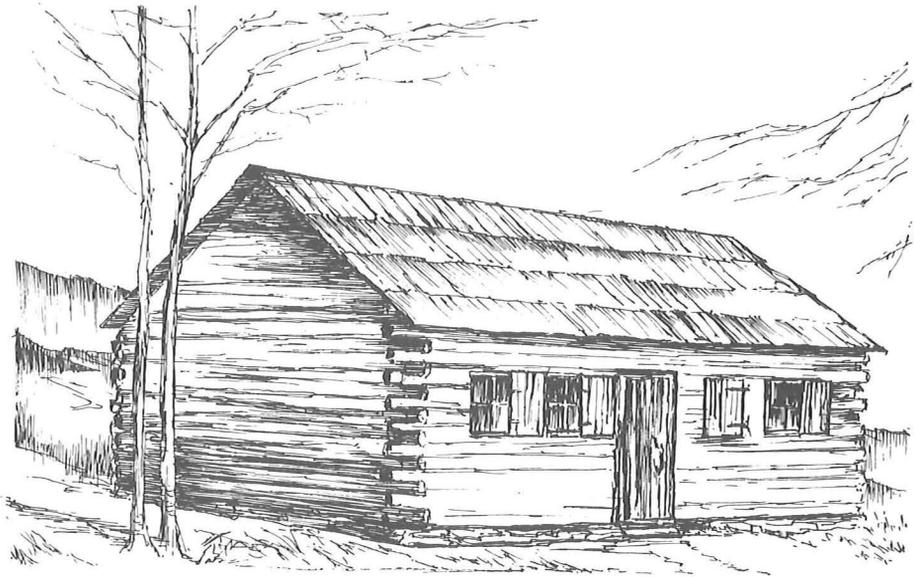


Cumberland County



Summer 1985
Volume 2
Number 1



History

In This Issue

- Pre-1745 Presbyterianism
- Tombstone Sculpture
- Three Mile Island
- Mechanics of Mechanicsburg

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Membership and Subscription

Cumberland County History is published semi-annually. All members of the Cumberland County Historical Society receive a copy of the journal as part of regular membership. The regular membership fee is \$15.00 annually. Members receive other benefits, including a quarterly newsletter, special invitations to programs and exhibits, and the satisfaction of joining with others to preserve county history. Correspondence regarding membership should be addressed to the Executive Director, Cumberland County Historical Society, 21 North Pitt Street, Carlisle, PA 17013.

Cumberland County History



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In This Issue

- | | |
|---|----|
| The Evolution of Ten Pre-1745 Presbyterian Societies in the Cumberland Valley
by William T. Swaim | 3 |
| Symbolism in Cumberland County Tombstones
by Virginia Rupp | 31 |
| What's In a Name?
by Elaine Huber | 43 |
| The Mechanics of Mechanicsburg: The Naming of A Central Pennsylvania Town
by Jeffrey Ives, Michael Miller, David Neidel, and Brian Prowell | 46 |
| Library Lieu | 49 |
| Publications of Interest | 49 |

Cover: Log Meeting House. This sketch by a Camp Hill artist, Thomas Middleton, drawn with the consultation of William Swaim, represents as closely as can be recreated the appearance of early Presbyterian houses of worship in Cumberland County.

Contributors

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The Evolution Of Ten Pre-1745 Presbyterian Societies In the Cumberland Valley

William T. Swaim

THE PROCESS

Ten rural religious societies of Presbyterians evolved in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania prior to 1745. This account of the chain of self-starting societies in the seventy-mile Valley is drawn principally from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, which exercised rigid control over ecclesiastical activity, including such matters as scheduling each Sabbath of sermons until such time as a resident preacher was in place. Accordingly, the seventy thousand words in the official record between 1732, and 1740 contain solid evidence on the ecclesiastical history of the time.

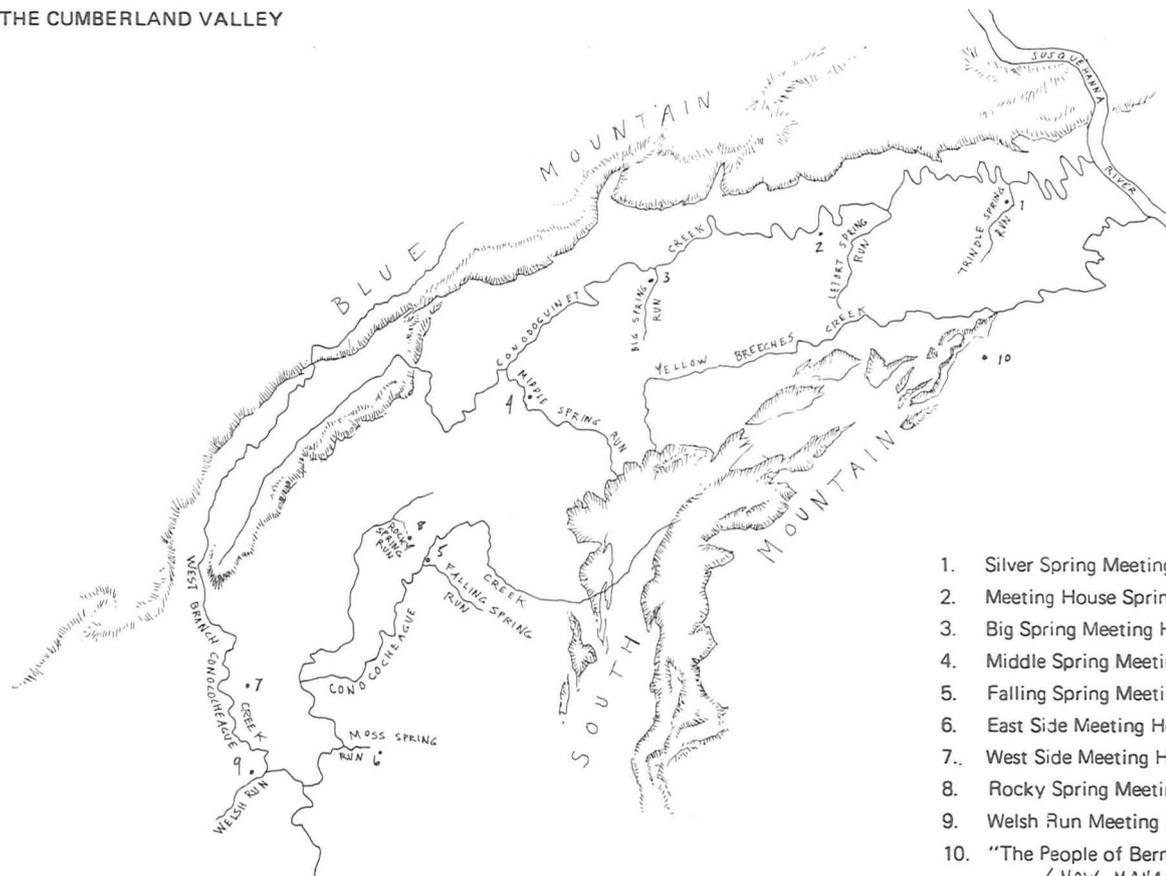
Legal right for the Penn family to grant land to settlers west of the Susquehanna River came on October 11, 1736, following a treaty with the Iroquois Indians. Beginning January 24, 1734, and anticipating the results of negotiations, the Penns through their agent Samuel Blunston issued 284 licenses for tracts in and near the Valley. These licenses were, in effect, limited options to purchase, accompanied by a concurrent right to occupy. In spite of the vague descriptions and indefinite locations of tracts the Blunston Licenses were adequate to attract colonists. In the Valley most of the families were Presbyterians from Northern Ireland. For Valley tracts the permits were issued at the average rate of 1.76 per week for thirty-three months. Obviously settlement was slow in 1734, 1735, and 1736.

Prior to November 14, 1739, all regular preaching in the Valley, with the single exception of that done by Thomas Craighead, was done by young

A Word About the Illustrations

No photographs exist, of course, to show the exteriors of the Valley churches which Mr. Swaim describes. The sketches below were all done by Thomas Middleton, who also did the cover drawing. His principal source was a series of photographs and drawings reproduced as half-tone engravings in *Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle* (Harrisburg: 1889.)

THE TEN PRE-1745 PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSES
IN
THE CUMBERLAND VALLEY



1. Silver Spring Meeting House — 1737
2. Meeting House Springs — 1737
3. Big Spring Meeting House — 1737
4. Middle Spring Meeting House — 1737
5. Falling Spring Meeting House — 1739
6. East Side Meeting House — 1737
7. West Side Meeting House — 1738
8. Rocky Spring Meeting House — 1739
9. Welsh Run Meeting House — c. 1742
10. "The People of Bermudian" — 1745
(Now MONAGHAN)

licentiates who could not be ordained until they completed Presbytery's stringent examinations and also had received official calls by majority votes at congregational meetings as authorized by Presbytery and moderated by a named ordained minister for that local service on a designated week day.

The minister could then install the ruling elders-elect. In Presbyterian terminology the process of creating a board of installed, ruling elders transformed a society into a church. Donegal Presbytery, from its seat in Chester County, made no concessions in its procedure. Accordingly, what constitutes the formation of a church in the Cumberland Valley is definable; what constitutes the start of a society or of a few "gathered together in His Name" is indefinite.

None of the churches appeared suddenly or fully developed; many preliminary steps had to be taken. The first was when for the first time the Bible was read at a family gathering. On September 3, 1733, Donegal Presbytery went on record to "press family and secret worship." Unquestionably the second step came when a family invited to their cabin on a Sunday, which was construed as the "Sabbath" at the time, some neighbors who informally read the Scripture, kneeled in prayer, used the Westminster Shorter Catechism to test the children, and sang the Scottish metrical version of the Psalms. There were no sermons; Presbyterians frowned upon preaching by the laity.

As the number of participants increased or as the occasions of gathering became more frequent, the group became what the Minutes referred to as a society. The term had been used in Scotland to describe dissenting Covenanters who gathered together outside the jurisdiction of the established Presbyterian Church. A society had no official connection with Presbytery, but as one matured it could send one or more commissioners to Presbytery for the purpose of "supplicating" that a clergyman of the choice of the governing body be sent as a visiting preacher or for some other specific purpose.

When a society subsequently could provide adequate financial support, the commissioner could ask Presbytery to assign someone as a "supplier for ordinary" rather than occasionally sending clergymen to conduct services. Missionaries and "constant suppliers" at first preached outdoors or in family cabins, usually on alternate Sundays at two locations within the territory of one society. This arrangement was a concession to the widely scattered and sparse population. An example was the Pennsborough society which temporarily, 1737-1739, claimed as its jurisdiction the thirty-mile stretch west from the Susquehanna River. Outdoor preaching points materialized at one of James Silver's springs and at the junction of Indian paths in the east end of present-day Carlisle.¹ Another group, the Hopewell society, claimed about twenty-two miles from present Plainfield to Green Village. Preaching points were presumably near Big Spring Run and Middle Spring Run. Springs or streams were necessities for parishioners traveling over dusty roads to attend services. A third society originated in the southwestern one-third of the Valley. Prior to 1738, it appears to have had only one preaching point, and that logically at the intersection of Indian paths at the head of Moss Spring Run near what is now Greencastle.

In the two years beginning in October 1734, Presbytery sent several preachers, one at a time, as itinerants into the Valley. Each assignment was for a minimum of two Sabbaths, suggesting that they visited over a period of ten to twelve days. None left a journal, but the standard procedure was for each clergyman to spend nights with families, baptizing, catechizing, conducting family worship, and preaching sermons both outdoors and in family cabins. Before mid-1736 the destinations contained a minimum of three hundred square miles. Several destinations were merely the generalization "over ye River," an area of one thousand square miles in the Valley. Accordingly, it follows that no extant church can legitimately claim an origin at a specific time or place prior to 1736.

The first narrowing of assignments came in September 1735, when Alexander Craighead was given a mere 600 square miles by reason of an assignment of "2 Sab dayes at discretion... [to] the People of Conedeguainot, or beyond Susquehanna."² Craighead did not fulfill that assignment because he was busy preparing for his climatic "part of Tryal" leading to ordination and installation at Middle Octarara east of the Susquehanna River in November.³ That he sent his neighbor and brother-in-law, Adam Boyd of Upper Octarara meeting house, is revealed by the subsequent report that Boyd had been to the Valley even though he had not received an assignment.

Settlement was concentrated along the length of the Conodoguinet Creek and its tributaries, but route patterns suggest that one or more of the itinerants from east of the River probably made a circular tour of the eastern two-thirds of the Valley, which area was the drainage basin of the Conodoguinet Creek. After spending a night at James Anderson's manse at Donegal, near modern Mount Joy, they could proceed to Conoytown, near present Bainbridge, ford the River, and follow the Conoy Path to the junction of five paths at the east end of present-day Carlisle, thence straight southwestward via the Walnut Bottom Path to future Shippensburg. From there one or more may have taken the Virginia Path into the Conococheague area in present-day Franklin County before retracing that Path back to Middle Spring Run to complete the circle by going either northwestward via Raystown Path to meet the Allegheny Path near Roxbury Gap or by taking a shortcut northward along Middle Spring Run, thence eastward via Allegheny Path to present-day Neville and Mount Rock to the cross-paths. From the junction they could follow the route of the present-day railroad tracks, once the Allegheny Path, to present-day New Kingstown, thence to the John Harris Ferry, now Harrisburg. After spending a night at William Bertram's manse at Paxton, they could go eastward on Allegheny Path via modern Hummelstown or, using the shorter route for most of the men, return to the River and follow Paxtang Path back to Conoytown to spend another night at the Donegal manse. At Presbytery meetings newly assigned men could learn routes from their predecessors.

Two earlier assignments had also been given to Craighead. On the day after his licensure on October 16, 1734, he had been assigned for two or three weeks "over the River" in November before beginning to supply regularly at "Middle Octarara."⁴ The next April he was re-assigned "over ye River" for two weeks of that month.⁵ In the same motion John Thomson, minister at Chestnut Level

and pen-man of Presbytery, was also sent “ther” for “at least two” Sabbaths before June 10th, at which time William Bertram of Paxton and Derry was sent to “the People over ye River” for two weeks before August.

In October 1735 the destination for Thomas Craighead of Pequea Church, father of Alexander, was “ye People of Conodequinoit” for three weeks.⁸ Likewise at a special meeting in December, John Thomson was sent to “the People of Conedequinoit two or three at his Conveniency” before April.⁹

The next paragraph in the minutes altered his assignment and is worth noting because it mentions the first recorded sub-division, for ecclesiastical purposes, of the 600-square-mile Conodoguinet basin: “it is order’d yt if Mr Thomson stay three Sabb at Conedequinoit he shall give two Sabb to ye upper Part of sd People.” The upper, or upstream, part eventually became the parishes of Big Spring and Middle Spring Churches; the lower part became Silver Spring and Meeting House Spring congregations.

Thomson did not make the trip in 1735, because of the “severity of ye Season & scarcity of Provender in these parts.”¹⁰ The impoverished Thomson had probably asked for the assignment; he took out four Blunston licenses totaling 1,100 acres for three unnamed families and for himself. The tracts were located in the upper Conodoguinet area between Mount Rock and Big Spring Run. All four of those licenses were later “quitted.” The fact that in 1735, Thomson was told to allocate a majority of his time to the *upper* Conodoguinet area verifies that the middle one-third of the Valley was a distinct group of Presbyterians, a body of persons separate and distinct from the *lower* Conodoguinet group that became Silver Spring and Carlisle First Churches. Thomson’s instructions were that if he



Middle Spring Church in 1901

stayed for only two Sabbaths he was to give one to each of the two halves of the Conodoguinet people. If he stayed for three Sabbaths, two were to be given to the *upper* Conodoguinet people, the future parishes of Big Spring and Middle Spring Churches.

That the two Conodoguinet societies were to be served and that there was silence as to the people in the Conococheague basin in the upper one-third of the Valley indicate that at the end of 1735, there were few settlers in the southwestern area. Corroboration as to the thinness of settlement to the southwest can be found by examining the Blunston Licenses and also by noting the similar rarity of mentions of Conococheague in the Presbytery Minutes.

Because of the sudden appearance of an unemployed minister, Samuel Golston, on April 14, 1736, the first extended assignment was made to the Valley. In order to utilize his time until the next meeting of Presbytery, his two assignments included "five Sabbaths" at "Conedeguinoit."¹¹ After he transferred his membership from New Castle Presbytery on May 29, Donegal Presbytery sent him on a long missionary journey for three months. The destination was "O Peken in Virginia." Generalized Presbyterian missionary activity at "Patomoke in Virginia" had been started by Synod in September 1719.¹² Opequon Creek is a tributary of the Potomac River, and the Opequon Presbyterian Church is near Winchester. Enroute, Golston was to give "the people of Conedeguinoit 2 or 3 Sabb." Furthermore, "on return to our next meeting," which was to be at Derry meeting house on September 1, he was to serve "the People of Conedeguinoit as time will afford." That he probably spent most of the time at the distant locale in what the Minutes elsewhere call "ye back parts of Virginia" is suggested by the fact that a year later he assumed fulltime work there before Pennsborough and Conococheague societies had "constant suppliers" of their own.¹³

The Minutes of the May meeting in 1736 have the first mention of an actual place name in the Valley. It was a tiny settlement and the precursor to Carlisle not otherwise mentioned in surviving records or accounts. The passage reads: "Mr. Anderson is Appointed to preach in New Town on ye last Sabb. of July."¹⁴ The place is mentioned again in the September 5, 1739, Minutes of Presbytery when Samuel Thompson, the resident supply preacher, was a subject of comment from the Pennsborough Presbyterian commissioners, who publicly:

declar'd that they were provoked thereunto [having Thomson write an inflammatory letter which had offended provincial authorities at Philadelphia] by their being credibly informed that some in authority had threatened to order a constable to pull Mr Thomson out of ye pulpit on ye Sabbath day and drag him at an horse tail to New-Town.¹⁵

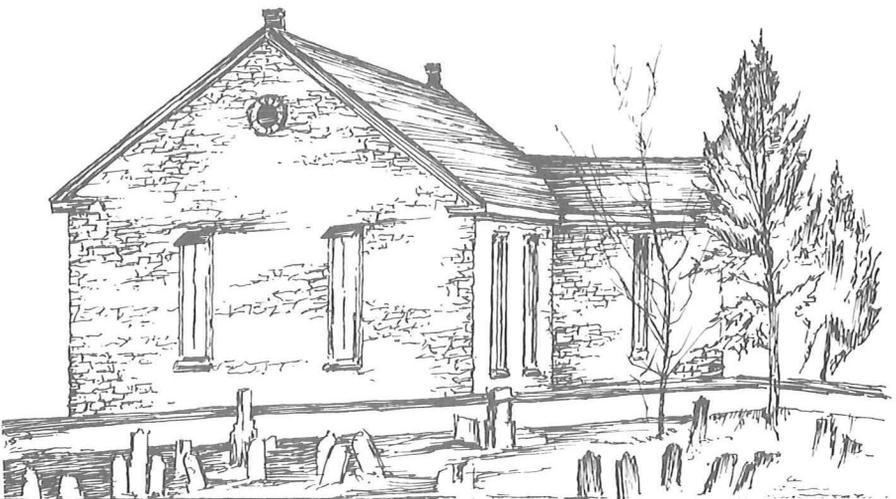
The pulpit could have been only that at Meeting House Springs. James Anderson was "appointed to rebuke sd people" for their part in the episode.

"Conegocheeg" first appears in the Minutes on September 2, 1736, when Thomas Brown of that area informed Presbytery that "Mr. Wms lately from England" had appeared and "was likely to doe harm to our people by inveigling the people."¹⁶ The reference apparently was to a Church of England minister

who had arrived, probably from Virginia. Presbytery delegated Anderson to send those Presbyterians a letter to “disswade them from intertaining him as a minister among them.” It then assigned Golston to “Conedequionote” for two sabbaths and to “conogochegg” for one.¹⁶ In the Minutes there is no further mention of the southwestern one-third of the Valley for fourteen months.

An unfortunate incident in the manse at Pequea caused October 27, 1736, to become a most eventful day in Protestantism west of the Susquehanna River. On a Saturday night some months earlier the elderly Thomas Craighead had broken the news to Mrs. Craighead that he had given permission for their son, John, and his family to move in with them. As Craighead did not approve of her reaction, he assumed the session’s prerogative and on the next day forbade her to take communion. As done in Scotland, forbidding admission to communion was facilitated when at the entrance to the crude communion table, each communicant had to present a small metal communion token. The session, however, backed Mrs. Craighead, but her husband-pastor remained adamant and unrepentant. By September 1736, the congregation was in such an uproar that Presbytery suddenly terminated the pastoral relationship at Pequea, thus permitting Thomas Craighead to gain a place in history as the first full-time minister in the Valley. In October Craighead was assigned two Sabbaths “at Conedeguoinot” before also being “appointed to supply that people” for the five months before the April meeting.¹⁷

The wording of the second assignment is crucial. In the record the phrase, “that people,” referred back to the preceding paragraph in the Minutes, which had primary reference to “ye upper Part of ye cong’n of Conedeguoinot.” The occasion was that the Presbyterians in “the upper Part,” i.e. the upper one-half of Conodoguinet and the middle one-third of the Valley, were ordered to pay financial arrears to former itinerants and also to “acquaint” the lower part of Conodoguinet to pay their likewise undesigned arrearage to unspecified preachers. Obviously the inadequately remunerated missionaries had complained on the floor of Presbytery.



Silver Spring Church, 1889

The blanket assignment of Craighead continued Presbytery's policy of letting the missionaries and local leaders work out the schedule of places and Sabbaths of preaching. That Craighead gave a substantial part of five months to the middle one-third of the Valley is suggested by the facts that in March 1737 his name on the warrant for the tract that became the permanent glebe at Middle Spring Run, and that in April the two-point Hopewell society applied for and received the full-time services of Thomas Craighead, thus becoming the first Valley society to have a full-time supply minister who was not shared with another society.¹⁸ If Craighead had spent all of his time at Meeting House Springs, as alleged by James Geddes Craighead in 1876, he could hardly have generated the above described momentum at the Hopewells at such an early date.

That Craighead spent a substantial part of the winter months at upper Conodoguinet is documented in the Minutes for August 1738, when Presbytery divided the sixteen pounds of arrearage due to Thomas Craighead into three equal parts.¹⁹ By that time upper and lower Conodoguinet Presbyterian societies were called Hopewell and Pennsborough respectively. Of the arrearage, which totaled almost two-thirds of the average ministerial salary for five months east of the River, two-thirds was assigned to "Pennsburgh" and one-third to Hopewell. Hopewell soon paid up its assessment but, partly because of the long continued discord between Craighead and Pennsborough, that society paid nothing until six months after Craighead's death. At the installation of Thomson on November 14, 1739, Presbytery required a public promise to pay the debt to Craighead's estate. That the Pennsborough leaders contended that their society had not received two-thirds of Craighead's time is indicated by the fact that on that day in November Presbytery's committee of three visiting ministers by common consent absolved Pennsborough society of one-half of their two-thirds assessment on the debt that had not been paid in thirty-one months.²⁰ The loser was Craighead's estate, but the unique compromise indicates that both Hopewell and Pennsborough apparently had received about one-half of Craighead's time during the winter of 1736-1737.

The episodes indicate that Thomas Craighead's problem personality and his continued estrangement from his wife had alienated Pennsborough congregation and several ministers as well. Her persistent occupancy of the manse at Pequea forced young David Alexander to reside in the family cabins of parishioners for many months. At several meetings Craighead publicly embarrassed the Pennsborough society commissioners by pleading for payment of the debt. By contrast, Craighead was so popular at the two Hopewells that he preached there regularly during the last two years of his life. In fact, he was so acceptable there that in June 1737 Hopewell asked Presbytery to send a minister to preside at a congregational meeting for drawing up a call for changing Craighead's status from stated supply to installed minister. At that 1737 June meeting Richard Sancky received the first assignment that used the name of Pennsborough township: two Sabbaths in August at "Pennsborrow."²¹

In November 1737 Alexander Craighead successfully moderated the authorized congregational meeting at Hopewell on a weekday and then preached "at Canigogig on the Sabbath following."²² That second assignment to Conococheague had not occurred until fourteen months after the first assign-

ment. This month licentiates Samuel Thomson and Samuel Caven began alternating every four weeks between Pennsborough and Canigogig. In April 1738, Caven became "constant supplier" at the one meeting house in Conococheague and Thomson at the two meeting houses in Pennsborough. The arrangement began one full year after Thomas Craighead had started the full-time service at the Hopewells and two full years before Conococheague and Pennsborough societies were transformed into organized churches.

The gradual narrowing of destinations in preaching assignments from 1,000 square miles "over ye River" to 600 square miles of the Conodoguinet basin to about 300 each at Pennsborough, Hopewell, and Conococheague shows that by the end of 1737 the Valley had three resident preachers serving at five meeting houses in three named territorial societies. At long range from east of the River, Donegal Presbytery had been faithful in collectively executing an overture that had been adopted at the first meeting of a Presbytery in America in 1707: "That it be recommended to evry minister of the Presbytery set on foot & encourage private christian societies."²⁵

CONSTRUCTION OF MEETING HOUSES

That the societies of Presbyterians in the Valley had reached maturity in 1737 can be shown by the fact that in that year several renewed the ancient Presbyterian custom of arguing among themselves. One subject was the site for a proposed meeting house.

Because American Presbyterians were not part of an established church and had no bishop to consecrate places of worship, they designated their buildings merely as "meeting houses," the term adopted by dissenters to distinguish their places of worship from those of the Church of Scotland and of the Church of England. The log meeting houses had no crosses or other symbols or adornments. They housed the congregation while honoring the cardinal



First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, as of 1877

element of a Presbyterian service, the sermon; the preacher's official title was "Minister of the Word."

To have a building specifically designated for preaching services was something of a luxury. Earlier the preaching was usually outdoors, doubtless consisting of a sermon in the morning and a "lecture" in the afternoon. One description of a subsequent outdoor pulpit survives, that of the Moravian, John Heckewelder, in 1789:

5 miles from Carlisle we saw a Presbyterian pulpit in the woods. These pulpits were built on a tree in the woods where people camp. A flight of three or four steps led up to the pulpit, over which a small roof is built [probably a sounding board].²⁶

Attendance was doubtless excellent, if only because there were few other occasions when the settlers could interrupt the endless labor of taming the wilderness. Sermons were long. Puritan practice reduced acceptable activity on the weekly holy day to "works of necessity and mercy."

Meeting houses could be quickly constructed but in the Valley were not built until resident preachers were either present or in immediate prospect. Further, apparently no one wished to invest labor in a structure that might have to be razed if the Blunston License proved to give less than permanent title to the land.

On August 31, 1737, however, with Indian rights presumably extinguished in the Valley, Donegal Presbytery faced up to the need to supply preachers in the Valley and therefore asked its parent, New Castle Presbytery, to share their surplus of licentiates.²⁷ Five small log meeting houses were existing or under construction in the four months that followed.

Locations not having been pre-arranged by Presbytery, local leaders chose the sites.²⁸ The local society could build where it chose unless a neighboring group officially objected at a meeting of Presbytery. In selecting a site the *sine qua non* was a spring of fresh water. Fortunately, the Valley abounded with them, although in subsequent years many springs have become extinct because the water table has dropped below the openings.

The five meeting houses in 1737 were at spring sites: at James Silver's, the Meeting House Springs near present-day Carlisle, and springs beside Big, Middle, and Moss Spring Runs. As sites the springs were more important than roads, for the latter could be cut through the forest.

Conventional, modern hearsay to the contrary, Presbytery did not have a rule as to the minimum distance between meeting houses. Prior to 1740, the approved distances ranged from four to eleven miles. Towns, it will be noted, did not necessarily grow where the meeting houses were erected. Villages and towns tended to materialize where one-time Indian paths forded streams, as at Lisburn, Hogestown, Carlisle and Shippensburg. The location of only two old Valley towns, Newville and Chambersburg, corresponded with the meeting houses. One consequence of towns not being built at the original sites of meeting houses in that some are not easy to find, such as Meeting House Springs, Rocky Spring, Moss Spring, Church Hill and the original Welsh Run site, which apparently was about one mile north of the present site.

In the Valley disputes arose at the Presbytery level concerning three proposed sites. The problem was that construction of a new meeting house could siphon off paying members from an existing congregation. There may have been other occasions of disagreement on locations, but only three found their ways into the Minutes of Presbytery.

All indications are that the first Valley meeting house was built by western Hopewell society on the east bank of Middle Spring Run three miles north of present-day Shippensburg. In March 1737 a warrant for the permanent glebe was secured. One month later the two Hopewells secured the first “constant supplier” for one society. At that time no other Valley group is known to have had both of the above catalysts necessary for building an indoor pulpit as a preaching site: land and a resident preacher. As eastern Hopewell did not yet have Presbytery’s approval for using its disputed site at Big Spring Run, Thomas Craighead doubtless resided in a log cabin at Middle Spring Run near where the meeting house stood in the northwestern corner of the present-day walled graveyard.²⁹

Apparently the second and third meeting houses were built by the eastern and western segments of Pennsborough society, which jointly secured prospects of a full-time preacher on August 31, 1737, when Paxton Church and Pennsborough society joined in an “application...desiring us [Presbytery] to apply to ye Pby of New-Castle for a hearing” of a candidate.³⁰ As a result of that request to the overly-supplied parental Presbytery, three young licentiates became available. In October Presbytery received Samuel Caven, “Immediately from Ireland,” and John Elder, both of whom “produc’d Sufficient Testimonials,” preached satisfactory “specimen” sermons, adopted the Westminster standards, and were



Greencastle Church, 1889

received as licentiates.³¹ John Craig had been taken under care in September.³² Elder soon began a pastorate of more than fifty-two years at Paxton. On November 16 Samuel Thomson “lately from Ireland” appeared, qualified, and was accepted.³³ The next day Caven and Thomson assumed joint full-time service at the two Pennsboroughs and the one Canigogig, uniquely alternating every four weeks during the winter months, apparently so that neither could become deeply entrenched at one place before Presbytery could appraise their respective qualifications for ordination, which did not occur until exactly two years later.³⁴ In the spring of 1738 Thomson and Caven became full-time suppliers at Pennsborough and Canigogig, respectively.³⁵ The successful August request to New Castle Presbytery suddenly accelerated construction of meeting houses for regular services indoors during the winter months of 1737-1738.

That eastern Pennsborough had at least a firm hold on a site at one of James Silver's springs before August 31, 1737, is suggested by an appendage to Presbytery's approval on that date of western Pennsborough's proposal to build beside the Conodoguinet Creek two miles west of the junction of Indian Paths: “Seeing it doth not inroach on any other Congregation.”³⁶ As the Hopewell neighbor to the west from Newtown did not yet have approval to build at Big Spring Run, the declaration of non-encroachment now demands identification of a neighboring site in the other direction on which the proposed one beside the Creek did not encroach. Newtown would have encroached. The comparison requires two sites, both of which were then identifiable. Otherwise, Presbytery had no purpose in publicly declaring non-encroachment. The assertion indicates that the accepted Silver Spring site was the older and that it was the bench-mark from which the reckoning had been taken. At an early date eastern Pennsborough had apparently begun to hear sermons outdoors on the first of two seven-acre tracts secured from James Silver. As the prospects for bi-weekly preaching began in August 1737, the meeting house was probably built that fall before the regular preaching began in mid-November. The structure stood in the northeastern corner of the present-day walled area.

Apparently the third meeting house was built by western Pennsborough in the fall of 1737, at the site beside the Conodoguinet Creek. Thereafter the locale could begin to have the modern name that is not in the Minutes: Meeting House Springs. As at Silver Spring, the building was probably constructed between September 1, 1737, and the arrival of a resident preacher in mid-November.

On August 31 the proposal to build at the Creek site had reached the floor of Presbytery only because Presbytery's Committee on “disorders” in the Valley, Moderator James Anderson and William Bertram, on that day recommended an alternate site, but Presbytery approved building “in a different place from ye Committee's opinion in yt matter.”³⁷ That the alternatives had been a topic of local discussion is shown by the fact that the group had voted unanimously to utilize the Creek tract, for which a Blunston license had been secured in 1734.

In the absence of any other viable alternative, as judged by road patterns, the committee's objective alternative, but rejected recommendation, had doubtless

been the junction of Indian paths, presumably the hamlet of Newtown at the east end of present-day Carlisle. Thirteen months earlier Anderson had preached at Newtown, where he doubtless had seen adherents assemble from several directions.

The existence of choice and the deliberate failure to build at the hub are corroborated by the statement that the Creek site did not encroach on Silver Spring. A local desire to build at the hub could conceivably have been employed by Silver Spring for a public accusation of encroachment. That possibility vanished with the decision to build two miles west of the junction. Presbytery's mention of non-encroachment appears to have been an indirect declaration that the decision to move from outdoors at the Newtown junction to indoors beside the Creek had initiated the unrecorded fact that use of the hub could have encroached on Silver Spring. By moving further west, western Pennsborough left Silver Spring free to claim the Presbyterians who resided in the vicinity of future New Kingstown, thus apparently averting open conflict in August 1737.

The visiting committee's professional preference could hardly have been other than Newtown, the old hub, which had the advantages of accessibility from several directions. In contrast to Newtown and as judged by road patterns, the selected site beside the Creek secured a new dead-end passageway from Newtown.

As noted above, in September 1739 the Minutes make evident that the distance from the Creek site to Newtown was within the space that a controlled horse would, according to rumor, drag Samuel Thomson from Meeting House Springs to Newtown by a rope that was hitched to the horse's tail. The reference requires identifying the two neighboring sites; one was Meeting House Springs and the other Newtown.



Big Spring Church in 1889

It is easy to understand why the local Presbyterians had voted to build at the isolated site. For one thing, Newtown did not have a spring of fresh water. Furthermore, in rural areas west of Philadelphia it was customary for the Presbyterian meeting house, session house, graveyard, manse, and some farm buildings to be constructed near each other on the glebe. The reason for that juxtaposition was that the minister and his family could live on a farm, as practically everybody else was doing in the years before the development of a cash economy. As stated in the eventual patent, the resident family could "Hunt Fish Fowl Hawk." In addition to gathering food, fuel, and supplies, the family could augment the meager and unpredictable cash income by doing subsistence farming, including having pastures, hay, grain crops, and a barn for the necessary horse and cow and for the optional sheep, the source of wool. Having free use of the farm was a strong inducement both in securing and retaining successive ministers. As Silver Spring has never had substantial acreage, use of the Creek site would also mean that the western twin could have the presence of the minister and his family. Because of the advantages of having the farm for the use of ministers, the congregation was willing to bear the biweekly inconvenience of extra travel, even though from the area of future Middlesex the people probably had to make a sharp turn at the hub.

At the Creek site the meeting house was located at the northwestern corner of the subsequently walled graveyard. Fortunately, in 1734, an anonymous person had taken out a Blunston License for "300 acres" for possible use by an unnamed "congregation," hence the 1737 vote to exercise the option. For about ninety years the congregation owned the 120-acre farm.

Within about twenty-two years the decision of Presbytery's committee to recommend a site, obviously Newtown, other than the location beside the Creek was vindicated when the congregation abandoned the isolated site in favor of a new clap-board Old Side meeting house at the northeast corner of Hanover and Louthier Streets in Carlisle, the newly laid out county seat. Thus was established the then unique policy in rural Pennsylvania for the Presbyterian minister's family to commute from the church-owned farm while the congregation had the advantage of a meeting house in town.

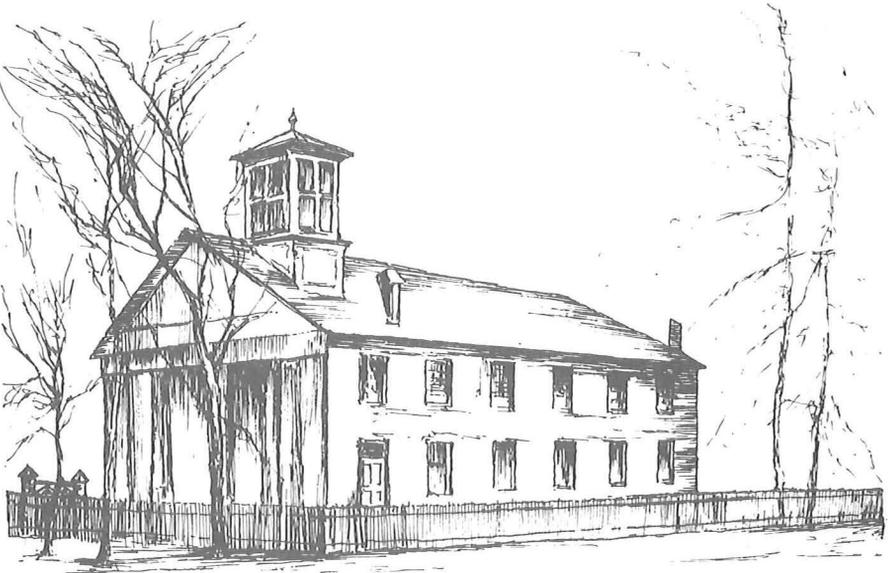
The fourth and fifth meeting houses materialized at Canigogig and Great Spring. In November 1737 Canigogig became the first group in the Valley to have sermons every Sabbath at one place, a blessing that continued for nine months. It is inconceivable that the society did not build an indoor pulpit for weekly use during those winter months. The structure was located at the head of Moss Spring Run in or beside the northeastern corner of the now fenced graveyard, which is still approached from Greencastle by a vestigial dirt lane.

In spite of the two-year, bitter dispute between Pennsborough leaders and the eastern one-half of Hopewell society, it is practically certain that the latter built beside Big Spring Run in the fall of 1737. Hopewell had had regular preaching since early April and had had the Big Spring site available before June. As Thomas Craighead preached only at the Hopewells during the winters of 1737-8 and 1738-9, it is unthinkable that the eastern segment did not have a meeting house before December 1737, which was one month after Craighead's installation had

been authorized by Presbytery. On the other hand, in June the Pennsborough commissioners had blocked construction as well as the congregational meeting for issuing the call to Craighead.³⁸ By June Hopewell was numerically and financially strong enough to issue a call for an installed minister. The congregational meeting was delayed four months and the installation eleven other months, doubtless due in part to personal antagonisms against Craighead on both sides of the Susquehanna River.

Early in 1737 the leaders of Pennsborough society objected to Hopewell society's plan to build their second meeting house at the present-day site on the west bank of Big Spring Run, now Newville. Because the distance from Newtown was thirteen miles via the head of Mount Rock Spring Run, Pennsborough's objection to the proposed site could not be based on the customary issue of proximity that could be interpreted by Presbytery as encroachment. Each case was decided on its own merits; but precedents favored a radius of about five miles for each meeting house. Uniquely, Pennsborough inveigled Presbytery into permitting their territory to include all of Pennsborough Township, the western border of which was Big Spring Run. In August 1737 Presbytery recorded its official disapproval of Hopewell's plan to build "Just on ye border of Pennsburgh Congregation."³⁹

As Pennsborough apparently worshipped at the hub through August 1737, use of the border issue now appears to have been a diversionary tactic concerning an unrealistic aspect. In all previous disputes on location the sole issue had been the vital one of proximity that could bring encroachment. For traveling to and from a meeting house, the township border was meaningless. The situation suddenly began to change in August when Presbytery gave permission for Pennsborough to build beside the Creek at a site that was two miles west of the Newtown hub.



Mercersburg Church as remodeled in 1844

Accordingly, in October Pennsborough dropped the moot issue of border and began to press the newly applicable, vital issue of possible encroachment. Thereupon Presbytery immediately followed the standard procedure of delegating four named men to serve as perambulators in measuring the distance between the Creek site and the Big Spring site by road and to report within six weeks.⁴⁰ Previously, the Minutes had described the procedure of measuring via "the usual passable road" with a chain.

On November 17 the "perambulators" inventively reported that they had measured two routes from Meeting House Springs, including a correct one of "12 miles," which was via the head of Mount Rock Spring Run.⁴¹ In a straight line the distance is ten miles; but the perambulators reported "8 miles" by "another" route. By merely guessing, the committee made an honest mistake; but, on the other hand, they deceptively gave Presbytery the definite message that they had actually measured two routes, one of which was half again longer than the other. "After much discourse upon it, ye Pby Agree to deferr" consideration until the spring meeting. At several other meetings the matter was again deferred. Seventeen months after hearing the report on distances Presbytery permanently tabled the subject:

After much discourse about it, the affair appears so perplex'd on account of several circumstances that the Presby deferr their Judgement, untill they receive further light.⁴²

As of 1985 the Big Spring location has not yet been approved, nor has Presbytery rescinded the early permission for Pennsborough parish to include the Presbyterians between West Hill and the township border, Big Spring Run.

The November 1737 wording that the eight and twelve mile distances were "between Pennsborough Meeting House & yt at great Spring" strongly suggests that both had been constructed. Obviously in the fall of 1737 the aggrieved Hopewell Presbyterians had defied Presbytery and the Pennsborough leaders by building their meeting house where they wanted it for regular use during the winter months. Presbytery had little choice and obviously was at last siding with Hopewell because events had gone too far to invoke sanctions or to ask Big Spring to move their meeting house. In October Presbytery had authorized Alexander Craighead to moderate the Hopewell congregational meeting in November for issuing a call to his father.⁴³ The existence of the meeting house appears to be corroborated by the fact that in November 1737 Presbytery received and immediately approved the call and ordered Thomas Craighead's installation at Hopewell before April. It is difficult to see how Presbytery could have authorized installation during winter months before the meeting house was built, especially when land had been available for at least half of the year. By common consent Presbytery apparently let Pennsborough's delaying tactics die of their own weight. The Big Spring meeting house was near the southeastern corner of what is now seven acres of mowed grass.

The sixth meeting house was built by "West Side" of "Canigogig" at Church Hill, apparently in 1738, near present-day Mercersburg. In August of that year the Presbyterians of the Conococheague area reported that they had divided themselves into East and West Sides. Immediately, Caven of East Side was ordered to

give every third Sabbath to "West Side of Connegocheek."⁴⁵ In November, West Side secured one-half of Caven's time for the winter months, thus doubtless necessitating immediate construction of the West Side meeting house.⁴⁶ As also arranged in November, on March 1, 1739, John Craig, "student from ye North of Ireland," took "west settlement" for weekly services; but in April he was also given three "sab'th" at Opeckin, Virginia.⁴⁷ In June 1739 Alexander Craighead preached at East Side, dealt with local problems, and on a weekday moderated a congregational meeting at which West Side, now Mercersburg, issued a call to John Craig.⁴⁸ In June Craig was also assigned four Sabbaths at "Deer Creek," apparently in Virginia, followed by the November assignment to "Societies of our Persuasion in Virginia at his discretion till our next, likewise at west Canigogig at his return."⁴⁹ West Side's call to Craig was presented to Presbytery in September 1739, but in October and November action was deferred.⁵⁰ Thereafter, West Side suffered misfortune because in 1740 Craig was ordained by Donegal Presbytery to serve "Inhabitants at Shenandora & South River" in Virginia.⁵¹ Thus, through no fault of inhabitants of West Side, the precursor of the Mercersburg Church apparently was not organized until fourteen years later, when John Steel was installed.

At Church Hill the log meeting house had doubtless been constructed late in 1738 to accommodate Caven's half-time services that winter. The building was located on the north side and just inside what is now the only gate in the stone wall that surrounds the graveyard.

In the fall of 1739 the seventh meeting house in the Valley was built near where Falling Spring Run leaps into the east branch of the Conococheague Creek. On the matter of encroachment the newly organized Upper Hopewell Church in October 1738 had publicly objected to East Side's proposal to build at Falling



Falling Spring Church, 1889.

Spring.⁵² Building eleven miles northeast of Moss Spring Run apparently would cause Middle Spring to lose paying members who resided between future Green Village and Chambersburg. The failure of Presbytery to appoint perambulators delayed construction for about a year. Presbytery did not reconsider the matter until September 4, 1739, when, obviously pursuant to local negotiations, Upper Hopewell made no objection when East Side announced to Presbytery that "their other meeting House shall be at falling Spring."⁵³ (Note the future tense.)

That the meeting house was completed within two months is shown by the fact that on Friday, November 16, 1739, it was used for the ordination and installation of Samuel Caven at the older and younger East Sides.⁵⁴ The log meeting house at Falling Spring stood on level ground at the northeastern end of the present-day cemetery. There the people and horses could drink from the greatly widened mouth of the three hundred-foot, small, deep, steep ravine that was still being eroded by the spring that fell precipitately behind the present-day chapel. In 1758 Chaplain Thomas Barton's journal referred to the "two cataracts."⁵⁵ They fell within two hundred yards of each other.

On Saturday, November 17, 1739, Presbytery approved construction of a meeting house at a previously negotiated site at the head of Rocky Spring Run four miles almost due north of the new structure at Falling Spring.⁵⁶ As leaders at Falling Spring had acquiesced, Presbytery had no problem. Apparently the official action was taken and recorded only because the four-mile distance violated all precedents on allowable proximity. That Rocky Spring was built by 1742 is indicated by the beginning of the pastorate of John Blair at three churches that were sympathetic to the new, evangelistic, New Side denomination that separated from Old Side in 1740: Big, Middle, and Rocky Spring. At or about the same time a log meeting house was built at Welsh Run near Maryland.

Concerning construction of the tenth meeting house, that of Monaghan, now Dillsburg, the first record is of a request to Presbytery on September 15, 1745, from the "people of Bermudian" for permission to build at some as yet undesignated location southeast of the Yellow Breeches Creek.⁵⁷ Bermudian is the name of a creek south of Dillsburg. The society leaders stated that they would be willing to be in the Silver Spring organization but that they wanted their own meeting house. Silver Spring leadership blocked construction for seventeen years, apparently because they foresaw that a separate meeting house would lead eventually to an independent organization which would draw to itself supporters residing in the presentday areas of Bowmansdale, Grantham, Williams Grove, Brandtsville, and Dillsburg. The objection was still being voiced in 1762, when Presbytery officially created a new parish with the Yellow Breeches Creek as the boundary and declared "that Monaghan's meeting house be at John Dill's."

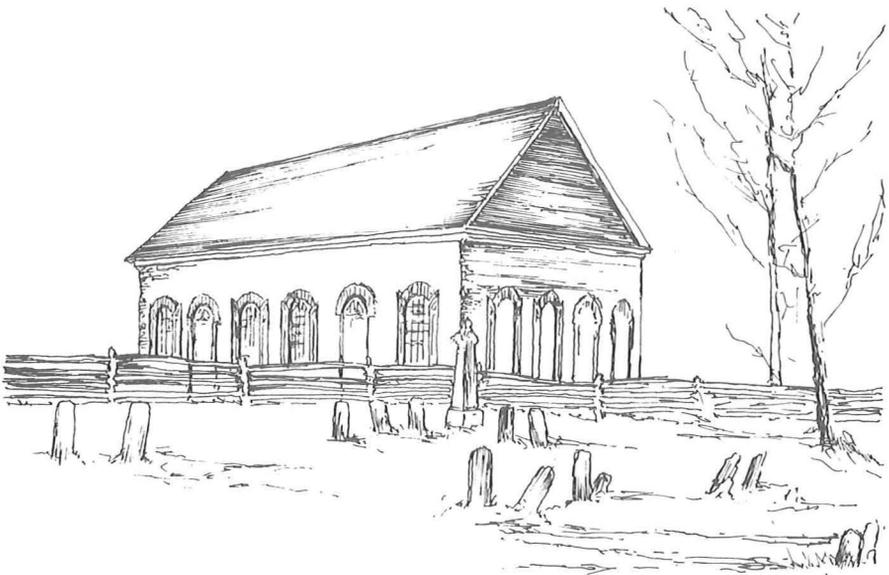
The Monaghan log meeting house stood on the level site that is now just northwest of the circular driveway in the larger cemetery. The apparent point of access from Mountain Road is still visible at the south end of the metal fence. Monaghan society was not organized until 1769, when it secured one-third of

the time of George Duffield I of the New Side meeting house, southwest corner of Hanover and Pomfret Streets, Carlisle.

From these humble beginnings in the log age the congregations eventually built of stone or brick.⁵⁸

In 1737 the construction of five log meeting houses caused Valley Presbyterians to reach a long anticipated stage of maturity, visibility, and institutionalization. Two and one-half centuries later it is impossible to realize how important the meeting houses must have been to Scottish Americans on the frontier. Prior to the development of those visible spiritual centers, the immigrants had doubtless felt kinship with the Hebrew exiles who, in Babylon, had sung, "How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" In a sense, constructing the meeting houses was comparable to the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. The structures instantly became spiritual, psychological, emotional, social, and intellectual centers, including linkage with Scotland and Ulster. As Presbyterians have always emphasized the intellectual aspects of religion, the buildings were schools of the Bible, which aspect of Presbyterianism had been crystallized in an overture that had been adopted at the first meeting of a Presbytery in America in 1707 concerning afternoon lectures:

that evry minister in their respective congregations reade and comment upon a chapter of the Bible every Lord's day as discretion [and] ye circumstances of tyme, place &c will admit.⁵⁹



Church of Rocky Spring as of 1794

ORGANIZATION OF SIX CHURCHES, 1738-1739

Within a period of thirteen months the three Valley territorial societies became six organized Presbyterian churches as the culminations of half a dozen years of evolutionary progress. Each of the dozen steps that transformed a Valley society into two churches was first taken by Hopewell society at least ten months before the similar stages were reached elsewhere in the Valley. As noted above, at Hopewell in April 1737 Thomas Craighead had become "ordinary supplier."⁶⁰ At the June and August meetings, Presbytery took no action on Hopewell's June request for a congregational meeting. In August Hopewell publicly complained of Presbytery's "Slowness."⁶¹ In October Alexander Craighead was delegated to moderate the congregational meeting on "ye 2d wednesday of Nov'r."⁶² Also in November Presbytery received both the call and the individually signed list of financial pledges. Three other climactic steps uniquely happened immediately: Presbytery approved both documents and "offer'd" the call to Thomas Craighead, who "did accept the same."⁶³

Unfortunately for Hopewell, Presbytery erred in three ways in planning the installation service: first, by authorizing the unsympathetic William Bertram to install Craighead; second, by failing to follow custom in setting the exact date; and third, by ordering it to be done "at any convenient time before our next," i.e., within four months. In insubordination to Presbytery, Bertram procrastinated for eleven months, even though Presbytery renewed the order in April 1738, and even though Bertram went to the Valley that summer to moderate a congregational meeting at Pennsborough to draw up a call to Samuel Thomson.⁶⁴ On August 31 Presbytery finally authorized Alexander Craighead to install his father on "the 2d friday of 8'ber," which, as the root of the word states, was October as calculated from New Year's Day on March 25.⁶⁵ In April 1739 young Craighead reported that he had "fulfill'd his appointment at Hopewell."⁶⁵ The unusual choice of Friday had probably been made so that Alexander could spend the weekend with his parents, who had been reconciled at a special meeting of Presbytery at Pequea on October 5, 1737.⁶⁷ If Bertram had chosen to install Thomas Craighead at the time he had received the first order in November 1737, the Upper and Lower Hopewell Churches would have been organized about two years before any other Valley society reached that zenith. Even so, Big Spring, which was Lower Hopewell, and Middle Spring, Upper Hopewell, won the honor by becoming the first organized churches in the Cumberland Valley.

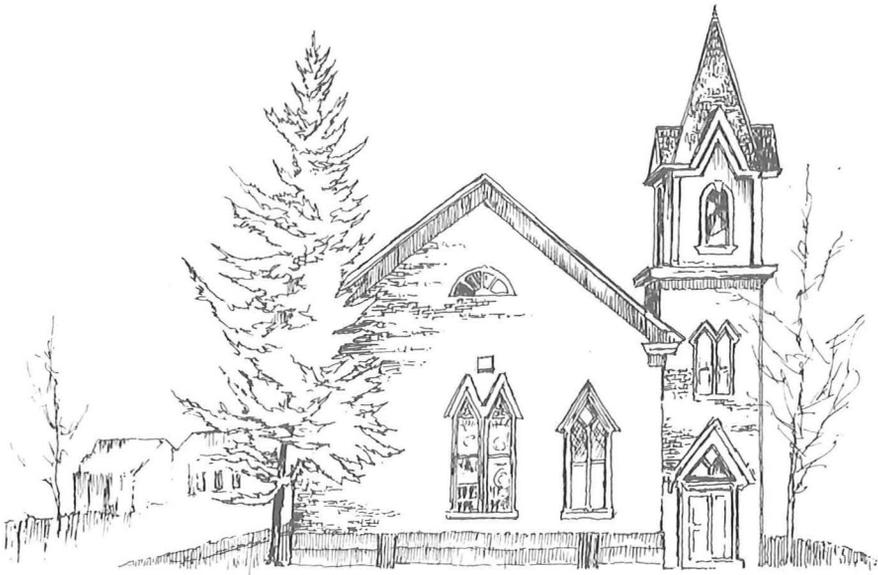
Furthermore, it is probable that the Hopewells had previously been organized late in 1737. Because having an installed board of ruling elders is the *sine qua non* of a Presbyterian church, it is almost certain that late in 1737 the ordained minister-elect, Thomas Craighead, had used his power to ordain and install the elders-elect soon after the only congregational meeting authorized by Presbytery had been held in November 1737, thus achieving organization as indicated by the chief authority on colonial Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania; Guy Soulliard Klett:

But in spite of this opposition to their plan, the people of Hopewell erected their building in the vicinity of the spring, were formed into a distinct congregation in 1737, and became known as Big Spring Presbyterian congregation.⁶⁸

Because Craighead was a problem person, it is hardly conceivable that Presbytery, the congregation, or elders-elect would permit the minister to control the churches single-handedly during the eleven months when Craighead was minister-elect and laymen were elders-elect.

The official steps leading to the organization of the Pennsborough and East Side Conococheague societies into churches occurred almost simultaneously throughout the standard stages. Each started having regular services in mid-November 1737. For drawing up calls to Samuel Thomson and Samuel Caven, respectively, the congregational meetings were held in the summer of 1738. In both instances Presbytery held the calls in abeyance for more than a year for the same three reasons: first, initially neither man agreed to accept the call; second, neither man was near completion of his "parts of Tryal" for ordination; and third, both societies persistently delayed paying arrearages which were due to Thomas Craighead and Samuel Caven at Pennsborough and to Samuel Thomson at Canigogig. Presbytery declared that the installations could not occur until the old debts were paid. Another similarity was that promises to pay the three debts were not made until in public at the installation occasions in November 1739.

Caven became eligible for ordination two months before Thomson, but, in order to save travel to the far end of the territory, Presbytery in October agreed to ordain and install the young licentiates "on ye second wednesday of Nov'r & the friday following."⁶⁹ Thus it was that Pennsborough society was organized



Monaghan Church, Dillsburg, 1889

as the Upper and Lower Pennsborough Churches on November 14, 1739, followed two days later by East Side Conococheague and Falling Spring Churches. Although the two nearest ministers, Richard Sancky of Manada and John Elder of Paxton, had not been appointed on the installation committee, their absences from Pennsborough were excused "by reason of bodily indisposition." The wording suggests that, in effect, the occasion was a meeting of Donegal Presbytery in the presence of the two congregations. As Presbytery had previously decreed that the arrears of Craighead and Caven had to be paid before installation:

It being inquired whether ye upper Setlem't of Pensborrow had pay'd ye arrears due by them to ye Estate of ye Deceas'd mr Craighead, Daniel Williams appear'd & publickly engag'd to pay Sd arrears Speedily Except the sume of 5 [£] 6 [s], 5[d].⁷⁰

This amount of about five pounds was about one-half of the "two-thirds of sixteen pounds" that had been owed to Craighead by Pennsborough for more than thirty months. In accordance with custom at ordination and installation services

Mr Anderson at ye Meeting house [door] do give public Advertisem't yt if any could advance any lawful objection against mr Samuel Thomson being Set a part to ye work of the holy Ministry to both societies in this place & noe objection appearing mr [Alexander] Craighead deliver'd a Sermon...& presided in the work of ordination...⁷¹

In the presence of the assembled congregations, it would have caused consternation if any person had publicly expressed the "lawful objection" that Pennsborough had, in effect, publicly refused to pay to Craighead's estate one-half of the debt. As Alexander Craighead and Adam Boyd were, respectively, the son and son-in-law of the decedent, their gracious silence both as Presbyters and as probably beneficiaries gave public consent to the belated refusal to pay more than one-half of the debt. Daniel Williams had also publicly "agreed to pay ye arrears due...to mr. Caven," to whom the society had had an undefined debt for nineteen months.

Identical events took place at Falling Spring meeting house on Friday, November 16, 1739. Four named local men "publicly engag'd to pay to Mr. Sam'l Thomson the Sume of one pound five shill's at or before next Meeting of Pby."⁷² Conococheague had been in debt to Thomson for nineteen months.

In order that the installers could have a quorum of three ministers to hold a meeting of Presbytery on Saturday to transact business pertaining to that area, Presbytery had sent three ministers instead of one. On Saturday Presbytery received a "Supplication" from Rocky Spring Presbyterians and concurred that the

Meeting House be erected at ye rocky Spring...doe agree & conclude that ye house for publick worship be erected as nigh to the falling Spring as conveniently as may be.⁷³

On Sabbath the visiting clergymen preached at West Side and at Upper and

Lower Hopewells. On his way to Virginia that Sabbath, Craig of West Side was assigned to "lower Meeting house," which from Falling Spring was East Side.

Caven obviously resided at East Side. During the winter of 1737-1738 he and Thomson had probably alternated living quarters as well as pulpits every four weeks. For seventeen months after April 1738, licentiate Caven had supplied at East Side, including after separation of East and West Sides in August, after which he also preached part-time at West Side. That East Side did not yet have the promise of a glebe at Falling Spring on September 4, 1739, is shown by East Side's public promise to "doe what they can to procure him a Plantation to live upon."⁷⁴ Eleven months earlier, Hopewell had thwarted East Side's desire to build a meeting house at Falling Spring. That the glebe at Falling Spring came directly from the Proprietaries is shown by the November 13, 1767, patent to the "congregation of Connicochaque" for 92.23 acres, which had frontage of 3,549 feet along the Creek at a cost of only five shillings, plus quit rent of "One Shilling Sterling at Carlisle every first day of March."⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

An examination of the typescript of the Minutes of Donegal Presbytery forces a revision of many previously published accounts of the "founding" of churches in the Cumberland Valley. The first incursion of a Presbyterian clergyman occurred in late 1734, and there is no evidence at all concerning what Alexander Craighead actually did when he went "over the River" in November as a missionary. He did not organize a church; the invariably enforced prerequisites to Presbytery's permission to organize a church from a society were absent, including the subscribed financial pledges for the support of the named minister. He did not minister at a church; there was none.

The first meeting house in the Valley stood beside Middle Spring Run. The second and third were at one of James Silver's Springs and at Meeting House Springs.

In 1981 Carlisle Presbytery, which now has jurisdiction over the area churches, considered the subject of calculating anniversary dates. It voted to recommend in effect that its constituent churches henceforth ignore the nebulous term "founded" in calculating anniversaries and use "documented, dated, specified events." This paper includes all of the pertinent, dated, specific, ecclesiastical documentation that is recorded in the Minutes of Donegal Presbytery; early records of the ten congregations are not extant.

Prior to the arrival of the first German settlers *circa* 1760, the Cumberland Valley properly could have been called "New Ulster." In the first decades the Scottish Americans, who monopolized the 1,000 square miles of the Valley in Pennsylvania, affixed a spiritual foundation to settlement by laying down a chain of ten approximately equidistant meeting houses at springs. In that century the ten congregations comprised one of the most important segments of American Presbyterianism as revealed by the fact that in 1794, the first General Assembly of the church that was held outside of Philadelphia was held at Carlisle. For at least one shining moment American Presbyterianism centered on the Cumberland Valley.

AUTHENTIC DATES FOR OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES
in
The Cumberland Valley

SILVER SPRING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Two miles north of Mechanicsburg
The twin of First Church, Carlisle
Log meeting house in the northeast corner of Cemetery, 1737
Organized November 14, 1739
Stone construction 1783

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Carlisle
The twin of Silver Spring Church
Worship c. 500 yards east of the present site July 1736
Log building at Meeting House Springs, September 1737
Organized November 14, 1739
Stone construction 1769-1772

BIG SPRING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Newville
The twin of Middle Spring Church
First Stated Supply in the Valley April 1737
First call issued to a minister 1737
Log meeting house in southeast corner of cemetery 1737
First Church Organized in the Cumberland Valley October 1738
Stone structure 1787-1789
Town of Newville laid out on church property by church trustees 1790

MIDDLE SPRING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Three miles north of Shippensburg
The twin of Big Spring Church
First stated supply in the Valley April 1737
First call issued to a minister 1737
Log meeting house in northwest corner of old graveyard 1737
First church organized in the Cumberland Valley October 1738
Stone structure 1781
Brick building 1842

EAST SIDE CONOCOCHIEGUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Greencastle
Log meeting house in northeastern part of Moss Spring Burial Ground 1737
Conococheague Presbyterian Society divided into East and West Sides 1738
Organized November 16, 1739
Clapboard meeting house at Moss Spring c. 1760
Brick construction at the present site 1828

FALLING SPRING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Chambersburg

Log meeting house in the northeastern part of the graveyard 1739

Organized November 16, 1739

Clapboard meeting house on the present site c. 1760

Stone construction 1803

ROCKY SPRING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Four miles north of Chambersburg

Log meeting house authorized November 17, 1739

Brick construction 1794

Original interior preserved

UPPER WEST CONOCOCHEGUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Mercersburg

Log meeting house in north central section of graveyard at Church Hill 1738

Clapboard meeting house on that site c. 1760

Stone construction at Mercersburg 1794

Stone building across the road at Church Hill 1819⁷⁶

MONAGHAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Dillsburg

Permission requested to be allowed to build a meeting house 1745

Construction 1762

Stone building on the present site 1783

Brick Church 1849

Footnotes

¹William T. Swaim, "Newtown Precursor of Carlisle, 1736-1751," 1985, includes a map of a dozen passageways that converged at the junction before Carlisle was laid out as the junction for post-1751 roads. A typescript in the possession of the author.

²Official 1937 typescript, "The Records of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Dunagal Commencing from oct'r 11th an Dei 1732 being The first time of their Meeting," here referred to as the Minutes, 96, courtesy Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³Ibid., 112.

⁴Ibid., 133.

⁵Ibid., 69.

⁶Ibid., 79.

⁷Ibid., 91.

⁸Ibid., 114.

⁹Ibid., 157.

¹⁰Ibid., 152. Discrepancies in dates and page numbers are due to the occasional disorder in which Minutes were copied into the permanent book.

¹¹Ibid., 166.

¹²*Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in America 1706-1788*, Philadelphia, 1976, 37.

¹³Here is additional evidence of the relative scarcity of Presbyterians in the Conococheague area -- Golston traversed it for twenty miles in each direction, but received no instructions to preach in it.

¹⁴Minutes of Donegal Presbytery, 164.

¹⁵Ibid., 255.

¹⁶Ibid., 175.

¹⁷Ibid., 178, 188.

¹⁸Ibid., 189.

¹⁹Ibid., 228.

²⁰Ibid., 265.

²¹Ibid., 195.

²²Ibid., 205.

²³Ibid., 209, 212.

²⁴Ibid., 213.

²⁵Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1706-1788, 1976, 3.

²⁶Paul A. W. Wallace, *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckevelde* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), 235. They were associate Reformed Presbyterians from Scotland.

²⁷Minutes of Donegal Presbytery, 198.

²⁸See "Formula for Selecting the Site for a Pre-1745 Log Meeting House in Southcentral Pennsylvania," by William T. Swaim, a typescript on file at the Hamilton Historical Library, Carlisle.

²⁹All identifications of exact sites in this paper are based on the above "Formula..."

³⁰Minutes of Donegal Presbytery, 198.

³¹Ibid., 205, 199, 202.

³²Ibid., 201.

³³Ibid., 207.

³⁴Ibid., 212.

³⁵Ibid., 213, 214.

³⁶Ibid., 197.

³⁷Ibid., 197.

³⁸Ibid., 193.

³⁹Ibid., 197.

⁴⁰Ibid., 204.

⁴¹Ibid., 209.

⁴²Ibid., 243.

⁴³Ibid., 205.

⁴⁴Ibid., 230.

⁴⁵Ibid., 232.

⁴⁶Ibid., 240.

⁴⁷Ibid., 240, 247.

⁴⁸Ibid., 251.

⁴⁹Ibid., 268.

⁵⁰Ibid., 253.

⁵¹Ibid., 272, 297.

⁵²Ibid., 234.

⁵³Ibid., 253.

⁵⁴Ibid., 265.

⁵⁵William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCV, No. 4, 431-483.

⁵⁶Minutes, 268.

⁵⁷The Minutes of Donegal Presbytery for those years are not extant; but excerpts were printed in Alfred Nevin, *Churches of the Valley* (Philadelphia: J. M. Wilson, 1852).

⁵⁸Four of the seven stone buildings have been in use for about two centuries: Carlisle, First, 1772; Silver Spring, 1783; Big Spring, 1789; and Falling Spring, 1803. The brick meeting house at Rocky Spring, 1794, is one of the unique church buildings in America, although long without a congregation. To this day it has a brick floor, gates at entrances to flat seats, the straight backs of which are shoulder high, an enclosed communion area at floor level, and an ornamental sounding board above the small lofty pulpit to which access is gained by a steep stairway.

⁵⁹*Minutes of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788*, 3.

⁶⁰Minutes of Donegal Presbytery, 189.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 197.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 205.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 208.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 228.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 232.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 235.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 203.

⁶⁸Guy Soulliard Klett, *Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Presbyterian Historical Society, 1937), 72.

⁶⁹Minutes of Donegal Presbytery, 261.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 264.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 265.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 265, 266.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 268.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 253.

⁷⁵Patent Index AA-7-373.

⁷⁶Until 1855 the one congregation utilized both buildings.

Publications of Interest: An Exposition

The Context and Wording of the First Ecclesiastical Reference to the Cumberland Valley

*Official typescript of the Minutes of the Presbyterian Presbytery of Donegal, 1732-1740, p. 69. Courtesy of Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

October 17, 1734

motion concerning M^r Creaghead being ordered to appear
before the Pby of ^{N.C.}_n [New Castle] to answer w^m Madowels Allegations
ag^t him was rejected by y^e Majority of both Pbys.

Ordered that y^e Matter of private Censures be deferred
till Our Meeting wth the Committee at Nottingham, that if
possible it may be done there.

Ordered y^t M^r Alex^{dr} Creaghead supply over the River
2 or 3 Sabb. in No^{br} & the rest of his time to be disposed
of to Middle Octarara Excepting the dayes of visiting &
preaching for the respective Mmbrs, together wth 2 or
three dayes necessary absence out of y^e bounds of this
Pby; further that M^r Anderson give him a Certificate by
way of letter if demanded. ✕

Symbolism on Cumberland County Tombstones

Virginia Rupp

When considering those things of cultural significance in our heritage, one rarely, if ever, thinks of tombstones. Yet pre-1850 stones and their art offer valuable insight into how our ancestors viewed death and life after death, and also reflect changes in the perception of death and rebirth.

The Industrial Revolution brought an end to the individual stonemason and the use of traditional folk art on markers. Now, because of attrition, due less to over two hundred years of weathering than to modern air pollution, the old stones are in danger of being lost forever with their coffins, hour glasses, and cherubs, their tulips, hearts, and trees of life. The following survey, done in the spring of 1978, is an effort to record the symbolism on the old stones of Cumberland County before it disappears completely.

The primary source for the locations of Cumberland County cemeteries was a Pennsylvania Highways Department map, printed in 1974, which pinpointed eighty-five graveyards. The author found thirteen more cemeteries, bringing the total to ninety-three. Of this number, one was private, two were not to be found, and fifty-three did not yield any symbols for the period surveyed, either because they did not exist before the cut-off date of 1850, or because the stones were devoid of any motif. Only fifteen of the remaining forty-two were really rich in symbolism. They are noted on the map (Figure 2) by stars, while the less fruitful cemeteries are marked by dots. Each cemetery has a number, the key to which will be found in the index. Regretably, there are probably some small family plots which were missed and are, therefore, not included in this survey. Taking into account all forty-two cemeteries which produced useful iconography, the religious represented were Church of Christ, German Reformed, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist and Presbyterian. Some seemingly had no religious connection, and a handful were family cemeteries. Churchyards which had no stones which came within the scope of the survey were those of several Churches of the Brethren, Churches of God, one Reformed Mennonite, one Evangelical United Brethren Church, and several United Brethren in Christ. Some of these are plain sects which do not countenance embellishment of any kind.

Early stones in the County were fieldstone, bluish-gray, green, and black slate, red, brown, and tan sandstone, and marble. Although stones of all materials were used in most graveyards, sandstone was found most often in German yards, while marble appeared to be the choice in those of the Scots-Irish.

The condition of cemeteries varied. Most were neat and well-kept. A few family cemeteries, and one or two whose churches had been moved to a new

INDEX TO CEMETERIES

1. Poplar Church Cemetery, East Pennsboro Township.
2. Peace Lutheran and German Reformed, Hampden Township.
3. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran, Silver Spring Township.
4. Trindle Spring Evangelical Lutheran, Trindle Spring.
5. Slate Hill Mennonite, Lower Allen Township.
6. Lisburn Cemetery, Lisburn.
7. The Mennonite Cemetery, Gettysburg Pike, Upper Allen Township.
8. Middle Spring Presbyterian, Middle Spring.
9. Hope United Methodist, Route 11, Hampden Township.
10. Silver Spring Presbyterian, Silver Spring Township.
11. Longsdorf Cemetery, Locust Point Road.
12. Shiremanstown Cemetery, Shiremanstown.
13. Cocklin Cemetery, Upper Allen Township.
14. Baker's Cemetery, north of Churchtown.
15. Mt. Zion Cemetery, southwest of Churchtown.
16. Bethel Cemetery, south of Churchtown.
17. Name unknown, South Middletown Township.
18. Dicklnson Presbyterian, Cumminstown.
19. Centerville Lutheran, Centerville.
20. Mt. Rock United Methodist, Mt. Rock.
21. St. Matthias Lutheran, Carlisle Springs.
22. Le Tort United Methodist, Middlesex Township.
23. Mt. Zion Evangelical Methodist (church no longer standing), west of New Kingston.
24. Line Family Cemetery, Dicklnson Township.
25. Newville Cemetery, Newville.
26. Prospect Hill Cemetery, east of Newville.
27. Salem Stone Church of Christ, Lower Frankford Township.
28. Diller Mennonite Church, Upper Frankford Township.
29. Upper Frankford Cemetery, Upper Frankford Township.
30. Hanna Cemetery, Hopewell Township.
31. Newburg Cemetery, Newburg.
32. Zion Hill Cemetery, Zion's Reformed, Hopewell Township.
33. Center Lutheran Church, Lower Mifflin Township.
34. Council Bluff School Cemetery, northwest of Newville.
35. Big Spring Presbyterian, Newville.
36. Carlisle Cemetery, Carlisle.
37. Spring Hill Cemetery, Shippensburg.
38. God's Acre, Shippensburg.
39. Grace United Church of Christ, Shippensburg.
40. Mt. Zion Evangelical Lutheran, Goodyear.
41. Meeting House Spring Cemetery, Old Meeting House Road, Carlisle.
42. Ege Family Cemetery, Bolling Springs.

location or had been destroyed, had apparently been abandoned. They were run-down, choked with weeds, and full of treacherous holes. In one forsaken family cemetery, woodchucks had brought coffin handles to the surface and left them lying on the graves. Broken stones, their pieces scattered, were found in some cemeteries, while in others, markers were stacked in piles, or used as foundations for newer ones. Painstaking care, however, had been taken in a few yards to fit together and reset fragmented stones. Notable is the restoration work at Poplar Church Cemetery on the West Shore. In Spring Hill and Newville Cemeteries, the oldest markers have been moved and set in neat rows in a section of their own. In Camp Hill Cemetery, in a small area along 21st Street, are a few stones which were moved from their original location in a now non-existent cemetery at 32nd and Trindle Road.

Having noticed that in many yards all of the stones faced east, one assumed that this was done in order to protect the inscriptions from more rapid weathering. But investigation brought the knowledge that they face east so that on Resurrection Day, when the dead rise, they will be facing Jerusalem and the Holy Land where, according to Christian tradition, Christ will return, and they will be gathered up and ascend with Him into Heaven.

The survey yielded the names of eighteen stonecutters, the majority of whom worked in the area where their stones were found. Exceptions were John Smith, of Harrisburg, and H. J. Kelly, of Carlisle, who were represented by stones throughout the county, and John McFadden, also of Harrisburg, whose stones were found in at least four cemeteries in the eastern part of the county. These three men, all of whom worked in the 1840s and beyond, had easily-recognizable, non-traditional styles. The fact that some of Kelly's and McFadden's stones have dates earlier than the 1840s merely means that they were not erected until some time after the date of death.

Some markers were crudely fashioned and cut, obviously home-made. But even on those carved by stonecutters, words were misspelled ("vetrean" for "veteran", for example), hyphenated in unlikely places (in one case even the name of the deceased), and poorly inscribed. There were a number of German-inscribed stones, mostly of sandstone and slate.

The oldest legible stones in the county dated to the early 1740s. Undoubtedly, there must have been older ones which were no longer legible, and others had probably somehow disappeared. The oldest date on a stone having symbolism was 1744, inscribed on a full length flat stone after the British style, in old Meeting House Spring Cemetery, which was established in 1734. German stones with dates in the 1770s were found in Poplar Church, Peace, and Slate Hill Mennonite graveyards, all in the extreme eastern section of the county.

Basic motifs on gravestones in Cumberland County fell mainly into ten categories: flowers, trees, books, draperies, monuments, supernatural creatures, wreaths, scrolls, geometric figures, and traditional Pennsylvania German folk culture symbols - suns, moons, stars, tulips, and hearts. According to Barba,¹ traditional Pennsylvania German iconography goes back to ancient Greece, the Middle East, and even to the Orient. He traces the tree of life symbol as far back as the Garden of Eden, the heart to Cro-Magnon man, and the tulip, most frequent floral design in Pennsylvania German folk art, to its importation

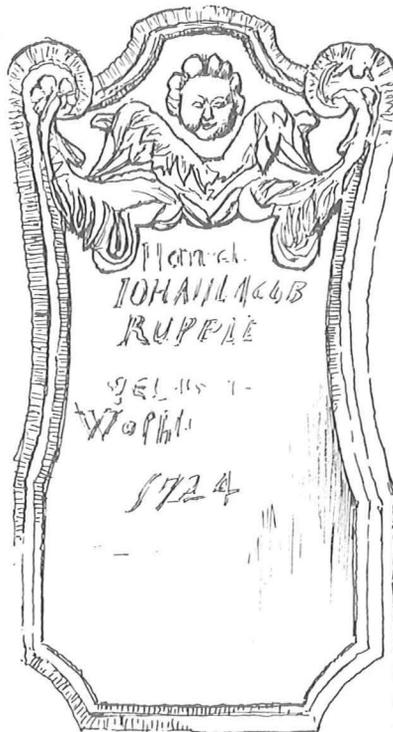
into Germany from Turkey in the 16th century. The most sacred symbol of primitive Northern Europeans, the sun, may have been brought into Germany by the Romans, but it is more probable that veneration of the sun predated the Roman invasion. Sun symbols such as the six-point compass star, radiating half- and quarter-suns, spirals and swastikas served as vehicles of adoration. Eventually, Barba says, the Germans placed these signs on everyday objects, over doors, on cradles, barns, and tombstones. It was this tradition of decorative folk art that German immigrants brought to America.

Very few of the symbols of death so popular in New England grave-stone art before the Great Awakening in the 1740s appear in Cumberland County. There are no death's heads, although McDonald² has recorded five in Lebanon County, including that on the oldest surviving stone (1745) in the county. However, in the Council Bluff School Cemetery, northwest of Newville



Urn with cloth, Silver Spring Cemetery 1831

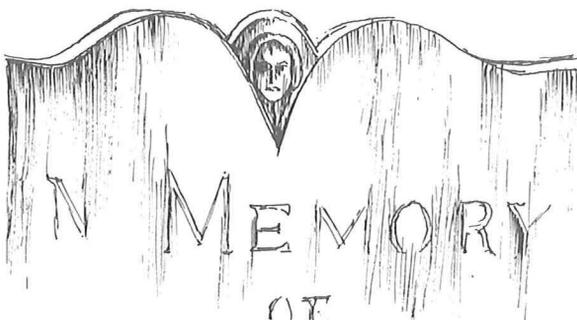
is a stone, dated 1846, on which is a line drawing of a coffin. A line drawing of a stylized hour-glass, symbol of the passage of time, appears at the bottom of a stone in Upper Frankford Cemetery, and there are two on an 1839 stone in Diller Mennonite Cemetery. The urn, another symbol of death, occurred a total of thirteen times in Cumberland County, not including those combined with weeping willows and pedestals. However, on only one stone does the urn alone appear, in Peace Church Cemetery. The date on it is 1824. On other stones, flames spill out of the urns. Flame arising from the top of an urn signifies the soul, separated from the ashes, entering a higher sphere. Draperies, symbolizing the close of life, with the descending curtain projecting a wing-like image, surround the urn on several stones, and urns with trees of life growing out of them, portraying both death and regeneration, are found in three Lutheran churchyards, those of St. Matthias, Center Lutheran, and Trindle Spring Evangelical Lutheran.



*Winged Cherub, Poplar Church Cemetery
1793*

With the shift in emphasis from mortality to immortality during the second quarter of the 18th century, more cheerful symbols of hope, regeneration, and everlasting life became the style, and winged

cherubs replaced grim death's heads on tombstones. Cumberland County has five stones with supernatural figures. The earliest, a winged cherub dated 1759 and carved on black slate, stands in old Meeting House Spring Cemetery. The nose is prominent, the eyes closed, the mouth slightly open. The wings, clearly and painstakingly delineated, shoot out from the sides of the head, which is framed by leaves and vines. In sharp contrast, the winged cherub on a baroque stone in Popular Church Cemetery has a full head



Spirit Effigy, Cocklin Cemetery 1843

of curls, a nice nose, and, although its eyes appear to be closed, the mouth is smiling. The wings float beneath the chin. On either side, flowers with trailing stems, symbolizing regeneration, set off the figure from the body of the inscription. The stone dates to the 1790s. In the small Mennonite cemetery on the Gettysburg Pike is a short stone, dated 1846, on which is carved the figure of the recording angel holding his scroll, and on an 1943 stone in Cocklin Cemetery is the head of a woman, with clearly defined features, at the top center of the tympanum. The latter is most likely a soul effigy. The final example of a supernatural figure is to be found in Carlisle

Cemetery. Dated 1828, it shows Christ sitting on a cloud and leaning on his cross, with draperies surrounding the whole scene. This stone is not representative of early Pennsylvania tombstone art, and was probably carved sometime after 1850.



Recording Angel, Winding Hill Cemetery 1846

Cemeteries having stones with crescent moons and hearts, traditional Pennsylvania German motifs, are found only in a small area in Upper and Lower Frankford, and Lower Mifflin townships. Three of the cemeteries are within a few miles of each other; the fourth is about twelve miles from the nearest one. They are Upper Frankford

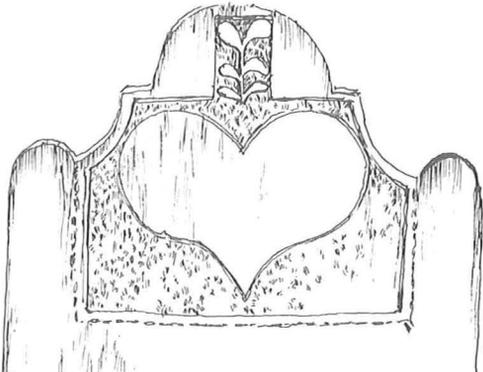
Cemetery, Salem Stone Church of Christ and Diller Mennonite Church cemeteries, and the Council Bluff School Cemetery. A distinctive, stylized form of the tree of life, as well as stylized tulips, also are found in these cemeteries. It is quite clear that many of these stones were the work of a single stonecutter. The hearts are curiously flattened figures, and the moons (in contradiction to Winkler's³ assertion that crescent moons on Pennsylvania German tombstones nearly always have the cusps pointing to the right, corresponding to those of the waning moon as seen from Pennsylvania) are inverted, with the cusps in a downward position.



Winged Cherub, Meeting House Spring Cemetery 1759

The hearts, symbols of the love and heart of God, as well as of a soul in bliss, most often appear enclosed on a distressed background. One of these appears below a tree of life, and another is carved below a six-point compass star. According to Ludwig,⁴ the six-point compass star was closely associated with the motif of a soul effigy in 17th and 18th century New England.

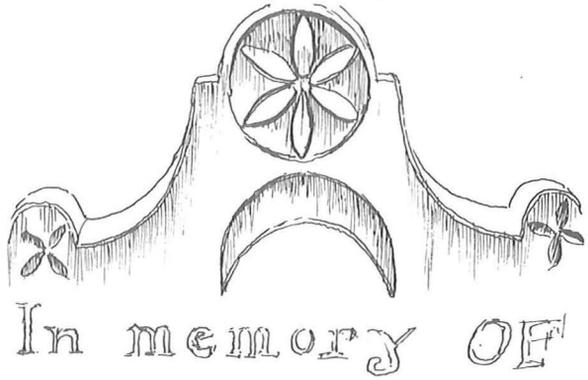
The inverted crescent moon is always at the top of the tympanum in these cemeteries, except for an 1814 stone in Diller Mennonite which has a six-point star in the top, with the moon just below it. This would seem to suggest that the soul was now on the other side of the moon, in heaven, which was supposed to be somewhere in outer space. On two stones, the moon is the only motif, but two others have elaborate designs incorporating the moon. One, a



Tree of Life and Heart, Diller Mennonite Cemetery, 1833

sandstone marker in Salem Stone Church of Christ Cemetery, has a crescent moon at the top of the tympanum, a sheaf of leaves below it, and a six-point star below the leaves. In the shoulders are three-pointed star or petal designs, and at the bottom are more three-petaled stars, and a design made by chaining small triangles. The inscription is completely encircled by a large, full sun, the circumference of which is double lined, with the inner circle cut in broken lines. The

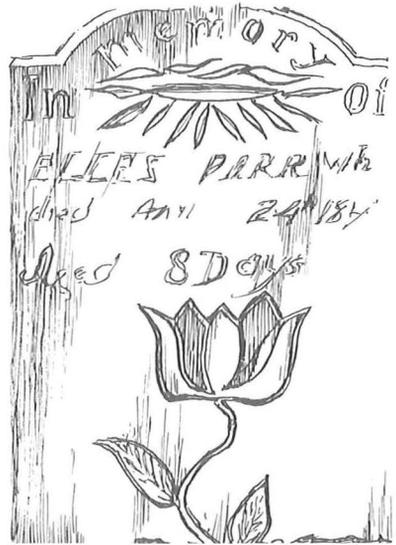
date is 1845. The other, in Upper Frankford, is undeniably linked to the foregoing. Dated 1840 it has a moon at the top. Directly beneath it is an imperfect eight-point star within a double circle, the outer one being a full sun with rays. There is a six-point star below the sun and others in the shoulders and between the body of the inscription and the epitaph. At the very bottom of the sandstone marker are half-circle designs made by linking small triangles.



Star and Moon, Diller Mennonite Cemetery 1814

The significance of heavenly bodies in tombstone art has been the subject of much speculation. Forbes says that the combination of sun, moon and stars, all alone or together, promised a new earth,⁵ while Ludwig quotes Jonathan Edwards (1703-1750) as saying that the different glory of the sun, moon, and stars represents the different glory of Christ and the glorified saints.⁶ According to Ann and Dickran Tashjian, Keach maintains that “the sun and moon constantly shining do metaphorically denote eternal blessedness in Heaven.”⁷ Winkler is more down-to-earth. He points out the idea that heaven is in outer space, and theorizes that if it was thought that celestial objects symbolized the environment of life hereafter, perhaps their association with the dead would help the dead achieve their journey to the other world.⁸

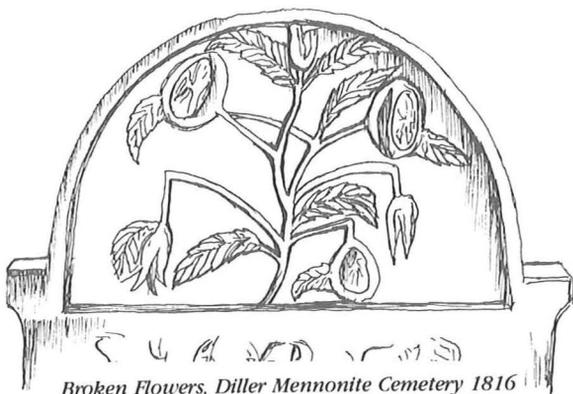
It has remained, however, for Daniel J. Boorstin to trace the historical relationship of heavenly bodies, especially that of the moon, to the dead. In ancient Eastern astrology, he says, it was thought that the moon “corrupted the flesh of the dead and so helped dislodge the soul, which was then freed from its earthly prison to reach the heavens.”⁹ The Manichaeans held that “the moon takes a crescent shape...when it is being swelled by the luminous souls that it has drawn up from the earth. The moon wanes when it has transferred these souls to the sun.”¹⁰ The crescent moon as a symbol of immortality appeared on stones and monuments to the dead from ancient Babylonia and Africa to Celtic countries, according to Boorstin, who also mentions that stars were important in European folklore. “Each person had his own star--bright or dull, according to his station and his destiny--which was illuminated at his birth and disappeared at his death. A shooting star, then, might signify some person’s death.”¹¹ Taking the



Tulip, Upper Frankford Cemetery 1824

opposite view, some held that one died and became a star. Boorstin quotes Cicero as exclaiming "nearly the whole heaven is filled with mankind."¹²

The very popular Pennsylvania German folk art motif, the tulip, occurs twelve times on Cumberland County stones, usually in combination with other flowers, most notably lilies and roses. The majority of stones in this category have dates in the 1840s. Broken stems, denoting the cutting short of a life, appear



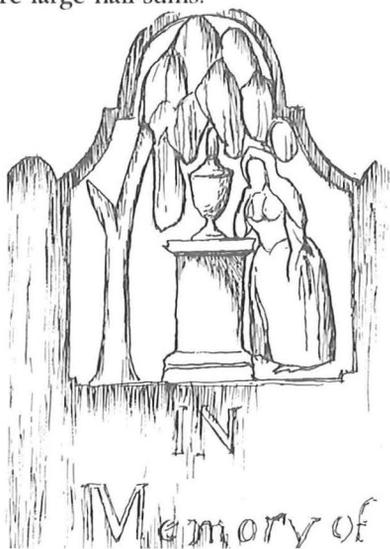
Broken Flowers, Diller Mennonite Cemetery 1816

on two stones. If the flower on the end of a stem is full-bloom, the deceased was an adult; if it is a bud, the stone is that of a child. There is a naturalistic version of a tulip on a baroque stone in Poplar Church Cemetery, while line drawings are found in Big Spring Presbyterian Cemetery on an 1827 green slate stone and in Upper Frankford Cemetery on a yellowish tan sandstone marker, dated 1824.

Of a total of eighteen trees of life, traditional symbols of regeneration, eight are found in Lutheran churchyards. Nine of the eighteen are in the Upper and Lower Frankford, and Lower Mifflin Township area previously mentioned. Trees growing from urns, signifying new life, or rebirth out of death, appear on three stones. Most motifs are highly stylized.

Architectural symbols are scarce in the county. Only three examples of flanking columns or portals (gateways to heaven) appear. This motif was common from 1790 to 1800 in Lebanon County, but the dates in Cumberland County range from 1807 to 1820. Two similar stones in Peace Church Cemetery have columns with arches, within which are large half-sums.

Weeping willows become popular in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. At first, most stones had only the trees on them. But, as time went on, pedestals, urns, and even figures of women were added, duplicating in stone the mourning pictures so prevalent in this country after George Washington's death earlier in the century. In the 1840s, as non-traditional motifs began to be seen, the weeping willow was combined with open Bibles. On some trees one branch was broken off, just as the stems of flowers were broken. Forty-five stones having weeping willows in varying combinations were counted in the county. This number applies only to stones erected before 1850, but weeping willows continued to be very popular after then.



Weeping Willow, Silver Spring Cemetery 1847

Full-length flat stones in the English tradition exist, not surprisingly, only in Presbyterian yards. They are not noteworthy, with the exception of three in Meeting House Spring Cemetery, and they are most notable in that they date to the 1740s, two of them to 1746, and the third to 1744. All three have shields carved into their surfaces, but the detail on one of those dated 1746 is illegible. The other 1746 stone shows a rearing horse, and the 1744 stone has on its shield what seems to be a donkey with a burden on its back. These stones are, without doubt, among the oldest in the county, and are surely the oldest with any legible symbolism remaining.

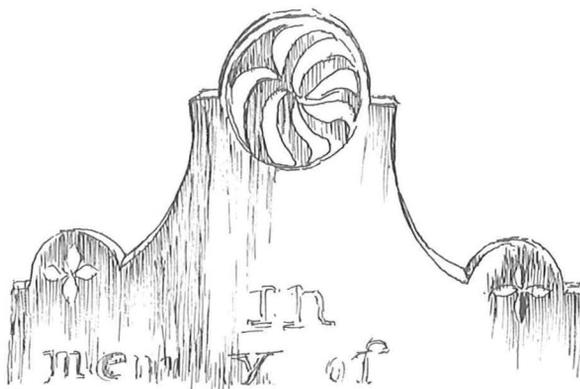
Sun symbols, by far, out-distance in number all other symbols. Stars of varying complexity were extremely common, with traditional six-point compass stars, incised or in relief, found on fifty stones. If one adds the three-, four-, five-, and eight-point stars, the total is sixty-eight. According to McDonald's study, the five-point star, with either wedge- or diamond-shaped arms, ap-



Half Sun, Peace Church Cemetery 1837

peared in Lebanon County from 1820 to 1830, but, as with the flanking columns, there is a time lag so far as Cumberland County is concerned. Only two stones in the county have five point stars. One, in St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery, is of marble and has raised, wedge-shaped arms with a circular wavy line running between them. The date is 1846, and the inscription is in German. Very few marble markers are so inscribed. The other stone, in Middle Spring Presbyterian Cemetery, has encircled five-point stars on either shoulder. The date is 1834. There are five examples of eight-point stars in the county, two in Carlisle Cemetery, two in Upper Frankford, and one in Spring Hill, with the dates falling between 1812 and 1840. The period of popularity of all stars extended for forty years, from 1810 to 1850, and peaked in the decade of the 1830s.

Sun symbols other than stars, however, amassed the greatest total. There are seventy-four stones with half-suns, one with quarter suns, three with full suns, and five with pinwheels. On the half-suns, two have dates which are illegible, and of the remaining number, all but two are dated between 1810 and 1850,



Pinwheel, Diller Mennonite Cemetery 1820

with the style peaking in the 1830s. There are many variations. Forbes states that the representation of suns, common in New England toward the close of the 18th century, was "probably always at break of day,"¹³ but the half-sun can more readily be construed as both setting and rising, thus signifying both the end of one life and the beginning of a new one. Ludwig believes that the suns on some stones, as well as six-point compass stars, equate with soul effigies and have cosmological significance.¹⁴

Other motifs found were stylized flowers, leaves, shields, vines, and, toward the middle of the 19th century, hands with fingers pointing to heaven, and roses and lilies, oak, acanthus, and laurel leaves, and berries in varying combinations. In the 1840s, the open Bible, signifying that it is through the scriptures alone that one can hope to attain everlasting life in the hereafter, was extremely common and wide-spread. A total of thirty-four was discovered. This number does not include the weeping willow with open Bible combination, of which there were six. The main proponent

of the open Bible motif in the county was H. C. Kelly, of Carlisle, who has been mentioned before. John Smith, of Harrisburg, who also has been mentioned previously, was very active as a stone-cutter in the 1840s and beyond. His specialty was scrollwork with petals in the ends and gracefully



Bible, 1875

sculptured bat-like wings. There were twenty-four such stones erected in Cumberland County before 1850, and they are found everywhere.

Most stones were put up at the time of death, or shortly thereafter, but there are a small number which, undoubtedly, were erected ten, even twenty years later. This fact is especially apparent in Silver Spring cemetery. It is possible that the original stones had deteriorated or been broken, and replacements were made at much later dates.

The gravestone art of early Cumberland County settlers has survived for over two hundred years, but its future looks bleak. The inscriptions on many stones are now illegible, or nearly so. Normal weathering, of course, has taken its toll over the years, but the more recent deterioration of the stones is the result of the devastating effects of modern air pollution, most notably acid rain. Good, hard, black or green slate markers, which only six years ago were smooth and shiny are now dull and pitted, and the excisions on them, so sharp and clearly defined then, now are blurring around the edges. This deterioration is occurring not only in urban environs where it might be expected, but also in remote rural areas. At the rate the old stones are disintegrating, they and their traditional symbolism will be lost in an alarmingly short time. One can only hope that these important vehicles for traditional folk art will be recognized by the proper authorities, and that steps will be taken to ensure their preservation.

Footnotes

¹Preston A. Barba, *Pennsylvania German Tombstones: A Study in Folk Art* (Allentown, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1954), 18: 1-29.

²Frank E. McDonald, "Pennsylvania German Tombstone Art of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania" *Pennsylvania Folklore*, XXV (Autumn, 1975), 2-19.

³Louis Winkler, "Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology IV: Tombstones" *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXII (Winter, 1972-73), 42-45.

⁴Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 189.

⁵Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1967), 124.

⁶Ludwig, 189.

⁷Dickran and Ann Tashjian, *Memorials for Children of Change* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1974), 86.

⁸Winkler, 43.

⁹Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Discoverers* (New York: Random House, 1983), 86-87.

¹⁰Boorstin, 87.

¹¹Boorstin, 87.

¹²Boorstin, 88.

¹³Forbes, 123.

¹⁴Ludwig, 186 and 189.

What's In a Name?

Elaine Huber

The first question that a frightened world asked about Three Mile Island on 28 March 1979 was how long the place could be expected to stay on the map. As fear subsided enough to suggest that it might be there for a long time, the question shifted to the more curious, "How did the place get its unusual name?" That question is not simply answered; six years of curiosity and research have yielded more conjectures than proofs.

It is known that on 4 December 1749 Thomas Cookson, surveyor who in 1751-1752 laid out and purchased the town site for Carlisle, asked Thomas Penn for permission to buy the future Three Mile Island.¹ When he died in 1753 Cookson had not completed his acquisition, but the land appeared in his estate records merely as an unpurchased, unnamed "island in the Susquehanna."²

Cookson left two daughters, Hannah and Margaret, and a widow, Mary Thompson Cookson, sister of Brigadier General William Thompson of Middleton Township, Cumberland County. Mary soon re-married, this time to a surveyor colleague of Cookson, George Stevenson, said by 1770 to be one of the wealthiest men in Carlisle. In the course of acquiring four of the five iron furnaces west of the Susquehanna River, including those at Pine Grove and at Mount Holly Springs, Stevenson had learned something about real estate. When his stepdaughter Margaret died and his sister Hannah married Joseph Galloway, Stevenson resisted an attempt by the latter to force a legal division of the Cookson lands. However, Galloway prevailed. In 1766 Galloway visited the 334-acre island and reported it to be wooded, uncultivated and without a name.³

So it remained until July 1770 when it surfaced as "Smith's Island" on the survey for an adjacent island.⁴ It lay about three miles south of Middletown, so named because it was halfway between the two important inland towns, Lancaster and Carlisle. In May 1772 the Pittsburgh Indian trader Daniel Elliott relieved Joseph Galloway of the ownership of the lower two-thirds of the island and vested the place with his name for a period exceeding the seventy-two years that it remained in his family.⁵ During that time the Pennsylvania Canal was constructed on the east shore of the Susquehanna River, adjacent to the island, but map-makers continued to use the Elliott name.⁶ These cartographers could logically have substituted the name "Three Mile" in recognition of the fact that untypically on that stretch of the artificial waterway there were no locks for a distance of three miles.

A succession of subsequent owners--Musser, Nissley, Greenawalt, Shireman--left their names with the place. Perhaps in desperation, maybe only in a state of confusion because of the proliferation of owners' names, the publishers of the 1875 *Atlas of Dauphin County* termed it "Conewago Island." Four years later, when the wealthy James Duffy family of Marietta bought it, they gave it their name. James Duffy, Jr., built a substantial "tobacco station" on the island. However, the investment disappeared in the March 1904 ice jam and flood.

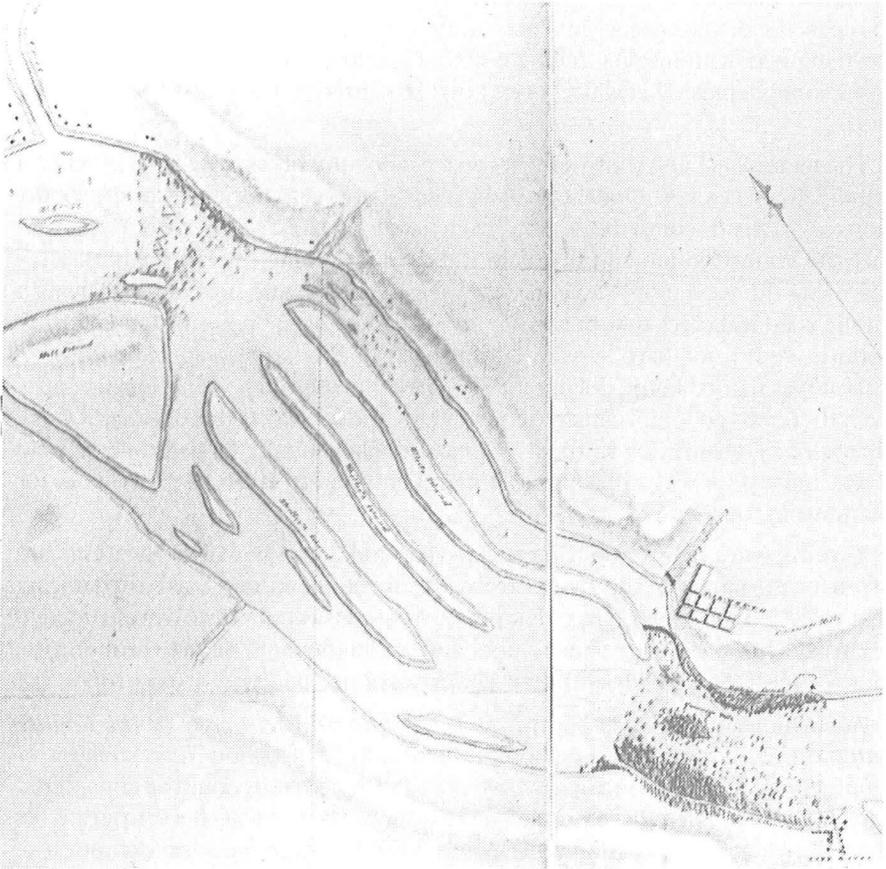
When the surveyors for the federal government at the turn of the century prepared their topographical and geological map of the area, they used the name "Three Mile Island." The name, however, soon became inappropriate because

shortly after the map appeared the York Haven Water and Power Company built a dam that flooded part of the island, reducing it to its present two and one-half mile length. Giving credence to the theory that the name came from the length is the fact that in the memory of an old-timer in the area the neighboring Shelly Island was once nicknamed Two Mile Island.

Discouraged by his loss, the younger Duffy sold the island in 1904, to the York Haven power people, who conveyed it in 1924 to the Metropolitan Edison Company.⁸ Tenants such as the Metzgers, Brinsers and Hontzbergers continued to farm the island until 1967 when construction began on a nuclear generating plant.

What's in a name? Take your pick: three miles from Middletown, three miles of no canal locks, three miles long.

Regardless of the origin or of the appropriateness, during the post-Duffy years the Three Mile Island name stuck until 28 March 1979. Then the media cramped it all into something less than a name but something that will outlast the others - just TMI.



By the 1820s the tract, now designated "Elliot's Island," is elongated. River action regularly lengthens and shortens the Susquebanna islands. The waterway going off the top of the survey is the Swatara Creek. Falmouth and York Haven are at the bottom, separated by the Conewago Falls. Original is with RG 16, Board of Canal Commissioners, at the Pennsylvania State Archives.

The Mechanics of Mechanicsburg: The Naming of a Central Pennsylvania Town

Jeffrey Ives, Michael Miller, David Neidel, and Brian Prowell

The state Highway Department historical marker erected in the 1920's at the east end of town states that Mechanicsburg, settled in the 1790's and incorporated in 1828, is "named for a settlement of mechanics." Legend states that pioneers traveling along the Trindle and Simpson Ferry roads on their way west stopped here to repair wagons damaged during the crossing of the Susquehanna river which flows east of the settlement. Because Mechanicsburg was a one day journey from the river crossing and an easy lay over before the Allegheny Mountains to the west, it became a natural place to stop for the night to repair the damaged wagons. One can almost visualize the wagons limping into town in need of attention; holding together just long enough to reach the village and its mechanics. This is the legend that has survived the years. Is it based on fact?

The name Mechanicsburg appears on legal documents as early as 1815 when a Public Road Docket application was filed at the Cumberland County Court House.¹ This document, filed by residents along the Trindle road, requested that the county widen and maintain the road for public use. The county, after surveying the road usage, agreed with their proposal. The necessity of having a public road indicates that the traffic in 1815 must have been substantial or the county would not have warranted approval of this additional expenditure.² That it was named in the document indicates that the village of Mechanicsburg, even then, was an important settlement along the road. Was this because it was a village of mechanics or as the 1792 road docket for the Simpson Ferry road states, because it was a place to visit merchants and to "restore provisions" for the journey west?³

Taverns were licensed during this period and a number of applications are listed for the village in the 1818 Tavern License application records filed during that year.⁴ Again, this proved that people passed through the town and needed a "drovers hotel," a place to eat dinner and spend the night before resuming the journey west. Mechanics and their shops were not licensed or recorded.

According to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, a mechanic is a person pertaining to or involving "manual labor or employment."⁵ Anyone, then, who worked with his hands could be considered a mechanic even if he never worked on a wagon. The tax rolls for the period list the following as occupations that could have fit a more specific definition of mechanic, one that would support the legend: blacksmiths, wagonmakers, wagoners, and carpenters.

A problem exists in researching the tax rolls and census reports for the period pre-1830. Mechanicsburg was not yet the legal name for the village and was,

prior to 1828, part of East Pennsboro, Silver Springs and Allen Townships. Some documents, such as the 1829 tax rolls, still did not recognize the village as a legal entity and continued to record it as part of the other townships. The United States Census of 1830 does recognize the village as an incorporated borough, and most references to people living in the village prior to 1830 were documented by cross-referencing the earlier tax rolls with the census and hoping that the people had not moved. While this methodology is not flawless it is the best method available.

The 1829 tax rolls list ten residents out of 554 (1.8% of the Population) who are considered mechanics by the above definition (three carpenters, two blacksmiths, four wagoners, and one cabinet maker) and found to have lived in Mechanicsburg through a cross check with the census report.⁶ The mechanics of Mechanicsburg did exist, but it seems only logical that any community along a wagon route would have men who would fit these occupations. The question Was it a town of mechanics? Were the number of mechanics found in Mechanicsburg greater than average? No comprehensive state or local studies have been done which quantify the craft professions for the era. Without this study the raw data on the mechanic/population ratio has no basis for comparison or conclusion. Only by comparing this data with similar communities can a conclusion be reached.

Newville, which is located fifteen miles southwest of Mechanicsburg, had a similar population in 1830. This community of 530 residents also had ten mechanics (four carpenters, three blacksmiths, and three wagoners) which is 1.88% of the total population?

Dickinson Township located twelve miles west of Mechanicsburg had nineteen mechanics (five carpenters, ten blacksmiths, and four wagoners) in town in 1830, almost twice the number living in the other two communities, but this was only .75% of a population of 2,523 in 1830.⁸

What would account for these differences? Both Mechanicsburg and Newville are along established wagon roads and would need wagon repair facilities and the men needed to repair them. Dickinson Township, although larger, is basically a farming community and would have less need for wagon repair facilities: the farmer was better able to repair his own wagon and could be more self sufficient while the traveler could not be as self sufficient and had to rely on the facilities along the way. For this reason more than twice the percentage of mechanics can be found in Newville and in Mechanicsburg than in Dickinson Township.

Mechanicsburg was a town of importance in the 1830's, a place in which travelers of the day found important for provisions, lodgings, and mechanics. It was a "town of mechanics" in that it had a high percentage of men who could repair the wagons of the travelers who came through the town. Despite the name it was not unique in providing this service. Other towns that lay along established wagon roads -- Newville, as an example -- provided the same service. Mechanicsburg may well have been named for a settlement of mechanics, but the distinction could just have easily gone to other towns in the region.

Footnotes

¹The Applications for Public Road Docket for Cumberland County can be found in the basement of the old County Court House in Carlisle.

²Not everyone was in favor of the new road. John Rupp in an updated letter to an unknown person wrote that a public road was not in the best interest of the people of the county. Rupp, an early surveyor in the area, stated that it would benefit only a few people who lived along the road. *Book of John Rupp* found in the Merkel Collection; April 1, 1820 to July 23, 1829. State Archives.

³Road Docket #1, Cumberland County Court House, County Clerk's office. Silver Springs rather than Mechanicsburg is mentioned because the village was not incorporated until 1812. The area mentioned in what would become the incorporated town.

⁴Tavern License applications for Cumberland County, State Archives.

⁵*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged, 1976.*

⁶Copies of the tax rolls for Cumberland County are found in their entirety at the State Archives. Some are also to be found at the Cumberland County Historical Society.

⁷*The Fifth Census of the United States of America, 1830.*

⁸*Ibid.*

Library Lieu

Nancy Loughbridge

At long last, the Hamilton Library staff and volunteers have begun to compile an index of Cumberland County Revolutionary War soldiers including those men who served with units of other counties. We call it an index as it won't be simply a list of names but will include all series, volume and page citations from the *Pennsylvania Archives* so that the researcher can speedily trace the military career of any county participant. Genealogists who do not have access to the Archives will be able, using the index, to order photocopies of needed records by mail.

The index will be a prodigious task -- literally dozens of fat volumes will have to be combed page by page and the cross-referencing alone (among variant name spellings) will probably have us running into the street screaming. However, we believe that the index will be an essential research aid and hope to have it available for use in some form by 1986.

Annabel Rice Lower has completed work on two family histories, the Rices and the Beitzels. Copies are available at \$5.00 each. Write to Mrs. Marion R. Lower, 231 Glendale Street, Carlisle, PA 17013.

Because of space limitations, we are unable to print the names and addresses of genealogical finders-and-seekers, but if any reader, like Mrs. Lower, has completed a family history and has copies for distribution, we will be happy to note it here.

William H. Burkhart, dean of Shippensburg historians, informs us that because of failing eyesight, he can no longer undertake genealogical searches. Shippensburg-related inquiries henceforth should be addressed to Edward L. Sheaffer, Shippensburg Historical Society, 217 East Orange St., Shippensburg, PA 17257. -- Nancy Loughridge

Publications of Interest

Camp Hill: A History. By ROBERT GRANT CRIST. (Camp Hill: Copyright by Robert G. Crist, 1984. vii, 180 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, appendices. \$25.00.)

Camp Hill has existed since 1869 as a post office and since 1885 as an incorporated borough. The present publication, described by its author as "the first history of the town," is not a "centennial history," however, but a comprehensive account, from the Penn manor of 1731 to the "West Shore" communities of today, and of the development of one of those communities into present Camp Hill.

Dr. Robert Grant Crist, a professional historian and for half a century a resident of Camp Hill, is eminently qualified to write its history. He is the author of several previous publications relating to the area, and both his professional training and his local familiarity are reflected in unfamiliar details of early history and matters of later local government, and even more, perhaps, in the variety and wealth of illustrative material.

The fifteen short chapters of the text are of course in a chronological sequence, with some overlapping, and are topical in nature with fairly broad coverage. The first two relate to the colonial period, and are by way of introduction. It may be interesting to know that there was a settlers' fort in the present Camp Hill area during the French and Indian War, and that George Washington made a transient visit here in 1794 (he stayed awake here). The last seven chapters cover the century-long history of the borough. Chapter VI deals with the community's one prominent appearance in national history, the clash here between the Blue and Gray during the Gettysburg campaign. Chapter VII, also Civil War related, is a history of the soldiers' orphan school, White Hall, 1866-1890. (By wry coincidence, the principal structure of this school was demolished one month after the present history appeared.)

The last ninety pages of the text, chapters IX-XV, are a lively and compact account of Camp Hill's growth from newly-chartered borough to its present status. Many of the civic problems and community activities recounted here may be typical of developing towns, but they are seldom so well and readably reported.

Dr. Crist's book contains no footnotes or bibliography; however, lists of sources and of suggestions for further reading are inserted at the ends of chapters.

A conspicuous feature of the history is the wealth of illustrative material. There are six maps prepared especially for this book by Oliver M. Fanning, a dozen reproductions of old maps, more than a hundred photographs (not counting aerial views), and some miscellaneous items. Reproducing a diversity of photographs presents problems, and it is unfortunate that sharper copies of some were not possible. Captions might have been helpful for the aerial views inside the front and back covers.

In content and presentation, this is a history of which the community and the author may well be proud, and of which other communities may well be envious.

Cumberland County Historical Society

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

John Dickinson, Conservative Revolutionary. By MILTON E. FLOWER. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, 1983. xii, 338p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Dr. Milton E. Flower, whose whole career has been involved with Carlisle and its institutions, is well known to members of the Cumberland County Historical Society. His service on the Board of Directors spans five decades. His many publications and papers on the county's history and culture earned him its "Historian of the Year" award in 1969. In addition to the many publications on Carlisle, we remember especially Dr. Flower's piece on wood carvers Wilhelm Shimmel and Aaron Mountz (1965) and his biography of John Armstrong (1970). When pursuing his study of history at the graduate level at Columbia University he acquired a special interest in biography. His thesis later appeared in book form under the title of *James Parton, the Father of Modern Biography* (Durham, 1951). Thus, it was left up to this professor of Political Science at

Dickinson College to give meaning to the name and life of John Dickinson in his community, the state and nation.

Milton E. Flower devoted more than a decade to researching and writing a biography of John Dickinson, the “Penman of the American Revolution.” “By 1774 his name was the best known throughout the American colonies after that of Benjamin Franklin.” Yet, this is the first full length treatment of John Dickinson’s life since the 1891 classic by Charles Stille. David Jacobsen’s study stops at 1776. Thus, we are indebted to Dr. Flower for having largely filled the need for a modern biography of this “American Patriot and Founding Father.” This book is finely crafted and eminently readable. The author tells a story with sensitivity and insight. In his assessment of Dickinson’s public writings and contributions to the first two Constitutions of the United States, Dr. Flower provides a useful overview of Dickinson’s political ideas. Dickinson’s religious views, spiritual values and his relationship with the Society of Friends are spelled out as they have never been before.

Drawing heavily on Dickinson’s voluminous correspondence, writings and papers, Dr. Flower describes Dickinson’s participation in the Stamp Act Congress (prepared important and influential resistance documents from the Congresses’ resolutions), the First and Second Continental Congresses (edited Declaration on the Cause and Necessities of Taking Up Arms and drafted the Articles of Confederation), the Confederation Congress (delegate from both Delaware and Pennsylvania), Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania (President, 1782-85), Delaware government (President, 1781-83) and the Federal Convention and Delaware State Ratification Convention (delegate to both). This is generally good biographical history wrapped around state and national events. If it is not Cumberland County history per se, one can still gain a better appreciation for why a college, law school, township, journal and a club have been named after John Dickinson. When William Allen or John Montgomery is cited in the text, the author identifies their links with Cumberland County.

The subtitle of the book depicts John Dickinson as a “Conservative Revolutionary.” Dickinson is seen as a revolutionary first and a conservative or moderate second. “His life,” concludes Flower, “is not that of the more familiar Founding Fathers, but of a man no less devoted to his country and important in its history” (p. ix). Dr. Flower is generally sympathetic, preferring to point out Dickinson’s “fearless honesty” and “moral courage” rather than his “petty diatribes” or his unpopularity in some circles. There are some issues that the author did not address. Space does not permit me to detail them. Laying aside these quibbles, however, this book is a joy to read and it will be appreciated by scholars as well as by general readers.

*Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission*

ROLAND M. BAUMAN

Messiah College: A History. By E. MORRIS SIDER. (Nappanee, Indiana: Evangel Press, 1984. xi + 314 pp.

Founded in 1909 by the Brethren in Christ Church, Messiah College was one

of more than a dozen colleges founded by the Mennonites, the Church of the Brethren, or the Brethren in Christ during the late Nineteenth or early Twentieth Century. Located in Grantham, Pennsylvania, Messiah was part of a wave of evangelical fervor and institution-building that characterized these groups. Its charter details the impetus for its founding:

To educate men and women for home and foreign mission or evangelistic work; for the dissemination of a knowledge of the Bible and Christian spiritual training, according to the faith and discipline of the Brethren in Christ; and to give men and women an opportunity of preparing themselves in secular studies for future occupations, especially for religious work. (p. 33)

Messiah embodied both a denominational approach to education as well as a reaction against the predominant educational influences of the day.

Sider's study of Messiah takes the reader through the denominational controversies and clashes of personality that characterized religious education in the early Twentieth Century, and details the rationale for the emergence of Messiah and its sister institutions. He has divided his study into three sections of roughly equal length: the early years (1909-1934), the middle years (1934-1960), and the latest years (1960-1984). Almost half of the text, however, is devoted to chronicling the emergence of Messiah and its early history. By contrast, the period since 1960 receives at best cursory treatment in about 25 pages. Sider's rationale for this imbalance is that he considered the later period too close for objective treatment. This indicates, of course, that this is an insider's history; Sider is a professor at the college as well as the archivist both for Messiah and for the Brethren in Christ Church.

Messiah College: A History is written by and for the Messiah community. As such it resembles traditional nineteenth century educational histories, detailing and celebrating founders while slighting more significant events in the life of the nation and often failing to place the institution within the broader educational and social contest. Sider is at his best when elaborating the mission of Messiah within the religious community, and he emphasizes the theme of service throughout. An abundance of illustrations highlight themes in the text.

For the professional historian, however, the volume is by-and-large a disappointment. All but the most recalcitrant historian now recognizes that educational history is a vital part of the American social fabric, and several recent histories have furthered that understanding by chronicling an institution's place in the larger society while at the same time telling the local history. To merely conclude, as Sider does, that the past quarter century at Messiah has been one of unprecedented change and growth is an insufficient guidepost either to the future historian of Messiah or to those who would examine institutional experiences in the post-World II era. We need to know more about the tensions of religiously-based education in an increasingly secular period. We need to explore further the relationship between all types of institutions and the larger political and social fabric. Educational history is too important to do otherwise.

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

John Andrew

Partial List of Cumberland County Publications in Print

Order your copy by sending a check (adding 6% sales tax and 85¢ postage and handling) to the Society at 21 North Pitt Street, Carlisle 17013).

Biographies

- Jim Thorpe: Carlisle Indian.* Wilbur Gobrecht. \$2.50
Peter Chartier: Knave of the Wild Frontier. William Hunter. \$2.50
George Croghan of Pennsboro. Robert Crist. \$2.75
William Thompson: A Shooting Star. Allan Crist. \$2.50
George Stevenson: Conservative as Revolutionary. Roland Baumann. \$3.00

Community History

- Planning of Carlisle and its Center Square.* James Flower \$5
James Silver and his Community. Norman Keefer. \$2
History of Cumberland County. Conway Wing. Reprint \$40
History of Dauphin, Cumberland, etc. Counties. I. D. Rupp. Reprint edition \$45
18th and 19th Century Courthouses. Murray and Flower. \$2.25

Other

- Indian Industrial School, Carlisle.* R. H. Pratt. Reprint \$3
The Lyceum in Carlisle and Cumberland County. Warren Gates. \$2.25
Index to the Biographical Annals of Cumberland County. Cordelia Neitz. \$5