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Railroads of West Chester: 1831 to the present

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RAILROADS OF WEST CHESTER

BY JIM JONES



Railroads of West Chester

1831 to the present

*A history of the construction
and consequences of the
greatest invention of its age
as viewed from a small town
in southeastern Pennsylvania.*

Written and designed by Jim Jones, Ph.D., Professor of History, West Chester University. Printed by Taggart Printing, 323 S. Matlack Street, West Chester, PA 19382.

Front cover: 1960 American Locomotive Company DR3-18U of the West Chester Railroad. Photo by Jim Jones.

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Dedicated to alternatives to automobiles,
and to everyone who uses them.

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List of Abbreviations

CCHS	Chester County Historical Society
CF	Chester County Historical Society clippings file
C&P	Columbia & Philadelphia Railroad
DLN	Daily Local News
HBD	Hoopes Brothers & Darlington Wheel Works
HBT	Hoopes Brothers & Thomas Nursery
P&BC	Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railroad
PI	Philadelphia Inquirer
SEPTA	Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority
SSC	Sharples Separator Works
WC&P	West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad
WCERR	West Chester Extended Rail Road
WCRHA	West Chester Railroad Heritage Association
WCRR	West Chester Railroad
WCSR	West Chester Electric Street Railway
W&N	Wilmington & Northern Railroad

Foreword

This book covers a subject that is at the same time both broad and narrow. The invention of the railroad may be the most significant human accomplishment of modern times, and it has inspired so many books, articles, memoirs and documentaries that a complete listing would be longer than this book. This book focuses on a tiny slice of that great history -- the effect of railroads in West Chester, Pennsylvania, a 1.8 square mile borough located about twenty-five miles west of Philadelphia. West Chester acquired its first railroad in 1832 and one still operates there today. As a result, West Chester's story spans the entire history of railroads in America, and provides more than enough material to fill this book.

Although I conducted most of the research for this book, I was aided by many others. The greatest contributions came from Diane Rofini, Pamela Powell, Marion Strode, and Wesley Sollenberger of the Chester County Historical Society; Laurie Rofini, Mary Sprout, Clifford Parker, David Haugaard, and Jonathan Long of the Chester County Archives; and Gerald Schoelkopf of the West Chester University Library. Other important assistance came from Chris Baer of the Hagley Museum, Kurt Bell of the Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania, Harry Garforth of SEPTA, Ernie McNeely and Bob Wilpizeski of the Borough of West Chester, and Joe Lake, Fred Heilich, Glenn Schwass, and Skip Small of the West Chester Railroad Heritage Association. Finally, Ray Ott, Bob Sheller, Paul Rodebaugh, Eric Chandlee Wilson, and Jane Dorchester all helped me identify useful sources.

Fred Heilich of the West Chester Railroad Heritage Association, Geoff Brace of the East End Neighborhood Association, and Dr. Ester Riehl of the University of Delaware were all kind enough to read early drafts of this book and to offer comments that greatly improved the final version. On the other hand, I alone am responsible for any errors that remain in this narrative.

Introduction

On most weekend mornings in the borough of West Chester, Pennsylvania, you can hear the evidence that it is still a railroad town.¹ Air horns signal train movements in the freight yard on S. Adams Street at Niels, while the bells at the Union and Niels Street crossings signal the passage of tourist trains en route to and from Glen Mills.

In addition, there are many physical clues that railroads once played a larger role in the life of the borough. About one hundred feet east of the corner of Chestnut and Matlack Streets, a pair of iron rails are still embedded in the pavement where two different stations once stood. Further east, Patton Avenue intersects Gay Street at an odd angle, and if you look towards the north past the Sharples Works and 400 N. Penn Street with its triangular backyard, you can see that Maple Avenue follows the same line past the high school.² In a town whose street grid is almost always rectilinear, these oblique streets and buildings indicate the former railroad right-of-way. There are more rail fragments on E. Union Street, irregular pavement on Chestnut and Market Streets, and other oddities such as Evans Alley which widens out to become a street for one block between Walnut and Matlack Streets. All trace their origin to railroad tracks that once spread across the eastern half of the borough.

These physical signs are the reminder of a time when West Chester was a significant railroad town. As recently as a half century ago, there were two lines to Philadelphia, three stations, two freight yards and numerous side tracks, including one that ran into the center of town. During the time when railroads dominated American transportation, economy and culture, West Chester's railroads employed local residents and served them and their neighbors. This is the story of how those railroads were built, how they became incorporated into

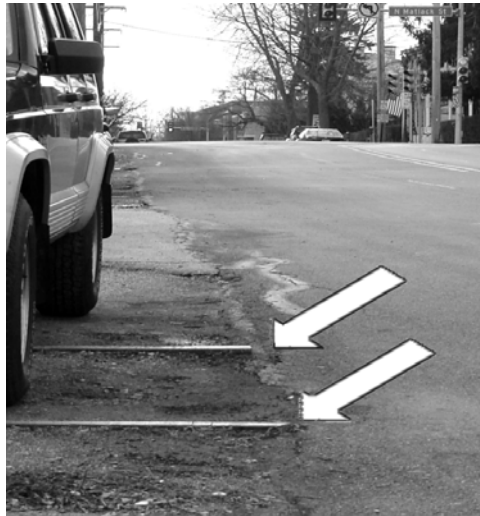


Figure 1: Track remnants on E. Chestnut Street near Matlack. Photo by the author.

larger national networks, and how they affected the history of West Chester itself.

The Geography of Railroads in Chester County

More than a century before the invention of the steam locomotive, Philadelphia became the dominant city in the United States thanks to its tranquil harbor on the Delaware River estuary and the prosperity of southeastern Pennsylvania.³ That dominance was challenged in the early nineteenth century by other cities -- notably New York and Baltimore -- using waterways to capture trade from the country's expanding agricultural hinterland. Philadelphia's merchants became active promoters of transportation projects designed to maintain the city's advantage, and communities in southeastern Pennsylvania became inspired by the Philadelphia effort. In addition to canals lining most of the Delaware River's tributaries, several attempts were made to supplement waterways with horse-drawn and later steam-powered railroads. The most celebrated of these was a state-sponsored project to link Philadelphia to Pittsburgh with a series of canals and railroads that became known as the "Main Line of Public Works." Its eastern end passed through Chester County only a few miles north of West Chester, and it played a major role in motivating the borough's business community to build its first railroad.

Other lines radiated outward from Philadelphia to the west -- one northwest along the Schuylkill River and the other southwest along the Delaware River. Although only the former actually passed through Chester County, both spawned branch lines that served much of the county. Along with the Main Line, and a later line that headed towards Baltimore via Oxford, Chester County was served directly by trunks or branches of four main lines that emanated from Philadelphia. None of the trunk lines passed through West Chester, but local boosters helped to organize and finance connections to two of them. As a result, West Chester ended up with two routes to Philadelphia.

The Organization of this Book

West Chester was one of the first towns in the country to get a railroad, so its railroad history spans the entire era of American railroading. This book divides that history into three parts. Part I covers the period before the Civil War when railroads were still operated by relatively small local companies. Part II examines West

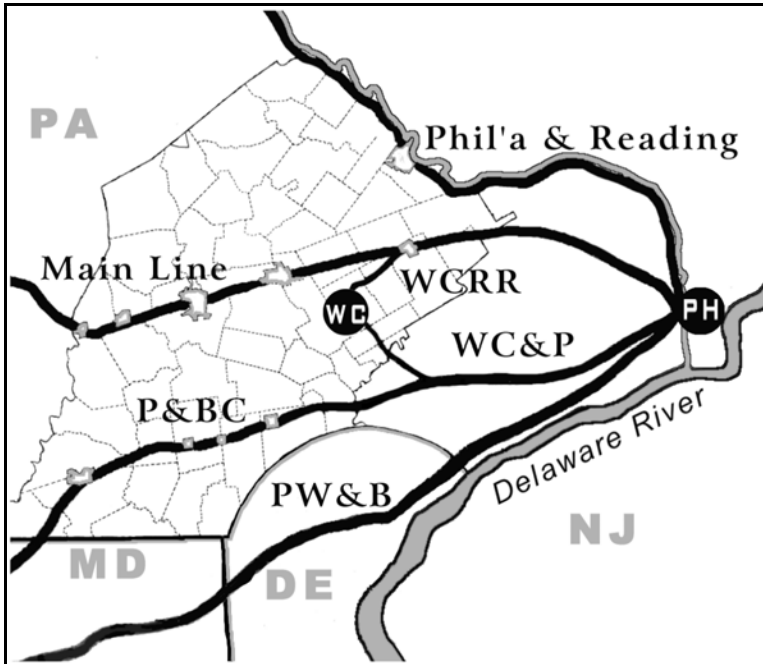


Figure 2: Nineteenth century trunk lines emanating from Philadelphia to the west. Map by the author.

Chester's railroads in the period of regional consolidation when the Pennsylvania, Philadelphia & Reading, and the Baltimore & Ohio companies purchased local short lines -- like those that served West Chester -- in order to expand markets and protect monopolies. The Pennsylvania Railroad eventually gained control over both West Chester lines, and its management practices were a major determinant of how people in West Chester experienced railroads for the next eighty years.

Part III looks at several aspects of the "Penny years" including the identity of the people who worked on the railroad, the passengers and goods that it carried, and the physical impact of the railroad. Taken together, these chapters show how railroads affected life in the borough and ends with the demise of commercial rail service in 1986. Finally, a brief epilogue describes the resumption of service by a privately-owned tourist railroad and the prospects for the future.

Railroads had much the same impact in West Chester that they had elsewhere in the eastern United States. The most unique feature of West Chester's railroad history was its extremely long duration, which

was all the more remarkable since the borough was never situated on a major trunk line. This book is an attempt to organize the information available from many surviving sources, to recall the time when traffic jams only occurred around train stations, and to stimulate appreciation for the efforts of the West Chester Railroad Heritage Association to preserve and restore rail service to West Chester.

Chapter 1 Building the West Chester Railroad, 1830-1833

The story of West Chester's railroads began in the early 1830s, an exciting time to be alive in West Chester. Since its founding in 1799, the Borough had grown from a crossroads into a small town with four main blocks centered on the intersection of what is now High and Gay Streets. In 1829 a storekeeper named William Everhart made the largest real estate investment in Borough history by buying the 110 acre Wollerton farm to the south and west of the town and dividing it into building lots. Everhart's plans, which included a hotel and a new store, energized a number of local men including Charles Miner, the newspaper editor, and Isaac Barnard, the former state senator.¹

Like Everhart, Miner and Barnard were "newcomers" to a town controlled by the descendants of Quaker farming families who arrived in the previous century. Most of the newcomers were businessmen who came to town after the American Revolution. The old-timers regarded them with some distrust. Everhart, in particular, became a polarizing figure who challenged the traditional power brokers by filing lawsuits, creating rival companies and eventually running for local office.²

In the same period developments in the rest of the country added to the excitement. In 1825 the Erie Canal opened between Albany and Buffalo, giving businessmen in New York access to the Great Lakes.³ Philadelphia merchants sought similar results by financing the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal which opened in 1829. But shippers from central Pennsylvania still found that once their goods reached the mouth of the Susquehanna River, it was easier to continue south to Baltimore than to navigate the canal locks and push up the Delaware River to Philadelphia.

Still hoping to divert central Pennsylvania's trade away from Baltimore, a second group of Philadelphia investors obtained a state charter to build "the Main Line of Public Works." Their plan included a railroad from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna River at Columbia, but it also relied on rivers, canals and stationary steam engines to move loads over the Pennsylvania mountains westward to Pittsburgh and the Ohio River.

Overland transportation was still a difficult proposition in America in the early 1830s. There had been some improvement since Independence, and roads were no longer simply hacked out of the forest. Instead, wooden planks and crushed stone were used to surface roads and provide a more durable driving surface that could be used even after rain. English mine owners had discovered an even more useful improvement -- rails that enabled horses to pull heavily-loaded wagons more easily.

Progress was also evident in the technology of power production. After many millennia of reliance on animal, wind and water power, the invention of a practical steam engine in the eighteenth century, followed by improvements in metallurgy, led to the development of smaller, more powerful and reliable engines. Richard Trevithick, a tin mine foreman, used one to haul a ten-ton load along a railway in Cornwall in 1803. Robert Fulton placed a steam engine in the *Clermont* and made a successful voyage from New York to Albany on the Hudson River in 1807. By 1825 George Stephenson was able to open the world's first steam-powered passenger railroad, the Stockton & Darlington Railway in England.⁴

With all of this going on, it is not surprising that people in West Chester became interested in transportation improvements. In early December 1830, a group of men attended a meeting at the Turk's Head Tavern, chaired by Judge Isaac Darlington, to form a committee to consider creating a railroad company. The participants -- Dr. William Darlington, Ziba Pyle, William Williamson, Joseph Hemphill, Jonathan Jones, Elihu Chauncey, P. Frazer Smith and Samuel C. Jefferis -- were all members of West Chester's old guard.⁵ Dr. Darlington was a former president of the State Canal Commission, and the other members included several burgesses, lawyers and a Borough postmaster. Most were associated with the leading families of West Chester -- the kind of people who viewed newcomers like William Everhart with suspicion.

At their second meeting the committee appointed Major John Wilson of the US topographical service to study possible routes from West Chester to the Main Line of Public Works (henceforth Main Line). Wilson was the chief engineer for the railroad portion of the Main Line (between Philadelphia and Columbia on the Susquehanna River in western Lancaster County). The committee hoped that his appointment would insure a favorable rail connection to the state railroad. At their third meeting on Christmas Eve, they agreed to form a railroad company and elected Judge Darlington's cousin, Dr. William Darlington, as their president.⁶

Major Wilson worked quickly. On January 8 he presented a proposal to the group for the construction of nine miles of track along the ridge that separated the Brandywine and Chester Creeks. He also proposed a connection to the Main Line at what later became Malvern, and a terminus in West Chester at what is now the northeast corner of Matlack and Chestnut Streets.⁷ Although this was not the shortest route to the Main Line, which passed due north of the Borough, it eliminated the need for costly bridges and earth cuts to cross Taylor's Run and other depressions that lay between the Borough and area around the

Exton crossroads. It also eliminated a steep descent to the Main Line which would have severely limited the weight that horses could pull. Instead, the two railroads split the difference in elevation by meeting "east of the Valley Hill summit" at the site of the future town of Malvern.⁸ Wilson estimated the cost for the work at just under \$90,000.⁹

At the same meeting where Dr. Darlington's group approved Wilson's plan, they formed a subcommittee to seek a state charter. That proved controversial when Everhart and his supporters started to lobby the state legislature for a charter that called for lower stock share prices. Darlington used his connections from his days as a state canal commissioner to contact State Senator William Jackson. He urged Jackson to support a proposal for \$100 shares and argued that it was "less wasteful" to sell shares at this amount. Coincidentally, more expensive shares would limit the number of stockholders, making it harder for the Everhart faction to gain control of the board. The real dispute centered on the terminus of the railroad, since Wilson's proposal stopped five blocks from the nearest part of Everhart's development.¹⁰ The governor approved a compromise on February 18 that permitted the sale of shares at fifty dollars each, but placed the end of the railroad on the northeast side of town.¹¹

With its charter in hand, the company began to raise money for construction. The charter authorized the sale of two thousand shares for a total of \$100,000, and the company arranged to sell shares at three locations: the Merchants' Coffeehouse in Philadelphia, the Paoli Tavern, and the Washington House Hotel in West Chester.¹² To increase public interest, the directors distributed promotional material that said (in part):

Every discerning mind must perceive that it would be decidedly the interest of the owners of real estate in West Chester and its vicinity, to construct the railroad themselves -- even if it should not yield them one cent in the form of dividends on the capital stock. Ten percentum on their property would make the road in a substantial manner; and no one can doubt that the real estate in the borough, and immediately adjacent, would be enhanced in value to more than that amount upon completion of the Rail Road. Therefore, it is obviously the interest of property holders to make the road at once -- without any regard to dividends.¹³

Their argument must have been persuasive because, when

sales began on the morning of March 22, the demand was so great that people fought to get in the line. The Philadelphia shares sold out within twenty minutes while the West Chester shares sold in just over an hour. The stock issue ended up oversubscribed and the company had to return some money in order to meet the two thousand share limit imposed by the state.¹⁴

Now that they had \$100,000 on hand, the group could incorporate. On March 28 they elected a board of directors that included Dr. William Darlington and other local notables like Ziba Pyle, a former Chief Burgess (1825 and 1827-1830); William Williamson, a future Chief Burgess (1834-1835 and 1844) and Samuel C. Jefferis (who became the town's postmaster in 1841).¹⁵ On May 3 the board appointed Wilson to serve as chief engineer and John Baily to act as Wilson's "resident engineer."¹⁶ By the end of March they signed nine contracts with local builders to construct the line in one-mile segments.¹⁷ Ziba Pyle, one of the early promoters, described the route:

Commencing in the borough, near the dividing ridge between the tributaries of Chester Creek and Brandywine, it continues on that ridge to the south Valley Hill, where it sweeps with a graceful curve round the headwaters of Chester Creek, and then pursues its course eastward along the hill until it intersects the Pennsylvania Rail Road, near the point where the latter emerges from the great Limestone Valley.¹⁸

In terms of modern geography, the line left the northeast corner of the borough past Henderson High School and followed Phoenixville Pike to just south of King Road. There, it swerved east and followed King Road to Malvern.

Railroad contracting was a new business in 1831. Although techniques for earth-moving, masonry, carpentry and iron construction were already well-understood thanks to projects like the Erie Canal, labor management was not yet well developed. The company hired labor contractors who worked singly or in pairs, and they in turn hired men to perform the actual digging and building.¹⁹ As a result, the company had little knowledge or control over the conditions of labor, and the men who did the actual work of building the West Chester Railroad remain anonymous.

Research on another railroad construction site managed by Philip Duffy, the contractor on mile 9 (nearest Malvern), found that the workers were often Irish immigrants who were hired by compatriots as they stepped off the boat in Philadelphia. They were housed in crude camps along the right-of-way, exposed to contagious diseases such as

cholera and subject to hostility from the neighboring inhabitants.²⁰

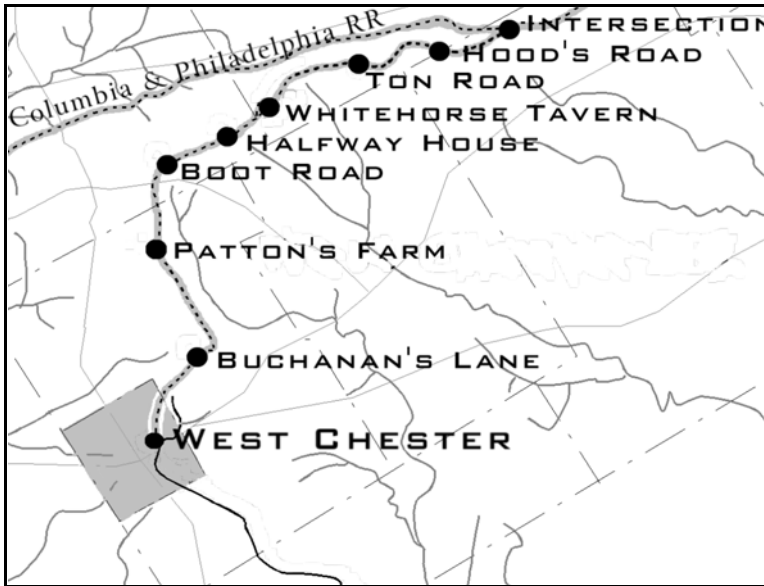


Figure 3. Stations on the West Chester Railroad. Map by the author.

More detail is available about the work that they performed. Following the surveyor's stakes, work crews began by clearing away brush and removing trees to make room for two tracks, side by side.²¹ Using picks, shovels, wheelbarrows and horse-drawn wagons, they leveled the route by cutting down high spots and filling in depressions.²² The deepest excavation was a seventeen-foot cut on Moses Jones' farm near the West Goshen-West Whiteland line. The largest fill was a twenty-six-foot high embankment located just to the east.²³

After the grading was finished, workers laid seven foot wooden "sleepers" across the right-of-way and then nailed down pine rails surfaced with straps made of English iron. Although their original plan was to build two tracks side-by-side, they opted to save money by building only one track and adding eighteen "turnouts" spaced a half mile apart to allow trains to pass.²⁴

In spite of these economies, it took eighteen months to complete nine miles of track. By the time the line opened in September 1832, the company had spent over \$86,000.²⁵

Table 1. Construction costs for the West Chester Railroad²⁶

DESCRIPTION OF EXPENSE	AMOUNT
Grading for a double track	\$33,756.65
Iron for various uses	14,129.05
String pieces	8,459.74
Sleepers (ties)	3,494.20
Broken stone	6,217.05
Construction of single track and horse path	8,900.225
Salaries	3,344.57
SUBTOTAL for railroad construction	\$78,301.485
Fencing the road	3,349.38
Cars and horses	2,389.49
Car house and stable	964.58
Damages to crops, etc.	234.33
Incidental expenses	1,148.83
SUBTOTAL non-construction expenses	\$8,086.53
GRAND TOTAL TO BUILD 9.5 MILES (\$9,093 per mile)	\$86,388.065

The total was nearly two thousand dollars less than Major Wilson's estimate and the railroad's promoters were justifiably proud.²⁷ According to Dr. Darlington, as completion of the railroad became imminent, the borough began to receive "additional animation and vital energy."²⁸ West Chester attracted people fleeing Philadelphia's 1832 "Asiatic cholera" epidemic, like Anthony Bolmar, a French educator who married and stayed on to become head of the West Chester Academy in 1834.²⁹ The prospects of a railroad to Philadelphia also encouraged investments in other projects such as Price's Boarding School at 26 W. Union Street³⁰ and the First Presbyterian Church at 130 W. Miner Street (designed by architect Thomas U. Walter, who also designed the courthouse and parts of the Capital Building in Washington DC).³¹

The most ambitious project was William Everhart's development of all the land south and west of the intersection of Church and Market Streets. To encourage buyers for his lots, he offered to allow Borough Council to extend Market Street (then known as South Street) across his land. Everhart was a shrewd man, however, and his original offer left him in control of a strip of land on the north side of Market Street. Property owners along the south side of W. Gay Street protested because Everhart's strip prevented them from accessing the new street. The dispute was resolved when Everhart donated the strip to the Borough, which used it to widen Market Street and provide room for a new public market.

Opposition to Everhart continued from people who charged that the new market -- proposed to be built at taxpayer expense -- would generate business that benefitted Everhart's hotel and store. The debate spilled over into the 1831 elections when several Everhart supporters won seats on Borough Council. They voted to build the market and construction began in the spring of 1832.³² Meanwhile, Everhart built a row of stores facing the new market at what is now 101-107 W. Market Street, and moved his own dry goods store into the corner property.³³ Next, he built West Chester's first luxury hotel, the 60-room Chester County Hotel (later known as the Mansion House) on the southeast corner of Market and Church Streets. Finally, he built a palatial family home at 125 W. Miner Street that became known as the Everhart Mansion.³⁴

All the while, railroad construction continued. By January 1, 1832, the line was more than half finished,³⁵ and on August 5 a horse-drawn railcar made the first trip from West Chester to "Intersection," the junction with the as yet unfinished C&P. On September 13 horses pulled an excursion train to "Intersection," and five days later engineer Baily informed the board that the line would be completed by the end of the month.³⁶

On October 18 track crews completed the C&P between Intersection and Belmont, about six miles west of Philadelphia. The first train from West Chester made the trip that same day.³⁷ According to the schedule issued on November 7, the company offered two trains a day in each direction. A passenger who departed at eight in the morning could reach Philadelphia by noon and return to West Chester on the same day by 8pm.³⁸

This was a phenomenal improvement. Before the railroad was built, a fast rider on a good horse could reach Philadelphia and return to West Chester in the same day, but farmers encumbered with freight wagons had to spend the night in a hotel. Now, with the railroad in operation, they could make a market trip to Philadelphia in a single day. So could anyone else who lived outside of the city.

In West Chester the consequences included new interest in the town as a place to live and to produce goods for sale in Philadelphia. Following Everhart's example, the cabinetmaker Thomas Ogden built a row of houses that still stands on the west side of New Street between Market and Gay Streets. William Newlin and George Ashbridge began to sell land from the south end of their farms for building lots along Chestnut Street.³⁹ Other investors began to offer development plans like that for a silk company that got underway in 1836 by planting about five acres of Italian mulberry trees (to provide food for the silkworms) along the railroad near the modern site of Henderson High

School.⁴⁰

In this boomtown environment, the struggle between William Everhart and the railroad entered a new phase. Fresh from his conquest of Borough Council, which retained only two members from the previous term, Everhart renewed the call for a railroad station that was more convenient to the west side of town. A Borough Council committee that included Everhart allies Thomas Bell and William Apple recommended the extension of the existing railroad, but it took no action. Everhart took matters into his own hands and applied to the state for a charter to build the "West Chester Extended Railroad Company" (WCERR) in 1833.⁴¹

The town's business leaders became polarized. While Apple, Bell, Everhart and two other men (Eber Worthington, and James Tillum) used their Harrisburg connections to get their charter approved,⁴² the owner of the Greentree Hotel, Joseph McClellan, mobilized a group that included Walker Yarnall, David Townsend, the railroad company's superintendent William Sharpless, and one of its founders, John W. Townsend. McClellan was in the middle of selling land along Gay Street to the others and all agreed to offer two strips of land plus \$300 to the West Chester Railroad if it would extend its tracks to an alley on the east side of McClellan's hotel on the northeast corner of High and Gay Streets.⁴³

The board accepted their offer and commissioned a "scientific surveyor" to lay out the route. They chose Joshua Hoopes, whom later historians described as a "boon companion of Dr. Darlington and David Townsend." The tone of the minutes of May 21, 1836 show that the board was sensitive to the possibility of criticism. They reassured readers that "this was done without any attempt to influence his conclusions, and all who know him will believe without any motive to govern him but the Scientific Calculations that conduct to the best practicable place of accomplishing the work."⁴⁴

The surveyor concluded that the extension was feasible but that the tracks would have to end five feet below street level to avoid requiring the horses to haul loaded railcars uphill. Coincidentally that meant that Everhart's extended railroad, whose charter specified the right to build tracks at street level, could not connect to the West Chester Railroad at the new terminal. The WCRR directors eventually decided that horses could handle an additional foot of elevation and voted to terminate the tracks four feet below street level so that the bottoms of railcars would be flush with the street.⁴⁵

After more lobbying in Harrisburg, the state legislature threw the decision back to Borough Council. That led to another heated political campaign in 1836 and William Everhart's only term on Borough Council. The new council immediately elected Everhart chief burgess (equivalent to mayor and president of council) and approved the WCRR. Everhart, Joseph Taylor and a surveyor named Brown went onto the property near Gay Street and began staking out the route for their railroad. WCRR officials had them arrested and filed suit on September 12, 1836 for "breaking and entering the close of the Plaintiffs, digging up and trampling on the grounds and said close."⁴⁶

The wheels of justice turned slowly. The following May the judge ruled that the WCRR's charter was faulty because by granting the right to connect to the WCRR, it interfered with the WCRR's charter which gave them the right to build their line to any point in the borough.⁴⁷ The judge was Isaac Darlington, the same man who had chaired the first meeting of men who eventually built the WCRR, and a cousin of Dr. William Darlington, the WCRR's first president. Perhaps because he sensed that some might question his neutrality, he only fined Everhart and Thomas six cents and ordered that they pay an additional six cents in court costs.⁴⁸

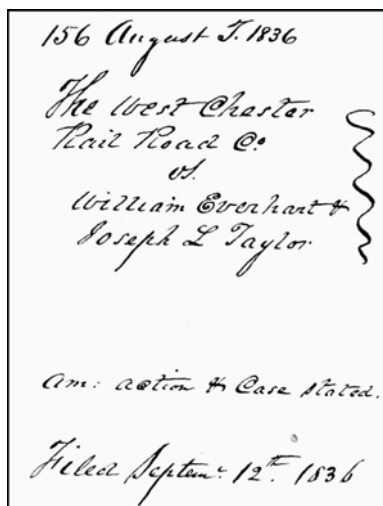


Figure 4. Cover of 1836 lawsuit. Courtesy Chester County Archives.

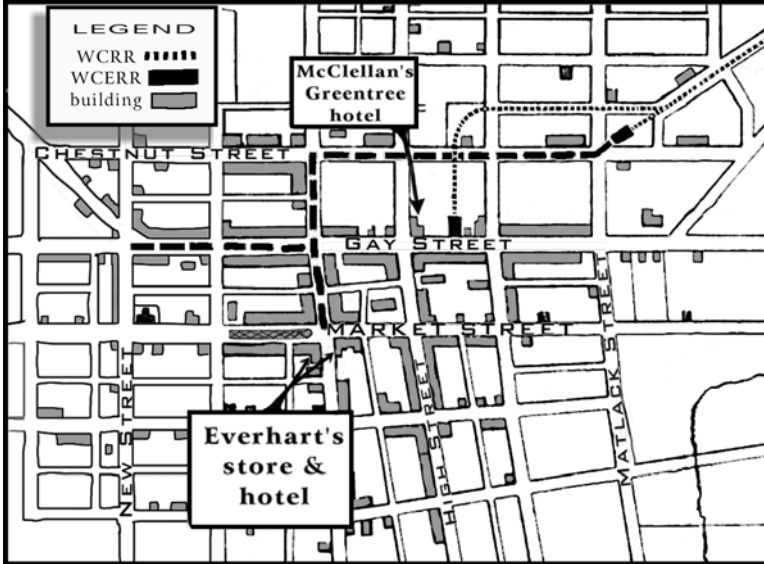


Figure 5. The WC and WC Extended Railroads, plus McClellan's and Everhart's hotels. Adapted by author from 1844 borough map.

The judge's decision meant that Everhart could only connect his line to the WCRR at its 1833 terminus -- the corner of Chestnut and Matlack Streets. The new company went ahead anyway and laid tracks along Chestnut Street to Church, then south on Church to Market, and added a branch along Gay Street from Church to New. According to a report written over thirty years later, Judge Darlington incited some young men to disrupt the line's construction, while an even later memoir from Enos Smedley, a potter who used the line to ship clay to his works on W. Gay Street, said that the company's Gay Street branch extended as far east as Walnut Street.⁴⁹ In any case, the WCERR did poorly and the tracks were removed in the early 1840s.⁵⁰

Chapter 2

Expansion and Collapse, 1834-1843

For the first four years the WCRR prospered. Once the eastern part of the C&P opened in November 1832, the WCRR was able to send rail cars as far as the plateau overlooking the Schuylkill River at Belmont (near the Philadelphia Zoo). At first, passengers had to change trains at Intersection, but the company reached an agreement with the state in May 1833 that allowed cars to travel non-stop from one end of the line to the other.¹ A bridge was still under construction at Belmont in late 1832, but passengers could travel by ferry or coach downriver to the Market Street bridge and cross the Schuylkill into Philadelphia.²

The WCRR also opened eight stations between West Chester and Intersection. Although no contemporary list survives, later annual reports and newspaper stories yield the following names and locations:

Table 2. Stations on the West Chester Railroad³

Station	Subsequent name(s)	Miles from West Chester
West Chester		0.0
Buchanan's Lane	McCall's, Fern Hill	1.3
Patton's Farm	Green Hill	2.7
Boot Road	Kirkland	3.7
Halfway House	Woodland, Morstein, Zermatt	5.1
White Horse Tavern	Summit	6.0
Ton Road		6.8
Hood's Road		7.9
Intersection	Malvern ⁴	9.0

The company continued to prosper in 1834 when the board elected William Sharpless as superintendent. The board voted to pay a three percent dividend in January and still found enough money to construct the "West Chester House" hotel near the corner of Broad and Race Streets in Philadelphia.⁵ The board also decided to build its first and only branch line after the Bank of Chester County announced plans to build a new bank at 15 N. High Street. The siding connected the Jacobs-Cornog quarry on Whitford Road in West Whiteland township (just south of old US 30) to the company's track at the Kirkland (later Boot Road) station.⁶ During the next year, a local man named Isaac Pawling used horse teams to haul marble for the bank and loads of marble chips for William Buchanan to convert into lime for cement.⁷

Expansion into the borough

The agreement with the Bank of Chester County affected the WCRR board's decision to build a new train station in West Chester. For years citizens had complained that the "Liberty Grove" station at the corner of Chestnut and Matlack Streets was inconveniently distant from the built-up portion of town, which ended in the rear yards of properties along the 100-block of North High Street and the 000-block of East Gay Street. To the northeast lay the Matlack family farm whose owner Robert Matlack had given the land at Liberty Grove to the railroad for its first station.⁸ After Matlack died in 1834 with his property heavily mortgaged,⁹ a syndicate of investors from West Chester, Philadelphia and Westtown purchased his property at sheriff's sale in November 1835.¹⁰ The syndicate, which included David Townsend and Yarnall Walker, sold the Greentree Hotel plus three adjacent lots to Joseph P. McClellan in April 1836.¹¹ As mentioned in the previous chapter, McClellan, Townsend, Yarnall and two other investors offered the right to use the alley to reach Gay Street on December 25, 1835.¹²

In January 1836 the board received a petition from residents asking for the extension, and referred it to a committee.¹³ The committee hired Joshua Hoopes to survey the route and he reported to the board in May.¹⁴ Then on July 9, 1836, the WCRR board approved a design for a station on Gay Street with offices in front of a platform leading back towards Chestnut Street, and "Resolved that the thanks of the Board be presented to Thomas U. Walter, Esq. for his neat, chaste and appropriate plan for the termination of the Railroad at West Chester."¹⁵

No pictures of this railroad station have survived, but there are



Figure 6. The Bank of Chester County, built in 1836 with marble hauled from East Whiteland by the West Chester Railroad. Photo by the author.

numerous descriptions of the building and its alterations. An 1878 court decision described a depot "one story high, having a ticket office and waiting room front, with track and platform back." The directors'

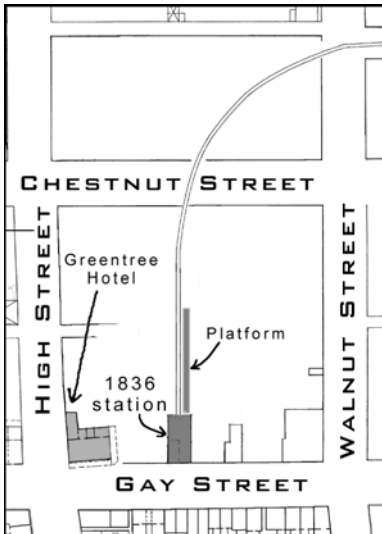


Figure 7. The 1836 Gay Street station. Map by the author.

minutes of July 9, 1836 state that the offices were fifteen feet deep (on a lot that was seventy feet deep), so the platform was at most fifty-five feet long. The following month, the directors decided to use metal instead of shingles for the roof, and the treasurer's report for 1836 gave the final cost as \$31,489.18.¹⁶

Newspaper advertisements offer additional clues. An 1839 advertisement described a warehouse on the property that measured 30' by 70'¹⁷ while an 1841 advertisement gave the depot's dimensions as 28' wide and 75' deep on a lot that was 38' wide along Gay Street and 60' wide along Chestnut Street.¹⁸ Years later in 1857 "the Company acquired other ground

northward, and extended the depot in that direction a distance of about one hundred and fifty feet. On this being done, the end of the track was taken up, and the terminus made further back, and has so remained."¹⁹

Although the Kirkland spur ultimately proved unprofitable, the rest of the line did well until 1837.²⁰ As late as June 1836, the company operated two trains a day in each direction and sold tickets in Philadelphia and at its West Chester depot.²¹ The annual report for that year showed a net profit of nearly \$3,200 on receipts of \$19,349.80, of which nearly three-quarters came from passenger receipts. Ninety-nine percent of the company stock was paid up and most of the large capital projects in West Chester and Philadelphia were complete.²²

Despite all of this, the company still faced major obstacles. The first was the inclined plane at Belmont which used a stationary engine and heavy ropes to lower railroad cars from a plateau down to the edge of the Schuylkill River. It was a frequent source of accidents that destroyed railroad cars and their loads.²³ To spare the passengers, the company had them disembark at the top and walk down to the river

while the cars were lowered. But it still caused delays for freight and was "a source of terror to most minds, and of grievance to all."²⁴

The aging track presented an even greater problem. Built of wooden rails topped with 5/8 inch thick iron straps,²⁵ the track proved too fragile as trains increased in weight and frequency. The wooden rails rotted as they aged and the wheels of passing trains forced the iron straps down into the soft wood. When they sprang back into position, the spikes that held the straps began to come loose. The rails were spiked so that the ends of the rails could move when warm weather expanded the metal, and water froze between the rails and straps in the winter, forcing them apart.²⁶ As a result, the iron straps often separated from the wooden rails, curling up through the floorboards of passing rail cars, causing damage and frightening the passengers.²⁷

The layout of the track created another problem. To save money, the Company built a single track with turnouts instead of a double track. The C&P was also single-tracked, and as a result, every time two trains met from opposite directions, one had to back up to the last turnout and let the other pass. There were no signals, so a driver never knew when another train was approaching, and since the only operating rule was that the train closest to the last turnout had to yield, drivers drove as fast as possible to reach the midpoints between turnouts. This produced at least one fatality in 1834 and numerous lesser accidents.²⁸

The reliance on turnouts also retarded the introduction of steam locomotives. Although a committee investigated the possibility of steam propulsion in the spring of 1836, the WCRR did not get its first locomotive until 1845.²⁹ The C&P started to use steam in 1834.³⁰ Problems arose when locomotives overtook slower horse-

drawn railcars from behind and had to wait until the next turnout before they could pass. One author suspects that horse owners may have purposely dawdled to annoy the drivers of their iron competitors.³¹

Once they became common, locomotives hastened the deterioration of the rails³² and the roadbed. In some places, the rails were laid directly on the ground without ballast, and as one engineer recounted, "It was no unusual thing to see the rails rise in front of the locomotive as the weight came upon a section of soft roadbed and pried up the track ahead."³³

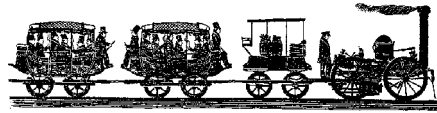


Figure 8. An early steam-powered train.

The Panic of 1837

In 1837 the technical flaws in the West Chester Railroad were rendered insignificant by a new development -- America's first economic depression. The Panic of 1837 arose from battles over the future of the first national bank (its charter was not renewed in 1836) that resulted in a huge increase in available credit, speculation in land and imported goods, and ultimately, a huge foreign debt. When foreign banks foreclosed on their loans, American state banks had to close. That triggered an economic depression that lasted from 1837 to 1843.³⁴

Locally the Panic produced a general decline in business activity that reduced the railroad's revenues, and several businesses that opened in response to railroad construction went bankrupt. For instance, the partnership of James & Darlington, operators of the "West Chester Transportation Line" which paid for the right to run its horse-drawn cars on the WCRR tracks, placed its rolling stock up for sale and offered to lease its warehouse in 1839.³⁵

The Bank of Chester County lost half of its capital and called in its

Alfred Sharpless

The main source for this period is a lengthy article written by Alfred Sharpless for the Borough's Centennial publication. Sharpless was a younger brother of William Sharpless, the WCRR's superintendent from 1834 to 1841, and Philip P. Sharpless, who joined the WCRR board in 1844. Alfred's account, written for the Chester County Historical Society when he was 75 years old, includes a history of local transportation before the railroad, details about the founding of the WCRR and his memories of working in the WCRR's Philadelphia office. While most of it consists of descriptions of board meetings, bond issues and T-rail, Sharpless includes human details like the following, which concerned efforts to build a rival to the West Chester Railroad:

"The owners of the old road ... declined all overtures, knowing very well that it would be impossible to build the new road for anything near the estimated cost ... They also advised others to take warning from their experience; this brought on a violent newspaper war between the friends of the two roads. The Delaware and Chester county papers were filled with pungent articles written by partisans of either side. Attempts were made to injure the old road through political influence with the party in power, which had to be combatted through the same forces. After a great struggle financially the West Chester Direct succeeded in getting a single track through to Glen Mills ... "

loans to the WCRR in order to survive. The WCRR board stopped paying dividends and its stockholders began to talk of rebellion.³⁶

In order to keep operating, the WCRR raised its Philadelphia fare from one dollar to \$1.25 and mortgaged its Philadelphia property. In 1841 the company sold off its own horses, discharged its paid staff and accepted the resignation of Superintendent Sharpless. The board members took over the staff's responsibilities at no pay,³⁷ and the following November, placed the West Chester depot up for sale.³⁸

Altogether these economies reduced the railroad's expenses by \$2,400, but that was not enough to offset the decline in revenues. The rails needed replacement, but the company could not afford more than 40 tons of new iron T-rail, barely enough for a half mile of track.³⁹ By 1844 the company had mortgaged or sold everything it owned, and even the value of its value was in doubt.⁴⁰

Chapter 3

Recovery, 1844-1850

The Panic of 1837 lasted for seven years, but by 1844 the regional economy began to improve. The situation of the WCRR also began to look up, beginning with the election of a new board of directors in 1843. The new group chose an executive committee composed of Philip P. Sharpless and Dr. Isaac Thomas,¹ which was a step in the right direction, according to Sharpless' brother Alfred:

Up to this time the road had been principally under the control of professional men, most of them prominent and able in their specialty, but entirely ignorant of railway management, and having but little time to devote to study of the same.²

The new directors were the first to take an interest in learning how to manage a railroad. Sharpless was the son of a well-known local brickmaker named Nathan, a grandson of William, the borough's first burgess,³ and the younger brother of another William who served as the WCRR's superintendent a decade earlier.⁴ Dr. Thomas came from a Willistown farming family who sent their son to study at the University of Pennsylvania. He opened his medical practice in West Chester in 1820, and by 1843 he had already helped found the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Science, joined the board of the Bank of Chester County and won a position on Borough Council.⁵ Both men shared an interest in science and learning which they brought to the railroad's management.

The new directors hired Samuel Painter to serve as the railroad's superintendent.⁶ His father was Joseph Painter, a newspaper publisher and leader of the Anti-Masonic party in West Chester.⁷ Samuel was quite the entrepreneur who opened West Chester's first book store in 1834 when he was 23 years old.⁸ In 1844, a year after he was hired to be the railroad's superintendent, he opened a lumber yard on the northeast corner of High and Chestnut Streets where the Chester County Historical Society is now located.⁹ His brother Joseph also left his mark on the borough by building West Chester's first telegraph line in 1857.¹⁰

Relations with the State Canal Commission

Sharpless, Thomas and Painter faced an enormous challenge. The company no longer owned any rolling stock, its real estate was

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The new board approved a number of capital investments in 1846. They leased additional land on each side of their E. Gay Street station and added additional structures -- one frame and one brick on a stone foundation -- to the 1836 building.²⁰ They borrowed \$15,000 to replace the iron-topped wooden rails with iron T-rail.²¹ They also ordered a pair of new passenger cars with built-in baggage compartments that eliminated the need to pay tolls to the state for a separate baggage car.²²

Meanwhile, the C&P eliminated the inclined plane at Belmont. Inclined planes were relics from the early days of railroad construction and the scenes of numerous delays and accidents. The banks of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers were too steep for horses and the underpowered locomotives available in the early 1830s, so the C&P installed stationary steam engines at the top of each bank and used ropes to lower cars to the floodplain. The Columbia plane was removed in 1839 and in 1840 the Canal Commission began to lobby the state legislature for the funds needed to bypass it.²³

A new company, the West Philadelphia Railroad, was chartered in 1835 to provide an alternative route to the edge of the Schuylkill River,²⁴ but it took until 1850 to complete the line. Surveys produced a realigned track that descended more than three hundred feet to the Market Street bridge in just over seven miles. That surpassed the steepest existing grade on the C&P,²⁵ but by the mid-1840s powerful 4-4-0 "Atlantic" locomotives had altered the physics of railroad construction.²⁶ The West Philadelphia line remained unfinished until the state took it over in 1849²⁷ and closed the inclined plane at Belmont in 1850. That eliminated the last major obstacle to "high-speed" rail service east of the Susquehanna River.²⁸

FREIGHT WESTWARD.			
All Merchandize, &c., received in Philadelphia, or east of the Schuylkill bridge and passing westward in the Company's cars, will be delivered along the line of the West Chester Railroad, or within the limits of the borough of West Chester, at the following rates:			
Furniture,	- - - -	per 100 lbs.	25 cts
Dry Goods, and Liquids in barrels,	do		20
Liquids in Glass, Earthen or Stone Vessels,			50
Hardware and Groceries,	- - - -		18
Articles not enumerated,	- - - -		18
Manures, Pig Iron and Salt,	- - - -		15
Sand in barrels,	- - - -		12½
Coal and Plaster,	- - - -	per ton	\$2.25
Clay	- - - -	do	2.—
Barley,	- - - -	per bushel	05
White Pine Lumber,	- - - -	per 1000 feet	3.—
Hemlock,	- - - -	do	3.50
Yellow Pine,	- - - -	do	4.—

Figure 9. Detail of newspaper advertisement "Freights and Tolls to be charged on the West Chester Railroad on or after the first of May 1846."

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Figure 10. A 4-4-0 "Atlantic" locomotive. Detail from "First Train into West Chester over West Chester & Pennsylvania Railroad, 1858." Photo by Nathan Parker. Courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Thus, by 1850 the WCRR seemed well on its way to recovery from the Panic of 1837. In the three years after it resumed capital investments, the company's gross revenues nearly quadrupled from less than \$11,000 in 1844 to about \$42,000 in 1847.²⁹ But the improving economic situation introduced a new kind of threat by encouraging competitors to seek charters for new railroads. One of them was aimed directly at West Chester and attracted support from nearly all of the WCRR's enemies.

Chapter 4 A Second Railroad Comes to Town, 1850-1858

The saga of West Chester's second railroad was much stormier than that of its predecessor. The "West Chester & Philadelphia Rail Road" (henceforth WC&P) was built to offer an alternative to the WCRR, and the fact that people were willing to invest in a redundant line showed both their belief in competition and their dissatisfaction with the first railroad. They were aided by an assortment of Delaware County investors who had been bypassed by other railroads, and by investors from Philadelphia. The disparity of interests coupled with the difficulties of the route led to lawsuits, work stoppages and other difficulties before a train could reach West Chester.

Unlike the WCRR, which was completed ahead of schedule and under budget, the construction of the WC&P was marked by delays and unexpected costs. By the time it was built in the 1850s, horses had been rendered obsolete by steam. Tracks had to be heavier so they could support the weight of steam locomotives and their cars, and that increased costs. Because earlier railroads had increased property values, land acquisition was more costly. Finally, the WC&P route required the construction of costly earthworks, culverts and wooden trestles to cross five major streams and numerous lesser depressions. Added to the technical problems were lawsuits, cost overruns and feuding among board members that led to a final tab of over \$1.2 million. By the time it was completed, the WC&P was thirteen times as expensive as the WCRR, but only three times as long.

The instigators of the project were mostly businessmen from West Chester who objected to the fees charged by the state for travel between Intersection and Philadelphia. Some, like William Everhart, had more deep-seated differences with the West Chester owners of the WCRR stemming from his attempt to build the WCERR in 1836 (see chapter 1). He was joined by long-time ally William Apple, a hardware dealer on E. Gay Street and the borough's Second Burgess from 1831 to 1841. John Marshall, another iron and hardware dealer, joined the group even though his shop and storage yard at 15 N. High Street were right next to the WCRR freight siding behind the Gay Street station. They were joined by Judge Townsend Haines and lawyers John Rutter and Paschall Morris, plus ten other investors from Chester County.¹

The West Chester men could not finance the new line themselves, but they found investors in central Delaware County. The tributaries of the Delaware River provided numerous places for businessmen to prosper using water-powered mills, but the creeks also made it costly to build a railroad to connect them. An earlier attempt to charter a railroad along the Chester Creek proved unsuccessful in 1835, and although the line along the Delaware River from Philadelphia to

Wilmington was completed by 1838, it was of little use to mill owners located several miles inland.²

The creators of the WC&P also found investors in Philadelphia. They included one of the vice presidents of the newly chartered Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR), the Philadelphia City Recorder, the heir to the Wetherill chemical enterprise, a manufacturer of iron products, and the owner of land in West Philadelphia along the proposed right of way.³ None were particularly concerned with West Chester's problems or Delaware County's isolation, but they saw the WC&P as a way to reach markets in Delaware County.

Things began well. A year after a Philadelphia group incorporated the PRR,⁴ an "acting committee" approached the state legislature and received approval on April 11, 1848 to sell stock,⁵ with the award of a state charter dependent on whether they could collect five dollar deposits for at least half of the twelve thousand authorized shares. The shares, priced at fifty dollars each, sold poorly on June 19, 1848,⁶ and the company was unable to apply for a charter in 1848.⁷

A second attempt in April 1850 was nearly as disappointing. By that time, the owners of the old railroad had begun to spread rumors that the new railroad was insolvent.⁸ It took a legislative amendment to increase the number of board members and reduce the minimum number of shares to twelve hundred. That enabled the board to attract enough investors to qualify for its charter on September 18, 1850.⁹

The company was still desperately short of cash, so the first task was to raise more money. Board president John Bowen, a West Chester lawyer, issued a favorable report on the company's prospects,¹⁰ and the "Delaware County Central Committee" issued a similar report.¹¹ That roused the new railroad's West Chester opponents to publish an anonymous rebuttal,¹² but by the end of 1852 the company had more than eight hundred stockholders and 10.2 miles of graded right-of-way. The directors continued to predict that they could finish the remaining 16 miles within a few months, and stressed that nearly \$199,000 of the stock subscriptions were already paid up. The bottom line was bleaker -- the company owed \$560,300 to stock subscribers and contractors, and it had no source of income besides selling more stock.¹³ Lawsuits over land acquisition had cost more than \$48,000 by the end of 1852¹⁴ and \$36,000 more in 1853, the year that construction finally began.¹⁵

In 1853 the board tried to tap a new source of revenue: the Borough of West Chester. Citing their commitment to the borough --

they had already spent \$400 to buy 1.1 acres for their depot on E. Market Street¹⁶ -- they convinced Borough Council to approve the purchase of 400 shares (worth \$20,000) on March 12.¹⁷ The state legislature added a condition that required two-thirds of the borough's

"taxable" citizens to approve the purchase and the voters complied on May 19. The wheels of local government turned slowly however, and it took until the following February to complete the purchase.¹⁸



Figure 11. WC&P stock certificate.

While the struggle to raise capital continued, construction got underway. Unlike the West Chester Railroad, which was built using

cut-and-fill methods along the high ground between the Great Valley and Chester Creek basins, the route of the WC&P presented some serious engineering challenges. It required nearly two dozen wooden bridges including major structures at Cobbs, Darby, Crum and Ridley Creeks.¹⁹ The largest, over Ridley Creek, required masonry abutments and three 160-foot spans to carry trucks 110 feet above the valley floor.²⁰

The board hired T. E. Sickels as the project engineer in August 1851²¹ and his plans attracted bids from two firms. Malone, Clark & Gonder won the contract by bidding \$585,000 and agreeing to accept \$200,000 of company stock in partial payment.²² Malone's firm hired the losing bidder, Daniel Tyler & Company to grade the eastern half of the line, and work began from both ends on April 10, 1852. By the end of the year, 5.6 miles were finished east of West Chester and 4.6 miles west from Philadelphia, and 3.5 miles of track had been laid.²³

The company claimed that it had enough rail to finish the road,²⁴ but in 1853, iron prices rose sharply (by 50%) to \$75 per ton. With the contractors beginning to lay track and build bridges at Cobbs and Darby Creeks, the cost of the line surpassed a million dollars.²⁵ Seeking to reinsure investors, the company reported the purchase of \$20,000 worth of stock by the Borough of West Chester in its 1853

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board raised more hackles by filing lawsuits against delinquent shareholders,⁴⁰ and in August Fallon resigned as president.⁴¹ The position remained vacant until January 1856, but after Fallon rejected the board's invitation to return, J. Lacey Darlington reluctantly accepted it. The company finally failed in April 1854 when it missed a mortgage payment, and Fallon resumed the presidency long enough to guide the company into receivership.⁴²

On April 25, 1856, the court-appointed trustees took over.⁴³ Joseph T. Thomas and John Thomas were both Philadelphia lawyers who represented the holders of the company's two mortgages.⁴⁴ From April 1856 to November 1858, they reorganized the company's books,⁴⁵ consolidated its debt⁴⁶ and completed construction of the line to West Chester.⁴⁷ Critics charged them with "cheating the original stockholders out of every dollar they had put in" and for taking \$14,000 in fees for their services.⁴⁸ Whatever anyone says, they were able to accomplish something that no one else had achieved -- finishing the railroad

The trustees also left behind a detailed account of their activities which provides many day-to-day details about the railroad. For instance, in April 1856

Dennis Monaghan, the watchman at the Philadelphia depot, worked twenty-five days without a break for a total wage of \$28.12. The dominant role played by Irish workers is evident from the surnames of employees like Cogan, Duffy, Fagan, Farrell, Grant, Ladd, Lynch, Riley and Sheridan. Some men earned extra money selling firewood to the railroad at fifty cents a cord, while coal (at between \$4.14 and \$5.75 per ton) and oil came from suppliers in Philadelphia.⁴⁹

After spending nearly \$16,000 on the West Chester depot in 1854 and 1855, the trustees insured it for five thousand dollars in February 1857. They also managed to show a profit of over \$9,000 during their tenure,⁵⁰ but most importantly, they got a train to

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Figure 12. The original Market Street station, before the third floor was added in 1885. The inscription reads "West Chester & Philad' RR Depot via Media." Photograph from "Rules and Regulations of the Transportation Department of the West Chester & Philadelphia and Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railroads," 1866, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

West Chester. On November 11, 1858, the WC&P's first train reached Market Street -- the moment was even preserved by a photographer -- and the newspapers gushed about it. The *Jeffersonian* described the arrival of the "long-awaited" train and reported that "the Company is nearly free of all debt."⁵¹ The rival *Village Record* reported a few weeks later that "the new road from West Chester to Philadelphia is doing a heavy business" and had acquired "a splendid new engine" from Baldwin.⁵² While the old West Chester Railroad braced itself for competition, the borough's merchants and shippers rejoiced.

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Figure 13. The first West Chester & Pennsylvania Railroad train arrived on November 11, 1858. Photo by Nathan Parker, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Chapter 5

The Age of Consolidation, 1850-1878

With the completion of West Chester's second railroad to Philadelphia, the stage was set to test one of the basic concepts of free market economics -- that competition reduces prices and results in greater efficiency. The first signs were positive. Once it appeared that the WC&P might succeed, the WCRR began a number of improvements. Management introduced new work rules that prohibited employees from drinking on the job in January 1855, and persuaded the state-owned C&P to place two new locomotives on the West Chester service, reducing the travel time to the city by about an hour.¹ Just after Christmas 1856, they purchased an irregular plot of land between the Gay Street station and Chestnut Street² and began to renovate the station.³ They leased additional land on either side of the station in late 1857.⁴ By the summer of 1858, the WCRR had expanded its schedule to provide three trains a day in each direction and an additional round trip on Sunday.⁵

The cost of using the state-owned railroad remained a problem for the WCRR. In 1855 when the WCRR grossed nearly \$62,000, it paid more than half that to the state and completed the year with a net profit of only \$6.04.⁶ Change was on its way, however, in the form of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which purchased the C&P in 1857.⁷ While it negotiated for permission to build a "connecting railroad" between the various lines in Philadelphia,⁸ the PRR also became concerned about its presence in West Chester⁹ and signed a five-year lease for use of the WCRR in April 1859.¹⁰

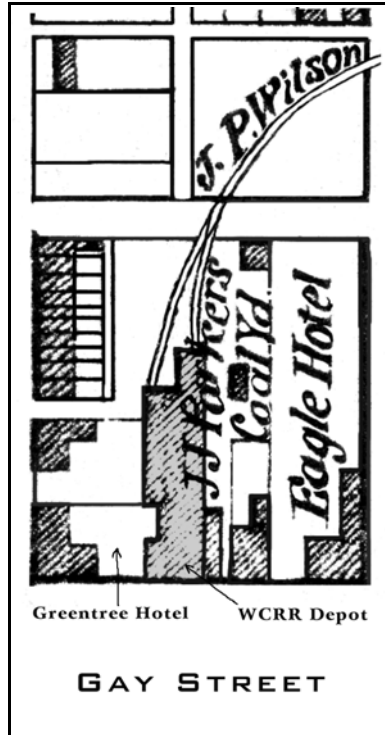


Figure 14. The W.C.R.R. Gay Street station in 1873. Adapted by the author from the 1873 Borough map.

The PRR put some money into the WCRR. First, it repaired the damage after a fire destroyed part of the train shed in the summer of 1859.¹¹ They also made a pair of improvements at Intersection: first by installing a wooden turntable salvaged from the shop yard at Columbia in 1859¹² and then by building an additional 996-foot siding in 1860.¹³ They also replaced more than two thousand crossties by the end of 1861 and added a third track in West Chester for use as a siding.¹⁴

West Chester's railroad workers did not all appreciate the changes instigated by PRR management. The PRR kept on some of the WCRR staff including Ziba Wollerton, the West Chester station agent for nearly a decade.¹⁵ After Wollerton resigned a year later, he explained his reasons to the *Village Record*:

This road is now run by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and in its extensive business, everything must be done "just so" -- according to a system which has to be rigidly adhered to. Every item of business is noted down -- every act of the agent -- every passenger, package or bundle of freight -- has to be rigidly accounted for -- while the cars, in their arrival and departure, note the time of day, with the accuracy of the town clock.¹⁶

Eventually the PRR received criticism from other sources as well. The most serious charge came from WCRR board members who accused the PRR management of allowing the line to deteriorate so they could buy it more cheaply at the end of the lease.¹⁷ The charges are difficult to prove from the surviving evidence, but the PRR annual reports contain no mention of new construction or major track repairs after 1861. Meanwhile, the WCRR engine house suffered a major fire that damaged a locomotive on November 14, 1863.¹⁸ By the time the PRR lease expired at the end of March 1864, the prospects for the WCRR were probably a bit worse than they had been in 1859.

One reason was the success of the WC&P. After regular service began in December 1858, the WC&P employed a number of measures designed to draw business away from the WCRR. In 1859, they undercut their older rival's passenger rates and ended up carrying more than a quarter million people in their first year of operation.¹⁹ They also set freight rates below those of the WCRR and succeeded in

attracting the majority of West Chester's coal shipments, helped by the fact that the town's biggest customer, the West Chester Gas Company, was located next to the WC&P tracks.²⁰ Their net earnings for their first full year of business was \$45,857.92. That jumped to \$72,655.75 in 1860.²¹



Figure 15. Detail from WC&P freight receipt.

The WC&P also got a boost from the construction of the Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railroad (P&BC). The P&BC was built just before the Civil War to serve the southern tier of Chester County located between the Main Line and the lines that crossed northern Delaware. Instead of trying to acquire a right-of-way into Philadelphia, the P&BC hired the WC&P's chief engineer as their own and accepted his recommendation for a junction with the WC&P at Wawa. The WC&P made money hauling construction materials for the P&BC, which shaved eighteen miles off its route. After the P&BC reached Oxford in 1860, the WC&P earned additional revenue carrying freight and passengers back to Philadelphia.²²

Information about West Chester's railroads during the Civil War is less extensive than for the periods on either side of the war. Directors met less frequently and newspapers printed fewer articles. There were also security concerns with reporting train movements, so overall there is less data.

Even without specific information about the WCRR and WC&P, a few things are fairly certain since war affects railroads in consistent ways. Passenger and freight loads increased on major trunk lines during the Civil War. Both tracks and rolling stock deteriorated because of the shortage of iron. By the end of the war, owners faced huge bills for deferred maintenance, but not all had accumulated enough cash during the war to pay for it. Ultimately, that led to the consolidation of short-line railroads into regional networks, in West Chester and elsewhere.

The WC&P which saw its freight revenue decline in 1861²³ and the company had to pay the PRR to use its tracks into downtown Philadelphia. WC&P president Marshall Hickman called the practice "slow and inconvenient"²⁴ and blamed the loss of passenger sales revenue on it.²⁵ The annual report for 1861 also lamented the decline of freight in the first quarter and the further loss of revenue because the

P&BC went into receivership.²⁶ The company still made a profit, however, and earnings increased in 1862 and 1863.

Despite the healthy bottom line, all was not well. In 1862 the company's employees resorted to packing axle boxes with wood shavings instead of wool waste to save money and oil. Consumption of bearing oil dropped about thirty-three percent,²⁷ but heavy demand forced the company to neglect routine maintenance. By the end of 1863, the president reported that "The Road is now worked up to and during some seasons of the year, even beyond the proper capacity of the rolling stock."²⁸ He continued:

The old iron in the road is rapidly giving out, and will need replacing much faster hereafter. I think many of the trains run are drawn by engines entirely too heavy for the service, and to this owing, no doubt, the rapid wear of the iron.²⁹

Table 3. WC&P balance sheet, 1859-1863³⁰

Year	Earnings	Expenses	Balance
1859	129,433.95	82,292.40	47,141.55
1860	128,235.66	55,579.91	72,655.75
1861	129,447.16	61,367.16	68,060.00
1862	141,100.52	61,367.16	79,733.36
1863	177,526.38	92,676.98	84,849.48

Data on the performance of the WCRR during the Civil War is even harder to procure since it was merely a branch line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. But as described previously, the West Chester owners started to complain in 1863 that the PRR was running the line into the ground. As the PRR lease entered its fourth year (of five), members of the WCRR and WC&P boards met secretly and agreed in August 1863 that the WC&P would lease the WCRR. When the PRR lease ended on April 1, 1864, the WC&P was ready to take over the WCRR.³¹

Before they could take advantage of their new acquisition, the WC&P needed a way to move trains from one line to the other without passing over PRR-controlled tracks through Philadelphia. To satisfy

the terms of the lease, the WCRR agreed to lay track east of Matlack Street from Biddle Street (near Henderson High School) to Market Street where the WC&P could connect to them.³² On May 10, 1864, the WCRR board (now chaired by WC&P president Marshall Hickman) voted to solicit proposals for the construction of the connector.³³ To

accommodate the change in elevation, they laid the tracks in a wide trench that rose gradually from Market Street to Biddle Street and then built a bridge to carry the Gay Street over the new tracks.³⁴ By the end of the year, all trains could use the Market Street station, and by early 1865 the WC&P had to contrive a use for the Gay Street station in order to maintain their lease on the land underneath it.³⁵

Acquisition of the WCRR was merely part of larger plans by the WC&P to expand. In 1864 the WC&P purchased most of the WCRR's stock,³⁶ as well as a pair of locomotives from Baldwin in Philadelphia.³⁷ That year's annual report detailed large increases in passenger and freight traffic, and attributed much of it to union with the WCRR. The company even began to handle "thru-freight" (i.e., freight that neither originated in nor was intended for delivery in West Chester) thanks to the new connection.³⁸

To make more room for freight handling at the Market Street station, the passenger platforms were shifted to the opposite side of the station facing what is now Rubenstein's office supply store.³⁹ The Gay Street station continued to receive a small amount of freight destined for the center of town,⁴⁰ but the company also leased out space in the building for the post office, which moved across the street in 1866.⁴¹

The year 1866 brought trouble to the WC&P in the form of a racial discrimination lawsuit. In June a woman named Mary E. Miles filed a suit after two WC&P trainmen put her off the train for refusing



Figure 16. Looking southwest from the corner of Biddle and Adams Streets. The connecting track disappears to the right behind part of the Sharples Separator Works, while a siding curves up and over Chestnut Street into the Hemphill lumber yard. The HBD smokestack is visible beyond the siding. Photo by Albert Biles, ca. 1899, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

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Table 4. WC&P balance sheet, 1864-1879⁵⁶

Year	Gross Receipts	Expenditures	Balance	Monthly Earnings
1864	260,604.93	125,664.29	134,940.64	11,245.05
1865	330,989.96	169,694.75	161,295.21	13,441.27
1866	336,662.02	234,413.93	102,248.09	8,520.674
1867	330,135.61	189,798.33	140,337.28	11,694.77
1868	356,247.52	196,206.67	160,040.85	13,336.74
1869	276,237.01	178,785.93	97,451.08	8,120.92
1870*	288,566.13	226,884.18	61,681.95	6,168.20
1871	315,449.33	299,244.50	16,204.83	1,350.40
1872	336,939.07	315,449.33	21,489.74	1,790.81
1873	354,447.57	214,354.01 ⁵⁷	140,093.56	11,674.46
1874	345,382.73	230,011.88	115,370.85	9,614.24
1875	347,459.25	209,058.30	138,400.95	11,533.41
1876	309,544.90	225,892.75	83,652.15	6,971.01
1877	332,274.41	219,310.18	112,964.23	9,413.69
1878	312,486.64	170,135.77	142,350.87	11,862.57
1879	304,452.02	175,916.57	128,535.45	10,711.29

* These figures are for only ten months due to change in fiscal year.

Despite the rosy financial picture, or perhaps because of it, public attitudes towards the railroad began to change in the 1870s. Local newspapers began to refer to the railroad as a nuisance and their corporate owners as "soulless" for failing to alleviate the "foreboding" darkness in the inadequately lighted coaches.⁵⁸ The people who lounged in the vicinity of the railroad station received special criticism for failing to heed the "no smoking" sign or simply for having nothing better to do with their time. This attitude is illustrated in an article about a group of boys who were arrested for committing various infractions at the railroad station:

It is a well established fact that idleness is the mother of vice, and it is a fact equally well established that West Chester revels in a large proportion above her quota of idle boys. Our streets are thronged with them. ... They are not to blame for their breaches of law and good breeding. They have never had the *right* instilled into them but have been left to run at large, our streets, Arab like, and the teachings which are thereon found invariably lead to wickedness and disorder.⁵⁹

This new, more critical attitude towards railroads was not

unique to West Chester. As the industry matured, it consolidated and local managers were replaced by distant corporations whose priorities often ignored local wishes. In the Philadelphia region, dozens of local railroads became part of three major systems: the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In most towns, one company controlled all access to the rails, and wherever that occurred, the local people complained.

Chapter 6 The Pennsylvania Railroad Takeover, 1879-1882

In the generation following the Civil War, American railroads went through a number of major changes. Some were technological, such as the use of steel to build steam locomotives that operated at higher pressure, resulting in more power and higher speed while using less fuel. Automatic car couplers reduced work-related injuries while air brakes improved running safety. Other innovations involved the standardization of track gauge (the distance between rails) at four foot eight and a half inches, and the use of standard clocks and time zones to organize train schedules.

The other major area of innovation was in management and corporate structure. The Pennsylvania Railroad set a number of standards in this regard by buying up other railroads in order to enter new markets. It acquired a connection to Chicago by the end of 1858,¹ New York City in 1867,² and Washington DC in 1873.³ The Depression of 1873 put a damper on acquisitions (and led the company to implement economy measures that led directly to the bloody Homestead riots of 1877⁴), but the PRR soon resumed buying railroads. In August 1879 it paid roughly \$240,000 for the WCRR,⁵ and in October 1881 the PRR bought a controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company, the parent company of the WC&P, for just over \$17 million.⁶

The period between August 1879 and October 1881 was a time of feverish activity and intense speculation about West Chester's railroads. Rumors began to circulate in May 1879 that the Reading Railroad wanted to come into the borough.⁷ West Chester residents discussed the possibility with some excitement,⁸ and the PRR decided to make a bid for the WCRR before its competitor could do so.⁹ The board sent a team of surveyors to examine the line, and as they proceeded east from West Chester, they proposed two major realignments of the right-of-way.¹⁰ One was to straighten "Worthington's Curve," a particularly treacherous piece of track located near Fern Hill,¹¹ while the other was to move the intersection with the Main Line from Malvern west to Frazer, thereby eliminating about two miles of track.¹²

After the survey was completed, the PRR board announced its plan to buy the WCRR on July 14¹³ and the sale was completed on August 1.¹⁴ The *Daily Local News* predicted "This will give employment to a large number of men ... living in West Chester and vicinity -- those who have homes here and are interested in the prosperity and advancement of our Borough."¹⁵ In addition to realigning the right-of-way, the PRR laid new crossties, replaced the old iron rails with steel,¹⁶ and erected its own telegraph line along the

new right-of-way.¹⁷

Although the PRR used its own workers for much of the job, it employed West Chester contractor John Grant to straighten Worthington's curve. Grant hired eighty local men and equipped them with horse-drawn carts to move about 7,000 cubic yards of earth.¹⁸ By the end of November the realignment of was complete, and the PRR built a siding along Maple Avenue for the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas nursery.¹⁹ In late December PRR track crews replaced iron rails with steel near the Convent (i.e. between Seven Oaks Apartments and Henderson High School),²⁰ and the telegraph line was finished just before year's end.²¹ Cold weather slowed the work, however,²² and the completion date was gradually pushed back. The new track was not finished until the following February,²³ and the rest of the job ended April 1, 1880.²⁴

The Matlack Street station

With the WCRR track repaired and now known as the PRR's Frazer branch, PRR management addressed the problem of station facilities.²⁵ With no desire to pay for the use of the WC&P station on Market Street, the PRR had to find its own station. Although they owned the WCRR's Gay Street station, it was in poor condition,²⁶ so the



Figure 17. Architect's rendering of the south side of the Matlack Street station. Adapted by the author from an engraving in the *Daily Republican* (West Chester, April 10, 1881).

PRR decided to build a new one east of Matlack between Gay and Chestnut Streets.

The PRR unveiled their plans on March 24, 1880. They showed a 1,400 square foot passenger station and a slightly larger freight station, plus three covered tracks and a fourth siding for cattle and lumber. Both buildings were one-story brick structures and the passenger station featured separate waiting rooms for men and women.²⁷ Although not as large as the station on Market Street, it featured several improvements including plastered walls²⁸ and circular windows.²⁹

The PRR gave contracts to John Grant to grade the lot³⁰ while Thomas Lewis and Eli Baldwin were hired to lay the brick.³¹ In less than four months they finished their work on the passenger station.³² With no further need for the Gay Street station, the PRR sold it to Uriah Painter, owner of the lumber yard on the north side of Chestnut Street.³³

Railroad Competition

The PRR's return to West Chester proved controversial. One of the corporation's first acts was to evict flour dealer George Pim from the Gay Street station.³⁴ The PRR created additional animosity when it began to construct a temporary train station on N. Walnut Street without first obtaining Borough Council approval.³⁵ The WC&P board was even more bitter, accusing the PRR of extortion by threatening to build a new line to West Chester in order to force the WC&P to sell its WCRR stock. The WC&P attempted to mollify its stockholders by claiming that they had made the best of a bad situation by getting \$135,000 for an asset worth \$100,000 and by retaining ownership of the connector between Maple Avenue and Market Streets.³⁶

The WC&P's attitude turned out to be justified. The PRR quickly lowered its fares to Philadelphia to match those of the WC&P, which generated complaints that WC&P fares were too high.³⁷ The PRR was forbidden by state law from undercutting the WC&P any further, but offered a shorter ride to Philadelphia that siphoned away customers from the smaller line.³⁸ The WC&P management also worried about the possibility that the PRR would withhold business from the P&BC, which was negotiating to buy the WC&P at the time.³⁹

The WC&P fought back by making improvements. It installed new steel track along its entire length⁴⁰ and remodeled the roof over its passenger platform on Market Street.⁴¹ The PRR counter-attacked with full and half-fare round trip tickets to Philadelphia,⁴² and employed a landscape gardener to maintain shrubs and flowers around the Matlack Street station.⁴³ Following numerous complaints, the PRR also fenced

off its right of way from Patton Avenue to prevent wagons from straying onto the tracks.⁴⁴

Still people complained. One wrote that the new PRR station on Matlack street was too small,⁴⁵ while telegraph operator Charles Howard quit his job at the PRR to work for the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the PRR management pursued its own goals, and in March 1881 announced that it had acquired a controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, parent company to the Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railroad.⁴⁷ A few months later in October, the P&BC completed its acquisition of the WC&P.⁴⁸ In other words, by the end of 1881, the PRR directly controlled both of West Chester's railroads.⁴⁹

The consolidation of the two lines led to one of the most bizarre decisions in West Chester railroad history. The PRR decided that it no longer needed two stations located two blocks apart, so it closed the Matlack street station, which was barely a year old, and shifted all of its passenger operations to the Market Street station.⁵⁰ West Chester's north end residents objected strenuously,⁵¹ but once again, the PRR ignored local wishes. Instead, it proceeded with a plan to raise the Gay Street bridge so that large locomotives could reach Market Street using either line.⁵²

With the PRR's acquisition of a majority share in the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, the basic pattern of West Chester railroading was set for the next century. Instead of serving the surrounding area as a point of access to the big city of Philadelphia, West Chester became a minor node in a network that spanned nearly a third of the country. To the PRR management, the desires of the borough's rail users were much less important than strategic concerns dictated by conditions in Philadelphia, Washington, New York and Chicago. West Chester was not on any of the PRR's major routes, and only once did West Chester's railroads enter into the PRR's national calculations, as a coal route used in 1887 to bypass Philadelphia on the way from eastern Pennsylvania to Washington DC.¹

Over time, the disconnect between management and local users fostered the perception of the railroad as a malevolent outside force. Shippers complained about freight rates and schedules, while passengers complained about almost everything. Passengers offered chronic complaints about prices, employees and delays,² but periodically voiced more unusual concerns, like the letter writer who wanted locomotive whistles prohibited because they endangered the human nervous system,³ and neighbors who claimed that their water pressure was reduced when steam locomotives.⁴ Passengers also injured themselves by ignoring rules⁵ and got into disputes with other passengers.⁶ Newspapers readily printed criticisms of the railroad, adding to the perception of the railroad as malevolent.

Railroads like the PRR responded with advertising and public relations campaigns. For instance, railroads printed guidebooks to promote interest in the towns along their tracks as a way to generate additional business. Although some of the effort was aimed at businesses, the majority was designed to augment passenger traffic by encouraging people to move to, vacation in, or visit suburban towns. This passage from an 1876 guide published by the WC&P is typical:

West Chester is the gem of Eastern Pennsylvania ... [It] enjoys the bracing salubrity of mountain regions without their rigors ... [It is] completely free from marsh or swamp, and the annoyances of the mosquito, as well as the graver ills arising in the malarial regions, are unknown. ... Seated amongst the most productive and highly tilled farms, its market glitters with all that is most tempting and nutritious. Crystal water, from a natural spring, is lifted by steam and distributed to all parts of the Borough. Its well-paved streets and sidewalks are lighted by gas, kept trim and clean, and shaded with a great

variety of trees in the finest growth, while private gardens glow with rare and fragrant flowers around the dwellings. ... This beautiful seat of worth, excellence, and intelligence, is blessed with a circle of cultured minds that would do honor to any community. The lives of study and contemplation put in practice by some who are dead have continued their traditions among the living, and the New York book importer is familiar with the name of this sequestered town from often marking it upon consignments of the rarest and choicest literature.⁷

West Chester's business leaders launched their promotional effort in the 1880s. First, they organized themselves as the "West Chester Board of Trade" and published a 96 page book in 1888 entitled West Chester, Pennsylvania: The Most Important Suburb of Philadelphia. West Chester's railroads received prominent mention including a brief history of their construction and a map on the back cover showing "West Chester with its railroad connections."⁸ The anonymous author of the book also boasted:

Our railroad facilities are such that we are in daily communication with the Delaware peach districts; watermelons and sweet potatoes come to us direct from the Jersey coast, while the luscious shad and fish of every other description, reach here in a few hours after being taken from the waters of the Delaware, Susquehanna, and other streams bordering our county, and which have a world-wide reputation for producing the very best fish ever sent to market.⁹

According to the Board of Trade, West Chester enjoyed plentiful and rapid railroad communication with Philadelphia and points beyond:

West Chester is sixteen miles from Philadelphia on a direct line. It takes 50 minutes to reach Broad Street station by express train, and three hours to reach New York City. There are two railroad routes to Philadelphia and together, they offer 25 round-trips each day. There are also seven mails per day, and a number of private and regular express and courier services, so Philadelphia and West Chester are closely connected for business purposes. There is talk of building a more direct "Midlands line" between Philadelphia and West Chester to reduce the distance by rail from 22 to 17 miles.¹⁰

The Board also relied on PRR reports to assert that in 1887, West Chester generated 141,001,000 pounds of railroad freight and forwarded 59,062,657 more for a total of 200,063,657 pounds (just over 100,000 tons). A total of 238,287 passengers arrived or left West Chester, for an average of 655 passengers and 320 tons of freight per day. In the words of the author, West Chester was "a pretty good feeder, truly!"¹¹

In a nod to the railroad guidebooks that urged their Philadelphia readers to resettle along the line, the Board of Trade's book claimed that West Chester offered "all the conveniences incident to city life, combined with all the charms of rural life." It added the argument that anyone who wanted to build a house between Philadelphia and West Chester "must not only build your house, and make your road, and bore for your water, but you will be isolated from the world, the doctor, the apothecary, and the market--particularly at night and during storms and blockades." In contrast, West Chester offered all of those things.¹²

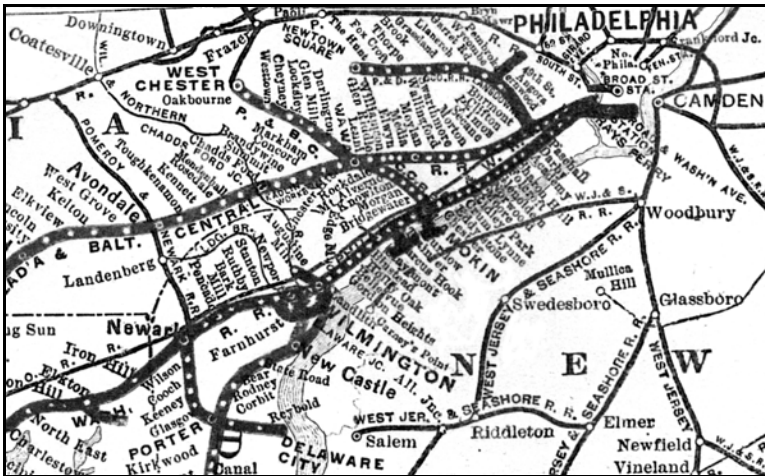


Figure 18. By the end of the 19th century, a web of railroads linked West Chester to the rest of the country. Detail of map from the 1912 annual report of the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington Railroad.

Passenger tickets

Prior to the PRR takeover, passengers provided the majority of revenue for West Chester's railroads.¹³ To increase the profitability of

its new acquisition, the PRR began raising fares. In December 1881 the cost of a one-way ticket on the Frazer line to Philadelphia rose to eighty cents, and by the end of the year the fare on either line was eighty cents to any of the company's three Philadelphia stations at Broad Street, 31st and Chestnut, or 32nd and Market.¹⁴

In West Chester the fare increase provoked resistance. After the fare from Fern Hill to West Chester rose from five to seven cents, the roughly two dozen daily passengers began to walk to town -- a distance of 1.3 miles -- rather than pay the increase.¹⁵ To put this into perspective, their wages were most likely between ten and twenty cents per hour, so a two-cent increase would be the same as one or two dollars today.

Resistance was ultimately futile, however, since the PRR had no competition. Trolleys and automobiles had not yet been invented and roads were mostly unpaved lanes that became impassable in wet weather. Other observers noted West Chester's vulnerability, like the Phoenixville editorial writer who expressed thanks for the Reading Railroad because "the Pennsylvania R. R. cannot, as it did with West Chester, destroy competition by buying up other lines."¹⁶

The PRR did not lower its fares in response to complaints, but it began to vary its product offerings. In February 1882 the PRR worked out a deal with the Reading Railroad to allow West Chester passengers to buy a ticket to Phoenixville (or vice versa) with an interchange at Frazer.¹⁷ In the same year the company started selling tickets in books of ten¹⁸ and offered reduced Christmas fares to Philadelphia for sixty cents, and tickets to New York for just \$4.80.¹⁹ Various special events also boosted sales, like the state bicentennial celebration in October 1882 which helped sell 3,334 reduced-price tickets to Philadelphia.²⁰ A

revival meeting hosted by "Sister Butcher" in August 1883 generated the sale of more than one hundred passenger tickets on a single day to Woodland station, five miles from West Chester,²¹ and a record number of passengers the following morning thanks to two extra carloads from Phoenixville.²²



Figure 19. The PRR introduced new types of rail tickets.

The company also tried to attract passengers by making its stations more comfortable and convenient. In early 1884 it built a platform on Maple Avenue next to the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas nursery,²³ in response to complaints that Market Street was too far away²⁴ (but the company refused to add a similar stop at Niels Street).²⁵ To the Market Street station, they added window screens in 1885,²⁶ electric lights in the passenger shed in 1886,²⁷ a newsstand in 1887²⁸ and toilets in 1907.²⁹ The company also installed steam lines in the Niels Street switching yard in 1906 to preheat coaches for morning passenger runs.³⁰ Elsewhere, the company built a stable for the use of its passengers at Westtown station in 1887³¹ and replaced the Green Hill station (destroyed by fire on June 19, 1888),³² with a new, fully staffed and enclosed station with a fireplace for waiting passengers.³³

Despite these improvements, the railroad remained a noisy, smelly and dangerous enterprise to its nearest neighbors.³⁴ The "northenders" complained most effectively and got the PRR to build a bridge over Chestnut Street in 1886³⁵ and shift all of its yard operations -- the organizing of cars into trains -- to the Union Street yard south of Market Street, next to the working class neighborhood of Riggstown.³⁶ Northenders also got a water tower in 1901 in response to their complaints about low water pressure from refilling locomotives.³⁷ Working class residents from the borough's south end got no such treatment.

There was one annoyance on which people from all over the borough agreed -- the grade crossing in front of the Market Street station. In 1900 thirteen regularly scheduled passenger trains crossed Market Street twice each day.³⁸ There were also freight trains on their way through West Chester around Philadelphia, plus short movements needed to maneuver railcars onto the siding next to the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works, just east of the station. Estimating five minutes per train and thirty-six trains per day, the crossing must have been closed at least three hours each day.

The PRR installed warning gates at Market Street in late 1882³⁹ and assigned a watchman to operate the mechanism.⁴⁰ It must have been a thankless job, as both railroaders and ordinary citizens resented delays at the crossing and the watchman was usually the target of their criticism. Long shifts coupled with exposure to the weather made it worse, and it is no wonder that the job fell to young men without any seniority or the oldest men looking to hang on until they could claim a pension. The first watchman, Daniel Johnson, left the position after a month to become a freight switchman. His successor, Frederick Hamilton, an elderly employee who had started on the

WCRR, became ill and died within three years.⁴¹ One of Hamilton's pallbearers, Terence Finnegan, held the job in late 1892, working twelve hour shifts that started before six in the morning.⁴² By then, the PRR had managed to introduce some stability to the position, hiring Daniel Clancy as Finnegan's assistant in 1893⁴³ so that he could replace Finnegan by 1896.⁴⁴ Chris Kautz held the position for four years from 1902 to 1906, when he was assisted by Eli Rambo.⁴⁵

Customer complaints were only the least of the PRR's concerns with the public. In West Chester, the network of grade crossings and street closings created numerous opportunities for trespass. Many workers at the Sharples Separator factory and the nurseries used the tracks to reach work on foot or by bicycle. Others treated Evans Street, which followed the tracks, as a public right-of-way. There was at least one fatal accident near the Sharples Works, and although the PRR posted signs, stationed watchmen and created physical barriers, it was never able to keep people off of the tracks.⁴⁶ For example, years after removing the Barnard Street steps to the Market Street platform, passengers still clambered up the embankment rather than walk around via Matlack Street.⁴⁷

Other passengers tried to defraud the company. The simplest way was to buy a ticket to the station before one's destination and hope to ride all the way for free or, if caught, walk home the last mile or two.⁴⁸ More serious "ride stealers" tried to travel with no ticket at all,⁴⁹ but those with the best connections travelled for free using railroad passes.

The practice of granting free passes dated back to the earliest years of the WCRR. As early as 1836, the board granted the "right of free passage" to the railroad's first president, its secretary and all of the

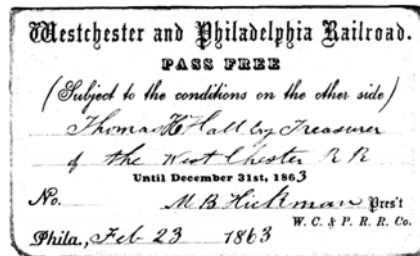


Figure 20. WC&P railroad pass

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trains" and hire more company police in the 1880s.⁵⁹

Conclusion

As railroading became big business, public opinion became more critical. But in the nineteenth century, there was no alternative form of transportation that could service the industrializing economy. Immigrants had to fan out from port cities, commuters had to reach riverside factories from industrial suburbs, and everyone who could afford it sought diversion through travel. By the end of 1903 the demand for passenger service from West Chester to Philadelphia was so great that the company added a second coach to each of its passenger trains.⁶⁰ The same was true everywhere and by 1910, suburban traffic threatened to choke the entire PRR system.⁶¹

With that kind of growth, the PRR could do pretty much what it wanted (especially with respect to fares), yet it also offered greatly improved service compared to its predecessors. Railroad travel became safer, quicker and cleaner. By 1903, West Chester passengers could choose from more than two dozen trains to Philadelphia each day -- nearly twice the number of trips that SEPTA offers today by bus. But change was already in the offing thanks to the invention of electric street railways or "trolleys." The consequence of that development is described in chapter 11.

Under PRR management, the volume and value of West Chester's railroad freight business grew exponentially. The PRR does not get all of the credit for this -- the basic cause was the industrial revolution. Industrialization and railroad construction were linking in several ways. Railroads encouraged industrialization through "backward linkages" to suppliers of raw materials -- notably coal and steel -- which were consumed in the construction and operation of railroads. There were also "forward linkages" to the creation and growth of other industrial firms that benefitted from improved transportation.¹ In West Chester the backward linkages were minimal since the community produced neither coal nor steel, but forward linkages to new industrial firms like the Denney Tag Company and the Sharples Separator Works had a dramatic effect on both the railroad and the local economy. Companies like these, plus the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works and the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas nursery (belonging to a different set of Hoopes brothers) became the PRR's largest freight customers in the borough.

West Chester's first nurseries were developed on the north side of town prior to the Civil War and they became early rail customers.² In August 1879 at the same time that the PRR was negotiating to purchase the WCRR, the owners of two nurseries on Maple Avenue, Hoopes Brothers & Thomas (henceforth HBT) and George Achelis, announced plans to construct railroad sidings.³ Achelis did not follow through but HBT completed their siding by the end of the year.⁴ It served their packing plant on the northwest corner of Maple and Montgomery Avenues, across from where the Sheller Oil Company is now located.

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Figure 21. Railroad siding used by the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas nursery, [1920s-1930s]. Photographer unidentified, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

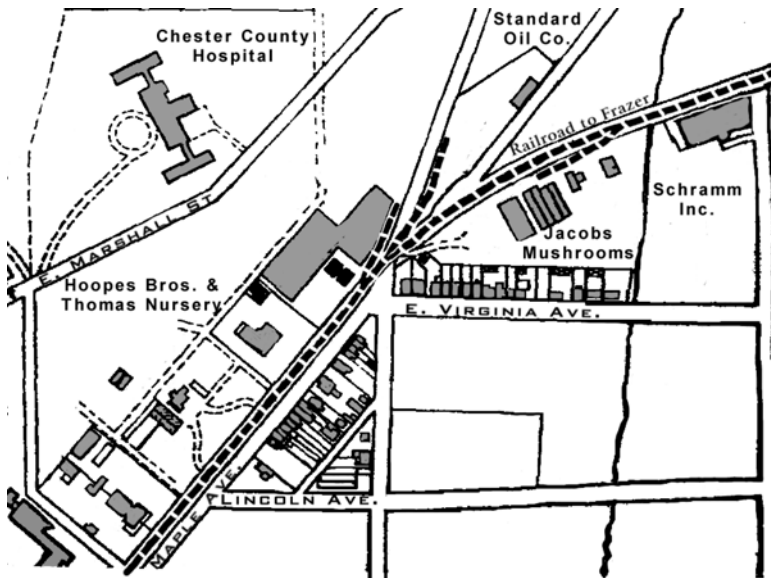


Figure 22. The Frazer line ran along Maple Avenue past the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas nursery and other industries. Map by the author.

In exchange for permission to connect their siding to the PRR tracks, HBT donated land used by the PRR to straighten the line at "Worthington's Curve," located near the modern reservoir.⁵ HBT also furnished shrubs to decorate the front of the Maple Street railroad station in 1884.⁶ Although no documents have been found, the Hoopes brothers Josiah and Abner were probably part of the group that demanded the construction of the station, since they lived just down the street and frequently had to go to Philadelphia on business.⁷

The nursery generated most of its freight in March-April, just before planting season, and again in October-November when seedlings and plants became dormant.⁸ HBT loaded live plants onto railcars at its main warehouse and shipped them to Philadelphia for loading onto ships or directly by rail to the west.⁹ For example, in September 1890 the company shipped 14,000 fruit trees to California via Norfolk and New Orleans using a combination of steamships and the Southern Pacific Railroad.¹⁰ In 1913, the use of the railroad still seemed novel enough to justify special mention in the firm's catalog.¹¹ The company also received supplies by rail, like peach pits from Delaware used to plant fruit trees.¹²

West Chester's oldest manufacturing firm, the Hoopes

Brothers & Darlington Wheel Works (henceforth HBD), occupied a site on Market Street right next to the railroad station. That made it easy to import carloads of lumber and to export wheels, carriage parts and other wooden products.¹³ The Hoopes brothers William and Thomas began making wooden wheel spokes on their father's farm during the Civil War. By 1870 they manufactured complete wheels and other wood products in a factory located between the WC&P tracks and Goose Creek.¹⁴

HBD became a big customer. In the single month of March 1872, the company paid \$4,000 in freight charges to the WC&P.¹⁵ Like the nursery, HBD proclaimed their proximity to "the Rail Road Depot" as a desirable quality in their catalogs.¹⁶ The company also used train tickets to reward its employees with a day off to visit the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.¹⁷ Yet the company viewed the railroad as an adversary when it came to freight rates, and on occasion HBD officials even threatened to leave the borough in an effort to get a reduction.¹⁸

After the PRR gained control of West Chester's rail operations, relations with HBD improved. In July 1881, just before the PRR completed its acquisition of the WC&P, HBD negotiated a contract to supply the PRR with 100,000 wooden cross ties for construction near Hagerstown, Maryland.¹⁹ A few years later when HBD needed more space, it leased the PRR's vacant Matlack Street station for a warehouse and equipped it with one of West Chester's first telephones.²⁰ When congestion at the Market Street station slowed the handling of HBD's freight, the company built its own freight siding in 1900.²¹ Later Stephen P. Darlington, one of the company's founders, became the superintendent of the PRR's Harrisburg Division.²²

The third of West Chester's largest manufacturers was the Sharples Separator Company. It was founded by Philip M. Sharpless,²³ a man whose family had extensive connections to West Chester's railroads. His uncles Philip P. and William Sharpless had both served

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Figure 23. Market Street station and the Hoopes Brothers and Darlington Wheelworks factory, 1910. Photo by Thomas H. Jackson, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

as superintendents of the West Chester Railroad, while another uncle Alfred wrote "A History of Railroading in Chester County."²⁴ His father, S. Emlen Sharpless, was a partner in the Sharples & Hall lumber yard on Evans Street, which was also a major railroad customer.²⁵

The younger Sharpless began his career in 1881 as a machinist in a shop on Walnut Street next to the tracks that served the old Gay Street station.²⁶ Although the evidence is not conclusive, in all probability he used the railroad to bring in parts for an eight-ton crane used in his shops,²⁷ as well as to carry away water wheels weighing as much as three tons,²⁸ and steam engines which he shipped as far as Seaford, Delaware.²⁹ By late 1883 Sharpless had begun to manufacture hand-cranked cream separators under license.³⁰ For the many farm families in Chester County, an affordable cream separator enabled them to keep extra cows and earn money by selling cream, the most valuable part of milk.³¹ The same was true for farming families all over the country, and manufacturers of cream separators became enormously successful.

Sharpless eventually became West Chester's wealthiest citizen, but as soon as he became a success, he built a new factory for his company next to the Frazer line just north of Chestnut Street.³² He used

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Figure 24. A D16 locomotive and passenger coaches arriving at Market Street station from Frazer, ca. 1900. Photo attributed to Thomas H. Jackson, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA. Note the cattle ramp on the right side of the picture.

the railroad to bring in heavy machinery³³ and coal for the company's steam engines and foundry.³⁴ The company also shipped its products by rail, and in 1902 it added a second railroad siding³⁵ to serve customers from all over the world.³⁶

Other West Chester firms became heavy freight users in the last quarter of the 19th century such as the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, which built a coal-fired steam-powered generating plant in 1885 on the site of Sharpless' first machine shop on the northwest corner of Walnut and Chestnut Streets (location of the YMCA). The plant consumed shipments of coal in rail cars,³⁷ as did the West Chester Gas Company, founded in 1852 next to the tracks at Miner Street (modern John O. Green Park).³⁸ Ice, coal and lumber companies filled in the remaining open spaces near the tracks, and by 1891 the railroad directly served five coal yards, two lumber yards and three other businesses arranged in a long arc that cut through the eastern third of the borough.

Table 5. Bulk freight customers of the PRR in 1891³⁹

Company	Business	Modern Occupant
R. N. Thomas	grain feed coal	Chester Cty. Hist. Society
L. S. Mendenhall	coal	Gawthrop Greenwood Halsted
Sharples & Hall	lumber	Evans Street East office park
Dallett Hemphill	coal	Cambridge Squarel
Williams & Darlington	coal	Brandywine Auto Supply
Dawson Taylor	grist mill	Apts. for Modern Living
Robert Taylor	lumber	Apts. for Modern Living
Ralston R. Hoopes	coal	Apts. for Modern Living
West Chester Ice Co.	ice	NE corner of Union and RR
I. N. Haines	coal	SE corner of Union and RR

Railroad annual reports list many other kinds of outgoing freight.⁴⁰ The most common items were flour, hay, lumber, bricks, ice, and for many years, cattle. The borough allowed shippers to hold cattle in pens located southeast of the Market Street station.⁴¹ The railroad provided a cattle ramp between Gay and Market Streets, which required livestock to cross Market Street to reach the ramp. To alleviate congestion and reduce complaints, the company built a new cattle chute on Union Street next to the freight station in 1906.⁴²

Railroad freight also increased as the local dairy business grew. About the time of the Civil War, trains began to pick up fresh milk at rural stations and carry it to Philadelphia. Later, they hauled it

to local creameries in smaller towns who then shipped their products to Philadelphia.⁴³ In 1879, as part of improvement of the old WCRR, the PRR constructed "milk halts" that provided a platform for farmers to stack milk cans.⁴⁴ A "milk train" collected them early in the morning and delivered them to the city and an afternoon train returned the empties.⁴⁵ Although farmers complained that the schedule required them to get up even earlier to milk their cows,⁴⁶ they went along with the system because it allowed them to make money.

The railroad freight business also created opportunities for private haulers. The major companies had their own sidings and some freight customers used their own wagons, but most people depended on livery services operated by the railroad or by private haulers. Local farmers earned extra money using their horses and heavy-duty wagons to cart goods to and from the station. In the 1870s, the WC&P operated a delivery service with Jesse Ehrenzeller and John Ryan as drivers, but when the PRR eliminated the service,⁴⁷ Ryan continued to work for the railroad but created his private hauling business.⁴⁸

Between 1888 and 1898 freight movements in and out of West Chester were recorded in the annual reports of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, a subsidiary of the PRR. They show a nearly continuous increase in weight of freight shipped from West Chester towards Philadelphia, while the amount of return freight oscillated at a lower figure. In other words, West Chester consistently exported more than it imported during the years of most rapid industrialization, suggesting the strength of the borough's

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Figure 25. Gondola cars on the rail siding next to the West Chester Cold Storage and Ice Plant near the Union Street grade crossing, ca. 1899. Photo by Albert Biles, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

manufacturing sector.

Table 6. Freight shipments sent/received at West Chester via Media

Year ending Oct. 31	Sent (tons)	Received (tons)
1889	4,984	3,867
1890	5,492	4,043
1891	5,616	4,167
1892	6,724	4,689
1893	6,641	4,550
1894	6,310	4,355
1895	7,768	4,853
1896	7,559	4,468
1897	7,505	4,205
1898	8,029	4,238

Although the growth in freight business was good for the PRR, it exacted a toll. For almost fifty years, the PRR's predecessors had handled West Chester's freight using mixed trains that included both freight cars and passenger coaches. But as the volume of freight increased, it required more time to load and unload, and freight handling began to interfere with passenger schedules. In March 1880 the PRR started its first freight-only train service and assigned a single locomotive to haul freight from West Chester to Frazer.⁴⁹ The new service was an instant success and the demand was so great that after only six months the locomotive needed to be overhauled.⁵⁰ By March 1883, the freight service had expanded to three trips each day.⁵¹

The increase in freight volume made congestion at the Market Street station endemic, eventually forcing the PRR to build a separate freight station on Union Street between Franklin and Adams Streets in 1892.⁵² As freight volume grew, trains became longer -- by 1908 the train that collected freight between West Chester and Wawa pulled 62 cars.⁵³ Coal cars grew in capacity from five to fifty tons, while the average weight of locomotives grew from seven to sixty-five tons, with the largest weighing more than a hundred tons. In 1866, a 300-ton train was considered heavy, but by 1906 trains weighing 1,350 tons were common.⁵⁴ All of this increased delays at grade crossings and wear on the tracks. In addition to the improvements at the Market Street grade crossing described in the previous chapter, the PRR laid heavier rails at the Market Street station in 1900.⁵⁵ Major freight customers faced the same challenge, like Ralston Hoopes, who had to reinforce the trestle that served his Matlack Street coal yard (located on the modern site of

the Apartments for Modern Living) to handle the heavier trains.⁵⁶

All in all, the scope of the borough's railroad operations increased dramatically under PRR management. That multiplied the extent of the railroad's side effects. As the number of passengers and tons of freight increased, so did the number of people and installations needed to support it. Most likely, all of these changes would have occurred even without the intervention of the PRR. But by incorporating West Chester into its extensive regional network with its links to the world economy, the PRR hastened the process. It could be said that globalization reached West Chester in May 1879 in the form of a PRR surveying crew.⁵⁷

Chapter 9

West Chester's Railroad Workers

Although it never had the impact of West Chester's largest factories, the railroad was a major employer in West Chester. Of the large group of men who built the tracks and associated structures, all but a few have been completely lost to history because the sources are lacking. Once construction was completed, railroad companies employed workers to maintain the tracks and rolling stock, operate trains, and manage corporate functions like finance, legal defense and political networking. Railroads also employed subcontractors to move freight, cut firewood, and repair company buildings. More people depended on the railroad for their jobs as express wagon drivers, news dealers and boarding house operators. In an effort to make the length of this chapter manageable, it omits early construction workers and focuses on people who received paychecks directly from one of the railroads.

Most workers appeared only rarely in the newspapers of the times, and then only if they were injured on the job or involved in a crime.

Fortunately, many can be identified from entries in directories which provide lists of borough residents and businesses between 1857 and World War II. Organized alphabetically like phone books, they contain names, addresses and occupations, as well as the names of spouses and other information in later editions. They do require a bit of caution, however, since job titles like "engineer" changed their meaning over time, but analysis of a sequence of six directories spread over a seventy-four year period yields interesting results.

The borough's first directory was published in 1857 and the second in 1879. I looked at those two plus the books for 1886, 1896, 1915 and 1931. By cross-referencing names in the directories with newspaper articles about the railroad and tabulating the names of people who are known to have worked at the railroad, I produced the following census of West Chester railroad workers:

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Figure 26. Neither the photographer nor the crew members of this wreck train out of Paoli can be identified. The photo, taken about 1883, is from the collection of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Table 7. Railroad workers in West Chester

Year	Total	Blue Collar	White collar	Approx. Boro population¹
1857	8	5	3	4,500
1879	18	14	4	6,000
1886	30	20	10	7,000
1896	100	76	24	8,500
1915	85	60	25	-
1931	24	16	8	13,000

The peak years for local employment by the PRR came around the turn of the century. The 1896 directory listed fourteen baggagemen and baggagemasters, twenty-three brakemen, a pair of clerks, twenty-three conductors, at least three engineers, another twenty-six fireman (although some may have operated boilers at the electrical generating plant or one of the borough's factories), six watchman, a pair of station agents and a switchtender. No doubt some of the 335 laborers listed in the directory worked for the railroad, but there is no easy way to determine how many and whether they had other employers as well.

Like railroad workers everywhere, West Chester's railroaders operated within a strict hierarchy. The majority of the lower-order workers performed manual labor of some sort -- repairing track, moving freight, shoveling coal or cleaning one of the borough's stations. One step higher were the freight and passenger clerks, ticket agents and shop foremen. On the trains themselves, the highest positions were that of conductor and locomotive engineer, while employees in the stations aspired to the position of station master, telegraph operator or train dispatcher.

If the evidence from later years is relevant, nearly all would have been married and presumably would have had children as well. The 1879 directory lists 2,047 separate entries for a town of about 6,000 people, so each entry represented three people on average. If that ratio holds for 1896, then somewhere between three hundred and four hundred people earned their livelihood directly from the railroad.

The directories also reveal patterns in railroad workers' choice of housing. Not surprising, most of them lived on the east side of town

close to their place of work. All of the workers listed in the 1857 directory lived on the block bounded by the WCRR tracks, Chestnut Street and Franklin Street, in brick row houses whose rear yards looked out onto the turntable and switching yard. By 1879 more than half of West Chester's railroad workers lived east of High Street and on Market Street or further south, and all but three lived between Miner and Gay Streets. In 1886 four-fifths of all railroad workers lived in the "southeast quadrant" and in 1896 they occupied one fourth of the houses in the newly constructed neighborhood of "Riggstown" between the tracks and S. Franklin Street. Eight more lived on the 500-block of S. Matlack Street just across Goose Creek from Riggstown. Closer to the station, ten of forty houses in the 100-block of E. Miner Street housed railroad workers.²



Figure 27. "Snare's Row" in the 200-block of E. Chestnut Street housed West Chester's earliest community of railroad workers in the 1850s.

Although the number of railroad workers continued to climb after 1886, they increasingly lived in other parts of town. By 1915 more than one third lived outside of the southeast quadrant and by the start of the Great Depression, more than half of the dwindling number of railroad workers resided in other parts of town.

Table 8. Location of railroad workers' residences

Year	Total	East of High	SE Quad	% SE Quad
1857	8	6	0	0%
1879	18	13	10	55%
1886	30	27	24	80%
1896	100	82	74	74%
1915	87	67	55	63%
1931	24	13	10	42%

Based on this pattern, it is easy to make some assumptions about ways in which railroad workers related to their neighbors. For

instance, the 1896 directory lists fifty grocery stores in the borough, including four on E. Market Street within two blocks of the station. One, at 204 E. Market, was owned by Samuel Davis who lived at 509 S. Matlack Street. His neighbors included six railroad employees -- three firemen and three conductors -- plus their families. It is not difficult to imagine one of them asking Sam to bring home something from the store, or stopping in the store while their train idled at the station a block away.

Nine other grocery stores stood within a block or so of the railroad tracks, and catered not only to railroad workers but also to their neighbors. The east side of town was home to much of West Chester's working class population including carpenters, plasterers, machinists, tinsmiths and painters. It also included a large number of teachers -- not surprising given West Chester's long history as a center for public and private education -- that included Fanny Watson, Annie Adams, Clara Shepherd and Lilian Pierce of the High Street School; Ellen Harlan, Lena Brown and Clara Ehni of the Gay Street School; music teachers Clara Eachus and Anna Caley (whose husband Bill had the grocery store at 124 E. Market Street); Mary McCorkle (wife of a plasterer); plus at least a dozen others.³ All of this suggests that railroad workers were at least one rung above the lowest paid workers in West Chester, and they inhabited neighborhoods that included a variety of occupations and interests.

Pay scales reveal additional details about the work they performed. A newspaper report of a contract signed in early 1907 named the following positions and wages:⁴

Table 9. Pay rates in West Chester, 1907

Position	Pay
Passenger conductor	\$4.42/day
Passenger baggagemaster	\$2.66/day
Passenger brakeman	\$2.11/day
Freight conductor	\$3.68/day
Freight flagman	\$2.42/day
Freight brakeman	\$2.30/day
Yard conductor	33 cents/day; 34 cents/night
Yard brakeman	28 cents/day; 29 cents/night

A decade later conductors earned \$145-150 per month while engineers earned \$4.67 a day plus a thirty-three cent bonus for "through

runs."⁵ Taken together, these figures show that the jobs involving passengers were the highest paid and that there was a slight incentive to work the night shift. But the starting wages were not high. A two-story twin house on E. Nields Street rented for \$2.50 per week in 1892⁶ so it would have been beyond the means of yard workers who earned barely two dollars a week in 1907. Before a railroad worker could aspire to home ownership or even rent his own place, he needed to get assigned regularly to one of the trains that served West Chester.

The most difficult job, relative to its pay, was that of brakeman. In the years before air brakes became standard, brakemen rode on top of the train and when the engineer blew his whistle, they applied or released the brakes on each car by turning a large wheel. Otherwise, they hung on between adjacent cars while the train was in motion and tried to ignore rain, wind, snow and cold temperatures. They were also responsible for the only task that was more dangerous than braking. Until the invention of automatic couplers that could be operated from the side of a train, connecting rail cars required standing between them while they were moving.⁷ The following description gives an idea of the challenge:

I was making a coupling one afternoon. I had balanced the pin in the drawhead of the stationary car and was running along ahead of the other [moving] car, holding up the link. Just before the two cars were to come together, the one behind me left the track, having jumped a frog. Hearing the racket, I sprang to one side, but my toe caught the top of the rail. I was pinned between the corners of the cars as they came together. I heard my ribs cave in like an old box smashed with an ax. The car stopped and held me like a vise. I nearly fainted with pain, unable to breathe. ... [after he was freed and the doctor bandaged him up] The boys cheered me up greatly by telling me of their own various mishaps. Few of them had escaped broken bones and smashed fingers; and I was assured that broken ribs were nothing, absolutely nothing.⁸

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Figure 28. Nelson Montgomery loading a freight car on the Frazer line, ca. 1940. From the collection of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

The first automatic car coupler was patented in 1873. Several West Chester men patented their own design in 1874,⁹ but the one that

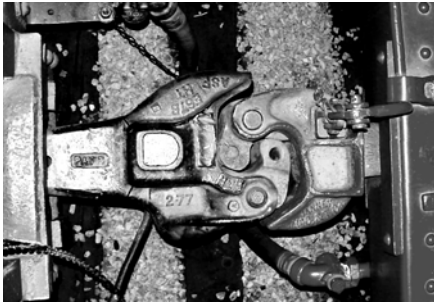


Figure 29. The automatic "Janney knuckle coupler," which replaced link-and-pin couplers and greatly increased on-the-job safety. Photo by the author.

became standard was the Janney knuckle coupler. It could be operated from the side, but it required that both rail cars be fitted with the same device and that they were the same height. Since the cost to convert all of America's rail cars was enormous, link-and-pin cars remained in use for years, and as late as 1912 they caused the death of 2,300 railroad workers in a single year.¹⁰

In 1868 George Westinghouse invented the safety air brake which used compressed air to enable a single switch to control the brakes on multiple cars.¹¹ By 1881 the WC&P (under PRR management) reported that all of its rolling stock was equipped with Westinghouse automatic air brakes.¹² But it still had to contend with cars from other companies that were not so equipped. As a consequence, the local newspapers were full of notices about workers who were killed or dismembered. For instance, brakeman Hugh Foy lost a finger in 1879,¹³ switchman George Torbert lost an arm in one accident and suffered a concussion in another,¹⁴ watchman John Carey had his foot crushed and amputated,¹⁵ and John Ryan died in 1902 of complications from an accident which crushed his foot.¹⁶ Even more gruesome were incidents in which trainmen fell and were run over, usually to lie with crushed or severed limbs for several hours until shock or blood loss carried them off.¹⁷

If a railroad worker survived the experience as a brakeman or yard switcher, he might by lucky enough to obtain a promotion to engineer or even conductor. Engineers and conductors were treated as celebrities by the local community, which followed their personal lives as closely as those of politicians and bankers. For instance, the *Daily Local News* printed an announcement when J. Clemson Sharpless, the chief engineer of the "Chester County Railroad" rented the house at the corner of Union and Walnut Streets.¹⁸ Charlton Lack, the "well-known passenger train conductor," also merited an announcement when he moved into a house near Miner and Walnut.¹⁹ Other railroad employees

became known throughout the borough and some even became public figures.

One was Josiah Burnett. His father was a Hartford County, Maryland shoemaker who came to Chester County around 1810.²⁰ Josiah was born in 1838,²¹ grew up on Hannum Avenue,²² started work on the WC&P in 1873²³ and became a freight agent by 1879.²⁴ In 1885 he was a "car clerk" who checked freight cars as they entered or left the Market Street station,²⁵ and by 1896 he was in charge of the freight warehouse. In the same period, he and his family moved to 130 Lacey Street, and he got his son Frank a job as his assistant.²⁶ After a few years, Frank was promoted to brakeman on the Main Line between Harrisburg and Philadelphia,²⁷ while Josiah retired in 1907 and died at home in 1912.²⁸

One of the borough's best-known railroad workers was engineer Joshua King, who operated the daily train from Malvern to West Chester in the 1880s. His 1888 obituary described King as a "veteran engineer" who began work in the 1830s when he was still in his teens. During the Civil War, he was captured by southern forces while ferrying supplies to Union troops, and over the years he had worked for the Philadelphia and Reading line, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, and finally the Pennsylvania Railroad, operating locomotives with nicknames like "Little Teapot" and the "Frazer Comet."²⁹

King's last locomotive was No. 4, the celebrated "Jumbo," which received nearly as much press as the man himself. Jumbo was a tank engine designed to carry extra water so that it would not have to stop as often. That also meant it was unusually heavy (46 tons) and especially tall. Despite its fragility -- it broke down frequently -- it fascinated observers in West Chester.³⁰ King was assigned to Jumbo in early December 1883³¹ and operated it until his retirement about 1887.³² Jumbo rumbled on for a few more years until July 1889 when it too was retired.³³

King's conductor, Joseph C. Keech, was also a local celebrity. He began life as a West Bradford farmer who served as a Republican state legislator in 1869 and 1870.³⁴ Keech was appointed passenger conductor by the PRR soon after he left the legislature.³⁵ This was unusual, since most conductors first had to work as brakemen,³⁶ but in the 1870s the PRR needed political clout in its battles with the Reading and Baltimore & Ohio. Keech joined King in time to operate the PRR's first train into West Chester in 1879³⁷ and they remained a team on the Frazer line for many years.³⁸ Keech also frequently served as the spokesperson for the PRR's West Chester operations.³⁹ After he retired in 1903⁴⁰ he moved to Lancaster,⁴¹ but returned to West Chester after a

few years and died there in 1915.⁴²

Like Burnett, Keech and King each had sons who worked for the railroad. One of King's sons was Joseph who, although he was not a regular employee, liked to help out at Malvern station not far from the King family farm. In 1873 when he was nineteen, he fell while coupling two cars together and "the wheels of the former passed over him mangling him in the most horrible manner possible to imagine and producing instantaneous death."⁴³ Another of King's sons met a similar fate while watching some workers throw water on each other at Paoli freight yard. He failed to notice an approaching locomotive which "crushed his limbs upon the tracks" and nearly severed one leg. He died a couple of hours later.⁴⁴

Joseph Keech's son fared much better. J. Walter Keech started on the railroad as a freight clerk in June 1891. He remained in West Chester until the beginning of World War I when he was transferred to Millbourne Mills (Philadelphia) on "special duty." After the war he was sent to Oxford, but he returned to West Chester to replace D. B. Colehower as the Market Street passenger agent in 1924. In 1931 he assumed the responsibilities of freight agent after Newton Mendenhall retired, and oversaw everything at the Market Street station until his own retirement on October 31, 1937. The younger Keech died in early 1938.⁴⁵

There were plenty of examples of workers who used their connections to get jobs on the railroad. For instance, William A. McMichael, the Market Street stationmaster in the 1890s, hired Miss Mary McMichael to type out freight bills and manifests in 1900.⁴⁶ McMichael also gave a job to William Gheen, the son of his friend and West Chester's police chief, in 1894.⁴⁷ After Gheen became a competent telegraph operator⁴⁸ he took a job with the Reading Railroad in 1900 and moved to Norristown.⁴⁹ Gheen eventually retired as the Reading's general freight manager in 1944.⁵⁰

Before concluding this chapter, there are few topics that deserve at least a brief mention. One was the issue of women's work on the railroad, of which West Chester offers a few examples. Miss Emma Hunter went to work for the WCRR in 1851 and became one of the country's first female telegraph operators.⁵¹ Miss A. M. Criley worked for the WC&P for more than a dozen years as the Market Street station agent.⁵² Kate Lamborn, a grand-niece of a former Pennsylvania governor,⁵³ started cleaning the Market Street station after her husband became ill and continued after he died in 1891.⁵⁴

Railroad workers were among the first workers in America to form labor unions. The PRR's locomotive engineers organized in 1863 and the conductors, brakemen, firemen and switchmen followed suit in

the following decade.⁵⁵ When the depression that followed the Civil War led the PRR to cut wages in 1877, that precipitated the "Great Railroad Strike" which led to deaths and millions of dollars in damage.⁵⁶ By the time the PRR acquired West Chester's railroads, the first wave of unrest had passed, and local newspapers rarely mention labor militancy except at the end of the two world wars.⁵⁷ The impact of railroad strikes on West Chester was reduced by the introduction of the trolley from Philadelphia after 1900,⁵⁸ and the PRR management made some efforts to mollify its employees by installing employee lockers, reading room and washroom in the Market Street station.⁵⁹

Ultimately, wages appear to have been the main factor that determined how long someone worked for the railroad. Most of the roughly three hundred railroad workers listed in the six directories sampled for this chapter appeared only once. Those who appeared more often were invariably people who reached the rank of engineers, conductors or stationmasters in their later years. For the rest -- the manual laborers of West Chester's railroad industry -- they could anticipate a steady income that supported both a family and private home ownership, as long as they were not killed during their first years on the job.

Chapter 10

Shaping the borough

In general, railroads altered the landscape through which they passed and shaped the towns that they served. The railroads of West Chester were no different, spawning six passenger stations, one freight station, three bridges, eight grade crossings and four street closings. In general, stations attracted traffic while the bridges, grade crossings and closed streets channeled it. Proximity to the railroad also affected property values, raising them for commercial properties while holding them down for residential properties.

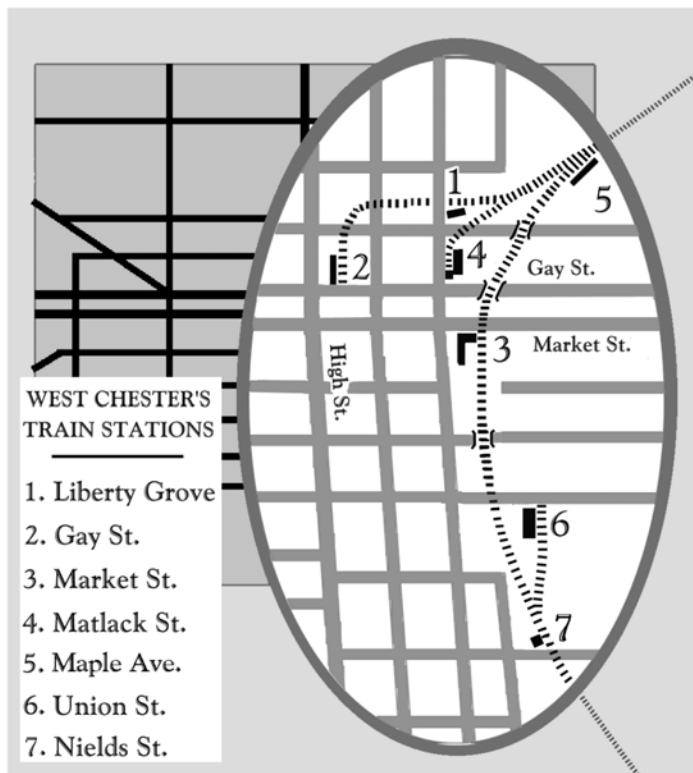


Figure 30. West Chester's train stations. Map by the author.

The large number of stations was due to both the number of railroad companies that operated in West Chester at different times and

the pressure exerted by affluent citizens. Throughout its history, West Chester has had more than its share of lawyers and wealthy businessmen, and they were occasionally able to influence the decisions of railroad management. The result was a proliferation of stations spaced an average of just three blocks apart, although not all were in service at the same time.

Train stations

West Chester's first station was located next to "a hickory tree in Liberty Grove" at the corner of Matlack and Chestnut Streets in 1831.¹ No details of its construction have survived, although an 1844 map shows a small structure on the site and a modern author claims it was a small frame station.²

In response to complaints that the Liberty Grove station was too far from the center of town, the WCRR built its second station on Gay Street.³ It was located next to the Greentree Hotel at the end of a fourteen-foot wide alley that ran from Chestnut to Gay Street just east of the Greentree Hotel (current site of the Susquehanna Bank). As described in chapter 2, this station was "one story high, having a ticket office and waiting room front, with track and platform back."⁴ Based on minutes from WCRR board meetings, we know that the building was designed by Thomas U. Walter and the tracks entered the station four feet below ground level so that platform did not need to be elevated.⁵ From newspaper accounts we also know that it was altered several times and was expanded when it was rebuilt after a fire in 1859.⁶ Unfortunately, no photographs of the station are known to have survived, so the rest of this description is based on maps, deed descriptions, court records, newspaper articles, and the 1874 "Bird's Eye View of West Chester, PA" published by J. Hoopes Matlack.

The first version of the Gay Street station was twenty-two feet wide and was about fifteen feet deep. It was built of plaster on a wooden frame with metal roof, and had a front door that led directly out to the sidewalk along Gay Street and another door leading out the back. Behind the station, a forty-five foot long platform served a single track that ran down the middle of the alley to Chestnut Street.⁷

In 1847 the company leased land on either side of the station which enabled them to enlarge the building.⁸ At the end of 1856 the

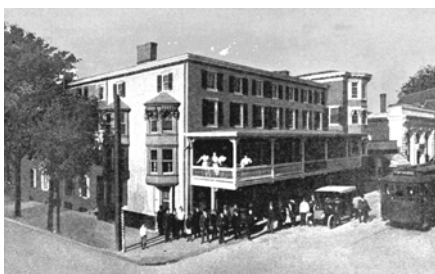


Figure 31. The Greentree Hotel at the corner of High and Gay streets. Photo from the [Farm and Business Directory of Chester County, Pennsylvania](#) (Philadelphia: Wilmer Atkinson Company, 1914).

company bought most of the land west of the tracks between the station and Chestnut Street,⁹ giving it room to build a freight station next to the platform.¹⁰ The WCRR also rebuilt the station seventy feet north of Gay Street to make room for a two-story office and commercial building. Passengers exited the train shed from its southwest corner and walked through the side yard of the Greentree Hotel

to reach Gay Street.¹¹

The 1874 "Bird's Eye View of West Chester, PA" shows a small two-story building on Gay Street and a longer two-story building behind it. Behind that, a one-story shed protected a single track that crossed Chestnut Street.¹² According to newspaper accounts of a subsequent fire and demolition, two of the three buildings were constructed of wood and the other was made of brick with a stone cellar.¹³

The Gay Street station fell on hard times after the two companies merged in 1864. The WC&P moved all passenger

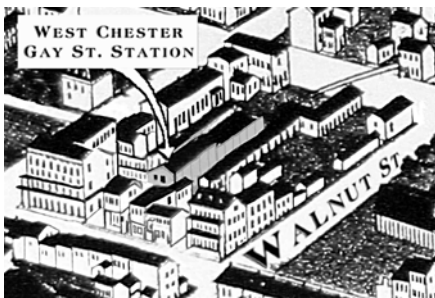


Figure 32. The Gay Street station. Adapted by the author from detail of J. Hoopes Matlack, "Bird's Eye View of West Chester" (1874).

operations to its Market Street station, but continued to use the Gay Street station for meetings and freight.¹⁴ After the PRR acquired the WCRR and announced plans to build a new station at Matlack & Gay Streets, local businessman Uriah Painter bought the Gay Street station in 1880.¹⁵ Painter used it to store supplies for his lumber and ice business on the other side of Chestnut Street¹⁶ and kept two ice-hauling railcars

-- the "Greenland" and the "Iceland" -- on the siding.¹⁷ He also rented

out space in the freight building to agricultural machinery dealers Bennett & Lear.¹⁸ He rented the front building on Gay Street to a number of businesses including a plumber, a restaurant and a billiard parlor.¹⁹

Painter's use of the station presented an odd legal problem. The WCRR never owned the land under the station but held it under a lease that was valid "so long as said Company may occupy said ground and alley with their tracks and car-house." In 1878 Henry R. Guss filed a lawsuit to reclaim part of the land, but accepted cash in exchange for extending the lease.²⁰ In 1893, the owner of the land on the east side of the station filed a similar lawsuit. With his legal costs mounting, Painter began looking for ways to dispose of the station.²¹ For a time, James Spence considered moving his oyster bar into the old station, but ultimately decided to open nearby in 34 E. Gay Street.²² There were other proposals for a four-story telegraph building, a carriage shop and a new station for line connecting to the Reading Railroad system.²³ But after he lost his appeal to the Supreme Court,²⁴ Painter was forced to demolish part of the station in 1895 in order to return the land to its owners.²⁵

A fire further damaged the structure in 1897.²⁶ Painter continued to look for ways to redevelop the property, and between 1900 and 1903 there were proposals for developing the site as a YMCA,²⁷ a new post office, and a "union passenger station" (i.e. transportation center).²⁸ Before anything was built, another fire destroyed what was left of the station on March 27, 1903.²⁹

Subsequently, Borough Council extended Prescott Alley from High Street to Walnut Street, dividing the property in half. The newly founded Chester County Trust Company bought the property on Gay Street and built their first bank building which still stands today.³⁰ A succession of industrial users occupied the property on Chestnut Street through the first part of the twentieth century, including the Corcoran construction company, the Peoples Ice and Storage Company³¹ and the Atlantic Ice Manufacturing Company. In 1947 the



Figure 33. The former Chester County Trust Company building, built in 1903 on the site of the Gay Street station. Photo by the author.

Borough bought the property to use as a parking lot³² and after at least two attempts to gain permission from the state, the PRR removed the tracks across Chestnut Street in 1954.³³

West Chester's best known station was located on East Market Street between Matlack & Franklin Streets, at the same place used by the modern West Chester Railroad for its tourist station. It was built by the WC&P on 1.1 acres of land purchased for \$400 in 1852.³⁴ Between 1854 to 1857 the WC&P built a two story brick structure for use as its "West Chester station house"³⁵ and the first train arrived at the station on November 11, 1858.³⁶

The 1858 station was used for both passenger and freight operations.³⁷ After the WC&P leased the WCRR in 1864, it shifted all of its passenger operations to east side of the Market Street station next to the track that provided a connection to the WCRR at E. Biddle Street.³⁸ In 1879 the company built a shed over the passenger platforms,³⁹ and by 1891 the station stood at the center of a track complex that included three freight lines and two passenger lines which terminated at the station, two passenger lines and a freight line that crossed Market Street, plus a freight siding that served the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works located east of the station on Market Street.⁴⁰

When the PRR sold the Gay Street station to Uriah Painter, the Market Street station became more congested.⁴¹ That produced complaints that led the PRR to renovate the station and install gates at the Market Street crossing.⁴² After the PRR abandoned its new station at Gay and Matlack Streets, a Sunday morning fire at the Market Street station on January 2, 1885 provided the pretext to remodel it once more.⁴³ The company installed galvanized screens on the waiting room windows,⁴⁴ built a shelter for the watchman who worked the crossing gates⁴⁵ and created a bunk room for visiting train crews on the second floor.⁴⁶ By September 1885 the company decided to add a third floor to the building⁴⁷ and augment the waiting room fireplace⁴⁸ with a steam boiler and radiators.⁴⁹ Finally, the company installed electric lights in the passenger shed in 1886⁵⁰ using power from the new Edison Electric Illuminating Company.⁵¹ In 1887 the Union News company opened a newsstand in the station,⁵² and by 1890 the station was equipped with what was probably the borough's first water cooler. Newspaper reports

suggest that it was quite an attraction because 460 people used it on a single summer day.⁵³

The nation suffered through an economic depression in the early 1890s, so the next round of station improvements was delayed until after the turn of the century. To improve conditions for its employees, the company acquired a typewriter⁵⁴ and installed lockers⁵⁵ and a reading room on the second floor. Talk of creating a local branch of the railroad YMCA failed to produce action, but the company scheduled lectures and musical performances in the station's reading room for the "many railroad men who have their homes here and many others who are compelled to remain a short time each day."⁵⁶

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Figure 34. Two views of the Market Street Station. Courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Other improvements were aimed at railroad passengers. First, the company replaced the electric lights in the passenger shed with gas lights in 1897.⁵⁷ They added a pay telephone to the waiting room in 1900,⁵⁸ new restrooms and a well in 1907,⁵⁹ and a water fountain in the corridor that led to the passenger platform in 1909.⁶⁰ They also replaced the roof in 1908, eliminating a problem with leaks.⁶¹

Finally, the company upgraded the tracks around the station. In the summer of 1900 they installed heavier rails south of the station,⁶² and in late 1907 the PRR installed electric signals and a tower to control train movements in the borough.⁶³ As business



Figure 35. Barnard street bridge at the south end of the Market Street station. Photo by the author.

increased at the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works, so did the congestion on Market Street, and in response the PRR extended the siding and several tracks across the Barnard Street bridge in 1917 so that trains could enter the siding without crossing Market Street.⁶⁴

After that, the Market Street station remained unchanged for many years. In 1939 the PRR removed two of the tracks across Market Street,⁶⁵ but World War II put a freeze on repairs. By the 1950s people in West Chester started to complain regularly about the condition of the station,⁶⁶ and a 1961 editorial referred to the station as an "eyesore" and criticized "the present old ramshackle building about which residents have been complaining for years."⁶⁷ By 1962 the newsstand had closed, the station was empty except for a ticket office, and its walls had become the target of vandals.⁶⁸ When borough leaders asked the PRR to replace the station in 1965,⁶⁹ the company applied for permission to demolish it instead.⁷⁰ It was revived briefly as a freight terminal after the E. Union Street freight terminal burned down in 1967,⁷¹ but the PRR finally demolished the building in June 1968.⁷²

The train station with the oddest history was located at the corner of Gay and Matlack Streets. Constructed from scratch in 1880 on a lot located across Chestnut Street from the site of the Liberty Grove station, the Matlack Street station opened and closed within less than a year. The story began in 1879 when the PRR purchased the WCRR.⁷³ Determined to siphon business away from the WC&P station on Market Street, the PRR opted to build a new station at Gay and Matlack Streets on property that belonged to Dr. Isaac Thomas,⁷⁴ a former president of the WCRR.⁷⁵

The new station consisted of three tracks and two one-story buildings -- a brick passenger station that faced Gay Street and a freight building located on the east side of the property. The passenger station offered separate waiting rooms to men and women, plus room for an office and a "retiring room" for employees. On the north side of the

building, a large shed covered the tracks and offered protection for passengers and workers.⁷⁶

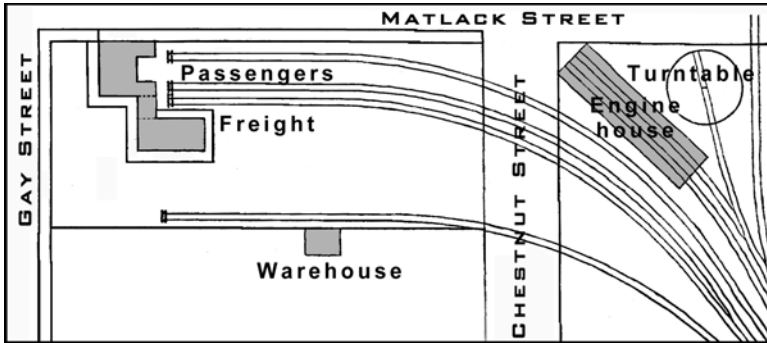


Figure 36. Plan of the Matlack Street station. The engine house and turntable occupied the site of the original station at Liberty Grove on the northeast corner of Matlack and Chestnut Streets. Adapted by the author from an engraving in the *Daily Republican* (West Chester, April 10, 1881).

Less than two weeks after the station opened on July 12, 1880,⁷⁷ the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad (PW&B) purchased the rival WC&P.⁷⁸ Within a year, the PRR purchased the PW&B⁷⁹ and found itself in possession of stations on both Market and Matlack Streets. On August 1, 1881, the PRR shifted all passenger operations to Market Street,⁸⁰ sparking protests by residents and merchants. Despite complaints that the new depot was "more sightly" and gave newcomers a better perception of the town,⁸¹ the PRR management refused to yield.⁸² Although there were frequent rumors that passenger service would return to the Matlack Street station,⁸³ it did so only occasionally when accidents or fire blocked operations at Market Street.⁸⁴

The PRR continued to use Matlack Street for storage and locomotive repairs⁸⁵ until complaints from neighbors about noise induced the PRR to shift all locomotive maintenance to the south side of town in 1908.⁸⁶ The freight building remained in use until after World War II,⁸⁷ but a gas station replaced the passenger building by 1934.⁸⁸ All but one track across Chestnut Street was removed in 1960⁸⁹ while the last one continued to handle loads for Agway until the early 1970s.⁹⁰

Two "suburban stations"

Although the borough covers less than two square miles, it eventually hosted two "suburban" stations thanks to pressure exerted by some of its citizens. After the PRR consolidated all passenger operations at Market Street in 1881, residents of the North End complained because they had to travel an extra two blocks beyond the Matlack Street station to catch a train. In March 1884, the PRR responded by building a 150-long wooden platform along Maple Avenue near the Hoopes Brothers & Thomas Nursery, just inside the borough line.⁹¹ The "fast train" to Philadelphia began to stop there in 1887,⁹² and it remained in service until 1917 when trains began to stop at the end of E. Biddle Street instead.⁹³

The construction of the platform at Maple Avenue in the North End roused residents of the South End to demand their own station.⁹⁴ Students and professors at the State Normal School were particularly vocal and argued that a station at E. Nields Street would shorten their journey by as much as six blocks.⁹⁵ The PRR management resisted and nothing was built at the

time, although trains stopped at Nields Street from time to time after World War I.⁹⁶ As late as 1962, residents of the South End were still asking for a stop at Nields Street,⁹⁷ and in 1965 the PRR offered to build one in exchange for permission to demolish the Market Street station. But Borough Council opposed that plan in the hope that the Market Street station would become a downtown transportation center,⁹⁸ and ultimately the Pennsylvania Utilities Commission decided against allowing the PRR to vacate the Market Street station.⁹⁹ It was only after the Market Street station was demolished in 1968 that the PRR's successor, Penn Central, constructed a passenger shelter at Nields Street and named it the West Chester University station.¹⁰⁰

The last station in West Chester was built by the PRR to handle freight. After earlier efforts failed to relieve the congestion at Market Street, the PRR built a freight station on E. Union Street in 1888.¹⁰¹ Although the Market Street station continued to handle some freight, the Union Street station gradually assumed a major role. The newspaper account of the 1944 fire at the station identified customers



Figure 37. Nields Street station. Photo by the author.

like the Fruit Growers of Chester County, the United Dairy Equipment Company and Paoli Feed and Supply.¹⁰² When fire struck a second time on September 15, 1967, the losses included paint belonging to Lasko Products, rolls of paper for the Denney-Reyburn company, and cereal and gravy from Grocery Store Products.¹⁰³

Other Effects

The physical impact of the railroad went beyond the construction of stations, tracks and signal towers. The location of railroad installations influenced the development of the borough's street grid. Trains presented major obstacles to pedestrians and other vehicles, so both railroad companies and local governments made great efforts to separate them.

West Chester's railroads were built a quarter-century apart, so each affected the town in different ways. The WCRR reached town before the street grid was completed, so by the time that streets were laid out in the northeast part of town, they had to either follow the tracks or avoid them altogether.

The WCRR entered the town along high ground at the edge of the Goose Creek watershed.

Although Biddle Street, Convent Lane and Montgomery Avenue crossed the tracks, Maple Avenue began as a lane that ran next to the right-of-way, which is still visible between 400 N. Penn Street and the northeast corner of the Sharples Works. At the corner of Maple Avenue and Biddle Street, the original track veered west towards the Matlack and Gay Street stations, while the 1864 connecting track veered south towards Market Street. The lane next to the original track became E. Evans Street while the lane that served the WCRR turntable from Chestnut Street became Winder Alley.¹⁰⁴ Today the tracks are all gone, but Maple Avenue still cuts across the northeast part of town between the Seven Oaks apartment complex and Henderson High School.



Figure 38. The connector to Market Street joined the original WCRR tracks at this grassy triangle located near Penn and Biddle Streets. Photo by the author.

A generation later when the WC&P was built, the street grid was already planned out. Several borough streets were already in place in the southeast, so the WC&P had to construct several grade crossings to reach Market Street. All faced repeated calls for their closure. The Miner Street crossing was closed in 1885,¹⁰⁵ the Barnard Street crossing was replaced with a bridge in 1870,¹⁰⁶ the crossings at Union and Nields Streets remain in use today, and two other crossings at Franklin and Adams Street were closed in 1909.¹⁰⁷ When S. Adams Street was realigned next to the Wyeth factory in 1966, it followed the tracks to Nield Street, making it the only street in the southeast whose direction was determined by the orientation of the railroad.¹⁰⁸

When the connecting track was built in 1864, it required grade crossings at Franklin and Chestnut Streets. Franklin Street was closed and Chestnut Street was carried over the tracks on a hump-backed wooden bridge in 1885.¹⁰⁹ A third grade crossing remained in service at Market Street until the tracks were abandoned in the 1960s, while Gay Street passed over the tracks on a bridge whose last incarnation still remains in use even though the tracks are long gone.

The street closings usually came about as a result of requests from the railroad, and they rarely received approval without public opposition. For instance, the process to close Miner Street started in June 1885 with a three-person "Jury on the Streets of West Chester" which took testimony at the police station. The opponents were mostly nearby property owners who argued that closing the street would lower their property values, and who hired lawyer to present a petition with 233 signatures. Supporters argued in favor of eliminating a dangerous



Figure 39. Streets in the northeast part of town followed the railroad line. Map by the author.

crossing and included the Chief Burgess (mayor), the owner of the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works and representatives of the PRR. Borough Council split three-three on the issue (Charles Lear apparently expressed no opinion),¹¹⁰ so a second jury heard more testimony in December 1885. They agreed to close the Miner Street crossing, as well as crossings at N. Franklin Street and Patton Alley at E. Biddle Street,¹¹¹ but people continued to cross the tracks at Miner Street. In 1889 a new Borough Council turned over part of the 200-block of E. Miner Street to the wheel works, which used the property to extend their factory. That finally eliminated foot traffic across the tracks at that point.¹¹²

Although borough residents resisted street closings, they were equally vocal about their opposition to grade crossings. The crossings at Barnard and Union Streets were particularly dangerous because they both required steep slopes that created problems for horse-drawn wagons trying to evade oncoming trains. The Union Street crossing was graded to reduce the slope along the street, while the Barnard Street crossing was replaced by a bridge after Borough employees lowered the height of the street.¹¹³ Complaints continued, however, and under pressure from the Borough, the PRR removed the bridge center post in 1906¹¹⁴ and widened the bridge to accommodate a fourth track in 1917 so that freight trains would no longer block Market Street as frequently.¹¹⁵

The Chestnut Street bridge provides another example of the intricate negotiations between the PRR and the Borough. In spring 1885 Council asked the PRR to build a bridge over Chestnut Street so it could be extended east of the railroad.¹¹⁶ After several rounds of offers and counter-offers, the PRR agreed to build the bridge -- sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide with a pair of five-foot walkways -- in exchange for the Borough's agreement to close the E. Miner Street and N. Franklin Street grade crossings, extend Patton Alley northeast of Biddle Street (creating the modern Maple Avenue) and extend Penn Street from Gay north to the railroad at Biddle Street. The Borough also agreed to provide all of the earth needed to construct the bridge approaches.¹¹⁷

The Gay Street bridge was a special case because it served the most heavily-traveled route into the borough. In addition to



Figure 40. The Gay Street bridge in 2005. Photo by the author.

ordinary traffic, it had to support the weight of electric trolleys which began operation in 1899.¹¹⁸ It also had to provide clearance for trains to pass underneath, and occasionally suffered fires caused by sparks from passing locomotives.¹¹⁹ In 1922-1923 the bridge was raised and widened to accommodate larger trains,¹²⁰ and it was entirely replaced in 1960-1961 as part of the West Chester Pike improvement project.¹²¹ That produced the concrete structure that is still in use today.¹²²

The railroad's physical influence on West Chester took two forms. On the one hand, the stations became points of access to the railroad where people from different neighborhoods met. On the other hand, the closing of streets and the physical obstacle of the tracks divided the town into neighborhoods. In particular, the railroad made explicit the notion that the east side of town was "on the other side of the tracks." As a result, the railroad played a significant role in creating the concept of West Chester as a collection of wards that remains prevalent even today.

Trolleys

The steady growth of American rail traffic continued well into the twentieth century, but the seeds of decline were planted in the late nineteenth century. The inventions of steam power alternatives like the electric motor enabled the development of more flexible transportation systems that competed successfully with railroads. In 1887 the city of Richmond, Virginia successfully constructed a light-weight street railway system based on Frank J. Sprague's electric motor design.¹ For light loads over short distances, street railways were cheaper to build and far cheaper to operate than railroads. They became even more valuable in 1907 after the state legislature authorized them to carry light freight.²

Long before that, a group of West Chester businessmen chartered West Chester's first street railway.³ In mid-August 1890, president M. H. Matlack and directors P. E. Jeffries, Henry C. Baldwin, William Hemphill and R. T. Cornwell organized the West Chester

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Figure 41. A WCSR trolley at the Lenape station of the Wilmington & Northern Railroad. From a postcard published ca. 1910. Publisher not identified. Courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Street Railway Company (WCSR), but it quickly became the target of a takeover. When stock went on sale on September 24, the newspaper noted "there have been many persons investing in it. The subscriptions to the stock have not all been from West Chester."⁴ The majority went to people with ties to the Wilmington & Northern Railroad (W&N), which came within a few miles of West Chester at Lenape on its way from Wilmington to Coatesville. They elected the W&N's legal counsel, William M. Hayes, president of the WCSR board.⁵

The W&N was part of the Reading system with a connection to the main line south of Reading at Birdsboro.⁶ Until the WCSR, passengers disembarked at Lenape station and took horse-drawn passenger coaches to West Chester. Under W&N control, the WCSR board voted to extend its line from downtown West Chester to Lenape, a distance of seven miles along a route that ran roughly parallel to Lenape Road (PA Route 52).⁷ The trolley entered the borough along W. Nields Street and turned north at New to Market, then turned east to the Market Street station. A second line crossed it at right angles in front of the court house and ran along High Street from Virginia Avenue to Rosedale Avenue.⁸

The WCSR never offered any serious competition for the PRR's West Chester operations because traffic from West Chester towards the south was not extensive. West Chester's second street railway posed a much greater challenge to the PRR because it ran directly from the center of town (High & Gay Streets) to Philadelphia along what is now the West Chester Pike (PA Route 3).⁹ "The Philadelphia, Castle Rock & West Chester Railway" operated its first trolley on January 2, 1899¹⁰ and became fully operational by late May.¹¹ The PRR tried to oppose it in court and won a lawsuit that made the trolley company bear nearly all of the cost of upgrading the Gay Street bridge.¹² Additional friction occurred when passengers shipped their baggage to Philadelphia on the train and then rode the cheaper trolley into the city.¹³

Once street railways became firmly established, large railroad corporations like the PRR shifted their efforts to acquiring land further west to prevent their smaller rivals from expanding.¹⁴ As a consequence, several other trolley lines proposed for West Chester never arrived, like the Chester, Concordville and West Chester Electric Railway¹⁵ and the West Chester, Kennett & Wilmington Electric Railway Company.¹⁶ After a change of ownership, however, the WCSR was able to extend its lines to Downingtown, Kennett Square and Coatesville by 1904.¹⁷

Although it was technically illegal, the WCSR occasionally carried freight in the years before 1906. Railroad companies held

monopoly rights on freight hauling thanks to their charters, but there was no restriction on passenger baggage, and in a region whose farmers used the railroad to reach urban markets, the line between baggage and freight was fuzzy. Borough residents also used the trolley to move goods to and from the Market Street station, and as a consequence, the WCSR carried "a variety of general merchandise including beef, beer, lumber, wheels and machinery."¹⁸

In 1907 the state passed the Trolley Freight Bill. It permitted trolleys to carry "light freight" but also made them subject to local regulations.¹⁹ Borough Council tried to limit the practice by setting a maximum weight for trolley cars on borough streets.²⁰ But the practice grew, and by 1917 the trolley freight service was so popular that even the Hoopes Brothers & Darlington wheel works, located next to the Market Street station, used the trolley for carriage wheel shipments.²¹ The company, renamed the Philadelphia and West Chester Traction Company, leased additional warehouse space on North Walnut Street near Gay for freight handling.²²

With a downtown freight depot plus a passenger terminal located a block away at High & Gay Streets, the trolley offered much more convenient access to Philadelphia from downtown West Chester than the PRR could. In 1895 the nation's railroads had lost half of their passengers to trolley companies, according to estimates published in the trade magazine *Railway Age*. In West Chester, the trolley to Downingtown took over all of the railroad's passenger business to points west of Frazer by 1903, and in 1906 rumors began circulating that the PRR would shift all of its passenger trains to the Media line.²³ Passenger trains continued to operate on the Frazer line until 1932,²⁴ and even revived briefly in 1909

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Figure 42. The "trolley barn" on S. High Street was located on the site of the Bicentennial Parking Garage. Photo ca. 1899. by Albert Biles, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

during a trolley strike,²⁵ but by the late 1920s a new threat completed the decline of the PRR-Frazer passenger service: buses.²⁶

Changes in the railroad business

Despite competition from street railways, the demand for rail transportation continued to grow in response to suburban development and industrial progress. By 1902 the PRR operated twenty-five round-trip trains daily and twelve round-trips on Sunday between Philadelphia and West Chester, and offered connections to Wilmington, Oxford, Lamokin, Lancaster, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh.²⁷ By the 1920s more than 6,000 passengers used the Market Street station each day.²⁸

The efforts by railroads to develop their suburban business in the 1870s now threatened to backfire. The growth in train travel bred congestion on main lines and at the larger terminals, and threatened to clog the system. Companies like the PRR doubled, tripled and quadrupled tracks and expanded their rail yards as much as they could, but the escalating price of urban land made that approach unsustainable. The PRR began to experiment with electric locomotives following their success pulling passenger trains with electrics through tunnels into Manhattan in 1906. In 1911 they started to electrify the Paoli and Chestnut Hill lines in 1911 with good results, but World War I delayed further construction. It took the destruction of the PRR's main Philadelphia terminal at Broad Street by fire in 1923 to resuscitate the project. The company launched a major redesign of its system, and by January 1933 had electrified everything between New Haven, Connecticut and Wilmington, Delaware.²⁹

Efforts to address the increasing congestion on the PRR system left their mark upon West Chester. In 1883 the PRR introduced a new kind of locomotive for suburban commuter runs. It was an oversized tank engine that carried extra water so that it would not need to make as many stops.³⁰ The engine was a failure because of its weight (46 tons) and undersized coal tender, so the company assigned it to the Frazer run in 1883, where it became known as "Jumbo" (also mentioned in chapter 9).³¹ Generally, Jumbo performed well on the seven miles to West Chester and may have even benefitted from the extra weight to get traction on the steep hills south of Frazer.³² But Jumbo broke down frequently and even though the company reduced its weight in 1884,³³ it had to be retired in 1889.³⁴

The use of electric signal devices enabled trains to operate more quickly and closer together on single tracks, relieving congestion but increasing the risk of an accident. West Chester's two lines were converted to electrical block signaling in 1907³⁵ and a signal tower was

erected just south of the Market Street station.³⁶ As a result of the change, the trip to Philadelphia declined from an average of one hour and fifteen minutes³⁷ to about an hour.³⁸

The increasing size of locomotives created problems in West Chester, especially at the Gay Street bridge over the Frazer line.³⁹ When No. 268, "one of the immense new heaps of iron and steel" arrived in 1900, it barely fit under the bridge.⁴⁰ The following summer, the PRR installed heavier rails at the Market Street station to accommodate the increased loads.⁴¹ The new equipment did improve service, however, establishing a new speed record for the run between West Chester and Frazer in 1901 by covering seven miles and making two stops in just eight minutes.⁴²

The PRR also experimented with lighter, self-propelled railcars. The first was the "Ogerita," a gasoline-powered passenger railcar that was introduced in 1903.⁴³ It was not a success, but in 1923 the company acquired another self-propelled railcar, the "Green Hill Flyer," and assigned it for use by track crews on the Frazer line. The Flyer traveled at speeds up to fifty miles per hour -- a huge improvement over the handcars used by track crews⁴⁴ -- and foreshadowed the arrival of self-propelled MP54 electric railcars in 1928⁴⁵ and Silverliner cars in 1967.⁴⁶

The electrification of the suburban lines solved the PRR's congestion problems.

Because electric locomotives accelerated more quickly and were more powerful by weight than steam, trains could be longer, yet spend less time in stations and pass more quickly through railyards. After electrifying the Paoli line in 1915, the Chestnut Hill line in 1918, and the Fort Washington line in 1924,⁴⁷ the company decided to electrify the remaining major suburban lines to

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Figure 43. Electrified railcars at Market Street station, 1949. Photo by Ned Goode, courtesy of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Wilmington, West Chester and Trenton in March 1926.⁴⁸ The wires reached West Chester in the fall of 1928 and electric service began on December 2.⁴⁹ After that the PRR shifted most of its passenger operations to the Media branch, retaining the Frazer line for local freight and as an alternate route during emergencies.⁵⁰ That enabled the PRR to shut down engine houses, turntables, coal tipples and water towers that had served steam locomotives in West Chester.

Steam locomotives remained in use until the 1950s and even provided emergency steam to the borough's power plant when the boilers needed repairs.⁵¹ Although diesel-electric locomotives introduced after World War II had a revolutionary effect on railroads all over the world, they had little effect in West Chester thanks to existence of the electrified line.⁵² By the time the first diesel-electric reached West Chester in July 1952,⁵³ similar locomotives were already in use on the Media line to pull trains along the unelectrified Octoraro branch west of Wawa.⁵⁴

The internal combustion engine

There is an extensive body of literature about the impact of gasoline-powered vehicles. First developed in the late 1890s and popularized in the US by Henry Ford's "Model T" in 1908,⁵⁵ automobiles and their heavier variants proved themselves during World War I. In the 1920s local roads became sufficiently durable to permit year-round bus and truck service, and railroad officials looked forward to motor vehicles serving as "feeders" to the railroad.⁵⁶ But drivers found that once cargo was loaded, it was economical to bypass the station and head directly to the final destination. Instead of taking a bus to the train station, passengers were willing to pay extra for the convenience of riding the bus all the way to their final destination. By 1923 five different bus routes served West Chester,⁵⁷ and the local newspaper reported that motor trucks had taken over the delivery of freight within the borough.⁵⁸

Faced with mounting competition from motor vehicles and the cost of electrifying the Media line, the PRR announced an end to passenger service on the Frazer line in late 1928.⁵⁹ Borough citizens protested and won a reprieve,⁶⁰ but the last



Figure 44. Advertisement for the Short Line Bus Company. Courtesy of Bob Sheller.

passenger train to Frazer ran on September 24, 1932, just over a century since the first train traveled from West Chester to Intersection.⁶¹ The conductor on the last train, Frank Moore, provided these thoughts about what it all meant:

I've looked on this old run, not only as a job-holder, but as I do say, 'home.' I've known these passengers of mine--three generations of them. Why, when one of 'my boys' and 'girls,' as I call them, failed to show up in the morning, I became anxious until I got in again to see if they were all right. However, if doing away with this line is intended for the good of the service, I suppose I'll look at it from that angle too, but I'm certainly going to miss those familiar faces every night and morning.⁶²

Ignoring calls to restore the Frazer passenger service,⁶³ the PRR closed down more of its facilities in the borough. In 1938 a portion of the Matlack Street station was turned into a public parking lot,⁶⁴ two tracks were removed at Market Street, and the Union Street crossing guard was replaced with warning lights.⁶⁵ Two tracks were removed from the Market Street crossing in 1939.⁶⁶ After getting Borough Council to abandon Magnolia Street east of the tracks, the PRR was able to sell its freight station on E. Union Street to the National Foam Company in the spring of 1942.⁶⁷

Two World Wars

Railroads played a major role in the American effort in both World Wars, but they also paid a huge price. Most soldiers reported to duty by rail, and under direct government control, the railroads handled huge increases in passenger and freight loads, especially coal.⁶⁸ By the time that the US entered World War I, the Market Street station was already struggling with a record amount of freight.⁶⁹ The same thing happened in World War II when local defense contractors used the railroad to send and receive goods. Hoopes Brothers & Darlington produced kitchen utensils for the army and wheels for anti-aircraft gun carriages.⁷⁰ Reichel Laboratories (Wyeth's predecessor) produced penicillin,⁷¹ Schramm produced portable generators, welding units and air compressors,⁷² and National Foam made firefighting chemicals for the US Navy.⁷³

Mobilization for war left neither materials nor labor to perform routine maintenance on tracks and equipment.⁷⁴ In 1914 the PRR reduced the number of regular trains serving West Chester,⁷⁵ and added

a special train to the factories at Eddystone just prior to the American declaration of war in 1917.⁷⁶ After war was declared, the PRR closed the Maple Avenue station and replaced it with an unstaffed flag stop at Biddle Street,⁷⁷ and eliminated summer excursions to Atlantic City in order to conserve equipment and train crews.⁷⁸

There were only hints of railroad worker militancy in West Chester during World War I. While efforts were underway to widen the Barnard Street bridge and expand the freight siding at Market Street,⁷⁹ management yielded to requests from employees for washrooms equipped with hot water at the Market Street station.⁸⁰ After World War II a wave of major strikes swept the country, and locomotive engineers and trainmen of the PRR stopped work on May 23, 1946, stranding three West Chester trains in Philadelphia.⁸¹

The Decline

Many West Chester families went to the Market Street station during World War II to bid farewell to men headed to war. That contributed to record passenger travel levels, but it proved to be short-lived. The same servicemen could barely wait until they got home to buy their first automobiles, and few ever considered riding the train again.⁸² At first rail ridership to West Chester remained strong after the war,⁸³ but in April 1948 the PRR eliminated service to fifteen communities along the Octararo branch, which joined the Media line at Wawa.⁸⁴ In

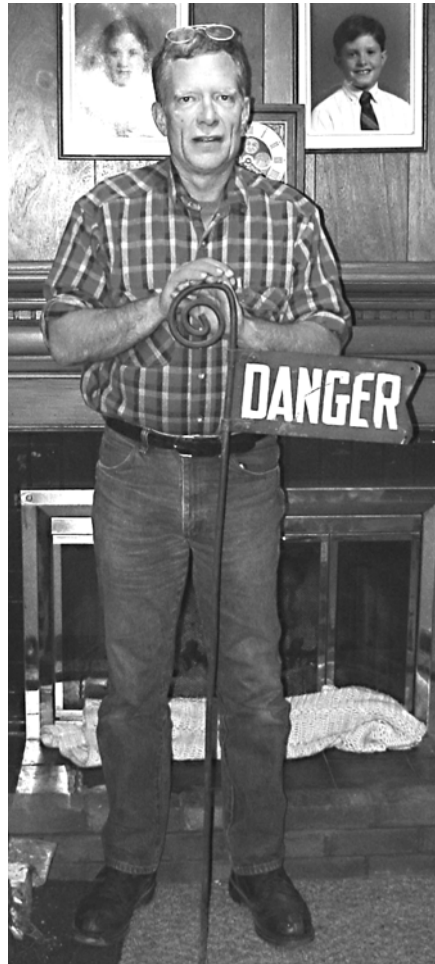


Figure 45. Jimmy Olseski displays the sign used to stop cars on N. Walnut St. so coal trains could reach the power plant. Photo by the author.

1949 the PRR began to reduce service to West Chester⁸⁵ and eliminated direct passenger service between Philadelphia and West Chester in July 1953.⁸⁶

With trolleys of the Philadelphia Suburban Transportation Company operating directly to the city, there was little incentive for commuters to change trains in Media.⁸⁷ The PRR next asked passengers to wait while a train crew member -- instead of a crossing guard -- flagged traffic at the Union Street crossing only three blocks from the Market Street station. Each train had to stop to drop off and pick up the flagger, resulting in a delay that took only a minute, but made an already-declining service even less convenient.⁸⁸ Ridership continued to decline, and by June 1957 the PRR could justify eliminating three daily round-trips. Sunday service was discontinued on January 19, 1958 while fares continued to increase,⁸⁹ further depressing ridership.

Freight revenues remained healthier, and there was even some cause for optimism. The new Wyeth factory included a railroad siding in its design in 1950.⁹⁰ The first diesel locomotive entered the borough on July 11, 1952.⁹¹ The coal-fired power plant at Walnut & Chestnut Street remained a steady freight customer,⁹² and Grocery Store Products added a new freight siding in 1968.⁹³

Nevertheless, the loss of passengers led directly to a decline in public approval of the railroad. With fewer people using the station on a regular basis, it gained a reputation as "seedy." The railroad's reputation also suffered from high profile accidents like the incident in 1953 when a PRR motorman was convicted of killing a family and their friend when he ran over their car at Nields Street. For years, the PRR had stalled on requests to make the crossing safer,⁹⁴ and the coroner found the company negligent for failing to install adequate "protection."⁹⁵

The fate of West Chester's railroad service was sealed in the 1960s, although regularly scheduled trains continued to run until 1986. Drivers complained about the tracks that crossed Chestnut Street near Matlack, and the siding that served the feed store and Agway was rarely used any more,⁹⁶ so the PRR removed it in December 1960.

On Market Street, the station was "an eyesore" according to the local newspapers.⁹⁷ Only the ticket office was still in use,⁹⁸ and at night vandals set fires, broke bottles and caused other damage.⁹⁹ In 1965 the PRR began discussing plans to demolish the station in the face of opposition from Borough Council, which hoped to convert it into a regional transportation center.¹⁰⁰ The PRR countered with an offer to build a new station at Nields Street with a heated waiting room, restrooms, a drinking fountain and parking for 40 cars, and to serve it

with seven trains per weekday,¹⁰¹ but the Public Utilities Commission refused to allow them to tear down the Market Street station.¹⁰²

Within three years everything became moot. First, on September 15, 1967 fire leveled the freight station on Union Street,¹⁰³ forcing the PRR to move its freight operations to the abandoned Railway Express building at the rear of the Market Street station. The Market Street station handled the dual role easily, because by this time the station only served about one hundred passengers per day and a hundred freight cars per month.¹⁰⁴

Six months later the PRR ceased to exist. To avoid bankruptcy, it combined with the New York Central Railroad to form the Penn Central Company on February 1, 1968.¹⁰⁵ Part of the deal included the right to close unprofitable lines and stations, and in June 1969 the Donato J. Devitis Company of Wayne began to demolish the Market Street station.¹⁰⁶ It took a bit more than a week to knock down and remove the rubble from the station that had stood since 1856.¹⁰⁷

The next casualty was the PECO steam heating plant at the corner of Chestnut and Walnut Streets. On April 2, 1969, Penn Central closed down the Frazer line, ending coal deliveries to the north side of West Chester.¹⁰⁸ Although coal continued to arrive at the plant by truck for another year, that set the stage for its demolition at the end of 1970.¹⁰⁹

Real estate developers eyed the abandoned industrial sites along the railroad. Evan Sharpless bought the lumber yard at 323 E. Gay Street and converted it into the Cambridge Square Shopping Center.¹¹⁰ He also tried to get the land surrounding the old turntable at Chestnut and Matlack Streets in 1971 but failed.¹¹¹ Instead Penn Central sold the property to Elwood Webster and his partners,¹¹² who sold it a decade later to Richard Dirocco and Domenic Sarmiento. They built thirteen condominium units in 1988 that still stand on the site.¹¹³



Figure 46. This stone wall is all that remains of the Chestnut Street bridge, which was replaced with the earthen fill seen to the left. Photo by the author.

Borough Council made a half-hearted attempt to preserve the Frazer right-of-way by approving its conversion into a bike trail in March 1975, but provided no funding.¹¹⁴ Nine years later, they sold the rights-of-way on both sides of the Sharples Works to

"Historic Landmarks for Living" which converted the old factory complex into apartments in 1984.¹¹⁵ The Borough still had plans for the railroad as late as July 1984 when Council authorized the purchase of way-finding signs to the station. That same month, they sealed the fate of the Frazer line by approving the removal of the hump-backed wooden bridge on Chestnut Street¹¹⁶ and its replacement with a solid embankment in September 1985.¹¹⁷

Passenger trains continued to enter West Chester on the Media line, but management gradually shifted from private to public ownership. The PRR began sharing the line when SEPTA launched its first train, a morning express from West Chester to Philadelphia, on February 20, 1966.¹¹⁸ After the PRR went out of business, SEPTA operated more trains but began looking for ways to cut back its schedule in 1981.¹¹⁹ There were several interruptions in the early 1980s that replaced trains beyond Elwyn with buses, especially after September 27, 1982 when inspectors found that the Crum Creek bridge needed reinforcement. Although rail service was restored on October 2,¹²⁰ less than a year later SEPTA announced new cutbacks due to a shortage of engineers.¹²¹

By 1985 the end was clearly near as accidents and storm damage created additional delays. One newspaper article reported that trains were late reaching Philadelphia more than half of the time and SEPTA increasingly required West Chester rail passengers to first take a bus to Elwyn.¹²² The final train ran on September 18, 1986, according to "a digest of general orders and notices prepared by a Mr. Shappell, who used to work for the PRR/Conrail."¹²³ SEPTA continued to talk about upgrading the line for \$7.2 million,¹²⁴ but a week later the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported SEPTA's plan to eliminate West Chester rail service altogether, and effective October 26, buses replaced trains between Elwyn and West Chester. SEPTA justified its decision in terms of low ridership (50 passengers per day on average) and cost of refurbishing the track, but they had only themselves and the PRR to blame.¹²⁵ After years of service cuts and deferred maintenance, it was no wonder that ridership was low. The remarkable thing was that rail service had survived so long.

Epilogue

The New West Chester Railroad

The tracks to West Chester lay unused for more than a decade until one Sunday in April 1997 when a diesel locomotive and a single railcar rolled across Niels Street into the borough. It was owned by the "4 States Railway Service" of Yorklyn, Delaware, and operating under the name of the West Chester Railroad Company.¹

The company consisted of a group of men -- railroaders are almost invariably male -- who had learned their trade on the Wilmington & Western Railroad in northern Delaware. In 1993 they approached Borough Council to seek their help in leasing the unused portion of the Media line from SEPTA so they could operate it as a tourist railroad.² After some deliberation, Council agreed



Figure 47. Pete Steele, Steve Getz, Joe Ciacchino and John Jeppi with the first train of the new West Chester Railroad on April 27, 1997. Photo by the author.

to sublet it to 4 States in June 1995,³ but then SEPTA took a year to produce the final lease which Council approved on June 19, 1996.⁴

Although the line was upgraded to high speed 130-pound rail in certain locations in the 1930s, it was in very poor shape in 1996. Some rails were missing completely, many of the wooden cross-ties were splintered or rotten, and an entire culvert was missing just south of the borough line. The 4 States volunteers worked over a year and spent about \$300,000 to restore the track.⁵ Using a restored General Electric 65-tonner built in 1941, they pulled a caboose into the borough on April 27, 1997. Five months later, they carried their first paying customers on September 21, and have continued to operate nine months of each year ever since.⁶

In an effort to attract historic preservation funding, the group formed the non-profit West Chester Railroad Heritage Association. They have received a number of state and county grants that have paid for repairs to gates and pavement at several grade crossings plus tie and rail replacements along the line. Their most noticeable projects were the construction of a new station at Market Street, the restoration of the passenger platform, and the realignment of the "main line" track through the Niels Street switching yard.⁷

The group has continued to acquire and restore equipment

including six locomotives, a C&O box car, a 1927 baggage car built for the PRR in Altoona, a half dozen ex-SEPTA/Reading "Blue Liner" passenger cars, a caboose, a C&O flat car with a Burro crane,⁸ and most recently, an 1889 wooden passenger coach manufactured in Wilmington, Delaware, by the firm of Jackson & Sharp.⁹ As of the spring of 2006, they owned the following motive power:

Table 10. Locomotives of the new West Chester Railroad

Maker/Model	Horsepower	Year built	Status
ALCO S-2	1000	1949	Stored serviceable
ALCO DRS-18U	1800	1960	Active
ALCO C424	2400	1966	Serviceable
Fate Root Heath ML6 (Plymouth)	~200	1941	Out of service
General Electric 65-ton	350	1941	Serviceable
GM EMD GP9	1750	1957	Active

Their activities have stimulated interest in the restoration of rail service from West Chester to Philadelphia. The WCRHA has already operated several charters to 30th Street station after equipping one of their locomotives with compatible signal equipment and using SEPTA crews east of Glen Mills. In 2000 the Borough of West Chester altered its zoning to reduce the likelihood that the right-of-way could be blocked by commercial development, as occurred along the Frazer line. After a 2003 study, the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission concluded that commuter rail service would make towns like West Chester more attractive to young professionals, the Middletown Township Land Conservancy in Delaware County organized a petition drive in 2004 to ask SEPTA to extend the R-3 beyond Elwyn.

SEPTA claims that the biggest obstacle to restoring service is the poor condition of the line,¹⁰ but it has discussed plans to extend service to Wawa, ten miles from West Chester, at a cost of \$51 million dollars to repair track, restore overhead electric wires and build a new station at Wawa.¹¹ In October 2004 the Chester County Planning Commission issued a "technical memorandum" that recognized value in the project, but gave it low priority compared to extending the R5 from Thorndale to Atglen, introducing passenger rail service along the Schuylkill River to Phoenixville and creating a cross-county line from Thorndale to Norristown via King of Prussia.¹²

Fortunately, the tourist railroad still offers the chance to



Figure 48. Skip Small supervises Joe Parsons, Bryan Small and another volunteer as they repair a switch near Union Street in 1998. Photo by the author.

experience the railroads of West Chester. Trains operate between West Chester and Glen Mills most weekends from March until December with special excursions to Philadelphia periodically. For the ultimate railroad experience, become a volunteer. Jobs are available for everything from track maintenance to locomotive operations and US Railroad Administration certified training is available. It's about the only way that someone in Chester County can operate a hundred-ton machine while preserving nearly two centuries of history. For more information, visit the West Chester Railroad's web site at <http://www.westchesterr.net> or call 610-430-2233.

REFERENCE NOTES

Notes to the Introduction

1. As defined by state law, West Chester is a "borough" rather than a town or a city. In this book, I use either "West Chester" "borough" to refer to the town itself and "Borough" or the name of a specific entity (like Burgess) to refer to its official institutions.
2. In general, the streets west of High Street and/or north of Market Street are all straight and intersect at right angles. The streets of the remaining quadrant south of Market and east of Church Street are all skewed slightly towards the east. Hannum Avenue (PA 322) and West Miner Street (PA 842) all follow older roads that predated the street grid, while several late-20th century housing developments (Ford Circle, Marshall and Hillside Drives, Mayfield Avenue, South Brandywine Street and College Avenue) contain curving streets more typical of a suburban area.
3. James T. Lemon, "Urbanization and Development of Eighteenth Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and nearby Delaware" in *William & Mary Quarterly*, series 3, volume 4, issue 24 (October 1967), 505-507.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Douglas Harper, *West Chester to 1865: That Elegant & Notorious Place* (West Chester: CCHS, 1999), 292-294.
2. Douglas Harper discussed the personalities of this period in terms of outsiders and insiders, and portrayed William Everhart as the leading outsider. See Harper, 266.
3. George E. Condon, *Stars in the Water: the story of the Erie Canal* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974), 93.
4. Nicholas Faith, *The World the Railways Made* (New York: Carol & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1990), 10-11. For a lengthy discussion of early steam engines, see chapters four through eight in William H. Brown, *The History of the First Locomotives In America From Original Documents And The Testimony Of Living Witnesses* (New York: D. Appleton And Company, 1871), available at www.history.rochester.edu/steam/brown/index.html.
5. The list includes five lawyers, one doctor, the son of a Revolutionary War general, and the heads of several old Chester County families. The first meeting was described in J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, PA, with Genealogical and Bibliographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 359, as are biographical details for the participants.
6. Alfred Sharpless, *A History of Railroading in Chester County* (DLN, January 20, 1898), 4, in West Chester University special collections.
7. Samuel Hazard, editor, *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. VII, no. 3, #159 (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, January 15, 1831), 44.

8. *Hazard's Register*, VII, 8, #164 (February 19, 1831), 115-116.
9. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, IX, 5, #214 (February 4, 1832), 73-76. The estimated cost appears on page 74.
10. William Darlington, letters to William Jackson, Esq., Senate of Pennsylvania (West Chester, January 6, 1831 and February 27, 1833), in "The West Chester Rail Road" in *Chester County Collections*, no. 16 (West Chester Bureau of Historical Research, October 1939), 502-503.
11. Futhey & Cope, 359 and "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, op. cit.
12. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, Ibid.
13. *Hazard's Register*, VII, 13, #169 (February 26, 1831), 197.
14. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, op. cit.
15. The board of the WCRR also included two lawyers, Joseph Hemphill and Eliha Chauncey, plus a man named Jonathan Jones. Futhey & Cope, 359.
16. Alfred Sharpless, 4, and "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, op. cit.
17. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, Ibid.
18. *Hazard's Register*, vol. VII, no. 3, #159 (January 15, 1831), 44.
19. The "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" lists eight contractors for the nine sections of track (Perry & Grennells got two sections) as well as the amount each received for moving earth, hard pan and rock.
20. William Watson & John Ahtes, personal communication (March 2, 2005). Working conditions along the Main Line near Malvern in 1832, the year that the WCRR was completed, are discussed in detail in [The Ghosts of Duffy's Cut: The Irish Who Died Building America's Most Dangerous Stretch of Railroad](#) by William Watson, Frank Watson, William Ahtes, Earl Schandelmeier (Praeger, forthcoming). See also Lois Puglionesi, "The Ghosts of Duffy's Corner" in *Delaware County Times* (August 10, 2003), 4.
21. *Hazard's Register*, X, 13, # 248 (September 29, 1832), 207-208.
22. *Hazard's Register*, VII, 3, #159 (January 15, 1831), 44.
23. *Hazard's Register*, VII, 8, #164 (February 19, 1831), 115.
24. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, Ibid. See also *Hazard's Register*, VII, 8, #164 (February 19, 1831), 115.

25. *Hazard's Register*, X, 13, #248 (September 29, 1832), 207-208.
26. Ibid.
27. William Darlington, Directory of the borough of West Chester, for 1857: containing a complete history of the borough from its first settlement to the present time. (West Chester, PA: Wood & James, Publishers, E.F. James, printer, 1857), 37.
28. Darlington, Directory (1857), 37.
29. Futhey & Cope, 404.
30. Darlington, Directory (1857), 37.
31. "The Churches of West Chester" coordinated by Constance Allen in West Chester, the First 200 Years: 1799-1999 (West Chester Bicentennial History Committee, 1999), 38; and Harper, 319.
32. Harper, 316-319.
33. In 1830, William Everhart advertised for someone to rent a grocery store on this corner. "For Rent" in *Village Republican* (September 8, 1830), in CCHS clippings file (henceforth CF), "West Chester Streets, Market Street, 1830-1834."
34. Harper, 313-314.
35. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, Ibid.
36. Futhey & Cope, 359. On Baily's report to the board, see Alfred Sharpless, 4.
37. William Bender Wilson, History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Company, 1895), 62.
38. Harper, 327.
39. Harper, 319-321.
40. Futhey & Cope, 336.
41. Harper, 374-375.
42. Harper, 375.
43. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, December 26, 1835). See also "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." in Chester County Court of Common Pleas (1878), in Chester County Reports, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co., 1883), 364.
44. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, May 21, 1836).
45. Ibid.
46. "West Chester Rail Road Company v. William Everhart and Joseph L. Taylor" in Chester County Court of Common Pleas Appearance Pages (August

term 1836), case #156, in Chester County Archives.

47. "Case Stated, Points of Counsel, and the Opinion of the President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Chester County in the Controversy between the West Chester Rail Road Company and the West Chester Extended Rail Road Company" (1837), in "CCHS Ephemera, Transportation, Railroads." Thanks to Eric Chandlee Wilson for bringing this to my attention.

48. Ibid.

49. "History of Railroads in West Chester" in *American Republican* (1870), and Enos Smedley, writing for the *Daily Local News* (DLN) (February 3, 1889), both in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Extended Railroad."

50. Eric Chandlee Wilson provided a photocopy of an 1844 borough map (source unknown) which shows the WCRR but no trace of the WCERR. Douglas Harper claimed that the tracks were torn up some time in 1840. Harper, 374-380.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. "Third Annual Report of the West Chester Rail Road" published in *Hazard's Register*, XIII, 5, #317 (February 1, 1834), 74.

2. See "Report of the Canal Commissioners" [Nov. 29, 1832], in *Hazard's Register*, X (1832), 385, cited in Albright Zimmerman, "The Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad: A Railroad with an Identity Problem" in *Canal History and Technology Proceedings*, vol. III (March 31, 1984), 63.

3. In addition to the sources described in the text, I also wish to thank Paul Moore of Rydal for providing a list of stations and distances in his unpublished "History of West Chester Railroad Company."

4. Intersection was renamed Malvern by the PRR in 1872. See "Malvern" in Futhy & Cope, 221.

5. Alfred Sharpless, 5.

6. *Hazard's Register*, XV, 6, #370 (February 7, 1835), 85. See also Alfred Sharpless, 5.

7. S. R. Downing, letter to the *DLN* (June 16, 1886), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, National Bank of Chester County, 1885-1889." On the construction of the bank, see "The National Bank of Chester County" in *Chester County Democrat* (September 17, 1889), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, National Bank of Chester County."

8. Robert Matlack to WCRR, deed of sale in Chester County Miscellaneous Deed Book 2 (May 10, 1831), 318.

9. Harper, 384.

10. Chester County Sheriff's Deed Book 4 (November 5, 1835), 151.
11. Walker Yarnall (Westtown) and David & Rebecca Townsend to Joseph P. & Mary McClellan, deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book L4 (April 1, 1836), 462. "Partition Docket A" in Chester County Archives 98-102 contains details on how the various claims for the land under the station developed following the death of the last Matlack family.
12. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, December 26, 1835).
13. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, January 30, 1836).
14. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, May 21, 1836).
15. Board of Directors meeting minutes (Philadelphia, July 9, 1836). Walter's design for the "the West Chester Rail Road House" was also mentioned years later in a letter from William H. Dillingham to David Townsend (December 16, 1845), DOC#L16535 in CCHS.
16. "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 363-369; and Board of Directors meeting minutes (Philadelphia, July 9, 1836; West Chester, August 13, 1836; and West Chester, January 16, 1837).
17. Advertisement in *Register & Examiner* (February 26, 1839).
18. "West Chester Depot at Private Sale" in *Village Record* (November 9, 1841), both in CF "West Chester Streets-Gay Street."
19. "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), and John Marshall to WCRR, deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book C6 (December 26, 1856), 549.
20. Futhey & Cope, 359.
21. Announcement for the "Philadelphia & West Chester Railroad Line" (May 31, 1836), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
22. "Sixth Annual Report of the West Chester Railroad Company" reprinted in "West Chester Railroad" in *American Railroad Journal* (February 11, 1837), 83-84. Reprinted from the *West Chester Village Record*.
23. One railroad employee died at Belmont in 1835. See *Hazard's Register*, XV, 6, #370 (February 7, 1835), 84-86. See also *Hazard's Register*, XIII, 25, #337 (June 21, 1834), 397.
24. "Communication from the Canal Commissioners, accompanied by a Report of the Engineer on the route for avoiding the Schuylkill inclined plane. Read in the House of Representatives, May 23, 1840" (Harrisburg, PA: Holbrook, Henlock, and Braton, Printers, 1840), 7.
25. The iron straps were 2.5 inches wide. "Table prepared from tables prepared by L. Klein for *The Journal of the Franklin Institute* (1840)" in Albright Zimmerman, "Iron for American Railroads" in *Canal History and Technology Proceedings*, vol. V (March 22, 1986), 73.
26. Colonel Melnikov, "Technical Description of the Railways in the United States" (1839), translation available at www.rlhs.org in the reference section

- under "Early American Railroads." Accessed on August 15, 2004.
27. Alfred Sharpless, 2.
 28. Zimmerman (1984), 70.
 29. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, January 30, 1836); and Darlington, Directory (1857), 37.
 30. Zimmerman (1984), 68.
 31. *Ibid.*, 70.
 32. John C. Trautwine, Sr., "Remarks on the Injudicious Policy pursued in the Construction and Machinery of many Railroads in the United States", *Journal of the Franklin Institute*. XXXIV, 372-4, cited in Zimmerman (1984), 74.
 33. The CCHS clippings file "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad" contains an undated article from the *DLN* by a retired PRR engineer named Brown who, in about 1906, described his early days on the WCRR.
 34. Rebecca Brooks Gruver, An American History, 3rd. edition (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1981), 256.
 35. Advertisement in *Register & Examiner* (February 26, 1839), in CF "West Chester Streets--Gay Street."
 36. Alfred Sharpless, 6.
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. "West Chester Depot at Private Sale" in *Village Record* (November 9, 1841), in CF "West Chester Streets-Gay Street."
 39. Sharpless, 7. By the early 1840s, the board had abandoned wooden rails in favor of sturdier all-iron T-shaped rails. On the ratio between weight and length of iron rail at this time, see "Another Advance in the Price of Iron", *American Railroad Journal*, V (1836), 84, cited in Zimmerman (1986), 67.
 40. Alfred Sharpless, 7. Alfred Sharpless was superintendent William Sharpless' nephew.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Futhey & Cope, 722-724. Until 1960, the mayor of West Chester was known as "first burgess" or "chief burgess."
4. "Death of Philip P. Sharpless" in *DLN* (January 15, 1902), in CF "Sharpless, Philip P."
5. Futhey & Cope, 739-740.

6. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
7. Futhey & Cope, 672.
8. "Book Store" in *American Republican* (November 25, 1834), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Painter, Samuel M."
9. Advertisement "U. H. Painter's Lumber Yard" in *DLN* (June 21, 1873), in CF, "Painter, U."
10. *Village Record* (October 14, 1857), in CF "West Chester Business Houses - - Painter, J."
11. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
12. Zimmerman (1984), 69.
13. William Moedinger Jr., "And Still the Hens Are Laying" in *Trains* (February 1947), 26, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington to Reading Co." in folder "Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad."
14. *Ibid.*, 27.
15. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
16. Zimmerman (1986), 74.
17. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Futhey & Cope, 743.
20. An 1891 lawsuit mentions the land leases from John J. Parker and Henry Guss, the owner of the Green Tree Hotel, and plans to expand, but gives no physical details about the buildings. They come from an 1841 sales notice and a pair of 1904 articles about the demolition of the station. See "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants," Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 166 Pa. 592; 31 A. 338; 1895 Pa. LEXIS 1253; "West Chester Depot at Private Sale" in *Village Record* (November 9, 1841), in CF "West Chester Streets-Gay Street" and *DLN* (July 6, 1904 and July 13, 1904), both in CF "Chester County Trust Company."
21. Alfred Sharpless, 3 & 7-9. William Darlington also mentioned that the track upgrade was completed by 1849. See Directory (1857), 37.
22. Alfred Sharpless, 7.
23. "Communication from the Canal Commissioners, accompanied by a Report of the Engineer on the route for avoiding the Schuylkill inclined plane. Read in the House of Representatives, May 23, 1840" (Harrisburg, PA: Holbrook, Henlock, and Braton, Printers, 1840).
24. "West Philadelphia Railroad" in *Hazard's Register*, XV (1835), 175, cited in Zimmerman (1984), 72.

25. The P&C's Mine Ridge grade west of "the Gap" in Lancaster County rose 40-45 feet in a mile, while the new route included a section that rose 57 feet in a mile. "Communication from the Secretary of the Commonwealth accompanied by a Report of James D. Harris, engineer, to avoid the Schuylkill inclined plane. Read in the House of Representatives, February 21, 1839" (Harrisburg, PA: Boas & Coplan, Printers, 1839), 14. The track gradient at Gap, 45 feet per mile, is mentioned on page 6.
26. Henry Campbell of Philadelphia patented the first 4-4-0 locomotive (named for its wheel arrangement with four leading wheels and four driving wheels, two on each side) in 1836 and a number of firms began to produced the new design by the early 1840s. Baldwin entered the business in 1845, and 4-4-0's went on to become one of the most successful locomotive designs in American history. Jan Gleysteen, *Symphony in Steam* (Scottsdale PA: Trogon Publications, 1966, 1970), 10-11.
27. "Report of the Board of Canal Commissioners [1848]", *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, IL (1849), 86-7. cited in Zimmerman (1984), 73.
28. Zimmerman (1984), 73.
29. "Report of the Proposed Direct Rail-Road from West Chester to Philadelphia, by Edward F. Gray, civil engineer. With an Address of the Committee, November 1848" (Philadelphia: John C. Clark, Printer at Dock Street, 1848), 20, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The names of the men who incorporated the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad appear in "Charter of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company" (April 11, 1848), located in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company." From Chester County: Townsend Haines, William Everhart, Robert Irwin, William Apple, John S. Bowen, James B. Wood, John Marshall, Philip D. Thomas, Nimrod Strickland, John Hickman, P. Frazer Smith, John Rutter, Isaac L. Miller, Elijah Lewis, Nathan Garrett, Paschall Morris. From Delaware County: William Bishop, James Willing, Richard M. Thomas, George Smith, David Lyons, John T. Huddleson, Edward Darlington Esq., John P. Crozier. From Philadelphia: William M. Evans, J. Price Wetherill, George W. Carpenter, Richard Vaux, John Hare Powell, Townsend Sharpless.
2. Henry Graham Ashmead, *History of Delaware County* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 197.
3. See Chapter XXIV (on the consolidation of the City of Philadelphia) in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), passim.
4. There are a number of good histories of the PRR. I relied on George H.

Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949) and Chapter 3 "The Great Pennsylvania System" in John Moody, The Railroad Builders, a Chronicle of the Welding of the States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919).

5. "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, Charter and Acts of Incorporation" in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company."
6. "The Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company v. Eber Hickman," Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 28 Pa. 318; 1857 Pa. LEXIS 67.
7. "Report of the Proposed Direct Rail-Road from West Chester to Philadelphia, by Edward F. Gray, civil engineer. With an Address of the Committee, November 1848" (Philadelphia: John C. Clark, Printer at Dock Street, 1848), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company."
8. Harper, 591.
9. The Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company v. Eber Hickman, op. cit.
10. John S. Bowen, President, "Statement of the Condition and Prospects of the Direct Railroad between West Chester and Philadelphia by the Board of Managers" (West Chester, 1851), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
11. "Report of the Delaware County Central Committee to the Friends of the West Chester & Philadelphia Direct Railroad" (n.d. [probably March 1851], in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
12. "Review of Delaware County Central Committee's Report, and of the Statement of the Board of Managers relative to the Condition and Prospects of the Direct Railroad" [n.d. or signature, but "1851" and "David Townsend" are handwritten on the cover], in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
13. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 16, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
14. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 5, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
15. The Fourth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1854 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1854), 6, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
16. John T. & Rachel Worthington to West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad,

- deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book Z5 (April 22, 1852), 296, mentioned also in The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 6.
17. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (March 12, 1853). See also "An Ordinance Relative to the proposed subscription by the Borough of West Chester, to the capital stock of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company" in *American Republican* (May 17, 1853), in CF "West Chester, Public Institutions, Ordinances 1850-1869."
18. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (October 24 and March 12, 1853; February 23, 1854). See also Harper, 666-667.
19. Atlas of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, 5th ed. (Alexandria VA, ADC, 1999) and Atlas of Chester County, Pennsylvania, 12th ed. (Alexandria VA, ADC, n.d. [1995]).
20. The Fourth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1854 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1854), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, and Harper, 688.
21. Harper, 592. About the same time, Sickels was also hired as project engineer on the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central railroad through Kennett Square and Oxford. See "Annual Report to the President and Directors of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad Co. to the Stockholders. Made January 14, 1856" (Philadelphia: McLaughlin Brothers, Steam Book and Job Printers, Bulletin Building, 1856), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington to Reading Co." in folder "Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington RR Company."
22. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 8, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1. Other creditors accepted stock in lieu of payment including B. M. Sherman (a contractor), Richard Norris (locomotive builder), Murphy & Allison (rolling stock), Sydney Fairlamb (land), the Lancaster Bank and someone who supplied wooden crossties. See *The Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company v. Eber Hickman*, op. cit.
23. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 5, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
24. The report said that 1,200 tons were enough to finish the 26.5 mile single-tracked railroad. That works out to twenty-five pounds per yard, so either the report was wrong or they planned to use extremely lightweight rail.
25. "Office of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad. Report by T. E. Sickels, Chief Engineer" (January 10, 1853).
26. The Fourth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1854 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1854), 32.

27. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (March 8, 1854).
28. The Fifth Annual Report of Chief Engineer of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, December 8, 1854 (Philadelphia: William S. Young, Printers, rear of 50 North Sixth Street, below Arch, 1855), 18 & 35; and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, "To the Stockholders" (January 31, 1856), 14, both in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
29. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 16, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, Annual Reports, 1853-1857 & 1859."
30. Harper, 667.
31. James Lynch wrote that T. E. Sickels resigned on May 30, 1854, but I've only found annual reports that show William H. Wilson replaced Sickels by the end of 1854. See James J. D. Lynch Jr., "The West Chester Branch" in *The High Line*, vol. 8, no. 2 & 3 (Winter-Spring 1988), 4.
32. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (March 8, 1854).
33. Borough election results for March 16, 1855 can be found in West Chester Borough Council Minute Book (1838-1856) in CCHS. Only James H. Bull was reelected, and the newcomers selected him to be treasurer in 1855.
34. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (May 19, 1855 & June 30, 1855).
35. "Commonwealth versus West Chester Railroad Company," Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, Philadelphia, 3 Grant 200; 1855 Pa. LEXIS 309. This was described in Harper, 668.
36. "History of Railroads in West Chester" in *American Republican* (1870), in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Extended Railroad."
37. Harper, 689-690.
38. Ibid.
39. According to Douglas Harper (page 670), the winners in 1855 campaigned on the promise to sell the railroad shares. John T. Worthington purchased the shares -- the same man who sold the company land for its West Chester railroad depot in 1852. See John T. & Rachel Worthington to WC&P, deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book Z5 (April 22, 1852), 296.
40. The Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company v. Eber Hickman, op. cit.
41. Harper, 689-690.
42. The Sixth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad,

April 2, 1856 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1856), 2.

43. West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad to John B. Myers and John Thomas, trust deed (April 25, 1856), in Chester County Miscellaneous Deed Book No. 9, 40-43.

44. John Thomas replaced Jacob M. Thomas who died in 1853, while Joseph T. Thomas replaced John B. Myers the day after the trusteeship began. Thomas and Myers were Philadelphia investors who loaned the WC&P \$400,000 in 1853 and \$300,000 in 1854. Mortgages, West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company (n.d. [1857]) and The Fourth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1854 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1854), 8; both in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

45. John Thomas and Joseph T. Thomas, Statement of Trustees from April 25th 1856 to Nov. 8th 1858 (P&BCRR Co.), 1858).

46. Mortgage on West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company for \$600,000 (Philadelphia, PA: 1857), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

47. The Ninth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 10, 1859 (Philadelphia: J. B. Chandler, Printer, 306 Chestnut Street, 1859), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

48. "History of Railroads in West Chester" in *American Republican* (1870), in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Extended Railroad."

49. John Thomas replaced Jacob M. Thomas who died in 1853, while Joseph T. Thomas replaced John B. Myers the day after the trusteeship began. Thomas and Myers were Philadelphia investors who loaned the WC&P \$400,000 in 1853 and \$300,000 in 1854. Mortgages, West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company (n.d. [1857]), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

50. The Fourth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1854 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, 1854), 8, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.

51. *Jeffersonian* (November 13, 1858), cited in Harper, 692.

52. *Village Record* (November 30, 1858), cited in Harper, 692.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Harper, 587 & 592.

2. John Marshall to WCRR, deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book C6 (December 26, 1856), 549.

3. "The Rail Road Depot" in *American Republican* (July 14, 1857), in CF "West Chester Transportation-WCRR."

4. Henry Guss and John J. Parker to WCRR, Lease (Recorded November 2, 1857), in Chester County Miscellaneous Deed Book No. 9, 353-355.
5. WCRR Schedule (Summer 1858).
6. Harper, 588.
7. Zimmerman (1984), 69.
8. "Charter and Supplements of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company with the Acts of Assembly and Municipal Ordinances affecting the company together with the By-Laws of the Board of Directors" (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, 1859), 38-39, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, undated and 1855-1884," folder "The Pennsylvania Railroad, 1860."
9. George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 106-107.
10. Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Company, to the Stockholders (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, February 6, 1860), 34.
11. "Rebuilt" in *Jeffersonian* (June 25, 1859), in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Railroad."
12. Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Company, to the Stockholders (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, February 6, 1860), 41.
13. Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Company, to the Stockholders (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, February 4, 1861), 43-44.
14. Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Company, to the Stockholders (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, February 3, 1862), 35-36.
15. "Retained" in *Jeffersonian* (April 16, 1859), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1869."
16. *Village Record* (West Chester, April 3, 1860), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR."
17. Alfred Sharpless, 10.
18. "Fire" in *Village Record* (West Chester, November 17, 1863), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR."
19. The Tenth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 9, 1860 (Philadelphia: J. B. Chandler, Printer, 306 Chestnut Street, 1860), 3, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
20. West Chester Board of Trade, West Chester (West Chester, PA: F. S. Hickman, 1888), 51.

21. The Eleventh Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 14, 1861 (Philadelphia: Wm. S. Young, Printer, 1861), 3, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
22. "History of the Central Division of P. & B. Railroad" ([n.d.] possibly 1914 by the *Oxford Press*). A copy is located in West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Guide Book and Industrial Journal (Cheyney: A.S. Brown, 1876) in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
23. The Twelfth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 22, 1862 (West Chester: E. F. James, Printer, 1862), 5, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
24. *Ibid.*, 19.
25. The Eleventh Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 14, 1861 (Philadelphia: Wm. S. Young, Printer, 1861), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
26. The Twelfth Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, January 22, 1862 (West Chester: E. F. James, Printer, 1862), 3 & 6, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
27. Thirteenth Annual Report Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 25, 1863 (West Chester, E. F. James, 1863), 11, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1. The company paid for Wood & Serrell for the use of their patented wood shaving idea.
28. Fourteenth Annual Report Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 25, 1864 (West Chester, E. F. James, 1864), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
29. *Ibid.*, 11.
30. All figures in this table can be found in the 10th through 14th annual reports of the WC&P located in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
31. Fourteenth Annual Report Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 25, 1864 (West Chester, E. F. James, 1864), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1. See also Alfred Sharpless, 10.
32. "Fifteenth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 30th, 1865" (West Chester: E. F. James, 1865), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Co. Annual Reports, 1861-1865."
33. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, May 10, 1864).

34. "About the Gay Street Bridge" in *DLN* (September 26, 1899), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street Bridge."
35. "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 366.
36. *American Railroad Journal*, Henry V. Poor, editor (September 12, 1863), 857.
37. Pennsylvania Railroad All-Time Steam Locomotive Roster, compiled by William D. Edson (Potomac, MD), produced by P. Allen Copeland (El Cajon, CA: June 1989), in Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania library. The WC&P purchased two locomotives from Baldwin in 1864, a 4-4-0 and a 4-2-0. Both were "tank engines" that carried extra water in external tanks. Although that made them heavier than ordinary locomotives, they could operate with fewer stops.
38. Fifteenth Annual Report Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 30th, 1865 (West Chester: E. F. James, 1865), 4, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Co. Annual Reports, 1861-1865."
39. "More Changes at Old Depot" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
40. After Uriah Painter bought the Gay Street station property in 1881, he continued to unload freight there for his lumber yard at High and Chestnut Streets. See "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants" (1895).
41. *American Republican* (March 20, 1866), 3, column 1, in CF "Post Offices, West Chester."
42. "Another Car Case" in *The Christian Recorder* (June 30, 1866). [African American newspaper from Philadelphia, ITEM #74584].
43. "The West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company v. Mary E. Miles," Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 55 Pa. 209; 1867 Pa. LEXIS 171. The judge also used language that foreshadowed the 1896 US Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that established the principle of "separate but equal":

The question is one of difference, not of superiority or inferiority. Why the Creator made one black and the other white, we know not; but the fact is apparent, and the races distinct, each producing its own kind, and following the peculiar law of its constitution. ... The natural law which forbids their intermarriage and that social amalgamation which leads to a corruption of races, is as clearly divine as that which imparted to them different natures. The tendency of intimate social intermixture is to amalgamation, contrary to the law of races. The separation of the white and black races upon the surface of the globe is a fact equally apparent. ... all social organizations which lead to their amalgamation are repugnant to the law of nature. From social amalgamation it is but a step to illicit intercourse, and but another to

inter marriage. ... following the order of Divine Providence, human authority ought not to compel these widely separated races to intermix. The right of such to be free from social contact is as clear as to be free from intermarriage.

44. The Seventeenth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, February 4, 1867 (Philadelphia: H. G. Leisenring's Steam Printing House, 1867), 4-5, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
45. The Sixteenth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 29th, 1866 (West Chester, J. P. Taylor, 1866), 11, and The Nineteenth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company, January 25, 1869 (Philadelphia: H. G. Leisenring's Steam Printing House.), 13, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," Box 1.
46. "New Depot Building" in *Jeffersonian* (September 9, 1871), in CF "Westtown Township Transportation--Hemphill Station."
47. "New Telegraph Station" in *American Republican* (July 29, 1873), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Street Road."
48. "A New Station House" in *DLN* (December 23, 1878), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Patton's Station."
49. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, August 10, 1870 & January 21, 1878).
50. "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 365.
51. "More of our Manufacturing Enterprises" in *The Jeffersonian* (July 18, 1872), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Evans, Griffith & Thomas."
52. "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 366.
53. *Ibid.*, 365.
54. "Old Depot Sold" in *DLN* (October 2, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-WCRR."
55. "Lease of the Road" (March 10, 1873), 147-149; and Board of Directors meeting minutes (Philadelphia, August 6, 1879).
56. All figures in this table can be found in the 15th through 30th annual reports of the WC&P located in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads."
57. There is an error with the 1873 expense figures. The report states \$336,939.07, the same as 1872's gross earnings. On page 6, a breakdown of expenses adds up to \$214,354.01. The 1874 report gives the 1873 expenses as \$198,243.45. See The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, November 1st, 1873 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1873), 3 & 6, and The Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, October 31st, 1874

(Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1874), in CCHS Ephemera "Transportation, Railroads."

58. "Smoking Positively Prohibited in This Room" in *DLN* (July 20, 1873), in CF "West Chester Transportation, West Chester & Phila. RR 1870-1879" and "Light!--More Light!! on Railroads" in *DLN* (November 4, 1875), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

59. "What Idleness Begets" in *The Jeffersonian* (March 2, 1872), in CF "West Chester Transportation, West Chester & Phila. RR 1870-1879."

Notes to Chapter 6

1. William B. Sipes, The Pennsylvania Railroad: Its Origin, Construction, Condition, and Connections (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Passenger Department, 1875), 17.
2. H. W. Schotter, The Growth and Development of the PRR (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, December 1927), 75.
3. Sipes, 20.
4. George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 365.
5. The PRR bought 3,300 shares worth \$165,000 and assumed a debt of \$75,000. See WCRR to PRR, lease (September 15, 1879), in Chester County Miscellaneous Deed Book No. 17, 544-546.
6. George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 406.
7. "Still Another Railroad Project" in *DLN* (May 17, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
8. *Philadelphia Times* (May 12, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
9. "The Thirtieth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, October 31st, 1879" (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1879), 4, in CCHS Ephemera "Transportation, Railroads," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Co. Annual Reports 1876-1879."
10. "A Corps of Engineers in Town" in *DLN* (May 28, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad." and "Surveyors at Work" in *DLN* (June 1, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
11. In November 1853 a west-bound locomotive derailed at the curve and took one rail car with it. Although no one was killed immediately, the engineer and fireman were badly scalded and the engineer died six weeks later. Harper, 587.

Reference Notes

12. "Engineers at Work" in *DLN* (July 28, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
13. E. B. Moore to Smedley Darlington, quoted in "News Stories and Squibs as Culled from the *DLN*" in *DLN* (July 16, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
14. *DLN* (July 26, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
15. "Straightening Worthington's Curve" in *DLN* (September 4, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
16. "West Chester Branch of Penna. Railroad" in *DLN* (August 18, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
17. "Telegraph for the West Chester Railroad" in *DLN* (September 3, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch" and "New Telegraph" in *DLN* (December 31, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
18. *DLN* (September 15, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
19. "Curve finished" in *DLN* (November 27, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
20. "Local News" in *DLN* (December 30, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
21. "New Telegraph" in *DLN* (December 31, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
22. "Increasing Their Force" in *DLN* (November 12, 1879). See also *DLN* (November 13, 1879), both in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
23. "Out on the Branch Railroad" in *DLN* (February 10, 1880); "Frazer Branch" in *DLN* (February 19, 1880) and "Railroad Connection" in *DLN* (March 1, 1880); all in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
24. "To Be Ready by Christmas" in *DLN* (November 7, 1879); *DLN* (November 13, 1879) and "Notes on the W. C. Branch of the P. R. R." in *DLN* (November 24, 1879); all in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
25. "Vacated" in *DLN* (December 19, 1879), in CF "West Chester Streets--Chestnut Street."
26. "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants" (1895).
27. "The New Depot" in *DLN* (March 25, 1880), in CF "West Chester, Transportation."
28. "The New Depot" in *DLN* (May 19, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."

29. "New Depot" in *DLN* (June 5, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
30. *DLN* (February 12, 1880).
31. *DLN* (April 10, 1880). The bricklayers' first names appear in W. Andrew Boyd, Directory of the Borough of West Chester, 1879-1880 (Washington DC: W. Andrew Boyd, 1879), in Chester County Historical Society.
32. "Notice" in *DLN* (July 10, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
33. "Old Depot Sold" in *DLN* (October 2, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-WCRR."
34. "New Railroad" in *DLN* (August 5, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
35. "The Pennsylvania Malvern Branch: The New Order of Things Begun" in *DLN* (August 8, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
36. The Thirtieth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, October 31st, 1879 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1879), 3, in CCHS Ephemera "Transportation, Railroads."
37. W. P. H., "High Fares to Philadelphia" in *DLN* (December 8, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation, West Chester & Phila. RR 1880."
38. "The Pennsylvania Branch--About the Passenger Rates" in *DLN* (August 14, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad" and "Going by the New Route" in *DLN* (August 15, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
39. "Railroad Fares" in *DLN* (August 10, 1880), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch." The PB&C gained control over the WC&P at the end of 1880; see George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 400.
40. The Thirtieth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, October 31st, 1879 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1879), 3, in CCHS Ephemera "Transportation, Railroads."
41. "More Changes at Old Depot" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
42. "Round Trip" in *DLN* (January 3, 1880), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
43. "Decorating the Grounds" in *DLN* (July 6, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
44. "Putting Up a Fence" in *DLN* (May 2, 1881), in CF "West Chester

Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

45. "New Depot" in *DLN* (June 5, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."

46. Howard went to work at the Maple Street junction of the PRR-Frazer line and the connector to Market Street. *DLN* (January 31, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

47. Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Part IV. Railroad, Canal, Navigation and Telegraph Companies for the Year 1881 (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, State Printer and Binder, 1882), 693-703. See also "Our Double PRR Line to the City" in *DLN* (March 9, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

48. Railroad valuation reports as of 1918, Vol. 23 (Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, DC: January 1929), 253, 262-269 & 289-293. Adapted for the Web as "Corporate Genealogy, Philadelphia Baltimore and Washington" (2001) by Robert T. Netslof.

49. George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 401.

50. "A Busy Scene" in *DLN* (August 1, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

51. "Want the Gay Street Depot" in *DLN* (September 16, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

52. "Lowering the Gay Street Bridge" in *DLN* (November 24, 1881), in CF "West Chester Streets--Gay Street."

Notes to Chapter 7

1. "Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company. Year ending 31th October 1890" (Philadelphia: Stephen Greene, 1891), 61, in Temple University Urban Archives, "Pennsylvania Railroad Company Collection," Series XIII, Box 113.

2. *DLN* (December 30, 1892).

3. Alford Kelley, "Injurious Unnecessary Railroad Whistling" in *DLN* (January 6, 1906), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."

4. *DLN* (October 3, 1901), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

5. This was discussed in a *DLN* editorial from January 21, 1890. See also "Narrow Escape" in *DLN* (March 2, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."

6. Mother Sanderson to "My dear boy" Chris Sanderson (Mont Clare, December 11, 1898), in Thomas Thompson, Chris: A biography of Christian C.

Sanderson (Philadelphia, PA: Dorrance & Company, 1973), 31.

7. Guide Book to the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad (Philadelphia: Sheeman & Co., 1869), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads," 49-52 passim, in Box 1, "Pennsylvania & Delaware Railroad Company and West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company Guidebooks 1869, 1876."

8. West Chester Board of Trade, West Chester, Pennsylvania: The Most Important Suburb of Philadelphia (West Chester, PA: F. S. Hickman, 1888), 34-35 & back cover.

9. *Ibid.*, 23.

10. *Ibid.*, 12.

11. *Ibid.*, 47.

12. *Ibid.*, 48.

13. In 1876 the WC&P earned \$246,088.92 from passenger tickets and \$111,642.88 from freight. The Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, October 31st, 1876 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scotts Printing House, 1876), 5, in CCHS Ephemera "Transportation, Railroads," folder "West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Co. Annual Reports 1876-1879."

14. "80 Cents" in *DLN* (December 31, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

15. "A Falling Off" in *DLN* (December 15, 1881), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

16. Editorial in *Phoenixville Messenger* (April 15, 1882), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

17. "Increased Demand for Tickets" in *DLN* (February 6, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation, West Chester & Phila. RR 1881-1884."

18. "Interesting to Yearly Meeting Folks" in *DLN* (April 11, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

19. "Lower Rates" in *DLN* (December 15, 1882) and "Low Fare" in *DLN* (December 10, 1883), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

20. "3334" in *DLN* (October 28, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

21. "Railroad notes" in *DLN* (August 13, 1883), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

22. "The Largest" in *DLN* (August 13, 1883), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch." Joseph Walter Keech, senior and junior, both became conductors for the PRR. The father was known as Walter, so the son used "J. Walter."

23. "Local News--Finished" in *DLN* (March 15, 1884), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."
24. For examples, see "Want the Gay Street Depot" in *DLN* (September 16, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881"; "Not To Be" in *DLN* (May 18, 1883), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR"; and "They Weep O'er Its Fall" in *DLN* (August 2, 1884), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884." The complaints continued in the 20th century. See, for example, "Thinks Auto Hack Would Pay" in *DLN* (November 6, 1906), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
25. "Want a Station" in *DLN* (July 3, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."
26. "New Screens" in *DLN* (April 17, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."
27. "Light at the Depot" in *DLN* (July 10, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
28. The news stand was operated by the Union News Company. *DLN* (February 28, 1887), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
29. "New Improvements" in *DLN* (November 27, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909." For a sample of the complaints that led to the installation of toilets, see "Take Notice, P.R.R." in *DLN* (April 11, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
30. "To Keep the Cars Warm" in *DLN* (incomplete date, 1906), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
31. "An Accommodation" in *DLN* (April 8, 1887), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Westtown Station."
32. "Green Hill Station burned" in *DLN* (June 20, 1888), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Green Hill Station."
33. *DLN* (August 16, 1890), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Green Hill Station."
34. For examples, see "Very Annoying" in *DLN* (July 28, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885"; *DLN* (August 14, 1908), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909 (3)"; "No More Engines in Upper Yard" in *DLN* (August 24, 1908) and *DLN* (December 11, 1908), both in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch"; *DLN* (June 29, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division)" and *DLN* (March 20, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
35. "Chestnut Street Bridge" in *DLN* (July 29, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
36. "No More Engines in Upper Yard" in *DLN* (August 24, 1908), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
37. *DLN* (October 3, 1901), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

38. "West Chester and Philadelphia, Schedule in Effect" (Pennsylvania Railroad, November 19, 1899), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
39. "Two Gates" in *DLN* (September 8, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."
40. "A Change" in *DLN* (November 16, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."
41. "Death's Work" in *DLN* (February 22, 1886), in CF "Hamilton, F."
42. *DLN* (November 10, 1892).
43. *DLN* (May 18, 1893).
44. W. Andrew Boyd, Directory of Chester County, 1896-1897 (C. E. Howe Company, 236 S. Eighth Street, Philadelphia, 1896), 83, in Chester County Historical Society.
45. *DLN* (May 31, 1902); and *DLN* (April 18, 1906), in CF "West Chester Transportation: PRR 1905-1909."
46. *DLN* (March 4, 1909) and *Coatesville Record* (April 16, 1909), both in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909 (4)"; and *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."
47. *DLN* (March 27, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad" and "Shortcut for Commuters" in *DLN* (December 8, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division).
48. Richard Reinhardt, Workin' on the Railroad: Reminiscences from the Age of Steam, 2nd edition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 2003), 287.
49. *DLN* (November 5, 1901), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
50. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, January 30, 1836).
51. From Charles George's Forty Years on the Rail (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Son, 1887), excerpt reprinted in Richard Reinhardt, Workin' on the Railroad: Reminiscences from the Age of Steam, 2nd edition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 2003), 287-288.
52. *DLN* (May 29, 1902), in CF box 38, "Chester County Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1902."
53. Ibid.
54. "A Sunday Morning Blaze" in *DLN* (January 5, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."
55. *DLN* (March 14, 1901), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
56. "At the P.R.R. Depot" in *DLN* (April 14, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
57. *DLN* (March 18, 1895).

Reference Notes

58. *DLN* (West Chester, February 28, 1902), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR."
59. Reprint of a clipping from the *American Republic* (n.d. [1880s]), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, undated and 1855-1884," folder "Undated."
60. *DLN* (December 2, 1903), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
61. Michael Bezilla, *Electric Traction on the Pennsylvania Railroad, 1895-1968* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), 60.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Faith, 112.
2. In 1873, HBT received rail cars full of Delaware peach pits with which to start fruit trees. See *DLN* (June 27, 1873), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Thomas."
3. *DLN* (August 20, 1879), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Thomas."
4. *DLN* (November 6, 1879), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Thomas."
5. "Reducing a Curve" in *DLN* (October 16, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
6. "Maple Avenue" in *DLN* (May 26, 1884), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."
7. W. Andrew Boyd, *Directory of Chester County, 1896-1897* (C. E. Howe Company, 236 S. Eighth Street, Philadelphia, 1896), 124-126 passim, in Chester County Historical Society.
8. Hoopes Brothers & Thomas, "The West Chester Nurseries" (West Chester, PA: 1913), 1.
9. Hoopes Brothers & Thomas, "Cherry Hill Nurseries Spring 1875 Semi-annual trade list no. 3" (West Chester, PA: 1875), 2.
10. "Straight Through to the Golden State" in *DLN* (November 18, 1890), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Thomas."
11. Hoopes Brothers & Thomas, "The West Chester Nurseries" (West Chester, PA: 1913), 1.
12. *DLN* (November 13, 1873), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Thomas."
13. "A West Chester Enterprise" in *Jeffersonian* (June 15, 1872), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1870-1879."
14. "Hoopes Brothers & Darlington Spoke and Wheel Works" in *DLN* (March

26, 1874), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1870-1879" and *Morning Republican* (March 28, 1899), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1890-1899." For more detail on the history of HBD, see Jim Jones, [Made in West Chester: The History of Industry in West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1867 to 1945](#) (West Chester, PA: 2003), 23-30.

15. "A West Chester Enterprise" in *Jeffersonian* (June 15, 1872), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1870-1879."

16. Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, "Stock List No. 4 West Chester Spoke Works" (August 10, 1869) and "Stock List No. 9 West Chester Spoke Works" (September 1, 1873).

17. *DLN* (September 27, 1876), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1870-1879."

18. *Oxford Press* (April 8, 1874) and "Is It So?" in *DLN* (July 8, 1877), both in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1870-1879."

19. "Large Contract" in *DLN* (July 28, 1881), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1880-1889."

20. "Telephonic" in *DLN* (May 21, 1884), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1880-1889."

21. *DLN* (February 9, 1900), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1900-1909."

22. *DLN* (March 27, 1915), in CF "Darlington, S."

23. Different members of the family spelled their last name Sharpless or Sharples. Although Philip M. spelled his name Sharpless, the company name was Sharples.

24. Alfred Sharpless, 724.

25. West Chester Board of Trade, [West Chester, Pennsylvania: The Most Important Suburb of Philadelphia](#) (West Chester, PA: F. S. Hickman, 1888), 74.

26. Advertisement in *West Chester Daily Republican* (September 22, 1881), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

27. *DLN* (October 4, 1882), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

28. "A Mammoth Water Wheel" in *DLN* (August 22, 1881) and "Large Wheel" in *DLN* (March 20, 1882), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

29. *DLN* (February 16, 1883), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

30. *DLN* (November 20, 1883), in CF "West Chester Business Houses --

Sharples Separator Works."

31. Jones, Made in West Chester, 31.

32. *DLN* (October 7, 1889), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

33. *DLN* (April 25, 1884) and "Machine Does Twelve Men's Work" in *DLN* (November 20, 1902), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

34. "Extended Their Holiday" in *DLN* (December 26, 1902), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

35. *DLN* (November 17, 1902), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

36. *DLN* (June 30, 1902), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Sharples Separator Works."

37. *DLN* (January 12, 1912), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Philadelphia Suburban Gas & Electric Company."

38. The formation of the company is mentioned in Darlington, Directory (1857), 45. For a short history and description of its facilities, see *American Republican* (Tuesday, March 10, 1873), in CF "West Chester Business Houses: West Chester Gas Company." The adjacent railroad siding is mentioned in *DLN* (February 9, 1895) in the same clippings file.

39. "West Chester, Chester County, Pennsylvania" (New York: Sanborn-Ferris Map Company, August 1891), plate #9.

40. See, for example, "Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company. Year ending 31th October 1894" (Philadelphia: Stephen Greene, 1895), 68, in Temple University Urban Archives, "Pennsylvania Railroad Company Collection," Series XIII, Box 113.

41. Over the years, cattle were held at many locations in West Chester including the southeast. Marshall Jones wrote about John Garrett's livestock sales on E. Union Street in Recollections (Christiana PA: Helen Stapleton, 1992), 7. The West Chester, Pennsylvania Centennial Souvenir 1799-1899 (West Chester, PA: 1899, reprint by Spectrum Publishers Direct, 2001), 75, describes the Borough livestock pound on S. Matlack Street. According to Chester County Deed A14 (1910), 91, W. Cresson Walter used the ground now occupied by the Melton Arts & Education Center as a stockyard before World War I.

42. *DLN* (November 8, 1906), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."

43. W. W. Thomson, editor, Chester County Pennsylvania and its People (Chicago and New York: The Union History Company, 1898), 969-970.

44. See "Notes on the W. C. Branch of the P. R. R." in *DLN* (November 24, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch" and

"Platform at Patton Station" in *DLN* (January 10, 1880), in CF "West Goshen Transportation--Patton's Station."

45. The company even provided specialized "dairy cars." *DLN* (July 11, 1894).

46. "Some complaint" in *DLN* (May 17, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

47. "Town Topics" in *DLN* ([n.d.]), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."

48. *DLN* (August 30, 1883) and *DLN* (April 5, 1899) in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR."

49. "Freight Train" in *DLN* (March 29, 1880), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

50. "Engine Repaired" in *DLN* (September 13, 1880), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

51. "Freight Business Increasing" in *DLN* (March 15, 1883), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

52. "Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company. Year ending 31th October 1892" (Philadelphia: Stephen Greene, 1893), 88, in Temple University Urban Archives, "Pennsylvania Railroad Company Collection," Series XIII, Box 113.

53. *DLN* November 12, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division).

54. *DLN* (1906--date missing), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

55. *DLN* (July 24, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

56. "Improvements" in *DLN* (November 20, 1909), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Ralston R. Hoopes."

57. "Still Another Railroad Project" in *DLN* (May 17, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

Notes to Chapter 9

1. West Chester, Pennsylvania Centennial Souvenir 1799-1899, reprint edition (West Chester, PA: Spectrum Publishers Direct, 2001), 9; Charles William Heathcote, History of Chester County Pennsylvania (West Chester, PA: Horace F. Temple, 1926), 131.

2. W. Andrew Boyd, Directory of Chester County, 1896-1897 (C. E. Howe Company, 236 S. Eighth Street, Philadelphia, 1896), passim, in Chester County Historical Society.

3. Ibid.

4. *DLN* (March 4, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-

- 1909."
5. *DLN* (January 20, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
 6. *DLN* (September 8, 1892), in CF "West Chester Streets, Nields."
 7. Richard Reinhardt, Workin' on the Railroad: Reminiscences from the Age of Steam, 2nd edition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 2003), 89.
 8. *Ibid.*, 86.
 9. "Patent Granted" in *DLN* (January 30, 1874), in CF "Hoopes, W." The patent was granted to William R. Hoopes, M. L. Smith and Baldwin Keech.
 10. Faith, 222.
 11. Project Gutenberg Etext of John Moody, The Railroad Builders, A Chronicle of the Welding of the States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), chapter 1.
 12. "Annual report of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad for the year ending October 31, 1881" in Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Part IV. Railroad, Canal, Navigation and Telegraph Companies for the Year 1881 (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, State Printer and Binder, 1882), 902.
 13. "Will Leave Us" in *DLN* (December 30, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
 14. "A Fearful Accident" in *DLN* (July 19, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
 15. "Foot Crushed By A Locomotive" in *DLN* (September 24, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation, West Chester & Phila. RR 1881-1884."
 16. *DLN* (July 21, 1902), in CF.
 17. For examples, see the story about fireman Samuel McComsey who died at Glen Loch, in *DLN* (December 11, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad" or engineer Joshua King, who died at Paoli, in *DLN* (May 23, 1898), in CF "King, J."
 18. "Rented" in *DLN* (April 14, 1883), in CF "West Chester Streets, Walnut Street." The Chester County Railroad was proposed as a third line to the borough in the 1880s, but was never built.
 19. "Moving" in *DLN* (June 28, 1883), in CF "West Chester Streets, Walnut Street."
 20. "Four Score and Ten. Death of Josiah Burnett, Sr." in *DLN* (December 10, 1880), in CF "Burnett, J."
 21. "Josiah Burnett obituary" in *DLN* (May 20, 1912), in CF "Burnett, J."
 22. Darlington, Directory (1857), 66.

23. *DLN* (March 7, 1898).
24. W. Andrew Boyd, Directory of the Borough of West Chester, 1879-1880 (Washington DC: W. Andrew Boyd, 1879), 21.
25. "Moved Into New Quarters" in *DLN* (February 26, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."
26. *DLN* (November 16, 1894).
27. *DLN* (November 20, 1900), in CF "Burnett, F."
28. "Josiah Burnett obituary" in *DLN* (May 20, 1912), in CF "Burnett, J." This obituary gives his address as 126 Lacey Street.
29. "Five and Forty Years" in *DLN* (March 3, 1884); "Joshua King" in *DLN* (October 15, 1888); and "Funeral of Joshua King" in *DLN* (October 18, 1888); all in CF "King, J." King's celebrity status incited at least one critical letter to the editor from "Slew" who complained "I am casting no reflections on Mr. King, as he is a faithful servant, but give others a show in your columns. It appears that Messrs. King and Keech are the only railroad men running into West Chester worthy of note" in "Communicated, Old Engineers" in *DLN* (March 6, 1884), in CF "King, J."
30. "Gone to Altoona" in *DLN* (April 24, 1884), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch"; "Moved Into New Quarters" in *DLN* (February 26, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885"; and *DLN* (July 17, 1889), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
31. "Changing Engines" in *DLN* (November 29, 1883), and "Jumbo" in *DLN* (December 5, 1883), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
32. "In Mourning" in *DLN* (October 16, 1888), in CF "King, J."
33. *DLN* (July 17, 1889), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
34. "Joseph C. Keech" in *DLN* (March 25, 1915), in CF "Keech, J." See also Futhey & Cope, 381.
35. "Joseph C. Keech" in *DLN* (March 25, 1915), in CF "Keech, J."
36. Excerpt from "An Instance of Degeneration" in *Harper's Weekly* (July 15, 1893), reprinted in Richard Reinhardt, Workin' on the Railroad: Reminiscences from the Age of Steam, 2nd edition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 2003), 102.
37. "The Pennsylvania Malvern Branch: The New Order of Things Begun" in *DLN* (August 8, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
38. "Home Again" in *DLN* (April 4, 1885), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
39. "The Largest" in *DLN* (August 13, 1883), in CF "Transportation,

- Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
40. "Joseph C. Keech" in *DLN* (March 25, 1915), in CF "Keech, J."
 41. "Saw Former Resident" in *DLN* (August 14, 1908), in CF "Keech, J."
 42. "Joseph C. Keech" in *DLN* (March 25, 1915), in CF "Keech, J."
 43. "Death on the Rail -- A young man Horrible Mangled" in *DLN* (March 26, 1873), in CF "King, J."
 44. *DLN* (May 23, 1898), in CF "King, J."
 45. "J. Walter Keech" in *Oxford Press* (February 16, 1938), in CF "Keech, J."
 46. "Railroad Rumbblings: Bits of News Picked Up Where the Trains Are Running" in *DLN* (September 3, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
 47. *DLN* (May 19, 1894).
 48. "Gheen-McKinstry" in *DLN* (March 8, 1899), in CF "Gheen, W."
 49. "Wedding Anniversary" in *DLN* (March 10, 1909), in CF "Gheen, W."
 50. *DLN* (November 9, 1944), in CF "Gheen, W."
 51. Alfred Sharpless, 9.
 52. "Railroad Improvements" in *DLN* (March 16, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
 53. Her great uncle was Governor Joseph Ritner. "Lamborn-Ritner" in *Jeffersonian* (January 27, 1872), in CF "Lamborn, I."
 54. "Lamborn-Ritner" in *Jeffersonian* (January 27, 1872) and "Israel Lamborn" obituary in *DLN* (February 17, 1891), both in CF "Lamborn, I."; and *DLN* (December 15, 1893), in CF "PRR -- Market Street Station." Lamborn eventually moved to a house near Unionville where she died in 1909. "Lamborn" in *DLN* (March 20, 1909), in CF "Lamborn, C."
 55. "Altoona Shops, Organization Dates, Pennsylvania Railroad Unions," Pennsylvania Railroad-Unions File, Altoona Area Public Library, Altoona, Pennsylvania; cited in "Industrialization and the Working Class: The Great Railroad Strike" located at http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=224 (Accessed January 22, 2006).
 56. George H. Burgess & Miles C. Kennedy, Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846-1946 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1949), 365-373.
 57. *DLN* (March 20, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919" and "Strike Warning to Travellers!" (Pennsylvania Railroad), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1950-1970" in folder "Pennsylvania Railroad 1946."

58. *DLN* (June 2, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division).

59. "Lockers for Trainmen" in *DLN* (January 27, 1900) and "Arrangements Made for a Reading Room at the Market Street Depot" in *DLN* (February 2, 1900), both in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad"; and "Want Bath in Station" in *DLN* (March 2, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."

Notes to Chapter 10

1. "First Annual Report of the Directors of the West Chester Rail-Road Company" in *Hazard's Register*, op. cit.
2. 1844 map of "Borough of West Chester" and Harper, 375. Unfortunately, Harper provided no source for his assertion that the Liberty Grove station was a small frame building.
3. "West Chester Railroad" reprinted from the West Chester *Village Record* in *American Railroad Journal* (February 11, 1837), 83-84.
4. Findings of fact in "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 364.
5. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, May 21, 1836) and (Philadelphia, July 9, 1836).
6. "Rebuilt" in *Jeffersonian* (June 25, 1859), in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Railroad."
7. This description is based on details from the WCRR Board of Directors meeting minutes and the 1878 lawsuit by Henry Guss against the WCRR.
8. "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants" (1895).
9. John Marshall to WCRR, deed of sale in Chester County Deed Book C6 (December 26, 1856), 549.
10. "The Railroad Depot" in *American Republican* (July 14, 1857), in CF "West Chester Transportation -- West Chester Railroad" and Sanborn fire insurance map for West Chester (1886).
11. Sanborn map of West Chester (1886).
12. J. Hoopes Matlack's "Bird's Eye View of West Chester, PA" was reprinted on the cover of "West Chester Comprehensive Plan" (Borough of West Chester, November 2000). I wish to thank Ray Ott for granting access to his copy of the original, which was part of the Liz Heed collection.
13. *DLN* (West Chester, March 27, 1903), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR" and *DLN* (July 13, 1904), in CF "Chester County Trust Company."
14. Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, August 10, 1870) and (West Chester, January 21, 1878).

15. "Old Depot Sold" in *DLN* (October 2, 1880), in CF "West Chester Transportation-WCRR."
16. "Ice in the old depot" in *DLN* (February 15, 1895), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Painter, Uriah (ice)."
17. *Morning Republican* (November 24, 1899), in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Painter, Uriah (ice)."
18. "Improvement at the Old Depot" in *DLN* (May 2, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
19. *DLN* (June 17, 1891), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street." The 1886 Sanborn map shows a billiard hall in the building closest to Gay Street and the "W.C. & P.R.R. old freight ho. (closed)" to the rear.
20. John P. McClellan, lease offered to WCRR (December 25, 1835), in Board of Directors meeting minutes (West Chester, December 26, 1835). The text of the lease also appears in "Guss v. West Chester R. R. Co." (1878), 364.
21. "Local Hash" in *DLN* (January 15, 1892); *DLN* (January 25, 1892); and "Improvements" in *DLN* (September 30, 1892), all in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street."
22. Ibid. and Robert Bussel, "The Most Indispensable Man in His Community: African-American Entrepreneurs in West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1865-1925" in *Pennsylvania History* (Vol. 65, No. 3 (Summer 1998), 330.
23. *DLN* (December 9, 1892), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street."
24. "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants" (1895).
25. "The Section of the Old Depot on Kugel's Ground Being Demolished" in *DLN* (March 28, 1895), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR" and *DLN* (April 18, 1895), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street."
26. *DLN* (January 27, 1897), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street."
27. *DLN* (June 26, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
28. *DLN* (January 8, 1903), in CF "Post Offices, West Chester."
29. *DLN* (West Chester, March 27, 1903), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR."
30. *DLN* (July 6, 1904), in CF "Chester County Trust Company."
31. Sanborn insurance maps for West Chester (1909 and 1921).
32. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (August 28, 1947).
33. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (July 14, 1949) and (June 9, 1954).
34. The Third Annual Report of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad, 1852 (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. O. Collins, Printers, January 10, 1853), 6.
35. "Report of the Chief Engineer of the WC&PRR" (December 8, 1854) and

DLN (May 12, 1908), in CF "West Chester Transportation: PRR 1905-1909 (3)." In this article, a bricklayer named Joseph Bonsall recalled working on the station "about 1855" and that the work, which began in the fall, was halted in the winter and finished the following spring.

36. Charles William Heathcote, History of Chester County Pennsylvania (West Chester, PA: Horace F. Temple, 1926), 93.

37. "Lena Kugel v. Uriah Painter et al., Appellants" (1895).

38. "More Changes at Old Depot" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."

39. "More Changes at Old Depot" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."

40. "West Chester, Pennsylvania," Sanborn-Ferris Map Company (August 1891), plate 9.

41. "A Busy Scene" in *DLN* (August 1, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."

42. "Finished" in *DLN* (May 20, 1882) and "Two Gates" in *DLN* (September 8, 1882), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."

43. "A Sunday Morning Blaze" in *DLN* (January 5, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

44. "New Screens" in *DLN* (April 17, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

45. "Proud of It" in *DLN* (March 23, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

46. "New Sleeping Arrangements" in *DLN* (May 29, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

47. *DLN* (September 24, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

48. Observer, untitled, in *DLN* (January 2, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."

49. "Painted Brown" in *DLN* (October 15, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."

50. "Light at the Depot" in *DLN* (July 10, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."

51. W. W. Thompson, editor, Chester County Pennsylvania and Its People (Chicago and New York: The Union History Company, 1898), 610. The Edison Electric Illuminating Company was organized in 1885.

52. *DLN* (January 26, 1887), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."

53. *DLN* (July 10, 1890).

Reference Notes

54. "Railroad Rumbblings: Bits of News Picked Up Where the Trains Are Running" in *DLN* (September 3, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
55. "Lockers for Trainmen" in *DLN* (January 27, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
56. "Arrangements Made for a Reading Room at the Market Street Depot" in *DLN* (February 2, 1900) and "Railroaders Will Open their Reading Rooms Tomorrow Evening" in *DLN* (March 7, 1900), both in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
57. "Gas for Electric Light" in *Morning Republican* (January 1, 1897), in CF "West Chester Streets, Market Street, 1895-1899 (1)."
58. *DLN* (February 7, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
59. "New Improvements" in *DLN* (November 27, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
60. "Drink From the Spigot" in *DLN* (June 17, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
61. *DLN* (January 21, 1908), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909 (3)."
62. *DLN* (July 24, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
63. "Operating New Towers" in *DLN* (March 3, 1908), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
64. *DLN* (April 3, 1917) and (April 5, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division)."
65. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (April 13, 1938) and meeting minutes (April 21, 1939).
66. *DLN* (May 20, 1955), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1955-1959."
67. *DLN* (December 4, 1961), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
68. *DLN* (October 7, 1964), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
69. *DLN* (August 3, 1962), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
70. Charles A. Garrett, untitled article in *Philadelphia Bulletin* (June 13, 1965), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
71. *DLN* (October 6, 1967), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1966-1968."
72. *DLN* (West Chester, June 17, 1968), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1966-1968."

73. E. B. Moore to Smedley Darlington, quoted in "News Stories and Squibs as Culled from the DLN" in *DLN* (July 16, 1879), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
74. "The Location of the New Depot Decided Upon" in *DLN* (October 24, 1879), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
75. WCRR Schedule (Summer 1858).
76. "The New Depot" in *DLN* (March 25, 1880), in CF "West Chester, Transportation."
77. *DLN* (July 10, 1880).
78. "Taking Up the Family Mantle" in *DLN* (July 26, 1880), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, A. D. Sharples."
79. "Our Double PRR Line to the City" in *DLN* (March 9, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
80. "A Busy Scene" in *DLN* (August 1, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
81. "Want the Gay Street Depot" in *DLN* (September 16, 1881), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
82. "Lowering the Gay Street Bridge" in *DLN* (November 24, 1881), in CF "West Chester Streets--Gay Street."
83. "Not To Be" in *DLN* (May 18, 1883), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
84. "A Sunday Morning Blaze" in *DLN* (January 5, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885" and *DLN* (January 24, 1903), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."
85. *DLN* (August 30, 1883), in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1882-1884."
86. "No More Engines in Upper Yard" in *DLN* (August 24, 1908), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
87. *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954."
88. Property Atlas of Chester County (Philadelphia: Franklin Survey Company, 1933), plate 22.
89. *DLN* (December 5, 1960), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
90. The tracks on the north side of Chestnut Street were torn up when the property was sold to a developer. Penn Central Corporation to Elwood & James Webster, deed of sale in Chester County Deed V40 (July 13, 1972), 352.
91. "The New Flag Station" in *DLN* (March 8, 1884), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR" and "Staked Out" in *DLN* (March 13, 1884), in CF "West Chester Transportation-PRR."

92. "It Stops at Maple Avenue" in *DLN* (June 17, 1887), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
93. "Station is Abandoned" in *DLN* (April 13, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
94. "Want a Station" in *DLN* (July 3, 1885), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1885."
95. W. P. H., "The New Station" in *DLN* (March 7, 1888).
96. Jim Jones, interview with Anne Gincley & Margaret "Siddy" Gincley Stanley (March 29, 1996).
97. *DLN* (August 3, 1962), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
98. Charles A. Garrett, untitled article in *Philadelphia Bulletin* (June 13, 1965), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
99. *DLN* (January 25, 1966), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1966-1968."
100. Jim Jones, interview with Anne Gincley (May 16, 2003).
101. "More Changes at Old Depot" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
102. *DLN* (July 6, 1944), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954."
103. *DLN* (West Chester, September 16, 1967), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1966-1968."
104. *DLN* (March 4, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909 (4)."
105. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (May 26, 1885).
106. "The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad Company, November 1st, 1871" (Philadelphia: The Leisenring Steam Printing House, 1871), 7.
107. *DLN* (June 29, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division)."
108. *DLN* (October 19, 1966), in CF "West Chester Business Houses: Reichel Laboratories."
109. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (May 26, 1885).
110. "Miner Street Crossing: The Taking of Testimony and the making of Speeches For and Against" in *DLN* (June 24, 1885), in CF "West Chester Streets--Miner Street."
111. "Miner Street to be Closed" in *DLN* (December 7, 1885), in CF "West Chester Streets--Miner Street."

112. *DLN* (July 10, 1889), in CF "West Chester Streets--Miner Street."
113. "An Important Improvement" in *DLN* (June 15, 1886), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1886-1887."
114. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (June 13, 1906).
115. *DLN* (April 3, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division).
116. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (April 8, 1885).
117. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (May 26, 1885).
118. Timetable for the Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company (February 24, 1899) in the CCHS file "Transportation, trolley, Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company."
119. "On fire" in *DLN* (August 4, 1881) and "Bridge on Fire" in *DLN* (October 1, 1881), both in CF "West Chester Transportation; Penna. RR 1881."
120. "Preparing for Bridge Work" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."
121. *DLN* (May 23, 1961), in CF "West Chester Streets--Philadelphia & West Chester Pike--1961".
122. *DLN* (September 24, 1959), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1955-1959."

Notes to Chapter 11

1. There are many web-based secondary works on Frank Sprague. This material comes from http://www.ieee.org/organizations/history_center/milestones_photos/richmond.html, accessed December 28, 2005.
2. *DLN* (April, 15, 1907), in CF "Transportation, West Chester Street Railway."
3. *DLN* (August 8, 1890), in CF.
4. *DLN* (September 24, 1890), in CF "Transportation. West Chester Street Railway."
5. *DLN* (January 13, 1891), in CF "Transportation. West Chester Street Railway."
6. Tom Gears, "Railroading in Delaware" located at <http://www.geocities.com/equiferro/index.html>, accessed April 13, 2004.
7. *DLN* (August 16, 1890), in CF "Transportation. West Chester Street Railway."
8. W. W. Thompson, ed., Chester County and Its People (Chicago and New

York: The Union History Company, 1898), 519.

9. "Summer Programme of the Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company, Grand Opening on Decoration Day at Castle Rocks Park" (May 30, 1899) in the CCHS file "Transportation, trolley, Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company."

10. *DLN* (January 2, 1899), in CF. See also "The Trolley Finally Gives Way to the Bus" in *DLN* (June 4, 1954). The CCHS has an original February 24, 1899 timetable in the file "Transportation, trolley, Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company."

11. "Summer Programme of the Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company, Grand Opening on Decoration Day at Castle Rocks Park" (May 30, 1899) in the CCHS file "Transportation, trolley, Philadelphia & West Chester Traction Company."

12. "About the Gay Street Bridge" in *DLN* (September 26, 1899), in CF "WC Streets--Gay Street Bridge."

13. *DLN* (October 31, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

14. *DLN* (April 10, 1901), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad." The tactics of land acquisition are also discussed in Stanley F. Bowman Jr. & Harold E. Cox, Trolleys of Chester County Pennsylvania (Forty Fort, PA: Harold E. Cox, 1975), 38.

15. Promotional document for "The Chester, Concordville and West Chester Electric Railway," Joseph Shortlidge, Promoter (Concordville, PA, no date), in CCHS file "Transportation--Chester, Trolley."

16. Bowman & Cox, 33.

17. *Ibid.*, 9 & 13.

18. *Ibid.*, 18.

19. *DLN* (April 15, 1907), in CF "Transportation, West Chester Street Railway."

20. Bowman & Cox, *op. cit.*, 18.

21. *DLN* (January 26, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."

22. *DLN* (January 5, 1917), in CF "Transportation. Philadelphia & West Chester Street Railway."

23. "May Lose Frazer Train" in *DLN* (January 10, 1906), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

24. "Making Final Run on Frazer Branch Here This Evening" in *DLN* (September 24, 1932), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

25. *DLN* (June 2, 1909), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR

(Central division)."

26. Announcement of public meeting "to forestall, and if possible prevent, any attempt by the Pennsylvania Railroad to abolish the Passenger Service on the Frazer Branch, now connecting West Chester with the Main Line," Margaret K. Kelly, Secretary West Chester P. O., preprinted postcard (postmark October 30, 1928), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1950-1970" in folder "Pennsylvania Railroad 1928."
27. "West Chester and Philadelphia, Schedule in Effect" (Pennsylvania Railroad, May 25, 1902), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
28. Charles A. Garrett, untitled article in *Philadelphia Bulletin* (June 13, 1965), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PRR."
29. Bezilla, 65, 71, 102 & 233.
30. Chris Baer (Hagley Museum), email posting on Railroad and Locomotive Historical Society discussion list (July 8, 2005). Mr. Baer identified Jumbo as "the only experimental Class L (old style), a very heavy 2-4-6 or 4-2-6 tank engine designed for suburban service."
31. "Changing Engines" in *DLN* (November 29, 1883), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
32. "Jumbo" in *DLN* (December 5, 1883), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
33. "Gone to Altoona" in *DLN* (April 24, 1884), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
34. *DLN* (July 17, 1889), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
35. "Will Cars Be Run By Electricity?" in *DLN* (July 17, 1907), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
36. "Erecting Signal Tower" in *DLN* (October 15, 1907), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1905-1909."
37. "Pennsylvania Railroad Train Service Between West Chester and Philadelphia, Schedule in Effect May 25, 1902), in *DLN* (May 26, 1902) in CF "Chester County Transportation, Timetables, 1902 (2)."
38. Schedule for the Philadelphia to West Chester Line, PRR (January 8, 1914).
39. *DLN* (1906--date missing), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
40. *DLN* (January 8, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
41. *DLN* (July 24, 1900), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
42. *DLN* (February 29, 1901), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
43. *DLN* (January 1, 1903), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad,

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Frazer Branch."

44. *DLN* (September 9, 1923), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."

45. "December 2, 1928" in Christopher T. Baer, "A General Chronology of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company Predecessors and Successors and its Historical Context" at http://prrths.com/PRR_hagley_intro.htm (accessed August 17, 2005). See also "Pennsylvania Railroad Orders Equipment" in *New York Times* (November 5, 1926), 29.

46. "Silverliner Arrives in West Chester" in *DLN* (May 2, 1967), in CF "Transportation, PA. RR. 1967-1970."

47. Bezilla, 70-71 & 101.

48. "Pennsylvania Plans to Electrify Lines" in *New York Times* (March 26, 1926), 31.

49. "December 2, 1928" in Christopher T. Baer, "A General Chronology of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company Predecessors and Successors and its Historical Context" at http://prrths.com/PRR_hagley_intro.htm (accessed August 17, 2005).

50. *DLN* (March 1, 1938), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."

51. *DLN* (January 8, 1953), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Philadelphia Electric Company."

52. Maury Klein, "The Diesel Revolution" in *American Heritage of Invention & Technology*, Vol. 6, n°3 (Winter 1991), 16-22. For a description of similar changes on the Dakar-Niger railroad in West Africa, see James A. Jones, *Industrial Labor in the Colonial World: The African Workers of the Chemin de Fer Dakar-Niger* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002), 71.

53. *DLN* (July 11, 1952), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954."

54. John La Cerda, "Octararo Line toots Farewell to Riders" in *Evening Bulletin* (May 2, 1948), 3, in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1950-1970" in folder "Pennsylvania Railroad 1948."

55. Val Hart, *The Story of American Roads* (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1950), 180-182.

56. For example, see Joseph Jones, *The Politics of Transport in 20th Century France* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 21.

57. *DLN* (November 6, 1923), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."

58. "Town Topics" in *DLN* (November 17, 1923), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."

59. *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1920-1924."

60. Margaret K. Kelly, Secretary West Chester P. O., preprinted postcard (postmark October 30, 1928), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1950-1970" in folder "Pennsylvania Railroad 1928."
61. *Hazard's Register*, X, 13, #248 (September 29, 1832), 207.
62. "Making Final Run on Frazer Branch Here This Evening" in *DLN* (September 24, 1932), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, Frazer Branch."
63. *DLN* (March 1, 1938), in CF "Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad."
64. *Coatesville Record* (January 24, 1938), in CF "West Chester Streets: 1935-1949."
65. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (April 13, 1938).
66. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (April 21, 1939).
67. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (May 13, 1942).
68. *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
69. *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
70. *DLN* (March 12, 1941) and *Coatesville Record* (July 27, 1943), both in CF "West Chester Business Houses -- Hoopes Brothers & Darlington, 1940-1949."
71. J. R. Marryat, "Penicillin Produced Night and Day at West Chester Mushroom Plant" in *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (September 3, 1943), in CF "West Chester Business Houses: Reichel Laboratories."
72. *DLN* (July 23, 1942) in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Schramm, Inc.," "Balloons lifted Schramm stock" in *DLN* (Centennial Issue no. 2, November 14, 1972), 59; and Catherine Quillman, "A pioneer in global business from W. Chester" in *Philadelphia Inquirer* (PI, February 28, 2000).
73. *DLN* (June 14, 1943), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, National Foam Company."
74. Bezilla, 88.
75. "Schedule for the Philadelphia to West Chester Line," Pennsylvania Railroad (January 8, 1914).
76. *DLN* (January 20, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
77. "Station is Abandoned" in *DLN* (April 13, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
78. *DLN* (August 23, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
79. *DLN* (March 20, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919" and *DLN* (April 3, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PB&WRR (Central division).

80. "Want Bath in Station" in *DLN* (March 2, 1917), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1915-1919."
81. "Strike Warning to Travellers!" (Pennsylvania Railroad), in CCHS Ephemera, "Transportation, Railroads, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1950-1970" in folder "Pennsylvania Railroad 1946" and *DLN* (May 24, 1946), in CF "WC Transportation, PA. RR 1940-1954."
82. Interview with Samuel Rubinstein (January 6, 1999); telephone interview with John Dougherty (West Chester, June 2, 1997); Kelly McVeigh, interview with Anne Gincley (West Chester, April 12, 1997); and interview with Martha Gertrude Gincley Stanley (West Chester, March 29, 1996). All interviews by the author unless otherwise indicated.
83. "February 16, 1948" in Christopher T. Baer, "A General Chronology of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company Predecessors and Successors and its Historical Context" at http://prrths.com/PRR_hagley_intro.htm (accessed August 17, 2005).
84. La Cerda, op. cit.
85. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (December 14, 1949).
86. Tom Rettew, "Survey of Change Not Yet Finished" in *DLN* (July 17, 1953), in CF "Transportation, PA. RR. 1953."
87. Ibid.
88. "PRR Authorized To Use Crewmen To Guard Union Street Crossing" in *DLN*, in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954."
89. "Last Toot for Sunday Trains" in *DLN* (January 18, 1958), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1955-1959."
90. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (September 15, 1950).
91. *DLN* (July 11, 1952), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954."
92. *DLN* (January 8, 1953), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Philadelphia Electric Company."
93. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (December 11, 1968).
94. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (October 12, 1938; January 14, 1942 and June 10, 1942).
95. The motorman's name was Garland B. Kincheloe, and he was almost certainly operating an MP54. *DLN* (June 6, 1953), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1940-1954." For a non-fatal collision with another car at Union Street, see *DLN* (February 3, 1970), in CF "Transportation, PA. RR. 1967-1970."
96. *DLN* (December 1, 1960), in CF "West Chester Streets--Chestnut St.--1956-1960"; Jim Jones, interview with Frank Senior (retired West Chester postal worker, February 3, 2006).

97. *DLN* (December 4, 1961), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
98. *DLN* (August 3, 1962), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
99. *DLN* (October 7, 1964), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
100. Charles A. Garrett, untitled article in *Philadelphia Bulletin* (June 13, 1965), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1960-1965."
101. *DLN* (September 16, 1965), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1965."
102. *DLN* (January 25, 1966), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1966-1968."
103. *DLN* (West Chester, September 16, 1967), in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1966-1968."
104. *DLN* (October 6, 1967), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1966-1968."
105. "A Brief History of the Penn Central Railroad" <http://prozac.cwru.edu/jer/pc>. Accessed spring 2000.
106. *DLN* (June 15, 1968), in CF "West Chester Transportation; PA. RR 1966-1968."
107. *DLN* (June 15, 1968) and *DLN* (West Chester, June 17, 1968), both in CF "West Chester Transportation, PA. RR 1966-1968."
108. "April 2, 1969" in Christopher T. Baer, "A General Chronology of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company Predecessors and Successors and its Historical Context" at http://prrths.com/PRR_hagley_intro.htm (accessed August 17, 2005).
109. *Evening Bulletin* (December 10, 1970), in CF "West Chester Business Houses, Philadelphia Electric Company."
110. Chester County Deed Book Y40 (October 19, 1972), 610. Remarkably, Sharpless preserved all of the buildings on the site, including the bulk materials bins along the east side, and converted them into the buildings that stand on the site today.
111. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (December 8, 1971).
112. Chester County Deed Book V40 (July 13, 1972), 352; and Deed Book C53 (May 16, 1978), 342.
113. Chester County Deed Book 1041 (January 22, 1988), 330.
114. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (March 12, 1975).
115. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (January 11, 1984 and June 13, 1984); Chester County Deed Book I64 (October 2, 1984), 242 & 255.

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116. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (July 11, 1984).
117. *DLN* (November 12, 1985), in CF "West Chester Streets--Chestnut St.--1980s."
118. *DLN* (December 11, 1965) and *DLN* (April 25, 1967), both in CF box 39, "Chester County Transportation, Pennsylvania Railroad, 1966-1967."
119. Fredric N. Tulskey, "SEPTA Staff proposes stiff rail cuts" in *PI* (November 20, 1981).
120. Sara Schwieder, "Fearing Collapse of bridge, SEPTA closes Media-West Chester Rail Line" in *PI* (September 28, 1982); and Sara Kennedy, "Commuters are returning to trains, but ridership still off" in *PI* (September 22, 1983).
121. Paul Nussbaum, "SEPTA to reduce rail service -- Engineers lost to other lines" in *PI* (July 12, 1984).
122. Susan Caba, "On the Rails, On-Time Runs are Way Off" in *PI* (December 25, 1985); Paul Nussbaum, "SEPTA Commuter Train Derails at Elwyn" in *PI* (March 6, 1985); and Paul Nussbaum, "Storm Causes Delays and Cancellations on Commuter Rail Lines" in *PI* (July 17, 1985).
123. Personal communication from Chris Baer, Hagley Museum (August 31, 2005).
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4. Council had to postpone their vote on April 17 and May 15 because the lease was not yet ready. Borough Council of West Chester, meeting minutes (June 19, 1996).
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