authority should be supreme in the Northern Hemisphere of the New World, the French or the English. That our Lancaster County townstead should be the tactful and diplomatic arbiter to substitute amity for enmity which could have

ruined the English cause in its American beginnings invests her with a glory that can never fade. Rightly the historian, Fiske, calls this the critical period of American history; and wrongly the schools give it very little attention.

The service of Lancaster County in the French and Indian War, was indispensable. Our county was engaged in all of the classes of war services of that conflict. We furnished a major amount of the sinews and supplies of war,—food, fodder, ammunitions and other supplies; we provided an unproportionately large part of the means of transportation; we largely helped to build the road from Carlisle to Fort Duquesne, on the trail by which Braddock advanced to disaster; and over which later Forbes marched to victory; we trained and contributed soldiers, craftsmen and other workmen freely; we helped to hold Indian alliances true to the English cause; we were the great base of the western theatre of the war, whereat plans of campaigns were matured, the soldiery recruited, the strategy conceived, the machinery of war co-ordinated and the morale rejuvenated and re-animated. The great pre-determined purposes which we so valiantly helped to accomplish, included defeat of the French and destruction of their power, the expulsion of them from Pennsylvania; the extermination or suppression of hostile Indians; the cementing of stronger alliances with friendly Indians; the rescuing and the reviving of the hopes of our frontier settlers and the biting in twain and rupturing the line of French control fortification and English delimitation, stretching from Quebec by way of the eastern Great Lakes, the Allegheny, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to the Gulf, by which line they divided off the Atlantic one-fourth of our present country from the Pacific three-fourths and boasted their purpose to confine English authority within the former, while they dominated the later vast domain, intent to make themselves supreme in America. Our service continued during the entire eight or more years of the war.

Our county's record may best be understood and estimated by narrating, in simple chronological order, the different classes of service we rendered. This will furnish an unfolding scroll of the happenings, in regular succession and show our relation to the conflict, as season after season went by and will present historical continuity. The method of discussing the supplies and transportation—the soldiers contributed and their actions—the Indian diplomacy, etc., each complete in separate sections, would group separately the items making up these classes of service and would show forth each class by itself; but it would not reveal the relations of the different kinds of service to one another nor present the war as it progressed to the end. We shall therefore give

the simple narration of what our county did, in that war, in the order of its performance.

May 17, 1755, England declared war on France, (*A. vol. 2, p. 735*), accusing France therein of unwarranted proceedings, in North America, after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle and of usurpation and encroachment made upon English territories and settlements and alleging that in April, 1754, in acts of open hostility, they attacked and possessed themselves of the English fort on Ohio (Du Quesne). At Easton in the presence of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, this declaration of war was first proclaimed here. (*Do.*).

Long before 1754, the French had been trying to seduce the Indians away from the English. Early in April, 1754, the governor of Pennsylvania sent to the assembly an urgent appeal to "grant aid" against further invasion by the French . . . and to repel the invaders. (*6 C. R. p. 26*). He also wrote to Governor Dinwiddie bemoaning the refusal by our Assembly to grant the funds he asked for. (*Do. 27*). May 3, Geo. Washington wrote from Laurel Hill in Fayette County that Mr. Ward had to surrender his fort at the mouth of Mononghela, to the French, who came down the river from Venango with 360 battoes and canoes, 1,000 men and 18 pieces of artillery. (*Do. 28*). He reported that another party of French were coming up the Ohio and that 600 Indians were marching with the French. Washington built a fort near the place at Great Meadows which he called Fort Necessity and on July 3 the garrison of 400 men, some sick, were attacked by 900 French and a body of Indians, in a bombardment from 11 A. M. till night, when he was given honorable terms of surrender and he marched away. The French then demolished the fort. (*Do. 51 and 52*). Immediately about 2,000 French and many of their Indian friends took possession of this part of Pennsylvania. (*Do.*). This surrender occurred on July 4, 1754, this being the second event of note in the Indian Wars occurring on our great future patriotic holiday. Shortly before the events just stated, in May, 1754, several of the colonies proposed asking Parliament to approve a plan to union of the colonies, by virtue of which "one general government may be formed in America, including all the colonies, within and under which government, each colony may retain its present constitution except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by said act, as follows: the general government to be administered by a President-General to be appointed by the Crown and a grand council to be chosen by the representatives of the people." (*Do. 38*). The governors of Massachusetts and New York proposed this union. (*Do.*). John Penn and Ben Franklin were the commissioners from Pennsylvania, who met several times in New York to complete the union. (*Do. 71*).

July 10, Ben Franklin drew a new plan, which, in several particulars embodied the relations between the colonies and the "General Government" which exists now, between our states and the United States, (*Do. 105*), and his plan was approved by the Convention. (*Do. 109*). But it was disapproved by the Colonial Assemblies and by the British Government. (*Swinton's History, p. 99*).

Terror at once reigned throughout Pennsylvania after these French successes. Ninety-eight of the inhabitants of Donegal filed a petition with Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, setting out that they were sensible of the great danger "the province is now in by reason of the cruel and merciless enemy,"—and they requested the government would take into consideration, their distressed condition, and put them into condition to defend themselves and they pledged that they on their part would do all they could for the safety of the Province. (*6 C. R. 131*). The people of Paxtang, etc., to the number of 57 signed and presented a similar petition. (*Do. 132*). The people of "the upper parts of Lancaster County" are said to be "apprehensive of danger at this critical period." (*Do. 134*).

What Lancaster County did is the more remarkable because of the passive attitude of the Quaker Assembly who refused to wake up to a realization of the desperate conditions in the valley of the Susquehanna and westward thereto. In March, 1755, the governor lamented, in a letter to Braddock, that the assembly had allowed the French to take quiet possession. He called the assembly's action shocking and declared that Pennsylvania had upwards of 300,000 people; was blessed with a rich soil and temperate climate and that besides its own consumption the province raised enough to supply an army of 100,000 men which was yearly exported from Philadelphia, and employed 500 vessels. He said too, that Pennsylvania was not burdened with taxes; was out of debt; had a revenue of 7,000 pounds a year and 15,000 pounds in bank. Yet when their all was invaded, they refused to make necessary defense. (*Do. 336*).

The foregoing will sufficiently show why Lancaster, instead of Philadelphia, was the great actual base of operations. The dangers lay there, at Harris Ferry, at Carlisle and points westward. The rural riches were centered there. The interest and greatest concern for safety from invasion of a cruel conqueror were there, and the Scotch, English and Irish fighters were there. The capital of the Province was complaisant. It was opposed to war—to military manœuvres and conflict. The governor complained, as we few seen; the people of Donegal protested; the Susquehanna section acted and dragged the legislature along with its purposes like a heavy dead weight.

The foregoing sufficiently shows the back-ground out of which the declared war of 1755 arose. The events of this back-ground constituted the war, de facto, which made the war de jure inevitable. As the war proceeded, Lancaster County prominently participated as we shall now set forth.

Road-making, constituted an early activity of our county in the conflict. Late in April the commissioners theretofore appointed reported laying out a road from Carlisle to Yohiogany (near Pittsburgh) and the camp at Wills Creek and also that they had advertised in Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties for laborers to open it, and to begin to do so the following Monday. They also appointed James Wright and John Smith to secure necessary provisions for the workmen and wagons, who agreed to supply all that were needed. (*6 C. R. 377*). The road was opened soon afterwards, the greater part being done by Lancaster County. Braddock also demanded prompt opening of the road. (*Do.*) And he also demanded wagons and horses to attend him over the Pennsylvania mountains, because the Pennsylvania forces could not join him with their impedimenta till the road was opened. He declared he would not move from Fort Cumberland till the road was finished. He demanded that if the assembly refuse funds, that the road be built at once, nevertheless at public expense. Ben Franklin's son, William, was sent forward with the draughts by Richard Peter, Secretary of the Province. May 3, John Armstrong, at Carlisle, replied to Peters stating he had advertised in Lancaster for hands. (*Do. 379*). In road-building, provisions, wagons, pay of men, etc., Pennsylvania spent 25,000 pounds on Braddock's expedition.

A couple of weeks later, the Governor of Pennsylvania wrote Braddock that he sent an agent into Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties to purchase 1200 barrels of flour and to hire or build a store-house for it at Shippensburg; and also to provide pasturage for 300 head of cattle "so that what were sent up (from Lancaster and York, etc.) and came into his care may be kept fat and fit for use." (*6 C. R. 407.*) These provisions were purchased. About June 4, the Governor wrote, "The last accounts I have from Lancaster are that Mr. Leshar has purchased a quantity of forage and sent to camp 20 wagons loaded and I suppose has sent the remainder also. He also enclosed an estimate of the expense of forage, made by Franklin. (*Do. 408.*) He speaks of the "forward state of the new road that is now opening." The people who are building it will not work on farther than Raystown without a guard. (*Do. 409.*)

The Pennsylvania Gazette in its issue of May 15, 1755, says of Lancaster's spirit at this time: "We hear from the Counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland, etc., on notice that teams, car-

riages and horses were wanting for use of the army, great numbers were immediately offered and 150 wagons laden with oats, Indian corn and other forage were dispatched to the camp in a few days and as much more might have been had if wanted, the people offering with great readiness and pleasure, from a zeal for his majesty's service. In the issue of June 5, it is stated: "The wagons and horses lately contracted for in Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties are safely arrived at the camp and gave great satisfaction to the general and the other officers, being, for the most part far the best of any that had been engaged in the service of the army since their arrival." In the issue of June 12 it is stated that another lot of wagons went forward laden with forage from Lancaster County. Also some from Berks County. In the issue of August 21, telling of Braddock's defeat, it is stated that "what seems most remarkable is that all the wagoners from Lancaster and York Counties, engaged in the service of the army have returned safe except two. Braddock said of the securing of the Lancaster County wagons and of their quality, that Franklin secured these wagons and horses and this act was the only instance of ability and honesty he met in the province and that "his wagons and horses . . . are indeed my whole dependence." (*Historic Highways by Hulbert, p. 68*).

A copy of Benj. Franklin's advertisement for horses and wagons dated at Lancaster, April 26, 1755, appears in Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 2, p. 294. In it he says: "I will attend at Lancaster" for the purpose of contracting for the wagons, etc., "from this time till next Wednesday evening." He offers 15 shillings a day for each wagon, 4 good horses and a driver." The advertisement called for 150 wagons and 1500 saddle or pack horses were wanted. His son, William, was to make contracts for Cumberland County supplies bought. Franklin feared force would be necessary to secure the wagons, horses and drivers in Lancaster, York and Cumberland County for Braddock's Army, because a quite threatening advertisement wholly different from the one first mentioned, addressed to citizens of those counties, signed by him but not dated, appears in the said volume, p. 295. In it Franklin says that owing to a disagreement between the Assembly and Governor, no steps had been provided to secure horses and wagons or to pay for them; that the army officers were extremely exasperated, and threatened to send an armed force here to seize the horses and carriages and compel as many drivers as necessary to drive them; that he (Franklin) felt the progress of a body of soldiers in these counties, angry as these soldiers were, would result in hardship to the farmers and therefore he felt he should undertake to hire and pay for the horses, wagons and drivers; that he is aware the people of "these back counties"

greatly complain that the Assembly have not provided money to pay for the same, but that likely 120 days service will be needed and it will mean 30,000 pounds to the farmers but silver and gold of the King's money are provided to pay it; but if these people will not take advantage of this request, Braddock would send John St. Clair, the Hussar, with a body of soldiers to take what was wanted. According to the news item from the Pennsylvania Gazette, just quoted, this threatening notice and advertisement were not necessary. It is popularly thought that Franklin used this means of making response effective when he sat in Lancaster and York, to receive volunteers and make contracts. It is said that seeing these farmers were Germans and stood in fear of Hussars, Franklin referred to John St. Clair as he did.

(To be continued)

Author: Eshleman, Henry Frank, 1869-1953.

Title: Lancaster County in province, state, and nation : a
bi-centennial review / by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

Primary Material: Book

Subject(s): Agriculture--Pennsylvania--Lancaster County--History.
Lancaster County (Pa.)--History--17th century.
Lancaster County (Pa.)--History--French and Indian War,
1755-1763.

Publisher: Lancaster, Pa. : Lancaster County Historical Society, 1929

Description: 21-43 p. ; 23 cm.

Series: Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society ; v. 33,
no. 3

Call Number: 974.9 L245 v.33

Location: LCHSJL -- Journal Article (reading room)

=====

+++++

Institution Name
Institution Address
Institution Phone Number
Institution E-mail Address