Dr. Benjamin Rush’s Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784

"You know I love to be in the way of adding to my stock of ideas upon all subjects," Benjamin Rush observed to his wife in a letter of 1787. An insatiable gatherer and recorder of facts and observations, Rush kept journals throughout his life—some continuously over many years, like his Commonplace Books recently edited by Dr. George W. Corner as part of Rush’s Autobiography; others for brief periods or for special purposes, like his "Quack Recipe Book" in the Library Company of Philadelphia, his Scottish journal in the Indiana University Library, and the present little diary of a journey from Philadelphia to Carlisle and return in April, 1784.

This diary consists of twenty-three duodecimo pages stitched at one edge, and is written entirely in Rush’s hand. Owned by a succession of Rush’s descendants, it at length came to light in the sale of the Alexander Biddle Papers at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York in 1943. (It will be found listed in the Biddle Sale Catalogue, Part I, lot 219.) It was then purchased by the late Josiah C. Trent, M.D., of Durham, North Carolina, who, when he learned that the present writer was investigating Rush’s part in the founding of Dickinson College at Carlisle, very kindly furnished a photostatic
copy of the 1784 journal, together with permission to use it in whatever way seemed best. This was a characteristic action on his part, for Josiah Trent was not only a physician, collector, and scholar, but a magnanimous patron of scholarship.

Rush's trip to Carlisle in the spring of 1784 was occasioned by the first meeting of the board of trustees of Dickinson College, which had been chartered largely through his own efforts in the previous fall, on the site of its future operations. As early as November, 1783, Rush was laying plans for "the great and solemn 6th of April next," when the college on which rested so many of his hopes was to be launched. The first institution of its kind beyond the Susquehanna, Dickinson College was to be more than a mere academic seminary. It was to spread light and learning along the Scotch-Irish frontier, but it was also to serve as a political outpost in the enemy's country, Rush was engaged at this time in a do-or-die campaign against the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and the radical party that created and supported it, among whom the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians formed the dominant group. The impulses behind the establishment of Dickinson College were varied and complex, some of them lofty and some calculating. This, however, is a subject that cannot be entered into here; the reader desiring more background may be referred to the early chapters of James H. Morgan's excellent history of the college, to Robert L. Brunhouse's Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania for a skillful unraveling of the political history of the period, and to my own essay on "Benjamin Rush and the Beginnings of John and Mary's College over Susquehanna," all of which are cited below in the notes on the diary.

One reason, undoubtedly, why Rush recorded the events and impressions of his jaunt to Carlisle was so that he could read his narrative to Mrs. Rush after his return. His diary, therefore, like all other really readable diaries, blends the commonplace and the significant. A rattling window frame keeps him awake at night, and he summons the landlord to fasten it. The contrast between the shabbiness of the Scotch-Irish settlers' farms and the neatness of the Germans' suggests reflections on national character that were to be more fully developed in Rush's essays on the ethnic groups of Pennsylvania. The little journal contains nothing new that is of great moment, but some of its details relative to the first meeting
of the Dickinson trustees at Carlisle have not been known hitherto, and the picture it presents of life in Pennsylvania after the Revolution, like most of Rush's writing, is lively and engaging.*

* The text as printed follows Rush's spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, but superscript letters have been brought down to the line. The annotation has profited from information and suggestions furnished by several authorities on Pennsylvania local history, namely, Dr. Milton E. Flower of Dickinson College, Miss Elizabeth Kieffer of the Franklin and Marshall College Library, Mr. Nicholas B. Wainwright of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Henry J. Young of the Historical Society of York County. I am happy to acknowledge their generous help and also that of the American Philosophical Society, which supplied the grants that have made possible my research on Benjamin Rush.

1 Manuscrit torn; the year is established from Rush's correspondence. A number of letters in my edition of Rush's Letters, now in the press, touch on the preparations for the Carlisle meeting and its consequences. See also James Henry Morgan, Dickinson College: The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years, 1783-1933 (Carlisle, 1933), 16-27.


3 The Admiral Warren, at the foot of South Valley Hill, Whiteland Township, Chester Co.; originally (1745) called the Admiral Vernon and, from soon after Rush's stop, called the General Warren. It was supposed to have been a gathering place for Tories during the Revolution, and in 1784 was conducted by a reputed Tory, Peter Mather. Sachse, 44-77, with photographs.

4 One of the numerous manifestoes and counter-manifestoes published as a result of the deadlock in the Council of Censors (which had met for the first time during the winter of 1783-1784) on the question whether a state constitutional convention should be called to alter the Constitution of 1776. The Republicans (conservatives), who desired a revision of the Constitution, had a majority of members in the Council, but they could not muster the two-thirds vote necessary to recommend a new convention. See Robert L. Brunhouse, The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790 (Harrisburg, 1942), Chap. VI. Though numerous broadsides and pamphlets relating to this controversy are listed in the standard bibliographies, no copy of this particular handbill is recorded, and none has been found.
looking at it, and apologized for it by saying it [sic] that it was sent to him by one of the County magistrates and that he was afraid to tear it down lest he should loose his licence. Upon my giving him an opening he broke forth, and cursed the minority—the Constitution & the Presbyterians all in a breath.—"But I ask pardon Sir (said he)—I hope—no offence—Perhaps Sir you are a Presbytn:—I 'dont mean to be rude." Say on my friend—said I—you can’t offend me by any thing you can say of any Sect.”—He then went on to describe & abuse the Presbyterians in Chester County, particularly Parson Carmichael.5—This fellow said he once prayed to God “to shake the tories over hell, but not to let them drop in.” He commended his German Neighbours, who were chiefly non Jurors.6 I drank part of a Quart of Beer at his house of an excellent Quality, & received from him when I left him his best wishes for my good Journey. He addressed me as if he discovered that I had a perfect sympathy with him in every thing he said.—

7 oClock arrived at the Ship 34 miles from town where I was kindly received by Mr. Valentine a wealthy—full fed—fat—Quaker tory.7 He came into my room & complained loudly & justly of the errors & oppressions of our Goverment with respect to paper money—tender and test laws & the like. He blamed Jos Reed8 for most of


6 Those who refused to take the oath of loyalty to the state (and thereby to the Constitution of 1776) required by the several test laws passed during the Revolution. The “tests” were aimed at Loyalists, but were continued in force by the radical party in order to keep the Quakers and other conservatives disfranchised. A vigorous effort was made this year to repeal the test laws, Rush contributing an anonymous pamphlet entitled Considerations upon the Present Test-Law of Pennsylvania, but they were not wholly abolished until 1789. Their history is summarized in Charles J. Stillé, Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvanian Line in the Continental Army (Philadelphia, 1893), 304–308.

7 One mile west of Downingtown, near the thirty-second milestone. The proprietor at this time was Robert Valentine, of whom Elizabeth Drinker speaks with respect in her Journal and with whom she and other Quaker ladies stayed when on their mission in 1778 to obtain the release of their husbands exiled to Virginia. Sachse, 23; Henry D. Biddle, ed., Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker (Philadelphia, 1889), 94, 101.

8 Joseph Reed (1741–1785), lawyer, soldier, and, from 1778 to 1781, president of the state. Dictionary of American Biography (DAB). Rush had a special grievance against Reed because the College of Philadelphia was deprived of its charter during Reed’s administration, and the
the evils under which We had suffered—Ah—Ah—said he—I shall never forget the time that I heard him say when he was Governor “that he would bend—or break the Quakers.”

I spent from \( \frac{3}{4} \) after 7 till 10 o’Clock alone—drank an agreeable dish of tea for my Supper—Alternately walked—read—& wrote—felt now & then an inclination for a pinch of Snuff—but was restrained from taking it by recollecting how many pathetic—animated—and affectionate remonstrances I had received Against it from my dear Mrs. Rush.—

Went to bed at 10 oClock, but could not sleep owing to the noise of the windows in my room—Upon hearing my Landlord’s Voice (for it was a peculiar one—loud, and squeaking) I rose at 12 oClock, and requested that he would give me another room or secure his windows from making a noise.—He chose the latter—and by means of wooden pegs, fixed them in such a manner that I soon dropped a sleep after getting into bed a second time. Col: Porter & his two twin sons slept in the same room with me—The Colonel was moving his family from Philada. to settle on a farm 43 miles from the town on the Lancaster Road.—Rose at 7 oClock—breakfasted at 8—paid (without disputing) my bill—which I might have done—for it was very high 17/6- for myself & Servant—two Suppers—two breakfasts—no drinks—and 16 quarts of oats wth. hay for my horses.—Set out after breakfast in a shower of rain. Stopped at a dirty tavern—9 miles from the Ship.—Fed my horses & took a Snack.—While I was setting by the fire a poor man and his wife came in & sat down

conservatives generally regarded Reed as a renegade because of his compromise with the “leather-apron” majority party in Pennsylvania.

A liking for snuff appears to have been one of the few weaknesses in Rush’s moral armor. He afterwards wrote a lively tract against tobacco, entitled “Observations upon the Influence of the Habitual Use of Tobacco upon Health, Morals, and Property,” printed in his Essays, Literary, Moral & Philosophical (Philadelphia, 1798), 263–274.

Andrew Porter (1743–1813), schoolteacher, surveyor, and soldier, of Norristown and Philadelphia, had served as an officer in the Continental artillery, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel; he was later a major general of militia and surveyor general of the state, 1809–1813. His twin sons were Andrew (1773–1805) and William (1773–1835). William A. Porter, “A Sketch of the Life of General Andrew Porter,” The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB), IV (1880), 261–301; Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series (Harrisburg, 1874–1890), XI, 201, 206.

Not identified.
by the door. *He* was barelegged & carried a large bundle on his head. *She* carried a child of 18 months Old in her Arm. They were both wet as well as cold. I ordered them a mug of Cyder & then entered into conversation wth. them. He told me that he was on his way to Shippenstown\textsuperscript{12} from Baskenridge in the Jersey—that he was by trade a weaver—that his wife was the grand daughter of the Revd. Mr. Lamb formerly minister of Baskenridge Church\textsuperscript{13}—and that they were married by the Revd. Dr: Kennedy.\textsuperscript{14} I gave thier Child a qr: of a dollar—which overcame them both with gratitude. Stopped abt: 46 miles from town at Col: \textit{Atlee's}\textsuperscript{15} who rode with me 4 miles—fed my horses at the Sign of the hat\textsuperscript{16} & drank half of a pint of excellent madeira Wine with an agreeable young German Storekeeper who overtook me on the road—and arrived at Lancaster about 6 oClock where I found the President of the State\textsuperscript{17} at the Sign of the Bear.\textsuperscript{18}—We passed the Evening agreeably—Col: Lowry\textsuperscript{19}—Mr.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Shippensburg, Cumberland Co., southwest of Carlisle.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Probably Rev. Joseph Lamb, who died in 1749, aged sixty, and is buried in the Presbyterian churchyard in the village of Basking Ridge, Someruset Co., N. J. "Basking Ridge Churchyard Inscriptions," \textit{Somerset County Historical Quarterly}, I (1912), 215.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Samuel Kennedy (1720-1787), born in Scotland, was Presbyterian minister at Basking Ridge from 1751 until his death. Sprague, III, 175-178. Rush, who had visited the Boudinots in Basking Ridge during the Revolution, was acquainted with Kennedy.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Col. Samuel John Atlee (1739-1786), a lawyer, soldier, Indian commissioner, and formerly member of the Continental Congress, was at this time a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. His home was in the Pequea Valley. Edwin A. Barber, \textit{Genealogical Record of the Atlee Family} (Philadelphia, 1884), 82-86; Lancaster County Historical Society Papers, II (1897-1898), 142.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} About twelve miles from Lancaster, as indicated on a road surveyor's map of 1767, reproduced in Lancaster County Historical Society Papers, XX (1916), facing page 212.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} John Dickinson (1732-1808), who had succeeded Joseph Reed as president of Pennsylvania in 1781. Rush had caused the college at Carlisle to be named for Dickinson, who was his friend of many years' standing. (Rush first proposed "John and Mary's College," honoring Mrs. Dickinson as well.) Dickinson took a mild interest in the institution and donated lands and books to it, but he considered Rush's plans too ambitious, and a coolness between them developed over this matter later this year. See Morgan, passim, and a number of letters written by Rush in the fall of 1784 that will be printed in the \textit{Letters of Benjamin Rush}.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} A Bear Tavern on King Street east of the Courthouse was kept by Philip Messenkop in 1799. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, \textit{History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania} (Philadelphia, 1883), 399.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Alexander Lowery (1723-1805), of Marietta, Lancaster Co., Irish immigrant, fur trader, and colonel of militia, had served in the Pennsylvania constitutional convention of 1776 and later in the Assembly. Alex. Harris, \textit{A Biographical History of Lancaster County} (Lancaster, 1872), 375-381.
\end{itemize}
Jacks—Mr. Hubly & his Br: The Revd: Messrs. Muhlenburgh & Handell—& Dr. Slough came in to pay their respects to the President.—The former talked chiefly of the Constitution & against the evils of paper money—The Clergymen talked with great zeal & attachment of Dickinson College of wch: they were both trustees.—

April 4th: Set off wth. Mr. Jacks, & Mr. Scott (one of the Assembly) at 9 oClock—dined at the Bear in Elizth: town at Mr. Bogs’s 18 miles from Lancaster—parted wth: Mr. Scott—and rode on to Middletown 8 miles further where we lodged—the Presidt: at Geo: Fry’s a private house, & Mr. Jacks & myself at

20 James Jacks, who lived in Manor Township, Lancaster Co., held many local offices, was a member of the Assembly, 1780-1782, and a charter trustee of Dickinson College, 1783-1802. Ibid., 324; George L. Reed, comp., Dickinson College Alumni Record (Carlisle, 1905), 11; information from Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, Lancaster.

21 “Mr. Hubly” is undoubtedly John Hubley (1747-1821), a Lancaster lawyer who had served in the constitutional convention of 1776 and as commissary of state and Continental stores at Lancaster from 1777; he was later a member of the convention to ratify the federal Constitution, 1787. For many years he acted as financial manager of Franklin (now Franklin and Marshall) College, of which he and Rush were both charter trustees. Harris, 322-323; Joseph H. Dubbs, History of Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, 1903), passim.

22 Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg (1755-1815), youngest son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church at Lancaster from 1780 until his death, first president of Franklin College, 1787, and a pioneer American botanist. DAB.

23 John William Hendel (1740-1798), born in the Palatinate, was pastor of the German Reformed Church in Lancaster, 1764-1769, 1782-1794; vice-president of Franklin College from 1787; Henry Harbaugh, The Fathers of the Reformed Church in Europe and America (Lancaster, 1872), II, 120-130.

24 No Dr. Slough can be identified in Lancaster at this time. Rush probably meant Mathias Slough, who was not a physician but an innkeeper, one-time coroner, frequently a member of the Assembly, and a well-known and active citizen usually called “Col. Slough.” Harris, 539-540.

25 Abraham Scott, member of the Assembly for Lancaster Co., 1781-1785, but otherwise obscure. Ellis and Evans, 214.

26 An Alexander Boggs bought a large tract of land in Elizabethtown in 1790 and may have kept the Bear Tavern at an earlier date. Ibid., 613.

27 Actually George Everhardt (1732-1806). Born in Germany, he is said to have acquired the name Frey from the circumstance of his having been taken up, when an orphan, as a runaway redemptioner and crying out, “Ich bin frei! Ich bin frei!” He was a storekeeper and this year bought a mill on the Swatara which eventually became the largest mill in Pennsylvania. John Penn described Frey’s mill and “extraordinary mill-stream” in 1788. By his will Frey
Mr. Crab’s tavern—This town is only 20 years old—has 70 houses in it some of which are of Stone—It lies on the Susquehannah, & near the mouth of Swetara [Swatara], & is very sickly every fall. Crab the tavern keeper told me he had lived there 13 years, without knowing a day’s Sickness.—April 5th: we proceeded along the river to Chamber’s ferry,—and were struck with the effects of the late inundation of the river. For two miles along the river we rode thr’o banks of ice—rails—and the ruins of houses which had been thrown up by the river above 300 yards in some places from its banks. We saw one bank of ice on a high bank of earth 20 feet high. We were told of stone houses—barns—&c being carried away in an instant by the fresh. We heard of one instance of a barn being carried 30 miles down the river in its entire state. Fowls were seen on its roof.—we crossed the river without difficulty—visited my old friend Dr. Kennady’s family on the shore—rode thr’o deep—and difficult roads to White’s 10 miles from Carlisle where we dined—The farms on the river are owned chiefly by Germans, & bear all the marks of


28 The Sign of General Washington, on the Square in Middletown, was kept by William Crabb and later, apparently, by George Crabb. Hutchinson, 43, 78, 80.

29 This ferry was about six miles above Middletown and two or three below Harrisburg. Licensed in 1750, it was probably by this time in the hands of Michael Simpson. John Penn crossed here from the west on his trip in 1738, remarking on the “enchanting prospects” from the river. Contemporary maps designate the crossing as “Simpson’s” or “Carlisle ferry,” but as late as 1807 Fortescue Cuming still called it “Chambers’s” and said it was “much frequented by the western waggoners, as the road that way is shorter by two miles, than that by Harrisburgh.” Thus Rush did not get as far as the better-known Harris’ ferry, where a town was being laid out this year that was to become the state capital. “John Penn’s Journal,” 293 and note; F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* [R. G. Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), IV], 38.

30 Rush, who was nothing if not thrifty with the memoranda he constantly gathered, compiled and published an account of this flood in *The Columbian Magazine*, I, 123–124 (November 1786), under the title “An Account of the Effects of the General THAW, in March, 1784, upon the River Susquehannah, and the adjacent Country.” The lesson to be drawn from it, he sagely concluded, is that farmers ought to remove everything movable from the river banks when a heavy thaw is coming on.

31 Not certainly identifiable.

32 Mentioned as a midway tavern in local records, but not further identified. Information from Dr. Milton E. Flower, Carlisle.
the industry of those people. A few miles from the river we traced the marks of the Irish Settlers—Houses without windows—Water wasting itself in public roads instead of being drawn over fields so as to make meadow—dead timber standing in forests in fields of grain—low or broken fences, & lean Cattle. Arrived at Carlisle in the evening, & put up at Jas. Pollock a large & excellent tavern. Jno. Montgomery waited upon us & invited us to lodge at his house—but we excused ourselves by promising to breakfast & dine with him next day. April 6th: at 12 oClock the trustees assembled in the Episcopal Church where an excellent Sermon on the Utility of Seminaries of learning was delivered by the Revd. Mr. Jno. Black

Rush’s observations here and toward the close of his journal contrasting the German and Irish (i.e., Scotch-Irish) settlements recur frequently in his letters and were elaborated in two essays that are pioneer examples of sociological analysis and that still make good reading. The earlier of the two is “An account of the Progress of Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Government in Pennsylvania,” published in The Columbian Magazine, I, 117–122 (November, 1786), and reprinted in Rush’s Essays (1798), 213–225. This essay is chiefly devoted to the Scotch-Irish frontier and anticipates essential parts of Frederick Jackson Turner’s interpretation of the westward movement in American history. The other is “An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,” published in The Columbian Magazine, III, 22–30 (January, 1789), reprinted in Rush’s Essays, 226–248, and frequently reprinted since. Nothing remotely comparable to it in informativeness and sympathetic understanding was written about the Pennsylvania Germans during the eighteenth century.

James Pollock (d. 1800), brother of that Oliver Pollock who is well known to history as the American commercial agent at New Orleans during the Revolution, emigrated from Ireland and settled at Silver Springs near Carlisle about 1760. He bought property in Carlisle, held various local offices, and kept a tavern on High (or Main) Street. John Penn, probably writing of James Pollock in 1788, says: “I found my landlord, tho’ an Irishman, possessed of the free and easy style to a great degree. It was difficult indeed to persuade him, for any length of time, that I was able to forego the pleasure of his society.” Horace E. Hayden, Pollock Genealogy (Harrisburg, 1883), 3–4; article on Oliver Pollock in DAB; “John Penn’s Journal,” 291.

John Montgomery (1722–1808) emigrated from Ireland to Carlisle about 1740, served in the Indian wars and as colonel of militia in the Revolution, was a member of the Assembly, 1781–1782, and of Congress, 1782–1784; he was afterwards an associate judge of Cumberland Co. Montgomery was Rush’s principal collaborator and supporter in founding Dickinson College and nursing it through its difficult early years. He lived at Happy Retreat, a stone house still standing on the western outskirts of Carlisle. Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle (Harrisburg, 1889), II, 316–317; Montgomery-Rush correspondence, Rush Manuscripts, XLI–XLIII, Library Company of Philadelphia.

St. John’s Episcopal Church has occupied the northeast corner of the Square in Carlisle since 1757, though the original building was replaced in 1825–1826. Milton E. Flower and Lenore E. Flower, This Is Carlisle (Carlisle, 1944), 35, 60.

Rev. John Black (d. 1802), a graduate of the College of New Jersey, 1771, was pastor of the Upper Marsh Creek (Gettysburg) Presbyterian Church, 1775–1794, and a charter trustee of Dickinson College. Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle, II, 66–69.
from these words Cor: I viii & i—"For knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."— We dined at Jno. Montgomery's in a large Company of trustees & some others. Our dinner was plentiful—elegant, & as well attended as any dinner I ever was at in a Gentleman's house in Philadelphia. Mr. Montgy.'s wife & daughter are sensible well bred women. After dinner we proceeded to the Court house where after taking & Subscribing the Oaths &c the trustees proceeded to business.—At 7 oClock adjourned. We drank tea, & I supped at John Montgomerys.—

April 7th: Proceeded to business After a sensible prayer by the Revd: Mr. Cooper a pious & learned member of the board of trustees. At 1 oClock we viewed the Works near the town which were judged proper for the Accommodation of the pupils & professors. We dined at our lodgings at Jas. Pollocks, and spend the Evening at Jno. Montgomery's. April 8th Met at 8 oClock, and elected unanimously our Principal Dr. Nesbit & Mr. Jas. Ross Professor of languages. Finished our business wth: an excellent prayer by

38 Sarah (Diemer) Montgomery was John Montgomery's second wife. By his two marriages he had six daughters; the eldest, Sidney, never married and may have been the one referred to by Rush. Information furnished by Dr. Milton E. Flower and Mrs. Lenore E. Flower.

39 Erected in 1765-1766 and burned in 1845, its site is now occupied by the present Cumberland County Courthouse. J. A. Murray, First Public Buildings in Carlisle. Court Houses (pamphlet issued by the Hamilton Library Association, Carlisle, 1902?).

40 Rev. Robert Cooper (c. 1732-1805), a graduate of the College of New Jersey, 1763, was pastor of the Middle Spring Presbyterian Church near Shippensburg, 1765-1797. Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle, II, 46-47.

41 The military buildings at "Washingtonburgh" on the eastern edge of Carlisle, erected during the colonial and Revolutionary period, and used as shops, storehouses, and barracks; afterwards, greatly augmented, they housed a famous Indian school, a government hospital, an army medical training school, and currently an army chaplains' school. Despite long negotiations by the trustees, the "public works" were never acquired by Dickinson College. Morgan, 27 (note), 75-78; Thomas G. Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond, 1939).

42 Charles Nisbet (1734-1804), D.D., of Montrose, Scotland, whom Rush by sheer persistence eventually persuaded to accept the post Rush had designated him for. Nisbet came to Carlisle in 1785 and served as principal of the frontier college until his death. Though a man of great learning and weight of character, he liked neither the place nor the people, and his relations with Rush—a man of equally positive but quite opposite views—were peculiarly unhappy. Morgan, passim; L. H. Butterfield, "Benjamin Rush and the Beginning of John and Mary's College over Susquehanna," Journal of the History of Medicine, III (1948), 427-442, reprinted in Bulwark of Liberty: Early Years at Dickinson (New York, 1950), 29-54.

43 James Ross (1743-1827), whose educational background is obscure, was at this time master of the grammar school to which Dickinson College traces its origin and in which the
Mr. Cooper. Went to Pollock's where an elegant dinner was provided by the Citizens of Carlisle for His Excellency the President & the trustees of the College. We spent an agreeable Afternoon with them. Drank tea at Col Magaw's & sat 'till 10 oClock at my friend Jno. Montgomery's. April 9th: Sat out for Philada. by the way of York town—were accompanied 10 miles by the principal inhabitants of the town of Carlisle, & were met by about a dozen of Gentlemen of the same description about 7 miles from Yorktown. Arrived at 7 oClock—was kindly received & lodged by my good friend & kinsman Mr. McClene. I forgot to mention before that the town of Carlisle consists of About 300 houses most of which are of Stone & some of them very large & elegant. It is only 30 thirty years old. My Landlord James Pollock who lives in a good brick house told me that he assisted in cutting down the trees that built the first log house in Carlisle, & that the trees grew on the Spot where his house now stood.—Our ride this day was extremely disagreeable owing to the coldness of the weather. The lanes & roads in many places were covered w[ith] Snow above a foot deep. No marks were to be seen any where of Vegetation, & complaints were to be heard every where of the Scarcity of fodder for Cattle. April 10th: Spent this day in walking about & viewing York, & visiting the principal inhabitants of the place. Was much pleased with the conversation of One Jno.
Fisher a German Artist whom we employed to cut the College Seal—a man without education who has taught himself a great many curious mechanical Arts. We dined at Col: Hartley’s with a large company of Gentlemen.—Drank tea at James Smith’s the lawyers. His wife is a most agreeable woman, and his two daughters are very genteel sensible young ladies. They entertained us after tea with Singing & playing on the harpsicord. April 11th: went to Church which was held in the Court house where we saw an assembly composed equally of Episcopalians & Presbyterians & heard a Sermon from the Revd. Mr. McFarquhar a Presbyn: minister. These people live in great harmony with each other, & Alternately hear each Other’s minister’s preach.—Dined at Col: Hartley’s and rode After

48 The seal of Dickinson College was adopted in April, 1784, upon recommendation of a committee of two members of the board of trustees, President Dickinson and Dr. Rush, and is still in use in a modified form. Rush conceived the symbolic design: a liberty cap above a telescope, which is in turn above an open Bible; and Dickinson provided the motto: “Pietate et doctrina tuta libertas.” Rush to Charles Nisbet, May 15, 1784, in Samuel Miller, Memoir of the Rev. Charles Nisbet, D. D. (New York, 1840), 113-114. The seal was executed by John Fisher, or Johannes Fischer (1736-1808), who was born near Tübingen, Germany, and came to America in 1749. He moved to York about 1756 and engaged in clock making; he was also an organ-maker, woodcarver, and painter. James A. Kell, manuscript genealogy of the Fisher family, York County Historical Society. A painted wood-and-metal figure of Justice holding her scales, which is attributed to Fisher and which long stood behind the judges’ bench in the York Courthouse, is reproduced in Frances Lichten, Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania (New York and London, 1946), 113.

49 Thomas Hartley (1748-1800), a lawyer of York, served as colonel, 11th Pennsylvania Line, 1777-1779; member of the ratifying convention of 1787, and of Congress, 1789-1800. An old friend of Rush’s, he was also a charter trustee of Dickinson College. DAB; Reed, 11.

50 James Smith (c. 1719-1806), born in Ireland, had met Rush when they were members of the Provincial Conference of June, 1776, and they were soon afterwards cosigners for Pennsylvania of the Declaration of Independence. In Smith’s house on South George Street, no longer standing, the Board of War met while Congress sat in York. He married, about 1762, Eleanor Armor (d. 1818), and they had five children, including three daughters, all of whom were apparently unmarried at this time. DAB; information from local records furnished by Henry J. Young, York County Historical Society.

51 This was the building in Centre Square, built in 1756 and torn down in 1841, where Congress had sat (Sept. 30, 1777–June 27, 1778) during the British occupation of Philadelphia. Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State [American Guide Series] (New York, 1940), 348-349. A crude but interesting view of the old Courthouse is used as a frontispiece in W. C. Carter and A. J. Glossbrenner, History of York County (York, 1834).

52 Rev. Colin McFarquhar (c. 1729-1822), born and educated in Scotland, served as minister at Old Donegal Presbyterian Church, west of Mt. Joy in Lancaster Co., 1777-1806. An Episcopal church had been built at York during the Revolution, but was immediately taken over for military purposes and in 1784 was probably not yet ready for use as a church. Ellis and Evans, 773-775; Carter and Glossbrenner, 43-44.
dinner to Wright's ferry. Mr. Dickinson introduced me to Mr. Wright's family where I saw the famous Suzey Wright, a lady who has been celebrated above half a century for her wit—good sense & valuable improvements of mind. She has been for many years the friend & correspondent of Dr. Franklin. She is now in her 88th year, & has declined a good deal both in strength & in her mental faculties. She told me that she had lived 62 years at this place, & that when she first came to live here there were no inhabitants in York County, & none on this side Lancaster 10 miles from the ferry. She told me further that her appetite was good—that she still retained her relish for books—"that she could not live without them"—& that to use her own words "the pleasure of reading was to her a most tremendous blessing"—She said that she remembered the events of childhood now better than [than] she did in the middle of her life.—April 12 Left the ferry and after stopping once, and feeding our horses 6 miles on this side Lancaster, we dined at Hopkins's tavern where we met with Col Atlee, & lodged at Whitaker's tavern 41 miles from the city. The country over which we rode this day was equal in point of cultivation to any perhaps in the world. Stone house & barns—large orchards—watered meadows—extensive fields of grain separated from each other with high fences many of which were of posts & rails every where presented themselves to our view. The contrast between these settlements & the Irish settlements in Cumberland & York counties was very great. I have described the

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53 Wright's Ferry was patented in 1730 by John Wright, an English Quaker settler. His grandson, Samuel, laid out a town here, 1787–1788, naming it Columbia. In 1789 an effort was made by Congressman Hartley and others to have Columbia designated the seat of the national government. Ellis and Evans, 539–541; William H. Egle, An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1876), 832–833.

54 Susannah Wright (1692–1785), daughter of John Wright, the pioneer settler. She lived in a house erected by her brother James that still stands, little altered, on Second Street in Columbia. Susannah wrote poetry, painted landscapes, treated the sick, spun silk from which was made a court dress for the Queen of England, and corresponded with James Logan and Benjamin Franklin. It was characteristic of Rush to inquire into her health and habits, for longevity was a subject on which he wrote frequently. Lancaster County Historical Society Papers, XLII (1938), 125–139, with photographs of the Wright homestead; Egle, 832; A. H. Smyth, ed., Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York and London, 1905–1907), III, 57–58; PMHB, XVI (1892), 305.

55 This must have been the tavern at Mill Creek, noted on the 1767 road surveyor's map as conducted by a tavernkeeper named James Gibbons. See reference in Note 16.

56 Not clearly identifiable.
latter formerly. One thing I omitted, & that is, near many of the houses in the Irish Settlements we saw Still houses. The Quantity of Rye destroyed & of Whisky drank in these places is immense, & its effects upon thier industry—health & morals are terrible. I was sorry to hear that the Germans in some places were beginning to be corrupted with it.—This is a poor reward to them for communicating thier industry & Arts in farming to the Irish which is the case in Donegal where many of them are as good & clean farmers as the Germans, & where they have acquired wealth, and influence. Mr. Whitaker who keeps a brewery as well as a tavern told me that beer is becoming every Year more fashionable in the Country, & that last year he sold 1000 barrels. Perhaps this excellent liquor may root out whisky from our country.

57 Rush was an inveterate foe of distilled spirits and was at this time about to launch a crusade against them that eventually resulted in the organized temperance movement of the nineteenth century. It is likely that his very widely circulated tract called An Enquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body, and Their Influence upon the Happiness of Society (probably composed and first published in 1784) was inspired by his observations during his trip to Carlisle. On the other hand, Rush's approval of beer and wine dismayed his teetotalling followers in the next century. See John A. Krout, The Origins of Prohibition (New York, 1925), Chap. IV. A good deal of new information on Rush's temperance activities will appear in his Letters.

58 A township in western Lancaster Co., lying on the Susquehanna. It was later divided into East and West Donegal. Thomas F. Gordon, A Gazetteer of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1933), 143.