

CUMBERLAND County History

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In This Issue

Cumberland Valley: Patterns of Migration, 1759-1890

Clarke Garrett

The Democratic Alternative to Free Soil, 1847-1860

John W. Weigel

The Pine Grove Prisoner of War Camp

Patrick L. Metcalf

Sermon on the Tenth Anniversary of his Pastorate

John Ault. Edited by Thomas E. Herrold

History of Uriah United Methodist Church, Gardners

Charles E. Trump

Book Reviews

Recent Acquisitions

Christa Bassett

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

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In This Issue

| | |
|--|-----|
| Cumberland Valley: Patterns of Migration, 1759-1890 | 93 |
| <i>Clarke Garrett</i> | |
| The Democratic Alternative to Free Soil, 1847-1860 | 103 |
| <i>John W. Weigel</i> | |
| The Pine Grove Prisoner of War Camp | 118 |
| <i>Patrick L. Metcalf</i> | |
| Sermon on the Tenth Anniversary of his Pastorate, 1873 | 129 |
| <i>John Ault. Edited by Thomas E. Herrold</i> | |
| History of Uriah United Methodist Church, Gardners | 141 |
| <i>Charles E. Trump</i> | |

Book Reviews

| | |
|--|-----|
| Sharon R. Nelson, ed., <i>Historic Monroe Township: A Collection of Articles and Images Illuminating Various Aspects of Our Community's Past</i> | 149 |
| Bonnie Costello, Celeste Goodridge, and Cristane Miller, eds., <i>The Selected Letters of Mariane Moore</i> | 150 |
| John Lukacs, <i>A Student's Guide to the Study of History</i> | 151 |
| Recent Acquisitions | 154 |
| <i>Christa Bassett</i> | |

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Leaving the Cumberland Valley: Patterns of Migration from 1750 until 1890¹

Clarke Garrett

After decades of introducing Dickinson students to the fascination of the history of Carlisle and Cumberland County, four years ago I at last had the opportunity to explore the topic myself, first in a book on leisure in the nineteenth century, and then, after retirement, on the important but ignored phenomenon of migration out of the Cumberland Valley. While going through newspapers from the 1870's in search of stories on brass bands and picnics, dances and choral concerts, I had encountered a continuous barrage of stories and letters by or about those who had relocated from the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania to the Smoky Hill River Valley and other places in Kansas, so that was the aspect that I first addressed.

This essay represents an attempt to expand that inquiry and to ask more broadly, and necessarily more speculatively, what impelled people in Cumberland County, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to leave a place that they continued to recall with great affection and to make new lives for themselves in new places farther and farther to the west, physically very unlike the valleys and rolling hills of southern Pennsylvania. The project had a certain personal attraction as well, since some of my own ancestors, after spending a century in Dauphin and Cumberland Counties, like so many others had made the long trek to the rolling prairies of western Illinois.

For many years, my late friend and colleague Warren J. Gates and I taught Dickinson's course in historical methods and led students into research in local history. There was nothing Warren liked better than a pun, and he was fond of saying that while many towns were towns of "character," Carlisle was a town of "characters." The Gates Thesis held that Carlisle and Cumberland County were exceptionally suited to serve as stopping-off places to somewhere else. A great many people, he suggested half seriously, arrived in the Valley intending to move on, but some of them never got around to it. These were Carlisle's "characters."

Since its foundation Cumberland County's location has made it a hub for those migrating south or west, whether by path and wagon road in the eighteenth century, by canal and railroad in the nineteenth, or by interstate highway today. Yet none of the nineteenth century local histories of Cumberland County addressed the topic of the continuing movement out of the Valley. Neither did Milton E. Flower's still useful essay on the history of Carlisle. One gets a hint of the magnitude of these migrations by skimming through the *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County* and similar volumes, but we encounter there only a handful of the thousands who left Cumberland County to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Several groups who moved away from "mother Cumberland" deserve more attention than I can provide here. There was for example the group that made a remarkable journey down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to settle in the raw frontier town of Natchez. And in 1849-50 at least thirty young men, bearers of good Cumberland Valley names like Keller, Bentz, and Hoffer, made their way to the gold fields of California, either overland, across Panama, or around Cape Horn.² Finally, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, as they found their opportunities for employment restricted almost entirely to unskilled labor, many of Carlisle's African-American community moved to Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, and other cities of the East or Midwest.

Cumberland County History recently published three contemporary accounts of what was the most massive migration from the Valley: the one to Kansas in the 1870's. For that phenomenon, there exist all sorts of materials: newspaper reports, letters, memoirs, and photographs, plus detailed information from the 1870 and 1880 manuscript censuses. The same cannot be said for the three earlier migrations that I want to discuss. I must instead draw inferences and make brave generalizations from rather limited information.

The first great migration from the county consisted of those who simply continued southwest down the Valley into Virginia and the Carolinas. Thousands passed through Cumberland County in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some stopped here for a generation or more, but many did not. Driving down the Valley of Virginia today, following the traces of the Great Wagon Road that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries extended all the way to Georgia, and as the Wilderness Road branching to the west over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky, one finds the names and the look of the towns and farm buildings very familiar. As the English politician Edmund Burke wrote in 1761: "The number of white people in Virginia is ... growing every day more numerous by the migration of the [Scots] Irish, who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the Germans, sell their lands in the province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote countries in Virginia, Mary-

land and North Carolina.”³ Even in Europe the Scotch-Irish had been famous or notorious for their tendency to move on. The Germans who followed the Scotch-Irish into Cumberland County were much more likely to settle here for an extended period, but they too moved down the Valley. I arrived in Carlisle 35 years ago in a car that I had bought at Shughart Motors in Greensboro, North Carolina, to find Shugharts as neighbors on West Street and the legendary Judge Shughart presiding over the county court.

The migration down the valley slowed to a trickle after the American Revolution as the coastal planters began to bring slaves and the plantation economy into the rich lands around Winchester and the Virginia and Carolina back country to the south. Many onetime Pennsylvanians therefore moved into the mountains or through the Cumberland Gap to the superior farming lands in central Kentucky and middle Tennessee, following the trail that Daniel Boone had opened a few years before the Revolution.

With Virginia and the Carolinas no longer lands of opportunity for small farmers, those in Cumberland County who sought land, space, and opportunity on the frontier began to shift their attention to the more difficult westward route across the Alleghenies to western Pennsylvania and across the rivers to the timbered lands beyond. This was the fabled Ohio country, America’s “Far West” in 1800.

A road of sorts that had been built for General Forbes’s military expedition during the French and Indian War went from Carlisle along what is now the Ritner Highway to Chambersburg and then across the mountains to Fort Pitt. By the end of the eighteenth century a second important road ran westward from Carlisle. This was the Walnut Bottom Road through Dickinson and Penn Townships toward Shippensburg, where it joined the road to Pittsburgh.⁴

The Ohio Country, its rich black soil so different from central Pennsylvania’s, had been open for settlement since the 1790’s, and gradually word of it drifted back to the middle Atlantic states. Land there was available for as little as \$1.25 an acre to those who were willing to make the difficult journey, cut down the enormous trees, and begin to farm. Conrad Richter’s novel *The Trees* tells the story of a Scotch-Irish family that made the journey from the Juniata Valley to eastern Ohio in about 1800. After the family had crossed the river and moved into Ohio’s forested interior, the wife reflected: “Down in Pennsylvania you could tell by the light You might come out in a meadow or clearing, perhaps even in an open field with the corn making tassels and smelling sweet in the sun. But away back here across the Ohio, it had no fields. You tramped day long and when you looked ahead, the woods were dark as an hour or a day ago.”⁵ It was an experience that would be shared by many from Cumberland County some years later.

There is a priceless account that one of those Cumberland County emigrants wrote to the editor of a Newville newspaper sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century. As a child in Dickinson Township (the time was probably the 1820's) the author recalled seeing "white covered wagons in long processions," with "To the West" or "Bound for Ohio" painted on the side in large red letters, moving along the Walnut Bottom Road. "Caravan after caravan," he wrote, "some of two, others of three to ten wagons in a line, went and went and went along that old and well known road." The first emigrants wrote back from Ohio, praising the soil and the opportunity that existed there to have a home and farm of one's own. Such letters, the author continued, were "music which stirred the hearts of thousands who had but arm and brain for capital, and was chorused in the tramp on foot or on horseback, to see if such things could be."⁶

Pennsylvanians, including many from Cumberland County, settled in especially large numbers along the ridge just south of the New Englanders who were settling the Western Reserve of northeastern Ohio. Among them were possessors of Cumberland County names like Ewing, Brandt, Kaufman, and Bowers. Both Germans and Scotch-Irish came, but to their Yankee neighbors to the north they were all "Dutch", and they did indeed bring with them their distinctive barns, wagons, manner of speaking, and fondness for sausages and apple butter. There is no way to know how many left the Cumberland Valley for Ohio, but Richland County, largely settled by Pennsylvanians, grew in population from 10,000 to 45,000 between 1820 and 1840.

The migration into Ohio continued for some time thereafter, but as its lands were claimed, interest shifted farther west. Again, Cumberland Countians seem to have focused on one area in particular, this time the rolling prairies of western Illinois, from Galesburg and Monmouth to the south, to Sterling and Rockford to the north. The region south of Rock Island had been part of the Military Tract, set aside by the government for veterans of the War of 1812, but very few of them actually cared to settle on the Illinois frontier. After 1825 a few New Englanders, New Yorkers, and Pennsylvanians began to take up the lands, but they were not numerous. Mercer County, along the Mississippi south of Rock Island, where my Boyd and Hays ancestors in Chambersburg and Shippensburg were to settle, had only 250 people in 1835. In the next five years, 10,000 people moved there, many of them from the Cumberland Valley. Six thousand more, including many from the Newville area, moved next door to the new town of Monmouth and surrounding Warren County.

In the same years, between 1835 and 1840, the beautiful Rock River Valley to the east and north of the Military Tract was opened for settlement. By 1840, 21,000 people had settled there; by 1850, the valley's population was 66,000.

All these lands were prairie, quite unlike the Cumberland Valley or the forests of Ohio, but they were rolling, sometimes even hilly, well watered by numerous streams and rivers, with many groves of trees. It was and is among the most beautiful farming regions in the world, and it must have seemed so to the Pennsylvanians who went there. By 1850, 38,000 former Pennsylvanians lived in Illinois, most of them in this western region, but the number of settlers from New England and New York was even larger.

Thanks to an excellent doctoral dissertation that William V. Pooley presented in 1908 at the University of Wisconsin, we know much more about the pattern of migration from Pennsylvania into Illinois than we do about the earlier ones to Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Ohio. Pooley argued that the migration was triggered in part by a severe economic crisis in the East in 1834. In that year, six eastern Pennsylvania counties — but not Cumberland — sent petitions to Congress asking for relief. For the next decade, Pooley wrote, “Pennsylvania was flooded with circulars describing the beauties of the Illinois country, recommending the land and offering flattering inducements to settlers.”⁷ Illinois had recovered from the fiscal scandals that had earlier inhibited immigration, and after many delays it was certain that at least one railroad would run from Chicago across northern Illinois. Meanwhile, agricultural prices had fallen in the East because foodstuffs produced on the western prairies could be sold more cheaply. The amount of farm land for sale in central Pennsylvania had been limited for some time, and those who had to rent could buy a farm in Illinois for what they paid in rent in Pennsylvania. When they moved west, they were accompanied by artisans and merchants who would provide goods and services in the new settlements.

How did they get there? By the 1840’s, it was possible to go from Harrisburg by water on the Pennsylvania Canal, then over the Alleghenies to Johnstown by means of the remarkable Portage Railway. One could then make the rest of the journey by water, all the way up the Illinois and Rock Rivers. Pooley contended, however, that most of those Pennsylvanians who intended to farm came in the same enormous Conestoga wagons, manufactured by German craftsmen in Lancaster and Cumberland counties, that had earlier taken settlers into the Valley of Virginia and Ohio. Since they had to drive their domestic animals alongside the wagons, they probably averaged no more than fifteen miles a day. Thus the 900 mile journey would have taken two months.

Another letter in a Newville newspaper describes a “colony” that moved in 1836 to Whiteside County, Illinois, north of Rock Island along the Mississippi River. Increasingly, those who settled what was now the “Far West,” whether Americans from the East or European immigrants, moved in organized groups. For some, such as the colony from Oneida, New York, that founded Galesburg,

Illinois, the colony had an elaborate political and cultural structure, but more often a “colony” simply provided a convenient and secure means to move onto the frontier. The writer of the letter, Jesse K. Blean, had moved with his family from Green Spring, west of Newville, in 1836. The group had left Newton Township in Cumberland County to establish another Newton Township in Illinois and to found another Presbyterian Church. Its elders were Alexander Thompson, John Blean, and Jesse Kilgore, whose fathers had been the church elders in Pennsylvania. Even after 60 years, Blean wrote, he retained fond memories of Newville and of “the streets and streams of dear old Cumberland.”⁹

Like the migration into Ohio, the one into western Illinois persisted over several decades. In 1878 a Lancaster newspaper published a report on a new “Illinois-Lancaster Colony”¹⁰ in Sterling, Illinois, and a proposal for a second colony in Sterling, Kansas. The railroad had come to western Illinois as promised, and in the 1870’s newspapers in the Cumberland Valley advertised “excursion trains” that would take prospective buyers to examine lands in the Rock River Valley.

The final great migration was the one that took thousands from Cumberland County to Kansas, mainly in the years between 1871 and 1886. When the Civil War had come to an end and the Indians in the region that was *now* called the Far West — Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas — had been defeated and forced onto reservations, the “western fever” (as the newspapers routinely called it) drew people there from the Northeast and Midwest by the tens of thousands. In March 1868, the Carlisle *Herald* reported that “a great many of the citizens of Cumberland and the adjoining counties seem to be smitten with the western fever, and hundred of families are preparing to migrate to the West, there to secure a ‘new home.’”¹¹ A crucial factor that made this migration quite unlike those that had preceded it was the astounding expansion of railroads, which made the daunting task of relocation much easier for the farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, and others who chose to move west. Another factor that had not played a part in earlier waves of migration was the influence of newspapers in generating interest in emigration.¹² They began to publish frequent articles promoting the new states and territories, describing the progress of the western railroads, and advertising (often within news stories) the lands that were available for homesteading. The newspapers in Cumberland County printed many reports sent them by newspapers in the new communities on the frontier, eagerly promoting their settlement. Perhaps most importantly, certainly for the historian, they also regularly printed long letters from those who had left the Valley to settle elsewhere.

Those who made the decision to move west from Pennsylvania in the 1870’s and 1880’s went to many places — even Texas — but for those from Cumberland

County by far the most popular destination was Kansas. Why? One factor may have been the climate. Although the emigrants soon learned that the summer highs and winter lows often exceeded what they had experienced back home, central Kansas was in exactly the same latitude as southern Pennsylvania, and the average seasonal temperatures, the only ones the Kansas reports tended to mention, were similar. Rainfall in Kansas was less and it was far less reliable, but with the exception of the disastrous years of 1874 and 1875, it was more than adequate — at least east of the 100th meridian — to produce excellent crops. The Kansas Pacific Railroad, a subsidiary of the Union Pacific, had been completed in 1869, giving farmers along its route access for their crops by rail to Denver and Kansas City and thus to the entire country. Within the next decade, the Santa Fe was completed across central Kansas, together with a number of connecting north-south lines.

There were huge amounts of land in Kansas available for purchase, more than in the Dakotas and far more than in Nebraska, and the price per acre was a quarter or less what it would have been in Pennsylvania. Both the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe had agents in the Cumberland Valley, arranging excursion trains for prospective buyers on the Cumberland Valley Railroad from Chambersburg and Carlisle or the Baltimore and Ohio from Hagerstown. They also provided information on the lands that the railroad had for sale and facilitated the process of moving west. A final influence that several emigrants noted in their letters back to Pennsylvania was the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, where the crops on exhibit from Kansas were astonishing in their size and variety.

What the prospective new settlers saw when they stepped off their excursion trains certainly did not resemble central Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or even Illinois. One early settler remembered seeing “bare prairie, unplowed, unplanted, *treeless*.” Another wrote that for 95 miles west of Hays City “not a tree or shrub relieved the monotonous landscape of level parched prairie.”¹³ Nonetheless, the availability of land, good land, at cheap prices, was enough to attract settlers, and the era’s “boomer” mentality persuaded them that the prospects were limitless.

In the previous migrations, while many people of German descent had participated, they had definitely been the minority. In the case of Kansas, those who went were overwhelmingly German-Americans whose families had lived in Pennsylvania for generations.

Some 40 years after the great Kansas migration, a prominent former Pennsylvanian asked some of the first emigrants to provide him with information on their experiences and more generally on the contribution of German-Americans to the settlement of central Kansas. One of those who responded was Jacob

Sackman, who had come to Kansas in 1872 with a colony from Cumberland County. The principal organizer of the migration was Samuel Coover, a middle-aged schoolteacher. Coover went back to Pennsylvania, but he then returned to Kansas to become the publisher and editor of the first newspaper in Wilson, Kansas, and thus the source for much of the information about the area that appeared in the Cumberland County papers.

Four men had been sent out in 1871 to select land, and the following April the entire group, which called itself the Pennsylvania Colony, went by train to Wilson, Kansas, a town barely a year old. The colony consisted of fifteen families, six of whom had belonged to the Huntsdale Church of the Brethren, plus five single men and Sackman, whose family joined him in the fall. Sackman supported himself as a carpenter and contractor, building several schools, which also served as churches, community assembly halls, and were "in fact Public for all purposes."¹⁴ After teaching school for a few years, he bought land and began to farm.

Soon after the Pennsylvania Colony's arrival, one of its leaders, John Hemminger, wrote the *Newville Star of the Valley* urging others in Cumberland County to join them. "Remember," he wrote, "that your Fathers got wealthy by the advancement of cheap lands and that you can do the same thing, and in one fifth of the time." Three years later, he wrote of "the great number of people who have emigrated to this country during the last three years, and the almost total absence of dissatisfaction among them."¹⁵ Then disaster struck, in the form of drought and grasshoppers. In July of 1874 temperatures exceeded 110 degrees. In September a settler in northeastern Kansas wrote his brother that for two weeks the air had been filled with millions of grasshoppers, "much resembling thick and falling snow flakes." He predicted that in the areas farther west thousands would be forced to leave by the threat of starvation, but most of them persisted. After Hemminger and other members of the Pennsylvania Colony wrote Cumberland County newspapers appealing for aid, food and supplies were sent by several communities. Hemminger himself reflected the "boomer" mentality that fired the rush to Kansas when he wrote, in the midst of the crisis, to express confidence that immigration would resume in the spring, "for the reason that land can be bought cheap, will bring money into the country, and business and industry will be revived."¹⁶

He proved to be correct, and 1878 and 1879 were the peaks of emigration from our region to western destinations. In 1878 a much larger project that called itself the Penn Township Colony joined the earlier Cumberland Valley settlers in Osborne and Russell counties in central Kansas.¹⁷ Once again members of the Huntsdale Church of the Brethren were prominent in its organization. That same spring, a colony consisting mainly of Mennonites from the

Newville and Dillsburg areas moved to lands along the Burlington Railroad in southeastern Nebraska. In 1879 a large colony of River Brethren, some of them from the Shippensburg area, moved to Abilene and Dickinson County, Kansas. In all three instances, the reason for the migration was probably the fact that far more good land was available in the west than in the Cumberland Valley. In each case, the church that organized the move was committed within the Mennonite tradition to farming as a divinely appointed way of life.

By the mid-1880's it was clear that weather patterns had not changed, as real estate promoters, settlers, and even some scientists had contended. Rather, drought was a persistent fact of life on the Great Plains. Those who arrived later in the migration had no choice but to take up lands west of the one hundredth meridian. Initially, they persuaded themselves that all was well. Ben C. Rich wrote the Carlisle *Volunteer* from Ogallah, Kansas, in 1879 that whereas fifteen months before he had been the only settler in his neighborhood, he was now "in the midst of a flourishing settlement."¹⁸ Two years later he was still predicting a great future for the area, but the exceptional rains of the 1870's never came again. Those settlers who (like Rich) had turned from farming to ranching were able to survive, but it became clear, most catastrophically in the 1930's, that farming could not be sustained there except on a vast and highly mechanized scale that most settlers could not maintain.

For over a century, migration out of the Cumberland Valley had been simply a fact, and perhaps for that reason it was ignored by historians and newspaper writers, at least until the 1870's. Other regions, for example the uplands of New England and western New York, saw a larger portion of their population depart. The state that sent the largest number of settlers to Kansas was Illinois, although some of them had come originally from Pennsylvania. One homesteader from Bethlehem noted in a letter in 1877 that he lived on "Pennsylvania Avenue:" "three miles long and all the people who live along this road are either recent arrivals from the Keystone State or came originally from there.... Some of these settlers are great wanderers, and I have no doubt many of them will go on farther west when this country is well settled."¹⁹

Most of those who left Cumberland County for Ohio, Illinois, or Kansas were not, in fact, "great wanderers." They came to stay, and they did stay; their descendants are still prominent in all three places. If one searches the 1870 manuscript census of Dickinson and Penn Townships for the names of those who went to Kansas, the most striking fact is that they were in most cases prosperous, and they either themselves owned land or were the sons of land-owners. They did not leave the Cumberland Valley out of the rootlessness and economic desperation that indeed characterized many who moved west in the nineteenth century. They moved for practical reasons, often in the company of

neighbors who had attended the same church in Pennsylvania. They built new communities, and they prospered. Yet they never entirely forgot "Mother Cumberland," and to a remarkable extent they carried its culture and institutions with them into the West.

Notes

1. I am grateful to James Gerenczer, Glenn Miller, and Ida Forbis for providing me with some of the materials utilized in this essay.
2. The fullest account of the Gold Rush adventurers is to be found in Charles Leeds's maddening but indispensable *Old Home Week Letters* (Carlisle, 1909), no. 19.
3. *Account of the European Settlements in America*, quoted in Parke Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South* (1973; rpt. Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1995), 90.
4. Edith Logan Trickey and Barbara Barnitz Lillich, *Historical Sketches of Dickinson Township* (n.p., 1985), 8.
5. Conrad Richter, *The Trees* (New York, 1940), 12.
6. Newville *Star of the Valley*, xeroxed copy undated.
7. William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison, 1908), 339.
9. Newville *Times*, [1896?]. According to the current telephone book, no Bleans remain in Cumberland County.
10. Lancaster *Daily New Era*, February 11 and March 13, 1878.
11. Carlisle *Herald*, March 18, 1868.
12. See James C. and Eleanor A. Duram, "Letters from Paradise," *Kansas History*, IX (1986), 10-18.
13. Alice G. Young, "Reminiscences," c/52, Kansas State Historical Society; Lawrence *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, June 18, 1868, reprinted in Joseph W. Snell and Robert W. Richmond, "When the Union and Kansas Pacific Built through Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (1966), 346.
14. Jacob Sackman to Hon. J. C. Ruppenthal, March 30, 1914, Kansas State Historical Society.
15. Newville *Star of the Valley*, July 22, 1871 and April 14, 1874.
16. Ibid., September 1, 1874 and January 26, 1875.
17. Reprinted in *Cumberland County History*, XV (1998), 98-103.
18. Carlisle *Volunteer*, September 11, 1879.
19. Howard Ruede, *Sod-House Days: Letters from a Kansas Homesteader 1877-78*, ed. John Ise (1937; rpt. Lawrence, Univ. Press of Kansas, 1983), 206.

In Defense of Union and White Supremacy: The Democratic Alternative to Free Soil, 1847-1860

John W. Weigel

Before April 1861, no one saw the Civil War as inescapable. Cumberland County Democrats, like most northern Democrats, opposed the nation's division over slavery and tried to placate the South without alienating their constituents. Their strategy was avoidance or "nonintervention."¹ As their most important paper wrote, "We are opposed to all sectional sentiments, regarding the interests of all the States as identical, and *union* of the States as of more value than all else besides."² While Free Soil men wanted to shut slavery out of the western territories regardless of what the South thought, Union-minded Democrats argued for "popular sovereignty," that settlers, not Congress, ought to decide whether they would own slaves. After the debates of 1850, Democrats added to popular sovereignty the powerful *ad hominem* arguments that Free Soil men advocated "negro equality" and that they provoked disunion. Unfortunately for Cumberland County Democrats, their cause was defeated by dissension in their ranks and by a surge of support for Free Soil Republicanism between 1858 and 1860.

To a very large degree the views of Cumberland County Democracy during these years were the views of John B. Bratton, editor of the *American Volunteer* before 1846 and long after 1860. Bratton was more than an editor. He served a term on Carlisle's Borough Council as its president and represented Cumberland County on the small multi-county committees that chose the 1854 and 1858 Democratic congressional nominees.³ He once received a Democratic county convention's endorsement as candidate for state canal commissioner.⁴ Appointed Carlisle's postmaster by Presidents Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, Bratton carried the prestige and the burden of speaking for those administrations.⁵ There was no one with such persistent influence in the Whig or Republican parties.

Popular sovereignty surfaced during the Mexican war as an alternative to Congress banning slavery in all the new territories (as proposed by Pennsylvania

Congressman David Wilmot) or even part of them. Remarking on a controversy between New York Democrats—"Hunkers" and "Barnburners"—over whether to give the South more slave territory by extending the Missouri Compromise line or to support the Wilmot proviso, the *Volunteer* asserted both sides were wrong. Slavery policy belonged to each state by virtue of its sovereignty. Congress had no power, "to declare where slavery shall exist, or where it shall not exist, in the acquisition of any territory by the Union." If it had such power, argued the *Volunteer*, it could abolish slavery in the states themselves. Why should Democrats quarrel over a non-issue? "The people of the acquired territory will decide that matter for themselves at last."⁶ This opinion's timing showed that John B. Bratton had connections at the highest levels of the Democratic party. The same day it appeared, the *Washington Union* printed a letter by Michigan governor and presidential candidate Lewis Cass announcing popular sovereignty to the entire nation.⁷ A little over two years later the *Volunteer* assured readers, "We would deprecate the extension of slavery as much as any one. But we had better wait until there is real and actual danger, before we estrange our southern brethren by a wild course of insult on this question." Even were there such a danger, "it is a matter that we have nothing to do with...each State is just as sovereign in her character as either Great Britain or America."⁸

At their meetings county Democrats repeatedly committed themselves to popular sovereignty.⁹ Few bucked their party to embrace free soil, as shown by the tiny 0.4 % of votes cast in 1848 for the Free Soil party. One of these few was William Mateer, co-proprietor with Jerome K. Boyer of Harrisburg of the *American Democrat*, Carlisle's other Democratic paper. Boyer had recently withdrawn from his partnership with Bratton in the *Volunteer*.¹⁰ The *Democrat* cannot speak for itself today because all issues before 1851 are missing, but the Whig (later Republican) *Carlisle Herald* noted, "Our neighbor of the 'Democrat' leans considerably toward the [Wilmot] Proviso..."¹¹ It was denounced at least twice by the *Volunteer* as "The American Democrat, alias Abolition Organ." A purported letter to the *Volunteer* from "A Buchanan Man" recalled the, "course pursued by that paper during the past summer [1847] in lending itself to promulgate Abolition sentiments...." However, the *Democrat* fell into line with the party after 1847 and supported popular sovereignty.¹²

Popular sovereignty was a marvelous device for friends of the Union. It would take slavery out of Congress, the point of conflict between North and South. It could also be held out to southerners as opening new ground to slavery and to northerners as allowing free-state settlers to exclude slavery.¹³ But the device had three flaws. Its notion that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the territories contradicted Congress's right to, "dispose of

and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States,” and ignored the precedents of 1787 and 1820, when Congress banned slavery in a territory.¹⁴ This flaw was cured ten years later by the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, in which Justice Roger B. Taney and five associates agreed with Bratton that Congress had no power to limit slavery.¹⁵

The second flaw was that if Congress could not restrict slavery, how could a territorial legislature that derived its authority from Congress do so? Some southerners claimed no territory could exclude slavery prior to its admission as a state.¹⁶ The third flaw was that unscrupulous men could corrupt a territory’s political processes, as later happened in Kansas.

Despite popular sovereignty’s failure to win the presidency for Cass, it carried the day in 1850, when the Mexican territories were organized. California was admitted as a free state, and New Mexico and Utah organized as territories without any congressional legislation on slavery. Both Democrats and Whigs supported these measures, though the latter did not endorse popular sovereignty.

Where Democrats differed greatly from Whigs was in vigorous, even cruel, support for the 1850 fugitive slave law. It was designed to enforce the United States Constitution’s requirement that any fugitive, “held to service or labor” in one state and escaping into another, “shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”¹⁷ The new law denied the alleged fugitive any right to a jury trial, and permitted the case to be removed from free-state courts (which might be prejudiced against the claimant) and brought before a federal commissioner. The commissioner would receive a \$10 fee if he turned the alleged fugitive over to his alleged master, but only \$5 if he ruled against the claimant. Federal marshals chasing a fugitive were empowered to summon all citizens to aid the pursuit.¹⁸ Threatened by this unequal justice, even free, northern-born blacks could not rest easy.

A Carlisle man “well and favorably known in our borough for a number of years past,” Moses Jones, was arrested as a fugitive slave.¹⁹ He was set free by the federal commissioner when it turned out that he did not fit the fugitive’s description, but Carlisle blacks must have been impressed by the power of a distant slave-owner to attack their freedom.

At about the same time as the Jones case, the *Volunteer* rejoiced at the disappearance of “strange colored people,” from Carlisle.

Certain it is, however, that we do not now see the faces of many of the sturdy, lazy and insolent negro fellows, which were to be met at every corner during the summer months. *Then*, hordes of them were to be seen in the Market House and other public places, where darkies ‘most do congregate,’ loitering about in dissipation and idleness, or basking in the genial

sunshine of a summer's day, careless alike of the past, the present and the future. *Now*, the scene is changed, and we believe much for the better.²⁰

Those who remained were praised as mostly "industrious and economical" and assured that *their* rights would be protected. But middle class blacks less likely to run afoul of the fugitive slave law were also frightened; some left Carlisle for Canada.²¹ Bratton's hard-heartedness did have limits. When a fugitive slave was murdered in Columbia, Pennsylvania, and the state's leading Democratic paper defended the murder, the *Volunteer* protested.²²

Slave-catching was a state issue as well as federal. Many northern states, including Pennsylvania, had personal liberty laws meant to thwart the return of fugitive slaves to their owners. Pennsylvania's 1847 law forbade state judges to hear any case arising under the federal fugitive slave law of 1793 (to which the 1850 law was a supplement), prohibited using state jails to detain alleged fugitive slaves and criminalized forcible seizure of any "negro or mulatto" as a fugitive slave, even with the intent bringing that person before a federal court. The 1847 law also confirmed the right of detained fugitives to sue for a writ of habeas corpus and retracted a right of slave-owners, granted by Pennsylvania's 1780 abolition statute, to keep their slaves in Pennsylvania for six months.

The 1847 law was "illiberal and unjust towards the South", and violated federal law, said Democrats advocating its repeal.²³ After passage of a repeal bill through the state Senate (Bill No. 14), a similar bill was sponsored by Carlisle assemblyman J. Ellis Bonham; his speech was published in full by the *Volunteer*.²⁴ Bonham urged repeal as a "grateful peace offering to our Southern brethren," and rebuked the 1847 law's author for stirring up Carlisle's "McClintock riot". "In the county which I have the honor in part to represent in this floor, the passage of that act produced...one of the most fearful and terrific riots that ever occurred within the limits of that county...."

Bonham agreed with the Senate that the jurisdiction and anti-kidnapping sections of the 1847 law interfered with the federal fugitive slave act of 1793 and should be repealed. But he was dissatisfied with the Senate bill's repeal of the ban on using state jails to hold re-captured slaves because "abolitionist" sheriffs or jailers might still refuse to keep them. He proposed *requiring* officials to jail escapees as they would criminal suspects or any other prisoners. Bonham also went beyond the Senate bill by proposing to repeal the guarantee of habeas corpus as an unnecessary duplication of existing law and to restore slave-owners' right to hold slaves in Pennsylvania for six months. Though the latter issue was not one of constitutionality, it *was* one of courtesy. Before closing his speech, Bonham attacked the abolitionist argument that the Constitution's fugitive slave clause, which referred to "persons held to service or labor," did not include slaves but only those under a contract or other legal

obligation. He countered that the Constitution would not have been adopted if the South had not been satisfied by an understanding that slaves were included in the provision. Bonham asked sarcastically, "are we to turn round and defraud [southerners] of their rights under color of law and rob them of their property, and that too by the very terms of the instrument adopted for their protection?"

Pennsylvania would if Whig Governor William Johnston had his wish. He refused to sign the repeal bill and vetoed it just before leaving office.²⁵ After Johnston was replaced by Democrat William Bigler in 1852, the legislature tried again. Bonham repeated some of his earlier points on the House floor but also defended the 1850 Compromise generally, and attacked Pennsylvania's Whigs for undermining it. The North, he said, had gained far more than the South, including organization of Utah and New Mexico territories, which would probably be free states. He accused the Whigs of bad faith; while measures favoring the north were now irreversible, they were treating the new fugitive slave law as an open question. "They seem disposed to enjoy all the benefits conferred by that arrangement of sectional difficulties and to snatch away from the South the only portion of that compromise which could be beneficial to her interests."²⁶ He ignored, of course, the possible entry of Utah and New Mexico as slave states.

J. Ellis Bonham's second speech was not in vain; the personal liberty law of 1847 was repealed. A grateful state party appointed him chair of its Central Committee.²⁷ He was also nominated for Congress in 1854, but was defeated by Know Nothing candidate Lemuel Todd.²⁸

At all times the Democratic party was deeply hostile to abolitionism. Its press attacked again and again the notion—once spoken by New York Whig Congressman William Seward and more consistently advocated by abolitionists—that there was a "higher law" superseding the constitutional protection of slavery.²⁹ "We hate abolitionists—and indeed all kinds of individuals who are disposed to meddle illegally with the domestic institutions of the South—worse than the devil."³⁰ The worst insult hurled at Free Soil men like Governor Johnston was that they were abolitionists.³¹ A Newton free soil Democrat—W.W. Nevin—who dared run for state assembly on the Union (Whig/Know Nothing) ticket in 1856 was singled out for attack. "He is said to be strongly tinctured with abolitionism of the Greely and Garrison sort...."³² But before 1854 the party and press also blamed southern disunionists for sectional tensions. At a convention held February 26, 1850, and a meeting held August 22, 1853, Democratic resolutions linked abolition and free soil agitators with southern disunionists as fomenters of "fratricidal warfare."³³ The *Volunteer* likewise wished God would transport, "both classes of these lunatics," to Australia, while the *Democrat* advocated hanging a dozen each of abolitionists and southern

disunionists.³⁴ At times, southerners even came in for sole blame. After South Carolina's governor requested his legislature to appropriate money for armaments in late 1849, the *Volunteer* wrote, "He is a mad-man who talks about a dissolution of the Union. The people are sick and disgusted with the kind of *Southern argument* and laugh to scorn those who use it. Much of the excitement produced in regard to this question of slavery is owing to the appeals of hot-headed Southern men."³⁵ As South Carolina persisted in its drive for secession after the Compromise of 1850, the *Volunteer* wrote angrily

Should this step of South Carolina make civil war necessary, it will require both statesmanship and heroic determination on the part of the President of the United States [Millard Fillmore] to bring the difficulty to a speedy and successful termination... Before South Carolina will behave herself, she must be soundly trounced, and it will not take a few yankees of the North more than one day to accomplish this duty.

The *Volunteer* even asserted unfairness in the 1850 Compromise... toward the North. "In our opinion all the concessions were made in favor of the South: but still we shall not complain."³⁶

When South Carolina backed down and Pennsylvania repealed the liberty law of 1847, the cause of Union seemed safe at last. But it was not so. In early 1854 Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas proposed a bill to split off and organize Kansas out of the Nebraska territory and to repeal the 1820 ban on slavery in both places. The *Volunteer* joined that struggle on behalf of the bill.³⁷ It did not directly criticize the Missouri Compromise, but agreed with Douglas that the bill was a logical extension of the Compromise of 1850 because it put Nebraska (including the projected Kansas territory) on the same footing as Utah and New Mexico. Slavery's fate would be decided by the territory's people, not by Congress. "There ought to be no serious opposition to the bill among Democrats."³⁸ The paper later commented sarcastically on New England and Pennsylvania preachers who presumed to speak for God in excoriating the bill, and was seconded by the county party, which deprecated, "the semi-clerical influence in political affairs."³⁹

On August 28, 1854, the Democrats' county convention adopted a resolution reported by Bratton from the resolutions committee. "We have full confidence in the capacity of the people to govern themselves, and in the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as applied to the people of the territories, as well as of the States." The next year, another convention resolved that, "we, as Pennsylvanians, have nothing to do with the slave question, other than to protect every man in his rights to his own property, as the constitution and laws of the United States require and guarantee."⁴⁰

The Democrats' disregard of the Compromise of 1820 was consistent with their view that Congress should and could not outlaw slavery in the territories,

but they failed to see the difference between making a new compromise, as in 1850, and destroying an old one. By approving the Kansas-Nebraska bill, northern Democrats had left their middling position between Free Soil men and slavery advocates, and moved to appease the latter.

Democratic leaders did not see the bill as appeasement. In August 1854 the state Central Committee issued an address over the signature of J. Ellis Bonham:

As Pennsylvanians we are not advocates of the extension of slavery, and we deny that the principles of the Nebraska and Kansas bill produce that effect. It merely leaves it to the people to determine this question for themselves. But the soil, climate and production of that region are not adapted to slave labor [an oblique reference to cotton, tobacco and rice cultivation]. It is our firm belief that slavery will not enter those territories. Those who are sensitive on this point should not close their eyes to the evidence that surrounds them.⁴¹

The *Volunteer* claimed, rather dishonestly, “The South has no design to enter the contest for the control of those regions.”⁴² It later repeated the state party’s point that a “law of climate” prevented the slave from being taken into territory north of the latitude where his labor ceased to be profitable. No such law hindered white settlers, so that free states might even appear south of the Missouri Compromise line.⁴³ Showing disdain for Free Soil men (“It is political capital they desire to make, and not free States”), their warnings, and their efforts to encourage free soil emigration, the *Volunteer* urged, “We want to see Abolitionists going to Kansas in great numbers. We don’t like the institution. So, turn out, abolitionists. There is a wide field for you in the western wilds; and if you are sincere in your professions you will help to occupy it, and prevent the extension of slavery.”⁴⁴ Within a year and a half, John Bratton probably wished he could eat those words, as both pro-slavery and free-state settlers poured into Kansas and turned it into a battleground.

Democratic reasoning made no impression on many outraged northern voters, who gave their support to the free soil Republican party that took shape from 1854 to 1856. Democrats immediately pummeled the new party at its weak points. Unlike the Whigs, the Republicans were an entirely northern party that fomented disunion by its mere existence. “They say to the South, to be sure, half of this country is yours...but we (the Abolitionists) will not permit you of the South to even have a voice in the settlement of its domestic affairs [Kansas] or in the shaping of its constitution.” Because Republicans hoped to, and could, elect their candidate, John C. Fremont, by capturing the North, the *Volunteer* accused them of bearing a flag with only sixteen stars (out of thirty-one states).⁴⁵ Fremont’s election would, “beyond all question or doubt, effect a dissolution of the Union in less than six months.” Old-line Whigs (“honest

men who have heretofore acted with the opposition”) were asked to show their patriotism by voting Democratic in 1856, and later.⁴⁶

Union-saving was the positive side of Democratic propaganda. The negative was racism. Not only was the Republican party founded and supported by men with strong free soil or even abolitionist views, but some radical Republicans actually advocated political equality for blacks in the North. Local free soil men could be tarred by association with radicalism, real or fancied, outside the county. Republicans were “Black Republicans”, “negro Republicans” or even “woolly heads”.⁴⁷

On July 26, 1855, the *Volunteer* noted that abolitionists and Know Nothings had cooperated in disarming Irish militia in Boston and arming black militia in Rhode Island and Cincinnati, Ohio. “Down with the white man, and up the negro!” appears to be one of the watchwords of Know-Nothingism.” Playing off the Know Nothing slogan, “Americans shall rule America,” the paper remarked, “we have no fear the people will ever consent that *nigger* Americans shall rule America.”⁴⁸ Four months later Bratton’s paper commented on a planned poetry reading before the Boston Anti-slavery Society.

On the list of lecturers is the name of a *lady ob color* [sic], who is to read a new poem composed by Mrs. Harriett Beecher Stowe, of Uncle Tom notoriety. What a disgusting exhibition this is! These Boston fanatics, in their crazy zeal, intend to insult the intelligence of the country, by parading a miserable *wench* from city to city, to retail Mrs. Stowe’s abolition slang. And such men want to rule this great land! Thank Providence there is patriotism enough left in the land to keep these Yankee lunatics in their proper place.⁴⁹

A former Fremont supporter in West Chester, Pennsylvania, was said to have switched to Buchanan after meeting blacks at a Fremont rally bragging that they would be able to vote before long.⁵⁰ The *Democrat* attacked Republicans as closet abolitionists, who once in power would, “avow their devotion to *negrology* and all its *sweet-scented accompaniments*,” and “boldly assert their odious principles of universal equality.”⁵¹ Even superficially non-political pieces might condition the white male voter’s racist reflexes. In a story taken from the *New Orleans Picayune*, a deadly serious duel was given a comic twist because it involved two black men.⁵² It was thought amusing that two colored “gemmen” should imitate the social manners of their betters.

These appeals to the white male voter’s patriotism and racial pride helped county Democrats beat down their “freedom-shrieking” opponents in 1856 and 1857.⁵³ But then the trouble started. In Kansas, the pro-slavery convention at Lecompton prepared for statehood by adopting a constitution legalizing slavery without allowing a referendum (likely to be won by free-state settlers in the territory). The Buchanan administration balked at this, so the convention

added a referendum in which Kansas voters could choose whether or not their constitution would permit settlers to import new slaves. However, they would have no chance to vote down the constitution as a whole. Even the constitution “without slavery” enforced continued slavery for the few hundred slaves already in Kansas *and their descendants*, so Kansas voters could not truly exclude slave labor.⁵⁴ By blessing the referendum as proposed, Buchanan provoked a split in the northern Democratic party. The dissidents, committed to popular sovereignty—as was the administration in theory—rebelled against a less than free election process in Kansas. Admission of a slave state procured by fraud and against the wishes of most of its residents would destroy northern Democracy. Joining forces with Republicans in Congress, “anti-Lecompton” Democrats helped impose a compromise in which Kansans would have a chance to vote down the whole constitution. Vote it down they did, and Kansas remained a territory until 1861.⁵⁵

The Lecompton constitution was supported by Cumberland County’s Congressman, John A. Ahl of Newville.⁵⁶ The *Volunteer* supported it. “[N]otwithstanding it contains one or two features to which some object, we confess we can see nothing in it to raise a breeze about.” Since Kansans could vote down slavery, what more could Republican “shriekers” want? The latter were insincere in any case. “They desire Kansas to become a slave state, for they think they will then have an opportunity to assail the Administration and the national Democracy.”⁵⁷ If slavery were permitted, Kansans could always change the constitution later.⁵⁸ The *Democrat* also supported Lecompton.⁵⁹

The party fell into line at its March 1, 1858, convention. It resolved

That the Democracy of Cumberland County...whilst for themselves would ask the privilege of accepting or rejecting the constitution under which the expected to live, still would not set up their opinions as obligatory upon the citizens of any other State, conceding them the privilege or arranging their domestic institutions in any way most consistent with their own wishes or interest...

In case anyone missed the point, the party further resolved approval of Congressman Ahl’s course in, “advocating and sustaining the National Administration in its public policy...”⁶⁰

Unfortunately for administration supporters, Lecomptonism was not unanimous even at the convention. An openly anti-Lecompton delegate with a free soil reputation, William Miller, sought election as delegate to the state convention, but was defeated by administration supporter Samuel Hepburn, 27 to 12.⁶¹ The *Volunteer* conceded “Notwithstanding there was considerable excitement during part of the proceedings, yet there was no angry feeling displayed...however much Democrats may disagree among themselves in regard to certain questions, they will not permit such disagreement to bolster up the pernicious doctrines of their

Republican opponents.”⁶² The *Carlisle Herald* told a more sinister story. A majority of the resolutions committee had been opposed to any mention of Ahl, but

after the Convention had adjourned, and part of the members had left the room, John Moore, of Dickinson, offered a resolution complimentary to Dr. Ahl. On this resolution the Chairman took a vote in the affirmative, and while those opposed to it were waiting for an opportunity to vote “nay” on the question, the Chairman “gagged” them, by declaring “the resolution carried and that the Convention was adjourned!”⁶³

Hostility toward Ahl was worsened by the Mechanicsburg Post Office affair. Postmaster William Eckels was removed by the Buchanan administration, possibly because he supported Democrat Judge Stuart for Congress in 1856 instead of Ahl.⁶⁴ Mechanicsburg Democrats held an “Indignation Meeting” that censured Congressman Ahl and appointed a committee of five to visit the Postmaster General in Washington. The committee first removed blame from Ahl, then attacked him in the pages of the *Mechanicsburg Gazette*. Ahl’s reply appeared in both the *Gazette* and the *Volunteer*. He denied promising the five to secure removal of the administration’s new postmaster, a Mr. Leas, and find a third man acceptable to the committee. As Ahl told it, “I did...say that I would do all in my power to gratify them and those whom they represented, provided I could do so without violating what I considered due in justice and honor to others.”⁶⁵ Ahl’s slippery pledge without a promise likely left bitter feelings among Mechanicsburg Democrats. Despite the county convention’s resolution approving his “course”, Ahl’s nomination to Congress was not renewed later that year. After nine Democratic conferees for Pennsylvania’s 16th Congressional District (Cumberland, Perry and York counties), including John Bratton, struggled through 222 ballots before settling on a York county man, they thought it important to publish a resolution asserting, “the protracted struggle for the nomination was not occasioned by any difference of opinion upon the Lecompton policy of the National Administration, which is endorsed by this conference.”⁶⁶

After the debates over Kansas and Lecompton, county Democrats continued to suffer from “little family quarrels”.⁶⁷ When Republicans captured some county offices in October 1859, the *Volunteer* complained, “Of course this was the work of professing Democrats, who, to gratify personal spleen, were induced to strike at and defeat several of the Democratic candidates.” Bratton vented spleen of his own nearly a year later at Democratic County Commissioner Samuel Megaw. The *Volunteer* blasted Megaw’s decision to run for re-election, allegedly the first time a commissioner had done so in the county. It pointed out the commissioner’s patronage power in appointing tax collectors and dispensing

contracts, which enabled Megaw to bully convention delegates into re-nominating him. Among Megaw's offenses while in office,

he has used his influence, personal and official, to injure us in our business. His menials and understrappers have discontinued their subscriptions to our paper, and have tried their best to influence others to do the same; no avowed friend of ours can be appointed a Tax Collector or receive a cent's worth of patronage from the Commissioners.⁶⁸

Woe to the Democrat who crossed John B. Bratton! Megaw received 300 fewer votes than all other Democratic candidates in October 1860, and was defeated by Republican George Miller by a margin of 700 votes.

Fractious as they were, Democrats continued the fight against Black Republicanism. More than ever they relied on racism to unify themselves and divide their opponents. Democracy was opposed to "Abolition, nigger worshiping [sic], nigger marrying, spiritual rapping and kindred isms...."⁶⁹ In case readers doubted that Republicans were for these "isms", the *Volunteer* referred them to comments of the Republican *Boston Atlas*, which deplored white prejudice against blacks and argued they deserved citizenship more than the Irish.⁷⁰ The Democratic party itself adopted racism at its August 1859 convention, which resolved

That the odious discrimination in favor of the negro, and against the naturalized citizen, as engrafted on the Constitution of Massachusetts by the united vote of the Know Nothings and Black Republicans, is a disgrace to the age, to liberty and sound government...

That this government was made for white men, and we deprecate any and all attempts of Know Nothing Black Republicans to administer its affairs so as to elevate the negro and degrade the white race; that while we accord to the former all privileges guaranteed by State and Federal Constitutions, we demand that all the rights granted to our native and adopted citizens shall be fully exercised by them, and that all discriminations, if any, should be in favor of the white man.⁷¹

The *Volunteer* asked, "can any [Republican] white man, who believes himself better than a negro, cast his vote, in future, with a party that maintains that a negro is as good as he? Are party ties so strong that they will bind him even to a greasy Ethiopian? Let the ballot box reply."⁷²

The finest occasion for defending white supremacy arose when Carl Schurz, a German immigrant and nationally prominent Republican speaker, came to Carlisle in September 1860. Schurz had argued in Massachusetts that Thomas Jefferson's phrase in the Declaration of Independence—that "all men are created equal"—included black men, whereas Stephen Douglas believed that it referred only to white men. The *Volunteer* did not bother proving what Jefferson meant, but attacked the implications of Schurz's thesis.

If the negro is created the equal of the white man, he ought to be treated as his equal—we ought to make him a companion, and take him to our tables and our bed; we ought to give him the right of suffrage, subject him to military duty, and make him eligible to any and all the offices in our republic. This is the necessary sequence of the Republican doctrine of negro equality...

Bratton's insight was praiseworthy, if not his response.

The Democratic party...hold that the negro is inferior to the white race;...that for some great and wise purpose, which it is not necessary now to investigate, the Creator never intended the negro to be made a companion and equal by white men. Hence we find in his creation, certain indelible marks of inferiority stamped upon his image. His black skin, woolly head, fat nose, long heels, and that strong and peculiar aroma so offensive to the nasal organ of white men, and his improvident nature and incapacity to provide a comfortable livelihood, all designate the negro as inferior in the grade of humanity to the white man.⁷³

For voters not sufficiently moved by the fear of taking black men into their beds, there was also the threat of disunion, particularly after John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, which the party condemned, along with its Black Republican "abettors".⁷⁴ Unfortunately, southern Democrats made it harder to blame Republicans alone for disunion. Refusing to support northern Democrats' favorite for president, Stephen Douglas, and demanding the party jettison popular sovereignty in favor of a federal code protecting slavery in the territories, the southerners broke up the national convention. They nominated their own candidate, John C. Breckenridge, while the northerners nominated Douglas.⁷⁵ In Pennsylvania the party tried to paper over the breach by setting up a Douglas-Breckenridge fusion ticket, but northern Democracy was nonetheless as sectional the Republicans.⁷⁶ For the first time since 1851, the *Volunteer* displayed anger at southern disunionists.⁷⁷ It lamented the party's division over a "miserable abstraction...the prohibition or non-prohibition of slavery in the Territories..."⁷⁸ Of course "prohibition or non-prohibition of freedom" would have been more accurate. But as the fall elections drew nearer, the paper targeted Republican "disunionism". In the event of Lincoln's election, dissolution of the Union would follow. "His election will not only be an intentional insult to the South but will be regarded as a declaration of war." The paper accused Republicans of training and arming their activists—"Wide Awakes"—to "humble the South and root out slavery" once Lincoln was elected. "Are we to submit to a military despotism?"⁷⁹

The answer was yes. During the secession crisis, Bratton appointed himself the South's spokesman, blaming the North for everything it had ever done to injure or criticize slavery.⁸⁰ His willingness of 1851 to suppress South Carolina

was re-stated, but not enthusiastically.⁸¹ When the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter, he blamed the war on Lincoln and Republican legislators.⁸² Bratton changed his tune only when he realized its unpopularity.⁸³ His view of the war was not shared even by the *Democrat*.⁸⁴

In truth, Democrats were in a bind. They had wished to protect the Union from free soil agitation and Republican victory. Saving the Union now required upholding the Republican government, not saying, "I told you so." But the *Volunteer's* anti-war column of April 18, 1861, foreshadowed Democrats' desire to save the Union as it was before secession rather than as remade by emancipation and racial equality.⁸⁵ That conservatism would restore and strengthen its hold on the loyalty of most Cumberland County voters during and after the war.

Notes

1. "Democratic County Convention," *American Volunteer*, February 28, 1850; "The Compromise," *ibid.*, August 8, 1850.
2. "What We Battle For," *ibid.*, August 5, 1847.
3. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1851; "Congressional Conference," *ibid.*, September 7, 1854; "The Long Contest Ended," *ibid.*, September 30, 1858.
4. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1852.
5. David G. Colwell, *The Bitter Fruits* (Carlisle, PA, 1998), 14, 28.
6. "New York Politics," *American Volunteer*, December 30, 1847.
7. David Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, (New York, NY, 1976), 59.
8. "Instructions on the Slave Question," *American Volunteer*, January 31, 1850.
9. "Democratic County Convention," *ibid.*, February 28, 1850.
10. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1846.
11. "Questions Decided," *Carlisle Herald*, October 27, 1847.
12. "Taylor and Cass on Slavery," *ibid.*, August 23, 1848; "Who Are the Agitators," *American Democrat*, August 14, 1851; "Is the Democratic Party Pro-Slavery?" *Ibid.*, September 25, 1856.
13. Potter, *loc. cit.*, 59.
14. U.S. Const. Art. III, Sec. 3, Para. 2.
15. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York, NY, 1988), 175-76.
16. Potter, *loc. cit.*, 60.
17. U.S. Const., Art. IV, Sec. 3, Para. 3.
18. Potter, *loc. cit.*, 131.
19. "Fugitive Slave Case," *Carlisle Herald*, November 20, 1850.
20. "Disappearance of Our Colored Population," *American Volunteer*, November 14, 1850.
21. "Our Colored Population," *ibid.*, January 22, 1852.
22. "The 'Pennsylvanian' and The Late Murder at Columbia," *ibid.*, May 20, 1852.
23. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1847; "The Kidnapping Law of 1847," *ibid.*, April 3, 1851; "Bigler and Johnston—Union and Disunion," *American Democrat*, July 10, 1851.
24. "Speech of Mr. Bonham," *American Volunteer*, May 8, 1851.
25. Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, NY, 1922) 186-87, 193.

26. "Speech of Mr. Bonham," *American Volunteer*, April 8, 1852.
27. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1854.
28. "J. Ellis Bonham," *ibid.*, March 22, 1855.
29. James M. McPherson, loc. cit., 73; "'Higher Law' Federalism," *American Democrat*, April 10, 1851.
30. "Agitation North and South," *ibid.*, May 15, 1851.
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38. "Nebraska Territory," *ibid.*, February 23, 1854.
39. "Clerical Presumption," *ibid.*, March 30, 1854; "Democratic Republican County Meeting," *ibid.*, August 31, 1854.
40. "Democratic County Convention," *ibid.*, August 23, 1855.
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43. "The Missouri Compromise and the Free States," *ibid.*, October 9, 1856. See also "Nebraska," *ibid.*, May 25, 1854.
44. "Emigrations to the New Territories," *ibid.*, June 22, 1854.
45. "The Presidential Elections," *ibid.*, August 28, 1856.
46. "Democratic County Convention," *ibid.*, August 14, 1856; "Can Tariff Men Support Wilmot?" *ibid.*, July 30, 1857; "Can Oil and Water Mingle," *ibid.*, September 10, 1857.
47. "The Troubles of the American," *ibid.*, August 20, 1857; "What Has Become of the Know Nothing Party!" *ibid.*, September 18, 1856.
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50. "Negro Suffrage," *ibid.*, October 9, 1856.
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61. "Ratification Meeting," *Carlisle American*, June 11, 1856; "The Democratic County Convention," *Carlisle Herald*, March 3, 1858.
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71. "Democratic County Convention," *ibid.*, August 11, 1859.
72. "Negro Equality," *ibid.*, September 13, 1859.
73. "The Issue Fairly Stated," *ibid.*, October 4, 1860.
74. "Democratic County Convention," *ibid.*, January 12, 1860.
75. Potter, *loc. cit.*, 409-13.
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77. "Yancey the Disunionist," *American Volunteer*, May 17, 1860; "An Address to the Seceders," *ibid.*, May 24, 1860.
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80. "Who Are the Disunionists?" *ibid.*, November 22, 1860; "Who Are Responsible?" *ibid.*, January 24, 1861; "The National Crisis," *ibid.*, February 7, 1861. See Colwell, *loc. cit.*, 35.
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82. "Old Abe's War," *ibid.*, April 18, 1861.
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The Pine Grove Prisoner of War Camp

Patrick L. Metcalf

In May of 1943, as American and British forces were wrapping up their operations in North Africa and preparing for an invasion of Sicily, United States military personnel in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, were making their own unique contribution to the Allied war effort. Deep in the heart of the Michaux State Forest, an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps camp was being renovated for an entirely new purpose: to detain and interrogate German prisoners. This site, referred to in official War Department documents as the "Pine Grove Prisoner of War Camp," was classified as "secret," and its existence and mission (to glean vital strategic intelligence from German prisoners of war) were largely unknown to the local inhabitants. This long-kept secret is perhaps one of Cumberland County's most intriguing historical events of the Twentieth Century.

The Second World War was the first and only war in which the United States found itself holding a massive number of enemy prisoners on American soil. Men and war material were transported to Europe and North Africa in American ships; and the empty ships returned to the continental United States with enemy prisoners, thus alleviating the logistical and security crisis presented by the increasing number of Axis prisoners in Allied hands. This gargantuan and unanticipated task became the responsibility of the Army's Provost Marshall General's Office (PGMO).¹

The War Department and the PGMO were wholly unprepared to deal with the overwhelming number of enemy troops that were disembarking in Atlantic seaports in the summer of 1943. The War Department had no experience to guide them in establishing the administrative and logistical system required to transport, process, and house a large number of prisoners. In April of 1943 there were 5,007 Axis prisoners in the United States. This number jumped to 130,299 by August of that year, and by 1945 the number had risen to 425,871. Eighty-seven percent of these prisoners were German;² the remainder were Italian and Japanese. POW camps were established in 44 out of 48 states;

there were 16 in Pennsylvania alone, including camps at New Cumberland, Gettysburg, Fort Indiantown Gap, and Pine Grove.³

The primary concern of the War Department was to ensure that the standards set by the Geneva Convention of 1929 were met in full lest substandard treatment of Axis prisoners would result in retribution against American prisoners held by the German military.⁴ To make matters more difficult, all American assets, including food, housing, energy, transportation, and personnel were in limited supply during the war. These pressures forced the PGMIO to conduct only basic interrogations of prisoners before sorting them by rank and branch of service and transporting them to the appropriate camp. As a result, the PGMIO made a tragic mistake in assuming that all German prisoners held similar political views. The truth was that not all Germans were hardened Nazis; in fact, some of them detested Hitler and his National Socialist regime. Many of these anti-Nazi prisoners were subjected to persecution and some were even murdered by the Nazi hierarchy that came to control the internal workings of many POW camps in the United States.⁵

Despite the fact that the War Department was not prepared for the large number of prisoners that it would receive, the United States used the situation to its advantage. As more and more Americans volunteered or were drafted to fight the war in Europe and in the South Pacific, labor became increasingly scarce and precious. To help alleviate this crisis and to increase the production of materials needed to sustain the war effort, many prisoners were put to work in American agriculture and industry. The Masland Company in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, received a contingent of over one hundred German prisoners and the necessary guards from the Fort Indiantown Gap POW Camp to augment its work force in producing war materials in the late summer and autumn of 1944. The prisoners who worked at the Masland factory were housed in tents on the grounds of the Carlisle Barracks.⁶ This sort of use of Axis prisoners was common in the United States during World War II.

While prisoner-of-war labor played an important role in sustaining the rate of American industrial production, prisoners of war in the United States played an even more crucial role by providing important strategic information for the Allied forces. The War Department established two major Strategic Defense Interrogation Centers, which were modeled after the system that the British had established for the same purpose. Of such interrogation centers in the United States, (there were others located in various theaters of operation outside the United States), one was located in Byron Springs, California, and another was at Camp Hunt, Virginia. These interrogation centers were created by a joint effort of the Army's Military Intelligence Service (MIS) and the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI).⁷

The purpose of these Strategic Defense Interrogation Centers was to obtain strategic rather than tactical intelligence. Tactical intelligence is battle-field information, such as the location, strength, equipment, and intent of various enemy combat elements. It must be obtained on or near the front lines and utilized as soon possible after enemy personnel are captured, as this information quickly loses its value on a rapidly changing battle-field. Strategic information can be gleaned from enemy personnel long after their capture. It concerns the industrial capabilities, technologies, morale, and long term military strategies of the enemy.⁸

Of all the POW camps in the United States, Pine Grove was one of only three used for interrogations. It was classified as "secret" and no civilians were employed there or even allowed to have knowledge of the camp, which could house as many as 2,000 prisoners at a time.⁹ The prisoners who were shipped to Pine Grove, which was activated in May of 1943, either came directly from Atlantic seaports where they disembarked, or from other POW camps across the country. They were of undetermined intelligence value, and it was the responsibility of interrogators at Pine Grove to determine which prisoners were worth sending to Camp Hunt for detailed interrogation. At times, as few as 20 percent were deemed to be worth further interrogation.¹⁰ This "weeding out" process, which took as little as a few days or as long as several months, improved the overall efficiency of the system, and conserved valuable manpower and transportation resources. Those prisoners not sent to Camp Hunt were sent to various camps across the United States as dictated by their rank, branch of service, and political disposition.

Political ideology was not originally one of the criteria that the War Department used to segregate prisoners into various camps. As a result of this oversight, a minority of hard-core Nazis were able to seize control of the German military hierarchies in POW camps across the United States. These fanatical Nazis waged a reign of terror against anti-Nazi and apolitical German prisoners in order to ensure loyalty to their fascist ideals and to Adolf Hitler. At least five murders and an unknown number of "forced suicides" were attributed to such elements in camps throughout the United States.¹¹ There is no evidence of such activity in the Pine Grove camp. It seems unlikely that any such organization could have materialized due to the short amount of time that the prisoners stayed in the camp and the fact that many prisoners attempted to conceal their identities, military and political, in the face of interrogation. Pine Grove did, however, assist in the process of sorting such radicals through the interrogation process.

In addition to these tasks, Pine Grove also served to improve the overall efficiency of interrogation. When prisoners thought to possess strategic intelli-

gence disembarked at some Eastern seaport, they were immediately sent to Pine Grove to be screened and to have preliminary interrogations conducted. These prisoners' susceptibility to questioning would have dramatically declined if they had had the opportunity to interact with, and become "contaminated" by, prisoners from other camps who were familiar with American interrogation techniques.¹²

Pine Grove was a desirable location for an interrogation camp for several reasons. The first was its relative isolation.¹³ Prisoners were transported to the camp in vehicles (buses or trucks) with covered windows during the night.¹⁴ Prisoners were deterred from making an escape because they did not know where they were but thought that they were in the middle of a vast wilderness. This location was also selected to save time and money. The Pine Grove POW camp was previously the Pine Grove Civilian Conservation Corps camp. The installation was not a particularly large one, composed of 30 or so buildings. Because of the limited size of the installation, the government was able to utilize many buildings and facilities already in existence. This was a fairly common practice in constructing POW camps across the United States. The last reason for choosing Pine Grove was its relative proximity to both Carlisle Barracks and Camp Hunt, Virginia.¹⁵

The command structure of Pine Grove and the two Strategic Defense Interrogation Centers was, in a sense, schizophrenic. The Third Service Command under the Provost Marshall General's Office was responsible for providing for such practical day-to-day concerns at Pine Grove as transporting, feeding, housing, and guarding the prisoners. Officers from the Military Intelligence Service and the Office of Naval Intelligence conducted interrogations and decided how prisoners of intelligence value were to be handled. This joint command, between the various Service Commands under the PGMIO and the intelligence services of the Army and the Navy, was a unique facet of the SDIC facilities.

As a result, even the American military personnel who guarded the prisoners had very little knowledge of individual prisoners or their interrogations. William Myers was a corporal at Pine Grove. He told a reporter from the Chambersburg *Public Opinion* in 1986 that soldiers were not even told where they were being assigned or what they would do until they arrived. Myers saw action in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy before he was wounded and sent back to the United States. Joseph Tarquino, also a guard at the camp, was a private, and like Myers had seen action in North Africa and Sicily before he was wounded. Tarquino was from Chambersburg, but rarely had the opportunity to go home. "We had our usual times off. We were still in the Army and we did things the Army way."¹⁶ Another guard, Robert Chastulik, was the first sergeant of the Pine Grove camp in 1944 and 1945. He was wounded in France and sent back

to the United States, where he expected to be discharged. His discharge never came through and he found himself placed in charge of the enlisted men who guarded the Pine Grove camp. As one would expect, Sergeant Chastulik had mixed feelings about guarding the Germans.

Well, when I first went in there, I was pretty bitter. And I also told them, when we did anything with them outside, if one of them tried to escape, I would shoot him. And they knew that. But then we also had classes and lectures on that they were prisoners and they were to be treated as prisoners. After you've been there a while it leaves you.¹⁷

Leo Groeger remembered the Pine Grove camp, though his brief stay there (several weeks) in 1943 was spent on the opposite side on the wire. He was a captain in Erwin Rommel's famed Afrika Korps before being captured by American forces. He was transported from Casablanca to some unknown port in the United States before arriving at Pine Grove, where he was interrogated for the first time. From Pine Grove he was transported to Montana to harvest potatoes and then to Arizona to pick cotton. He remembered that there was "absolutely no contact with civilians and the guards would not talk to us."¹⁸

The relationship between the prisoners and guards at Pine Grove was an uneasy one. Many of the guards, like Chastulik, Tarquino, and Myers, were combat veterans. They had fought the Germans and many had either been wounded or lost close friends in combat. They were not eager to establish friendly relations with the Germans. The guards were ordered not to fraternize with the prisoners, though many of the Germans spoke at least some English.¹⁹ Many of those who did speak English pretended not to, as they were in an interrogation camp and were suspicious of the soldiers who guarded them. Nevertheless, many of the prisoners were described as friendly, and sometimes carved wooden boxes and other such novelties to trade with the guards.²⁰ However, the previously mentioned factors, along with the larger context of the war, diminished the possibility that friendships might have been established.

In 1945, a separate and smaller compound was built to house prisoners from an entirely different theater of the war, the South Pacific.²¹ Little information is available about the Japanese who were held and interrogated at Pine Grove. One can only surmise that they were of extraordinary intelligence value to be shipped all the way from the West Coast for interrogation. Cultural and language barriers probably decreased the already minimal amount of interaction between the guards and the prisoners.

Of all the prisoners at the camp, the Germans who were kept for special duties were those whom the guards became the friendliest with. These prisoners were enlisted men who were not ardent Nazis and who possessed some sort of talent that made them useful. Those that were good cooks were kept to

prepare meals for the guards. Those that had experience with horses were kept to work in the stables. (Horses were kept to facilitate searches in case of an escape.) But even these prisoners were not allowed to stay long at Pine Grove for security reasons.

Work details were a part of the daily routine for prisoners. There were both enlisted men and officers at the camp, and though the Geneva Convention dictated that officers were not required to work, many volunteered for labor parties. Many POW camps compensated prisoners for work by giving them credit at the camp canteen, where they could buy such necessities as cigarettes. It is likely that Pine Grove operated in the same manner. Routine tasks such as cutting firewood, shoveling snow, cutting grass, and general maintenance of the camp were required of the prisoners. There was also a detail of prisoners who were sent to the Carlisle Army Barracks to work on the grounds and in the hospital there.

Though there was interaction between the Pine Grove camp and the Carlisle Barracks, few people knew that the Pine Grove camp even existed. When First Sergeant Chastulik interacted with civilians in Chambersburg, where he lived, he told them that he was stationed at the Carlisle Barracks. "That was our address. That's where we got our mail and, for essential purposes, that's where we were."²² According to Private Tarquino, many Chambersburg area people knew POWs were being kept in the area, although they did not know where. Corporal Myers stated that measures were taken to keep the public away. Food and provisions were brought by truck from Carlisle and work around the camp was done by guards and POWs. No civilians were involved.

The guards at Pine Grove sometimes made trips to Carlisle or other local towns when they were on liberty. The drives to and from the mountain outpost were made dangerous due to the exhausted state of the soldiers who worked on four hour shifts with only four hours off duty in between. This excruciating routine was maintained because of a shortage of manpower due to the demands of the war. Joseph Tarquino spent Christmas of 1944 at the Pine Grove camp, though his family was only a short distance away in Chambersburg. Though a traditional Christmas meal was served for the guards, Tarquino stated, "I remember it was a very rainy and freezing day. The chaplain came in and had a service for us. It was pretty much routine."²³

There were no successful escape attempts by prisoners from Pine Grove, thanks to the vigilance of the men who guarded the camp. Six-foot high fences around the prisoner compound and machine gun towers armed with automatic weapons and spotlights assisted in ensuring security. However, there was an incident in which two prisoners who were believed to have diphtheria were transported to the Carlisle Barracks infirmary for treatment. They escaped from the prison

cell there and were reported to have been captured shortly thereafter.²⁴ That no prisoners ever escaped from Pine Grove is an impressive fact when one considers the fact that there were 2,803 escapes from the various POW camps across the United States during the war.²⁵ Nor was any prisoner shot. (There were 56 prisoners shot while attempting to escape from prison camps in the United States, 34 of whom died.)²⁶

Though guarding the prisoners at the camp was a crucial task, it was not the primary one. The ultimate purpose of the camp was to interrogate enemy prisoners. Paul Gross, a German soldier, experienced interrogation at the camp first-hand. He was captured in France shortly after the invasion of Normandy. Though he was only a private in the German Wehrmacht, he was probably sent to Pine Grove because of his attempts to befuddle American field interrogators who tried to procure tactical intelligence from him when he was captured. They may have suspected him of being a German officer posing as an enlisted man. Once he arrived at Pine Grove, it required only a fifteen-minute interrogation for the Americans to realize that Private Gross knew very little in the way of strategic intelligence. They asked him questions such as:

“Have you been a member of the Hitler Youth?”

“How did you come to it — voluntarily or were you compelled to join it?”

“What about the hours of duty in this organization — did you enjoy them or had you an aversion to this duty — and why?”

“What profession has your father?”

“Is he a member of the Nazi party or one of its organizations?”

“What does he think of the Nazis and their policies?”

“Do you personally believe that Germany will win this war?”²⁷

After answering these questions to the interrogator’s satisfaction, Gross was returned to the compound. He spent only four days at Pine Grove before being transferred to Carlisle to work at the Masland factory to make canvas tank covers.

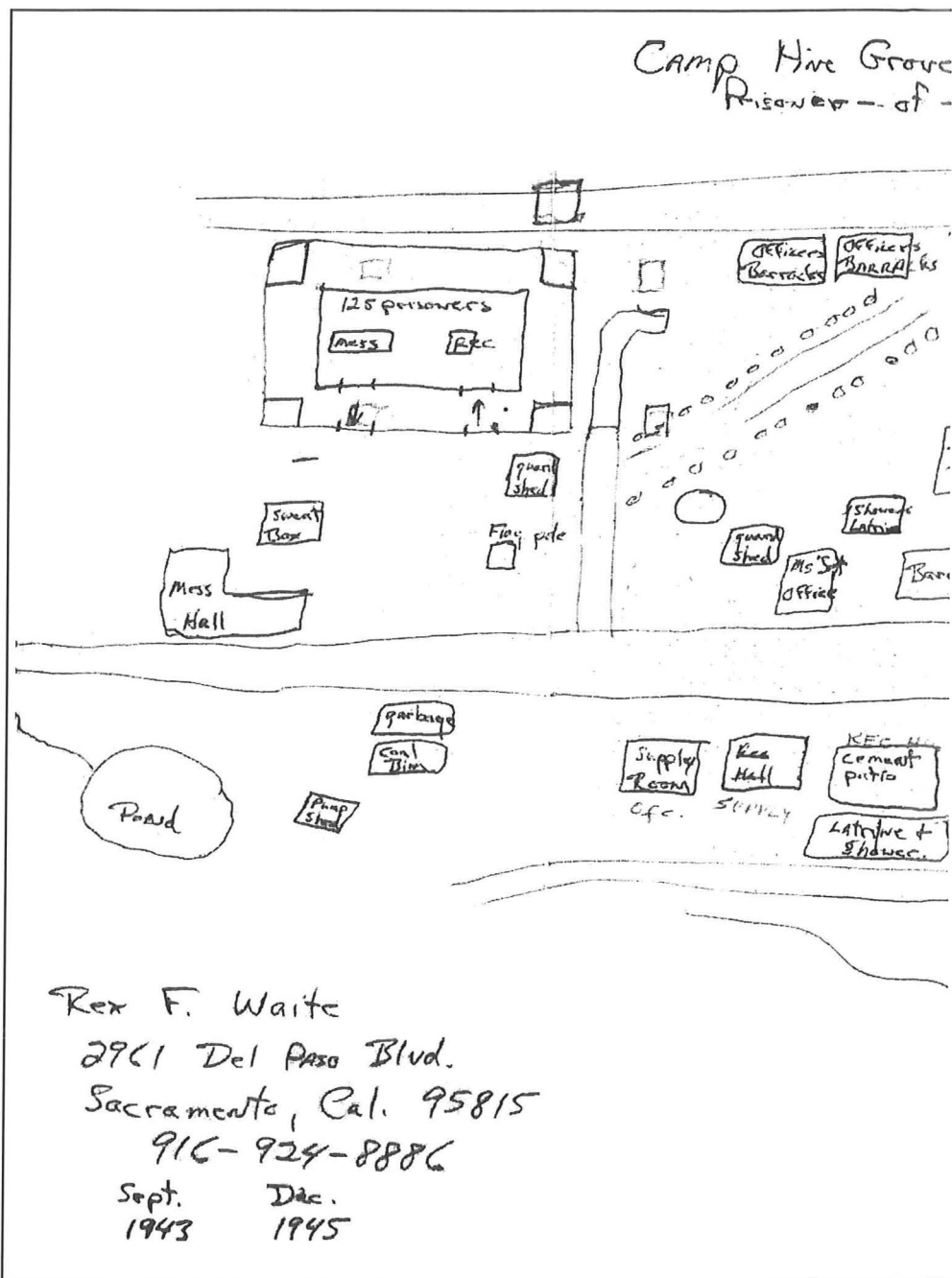
Contrary to popular perception, interrogations during the Second World War were often a simple matter of asking pertinent questions and recording the answers. Most did not involve deception, coercion, or physical or psychological torture. For example, the records of three I.P.W. Teams (Interrogation of Prisoners of War Teams attached to combat units to extract and disseminate tactical information from enemy prisoners on or near the battle-field) who operated from D-Day to V.E. Day in Europe indicated that 80% of German prisoners gave information freely and voluntarily. Ten percent gave information under pressure, either physical or mental, seven percent were tricked into revealing information, and only three percent were successful in protecting their secrets.²⁸ These figures roughly correspond to the extraction of strategic information at the

Strategic Defense Interrogation Centers in the United States. Records and documentation indicate that the most effective way to gain valuable information from prisoners was simply to ask them. Of course, this was not always the case.

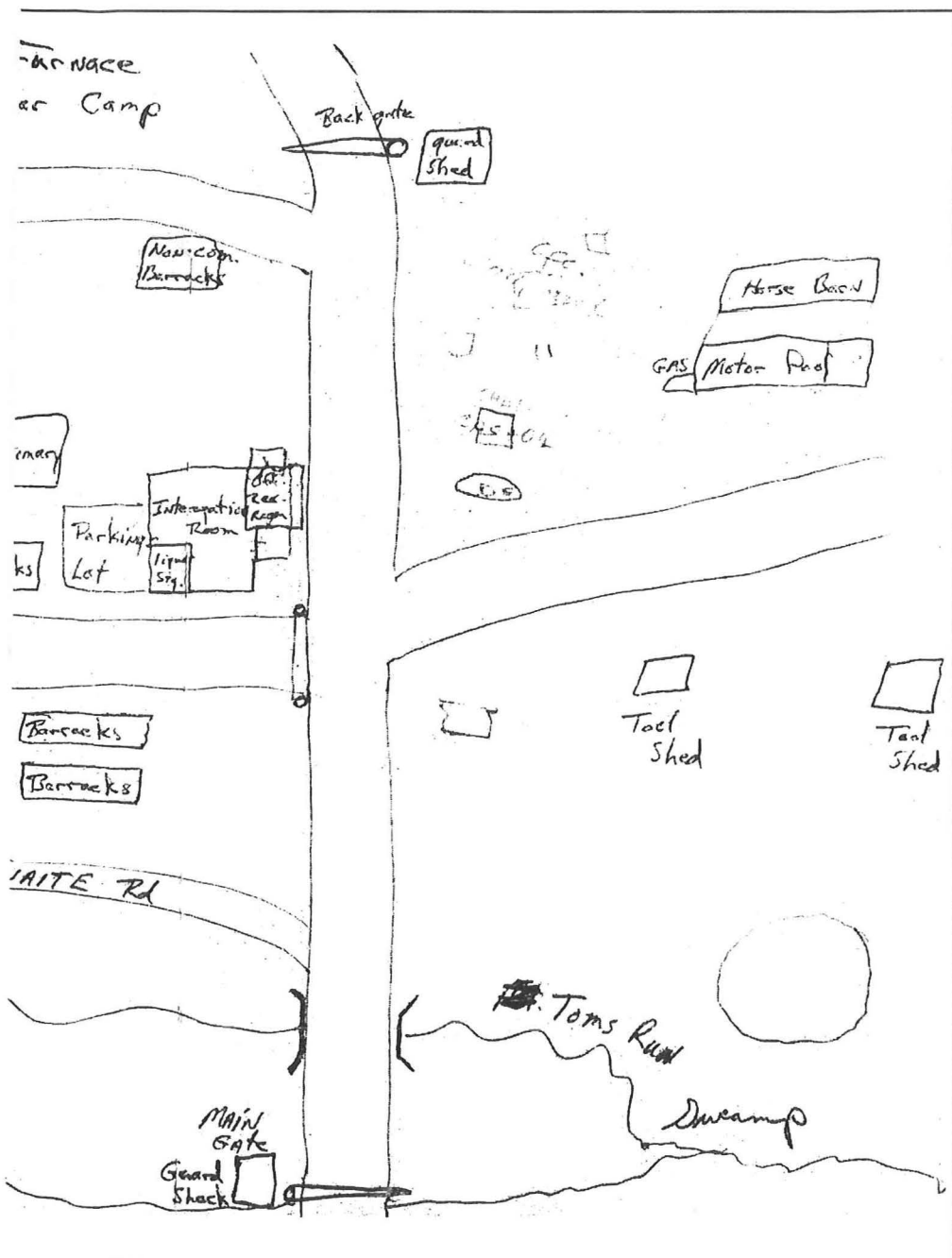
As mentioned earlier, knowledge of how interrogations were conducted or what information they revealed was not known to the vast majority of personnel who worked at Pine Grove. Only the intelligence officers from the Military Intelligence Service and the Office of Naval Intelligence were privy to such information. The records available at the National Archive give some insight as to what went on in the interrogation building at Pine Grove. Boxes of interrogation reports describe various battles from the German point of view. They describe tactics, morale, and German experiences with and opinions of both their enemies and allies. Maps and blueprints illustrate battle plans and experimental weapons systems. It is clear from these artifacts that the interrogators at Pine Grove learned much about the Nazi war machine from these prisoners.

One unconfirmed rumor about the Pine Grove Prisoner of War camp is that it held the inventor of the German “buzz bomb”, also known as the V-1 rocket.²⁹ This device was essentially an unmanned aircraft that the Germans launched from the mainland of Europe to bomb cities in England. Its devastating strike was preceded by a terrifying buzzing noise, which gave it its name. Most of its victims were English civilians, as the V-1 was not accurate enough to employ against specific military targets. Though there is evidence to suggest that German prisoners of war gave away secrets about German military technology, there is none to substantiate the claim that such an illustrious prisoner as the inventor of the buzz bomb ever resided within the wire of the Pine Grove facility.

Though most information was contributed voluntarily by the prisoners, there is some evidence that indicates that some Germans remained loyal to their Fuhrer and the Fatherland even after capture. Interrogation reports from Pine Grove reveal that hardened Nazis of Hitler’s fanatical SS divisions were interrogated at Pine Grove, and furthermore, that they were rather arrogant during such interviews. Another “legend” of the Pine Grove camp is that one particularly resilient German naval officer refused to reveal any information even after two weeks of interrogation. American interrogators decided to employ a new tactic to trick the German into revealing what he knew. Someone discovered that this officer was very fond of American whiskey. They placed him in a room with another German officer and gave them two bottles of whiskey. The two became inebriated and the resulting conversation was secretly recorded through a dictaphone concealed in the ceiling. As a result, a few days later a German submarine pen, whose location had long been a secret, was bombed for the first time.³⁰



REX F. WAITE, Camp Pine Grove Furnace. Reproduced from Shippensburg, Pa, *News Chronicle*, June 28, 1993. Waite was stationed at the Prisoner of War camp, 1943-45. The road running through the camp on the right side of the map is Michauz Road, which is off State Road 233 in Pine Grove Furnace



While the veracity of such a tale is certainly questionable, it does contain an element of truth. Take, for example, a very similar, and completely factual account of a British naval interrogator at the Strategic Interrogation Center No. 2, in England. The British had captured an overly confident German U-boat officer who refused to yield to any conventional method of interrogation. The British officer, after repeated failures, decided to pursue a different strategy. He went to the German's cell with some beer and cigars which he shared with the man. They began a casual conversation which inevitably turned into a debate about the outcome of the war. The British officer at one point stated that in order to win the war the Germans would need to invent U-boats that would not need to re-charge their batteries above water. At that, the German gave a hoarse laugh and stated, "Just wait, soon we'll have that too...". The quick-minded interrogator retorted rather nonchalantly, "Well, as a matter of fact, we know about that too." This comment shook the German officer so badly that as soon as he was reunited with his cell mate he began a worried conversation about whether or not he had revealed any such information during his interrogations. This discussion was recorded secretly through hidden microphones and gave the Allies the first indication that such a device existed.³¹

These deceptive tactics were commonly used by both British and American interrogators, and suggest that the legend about the inebriated German at Pine Grove may be true. Another form of deception used by British and American interrogators was to have Germans who wished to overthrow Hitler impersonate German officers in order to acquire information. Chastulik, who was the first sergeant at Pine Grove, reported that he saw Germans who weren't German military personnel dressing in uniform and mingling in with the population at the camp.³² Though this was probably an effective method, it was also a dangerous one that resulted in the murder of a prisoner by the name of Johann Kunze at Camp Tonkawa in Oklahoma in 1945.³³

It was unusual for American interrogators to resort to violence to procure information, though the threat of violence was commonly used. A former guard named Rex Waite drew a map of the Pine Grove camp in a 1993 interview with a reporter from the Shippensburg *News Chronicle*. In his rough depiction of the camp, which looked very much like a crude representation of the Army Corps of Engineers map of the same installation, was a building near the mess hall labeled as the "sweat box." Though it was not a common tactic, it is not entirely beyond the realm of plausibility, especially when considering the context of the time, that American military personnel utilized a more severe tactic with some of the more obstinate prisoners. Though sweat boxes were used occasionally by both the British and Americans, the utilization of this method at Pine Grove is purely speculation.

The surrender of Germany on May 7, 1945 and the surrender of Japan on August 13 of that same year brought the Second World War to a close. The defeat of the Axis powers and the end of the war made the Pine Grove Prisoner of War Camp obsolete, and it was closed in May of 1946.³⁴ The post was abandoned by the military and the camp remained unoccupied until 1947. That summer members of the Presbyterian and Evangelical and Reformed Churches leased the camp from the government for \$600 a year on the condition that they keep the buildings in good repair. The camp was renovated and became a church camp. It was renamed, "Camp Michaux" and served in that capacity until 1972, when the property reverted to the control of the Pine Grove State Park.³⁵ The buildings were torn down and since then the site has become overgrown with vegetation.

Evidence of the camp still exists. Located along the Appalachian Trail on Michaux Road, weathered foundations of the buildings that once housed German and Japanese prisoners can be found beneath dense vegetation and pine trees. It is a strange and quiet place with a rich history. Few of the people who stumble upon it can imagine that the site was once a secret military installation vital to national security. Pine Grove holds its secrets well.

Notes

1. *Origin Of The Interrogation Centers For The Interrogation Of War Prisoners* (United States War Department, Military Intelligence Division), 2.
2. Charles Muskiet, *Educating The Afrika Korps: The Political Reeducation of German POWs in America During the Second World War*. (MA Thesis, Baylor University, 1995), 3.
3. *List of POW camps in the United States as of 1 June 1945* (Army Service Forces, Office of the Commanding General.)
4. A.J. Barker, *Prisoners of War* (New York: Universe Books, 1975), 87.
5. Muskiet, *Educating the Afrika Korps*, 3.
6. Diane Reed, *German POWs in Carlisle Pennsylvania, 1944-1945* (MA thesis, PA State University, Harrisburg, 1989), 17.
7. *Origin of the Interrogation Centers For the Interrogation of War Prisoners*, (U.S. Army, Military Intelligence Division), 3.
8. *FM 30-15; Examination of Enemy Personnel, Repatriates, Civilians, Documents, and Material* (U.S. War Department Field Manual, 1945), 32.
9. Diane Reed (Interview with Robert Chastulik, 1983), 85.
10. *Origin of the Interrogation Centers For the Interrogation of War Prisoners*, 26.
11. Judith Gansberg, *Stalag USA* (New York: Cromwell, 1977), 52.
12. *Origins of the Interrogation Centers*, 26.
13. *Ibid.*
14. J.C. North, "Christmas 1944 was rainy in area POW camp." *The Public Opinion*, (Chambersburg, PA), December 26, 1986, 15.
15. *Origin of the Interrogation Centers*, 26.
16. North, "Christmas was rainy in area POW camp," 15.

17. Diane Reed, interview with Robert Chastulik, November 4 1983, 93.
18. J.C. North. "Former German POW Recalls Pine Grove," December 26, 1986.
19. Reed, Interview with Robert Chastulik, November 4, 1983, 93.
20. Ibid, 94.
21. Ibid, 93.
22. North. "Christmas 1944 was rainy in area POW camp," 15.
23. Ibid.
24. Reed (Interview with Martha Eareckson, January 30, 1989), 73.
25. Gansberg, Stalag USA, 44.
26. Ibid.
27. Reed (Interview with Paul Gross via written correspondence, February 7, 1989), 116.
28. *Interrogation of Prisoners of War* (U.S. War Department, General Staff, G-2, 1945), 3.
29. M.S. Reifsnnyder, *The History of Camp Michaux*, (Pamphlet printed by the Presbyterian and Evangelical and Reformed Churches, Camp Michaux, Pine Grove Pennsylvania), 3.
30. Ibid.
31. *Interrogation of Prisoners of War* , 6.
32. Reed (Interview with Robert Chastulik, November 4 1983), 91.
33. "Death and Treason." *Newsweek*, February 5, 1945, 47.
34. Reed, (Interview with Robert Chastulik, November 4, 1983), 92.
35. *History of Camp Michaux* , 3.

Sermon on the Tenth Anniversary of His Pastorate, 1873

John Ault. Edited by The Reverend Dr. Thomas E. Herrold

Note: Dr. Herrold delivered the Annual Address at the dinner of the Cumberland County Historical Society on October 17, 2000. The address was principally the Reverend Mr. Ault's sermon of 1873, which contained an historical account of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania and the Cumberland Valley. It is reprinted here from the original manuscript in possession of St. Paul's United Church of Christ, Mechanicsburg.

On April 30, 1865 Mr. Ault delivered a Discourse on the Assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. It was immediately published at Mechanicsburg and may be reprinted, by permission of Dr. Herrold, in a future issue of Cumberland County History.

Dr. Herrold's Address

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your invitation to make this presentation tonight. I, the twentieth pastor of St. Paul's Church in Mechanicsburg, have been able to become acquainted with its first pastor. With his understanding of ecclesiology and theology, I truly believe that John Ault and I would have been close colleagues had we lived in the same century. Your invitation allowed the years between us to melt away, and for that I am grateful.

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The Rev. John Ault was born at Annville, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, on April 1, 1836. In 1853, he entered the freshman class of Franklin and Marshall College, where he took a full course and graduated with honors in 1857. In his book, *The Reformed Church Fathers in Europe and America*, the Rev. Mr. Henry Harbaugh writes,

At this period he passed through a struggle of which but few of his friends had the slightest conception. His personal appearance and manners were so attractive that he was everywhere a welcome guest, and the world sought in many ways to win him for her own. The struggle was short but decisive. When he determined to study for the ministry it required no small sacrifice of personal inclinations, but it was made without reservation. From that time he felt that he belonged entirely to the service of the Savior, and nothing could ever tempt him to wander from the chosen path.

Mr. Ault in 1857 entered the theological seminary at Mercersburg, where he remained one year. He married his wife, Sarah Isabella Wagner of Carlisle, on July 29, 1859. After serving churches at the Sulphur Springs charge, Carlisle, the Fort Loudon and St. Thomas charge in Franklin County, and performing duty as a chaplain in the Union Army from December 1862 to May 1863, he moved to Mechanicsburg in that year, where he remained for ten years. In 1873 he accepted a call from the Christ Church charge in and near Littlestown, Adams County, where he stayed until the end of his life.

Mr. Ault was in no sense fanatical. He had no love for new doctrines or for new methods. His great ingatherings were not the result of special seasons of extraordinary excitement, but rather the fruit of earnest, faithful, unremitting labor.

Harbaugh writes,

There can be no doubt but that our brother was worn out by the excess of labor which he imposed upon himself. He had several warnings that his strength was failing, but seems not to have fully appreciated their meaning. His active spirit could take no rest, and at the last, like the sword of Damascus, it cut through its perishable sheath. Our brother's final illness lasted about ten days. The disease was pronounced typhoid fever, which in his debilitated condition, his system was unable to resist. He remained conscious almost to the end; and on the day of his death, he prayed most earnestly for his beloved congregations, as well as for his wife and the five dear children whom the Lord had given him. He died on Monday, July 26th, 1880, aged 44 years, 3 months, and 26 days. He was buried in the Christ Church burial ground, outside of Littlestown. Sermon preached in the Reformed Church of Mechanicsburg, PA, on Sunday, the 20th day of April, 1873, by Rev. John Ault, being the tenth anniversary of his pastorate in the Mechanicsburg charge.

Mr. Ault's Sermon

"I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings." - Psalm 77:12

Ten years have been added to the past since God called me to labor in this pastoral field. Then we wrote 1863 - now, 1873. How quickly these years have passed away! When we look to the beginning of them, it seems but as yesterday.

But who can calculate and recount all that has transpired during this decade of years? In all parts of the world mighty changes have occurred, and wonderful deeds have been wrought. Mankind is steadily and certainly advancing. The Christian religion is gradually gaining in favor and ascendancy. The gospel is now preached, to a certain extent, in almost all lands, and among all nations. And we all know very well, that it is just in proportion to the diffusion of the gospel of Jesus Christ that the nations of the earth will make proper and substantial advancement in everything calculated to make a people truly happy, great, and prosperous.

And how much, of a truly encouraging character, has transpired in our own beloved land during the last ten years! When I came among you, our country was in the midst of a great and fearful Civil War. And it was just then that the boom of cannon, the rattle of musketry, and the tread of soldiery was heard upon our own streets, and the groans of the slain in battle almost reached our own ears. But, thank God! The fratricidal and destructive strife came to a close. We are now again a united and prosperous people, going steadily forward on the march to pre-eminent national distinction and glory. But beside this, and best of all, our country has made cheering advancement in a religious point of view, during this time. We cannot fail to perceive a steady growth in sound, evangelical church doctrine, among the various branches of the Christian church in the land. And there is evidently a happy tendency prevailing towards greater unity among all the historical and orthodox Christian denominations. This is a happy omen. And we trust and pray that the spirit of charity may begin so to prevail and abound, that all Christians will soon look at each other eye to eye, and stand with each other shoulder to shoulder, in the love of God, and in the great work which our common Lord and Master Jesus Christ gives us to do.

And when we look to our own immediate neighborhood, how many events have transpired here during these ten years! How many changes have been wrought in this town! How many alterations and improvements! What astounding differences today, for better or for worse, in many families and individuals!

But I intend, principally, to speak to you of that which God has done with us and for us as the Reformed Church of this community. It is undoubtedly very good and profitable, often to meditate on the work of the Lord and to talk of His doings. It has a tendency to fill us with reverence, submission, and confidence, and it cannot fail to inspire us with fresh reliance and courage in Him for future time.

The Reformed Church

That branch of the Protestant Church of which we are a part, dates back considerably over three hundred years. The Reformed Church originated, with the Lutheran, at the time of the reformation. These two Christian bodies are the oldest Protestant denominations in the world. We are well aware that in certain sections of this country, and sometimes in this community, it has been hinted that our branch of the Christian Church is comparatively small and insignificant, but, be that as it may, we have the pleasure at least, of being able to state that the Reformed Church today, in Europe and America, numbers no less than *seven million souls*. This we say not exultingly, but humbly, and with profound feelings of gratitude to almighty God.

The Reformed Church in This Country

The Reformed Church in this country dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It did not, at that time, already exist in an organized form, but many sections of this and other states became settled then, with reformed emigrants. It was only towards the middle of the eighteenth century, that missionaries were sent here from the fatherland to organize our people into congregations; and it is impossible for us properly to conceive the great labor which those men of God underwent, and the zeal and perseverance that characterized many of them. Through their exertions our church became permanently established in this new world. And though many hindrances and difficulties presented themselves, down to the year 1820, we rejoice to say that from that period on to the present, the Reformed Church has gone substantially and rapidly forward.

Our Church in This Community

And now let me direct your attention more particularly to the Lord's doing in our church, in this community. The early settlers of Cumberland County were chiefly of Scotch Irish extraction. It is easy to see then, that the first churches organized in this county were Presbyterian. It was not until the year 1760 that German settlers came into the county. A number of such families then settled near Carlisle. Between the years 1763 and 1770, some more German families arrived and settled near where this town, Mechanicsburg, is now situated. By far the larger portion of this county was then yet in a rude, wild, and uncultivated state. It was not until after the year 1810 that this town was begun. Prior to that period, the greater part of the site of this town was covered with woods.

We know that between the years 1763 and 1768 Rev. John Conrad Bucher, a Reformed minister, resided in Carlisle. He was then engaged in the active duties of the ministry. It is altogether probable that the Reformed congregation at Carlisle was organized under him. Its organization is traced to the year 1765. In the year 1774 or thereabouts, the Reformed and Lutherans organized congregations near where the town of New Kingstown is now situated. The church where they worshiped was known as Longsdorf's Kirche. It is probable that Rev. Bucher organized that congregation also. This faithful servant of Jesus Christ afterwards moved to Lebanon, from where he traveled far and wide, preaching the gospel and establishing churches. He died there in the year 1780. In the year 1775, but one year before the Declaration of Independence was declared, the Reformed and Lutherans purchased several acres of ground at Trindle Spring, and organized congregations there. They, at first, worshiped in a school-house, but two years after, in 1777, they unitedly erected a log church at that place.

Rev. John William Runkel, a Reformed minister, preached in this section from 1776 to 1781. His charge embraced a large district of country and his labors must have been very great. In his journal, he says, that on the 24th day of May, 1777, he preached for the last time at Trindles, on account of difficulties which arose and hindered his ministry. From this time on, until the year 1786, it is not likely that there was any stated and regular Reformed preaching at the Trindle Spring Church, or at any place nearer here than Carlisle. It is certain, however, that the organization at Trindles was continued during that time, and it is quite probable that occasionally services were held there by ministers of our church.

From the year 1786 to 1795, Rev. Samuel Doubledorf resided at Carlisle, and Trindle Spring was also included in his pastoral field. He preached there regularly during this period.

In the lower end of this county German families resided as early as 1770, who were members of the Reformed Church. But there was then no organized congregation between Trindle Spring and the river. As early however, as 1772, Ludwig Lupp was in the habit of visiting in the lower end. He was a brother-in-law of John Heck, and in his house he held prayer-meetings, for the special benefit of the Reformed families in that neighborhood. Among those who assembled there for worship, were such names as Rupp, Long, Heck, Weber, names yet familiar in this part of the county. And these meetings became the starting point, for the organization afterwards, of Peace Church. This Ludwig Lupp, some years afterwards, became a regularly ordained minister in our church.

In the year 1798 Rev. Anthony Hautz accepted a call from the Carlisle charge and settled in that place. He also preached at Trindle Spring. Prior to this date he was pastor at Harrisburg; and while there he extended his labors west of the Susquehanna, and in the year 1793 he organized the congregation where Peace Church (Stone Church) now stands. When he moved to Carlisle he continued preached at this church also, and in the years 1798 and '99 he built the Stone Church, which stands there to this day. That church was built only by the Reformed, but in the year 1806 the Lutherans purchased from the Reformed one-half interest in the building and all the grounds. Rev. Hautz also preached at Churchtown and organized a congregation there. He was a pastor in this county until the year 1804. The successor of Hautz in this pastoral field was Jonathan Helfenstein. He resided at Carlisle, and preached at all the points where we had organized churches between Carlisle and the river. He was pastor here until the year 1810.

From the year 1811 to 1816, both the Peace and Trindle Spring Churches were served by Rev. Albertus Helfenstein, Sr., who was pastor of the Reformed Church at Harrisburg. From the year 1818 to 1820 Rev. Frederick A. Rahauser

was pastor at Harrisburg and he also preached regularly at Peace and Trindle Spring Churches.

It appears that from this time on, for a number of years, our interest below Mechanicsburg was served by the Harrisburg pastors and our interest above Mechanicsburg by the Carlisle pastor. Rev. John Winebrenner was pastor of our church at Harrisburg from 1821 to 1828, and Rev. Albert Helfenstein, Jr. from 1828 to 1830, and both these men, also, served regularly at Peace Church. Revs. Daniel Zacharias, Herman Rust, and David Bassler also successively preached at Peace Church, in connection with Harrisburg, for a short period of time.

Rev. John S. Ebaugh was pastor at Carlisle in 1821 to 1830. He, likewise, was pastor at Trindle Spring and Churchtown during the same time. Under his ministry, in the year 1823, the old log church which had been built at Trindle Spring in 1777, was torn down and the brick edifice was erected which stands there to the present time.

From 1830 to 1834 Rev. Charles Helfenstein preached at Peace Church, and also at Trindle Spring from 1830 to 1832. He resided in Mechanicsburg, and was the first minister of our church who made his home in this town. During the greater period from 1832 to 1837, Rev. F. E. Vandersloot preached at Trindle Spring and Churchtown. He resided in Dillsburg and served also at Filey's Church and many other congregations. During a brief portion of this time also, Rev. Henry Aurand preached at Trindle Spring and Churchtown.

After this time a pastoral charge was formed, composed of all our preaching points in this locality, with Mechanicsburg as the center. The ministers who respectively served in this field from the year 1837 to 1863, were Revs. Adam J. Leis, John G. Fritchey, Joseph S. Loose, J. Casper Bucher, Thomas G. Apple and Abner R. Kremer.

Our Numerical Strength

From the time of the organization of our church in this part of the county until the year 1800, there was comparatively little encouraging progress made. But from that time on, until the year 1828, the congregation at Peace Church was in a flourishing condition. The membership was continually increasing, and the audiences at the stated means of grace were generally very large. The congregation at Trindle Spring, for various reasons, never reached a high maximum of membership. Between the years 1821 and 1828, under the pastorate of John S. Ebaugh, the number of communicants there averaged about sixty, and this was the highest number known in the history of that church. After the year 1828, the membership in both these congregations diminished, and at no period of time thereafter, was the communicant list at Trindle Spring over fifty nor at Peace Church over thirty-five. At times even, during the inter-

val between 1836 and 1863 the number of communicants, in both churches combined, was as low as twenty.

We will naturally inquire, - What was the cause of this stagnation and retrogradation? It is well known, that, according to the list of ministers, just now given, who labored here, that they were generally men of notable talent and ardent piety; some of them stood high, and others who are yet alive, do, to this day stand high in the councils of our church, and among the foremost in the ranks of our ministry.

One of the causes that hindered our prosperity and growth was, undoubtedly, owing to the long and persistent use of the German language in preaching. Other denominations around us made use principally of the English in their services, and therefore under circumstances like these, and in a community like this where the English chiefly prevails, it was not possible for our church to make much progress.

But there are yet other and perhaps weightier causes that hindered our advancement and success. In the year 1828 Rev. John Winebrenner, who, as has been stated, was pastor of the Reformed interest at Harrisburg and Peace Church from 1821 to 1828, withdrew from our church, and originated what is now called the "Church of God." He was an able preacher, a skillful pastor, and a man of considerable powers of attraction, and it is easy to see, therefore, how he could draw with him into his new element the larger portion of our membership. And this was the case especially at Peace Church. Many of the foremost of our families, in this section, at once flocked under his banner. And our church, accordingly, received a check here, from which it has only of late years been able to recover. From that period forward, for thirty-five years, the form and system of Christian worship, which had the preponderance in this community, was of a character, to a great extent, at variance with the doctrines and teachings of our church, and also with all churches that hold to the standards of the reformation; and contrary, we believe, to the system of *Educational Religion* as taught by Christ and His Apostles. But finally there came a kind of reaction, which has resulted favorably not only to our denomination, but also to others, and we feel sure will redound greatly to the real and permanent advancement of Christ's cause throughout this entire locality.

From 1863 to the Present

I became pastor of this charge in the spring of 1863. The charge was then composed of four congregations, viz., Trindle Spring, Peace Church, Churchtown, and Fileys. These four congregations at that time contained, unitedly, 110 communicant members. There was much indifference, and, I may say, a sort of sickly stagnation prevalent throughout the entire bounds of the charge. Even many of the hitherto courageous and undespairing members

began to lose faith and hope in the ultimate success of our church here. There were now only about forty-five communicant members, in both Peace and Trindle Churches combined; and this then constituted the entire membership, upon which it was possible to rely, in this immediate neighborhood. Something had to be done, or else all our interest would soon be lost. Shall this Mechanicsburg charge live or die? That was the question propounded, by many persons, at home and abroad. There were those in this community, some who were of us, and some who were not of us, who said, "There is no use, it is dead already." But we had faith - faith in the presence and power of God. We knew very well, that He is a very present help in time of need. We remembered the emphatic promise of Jesus Our Savior, "Lo, I am with you always." And, though the support offered was scanty, and the encouragement given us was very indefinite, we came. Something within me urged me to come. I prayed often and fervently for direction. I carried your call several months in my pocket unanswered. There were strong inducements of various kinds that kept me back some time from answering it favorably, but somehow I could not say, "No." A "still, small voice" kept saying, "Go." I felt sure it was God's voice, and I came. His voice let me obey always, no matter where it leads.

Soon after entering upon my pastoral duties here, we organized a congregation in this town with fifteen members. Our families were few, and our material seemed decidedly scarce, but in looking over this town, and all around us, we soon beheld scores of families who were like sheep without a shepherd; many old and young who were but little concerned about their souls, or thought still less about Christ and eternal life. Why, then, should not this pastoral field be made to prosper? From the beginning, however, I felt it to be a necessity, that, in order to the advancement and upbuilding of our church in this section, we must have a congregation and house of worship in this town. But how could we undertake to build? The state of society was in a disturbed and disheartened condition on account of the war. There was among us a scarcity of members, a scarcity of funds, and, on the part of the majority, a clearly defined scarcity of faith and zeal in the matter. But we went, nevertheless, to work. And while dwelling upon this part of our history, allow me to say, that it is a source of great satisfaction and gratification to know, that amidst all the difficulties and gloom which our church had encountered here, there were some families and members who were always "faithful among faithless found." They were hopeful and dutiful. While others despaired, while many withdrew altogether, these few, some dead now, and some yet alive, clung determinedly to the church of their fathers. They loved their mother in adversity as well as in prosperity.

The Church of Mechanicsburg

We laid the cornerstone of our new church June 12th, 1864. Rev. Samuel Philips preached the sermon in the morning, Rev. Jacob Hassler preached in the evening, and Rev. John M. Titzel assisted in the services. We worshipped in the "Old Union Church" from April, 1863, to November 26th, 1864. Then we entered the basement of our new building, and worshipped in it until July 30th, 1865, when the building, being completed, was consecrated to the Triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., preached the consecratory sermon in the morning, and Rev. Emanuel V. Gerhart, D.D., preached in the evening. Revs. Cyrus Cort, John M. Titzel, and W. C. Bennett were also present, and took part in the services. The audiences were very large. Not all in attendance could gain admittance. In the summer of 1868 it was found that the main auditory of the church became too small to hold the regular Sunday audiences comfortably. It was therefore resolved to enlarge the church. This was accordingly done. And on the 4th day of October, 1868, this temple of God, having been considerably enlarged, was reconsecrated. The consecratory sermon by W. K. Zieber, and in the evening Rev. W. H. H. Snyder preached. This building from the beginning to the present time, cost upwards of \$12,000. About \$3,000 of this sum was raised away from home. The church is now free of debt.

Our Growth

The doings of the Lord are frequently mysterious, but always right and safe. Our audiences in the "Old Union Church" gradually increased, and in the churches through the country we soon found great cause for comfort and encouragement. The attendance upon all the stated means of grace everywhere became good, and the majority of our people appeared to become inspired with new hopes and energy. Adhering strictly to the customs of our church; attending as faithfully as I could to the instruction of young and old in the doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism; preaching the gospel of Jesus plainly, practically, and earnestly as God gave me grace; attending to the duties of pastoral visitation to the best of my knowledge; and trusting implicitly in divine guidance and help, we soon had the pleasure of witnessing an increase all over the charge, in numbers, in Christian vitality, and in all the various evidences that generally indicate the favor of God and promise success.

This congregation has increased from fifteen to 250, our present membership. The entire pastoral field, as it existed ten years ago, numbers now 400, being an actual increase of two hundred and ninety. This is the present numerical strength of this congregation, and of the entire charge, even after deducting the many that moved away, or were called into eternity.

Benevolence

If we add together the amount of money which was raised among us for church building purposes, for various charitable purposes, and for ministerial support, it reaches the sum of at least \$19,000.

Our Trials and Bereavements

The gospel ministry is a high and responsible office. It has its peculiar and momentous duties above all other vocations in life. Hence many temptations and trials beset a minister's steps. Many dark clouds often hang across his pathway. But Jesus Christ is our example and guide. He endured the cross and despised the shame. He came off a sublime conqueror, notwithstanding all the troubles that overtook Him, or the apparently insurmountable obstacles that lay in His way. And so, I am sure, that denying ourselves, taking up the cross and following after Him, we will also triumph over all obstacles. "With this sign we shall conquer."

We have all had our seasons of sorrow. Who among us has not sighed and wept during the last ten years? But all the troubles that we have had as churches, as families or individuals, should but purify us and raise our thoughts more on high. "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth." "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God."

Death has been busy amongst us during this decade of years. Our friends die, and we are constantly reminded of our own mortality. And while I talk to you of the doings of the Lord, let us not forget those whom he has taken home from among us during this time. They are no longer with us in social and Christian intercourse upon earth; they no longer meet with us in our worshiping assemblies or around the communion table, but they are *still of us*. They have only gone before. They and we are yet, and will forever remain, children of the same heavenly Father. We believe in the communion of saints.

Here is the list - Peter Baker, John Stambaugh, Mary M. Wunderlich, Annie Bitner, Elizabeth Urich, Jacob L. Martin, Mary A. Ziegler, Margaret Markley, Maria M. Rupp, Barbara Moyer, Margaret Musser, Minnie E. Milleisen, Lewis Frysinger, Catherine Myers, Daniel Comfort, William Crist, Mary Bricker, Frances A. Walters, Magdalena Knoder, John W. Foose, Andrew J. Cocklin, Sarah Cornman, Sarah A. Beitzil, Mary Milleisen, Mary A. Smith, James T. Malvin, Samuel Albright, Elizabeth Brougher, George W. Miller, Thaddeus S. Comfort, Elizabeth Cocklin, Hannah J. Brandt, Daniel Walters, John H. Gerhart, Anna Loucks, Catharine A. Dale, William Lepole, John Rupp, James McClure, Ella B. Basehore, John C. Enck, Maria C. Zacharias, Susanna Fowhl, Alfred R. Bowman, All these stood in full connection with our church at the time of death. They all died in faith. And these, with the many children also that died in our families, we expect all to meet in heaven.

Our Labors

In season and out of season, by day and by night, I have been anxious and busy in my efforts to do good among you. And I have much cause for devout gratitude to our Father in Heaven for the health and strength He has all the time granted me. During these ten years I missed not one ministerial or pastoral appointment, on the Lord's Day or on any week day, on account of sickness.

During this time I baptized 189 children and 132 adults; confirmed 283 persons, preached 1630 sermons; delivered 325 catechetical and 577 prayer-meeting lectures; officiated at 208 funerals; made 4,200 pastoral visits; united in marriage 196 couple [sic], and traveled 22,000 miles in attending to pastoral duties. I aimed to do my duty to this entire community. I know how sadly I failed and came short in many things, but I have at least the happy consciousness, this day, to know that I did what I could, and as God gave me ability.

There is entirely too much work here for only one Reformed minister, and it would certainly be a great blessing and advantage of our church and to the furtherance of the Redeemer's Kingdom if arrangements could be effected for two ministers of our church to reside in this place. The harvest is plenteous.

Our Present Condition and Duty

We have much reason for mutual congratulation and hearty thanksgiving. We are now as a denomination, well, and I trust permanently established here. We have a large, earnest, and active membership. We are united also. And how rejoiced my heart feels to-day, to be able to say that we have had no strife or wranglings amongst us, in any part of the whole field, of a serious character. We know that at times there were some unpleasant things said and done, but no disputes or difficulties originated, at any time, of sufficient weight or importance to hinder the advancement and prosperity of the church. We are at peace among ourselves. The Holy Gospel is a gospel of peace. A new commandant, says the Savior, I give unto you, that ye love one another. Without love there can be no genuine Godliness, and no actual progress.

Let us praise God for what we are to-day. This is His work—these are His doings. We are, in our best estate, but weak instruments in His hands. For what we are to-day; for the auspicious prospects before us; for our union of hands and hearts; for our past success in winning souls to Jesus; for our triumph over the power of darkness, let our souls glow with gratitude, and our lips proclaim aloud the praise of our God. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake."

Prayerfully and humbly relying upon the great head of the church, let us go courageously forward. Love Him with all your heart - love each other - love all His people.

What will take place within the next ten years we cannot now know, nor do I suppose that, in the end, I will be upon earth to tell. But come what will, by patiently believing and hoping, and diligently pressing onward and upward, it shall in the end be said of all of us, as a church or as individuals, upon earth or in eternity - "It is well."

History of Uriah United Methodist Church, Gardners

Charles E. Trump

One hundred twenty years ago, in 1878, concerned Christians in the Uriah area of rural southeastern South Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, organized and built a church. It was originally named Flint Ridge Chapel, or more commonly known as just "Chapel," of the Evangelical Association denomination. This denomination had been formed by Jacob Albright in 1800.

Uriah is located in the area of South Middleton Township that residents on the north side of South Mountain call "over the mountain" from Boiling Springs. It is near the border with Adams County. The current address of the church is 925 Goodyear Road, Gardners.

The village of Uriah was named for a life-long resident, Uriah T. Gardner (1848-1936), who was more commonly known as "Dick," and was the son of Barnhart and Agnes Day Gardner, whose land bounded the land purchased in 1878 to build the original church. Uriah, or "Dick," was born on a farm just east of the Uriah church and lived in two different houses on the farm during his 88 years, and is the maternal great-grandfather of the writer of this history.

It is believed that some of the Uriah area residents had attended the Idaville Evangelical Association church, which was organized about 1835, located a few miles south of Uriah in Adams County. In addition, members probably met in homes in the Uriah area prior to erecting the church building.

A deed, dated 1878, indicates that approximately one-half acre was purchased from David P. Lerew and his wife, Sarah, for \$15.56. Land was bounded by the land of heirs of Michael West, land of Franklin Delp and land of Barnhart Gardner. Lerew reserved the timber standing on the lot, but agreed to remove it as fast as the ground was needed. The trustees, and therefore the first trustees of the Uriah church, or Flint Ridge Chapel, who signed the deed were Daniel J. Glass, Thomas Shuff and John Griffie.



URIAH AND MARY (FISSEL) GARDNER, ABOUT 1910.
Courtesy of the author.

So, the first church, a small weather-boarded building, was erected in 1878 on the Frost Road near the intersection of the Frost Road and Goodyear Road. These roads are located between State Route 34 and State Route 94.

At the 38th Annual Session of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association, which convened in the Bennett Street Church in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1877, Rev. B. F. Keller was appointed to the Bendersville Circuit or Charge. Among churches on the Bendersville Circuit were Bendersville, Idaville, Flint Ridge (Uriah), Beamer's (above Arendtsville) and Chestnut Hill (near Heidlersburg). The Rev. Mr. Keller was the first pastor to serve the Flint Ridge congregation.

The church has in its possessions the first pulpit Bible used in the original church. Recorded on the front page is, "This book belongs to Flint Ridge Chapple [Chapel], May 18, 1879."

A quote from Annual Conference minutes in 1894: As a result of "troublesome affairs in the church" of the Evangelical Association, the denomination

divided. Most of the churches and members of the Evangelical Association in Pennsylvania, including Flint Ridge (Uriah), took the name United Evangelical Church. These two denominations were united again 28 years later, in 1922, to form the Evangelical denomination.

During the pastorate of Rev. Benjamin L. Moore, 1904-1908, a large revival was experienced. There were approximately 100 converts. Among those converted were William Glass, Bruno Group, Ellis Frost and John Richwine. They became active members in the leadership of the church.

Following the revival there was some interest in building a new church, but due to lack of enough support, the matter was dropped.

Between 1907 and 1910 the Central Pennsylvania Conference made many changes in realigning charges or circuits. In 1907 Flint Ridge (Uriah) and Idaville were taken from the Dillsburg Circuit and put with Mt. Holly Springs to form the Mt. Holly Springs Mission. Then it appears that about 1909 Uriah and Idaville were on the Wellsville Circuit. About 1910 the Idaville Circuit was formed and Uriah assigned to that charge.

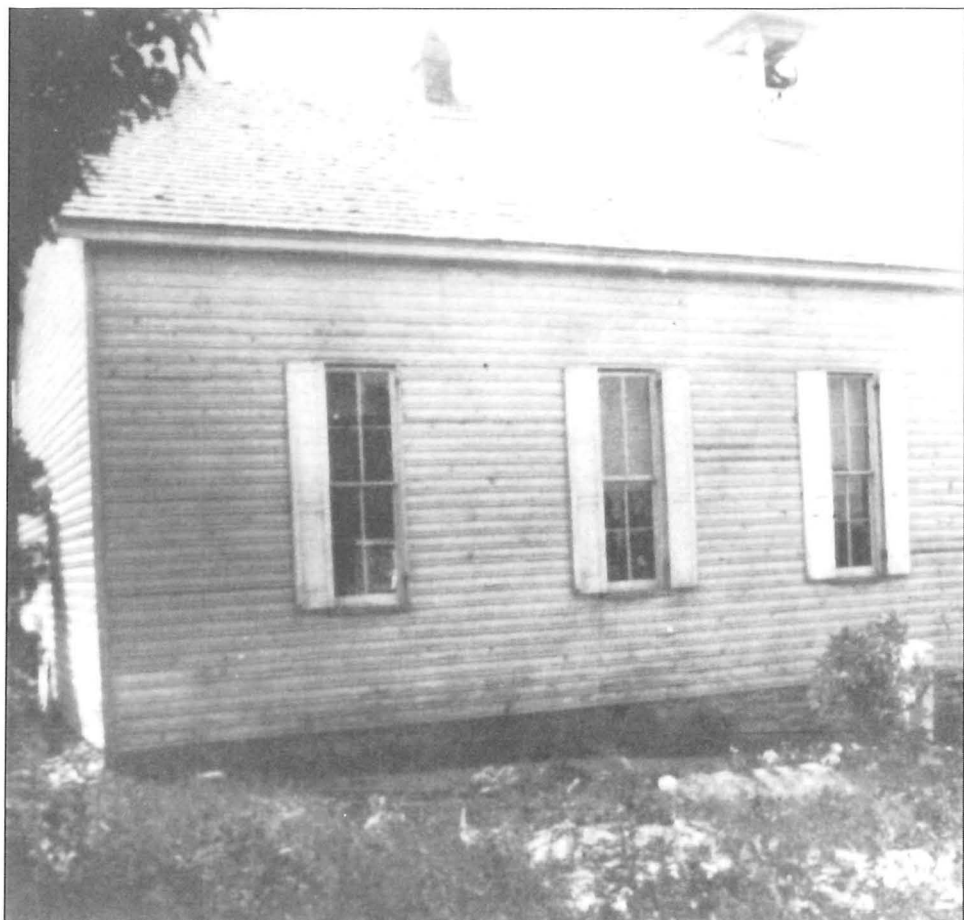
The Wellsville Circuit probably included five churches: Wellsville, Beavertown (near Dillsburg), Union (now United Brethren in Christ on Mountain Road between Latimore and Dillsburg), Idaville and Uriah (Flint Ridge). Probably only four churches were on the Idaville Charge: Beavertown, Union, Idaville and Uriah (Flint Ridge). Most of the ministers who served the churches during these years lived in the parsonage in Idaville.

A secretary's receipt book for Flint Ridge Sunday School for 1908 contains the following information: January 20, in favor of Morris Paxton, \$3.50, on account of coal; May 17, Ellen Delp, .80 cents; July 12, Publishing House, \$2.85, literature; July 12, Rev. Baker, .37 cents, missionary; and December 23, Buying Committee, \$24.18.

About 1913 Flint Ridge was renamed Grace Church, but it is still more commonly known as Uriah.

About 1912 interest in building a new church building was revived. Enough support was received that the trustees purchased two tracts of land from Uriah T. ("Dick") Gardner and his wife, Mary Fissel Gardner, for \$100. That land is where the present church is standing. The trustees were H. Franklin Delp, William Glass and James Wingert. Ground was broken in 1913.

Building Committee members included, probably among others, Ellis Frost, James Wingert and Albert Davis. William Glass, a trustee, and John Richwine represented the church by giving instructions to the carpenters. Isaiah ("Hennie") Beam, father of Uriah Church member, Dorothy Day, was one of them. The head carpenter was Harvey Bream. Ed Group also was a carpenter. Beam, who lived in Gardners, would walk to Idaville to meet Bream and Group; then the

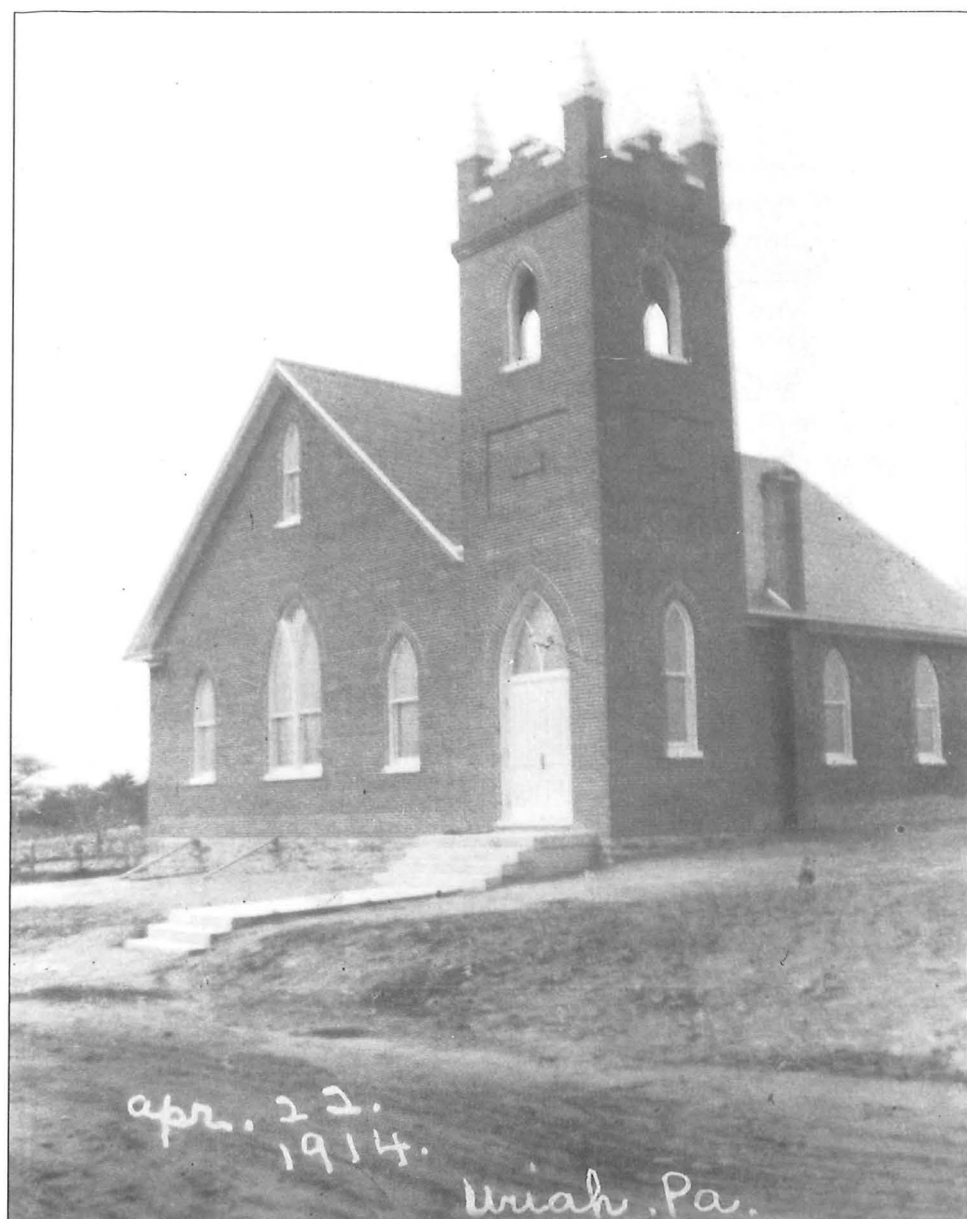


URIAH (FLINT RIDGE) EVANGELICAL CHURCH, in 1878-1913. Courtesy of the author.

three of them would walk over the hill, sometimes in knee-deep snow, to work on the church in the winter of 1913-14. Brick layers were paid .37cents an hour. The person who mixed the mud was paid 13 cents an hour.

The old church was torn down, apparently by members of the congregation, while the new church was being built. Some material in the old church was used in the new building. Members of the congregation held Sunday School and church in the Uriah public school during the construction period.

Jennie Gardner boarded the brick layers. They included two brothers from Mt. Holly Springs. Their names were probably Ditzler. Georgia Sowers helped her prepare the food. Eva Frost and Freeman Glass helped to fire the stoves at night in order to keep the plaster from freezing. George Day and Uriah ("Dick") Gardner hauled the bricks, by horse and wagon, from the railroad siding at Goodyear.



URIAH (FLINT RIDGE) EVANGELICAL (NOW UNITED METHODIST) CHURCH, GARDNERS, PA., 1914. Courtesy of the author.

Information available indicates the final cost of the new church was between \$3,180 and \$3,694. This probably does not include donated labor of approximately \$1,000. The church was originally scheduled to be dedicated in the late winter of 1914, but due to a blizzard, the ceremony was postponed until the spring. Actual dedication took place in May 1914. A balcony was added to this church building in 1934.

Rev. F. E. Brickley, who as the pastor at Uriah in 1916, was the first minister at Uriah to drive a car. He had a 1914 Ford, which replaced a horse and buggy.

Two maple trees were planted in front of the Uriah Church in memory of Claire Richwine and Carroll Fanus, two young men from the area who gave their lives in World War I.

Rev. George W. Frey served as pastor at Uriah (1917-1922) during the war years. Freeman Glass was called-up for an Army physical on November 10, 1918. On the Sunday prior to November 10, Rev. Mr. Frey was at the Glass home for dinner. Rev. Frey told Freeman, "I don't think you will need to go to the service, the war is about over." Freeman took his physical on November 10, but was not called for induction as the Armistice was signed the next day.

During Rev. Mr. Frey's pastorate there was another big revival, at which 100 to 125 were converted.

Sunday School officers in 1917 were: Dosh Murtorff, superintendent; Mark Herman, assistant superintendent; Mrs. Paul Davis, secretary; Bessie Trump, assistant secretary; Ruth Marks, organist; Hazel Fanus, Gertie Mullen and Lavada Rockey, assistant organists; and Edward Trump, treasurer, grandfather of the writer of this history.

Sunday School officers in 1919 were: Mark Herman, superintendent; James Wingert, assistant superintendent; secretary, Helen Day; assistants, Mrs. Frank Mullen and Esther Winand; treasurer, Edward Trump; librarians, Ethel Trump and Susan Gardner; assistants, Hazel Fanus and Esther Winand; organist, Ruth Marks; assistants, Lola Rockey and Gertie Mullen.

Sunday School officers in 1920 were: Mark Herman, superintendent; assistant, Dosh Murtorff; secretary, Helen Day; assistants, Gertie Mullen and Helen Haskell; Edward Trump, treasurer; Ivy Glass, Ethel Trump and Lola Rockey, librarians (Ladies Side); Esther Winand, Pauline Gardner and Esther Beitman, librarians (Men's Side); Ruth Rockey, organist; assistants, Lola Rockey and Gertie Mullen.

Cradle Roll members in 1920 included, Vivian Davis, Hilda Jean Gardner, Margaret Fanus, Earnestine Glass, Esther Howe, Ruth Hamilton, Esther Group, Evelyn Weidner, Lillian Richwine, Esther Vernon, Dorothy Fahnestock, Stella Herman, Melvin Day, George Murtorff, Robert Fahnestock, Paul Murtorff, Norman Howe, Herschel Frost, Russell Kuhn and Ray Weidner.

1925 Quarterly Conference members from Uriah Church included: Bruno Group, assistant class leader, steward and trustee; Edward Trump, class leader and trustee; Daniel Winand, trustee; Dosh Murtorff, president of Christian Endeavor; Donald Haskell, Sunday School superintendent; James Wingert, Mrs. James Wingert, Stella Walters and Irma Winand, stewards.

In 1926 Uriah was put back on a charge with Mt. Holly Springs and Idaville. The charge was named Mt. Holly Springs.

The Ladies Prothumai Sunday School was organized in 1934. Mrs. Maude McCans was the teacher.

Quarterly Conference and Official Board for 1935, during the Rev. Carl E. Young's one-year assignment at Uriah, record the following: Rev. Young's salary raised from \$20 to \$25 per month, and construction of a retaining wall in front of the church was approved. The wall was built in 1936.

Sunday School teachers and assistants in 1935 were: Class No. 1, Edward Trump and Bruno Group; Class No. 2, Ellis Frost and Bruno Group; Class No. 3, Maude McCans and Mildred Weaver; Class No. 4, Warren Weaver and Katie Murtorff; Class No. 5, Mary Glass and Esther Howe; Class No. 6, Irene Marks and Katie Murtorff; Class No. 7, Pauline Nell and Rosy Myers; and Class No. 8, Mrs. Elmer Sowers and Jean Gardner.

The Rev. H. Leroy Brininger was appointed as a student-pastor to serve the Mt. Holly Springs Charge—Mt. Holly Springs, Uriah and Idaville—at the Annual Conference session held in Red Lion on March 5-9, 1936. He served until 1939.

Quoting from an historical record made by the Rev. Mr. Brininger prior to his leaving the Mt. Holly Springs charge: "The Uriah Church made some major improvements, including retaining walls, shrubbery, new lighting, etc. This total cost of near \$900 was paid in cash. Helpful revivals have been held each year, with new members added to the church. However, there are still many prayers unanswered and dreams unrealized. There is yet much work to be done. This is a great field of labor. We leave it with many pleasant memories and many earnest prayers."

While serving at Uriah, Rev. Brininger played first base on the Idaville baseball team. He supposedly hit the longest ball every hit on the Idaville diamond. A left-handed batter, he hit a ball to right field that went across Route 34 and up on the porch of the Reuben Showers home.

No Sunday School or worship services were held at Uriah for two Sundays during the winter of 1935-36 due to snow-bound roads.

1937 Official Board minutes for Uriah shows the following information: At January 30th meeting voted to receive electric current from the new Metropolitan Light Company line which is to be constructed along the Goodyear-Uriah

road. On April 24 paid first electric bill, .84 cents (apparently for part of month); and May 22 bills included electric bill for \$2.10.

Participants in the March 9, 1941, Christian Endeavor meeting included Sylvester Bream, Sr., Freeman Glass, Corman Day and Amos Glass as topic leaders. Cecile Bream and son, Sylvester, Jr., sang a duet. Ethel Murtorff was the leader for the September 14 meeting. Cecile Bream led in prayer. Topic leaders were Freeman Glass, Bruno Group and Ellis Frost. The collection was 70 cents.

A W. M. S. (Women's Missionary Society) was organized at Uriah in 1941. Mrs. Robert Lunday, wife of Uriah's pastor, was instrumental in getting it organized. The first executive meeting was held October 20, 1941, at the home of Jennie Gardner. Dues were fixed at 5 cents per month. The first regular meeting was held November 20, 1941, at the home of Stella Marks. Thirteen members and two visitors were present. The first officers were: Dorothy Day, president; Jennie Gardner, vice president; Stella Marks, recording secretary; Mary Howe, corresponding secretary; and Lavada Delp, treasurer.

Spring Rally Day was held May 21, 1944, with Arthur Bennett, as Sunday School teacher, Army Pfc. Thomas, guest worship speaker, 227 present, and offering \$104.35. Sunday School on June 18 was opened by Corman Day and closed with prayer by Pvt. Amos Glass, a member of the Uriah church, who was home on leave from the Army. There were 111 present and offering of \$29.51.

In 1950-51 the church building erected in 1914 was enlarged and extensively remodeled, including adding a basement for classrooms for children and youth. Dedication took place September 9, 1951. The remodeling included removing the balcony added in 1934. During the remodeling Uriah met with their sister church in Idaville for Sunday School and worship services.

A Young Couples Sunday School Class was organized in 1951.

In 1959 a Building Committee was named to pursue the addition of nursery facilities. A nursery addition on the southeast corner of the church was dedicated April 16, 1961.

In 1965 the charges were again realigned. Uriah and Idaville were removed from the Mt. Holly Springs Charge and put on the Mt. Tabor Charge.

In 1968 the Evangelical United Brethren and Methodist denominations merged to form the United Methodist denomination. Twenty-two years earlier, in 1946, the Evangelical and United Brethren in Christ denominations had merged to form the Evangelical United Brethren denomination.

In 1966 a committee was named to study the possibility of Uriah becoming a one-church charge (or station). This became a reality in 1971, after the Uriah congregation voted in favor of having their own pastor and the change received the approval of the Annual Conference. Rev. Mr. Charles W. McCulloh, Jr.

became Uriah's first pastor who served only the Uriah church. As a result of becoming a station, a parsonage was built east of the church building. It was dedicated on April 28, 1971.

Approximatley 76 members of Uriah's congregation presented a program, "Uriah United Methodist Church musically says Happy Birthday America" in observance of the country's 200th birthday in 1976. Due to popular demand, several performances were presented.

As a result of the interest of Uriah's members in mission work, the congregation voted in 1978 to give direct support to a missionary by partially supporting Mr. and Mrs. Sam Lawson in the United Methodist Red Bird Mission Field in Kentucky.

The Uriah congregation observed its 100th anniversary in 1978. The highlight of the Centennial Year was on Sunday, July 16. Former pastor, Rev. H. Leroy Brininger, was the speaker at the 9:30 worship service, when new pews, new wall-to-wall carpet and the redecorated sanctuary were dedicated. Historical information was presented by Charles Trump, Church historian, during a special program at 3 o'clock, which included remarks by former pastors and current members of the congregation. This was followed by a fellowship period. The evening program featured a musical drama, "I Cry Unto Thee," depicting the life of Christ. Gary Day served as chairperson of the Centennial Committee.

In 1980, 30 church members traveled by bus to the United Methodist Mission in Red Bird, Kentucky.

The latest addition to the physical properties at Uriah is a two-story educational/fellowship hall, which was dedicated on October 3, 1993. There are six classrooms, conference room, pastor's office, secretary's office and restrooms on the first floor. The second floor includes a combination fellowship hall/gymnasium, stage, kitchen and restrooms. Much of the interior work on this building was done by members of the congregation. Ken Ream served as chairperson of the building committee.

In the 120-year history of the Uriah church two members were called to serve in full-time Christian ministry. The late Rev. Mark Herman served six different charges in the Central Pennsylvania Conference from 1921 to 1961. He was converted and joined the Uriah Church about 1917. Active in the church, he served as Sunday School superintendent for at least two years and also was an assistant Sunday School teacher. In 1921, while working for and driving Tom Glass' market wagon, he stopped and talked to William ("Bill") Arnsberger, also a member at Uriah, while Bill was plowing a field for W. S. Adams. Mark said, "Bill, I feel called to be a minister, but I don't have an education and I don't have money to go to college." Bill replied, "If God has called you, God will provide a way."



URIAH UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, EDUCATIONAL/FELLOWSHIP HALL, 1993. Courtesy of the author.

Rev. Carenda Baker, who was ordained in 1989, served the Reedsville Charge in the Central Pennsylvania Conference from 1989 to 1994. At the present time she is working as a family therapist in southwestern Pennsylvania and is serving the Otterbein United Methodist Church in Greensburg as a part-time associate pastor. She is a third generation of active members at Uriah. Her grandparents were Mr. and Mrs. Bruno Group and her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Ted Baker, Sr. Her father has served as Certified Lay Speaker at Uriah for over 25 years.

Forty-two pastors have served the Uriah church during its 120 years of Christian ministry. Rev. Richard M. Barner, the present pastor, was assigned to Uriah in 1997.

Helen Day, who until her death on January 23, 1999, was the oldest member at age 97. She had been a life-long member at Uriah. At the present time, Marion Gardner Duron, age 92, is the oldest member. She presently lives in the Gardner homestead east of the Uriah Church. The oldest male member, 90 year-old Sylvester ("Whitey") Bream, moved from Uriah to the Cumberland Crossing Retirement Community in 2000. He continues to attend services at Uriah on a regular basis.

Several other members, now deceased, had long service records as Sunday School teachers and leaders. They included Mary Ellen Delp Dymond (1888-1979), who was a church member for around 75 years and a Sunday School member for

about 90 years. Jennie Paull Gardner (1881-1989), maternal grandmother of the writer of this history, was a church member for 71 years and a Sunday School member for 89 years. Corman Day, Sr. (1905-1983) served as adult Sunday School superintendent for over 25 years. Maude Day McCans (1896-1980) taught the Ladies (or Prothumai, as it was known for years) class as teacher or assistant teacher for almost 50 years. Freeman Glass (1899-1981) taught the Men's Bible class for 28 years. Sylvester Bream, Jr. (1930-1995) served as church trustee for 35 years, most of these years as president of the board.

Programs and activities at the Uriah church include Sunday School for all ages every Sunday at 9 a.m.; worship at 10:15 a.m.; prayer service and Bible study Wednesday morning and evening; two weeks of evening Vacation Bible School in the summer; two age groups for youth; United Methodist Woman and Men; volleyball; as well as various special programs throughout the year. A Peachfest has been held for the past ten years, includes food, gospel singing and fellowship. Easter eggs are made annually. The church also sponsors Girl Scout units for all ages. The most recent addition to the church program is a Day Care. Other programs include Promise Keepers; publishing a church newsletter, "The Messenger," six times a year; providing a church van for use by all age groups; and a regular visitation program for "shut-ins" is scheduled.

In addition, many musical opportunities are available for those with musical talent. This includes adult choir, youth and children's musical groups, and adult and youth musical ensembles. The most recent addition to the musical program is handbells, which were dedicated on September 24, 2000.

Included among Uriah's special missionary endeavors is direct support to the United Methodist McCurdy Mission School in Espanola, New Mexico, and the United Methodist Nigerian Airplane Project in Bambur, Nigeria, Africa.

The present church membership is 270; Sunday School membership is 230; and attendance in both Sunday School and worship services averages about 150.

Book Reviews

Sharon R. Nelson, ed., *Historic Monroe Township: A Collection of Articles and Images Illuminating Various Aspects of Our Community's Past*. (Camp Hill: Plank's Suburban Press, 2000) 90 pp. Paperback, \$10.00

It is exciting to have the opportunity to review an outstanding local history book, *Historic Monroe Township*. The goal of the authors, as given in the foreword, was "to document the history of our municipality and to share our knowledge and educational resources with the community." I am pleased to report that they have more than accomplished their goal.

What catches the eye at the start is the striking quality of the volume, which is printed on high-grade glossy paper. The color cover, which features three paintings of local scenes, is another lovely touch. The identities of the artists are listed on page v with the photographs and illustrations, a bit removed from where such information is generally available inside the front cover. Talented local artists have filled the book with appropriate artwork.

The layout of the volume is well done and complements the texts. The organization of materials is easy to follow. The writers do not try to tell everything about the township in a great sweep of history, but rather they thoroughly examine chosen aspects of the past.

There are many photographs and maps that enhance the story. Readers are encouraged to check what items or sources they may have and to share them and add to the local knowledge. So the volume is not exhaustive, but, rather, the process of learning about Monroe Township is ongoing.

In the introduction, Daniel J. Heisey tackles the overarching question, "Why bother with local history?" After considering that thoughtful piece, the reader understands the purpose of searching for meaning in one's surroundings. It goes beyond an individual's roots; it seeks to interpret the history of a whole community. So beginning with the township's formation, the authors clearly show the connectiveness of history with reference to local, state, and national leaders.

The photo essays are self-explanatory. In this case the pictures are well-chosen and are indeed worth a thousand words. Some are great fun as well as

historically significant, particularly the privies. Local history does not get more basic than that!

Other remarkable photos include the aerial view on page 40 of the area around Churchtown. The viewer can clearly see why the term “patchwork” applies. It certainly does look like a crazy quilt of long ago. On that particular photo, it would be helpful to have the four listed tracts marked with letters or arrows. They are only “clearly” obvious to readers who are knowledgeable to begin with. The complex patent tract overlay map is amazing. The simplified version on the following page (44) is helpful.

No community is complete without its fire company. Where would small areas be without their volunteer firefighters? Not enough kind words can be said about the brave folks who protect their neighbors as well as their own families.

The architecture of the area is well discussed and illustrated. The drawings are great teaching tools. Others topics are examined also, including churches, geology, natural resources, and agriculture. A most valuable tool to researchers is the index of early settlers. So often there is no name index included in such a volume, that the collaborators are to be commended for this worthwhile effort. Having an order form in the book is a good idea, but perhaps the historical society should have omitted the prices so as not to be locked in for years to come.

On a personal note, this history make me recall my book, *Hartslog Heritage*, completed in 1975 to help people prepare for America’s Bicentennial. It spawned a museum (the Hartslog Heritage Museum) and an annual homecoming festival (Hartslog Day), which is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year. Who knows what may happen in Monroe Township as a result of this fine publication?

Huntingdon County Historical Society

Nancy R. Taylor

The Selected Letters of Marianne Moore, edited by Bonnie Costello, Celeste Goodridge, and Cristanne Miller. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, 1997, cloth \$35, xv, 597; index; ISBN 0-679-43909-9; paperback \$15.95. ISBN 0-14-118120-6

Marianne Moore arrived in Carlisle with her mother and brother in 1896. She was eight years old. She left for good, except for occasional visits, twenty years later in 1916. By then, she was a property owner, a college graduate, and a confirmed Presbyterian for life. She had proven herself employable. She had acquired lifelong friendships. In Carlisle she had formed her ambition to be a writer: initially a novelist, then a journalist, and finally a poet. She had absorbed and later refined a perspective of the world that, expressed in poetry, made her one of the most eminent and influential American poets of the twentieth century.

These simple yet suggestive facts continue to baffle her biographers and critics. No one has worked to offer a proper evaluation of her life in Carlisle. Even in this long-awaited sampling of Moore's correspondence, Carlisle gets short shrift. Despite dozens of specific references, "Carlisle" is not indexed. Errors of fact are set forth with a confident air. A few early ones may alarm any reader with minimal local knowledge: Carlisle is not "nearby" to Pittsburgh; a "manse" is what pastors live in, not a unique name for a house; Sterrett's Gap is a geographical place, not a town.

The editors, all literary critics, are more comfortable beginning with 1918, when Marianne and her mother moved to New York City. Here Moore plunged into the whirl of the urban arts and letters. She edited the *Dial* for four years, moved to Brooklyn, and published acclaimed collections of her poetry. Her correspondents, increasing in number over the years as her reputation and influence grew, included Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, Elizabeth Bishop, William Carlos Williams, W. H. Auden, and E.E. Cummings, an honor roll of twentieth century poetry. Her letters never failed in spirit and charm. She wrote from her interest in all things to people around the world, and this passion for exploration only burned brighter with the passing years. In this perspective, this book is valuable and a joy to read.

The portrait of the poet that emerges from this selection is true enough to life, but it is incomplete. As the editors admit, eight percent of family correspondence between 1910 and 1947 has been included. Presumably the letters yet unpublished would have plentiful and detailed references to Carlisle and its world before World War I. These letters would not only help Carlisle reclaim its most famous daughter, but they would illuminate the mysterious growth of the quiet child on North Hanover Street into the world-famous writer who shaped a century of poetry. Imagine the treasures still guarded by the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia! More provocatively still, imagine the traces yet in Carlisle of such an artist.

Marianne Moore wrote to the world, and the world wrote back. Future editors of her letters and future scholars of her work must consider those crucial twenty years when a Carlisle girl mastered the English language and grew into a woman who set the words down on paper for all the world to celebrate.

Carlisle, PA

Jeffrey S. Wood

John Lukacs, *A Student's Guide to the Study of History*. (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2000). Paperback, 49 pp. ISBN 188292641-2 \$5.95.

One of the criticisms of members of local historical societies is that they are too local. They are, it is charged, too absorbed in tax lists and census rolls to see the broader panorama of the past. They can trace a title or transcribe the inventory of

a will, but amateurs are seen by some professionals as akin to children who can recite a list of the kings of England. In defense of amateurs, let it be said that many are in fact genealogists and by nature think more like statisticians than like poets, and most have come to their study late in life, hoping their grandchildren will give a care and wishing their parents had written something down.

Enter John Lukacs, professor emeritus of history at Chestnut Hill College, and this engaging little book. In fewer than 50 pages Lukacs introduces one to the study of history, which he calls "the remembered past." Lukacs's booklet is part of a useful new series by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (other volumes include Ralph McNerny on philosophy and Wilfred McClay on American history), and it distills the at times ponderous and abstruse observations in his sprawling *Historical Consciousness* (1968). Here Lukacs briskly provides stimulating advice on how one ought to set about reading and writing history. Although his words are aimed at the bewildered undergraduate, those students outside the walls of academe also will benefit from his wise guidance.

As Lukacs says, "there is *no essential difference* between the 'professional' and the 'amateur' historian" (his emphasis). His point is that unlike, say, brain surgery, one does not need an advanced degree to write history. What is required, he insists, is a certain maturity and a love of one's subject, along with an ability to write good prose. "There can be no good historian," he says, "who cannot write well." He adds, "If you cannot tell a story clearly, this means that it is not really clear in your own mind." As with any guide book, whether to a city or a skill (and Lukacs twice uses the analogy of a cook book), it does no harm to state what is obvious to the old hand.

Above clarity, Lukacs values integrity. "What matters, first and foremost," he declares, "is the genuineness of your interest in history." True interest in the past—in what is remembered and the records aiding memory—inspires one's research, strengthens the desire to know more. "The more you know about something," Lukacs says, "the easier it will become for you to absorb more knowledge about it." But, a caution: "No matter how detailed and assiduous, your research will never be complete."

Lukacs does not believe in "definitive" histories; he does not recognize a "last word" on a subject. It is not surprising, then, that he prefers "descriptions" to "definitions." He describes history as "the frequent, and constant, rethinking of the past." And again: "History is...the knowledge that human beings have of other human beings." This sense of community with one's fellow man was once nobly called humanism; it often masks voyeurism. Thus, Lukacs does not hold with Ambrose Bierce that historians are "broad-gauge gossips." Integrity of desire and clarity of thought—each a tool in pursuing truth—lead beyond morbid curiosity to more than a sense of community. They lead to a sense of continuity.

Lukacs hails what he sees as a renewed interest in history, and he approvingly notes the increase in the work of local historical societies. "There are," Lukacs says, "three times as many local historical societies as there were sixty years ago; their membership includes many young people, not predominantly old ladies in tennis shoes whose interest is primarily genealogical." Heart-warming, if left-handed, encouragement from a venerable professional historian. If a classic is a book praised but never read, may this little gem never become a classic.

Carlisle, Pa.

Daniel J. Heisey

Also Noted

While it is beyond the scope of this Journal to assess the literary merit of works of poetry, it is appropriate to recognize the light poetry throws upon the past. As part of Cumberland County's continuing celebration of its 250th anniversary, an anthology of verse appears, courtesy of The Carlisle Poets, the local chapter of the Pennsylvania Poetry Society. *Celebrating Cumberland County's 250th Anniversary through Poetry* (\$6.95 paperback) contains poems by local authors now living as well as those long gone.

Of significance to readers of this Journal are poems by Isabella Oliver (1777-1843) and Sarah Woods Parkinson (1864-1933). Their appearance in this volume marks a resurrection of sorts; these poems have long been out of print, buried in the vaults of rare book rooms. The poems of Oliver and Parkinson (whatever their literary merit) cast important light on the social and cultural life of Old Carlisle.

Included here is Oliver's "Composed on the Banks of the Conodoguinet," an ode owing much to William Cowper's hymn, "There is a Fountain Filled with Blood." Chosen from Parkinson's *oeuvre* is "Molly Pitcher," originally inscribed upon the graveyard monument to that local legend. Of use to future historians will be the biographical notes on the various poet—as well, of course, as the poems themselves and the social and cultural illumination they provide.

Recent Acquisitions

- The American Art Book*, 1999. 512pp; hard cover. \$39.95. Phaidon Press Limited. Available from Whistleshop Bookshop, 129 West High Street, Carlisle, PA. 17013. Phone (717) 243-4774. Donated by Jeff and Betsy Wood in honor of Florence Whalen.
- Bucks County Pennsylvania Deed Records, 1684-1763*, John David Davis, 1997. 518pp; paper. \$42.00. Heritage Books, Inc. 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Bowie, MD. 20716. Phone (800) 398-7709. Donated by John Daley.
- Cite Your Sources: A Manual For Documenting Family Histories and Genealogical Records*, Richard S. Lackey, 1980. 94pp; paper. \$11.95. University Press of Mississippi. Available from Whistleshop Bookshop, 129 West High Street, Carlisle, PA. 17013. Phone (717) 243-4744. Donated by Katherine Lehman.
- Clowning Around and Other Poems*, Leon Geoffrey, 2000. 48pp; paper. \$9.00. Available from Whistleshop Bookshop, 129 West High Street, Carlisle, PA. 17013. Phone (717) 243-4744. Donated by Leon Geoffrey.
- Clyde A. Laughlin-Biography and Postcard Checklist*, Walter Lewis Cressler, Jr., 2000. 45/86pp; paper. \$16.95. Available from the Cumberland County Historical Society Museum Shop. Phone (717) 249-7610. Donated by Clyde A. Laughlin.
- Colonial Craftsmen and the Beginnings of American Industry*, Edwin Tunis, 1999. 159pp; paper. \$18.95. The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2715 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD. 21218-4363. Phone (410) 516-6900. Donated by Dean and Katharine Lehman in memory of Frank E. and Katharine (Main) Failor.
- Cumberland County Pennsylvania, Church Records of the 18th Century*, F. Edward Wright, 1994. 169pp; paper. \$14.00. Willow Bend Books and Family Line Publications, 65 East Main Street, Westminster, MD. 21157-5036. Phone (800)876-6103. Donated by Patti Leggett.
- Cumberland County, Pennsylvania Quarter Session Dockets, 1750-1785*, Diane E. Greene, 2000. 347pp; paper. \$29.50. Clearfield Company, Inc., Genealogy Publishing Co., Inc. 1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, MD. 21202. Phone (800) 296-6687. Donated by Ann Kramer Hoffer.

- Delware-English/English Delaware Dictionary*, John O'Meara, 1996. 660pp; hard cover. \$75.00. University of Toronto Press. 10 St. Mary Street, Suite 700, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4Y 2W8. Donated by Ron Schoeffel.
- Doing a Good Business, 100 Years at the Bon-Ton*, Nancy Elizabeth Cohen, 1998. 112pp; hard cover. Greenwich Publishing Group, Inc. Out-of-print. Donated by Dickinson College Library.
- Genealogy Starter Kit*, 2nd edition, William Dollarhide, 1998. 48pp; paper. Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc. Available from the Cumberland County Historical Society Museum Shop. Phone (717) 249-7610. Society Purchase.
- Guide to African American Resources at the Pennsylvania State Archives*, Ruth E. Hodge, 2000. 598pp; paper. \$39.95. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Available from the Cumberland County Historical Society Museum Shop. Phone (717) 249-7610. Society Purchase.
- Guide to Monuments and Graves of Silver Spring Presbyterian Cemetery*, Bill Spoon, 2000. 31pp; paper. \$5.00. Silver Spring Presbyterian Church. 444 Silver Spring Road, Mechanicsburg, PA. 17055. Phone (717) 766-0204. Donated by Bill Spoon and Silver Spring Presbyterian Church.
- Historic Monroe Township: A Collection of Articles and Images Illuminating Various Aspects of our Community's Past*, 2000. 90pp; paper. \$10.00. Monroe Township Historical Society. PO Box 101, Boiling Springs, PA. 17007. Phone (717) 243-6445. Donated by Monroe Township Historical Society.
- Indian School, Teaching the White Man's Way*, Michael L. Cooper, 1999. 103 pp; hard cover. \$15.00. Clarion Books, 215 Park Avenue South, New York, NY. 10003. Phone (212) 420-5800. Donated by Michael L. Cooper.
- Katharine Drexel, a Biography*, Sister Consuela Marie Duffy, S.B.B., 1987. 434pp; paper. \$10.00. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Bl. Katharine Drexel Shrine Shop. 1663 Bristol Pike, Bensalem, PA 19020. Phone (215) 244-9900, ext. 364. Donated by Daniel Heisey.
- The Kittochitnny Historical Society*, vol. xx, 1998. 389pp; paper. \$35.00. Kittochitnny Historical Society, 175 King Street, Chambersburg, PA. 17201. Phone (717) 264-1667. Society Exchange.
- Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: a Biographical Dictionary*, volume one, 1682-1709, Craig W. Horle, Marianne S. Wokeck, Jeffrey L. Scheib, Josephs S. Foster, et al., editors, 1991. 880pp; hard cover. \$100.00. University of Pennsylvania Press. PO Box 4836, Hampden Station, Baltimore, MD. 21211. Phone (800) 445-9880. Donated by Dr. Joseph Foster and B. Bruce Briggs.

- Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: a Biographical Dictionary*, volume two, 1710-1756, Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, Jeffrey L. Scheib, et al., editors, 1997. 1210pp; hard cover. \$148.00. University of Pennsylvania Press. PO Box 4836, Hampden Station, Baltimore, MD. 21211. Phone (800) 445-9880. Donated by Dr. Joseph Foster and B. Bruce Briggs.
- The Manor of Eden: Found After 255 Years*, Wilmer B. Maxwell, 1997. 20pp; paper. \$5.00. Available from the author. 117 S. Orange Street, Carlisle, PA. 17013. e-mail: ltcmax@aol.com.
- The Legend of AMP*, Jeffrey L. Rodengen, 1997. 169pp; hard cover. \$39.95. Write Stuff Enterprises, Inc. 1515 South East 4th Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, FL. 33316. Phone (800) 900-2665. Donated by Homer Henschen.
- The Old County Store on the Miracle Mile: A True Story*, Mel Spahr, 2000. 45pp; paper. \$8.95. Vantage Press, Inc. Available from the Cumberland County Historical Society Museum Shop. Phone (717) 249-7610. Donated by Mel Spahr.
- The Papers of the Henry Bouquet*, vol. vi, edited by Louis M. Waddell, 1994. 898 pp; hard cover. \$65.00. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Publications Sales Program, Pennsylvania Heritage Society. PO Box 11466, Harrisburg, PA. 17108-1466. Phone (800) 747-7790. Donated by Harry Goldby.
- The PNPA Story*. Bern Sharfman, 1999. 188pp; paper. \$25.00. Pennsylvania Newspaper Association. 3899 North Front Street, Harrisburg, PA. 17110. Phone (717) 703-3000. Donated by the Pennsylvania Newspaper Association.
- Pictorial History Series (including Big Spring Area, Carlisle Area, Mechanicsburg Area, Shippensburg Area, West Shore Area)*, 2000. 96pp each; paper. \$75.00 series, \$16.95 single copies. Cumberland County 250th Anniversary Committee. 1 South Hanover Street, Carlisle, PA. 17013. Phone (717) 240-6522.
- Tuscarora-English/English-Tuscarora Dictionary*, 1999. 700pp; hard cover. \$80.00. University of Toronto Press, 10 St. Mary Street, Suite 700, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4y 2W8. Donated by Ron Schoeffel.
- Virtutis Praemium: The Men Who Founded the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania*, John Dwight Kilbourne, 1998. 2 volumes, hard cover. \$99.50. Picton Press. PO Box 250, Rockport, ME 04856-0250. Phone (207)236-6565. Donated by the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.
- Additionally, the Cumberland County Historical Society has recently received several bound copies of the works of Rev. William Swaim. Rev. Swaim was a retired Presbyterian pastor who spent much time in his later life researching

and writing about the history of the early Cumberland Valley. Following his death, the William Swaim Historical Trust has provided the CCHS with a letter size filing cabinet and has begun to fill it with several of the original works of Rev. Swaim. Some of these works are rare and can only be viewed at a few locations. This collection is currently in the Lower Level Library Storage area and can be viewed by asking a library staff member for assistance.

Publications In Print

THE COUNTY HERITAGE SERIES

- The Bitter Fruits: The Civil War Comes to a Small Town in Pennsylvania.* (1998).
David G. Colwell \$39.95
- In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century
Cumberland County* (1997). Clarke Garrett \$37.50
- Past Receipts, Present Recipes* (1996).
Members and Friends of the Cumberland County Historical Society. \$35.00
- Cloth and Costume, 1750–1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (1995).
Tandy and Charles M. Hersh \$34.95
- Taverns of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1750–1840* (1994).
Merri Lou Schaumann \$34.95
- The Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918* (1993, paperback 2000).
Linda F. Witmer \$24.95
- “...Drive the Road and Bridge the Ford...”*. *Highway Bridges of Nineteenth
Century Cumberland County* (1992). Paul E. Gill \$24.95

Other Books

- Atlas of Cumberland County* (1858, reprint 1987).
H.F. Bridgens \$30.00

Add Pennsylvania State Sales Tax of 6% and \$4 for postage and handling.

Booklets and Pamphlets

- Archibald Loudon: Pioneer Historian.* William A. Hunter (1962) \$2.00
- Confederate Invasion of the West Shore, 1863.*
Robert G. Crist (1963, reprint 1995) \$6.50
- Three Cumberland County Woodcarvers.* Milton E. Flower (1986) \$5.00
- Made in Cumberland County: The First One Hundred Years.*
Cumberland County Historical Society (1991) \$5.00
- Cumberland County History.* Single issues, as available \$5.00

Pennsylvania State Sales Tax of 6% and \$2 for postage and handling.

A complete list of Society publications in print is available on request.