




2008

Adams County History 2008

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Adams County History 2008

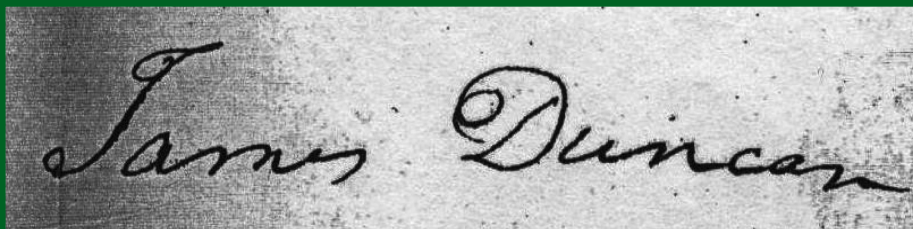
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ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY

A close-up of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "James Duncan Recorder". Above the signature, the word "oo." is partially visible. The ink is dark on a light-colored, slightly textured paper.

Signature of James Duncan of Adams County, March 14, 1800

A close-up of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "James Duncan". The ink is dark on a light-colored, slightly textured paper.

Signature of James Duncan of Cumberland County, June 24, 1802

Published by the

Adams County Historical Society

Cover Illustrations: Signature of James Duncan from Adams County is from the collections of the Adams County Historical Society. Signature of James Duncan from Cumberland County is from the collections of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



2008

Volume 14

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Dr. Michael J. Birkner, editor
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Statement of Purpose

The Adams County Historical Society is committed to the preservation of the social, political, and religious history of the county and to the promotion of the study of history. Expressing its commitment, the society maintains museum displays a valuable library of publications, and manuscript material which includes estate papers, deed books, land surveys, and newspapers. In addition, it publishes important historical studies and re-prints of earlier studies on Adams County, a newsletter, and a journal.

The editor of *Adams County History* encourages and invites the submission of essays and notices reflecting the rich history of Adams County. Submission should be typed double spaced and available in a pc compatible word processing format. Contributors should include a hardcopy and electronic copy of their work on a CD-ROM. Generally, style should conform to the latest edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. Contributors should retain copies of the typescript submitted. If return is desired, a self-addressed envelope with postage should be included.

Submissions and inquires should be addressed to:

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Editor's Note

History affords us many pleasures. For readers of popular or scholarly history, satisfaction can be found in learning something one did not previously know, absorbing an engaging story, or watching historical detection unfold. As it happens, the lead essay in this issue of *Adams County History* provides elements of all three pleasures. Director Emeritus Charles H. Glatfelter and current Director Wayne Motts have collaborated in untangling and recounting the stories of two south central Pennsylvania James Duncans—each a prominent figure in their respective home towns, but decidedly not the same man! Glatfelter and Motts here correct misimpressions left by an entry in a Princeton University biographical dictionary relating to the Adams County James Duncan. In the process readers will learn a good deal about politics in Adams and surrounding counties, as well as the state of Pennsylvania in the first decades of the 19th century. Not least, they will have set the historical record straight, so that Carlisle's James Duncan—who was elected to Congress in 1820 and served for several years as Auditor General of Pennsylvania—will get his due, much as Adams County's James Duncan—a veteran of the American Revolution, Abbottstown merchant, and subsequently a long-time county officer holder based in Gettysburg—will receive his own just historical desserts. The metaphor seems apt, because Glatfelter and Motts have served up a tasty treat.

The historical detection theme continues in Troy Harman's patient excavation of sources relevant to life at the Pine Grove and Caledonia furnaces in the mid 19th century. Harman is especially interested in establishing that African Americans—some of them surely escaped fugitive slaves—did indeed work at these locations (the records for which were destroyed in June 1863 by Confederate troops). Not only does he enhance our understanding of blacks' contributions to the charcoal making process at these furnaces, he illuminates other themes, concluding with the provocative suggestion that there were distinctive parallels between life on southern plantations and life at furnaces operated by free labor. Harman graciously credits the work of historians Fred Weiser, Debra McCauslin, and Bradley Hoch as foundation points for his own investigations, which surely will spark further research and discussion of an important if historically obscure piece of the Underground Railroad story.

The third offering in this issue is sure to please genealogists. Isaac William Pearson served as a physician in York Springs for roughly half a century (1850-1900), delivering more than 1000 babies over a wide swath of this agricultural region. Pearson's original notebooks recording the births he attended from 1854-1894 have been lost. But copies exist in several locations, and Adams County Historical Society volunteer Kevin Greenholt presents a transcribed and edited version of them here.

Under my editorship the journal has tried to feature each year one or more books significant to the history of Adams County. This year we present a pungent assessment of Dr. Frederick Wentz's biography of his father, Abdel Ross Wentz. In a slender but carefully researched volume Wentz recounts and assesses his father's protean career as a teacher, preacher, scholar, seminary president, and ecumenist. It was a remarkably productive life, well rendered. Reviewer Charles Hambrick-Stowe captures the highlights and tips his cap to Fred Wentz's homage to a distinguished Adams Countian.

MJB

Michael J. Birkner
December 3, 2008

Will The Real James Duncan Please Stand Up?

By Charles H. Glatfelter and Wayne E. Motts

From 1956 through 1967 viewers enjoyed one of the most popular early television shows, *To Tell the Truth*. Host Bud Collyer would call on three contestants, standing side by side, to explain briefly who they were. Giving different stories, all claimed to be one and the same person. When they finished making their presentations, the host would turn to a panel of four, asking them to identify the only contestant who was in fact telling the truth about himself or herself. Then Collyer would ask that person to please stand up.

There were two contemporaries, both named James Duncan, who figure prominently in the life of Adams and Cumberland counties, Pennsylvania, in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Recent attempts to explain who they were and what they did have resulted in just enough confusion that neither man would likely have qualified for appearing as a contestant on *To Tell The Truth*. The time has come to set the record straight, at least to the extent that the available credible evidence makes it possible for us to ask the real Adams County James and the real Cumberland County James to please stand up.

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We begin with the Adams County James, who already has a biographer. Was he telling the truth?

Between 1976 and 1991 Princeton University Press published five volumes of a work titled *Princetonians...A Biographical Dictionary*, which included sketches of Princeton graduates between 1748 and 1794. One of these was James Duncan, a 1775 graduate of what was then known as the College of New Jersey.

Although the author of the James Duncan sketch listed the 1886 history of Cumberland and Adams counties first among the sources consulted, he neither used it carefully nor gave any evidence he ever consulted the resources of the historical societies of either of the two counties. Consequently, he made the following statements: The Duncan name was so common at the time that James's "parentage is obscure." In the 1790s he owned a store in Abbottstown. He did not live there because it had no Presbyterian church. In 1799 "he purchased two parcels of land in James Gettys's lottery for the town that became Gettysburg." In 1801 he was appointed "the first prothonotary of Adams County." He was a candidate for a seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1812 and again in 1820. Early in 1821 he resigned both the Congressional seat to which he had just been elected and his county office.¹

Every statement in the preceding paragraph is either false or at least misleading, as it applies to the Adams County James Duncan.

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The author of the Princeton sketch stated that the Adams James Duncan was born in Philadelphia in 1756. We have found no proof of this, but it is probably accurate. His tombstone records that he was eighty-nine years old when he died in June 1844.

His parentage was anything but obscure. He was the son of Seth Duncan (1730-1793) who, possibly coming from Philadelphia, was granted a tavern license in Hellam township, which was located east of the town of York, in 1764. Three years later he was granted a license for a tavern in the new town of Berwick, founded by John Abbott in 1763 and soon thereafter more often known as Abbottstown. The life of a tavern license was one year. Seth applied for and received renewal of his for about a quarter century. Many tavernkeepers were also merchants. In several early deeds Seth was described as a shopkeeper.²

Seth and his first wife, Ann, were the parents of at least nine children, the oldest of whom was named James. After she died in 1777, leaving him with four minor children, Seth married Christina Bittinger (1748-1821), daughter of one of the most prominent German families in the area. They had two children. The 1783 tax list for Berwick Township, in which Abbottstown was located, identified ten persons in the Duncan household.³

After an illness of some years (his 1785 will described him as being weak in body), Seth Duncan died on August 3, 1793. The many papers generated by his estate indicate that he was still a tavernkeeper and storekeeper. The twenty-four page inventory of his personal property demonstrates just how many items one could purchase in the village of Abbottstown in 1793. Seth owned three farms, totaling more than 400 acres in area, as well as five properties in Abbottstown and Hunterstown.⁴

The minister of the Presbyterian church in Hunterstown conducted Seth's funeral, but he was buried with his first wife in the graveyard of Emanuel Reformed, now United Church of Christ Church in Abbottstown. In his will, Seth named as his executors his son James and two "trustworthy friends," William Scott and Robert McPherson, both of whom were among the leading political figures in what was still York County both before, during, and after the American Revolution. McPherson died in 1789, leaving the task to the other two.⁵

Although two children had been born to Seth Duncan after he made his will in 1785, for some unknown reason he had neither added a codicil to nor replaced that document in order to provide for them. Christina Duncan challenged the authority of the executors, and it was only on March 31, 1794 that the will was actually probated and the two surviving executors were authorized to proceed with what was a complicated task. There were at least three heirs of the estate who were minors. Real estate in three townships and two towns had to be sold, at the highest price possible. Scott and Duncan presented a first account to the court in 1810, but the final one was not submitted until 1822.⁶

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The Adams County James Duncan was not yet a teenager when his family moved to Abbottstown in 1767. Possibly intending to prepare for the Presbyterian ministry, as the Princeton biographer believed, he entered Princeton College in the fall of 1773 and was graduated two years later.⁷

What he did during the rest of 1775 and most of 1776 we do not know, but on November 3, 1776 he was commissioned second lieutenant in a regiment which Moses

Hazen had recruited and of which Congress made him the colonel in January 1776. Although it was initially authorized to be raised in Canada, Congress later permitted its recruiters to draw from all of the thirteen states. In November 1779 Hazen informed General George Washington that “its officers are raised and the Regiment recruited from North Carolina to Canada.” Probably best known as the Second Canadian Regiment, it was also called Hazen’s and Congress’s own.⁸

Promoted to first lieutenant in the Second Canadian Regiment on April 8, 1777 and to captain on March 25, 1778, James Duncan remained with the unit until he retired from the service in June 1783.⁹ He participated in most or all of its many engagements, from Quebec to Staten Island, Brandywine, Germantown, and Yorktown. The journal which he kept from October 2, 1781 until it ends abruptly thirteen days later, four days before the surrender of Cornwallis, has been published several times.¹⁰ At least some of his last days in the service were not especially happy ones. In 1782 he complained to Washington that several younger officers had been promoted unfairly ahead of him.¹¹

In May 1783 Duncan was one of the officers in his regiment who signed the founding document of the Society of the Cincinnati, the famous organization of officers formed as the army was disbanding.¹²

On October 6, 1786 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, “in consideration of the services rendered by James Duncan Captain in the late army of the United States,” awarded him a grant of 500 acres in what were designated the Donation Lands. The grant was located in what was then Westmoreland County, but in what became Mercer County in 1800.¹³

During the decade after retiring from the army in 1783, James Duncan appears to have divided his time between Abbottstown and Philadelphia. In 1785 and again in 1788 he was listed as a single man and a taxable in Berwick Township. The register of the Second Presbyterian church in Philadelphia records the marriage of James Duncan to Susanna Lear on September 11, 1788. The couple may have been living in the city when Seth Duncan died less than five years later.¹⁴

The account which Executors James Duncan and William Scott filed on April 13, 1810 recorded in great detail the numerous expenses which James had incurred in 1794 and 1795 in traveling on estate business between Philadelphia, Hunterstown (where Scott lived), and Abbottstown. Then, in June 1795 the York County orphans court granted his request, as the eldest son, to take his father’s remaining real estate at the court-determined valuation. He probably moved to Abbottstown about this time. The Berwick Township tax lists for 1797 and 1799 place him there. On October 1, 1797 he was appointed postmaster of Abbottstown and two years later he was described as a storekeeper.¹⁵ But for the opportunity which the creation of a new county in January 1800 created for him, James Duncan might have ended his career as a merchant, perhaps a tavernkeeper, and a prominent citizen of Abbottstown, worthy successor of his father.

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After about a decade of efforts by many citizens of the western parts of York County, the state legislature approved a bill creating Adams County, which the newly elected

governor, Thomas McKean, signed into law on January 22, 1800. Among the few offices which he could fill in the new county were those of clerk of the courts, prothonotary, recorder of deeds, and register of wills. He awarded all of them to James Duncan on January 24, 1800, two days after he signed the law creating the county. There were a dozen or more men of his age and experience who were lifelong residents of the new County and equally qualified for the offices to which he was appointed. Most of them were Federalists. At this time in his career the new governor was an ardent Democrat, as was James Duncan.¹⁶

Dutifully, James Duncan entered on pages 30-33 of the first Adams County deed book the text of the six commissions he had received, all dated January 24, 1800: recorder of deeds, register of wills, clerk of the oyer and terminer court, prothonotary, clerk of the quarter sessions court, and clerk of the orphans court. The first estate was created February 13, 1800. The first deed he recorded was dated March 14, 1800. The first court session assembled on June 9, 1800.¹⁷

Under the terms of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790, these row officers, as they came to be called, served at the pleasure of the governor. In 1802, 1809, 1812, and 1815 Duncan was recommissioned to continue serving in all four offices. His signature on many hundreds of official documents generated during his long tenure is evidence that he was a busy man who came in contact with many hundreds of Adams countians.¹⁸

Early in 1800 Duncan resigned as postmaster of Abbottstown and began the difficult task of disposing of his other

York County Pa. Before me the Subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace in and for said County John Hammon and Rachel his wife the within named Grantors personally appeared and acknowledged the within Indenture of Deeds to be their voluntary act and Deeds to the intent it may be entered on Record as such. She being of full age and examined apart from her said Husband voluntarily relinquished her right of Power of, in, and to the same, nothing induced thereto through fear of her said Husband. Given under my Hand and Seal the thirteenth day of April one thousand and seven hundred and ninety nine.

A true Copy taken from and compared with the original. Witness my Hand the 14th Day of March 1800. James Duncan Recorder.

The first deed which James Duncan entered for record in Adams County on March 14, 1800. Note that it was a deed which had been signed and executed almost a year earlier.

To be Rented,
(For one or more Years.)
THAT LARGE & COMMODIOUS
Dwelling-House,
LATE the Property of JAMES GETTYS, deceased, situate in York-street in the borough of Gettysburg, now occupied by JAMES DUNCAN, Esq. The house is well calculated for a Private Family and a Store, or for a House of Public Entertainment—it having been occupied for many years as a Tavern. The Stables are large and convenient; other Out houses and a good Garden Lot are attached and very conveniently situated to the said Property. Terms will be made known by
DAVID EDIE, GUARDIAN.
Gettysburg, Jan 12. tf

The Duncan family was living in the late James Getty's property, January 12, 1819.

interests there. By the time the census of 1800 was taken, he and his family were living in the part of Cumberland Township which included the town of Gettysburg. He began acquiring real estate there, but strange as it may seem neither the county nor Gettysburg borough tax lists (the town became a borough in 1806) indicated that he was assessed for a house and lot, rather than for a lot only, except in the years 1811-1813. During their other years in Gettysburg he and his family must have lived in houses they rented. In 1819, for example, they were occupying a dwelling house on York Street once owned and occupied by James Gettys, who died in 1815.¹⁹

There does not appear to be a complete and accurate record of the family of James Duncan. The usual sources for yielding such information – including wills, administrations, deeds, and Bible records – are all lacking in this case. We have concluded that Susanna Lear was in fact the wife of the Adams County James, but her first name has not been found in any record we have consulted, either in Adams or Mercer County. The censuses of 1800, 1810, and 1820 record respectively twelve, eight, and eight persons in the family of James, but only his name is mentioned as its head. In April 1800, long before Pennsylvania had a public school law, fourteen residents of Cumberland Township agreed to send children to a school to be established in Gettysburg. James Duncan agreed to send two children, but no names were given.²⁰

We have identified three children born to James Duncan and his wife. John Nicholson Duncan (1796-1860) moved to Mercer County with his father and eventually acquired most of his real estate there. Juliana Duncan (1800-1836) married John R. Thornton in 1820 and died in Greenville, Mercer County, in 1836. James Jefferson Duncan (1801) married Louise Clark in Mercer County in 1825 and also acquired part of his father's real estate.²¹

The Gettysburg *Compiler* for March 16, 1825 reported the death “on the 18th of February, in Mercer County, [of] Mrs. Duncan, wife of James Duncan, Esq. formerly Prothonotary, etc. of this county.” Even in death this woman was not accorded the courtesy of a first name.²²

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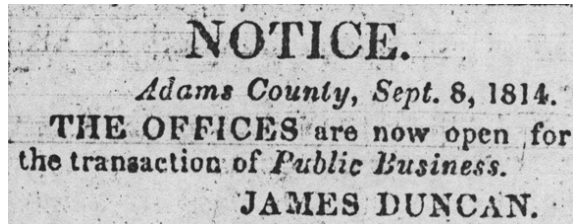
When war with Great Britain was declared in June 1812, the United States was poorly prepared to wage it on land or sea. Efforts to invade Canada failed. The Indians who joined the British inflicted heavy American casualties. Business interests suffered greatly from the effective British blockade. American victories at sea raised morale but had no effect on the blockade. When the British defeated Napoleon in April 1814, they immediately embarked upon a campaign against the Americans on three fronts: Lake Champlain, the Chesapeake Bay, and New Orleans.

The results of this effort were only partly evident when the residents of Gettysburg gathered for the customary observance of the Fourth of July 1814. Calling themselves “the Friends of Peace, and the Established Laws of Nations,” the Federalists chose their officers for the day, enjoyed “a very sumptuous dinner,” and then engaged in many toasts. One was to George Washington, “first in War – first in Peace – and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” This was followed by one to James Madison, “pusillanimous in War

– visionary in Peace – and last in promoting the interest of his country.” The Democrats chose as their officers for the day Dr. William Crawford, candidate for reelection to Congress, and James Duncan. They too had “a sumptuous dinner”, followed by toasts, each one of which was “reverberated by a discharge from the field piece.” After the day, the people, the constitution, and others, they toasted James Madison: “the enlightened friend of his Country – Every friend to its welfare and liberty will rally round and support her at every hazard while their Country is in danger.” Then, “after firing an evening gun, the company retired peaceably to their respective homes.”²³

As the British forces entered the Chesapeake Bay and in late August captured Washington, setting fire to most of the government buildings, a unit calling itself the Gettysburg Volunteer Corps was organized and marched to Baltimore. Little is known of this unit except for the list of 110 of its members which its first lieutenant submitted to the *Gettysburg Compiler* in 1850 and for a notice in the *Sentinel* on September 28, 1814 requesting those “who lately served a tour of duty at Baltimore” to meet for the purpose of receiving the compensation due them.²⁴

The list of members of this unit includes some of the leading citizens of Gettysburg, both Democrats and Federalists, some of them well past what one would consider military age. The name of James Duncan, now in his late fifties, is among them. He



Following his return from defense of Baltimore, James Duncan reopens his office, September 8, 1814.

inserted a notice dated September 8 in the *Sentinel* stating that “the offices are now open for the transaction of Public Business.” A week before the actual bombardment of Fort MCHenry, Duncan, and probably the rest of his unit, was back at work in Gettysburg.²⁵

The end of the war on more favorable terms than might have been expected in 1813 or 1814 prompted President James Monroe, in his inaugural address in 1817, to explain what he meant by “the present happy condition of the United States.” He did not observe that the successful outcome had effectively ended the first two-party system in the United States. Monroe, a Democrat, had easily won election in 1816 and there was no Federalist candidate to oppose him in 1820.²⁶

James Duncan had been recommissioned for his four row offices four times since 1800. As a Democrat he probably looked forward with confidence to at least one more extension of his tenure. If so, he was soon to be disappointed.

In 1820 Joseph Hiester was narrowly elected governor of Pennsylvania, defeating the man who had defeated him three years earlier. Although he was presented to the public as the candidate of the Friends of Reform, most countians must have decided that he was enough of a Federalist to pass muster with them. As three years earlier, 70 percent of the voters chose him.

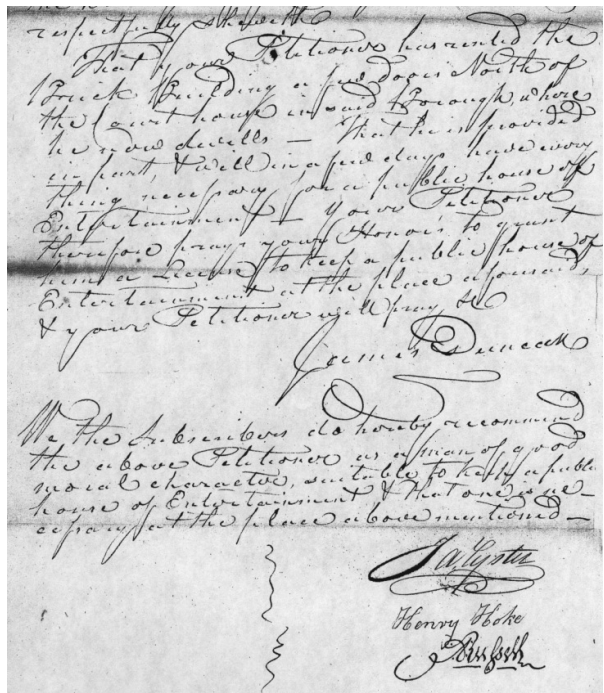
Between February 2 and 12, 1821 Hiester replaced holders of most of the row offices in more than thirty of the fifty-one counties. On February 8 he relieved James Duncan of his duties, divided the offices, named William McClellan prothonotary and clerk of the courts, and named Jacob Wintrode recorder of deeds and register of wills.²⁷ The Princeton biographer wrote that Duncan resigned his offices. In fact, he was fired.

On February 21, 1821 the editor of the *Sentinel* chose to comment on the removals by simply quoting from the *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, a Harrisburg newspaper: “The old governor...has made a fine batch of appointments,” which are “intended to strengthen the administration – and need enough there is of it.”

Since 1818 there had been a second weekly newspaper in Gettysburg. It was the *Compiler*, whose editor, Jacob Lefever, was a Democrat. Noting that James Duncan “was a soldier of the revolution” who recently had “marched to prevent the invasion of Baltimore, although upwards of sixty years of age,” Lefever observed that three governors – McKean, Snyder, and Findlay – had thought highly enough of Duncan’s services to continue him in office. Now, *Compiler* readers had to decide what motivated Hiester “in throwing out of office a man, the most capable, against whom no cause of complaint existed, and whose liberality on public occasions, and for charitable purposes had scarcely bounds – to give place to an inexperienced young man, whose only claim to the office was his having voted for Joseph Hiester.” We do not know, Lefever told his readers, that this “most worthy young man is even the descendant of a revolutionary hero.”²⁸

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Having lost his long-held position and the source of his livelihood, James Duncan turned first to an occupation with which he was certainly familiar. He asked the April 1821 term of court to grant him a tavern license. The May 2 issue of the *Sentinel* announced that he had opened “a public house of Entertainment, a few doors north of the Court-house,” for the use of travelers and others. The November 19, 1821 Gettysburg septennial census listed him as an innkeeper. He did not seek



James Duncan's applied for, and is granted, a tavern license in April 1821.

a renewal in the spring of 1822, when his license expired.²⁹

Duncan soon decided to leave Gettysburg and move to Mercer County, where he still owned the 500 acres which the state had granted him in 1786. Before leaving, he had to close out his father's estate, which remained open until the death of his stepmother, Christina Duncan, in 1821. Since the other executor, William Scott, was now in his mid-eighties, the final steps were his major responsibility. The last of his father's real estate holdings were not disposed of until the spring of 1822. Signing himself as the "principal acting executor," he submitted his final account on July 29, 1822. By the time the next Gettysburg tax list was prepared, in November 1822, James Duncan was no longer assessed for an occupation, which is evidence that he was no longer a resident of the borough.³⁰

Duncan left Gettysburg without having disposed of all of his real estate there. When he sold one lot in April 1825 and two in May 1826, he was described in the deeds as being a resident of Pymatuning Township, Mercer County. The prices he received for these lots, \$200 or less, all of which he had owned for about a quarter century, suggests that even then there were no buildings on any of them.³¹

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By the time the presidential election of 1824 approached, the national political situation was far different from what it had been just four years earlier. There was no possibility that the voter would again be offered one ticket. As it turned out, there were four from which to choose.

The campaign began as early as March 4, when 125 delegates from Philadelphia County and all eighteen Congressional districts met in Harrisburg to choose "an Electoral Ticket to be supported by the democratic republicans of Pennsylvania." After considerable debate and maneuvering, they decided unanimously to support Andrew Jackson for president and, by a vote of 87 to 37, John C. Calhoun for vice president. They then chose twenty-eight persons, with at least one from each congressional district, who would pledge if elected to support the Jackson-Calhoun ticket. Since none of the twenty-eight was a member of the convention, each had to give a written pledge to support the ticket before it could be announced.

By July all those nominated as electors had complied with the requirement. The man chosen from the Eighteenth Congressional District, which included Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Warren, and Venango counties, was James

On motion, the convention proceeded to the selection of electors of President and Vice President.

The following gentlemen were duly nominated, and recommended for the suffrages of the democratic republicans of Pennsylvania:

Thomas Leiper, Philadelphia city.
 Isaac Smith, Lycoming.
 John Boyd, Erie.
 Cromwell Pierce, Chester.
 Philip Peltz, Philadelphia county.
 Alexander M'Caraher, do.
 Joseph Engle, Delaware.
 James Ankrim, Lancaster.
 Henry Scheetz, Montgomery.
 Adam Eitscher, Lebanon.
 Peter Addams, Berks.
 John Fogle, Lehigh.
 John Pugh, Bucks.
 Daniel Raub, Northampton.
 Adam Light, Union.
 William Thompson, Susquehanna.
 Asa Mann, Tioga.
 Adam King, York.
 Daniel Sheffer, Adams.
 Abraham Adams, Perry.
 Philip Benner, Centre.
 John Rush, Somerset.
 Valentine Giesey, Fayette.
 John Reed, Washington.
 Charles Kenney, Allegheny.
 William Beatty, Butler.
 James Murray, Westmoreland.
 James Duncan, Mercer.

The old soldier, now from Mercer County, is chosen a Jacksonian elector in March 1824

Duncan. In November the voters of Pennsylvania chose the Jackson ticket over those pledged to Adams, Clay, and Crawford. The old Jeffersonian, James Duncan, cast one of the twenty-eight electoral votes Jackson received from Pennsylvania in 1824.³²

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In 1828 James Duncan decided to take advantage of an act of Congress approved on May 15 of that year. It offered relief to “certain surviving officers and soldiers of the Army of the Revolution.” Appearing before a justice of the peace on June 28, he declared that he was a captain in Colonel Moses Hazen’s regiment and “served as such to the end of the war,” also that in the 1780s he had received what was known as a commutation certificate, but that he had not “at any time received a pension of the United States, or from Pennsylvania, or from any state.” Once his statements were determined to have been accurate he was awarded an annual pension of \$480, which he received for the rest of his life.³³

The old soldier soon began selling parts of his grant. In 1828 his son James Jefferson purchased 100 acres. The next year his son John Nicholson acquired 334 acres. The census of 1830 listed him as a head of family, but ten years later the two sons occupy that position in Pymatuning Township. The 1840 census of United States pensioners listed him, 84 years old, living in the household of John Duncan.³⁴ The old soldier died on June 24, 1844 and was buried in the small graveyard across the road from the house.³⁵

On June 28, 1844 John N. Duncan was granted letters of administration on his father’s estate. The inventory which he submitted stated that the deceased “left no other Goods Chattels Rights and Credits” other than accounts and notes entered in his record book. All but four of these were obligations of sons John N. and James J., entered into between 1833 and 1836, possibly when they completed the purchase of real estate from their father. In the inventory no value was assigned to the two shares of stock in the Gettysburg and Petersburg Turnpike Company which James Duncan still retained or to the “fees due to him in Adams County as Prothy etc of the Courts and Register and Recorder.” The last item in the inventory was the pension due the deceased from March 3 to June 24, 1844.³⁶

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There are several versions of the life of Adams County James Duncan which differ significantly from the one presented here. According to them, James Duncan was a close, even intimate, friend and adviser of George Washington. He was in fact a member of the general’s staff. Together with his wife, James Duncan socialized with George and Martha Washington in the 1790s in Philadelphia. The women enjoyed sitting together on the porch and knitting.

It was Washington who not only designed the house built for James Duncan in Mercer County, but also gave him ten or eleven slaves to help build it. Some of these slaves were buried in the Duncan graveyard across from the house.

George and Martha are believed to have visited the Duncans in Mercer County. Once again the women sat on the porch knitting while the men planted saplings brought from Mount Vernon. Sometimes the size of the Mercer County land grant is given as 600

acres. In one version it was 640 acres.

Aspiring to be a member of Congress, Duncan ran in 1812, was elected in 1818, and reelected in 1820, soon after which he resigned.

Not all of these versions include everything in this summary, but except where they incorporate material taken from credible sources, such as revolutionary-era documents, they are fiction.³⁷

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Unlike Adams County James Duncan, Cumberland County James has not had a biographer, at least none we have found. When we turned to Dickinson College for information on this man, who was a member of its second graduating class in 1788, the archivist could tell us little more than that he was remembered only as a lawyer in Carlisle. When we turned to the Cumberland County Historical Society in Carlisle, we learned that they did not have a biographical sketch of Cumberland James in their Duncan family file, but they invited us to use their large and valuable collection of sources in preparing our own. In 1928 Katherine Duncan Smith published a work entitled *The Story of Thomas Duncan and his Six Sons*. When we learned from it that she knew nothing about Cumberland James, other than that he was a grandson of Thomas, we understood what we needed to do. The task was not made any easier when we found that Cumberland James had one or more local contemporaries with the same name.³⁸

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Thomas Duncan, one of the earliest settlers in what became Cumberland County in 1750, was a farmer in Hopewell Township when he made his will in 1776. One of his six sons, named Stephen (1729-1794), settled in Carlisle sometime in the 1750s and became a merchant. His life span coincides almost exactly with that of Seth Duncan (1730-1793). A Presbyterian, Stephen was a trustee of the grammar school in Carlisle from the time of its founding in 1773 until it became part of Dickinson College a decade later. Then he became a trustee of the college and served in that capacity until his death in 1794. One of his sons was a member of the first graduating class in 1787 and another of the second graduating class a year later.³⁹

Stephen Duncan was elected to four one-year terms in the Pennsylvania legislature and served in 1778, 1780, 1781, and 1782. He was treasurer of Cumberland County from 1786 to 1789. In 1789 he was one of several persons authorized to raise money to clear the Susquehanna River. Three years later he was a member of a conference which met in Lancaster to propose candidates for the upcoming election for Congressmen and presidential electors.⁴⁰

Stephen and Ann Fox Duncan (1731-1794) were the parents of at least nine children: Thomas, John, Robert, James, Stephen, Mary, Margaret, Lucy, and Ann. Stephen made his will on August 19, 1793. The *Carlisle Klines' Gazette* for April 2, 1794 reported his death on March 30, "after a tedious illness," and described him as "one of the earliest inhabitants of this borough." He was buried in the old Carlisle graveyard. In his will he left 500 pounds to each of his surviving children and to the heirs of a deceased son. He named his wife and sons Thomas, Robert, and James executors, but Ann Duncan died

before the will was probated on January 9, 1795.⁴¹

Stephen's oldest son, Thomas (1760-1827), studied law in Lancaster under an established lawyer, Jasper Yeates (1745-1817). He was admitted to the Cumberland County bar in 1781, two years before Dickinson College was chartered. He was one of the two leading members of the Cumberland County bar during the next third of a century. From 1790 until 1816 Thomas was a trustee of Dickinson College. In 1817 the governor named him an associate justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, succeeding his old teacher. Duncan died in Philadelphia and was buried in the old Carlisle graveyard where an elaborate tombstone marks his grave.⁴²

John (1762-1793) was his father's only son who followed him as a merchant. He married, purchased a brick house on West High Street, and became a father. Whatever promising future he might have had came to a sudden end in June 1793. After differences of opinion with James Lamberton, Duncan challenged him to a duel, in the course of which, in the words of the *Carlisle Gazette* for June 26, 1793, "Duncan unhappily received a ball through his head, which instantly deprived him of life." He was buried in the old Carlisle graveyard. Left with five young children, his widow later married Ephraim Blaine, who was the great-grandfather of James G. Blaine (1830-1893), longtime member of Congress and Republican candidate for president in 1884.⁴³

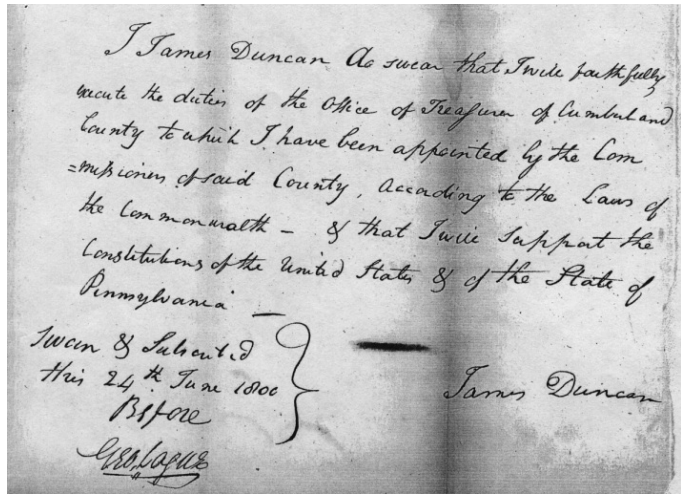
Robert Duncan was born about 1768. He was a member, and valedictorian, of the first graduating class of Dickinson College, in 1787. In October 1791 he was admitted to the Cumberland County bar and began the practice of law in Carlisle.⁴⁴ In 1804 he and his brother Thomas purchased half of the Kittanning Manor, about 4,000 acres located in Armstrong County.⁴⁵ Robert prepared to open a new chapter in his life by marrying his cousin, Eleanor Duncan, in Carlisle on March 28, 1805 and by then moving to the recently founded town of Kittanning.⁴⁶ The new chapter was a very brief one. He died on April 5, 1807, in his 39th year and was buried in the new graveyard in Kittanning. In 1960 the stone was moved into the present Kittanning cemetery.⁴⁷

The man we have called Cumberland County James Duncan was probably born about 1769, a year after his brother Robert and about fourteen years after the Adams County James Duncan. He was a member of the second Dickinson College graduating class, receiving his degree along with ten others on May 7, 1788. In April 1792 he was admitted to the Cumberland County bar and became the third Duncan brother to practice law in Carlisle. He was an executor for the estates of his father and his brothers John and Robert, as well as for others. His name appears frequently in Carlisle newspapers as an agent on behalf of his clients.⁴⁸

From 1796 until 1806 he was secretary of the board of trustees of Dickinson College, but was a member of the board only in 1807 and 1808. In 1800 the Cumberland County commissioners named him county treasurer, a position which he occupied for five years. In 1806 he was one of nine persons named managers to enclose the old graveyard with a wall of stone or brick. Especially after 1810 he was heavily assessed for real estate in Carlisle, including houses, town lots, and outlots. In 1811, for example, he owned more than ninety acres in town lots and outlots.⁴⁹

Apparently Cumberland County James Duncan never married. We have found no recorded deed which includes a wife joining him as a grantor. There is a record of Rev. Robert Davidson, minister of the First Presbyterian church in Carlisle, performing the marriage of James Duncan and Margaret Johnston

on December 30, 1788. There is also a record of Rev. Samuel Wilson, minister of the Big Spring Presbyterian church, marrying James Duncan and Mary Ewing on June 5, 1798. In neither case has it been possible to conclude that the groom was Cumberland County James Duncan.⁵⁰



James Duncan takes the oath as treasurer of Cumberland County, June 24, 1802.

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In the years after they established themselves as Carlisle lawyers, none of Stephen Duncan's sons appeared to have a desire to emulate their father, who during the difficult years of the revolution had been elected to four one-year terms in the state legislature. None served in either house of the General Assembly after the Constitution of 1790 went into effect. Whatever motivated James Duncan in this regard may have been related to the fact that, in a county which year after year was Democratic, he was, and may always have been, a Federalist.

In the fall of 1812, at the beginning of an unpopular war, James Duncan emerged as his party's candidate for one of the two seats awarded to the Fifth District of Pennsylvania in the United States House of Representatives. The legislature created this district in March 1812, after the 1810 census. It placed Cumberland, Franklin, and Adams counties in the district and awarded it two seats.

As was the custom at the time, a few members of the two parties met in each of the three counties in the district. They discussed desirable candidates and then chose conferees to meet with those from the other counties in the district to present a ticket.⁵¹

On September 5, 1812 Federalists calling themselves the "Friends of Peace, Union, and Commerce" met in Shippensburg. In a statement to be issued to the public, they declared that "a total incapacity seems to mark every act of the present administration of the country." They called upon voters to decide whether present "miseries are to be entailed upon you and your posterity, or whether from a change of councils you

will look for more wisdom and greater foresight." Unanimously they nominated Edward Crawford of Franklin County and James Duncan of Cumberland County as their candidates for the House of Representatives.⁵²

The Democratic conferees met in Shippensburg one week after their opponents. They apparently adopted no statement, but when the Adams County representatives had met in Gettysburg on September 2 they adopted a series of resolutions commending a state of peace whenever it "can be obtained or preserved, by means consistent with the rights, the honor and safety of the nation." For six years, they declared, the government has demonstrated its efforts to preserve peace while seeking "to procure redress for wrongs inflicted, by the lawless violence and flagrant injustice of our enemies." Having failed in these efforts, war became "the only alternative remaining to obtain redress for wrongs hitherto solicited in vain." Adams County James Duncan was the chairman of this meeting and probably the chief author of the resolutions. The Shippensburg meeting endorsed the district's two incumbent congressmen for reelection. They were Robert Whitehill of Cumberland County and Dr. William Crawford of Adams County.⁵³

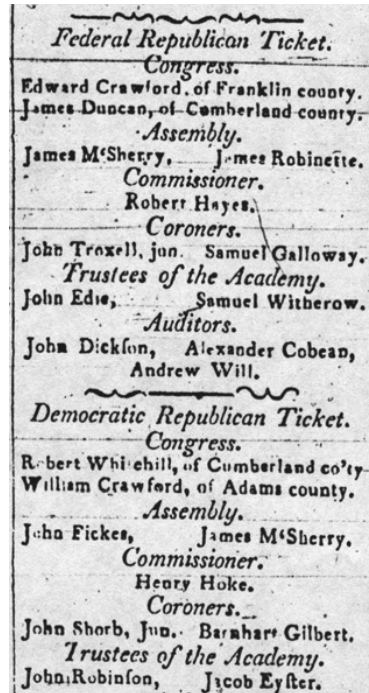
Less than five weeks after the nominating meetings the election was held. There was only a limited amount of time for campaigning.⁵⁴

At the election on October 13, 1812 the two incumbent members of the House of Representatives, both Democrats, won reelection. Robert Whitehill and Dr. William Crawford gained 54.4 percent of the votes. Completely true to form, Adams voted Federalist about 3 to 1. The vote in Cumberland County favored Democrats by about 2 ½ to 1. Cumberland James Duncan did not carry his own county. In the three counties the Democrats polled 4,862 votes and the Federalists 4,065.⁵⁵

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After his 1812 defeat James Duncan returned to his law practice. He continued to be assessed for real estate in the form of houses, town lots, and outlots. In the triennial borough assessments for 1814 and 1817 he had ninety acres in outlots.⁵⁶

Even before his defeat Duncan became interested in banking, which as a Federalist he believed was increasingly necessary for stable economic development, in Cumberland County as well as in the state and nation. Carlisle, he thought, needed a bank. It would provide capital for private and public enterprises in agriculture, commerce and manufacturing; would be responsible for part of the money supply in the form of bank



The two tickets for the 1812 election in Adams County

notes; and would receive deposits from the public. People with wealth had long provided an invaluable public service functioning as private bankers, but Federalists believed that the time had come for that role to be played by public institutions, preferably operating under a charter granted by public authority. Most Democrats were strongly opposed to banks, seeing them as dangerous concentrations of wealth and power, prone to excess.⁵⁷

In 1808 the legislature passed a law which recognized “the association of individuals for the purpose of banking,” but made each member “individually and personally liable” for debts their bank incurred. It also prohibited banks incorporated in any other state from establishing “any banking-house or office of discount and deposit” in Pennsylvania. An 1810 law specifically prohibited any unincorporated “association of persons” from performing most of the functions of “an incorporated banking company.”⁵⁸

As early as 1810 a group of Carlisle citizens, probably including James and Thomas Duncan, took most of the steps necessary in organizing a bank, only to conclude that the purpose of the 1810 law was “prohibiting Banking Associations altogether.” They then “unanimously resolved to suspend their operative functions,” but petitioned the legislature to either grant a charter to the Carlisle Bank or pass legislation which would authorize the officers “to resume their Banking functions.”⁵⁹

The laws of 1808 and 1810 were obviously not the definitive words on the subject of banks and banking. In 1813 the legislature narrowly passed a measure authorizing creation of twenty-five chartered banks in all parts of the state. It did not survive the expected veto of Democratic Governor Simon Snyder. “Every objection which can be urged against corporations,” he wrote, “gathers weight and strength when directed against monied institutions; the undue influence of which has often been the subject of well founded complaint.” The legislature tried again the next year. This time the bill survived a second veto and became law on March 21, 1814.⁶⁰

The act of March 21, 1814 divided the state into 27 districts and authorized the chartering of 41 banks. Cumberland County was a district permitted to have two banks, one of which was to be named the Carlisle Bank. The law named commissioners, whose responsibility was to take the necessary steps to prepare the institution for operation. Nine commissioners were named for the Carlisle Bank, including James Duncan (he was the first named) and his brother Thomas.⁶¹

On May 11, 1814 Governor Snyder issued a charter for the Carlisle Bank. It included the names of 370 persons who had purchased the 6,000 shares of stock which the law authorized. The maximum number of shares anyone purchased was 100. Among the seventeen who purchased that number were James and Thomas Duncan. James also purchased several smaller numbers in his capacity as a trustee or an executor. He became president of the bank and served into the 1820s.⁶²

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The congressional campaign of 1820 can be said to have begun in earnest on September 8 of that year, when Democratic conferees from four counties met in Shippensburg and chose Isaiah Graham of Cumberland and James Wilson of Adams County as their candidates. One day later conferees calling themselves the “friends of Reform”

and looking very much like Federalists, also met in Shippensburg and named James McSherry of Adams and James Duncan of Cumberland County as their candidates. As was usually the case, the newspapers did not explain how these four candidates gained party endorsement. Graham and Wilson were newcomers. Duncan had run in 1812 and McSherry in 1814. In the customary brief campaign that followed, neither side issued a statement similar to those eight years before. For the first time since 1808, the congressional election coincided with the choice of a president of the United States and of a governor of Pennsylvania.⁶³

For a long time the years of James Monroe's presidency (1817-1825) were described as "an era of good feelings," suggesting that there may then have been few major political issues dividing the country. As far as the national scene was concerned, this may have been true. The Federalists put up no candidate challenging Monroe in 1820. On November 1, 1820 the *Compiler* informed its readers that "on Friday next the citizens of Adams County have an opportunity to show their respect for 'Revolutionary Sufferings and Services'" by supporting the electors who will return the incumbent president and vice president to office. Almost as an afterthought the editor added that "Mr. Monroe was an officer in the Revolutionary Army, and was wounded at the Battle of Trenton, in December, 1776." The editor of the Federalist *Sentinel* confined himself to saying "there will be no opposition in this County to the Democratic Electoral Ticket settled at Lewistown."⁶⁴

The "era of good feelings" did not extend to the race for governor. William Findlay and Joseph Hiester were the two candidates in 1817 and again in 1820. Findlay, a lifelong Democrat, won in 1817 after ten years as state treasurer. Hiester, who was 68 years old in 1820, was completing thirteen years of service in Congress. A Democrat until he broke with Governor Simon Snyder, he may not have been certain of his party affiliation in 1820.⁶⁵

Both defenders and attackers of the two candidates made extensive use of the newspapers. Findlay defenders claimed that the men who were supporting him were the ones who supported Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, as well as Governors McKean and Snyder. Opponents noted that he had recently been impeached (he was acquitted) and accused him of not responding promptly to the current recession, or panic. "Mr. Findlay, as a governor, has had a trial," according to one indictment, he has not accomplished

Congressional Nomination.
At a meeting of the Conferees, appointed by the friends of Reform, held at Shippensburg, on Saturday the 9th of September, for the purpose of nominating two suitable persons to represent this Congressional District:—JAMES M'KEE was called to the Chair, and CHARLES F. KEENER appointed Secretary.

The following gentlemen were present:

From Cumberland county.—William Hammel.
From Franklin.—Benjamin Reynolds, James M'Kee.
From Adams.—John Dickson, C. F. Keener.

Perry—not represented.

RESOLVED, that
James M'Sherry, Esq.
of Adams county, &
James Duncan, Esq.
of Cumberland county,
be recommended to the support of our fellow-citizens, as fit and suitable persons to represent this District in Congress.

JAMES M'KEE, Chairman.
C. F. KEENER, Sec'y.

*The choice of the friends of
Reform for the Fifth Congressional
District of Pennsylvania,
September 9, 1820*

a single salutary object, but has frustrated many.” Defenders of Hiester praised him for his military service, beginning in 1776, and for the public service which followed. To answer critics who charged him with changing his mind on important issues, they cited Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe as examples of the good company of mindchangers in which he found himself. In a letter to the *Compiler*, an unidentified writer told the Democratic citizens in Adams County that certain statewide “factions and fragments of factions” are soliciting “your votes for a superannuated man, notoriously destitute of those talents essentially requisite to qualify a man for the chief magistracy of a great and flourishing state.”⁶⁶

The campaign for the two seats in Congress was waged with much less intensity than the one for the governorship, but even here a reader who examined the Carlisle *American Volunteer* for October 5, 1820 might have expected the unfolding of a scandal. The newspaper printed “a true copy” of a docket entry in the Adams County case of the Commonwealth vs. James Wilson. In 1802 Wilson, now the Democratic candidate for Congress, had been accused of adultery. He was tried and acquitted. Someone signing himself a Democrat sent this information to the paper, not to question Wilson’s fitness for the office, but to attest to his “moral character,” which in Adams County, he stated, needed no vindication. The docket copy was prepared on behalf of the Adams County clerk of courts, who was the Adams County James Duncan.⁶⁷

In a society still highly suspicious of banks and banking, one would expect these institutions and their officers to become an issue in the election of 1820. An article in the *Compiler* charged that every opponent of the recent war who happened to be in the legislature had voted for the bank law. This included James McSherry who, in the opinion of the writer, could have prevented its passage if he had voted against it. Now, McSherry, after “actually bringing ruin upon society,” was asking to be sent to Congress. Another article in the same paper claimed that both Federalist candidates, by virtue of their association with banks, “had forfeited their claim to public support.”⁶⁸

On September 14, the *American Volunteer* published an unsigned statement, without comment, under the heading Communications:

James Duncan, esq, president of the Carlisle Bank, is up as a candidate for Congress. Will he be elected is the question. He may be, but from present appearances, his election does not come within the bounds of probability, nay, we think it impossible for him to succeed. Never have we seen a man sink so much in public estimation, as Mr. Duncan has done, within these two years past. He is totally abandoned by many of his former political friends, the federalists-

Among the democrats, he has not a friend, nor will he receive half of the oldschool votes- The only support he can expect to receive is from the fag end of a faction, as Thompson-Brown calls them. How then is it possible for Mr. Duncan to be elected?

On its face this statement appears to defy explanation: Why had many of his old Federalist friends abandoned Duncan? Had they? In his political life, did he ever have

many Democratic friends? The Old School Federal Ticket Consisted of McSherry and Duncan. This statement bears rereading when the election returns are discussed.⁶⁹

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The gubernatorial and congressional elections occurred on October 10, 1820.

By a vote of 67,905 to 66,300 Joseph Hiester was chosen governor. The total vote was about 7 percent larger than it had been three years earlier. In the counties comprising the Fifth Congressional District, the increase was about 1 percent.⁷⁰

This was in stark contrast to what happened to the vote for Congress in the fifth district. The total vote, which had declined in each of the four previous elections (1812-1818), increased by 71 percent over that in 1818, reaching 12,813. Most dramatic was the increase in the Federalist vote in all four counties, jumping from 3,035 in 1818 to 6,926 two years later. The Federalists carried the district for the first time since it had been created in 1812.⁷¹

James McSherry and James Duncan won the election, polling 6,926 votes to 5,887 for the Democratic candidates. In his home county as well as in Cumberland, McSherry ran ahead of Duncan. Together, the two men received two-and-one half times the votes polled for Federalists candidates in Cumberland County two years earlier.⁷²

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At this time the vote for presidential electors was held several weeks after the state and local elections. On November 3, 1820, when the voters of Adams County went to the polls they were offered one ticket, with the names of twenty-five persons, all of them pledged to vote for Monroe and Tompkins. The number of votes cast for each elector separately ranged from 310 to 330. Since eleven votes were cast for all names on the ticket, we can conclude that 330 Adams County voters participated in this presidential election. It was by far the smallest number of votes cast for presidential electors in the history of Adams County.

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In the absence of exit polls, editors in the Fifth Congressional District could not ask voters why they had turned out in such record numbers to choose their congressman,

The Centinel.
GETTYSBURG
Wednesday, November 8.

Gen. Hiester's majority is 1686.—
 We expect to publish the official return next week.

Electoral Election.
 The following is the return of the Election in this County for Electors of President and Vice-President :

Thomas Leiper,	326
Paul Cox,	324
Daniel Groves,	330
Chandler Price,	330
Pierce Crosby,	329
Andrew Gilkeson,	329
John Hamilton,	330
James Kerr,	327
William Mitchell,	330
Daniel W. Dingman,	330
Gabriel Hiester, sen.	330
John Tod,	327
Philip Benner,	330
James S. Sanderson,	326
William Clinghan,	330
Melchior Rahm,	330
George Barnitz,	327
James Giffen,	327
John Miley,	310
George Plumer,	330
George Webb,	329
Andrew Sutton,	330
Joseph Huston,	329
Hugh Davis,	328
Patrick Farrelly,	329

The vote cast by the one and only ticket of the Presidential election in Adams County in November 1820. In no election before or since have so few votes been cast.

why so many of them had cast Federalist ballots, and what had motivated them to vote the way they did. In some cases the responses to these three questions may have merged into one. What applied to voter behavior in the fifth district may not have applied in the vote for governor.

Probably reacting to both elections, the editor of the *Carlisle American Volunteer*, in his October 13 issue, concluded that “the election in this district, was contested with more warmth than, perhaps, on any former occasion.” He then proceeded to accuse the Federalists of having employed “means the most unprincipled” to achieve their ends. These included duping some voters by handing them false tickets and plying others with intoxicants before bringing them to the polls, where they were “wheeled out of the expression of their sentiments.” In his issue of October 13, the editor of the *Compiler* charged that, while some Adams countians had done their duty, others resorted to “base or despicable” tricks similar to those found in Cumberland County.⁷³

Unfortunately, the appropriate issue of the Federalist *Sentinel* is missing from the files, but the editor of this paper had already expressed his opinion of the contemporary political situation. He opposed the “acrimonious spirit of controversy, both in private conversation, and public circles,” especially as it applied to “the present controversy between the Federalists of this county.” As an editor, he took “no particular side.”⁷⁴

In his evaluation of the campaign and election of 1820, Philip S. Klein noted that, in the race for governor, the two sides were equal in throwing mud at each other. He believed that it was the panic which “probably swung the delicate balance” in the race for governor. Although editors in Carlisle and Gettysburg did not mention this as a factor, the long list of sheriff sales in the pages of their papers demonstrated to everyone that another in the long and painful series of economic downturns was occurring.⁷⁵

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Having won a Congressional seat on his second try, James Duncan was nevertheless not disinclined to accept a quite different opportunity when the occasion presented itself. On April 21, 1821, Governor Joseph Hiester received the resignation of George Bryan as auditor general of the state and nominated Duncan to succeed him. A month later the governor recommissioned him for a three-year term. Since Congress was not going to be meeting until December 3, 1821, Duncan resigned his seat before he ever occupied it.⁷⁶

Jacob Lefever, editor of the Gettysburg *Compiler*, was no friend of Governor Hiester, who had recently turned out of office his Gettysburg friend and associate, Adams County James Duncan. In his May 2 edition Lefever used two articles taken from other papers to identify the new auditor general as “one of the most violent federal lawyers in the state.” After Oliver H. Perry’s victory on Lake Erie in September 1813, one of the articles charged, Duncan “refused to illuminate his windows, when every house in town but his own was illuminated.” According to the other article, Duncan had recently become a close friend of the governor and, while attempting to obtain a county row position for one of his political associates, “cast a wishful look to the office of Auditor General.” Before long he was “in possession of the second most important office within the gift of the Governor.” Neither of the articles offered any proof of the charges made. Readers

of the Compiler were left to determine whether they were true.⁷⁷

James Duncan continued to serve as auditor general until his term expired in the spring of 1824. When Dickinson College resumed operations after a break of five years, Duncan and Secretary of the Commonwealth Andrew Gregg represented the state at commencement exercises on June 26, 1822.⁷⁸

Duncan returned to Carlisle and within a few years began to dispose of his real estate. In September 1826 he sold a valuable tavern in Carlisle and about 470 acres of land in Southampton Township to his brother Thomas. The triennial assessment of 1829 assessed him for nothing more than a half lot and an old barn in Carlisle. His name does not appear in either of the next two triennial assessments.⁷⁹

In the introduction to an essay which Duncan wrote about 1800 and which was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in 1881, the editor of that journal wrote that “Mr. Duncan removed to Texas, where he died.” We have found nothing more about his later years.⁸⁰

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At the beginning of this investigation, we asked the real James Duncan to please stand up. At its end, it is evident that we have been concerned with two James Duncans, living for many years in adjoining counties, one a Democrat and one a Federalist, and both with careers meriting study with care and accuracy. Only a minimum of care and accuracy are required to establish that one James Duncan ran for Congress while the other did not.

Endnotes

¹Richard A. Harrison, *Princetonians, 1769-1775: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1980), 47-9. Hereafter cited as Harrison. The claim that Adams County James Duncan was a candidate for Congress in 1812 and 1820 has been repeated in successive editions of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, published by the Government Printing Office.

²John R. McGrew, compiler, *Index of Tavern Licenses Allowed by York County, Pennsylvania: 1749-1806* Special Publication 48 (York: South Central Genealogical Society, 1992), 12. Applicants petitioned the court of quarter sessions to recommend them to the governor, who actually issued the licenses. The court was not in session in 1776-1777. Recommendations for 1792-1794 were not entered in the docket. The last recommendation for Seth Duncan was in 1791.

³Ann Duncan died Oct. 27, 1777, age 45, and was buried in the graveyard of Emanuel Reformed, now United Church of Christ, church in Abbottstown. 1783 Berwick twp. tax list, copy in the Adams County Historical Society. Later references to tax lists are taken from the same source. Hereafter cited as ACHS.

⁴His last known tavern license expired in July 1792. The original papers in his estate are in the York County Archives. Copies are available in ACHS. They include the will, inventory of personal property, executors' accounts, and orphans court proceedings. In the Berwick township tax lists for 1779, 1781, and 1788, Seth was assessed for one "negro," but there is no record of ownership of a slave in the estate papers.

⁵Seth's tombstone reads simply that he died on August 3, 1793, age 63 years. The account filed on August 13, 1810 records a payment to Rev. Joseph Henderson, evidently for conducting the funeral.

⁶All of this information has been drawn from the estate papers.

⁷Harrison, 47.

⁸Memorial of Col. Moses Hazen to General George Washington, Nov. 30, 1779, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume 8, 17-20.

⁹The basic facts of his military career are given in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783*, new, revised, and enlarged edition (Baltimore, 1973), 206. Heitman also gives the basic facts on a Pennsylvania volunteer and officer named Matthew Duncan, probably the brother of James. See 206-7.

¹⁰The diary was published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume 15, 745-52.

¹¹General George Washington to Brigadier General Moses Hazen, Dec. 9, 1782, in John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *The Writings of George Washington...* (Washington, 1931-44) 25:409.

¹²John Dwight Kilbourne, *Virtutis Praemium: The Men Who Founded the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Rockport, Maine, 1998) 1:370-3. Duncan was also a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in Pennsylvania and served it briefly as an officer.

¹³The grant was recorded on November 20, 1905 in the Mercer County Deed Book C-8, 579.

¹⁴The 1788 tax list was probably prepared in the fall of the preceding year. The record of the marriage appears in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume 9, 584.

¹⁵Records of Appointment of Postmasters, 1789-1818. Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, 10, microfilm in the ACHS. Appointed second postmaster of Abbottstown in 1797, he served for three years. Hereafter cited as Appointments of Postmasters.

¹⁶Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816* (Harrisburg, 1952) discusses the political situation in the state during much of Duncan's tenure in office.

¹⁷The Princeton biographer stated that Duncan was named prothonotary in 1801 and held the other row offices by virtue of that appointment. This was not the case. Records of his first acts are in the collections of the ACHS.

¹⁸For the recommissions, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series, Volume 3, 1851; Vol. 4, 2691 and 3119; and Volume 6, 4316.

¹⁹Census returns on microfilm are available at the ACHS. Duncan purchased lots in Gettysburg in 1802, 1803, and 1810. Adams County Deed Book D, 249 and 253 and L, 390. For the 1819 residence, see the *Sentinel* for Jan. 13, 1819. First published in Nov. 1800, this newspaper was called the *Centinel* until Feb. 8, 1826 when it became the *Sentinel*. The latter is the spelling used here. Copies of the *Sentinel* and the *Compiler*, which began in 1818, are available on microfilm at ACHS.

²⁰For the reference to the proposed 1800 school, see the *1886 History of Adams County Pennsylvania...* reprinted 1992 by the Adams County Historical Society, 246-7.

²¹On Nov. 2, 1910 Mary Duncan Pierce, who was a granddaughter of John Nicholson Duncan and a great-granddaughter of James Duncan, was accepted as a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Not all of the information she submitted to that organization was correct, but the exact dates of birth which she gave for the three Duncan children may have been based on a family record to which she had access and may be accurate: John Nicholson, Feb. 16, 1796; Juliana, Mar. 1, 1800; and James Jefferson, Dec. 18, 1801. Application 82065, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution. Juliana married John R. Thornton in Gettysburg on December 5, 1820 and died at Greenville, Mercer County, on June 29, 1836, "aged about 36 years." James Jefferson married Louise Clark in Mercer County on September 1, 1825. Both John Nicholson and Juliana are buried in the family graveyard in Pymatuning twp., Mercer County. *Compiler*, Dec. 13, 1820; July 26, 1836; and Sept. 7, 1825. The *Sentinel* for Oct. 26, 1808 reported the death on the preceding Oct. 10 at Princeton, New Jersey, of Miss Susan W. Duncan, "late of Gettysburg." Since the lengthy obituary ends with the statement that her parents "had but one, one darling child," she could not have a daughter of this James Duncan.

²²The *Compiler* for Mar. 30, 1825 reported the marriage at New Berlin, Penna., fifteen days earlier, of James Duncan, a merchant of Aaronsburg, Centre County, and Mrs. Sophia Maxwell, of Gettysburg. She was the widow of William Maxwell, a Gettysburg attorney who died in 1816. The groom had been postmaster of Aaronsburg for many years. Appointment of Postmasters, 10.

²³Both of these meetings were reported in what was then Gettysburg's only newspaper, *Sentinel*, on July 6, 1814. There is no mention at this point of Adams County James Duncan's campaign for Congress in 1812, became neither then nor in 1820 was he a candidate for a seat in Congress.

²⁴The list which First Lieutenant George Smyser kept for many years and then made available for publication appeared in the *Compiler* on Dec. 30, 1850. The first of a number of calls to members of the corps to appear and receive compensation was published in the *Sentinel* on Sept. 28, 1814.

²⁵*Sentinel*, Sept. 14, 1814.

²⁶Philip Shriver Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game Without Rules* (Philadelphia, 1940), 75-149, explains the setting in which the elections of 1817 and 1820 occurred. Hereafter cited as Klein.

²⁷The list of counties affected by Hiester's action was reprinted in the *Sentinel* for Feb. 21, 1821. The name of the new register and recorder for Adams County is given as Winrott, but Winterode is the more common spelling.

²⁸*Compiler*, Feb. 21, 1821. Editors often included in their weekly columns stories taken from other newspapers. Rarely if ever did these borrowings not reflect their own views.

²⁹Gettysburg septennial census list for 1821, ACHS.

³⁰Christina Duncan died on Sept. 25, 1821, age 72 years. She was buried not with her husband, but in the Lutheran graveyard in Abbottstown. Seth Duncan estate papers.

³¹The deeds by which Duncan transferred his Gettysburg real estate were recorded in Adams County Deed Books L, 84; M, 1, and L, 390. In none was he joined by a wife; he was a widower.

³²*Compiler*, March 10 and 17, July 28, and Nov. 24, 1824.

³³Pension papers, James Duncan, file number S 4718, National Archives and Records. The complete pension file consists of only four pages.

³⁴Mercer County Deed Books M-1, 246 and 248 and S-1, 53. *A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services...* prepared by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Baltimore, 1974), 124.

³⁵The date of James Duncan's death is clearly June 24, 1844, not June 21. The deaths of former Adams countians were often noted in later Gettysburg newspapers. This was true in the case of the wife and daughter of James Duncan, but not in his case. There are tombstones for James, John N., and Juliana in the family cemetery, but not all of the dates given for them are correct. Mercer County Cemetery Inscriptions, copied by Sally Dufford and Loretta DeSantis, in cooperation with the Mercer County Genealogical Society, Volume 11 (1984), 97. Copy in the Mercer County Historical Society.

³⁶Estate Papers for James Duncan, consisting of an administration bond and inventory only, from the Mercer County Register of Wills.

³⁷An example of another version of the life of Adams County James is in an article titled "James Duncan, County Settler, Was Friend to Geo. Washington," in the Sharon, PA, *Herald*, Feb. 22, 1956. The other versions overlook almost entirely his life in what is now Adams County.

³⁸Katherine Duncan Smith, *The Story of Thomas Duncan and His Six Sons* (New York, 1928), 41. Hereafter cited as Smith.

³⁹Will of Thomas Duncan, Cumberland County Will Book B, 211. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Dickinson College: A History* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1973), 481, 483. Hereafter cited as Sellers.

⁴⁰*Pennsylvania Manual*, 88 (1947-8): 504; *Carlisle Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1786; *Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser*, Nov. 11, 1789 and Sept. 26, 1792.

⁴¹Will of Stephen Duncan, Cumberland County Will Book E, 337. The Duncan family tombstone inscriptions are available in Sarah Woods Parkinson, *Memories of Carlisle's Old Graveyard* (Carlisle, 1930), 94-5. Hereafter cited as Parkinson. The Carlisle tax lists for 1778-1782 assess Stephen Duncan for one or two slaves. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, Volume 20; 21, 134, 267, 404, and 548.

⁴²For a brief summary of his career, see Smith, 42.

- ⁴³Conway P. Wing, *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1879), 117, gives more details of the duel and its sequel. Hereafter cited as Wing.
- ⁴⁴Sellers, 115-6. Cumberland County, Office of the Prothonotary, Appearance Docket, 1790-3, October term 1791, in the Cumberland County Historical Society. Hereafter cited a CCHS.
- ⁴⁵While they were still proprietors of Pennsylvania, the Penns established about eighty manors in all parts of the province, which they were permitted to retain after the revolution. One of these manors was surveyed in 1769 and given the name Kittanning. The survey described it as consisting of 3,960 acres. It was located on the east side of the Allegheny River about thirty-five miles above Fort Pitt. Thomas and Robert Duncan purchased half of the manor in June 1804. Robert Walter Smith, *History of Armstrong County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1883), 310-2.
- ⁴⁶*Cumberland County, PA, marriages, 1761-1817*, compiled by Susan Penrod (Laughlintown, Pennsylvania: Southwest Pennsylvania Genealogical Society, 1983). number 283. Hereafter cited as Cumberland County marriages.
- ⁴⁷*Burials in the Kittanning Cemetery, Kittanning, Pennsylvania, 1811-1995*, compiled by Allen R. and Marla K. Mechling, 137. Copy in the Armstrong County Historical Museum and Genealogical Society. Thomas Duncan retained his interest in the manor until his death in 1827. Eleanor Duncan and her only child, Mary Frances, sold theirs in the 1830s and returned to Carlisle. Eleanor died in Harrisburg in 1862. She was buried in the Old Carlisle graveyard. Parkinson, 94.
- ⁴⁸The *Carlisle Gazette* reported his graduation in its issue of May 14, 1788. Three years later he was awarded a master's degree which was long the customary practice. *Carlisle Gazette*, May 9, 1792. Cumberland County, Office of the Prothonotary, Appearance Docket, 1790-3, April term 1792, In CCHS.
- ⁴⁹Years of service with the college board of trustees from the Dickinson College Archives. Tenure as County treasurer and manager to enclose the graveyard from Wing, 117, 122. Real estate holdings from tax lists in CCHS.
- ⁵⁰Cumberland County marriages, numbers 276 and 277. The author of a sketch of Dr. David Nelson Mahon (1797/8-1876), an 1815 Dickinson College graduate, stated that he was "brought up partly in the family of his uncle, James Duncan, Esq., of Carlisle." Wing, 188. Mahon was the son of Duncan's sister, Ann Duncan Mahon.
- ⁵¹The term representatives was sometimes used to describe those who attended the meetings in each County. Conferees were those who attended the district meetings at which candidates were selected.
- ⁵²*Carlisle Herald*, Sept. 11, 1812; *Sentinel*, Sept. 9, 1812. The act of March 20, 1812, which created the district, required the election judges in each County to prepare "one general and true return of the whole district" in Shippensburg.
- ⁵³*Sentinel*, Sept. 16, 1812, Sept. 9, 1812. At the Sept. 2 meeting of Adams County Democrats, James Duncan was one of three elected "a standing corresponding committee" for the County. Robert Whitehill was first elected to Congress in 1805 and William Crawford in 1808.
- ⁵⁴The tickets announced in the papers in September and early October were identified as the Federal Republican (not the Friends of Peace, Union, and Commerce) and the Democratic Republicans. The home counties of the four Congressional candidates were given. No one should ever have confused James Duncan, the candidate from Cumberland County, with the James Duncan from Adams.

⁵⁵*Sentinel*, Oct. 21, 1812; Chambersburg *Franklin Repository*, Oct. 20, 1812. In the 1812 and 1820 Congressional elections in this district, voters were choosing two members, not one. They rarely cast the same number of votes for both. We have reported the higher number in each case.

⁵⁶Tax lists in the CCHS.

⁵⁷The first United States Bank, chartered for twenty years in 1791, provided the country with a considerable measure of financial stability, especially regarding the currency. When the charter for this bank was allowed to lapse in 1811, there were fewer than 100 state banks in the United States.

⁵⁸Acts of Mar. 28, 1808; Mar. 19, 1810; and Mar. 20, 1810.

⁵⁹The Memorial and Petition of the Subscribers, Freemen of the County of Cumberland to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, undated, but 1811 or 1812. CCHS Manuscript Collection Box 16, folder 12.

⁶⁰For the text of Snyder's veto, see the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ninth Series, Volume 5, 3324-7.

⁶¹Described as "an Act regulating Banks," it was enacted "for the purpose of establishing banking institutions." It did provide what has been called a general banking system for Pennsylvania. The governor was authorized to issue a charter for banks named in the act; separate laws were no longer needed for each. Charters were not perpetual; those of banks chartered under this act would expire on April 1, 1825. Fourteen "fundamental articles" were to be followed in operating them.

⁶²The text of the charter for the Carlisle Bank is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ninth Series, Volume 5, 3544-54. Neither in the act of Mar. 21, 1814 nor in the charter is it called anything other than the Carlisle Bank. The Bank of Gettysburg was chartered on April 29, 1814 and the Bank of Chambersburg on May 13, 1814. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ninth Series, Volume 5, 3511-15 and 3555-62. The record shows that Adams County James Duncan purchased one share of stock in the Bank of Gettysburg. *History of the Bank of Gettysburg 1814-1864, The Gettysburg National Bank 1864-1914*, compiled by William McSherry (Gettysburg, 1914), 15.

⁶³There were four counties in the Fifth Congressional District in 1820. Perry was created from Cumberland County by an act of March 22, 1820, which made it a part of this district. Since Congressman David Fullerton resigned his seat on May 15, 1820, there were three seats to be filled in October. Our concern here is with the contest of the two for the full term.

⁶⁴See the *Compiler* and *Sentinel* for Nov. 1, 1820. A Democratic convention which met in Lewistown in March 1820 chose the electors to vote for Monroe and Tompkins in the fall. Klein, 105.

⁶⁵For a review of parties and party labels in the Fifth Congressional District during this period, see Table 1.

⁶⁶In the *Sentinel* for Sept. 20 and 27, 1820, the editor published the "Address of the Republican Convention, which assembled at Carlisle, on the 4th day of March, 1820, to the Freemen of Pennsylvania." This was the convention which nominated Joseph Hiester for governor.

⁶⁷*Carlisle American Volunteer*, Oct. 5, 1820.

⁶⁸*Compiler*, Oct. 4, 1820.

⁶⁹The *Carlisle American Volunteer* for Sept. 14, 1820 described Duncan and McSherry as the Old School Federal Ticket for Congress.

⁷⁰Klein, 406-8

⁷¹The vote had declined from 8,927 in 1812 to 8,287 in 1814, to 7,728 in 1816, and to 7,497 in 1818. For a record of the voting in each County by party during congressional elections between 1812 and 1820, see Table 2.

⁷²The Federalist vote in Cumberland County increased from 1,003 in 1818 to 2,566 in 1820. See Table 2.

⁷³*Carlisle American Volunteer*, Oct. 13, 1820. *Compiler*, Oct. 18, 1820. At this time there were no ballots provided by the government. Parties provided tickets which voters deposited in the ballot box.

⁷⁴*Sentinel*, Sept. 13, 1820.

⁷⁵Klein, 107-9.

⁷⁶*Pennsylvania Archives*, Ninth Series, Volume 7, 5487-5498.

⁷⁷*Compiler*, May 2, 1821. The article taken from the Easton *Centinel* appealed “to the people of Carlisle for the truth of what we assert in relation to James Duncan.” As far as the readers of the *Compiler* were concerned, in the several months after May 2 they were treated to more criticism of the governor but not to any light on the behavior of the auditor general.

⁷⁸Sellers, 69.

⁷⁹Cumberland County Deed Book I-KK, 68 and 69. Tax lists for 1829, 1832, and 1835, CCHS.

⁸⁰James Duncan, “A Reminiscence of Doctor Charles Nesbit of Dickinson College,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5 (Jan. 1881): 102-5. In his introduction, the editor stated that he had “lately received” the Duncan manuscript, but did not identify from whom. He referred to Duncan as auditor general of the state (1821-1824) and brother of Judge Thomas Duncan. The essay pays high tribute to Dr. Charles Nesbit, who was president of Dickinson College from 1785 until his death in 1804. Duncan makes no mention of his experience either as a student or an officer of Dickinson College. He did state that “no less than 153” students had been graduated by the time of his writing, which places the date of its composition in or about 1798.

A Note on the Sources

This investigation rests on the use of information available in the newspapers and public records, such as tax lists, recorded deeds, and estate papers. We have relied heavily on two Gettysburg newspapers available on Microfilm at the Adams County Historical Society.

We were prompted to undertake this investigation in responding to an inquiry in 2007 from Christy Hunter Hall, Mercer County Historical Society. In her efforts to determine the accuracy of certain statements about James Duncan in Mercer County, she asked whether he had a large dwelling house and slaves while in Adams County. As we have broadened the scope of our investigation, she has provided us with a variety of primary and secondary sources available to the Mercer County Society.

The staff of the Cumberland County Historical Society has been most generous in providing us with copies of both primary and secondary sources for the life of Cumberland County James. Their contribution warrants our almost listing them as coauthors of this effort, something which on second thought we are not sure they would agree with. From the Cumberland County Historical Society we thank Mary Jane Russelburg and Rob Schwartz and Barb Bartos from the Cumberland County Archives Project.

Among others whose assistance deserves special mention are Dickinson College Archives, Malinda Triller, Special Collections Librarian; Armstrong County Historical Museum and Genealogical Society, Kathy Marcinek; Adams County Historical Society, Robert Cluck, Research Assistant; and Jonathan R. Strayer, Head, Reference Section, Pennsylvania State Archives.

All Images come from the collections of the Adams County Historical Society except the image of the Cumberland County Treasurer's oath which comes from the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Table 1
Party Labels during the Fifth District Congressional Campaigns
1812-1820

Year	Democrats	Federalists
1812	Democratic Republicans	Friends of Peace, Commerce and Union
1814	Democratic Republicans	Federal Republicans
1816	Democratic Republicans	Federalists
1818	Democratic Republicans Democrats	Federal Republicans Federal
1820	Democratic Republicans Democrats	Friends of Reform Federal Republicans Old School Federal Federal Delegate

Source: Gettysburg and Carlisle Newspapers

Table 2
Fifth Congressional District Votes
1812-1820

	1812	1812	1814	1814	1816	1816	1818	1818	1820	1820
Party	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D	F
Adams	531	1560	352	1369	367	910	733	1098	818	1997
Cumberland	2553	1110	2286	986	3036	859	2183	1003	2882	2566
Franklin	1778	1395	1788	1506	1310	1246	1546	934	2187	2363
Party Total	4862	4065	4426	3861	4713	3015	4462	3035	5887	6926
Total Vote	8927		8287		7728		7497			12813

D for Democratic and F for Federal Vote

Sources: *Gettysburg Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1812, Oct. 19, 1814, Oct. 23, 1816, Oct. 21, 1818

Chambersburg Franklin Repository, Oct. 20, 1812

Carlisle American Volunteer, Oct. 20, 1814

Gettysburg Compiler Oct. 25, 1820

The total given is the number of votes cast for the higher candidate in each case. Votes for candidates to fill vacancies and for non-endorsed candidates not included. The votes in Perry County for 1820 are included in those for Cumberland.

Black Labor at Pine Grove & Caledonia Furnaces, 1789-1860

By Troy D. Harman

Black labor operating under various degrees of freedom found a suitable working environment, if not a safe haven, in several iron forges of South Central Pennsylvania, from the late 1790s through the 1850s. Primary accounts indicate that two in particular, Pine Grove Furnace of Cumberland County, and Caledonia Furnace of Franklin County, harbored runaway slaves to augment their work force. Pine Grove records, dating from 1789 – 1801, specify names of “negro” employees, verifying that black labor coexisted with white, but day books, journals, and ledgers do not denote status.¹ Whether they were free men, or slaves rented out by Pennsylvania slave owners, or runaways from the South cannot be gleaned from the day books. All three combinations were possible, especially in the 1790s. Circumstantial evidence suggests that escaped slaves did bolster the ranks of both forges until 1860. With renowned abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens in ownership of Caledonia, and proprietors sympathetic to the same cause at Pine Grove, the environment favored Underground Railroad activity. When this circumstance is coupled with the presence of a Quaker Meeting House in northern Adams County, and the recognition that both forges were within a thirty mile radius of the Maryland slave-state border, then a recipe existed for hide-outs to be employed in area furnaces.

This study does not seek to recount every detail of iron furnace work in South Central Pennsylvania or to diagram all the particulars of daily operations at Pine Grove or Caledonia. That has been done through exhibit displays and visitor use pamphlets at both sites, along with easily found internet and hard copy references, to illustrate every facet and function of iron production. Instead, this work poses various questions that address the unique contribution of African-Americans to Pine Grove and Caledonia. One such question asks “why were black men attracted to the iron making industry in Cumberland and Franklin Counties?” Secondly, “why was charcoal production their primary trade?” Thirdly, “what were the particular conditions of charcoal making that shaped the daily existence of African-American laborers?” Fourthly, did a division of labor exist between black and white or was the system open to promotion by merit?” Fifth, “did the forge community bear an outward familiarity to southern plantations that might be recognized by former slaves?”

Before entertaining such questions, it is first necessary to establish that African-Americans were located at Pine Grove and Caledonia. Because the Underground Railroad is a subject of growing interest among historians local to Adams, Cumberland, and Franklin Counties, there is an eagerness to take the imaginative leap in claiming that both furnaces were magnets for runaway slaves. It is a powerful thought for an increasing number of Gettysburg historians that a place of such national significance as a pivotal battle and a famous presidential speech could lay additional claim to the destination of “first flight” for many fugitive slaves in central Maryland. Gettysburg as a refuge for “first freedom” captivates not only the faithful who pilgrimage to the Civil

War battlefield regularly, but recharges authors and marketers whose livelihood benefits from added historical prestige and expanded interpretive opportunities.

A cursory review of the evidence does lend credibility to the assertion of both sites as working havens for former slaves. Bradley Hoch's relatively new work on Thaddeus Stevens sheds some light on the subject through examination of the 1850 Census for Franklin County. He states that,

According to the United States Census of 1850, Green and Guilford Townships, in rural Franklin County, Pennsylvania, contained 308 African Americans in a total population of 6,625 people – 4.6 percent. Most reported their birthplace as Pennsylvania. It was the safe answer. A few listed Maryland, one or two Virginia, another West Indies, and one elderly man said he was born in Guinea, Africa. Surely the area's Underground Railroad and employment with Thaddeus Stevens as an iron miner or collier encouraged the development of this African-American community in the mountains of south central Pennsylvania.²

Thaddeus Stevens's financial interest lay with Caledonia furnace but Hoch's research suggests the abolitionist had a connection with Pine Grove in nearby Cumberland County. Hoch links the operations directly when he writes,

[Hiram] Wertz [of Quincy, Franklin County] reported that fugitive slaves hid in his family's barn during the day, and when night fell, he guided them eight miles north [of Quincy] to the African-American settlement at Africa. From there, Robert Black of Greenwood and Steven's iron furnace superintendent William Hammett made sure that the fugitives got to Pine Grove furnace.³

McCauslin and Alosi make similar claims about Pine Grove in particular. They maintain that,

From the Cyrus Griest home fugitives could be conducted to York Springs, to the home of William and Phebe Wright (Griest relatives), or further north to Pine Grove Furnace in Cumberland County, just over the Adams County line, where a number of African Americans were employed. The iron master's house at Pine Grove Furnace was also reported to be an Underground Railroad station.⁴

A former superintendent Horace Keefer reminisced about Pine Grove in 1934, remembering as far back as 1879 when, "The forge workers were all negroes and a finer lot of men I never worked with. The wood chopping was mostly done in the winter by the surrounding farmers and the charcoal burners who lived in self-constructed cabins in the woods."⁵ Because the primary task of black labor was making and carting charcoal, as we will see, his memory of self-constructed cabins fits the black labor experience all around. And though Keefer's experiences at Pine Grove were post slavery, the "negroes" he harkened back to may have, in part, descended and apprenticed from earlier generations of fugitive slaves.

If this was the case, it should not be considered unusual for African-Americans, even former slaves, to gravitate to a forge working community. It is now accepted that Hopewell Furnace, which was situated like Pine Grove only a few miles north of the Maryland border, benefited from former slaves joining the workforce. The official National Park Service policy follows that,

Blacks worked at Hopewell throughout its history. Before Pennsylvania abolished slavery in 1780, it is likely that some of Mark Bird's slaves worked at Hopewell. In the early 19th century, southeastern Pennsylvania became a refuge for runaway slaves from Maryland and Virginia. Since Hopewell was only a short distance over the Mason and Dixon Line, some of the blacks employed there probably came from the South. Most held menial jobs and worked irregularly and for only a short time before moving on. Some became long term employees, however, usually as laborers or teamsters, and a few held semi-skilled jobs.⁶

Recognizing that escaped slaves working for Pine Grove and Caledonia Furnaces as probable is one matter, but verifying it with specific names, dates, and detailed stories is more difficult. One problem is that by June 26, 1863, during the Gettysburg Campaign, the Confederate army burned the Caledonia ironworks to the ground. Thaddeus Stevens was an ardent abolitionist and a natural target for rebel vengeance and had to make his escape on horseback to Shippensburg the night before.⁷ More importantly for historical purposes, the daily accountant books, journals, and records were destroyed in the blaze, leaving the historian with vagaries.

Conversely, Pine Grove avoided sudden disaster and operated under different authorities, namely the South Mountain Mining and Iron Company, 1877-1914, surviving with records intact located now in the Manuscript Groups of the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg. The total collection is impressive, spanning from 1785-1914, covering 60 cubic feet of archival space. Bloom, cash, day, provision, time and ware books, along with ledgers and journals are among the stacks.⁸ Through trial and error one learns that the journals are the most useful for easy identification of black workers. Due to the extent of the books, I focused in on the daily journal entries, logged between 1789 -1801. For the provision books, I followed the sundry purchases made through the company store up through 1848.

Visually scanning through several thousand water spotted, dusty, rag-paper pages of names yields a lot of repetition, but one is rewarded with the names of Negro Jonathan, Negro Ben, Negro Thomas, Negro Bob, and Negro Peter, all of whom appear on the company rolls.⁹ The trouble with this approach of course is that without the trip word "negro," then black employees can remain concealed on the page. McCauslin's census work has added a few more names that are concretely linked with area furnaces prior to the Civil War including Peter Butler, Thomas Butler, and Benjamin Mars, junior and senior, all listed as "forge-man" in 1860. Peter was listed as a 33 year old mulatto laborer from Maryland in the 1850 Census. Benjamin Mars was noted to be 40 years

of age in 1850, of mulatto color, from Maryland, and living with Peter and Harriett Butler. In 1820, a Benjamin Mars, probably senior, bears the mark of being free and of color. McCauslin's discovery of Jacob Buckmaster, listed as a black "woodchopper," is significant too from the standpoint of skills required for charcoal making. The dozen or so day laborers she notes in the census prior to 1860 also likely point to the charcoal process. Another careful screening of the journals and provisional books, with certain predetermined names in mind, could uncover a few more sleepers, who made regular transactions with the company store.

There are several bits of information that might be revealing in the journal entries. For instance, it is clear that Negro Bob, Negro Peter and Negro Ben frequently enjoyed tobacco, and that they all needed shoes, mittens, stockings, and at least two of them purchased a vest.¹² One can also gain a sense of whom pays-in-full versus cash installments. Negro Jonathan tended to build up his account and then gradually paid down on the balance.¹³ Of greater significance though is mention of payment for hauling or of transactions charged to teamsters, thus giving insight into type of work.¹⁴ All indications are that African-American labor at Pine Grove and Caledonia involved both hauling and chopping.

One might argue that a distinct division of labor existed in this respect, with blacks working almost exclusively in the forests of South Mountain to haul in fuel for the furnaces or to cart loads of ore from the mines. A careful study of the daily books from Pine Grove indicates a closed system with regards to promotion and variance in semi-skilled or skilled trades, at least from the 1790s to 1840s. The three forge-men that McCauslin has discovered appear to be directly involved in the daily operations of a furnace, but not until at least the 1850 census. If Superintendent Keefer's recollection from circa. 1879 is correct that, "The forge workers were all negroes" at Pine Grove, then a form of advancement system could have evolved from 1789-1850, elevating black labor from the woods, quarries, and mines to the forge.¹⁵ An open system, then, for upward mobility, might have evolved by mid-century, but there's not enough evidence at this point to be certain.

Keeping with the idea that Pine Grove's black labor population transported goods, from the 1790s to early 1800s, it must be understood that their cargo involved more than one commodity. If the teamster's experience at Hopewell furnace is any indicator of routine in Cumberland and Franklin Counties, the assortment of loads they lugged required a fairly wide radius of travel. The data collected at Hopewell reveals that,

Among the important semi-skilled workers were the teamsters.

Most were independent contractors, but during the furnace's heyday about 10 were regularly on the payroll. They hauled ore from the mines, charcoal from the forests, and limestone from nearby quarries.

But most important of all, they carried the finished products to markets far and near... Teamsters were paid by the load, plus expenses, meals, lodging, and turnpike and bridge tolls. They also performed services for the less mobile ironmaster and employees, buying goods in the city,

paying bills, and occasionally transporting friends and neighbors who were going there way. A teamster's average income was considerably less than a skilled worker's at a furnace. Usually it amounted to less than a \$100 a year...¹⁶

The teamsters at Pine Grove had similar latitude in transporting their bars of iron to Baltimore. Roads connecting the furnace to Mount Holly Springs were finished for this purpose. Frank Mullen, whose father and grandfather were collier's for charcoaling at Pine Grove noted that, "The iron furnace was started in 1764 and it wasn't until 1895 that the railroad was built for transport. Between those years iron was hauled by wagon train to Baltimore the nearest port."¹⁷ He added that, "The return trips brought back molasses, sugar, bacon, tobacco, crackers, cheese, calico and wine."¹⁸ For good measure Mullen elaborated on roadway engineering stating, "In order to expedite the building of the road to Baltimore as the shipping point they did not use a transit or surveyors instrument but would line up kegs of tar and light them at night on top of the various hills and you will find this is the straightest stretch of road we have anywhere near by."¹⁹ Because the Pine Grove Furnace daybooks and early census records indicate that black laborers and teamsters abounded, then it is fair to imagine their involvement in the construction of roads as well as hauling goods to and from Baltimore, or at least up to the Maryland border. Special papers were needed to risk the journey into that state.

Teamsters worked closely with the charcoaling process too. Frederick Weiser's family memories of charcoal management for Pine Grove help the reader to envision the environment that colliers, wood choppers, other laborers, and teamsters lived in. Addressing the Hamilton Library of Cumberland County in 1954, he explained that,

Charcoal was made in what was termed a 'charcoal pit.' Perhaps 100 feet diameter, a workman was sent out to rake chestnut timbers into a cone shaped pile. Small openings ran inside; the entire 'pit' was covered with wet ground. The workman built himself a shanty of wet wood, which he occupied for a week at a time, watching the fire to prevent it from blazing. As his supplies, he took potatoes, onions, bacon, two loaves of bread, and a pound of Arbuckle's coffee. What remained when the pit smoldered out was charcoal.²⁰

The collier who supervised the procedure watched the low flame carefully for days and often managed "eight or nine pits at a time."²¹ Only hardwoods "such as chestnut, oak, and hickory were cut into lengths by woodcutters and later piled on end in cone-shaped stacks six feet high."²² For eventual use in the forge they were about pole size in diameter and stacked in a ring covering the pit. Leaves and dust were shoveled onto the tee pee like stacks of charcoal wood to damper and contain the fire from a blaze large enough to destroy the heap. The collier periodically poked around the top of the ring for soft spots that might indicate a faster burn than prescribed and for extra precaution he made sure that, "openings were made near the bottom of the pile to allow the right amount of oxygen to enter."²³ From start to finish the procedure usually lasted "from eight to ten days...and sometimes twelve days elapsed before the mass was cold enough

to haul to the furnace.”²⁴ From afar Weiser described it all with a touch of romance noting that, “in the summer, sitting on the porches of their houses, the workmen could watch the smoldering charcoal pits on the side of the mountain like so many stars in the sky.”²⁵ Through candy-coated lenses again he added, “Huckleberries always grew up in the wake of charcoal pits, and those not sold to the peddler for three cents a quart made delicious pies and puddings.”²⁶

Though the danger had not passed with embers ever ready to reignite and consume both cargo and wagon, the teamsters began their work hauling charcoal they hoped had cooled. Driving their team down trails that led deep into the woods to the pits, the teamsters began their work of transport. Methods and equipment at Pine Grove and Caledonia were comparable with other furnaces in Pennsylvania. It was common for instance, that the collier or wood boss work closely with teamsters during the loading procedure. The output was fairly consistent too among the more productive forges, with 100 to 400 bushels of charcoal serving as the standard per wagon. Moreover the wheeled vehicles resembled the basic prototype of a funnel or coffee mill grinder configuration, wide at the top and narrow along the bottom, for easier coal dispense during unloading. One description at Hopewell furnace provides a glimpse into the standard operating procedure:

The same collier’s baskets which were used to carry leaves to the head of the pit were employed to fill the wagon with charcoal.

The teamster carried the basket on his head after the collier had raked it full and helped him swing it into position. Charcoal wagons varied in size but those generally...held 100 to 300 bushels of coal.

All were drawn by six-mule teams and equipped with high sideboards and a bottom that would pull out.²⁷

The formula for Pine Grove differed little from the Hopewell model regarding design of the transport vehicles and overall productivity of charcoal. The final consignment was shuttled in “specially constructed wagons, narrow at the base and sloping outward to the top....The loads thus carried from hearth to furnace depending on the number of mules employed, were from two to four hundred bushels to load.”²⁸

Because of piece-meal evidence, we are never likely to know the degree to which runaway slaves were involved in assisting the charcoal process. It was the most likely business for them to have participated in though. The greatest number of jobs needed to support iron production were semi-skilled and unskilled, such as cutting trees, chopping wood, driving a team of mules, loading & unloading, and spreading the charcoal. Each of these fall under the category of day laborer and teamster, titles associated with Negro Jonathan, Negro Ben, Negro Thomas, Negro Bob, and Negro Peter in the Pine Grove journals and day books. Unless the white collier deputized a black laborer to supervise one of eight or nine fires, then the skilled designation of collier proved elusive to African-Americans, at least officially until the 1850s at Pine Grove.

All of this beckons the question of why black laborers, even escaped slaves, invested so much time working in charcoal? What drew them to the rigors of felling timber and

heavy lifting? Why spend so many hours on the side of mountain in the woods? One answer may originate with division of labor. Due to many of the skilled jobs being directly related to working in the forge, consisting of the founder, fillers, gutter men, and moulders, there existed in the early 1800's an intended or unintended segregation in the work force.²⁹ Such an arrangement might have proved convenient for white workers who preferred it that way. One can only hope this was not the case. Owners and managers at Pine Grove including Michael and Peter Edge, and Thomas and Joseph Thornburgh were rumored to be connected with the Underground Railroad and sympathetic to the slave plight, but that is altogether different from being committed to egalitarianism.³⁰ Neither the genealogy of the Edge family nor the furnace records shed any real light on this.³¹ Manager concealment of extra-legal workers appears to have staid out of the official books anyway.

Answering why black labor gravitated to tasks associated with charcoaling deep in the hills of South Mountain is also linked with the hard, dirty nature of the jobs. As migrant workers in the orchards today of South Central Pennsylvania are willing – it is alleged – to do chores that many Americans will not, so too were runaway slaves agreeable to tedious responsibilities. They clearly did not have leverage to make demands as fugitives in the eyes of the law, and were prepared to accept any available work. If the forge chose to pay them less for a shipment of charcoal, who could they petition? Because their options were limited, the issue of wages and profit depended on the mercy of the iron master. If a lower bidder came along, or if charcoal quality failed to meet standards, then black teamsters might be passed over or forced to settle for a minimum.

A division of labor and a readiness to perform hard, dirty jobs are important answers to why African-American men were drawn to the woods of South Mountain, but there is one more answer that encompasses all. That is, the forest, hills, logger trails, and constant teamster movement around Pine Grove and Caledonia provided cover, concealment, transience and an overall shroud of secrecy.³² It is this very secrecy that makes a work like this one difficult. Site specific information about runaway slave labor is scarce because the operation was hush to begin with. Both furnaces were mysterious to the surrounding counties then as they are today. It is this mysterious quality that stirs the imagination and moves us to such places in the quest to add missing pieces to an incomplete puzzle.

And as if fate tried to further gag future historians on this matter, a Confederate division razed the Caledonia iron works by June 26, 1863, likely reducing all slave records there to ashes. Unrelated to war were other tragic misfortunes affecting area knowledge of the extent of underground activity around both iron forges. For example, even former slave grave yards were obscured or lost altogether. McCauslin's detective work has uncovered several stone stubs or bases of broken tombstones at Yellow Hill in Adams County, helping to raise awareness of otherwise buried black culture.³³ On a more tragic note, part of the Pine Grove Furnace cemetery succumbed to a mud slide caused by ore pit excavations dug too close to the necropolis edge.³⁴ Human remains likely found there way into a "great mass of tangled undergrowth."³⁵

For the escaped slaves, either indirectly or directly involved in charcoaling, every part of the business was appealing from a secrecy standpoint. The housing, for example, consisted of temporal, primitive lean-two shelters. Structures like these lasted only as long as wood choppers needed to clear-cut an area. More permanent housing was not much better, with quarters made of logs or clabber boards, long since decayed from termites, rot, fire, and time. Many of the better made stone and brick Pennsylvania Deutsch houses survive today, but the primitive dwellings of runaway slaves are barely traceable. It is this ephemeral quality, of former slave life in the furnace community, that gives iron works in Cumberland and Franklin counties an added aura today.

A final issue this work seeks to answer revolves on the question of “did the forge community bear an outward familiarity to southern plantations, recognizable to former slaves?” On the surface, this seems to be a strange question to pose, but the more one studies the community surrounding a forge, the more similarities cross the mind. For starters, there’s the “Big House,” home to the iron master and his mistress. It served as the center of gravity for the furnace community characterized by the circulation of administrative orders, directives, and business transactions. Simultaneously it was the social center for those who lived and worked close by. Biscuits and other food stuffs, for example, were occasionally passed out during the mornings to forge-men and laborers. Special parties and gala affairs were conducted too at the big house during holidays and unique events. A special sense of accomplishment and boost in self-esteem accompanied living and working out of the big house. James Swank describes social interaction there for us stating,

...a tie of common interest, stronger than exists today under similar relations, bound master and workmen together. Whether the workmen were their own masters or not they were virtually fixtures of the furnace or the forge. The ladies of the ‘big house’ disdained not their poorer sisters, but were often their teachers, often their nurses and physicians, and always knew them by name and would recognize and greet them with politeness. If daily toil was the common heritage of the workmen and their families it may be said that their wants were few and their aspirations were humble.³⁶

What might a former slave have taken away from this similarity to plantation life if indeed the big house was this cheery and benevolent under slavery? One can be assured that warm, fuzzy feelings about a desire to return to slave life was not part of their thought patterns. If anything the opposite was true. Perhaps the former slave experienced emotions of discomfort, uneasiness, and hesitation to approach the Pine Grove or Caledonia big house altogether. Whatever their comfort level with the central mansion, one message would be conveyed by its presence. That is, it was clear that central power stemmed from such a place, and that the grandeur and comforts of this home accompanied financial success and influence. The big house was a reminder of hierarchy and a visual measure of the finer things that people aspired to.

The big house was not the only community cross-over from plantation to furnace. The self-sufficiency of both institutions is yet another common trait that stands out. For instance, general studies of plantation life in the Chesapeake, where runaways to Pine Grove and Caledonia could have originated, reveal self-sustaining communities where all major trades and services are accounted for within.³⁷ Blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, cobblers, teamsters, wood choppers and any number of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled trades were performed daily by slaves to make Chesapeake plantations self-reliant. Even churches were built near quarters for slaves to gather and worship separately, albeit with unwelcome planter interference, but they nevertheless existed in increasing numbers in concert with an outgrowth of plantation ministries in the 1830's.³⁸ Separate cemeteries near churches were cultivated too.

Analogous in several ways to this were the communities for both Pine Grove and Caledonia, where social activities in general reinforced the gathering place of the forge. This was true not only in similarities regarding skilled artisans, but in spiritual matters where going to church was more than a leisure interest. The Methodists were particularly vigorous at Caledonia. Itinerant preachers were recorded to have made their way to the area, stirring up revival meetings. Methodists meetings, as they might be called, emerged according to Hoch as, "one of the few entertainments" for the workers of whom a "vast majority resided nearby."³⁹ The Methodist denomination historically reached out to African-Americans in the early nineteenth century and the audience for such meetings was probably interracial. Though speculative, it is likely that the Episcopal place of worship at Pine Grove appealed more to a white audience, perhaps management staff.⁴⁰

Communal social activities were not confined to church either. Illustrating the lighter moments of camaraderie shared around the turn of the century at Pine Grove, Weiser thoughtfully described his perspective of the relationship between labor and management on special holidays stating,

J. C. Fuller was close to his employees; and Jay Cooke, the financier behind the company, gave a party every Fourth of July for them.

Lemonade, sugar cakes, fireworks, and races and contests were the order of the day. Prizes were awarded for safety during the year. One teamster, 'Biz' Dougherty, who was paralyzed in one arm, always got the award.⁴¹

If such festive occasions were common throughout the 1800s at Pine Grove or Caledonia, then fugitive slaves would have related to the scene depicted by Weiser from their earlier condition. It is readily known by historians of African-American studies that a majority of masters on southern plantations made a big deal of Christmas, Easter, weddings and funerals as both a stress release and a motivator to accomplish more work in the frenzied days leading up to celebration.⁴² Of course, this comparison ends with any precise association made over commemorating July 4, because southern planters avoided drawing attention to thoughts of liberty, freedom, human rights, and language of all men are created equal. Observing July 4 with slaves was too risky for slave owners. Still, the parallels of a master from the big house pulling out all stops for a holiday were in full view.

There were obvious differences between the outward appearance of the forge community and a southern plantation. This concerned the existence of schools for the children of employees, though admittedly it is not clear whether the sons and daughters of black laborers attended. In all likelihood, most escapees were single men anyway, at least in their new status. Nevertheless schools were part of the community at least by the middle 1800s, if not earlier.⁴³ Private tutoring out of the iron master's mansion became an option for some. Apprenticeships were another continual form of education, a system where various trades and skills from clerk to forge-man were passed on from one generation to the next. In this sense, the whole furnace was a perpetual industrial school. For runaway slaves at Pine Grove and Caledonia, this form of education must have resembled methods and patterns for artisan apprenticeships among slaves in the Chesapeake.

As with schools, company stores were found in furnace villages but were not universal to plantations. Pine Grove was no exception. Weiser described the one there in a later time perhaps closer to 1900 as hopping, "with storekeepers Jack Croft and Jack Norton, selling everything imaginable."⁴⁴ Pine Grove daybooks from a century earlier support this assertion. They indicate that every conceivable sundry could be found in the company store. All miscellaneous items naturally were obtainable for certain pounds, shillings, and pence in the 1790s, or dollars and cents in the early 1800s. Smaller articles listed as "Sundries" represented a wide spectrum including,

Bacon, salt, beef, straw, flour, rye, butter, small ovens, blanket, linen, rails, axe, kettle, buckles, whiskey in ½ gallons, sugar, pots, pans, lid for oven, clock case, floor carpet, chocolate, boxes, trunks, corn, suit clothes, books, coat, wheat, frying pans, peaches, griddles, shawls, stockings, oil, tar, shoes, flax, muslin, cords of wood, oats, thread, plate, feed, Dutch ovens and tobacco.⁴⁵

Larger merchandise on record as procured through the company store were, "cows, horses, wagons, and full size wood stoves."⁴⁶ Commodities for sale, large or small, were likely brought in by teamsters from their round trips to Baltimore or from business transactions made in Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin Counties, as we have seen earlier.

As for tangible structures representing the self-reliant village concept at Pine Grove, Weiser rounded out the "other buildings in the community [which] were the mill, the blacksmith shop, mule stables, office buildings, and the Big House, or Mansion House."⁴⁷ Between 1830 and 1860 an "engine house, blacksmith shop, boarding house, worker's housing and manager's house," were added to Laurel Forge of the Pine Grove estate.⁴⁸ A refinery for purifying metal, an icehouse, carpenter shop and sawmill eventually made up the complex.⁴⁹

In conclusion, several questions were raised in this work regarding the issue of black labor primarily in two furnaces with an emphasis on Pine Grove. The first one asked "what would attract black men to labor in support of iron making in Adams, Cumberland and Franklin Counties?" Secondly, "why was charcoal production their primary trade?"

Thirdly, “what were the particular conditions of charcoal making that shaped the daily existence of African-American laborers?” Fourthly, did a division of labor exist between black and white or was the system open to promotion by merit?” Fifthly, “did the forge community bear an outward familiarity to southern plantations, recognized by former slaves?”

Before any of these queries were investigated, this paper established that black laborers did indeed work at Pine Grove and Caledonia furnaces. It was important to lay this foundation. While Caledonia records were destroyed in June 1863, during the American Civil War, by contrast many records still survive from Pine Grove that provide concrete names of black laborers in employment from 1789 to 1801. McCauslin’s work with the census and intimate knowledge of the Yellow Hill community provide more names of black workers associated with Pine Grove up through the 1860s. This combined together with vignettes connecting both forges to the Underground Railroad, along with the presence of the Quaker Meeting House, the pro-emancipation reputation of owners Thaddeus Stevens and Michael Edge, and multiple strains of the circumstantial evidence, all point to fugitive slaves working the woods and hills of South Mountain. The final proof is the abundant written evidence, paired with some visual verification in 1883, that male African-Americans were well represented at all work levels of the forge after 1879.⁵⁰

In answering the questions of why escaped slaves gravitated to woods and mountains around these two furnaces, we identified three reasons. The first was the natural division of labor perhaps imposed on them by exclusion from the forge proper until 1850. Secondly, limited in their options escapees were accepting of the hard, dirty labor that others were less willing to do. Thirdly, the forests and constant movement of wood cutting for the charcoal process allowed for the necessary vanishing qualities commanded by a magician. A fourth reason to add for good measure was there were a couple thousand free African-Americans living in the area, permitting new runaways a chance to disappear in the crowd.⁵¹

As for the final matter of concern regarding cross-comparisons in community structure between the furnaces and southern plantations, we identified that at least some of the outward appearances were the same, but the intent and purposes were different. It was an interesting comparison and contrast nonetheless, offering a few cross-over parallels such as the big house, the self-sufficient autonomous economic and social structure, and a single-minded purpose towards community activities including common worship and holiday celebrations. It is impossible to know how former slaves viewed the parallels, but they must have noticed them immediately. Because the furnaces over time allowed for advancement and promotion, the reminders likely faded away with the passage of years, if not immediately.

More research is needed to work through these questions and others to reconstruct not only the communal relationships between black and white, but those involving the established black laborer and fugitive slave, all within the construct of furnaces at Pine Grove, Caledonia and others in South Central Pennsylvania. With further study, the

recovery of important lives and stories will not be the lone benefit, but rather a better sense will emerge of how important Cumberland, Franklin, and Adams Counties were to Underground Railroad activity. One unofficial promotional slogan that was floated for advertisement consideration in Gettysburg a few years ago proposed a marketing blitz centered on the catch phrase “Freedom Begins Here.” Off the record there were conversations back-and-forth about the shortcomings in Gettysburg’s past regarding the issue of freedom, namely minor resistance of some its citizens to celebrate after the reading of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863. Other inconsistencies were put forth too, until the enthusiasm for the catchphrase died out. However, with honest and earnest efforts directed by historians of the three neighboring counties towards exploration of the cultures and subcultures at Pine Grove, Caledonia, and other forge communities, a whole new approach to doing history on Gettysburg may materialize along with perhaps the re-emergence of a dismissed slogan.

Endnotes

¹MG-175, Pine Grove Furnace, PGE Collection, *Journals 1789-1801*, 5 Vols. FISH #'s 3864-3868, LOC# 17-1438.

²Bradley R. Hoch, *Thaddeus Stevens in Gettysburg: The Making of an Abolitionist* (Gettysburg, PA: Adams County Historical Society, 2005), 208.

³Hoch, 212.

⁴Debra Sandoe McCauslin, *Reconstructing the Past: Puzzle of a Lost Community* (Gettysburg, PA: For the Cause Productions, 2005), 11. John Alosi, *Shadow of Freedom: Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Cumberland County, 1780-1810* (Shippensburg University Press, 1994), 84.

⁵Horace Andrew Keefer, Superintendent at Pine Grove 1879, "Recollections, Historical and Otherwise, Relating to Old Pine Grove Furnace," *Potomac Appalachian Trail Club Bulletin* (PATC), October 1934, 3. Cumberland County Historical Society, Vertical File - Pine Grove Furnace.

⁶National Park Service, *Hopewell Furnace Official Handbook* (Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia, copyright 1983), 56-57.

⁷Fact Sheet, Caledonia State Park, Ranger Station & Visitor Center, Vertical Files -- Caledonia Furnace.

⁸Catalogue Sheet, MG-175 Pine Grove Furnace Collection, 1785-1914, 60 cu. ft., 1.

⁹MG-175, Pine Grove Furnace, *Journals 1789-1801*, 5 Vols.

¹⁰McCauslin, 37-42.

¹¹McCauslin, 40.

¹²MG-175, PGE Collection, *Journal 1793-1798*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Archives, FISH #3866, 178, 194.

¹³MG-175, PGE Collection, *Journal 1799-1801*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Archives, FISH # 3865, 3-4.

¹⁴MG-175, PGE Collection, *Journal 1789-1791*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Archives, FISH # 3864, 369.

¹⁵Keefer, 3.

¹⁶*Hopewell Furnace Official Handbook*, 56.

¹⁷Frank S. Mullen, *Things worth mentioning of early history of Pine Grove Furnace 1764-1986*, Interview near his 87th birthday, April 19, 1989, 2, Cumberland County Historical Society – Vertical File for Pine Grove Furnace.

¹⁸Mullen, 2.

¹⁹Mullen, 2.

²⁰Frederick Sheely Weiser, *Family Memories of Pine Grove Furnace*, Address to Hamilton Library of Cumberland County, November 18, 1954, Address to Adams County Historical Society, December 7, 1954, 9.

²¹National Park Service, *American Charcoal Making: In the Era of the Cold-blast Furnace*, History No. 14 (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1941), 8. Caledonia State Park, Ranger Station & Visitor Center, Vertical Files -- Caledonia Furnace

²²Martha Gibbons, daughter of last ironmaster Colonel Jackson Fuller, *Pine Grove Furnace once an industrial complex*, originally written after World War II, *The Sentinel*—Page D7, Sunday July 13, 2003, Cumberland County Historical Society, Vertical file for Pine Grove Furnace.

²³Caledonia State Park, *Thaddeus Stevens Historical Trail: A Self-Guiding Tour* (Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, 1998), 9.

²⁴Goodyear, Benjamin K, Esq., *Blast Furnaces of Cumberland County*, Paper read before historical meeting of the Hamilton Library Association, Carlisle PA Oct. 23, 1903. Reprint from Shippensburg News. Also Lenore Embrick Flower, *History of Pine Grove Furnace*, Paper Read before the Cumberland, Perry, and Juniata Historical Societies at the Cumberland County Annual Pilgrimage to Pine Grove Furnace, June 27, 1933, 9.

²⁵Weiser, 11.

²⁶Weiser, 11.

²⁷*American Charcoal Making*, 24.

²⁸Flower, Paper read on *History of Pine Grove Furnace*, 9.

²⁹*Hopewell Furnace Official Handbook*, 49-51.

³⁰Debra Sandoe McCauslin, Personal Interview on April 15, 2007, Author of *Reconstructing the Past: Puzzle of a Lost Community*. McCauslin states: “At the Iron Master’s mansion in Pine Grove they show a hiding place where it is contended that UGRR folks sought refuge. The Ege’s and Thornburgh’s owned that one and were reported to be abolitionists.”

³¹Reverend Thompson P. Edge, *History and Genealogy of the Edge Family in the United States, 1738-1911* (Harrisburg, PA: The Star Printing Company, 1911).

³²*A Closer Look at Franklin County in the 1850’s: African-American Lives, The Valley of the Shadow*, <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/usingvalley/interpretations/presence/frblack.html>

“Franklin [County] offered refuge for refugee slaves. The mountains that stood on either side of the county offered places to hide in their thick trees and rocky outcroppings. Fugitives followed the Appalachian Trail, worn by Indians generations before, into upstate New York and then into Canada.”

³³McCauslin, 30-35.

³⁴Lenore Embrick Flower, *History of Pine Grove Furnace* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2003), 20.

³⁵Flower, 20.

³⁶Flower, *History of Pine Grove Furnace*, 27. James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages and Particularly in the United States from Colonial Times to 1891* (Philadelphia: The American Iron and Steel Association), 1892.

³⁷Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

³⁸Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 151-210. See Chapter 4, “Rule of the Gospel Order” for a full explanation of separate black churches under slavery, and of substantial inroads made by the Baptist and Methodist denominations therein.

³⁹Hoch, 208.

⁴⁰Raboteau, 207. “...black ministers were extremely rare or nonexistent” within the Southern branch of the Episcopal denomination. Baptists and Methodists were considerably more successful with courting African-Americans, North and South.

⁴¹Weiser, 10.

⁴²Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972, 74, 76), pp 566-584. *Refer to Part 2 and Chapter on “De Big Times” for a full explanation of the magnitude of holidays on the plantation.

⁴³Keefer, 6. Mullen, 1. Mullen writes, “I can remember two different school houses, the first one along the main road near Toms Run built of stone and the second one of brick between the old furnace stack and the creek.”

⁴⁴Weiser, 9.

⁴⁵MG 175-Pine Grove Collection, *Daybook* 1797 –1800, NL 17-1332 OL 7-4293. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Archives. Also see *Daybooks*: 1794, 96, 98, 99, 1803-04, 5 vols. NL 17-1331, OL 7-4292, *Sundries to Store, Teams, and Individuals*.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Weiser, 9.

⁴⁸Cumberland County Historical Society, *Cooke Township – Iron Furnaces, Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1990), 92. Caledonia State Park Ranger Station & Visitor Center, Vertical Files -- Caledonia Furnace.

Mullen, 3. Mullen remembered the icehouses stating, “Later a large ice house was built and tons of ice were cut and stored here and ice was also hauled by train to Carlisle where they had large ice houses...This really stopped suddenly as a mountain fire too close by ignited the building and burned it away from this large pile of ice. This happened in the summer time and I can remember streams of water as thick as your body running out of the ice until it was entirely melted.”

⁵⁰Flower, *History of Pine Grove Furnace*, 16-17. Two page fold-out photograph of the furnace taken in 1883, prominently showing black workers, including one large man at the focal point of the panoramic image.

⁵¹*A Closer Look at Franklin County in the 1850's: African-American Lives, The Valley of the Shadow*, <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/usingvalley/interpretations/presence/frblack.html>

“Franklin County was home to a large number of African Americans: 1,788 people identified in the census as black or of mixed race lived there.” This made it easier for runaways to blend in.

Dr. Isaac William Pearson

Edited By Kevin L. Greenholt

Born June 6, 1824 in Huntington Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania, Isaac William Wierman Worley Pearson was the son of Isaac and Mary (Wierman) Pearson. By the time he was fourteen years old both of his parents had passed away. In 1848 he began the study of medicine under the tutelage of Dr. Hiram C. Metcalfe of York Springs, Adams County. He completed his medical education at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia during the winter of 1849 – 1850.¹

He returned to Adams County in 1850 and when the federal census was taken on September 25, 1850, the now Dr. Pearson was residing in Petersburg [York Springs] with the family of Dr. Metcalfe. He practiced medicine with Dr. Metcalfe for four years before striking out on his own.²

On March 2, 1854 he married Mary Caroline Beales, daughter of Caleb and Eveline Beales. They were married by the Rev. Henry Aurand.³ Isaac and Mary Caroline became the parents of six children, Mary E., Charles G and Isaac W, [twins], Harry B., Francis W., and Charles E. Charles G. and Francis W. died as infants. Isaac W., Jr., at the age of nineteen, became the owner and editor of the *York Springs Comet* newspaper.⁴

Dr. Pearson died September 29, 1900, at 11:30 p.m. at his home in York Springs. He wrote a will on March 25, 1889, witnessed by C. E. Meyers and Edward Criswell. He bequeathed \$500 to each of his four surviving children, with the remainder of the estate going to his wife. His eldest son, Isaac Jr., and his wife were named executors, though his wife renounced her right as executrix. His will contained one specific instruction: “I positively direct that there shall be no appraisal or inventory made of any part of my estate.”⁵ He was buried in Sunnyside Cemetery, near York Springs.

The surviving effects of Dr. Pearson’s practice include two notebooks in which he had recorded the births he attended during his long practice. The entries begin on July 9, 1854 and continue until December 24, 1894. Location of the original notebooks is unknown but photocopies of the books are held by the Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Some pages from the originals may not have been photocopied as there are occasional gaps in the records. On the first page of the first notebook, Dr. Pearson entered his full name, Isaac William Wierman Worley Pearson. On the first page of the second notebook he wrote Dr. I. W. Pearson.

Following is a report of the over 1000 births recorded by Dr. Pearson. Extraction and translation of these records was difficult due to Dr. Pearson’s penmanship. His records contained the sex of the child, one parent’s name [typically the father], and the date of birth. On occasion he notated the child’s name or a comment about the birth, which is included, if legible.

An additional column was added to the report to include the possible township where the parent lived. The United States federal census, Adams County township tax lists, and York Springs area church records were used in an attempt to verify the parent’s name

and to serve as an aid to those researching a given surname.

In the instance where a specific child could be identified, that child's name is included in [] brackets in the comment area of the report. Clarification of a parent's name might also be shown in [] brackets. These suggestions, along with the possible township, are only meant to serve as clues to researchers.

Endnotes

¹The Publishers, *History of Adams County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co, 1886), 462

²*Ibid.*, 462

³*Star and Banner* (Gettysburg, PA), March 10, 1854.

⁴See Note 1.

⁵Estate Papers for Isaac W. Pearson; File No. 8079; Gettysburg, PA; Adams County Historical Society (ACHS).

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
?	Sarah		3/12/1861	F	
?----	Leonard		4/4/1871	F	
? [Neely?]	T. G.		8/20/1862	M	
?--ort--	A.		9/18/1865	M	by desecation
?--trnalis			10/25/1862	M	
Acker	J.	Gettysburg	12/8/1870	F	
Albert	Alfred]	Huntington	10/27/1857	M	
Albert	Alfred]	Huntington	3/1/1862	M	
Albert	Alfred]	Huntington	8/18/1855	F	
Albert	Alfred]	Huntington	8/9/1866	M	
Albert	Alfred]	Huntington	9/12/1868	F	
Albert	Annie		8/6/1892	M	
Albert	Daniel	Huntington	5/7/1859	M	
Albert	Ephraim	Latimore	5/27/1856	F	Catherine
Albert	Ephraim	Huntington	9/30/1857	F	
Albert	George of C.	Latimore	7/10/1873	F	
Albert	George of C.	Latimore	7/26/1874	M	
Albert	H.	Latimore	3/11/1868	F	
Albert	Hy	Latimore	10/6/1881	M	
Albert	Hiram	Latimore	6/9/1861	F	
Albert	Hiram	Latimore	6/8/1866	F	
Albert	J. E.	Huntington	2/15/1874	M	
Albert	J. E.	Huntington	4/27/1869	M	
Albert	Jacob	Huntington	2/13/1859	F	
Albert	John	Huntington	1/11/1857	F	Mary Jane
Albert	John	Huntington	2/26/1859	F	Anna Cathrin
Albert	Samuel	Latimore	11/26/1870	M	
Albert	Samuel	Latimore	3/7/1868	F	
Albert	Samuel	Latimore	3/28/1866	F	
Albert	Samuel	Latimore	7/8/1873	M	
Albert	William of A.	Latimore	11/23/1887	F	
Angell	Howard		11/29/1880	F	
Arnold	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	1/5/1861	F	
Arnold	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	12/6/1857	M	
Asherfell[?]	G. A.		10/31/1880	M	
Asper	Elmer	Franklin, York Co	10/6/1893	M	
Asper	J. C.	York Springs	4/17/1880	M	Guy
Asper	J. H.		11/7/1882	F	
Asper	J. H.		12/17/1888	M	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Asper	J. H.		12/24/1894	F	
Asper	J. H.		5/10/1887	F	
Asper	J. H.		6/20/1893	F	
Asper	J. H.		8/28/1881	F	
Asper	J. H.		8/3/1890	M	
Asper	Jacob	Huntington	8/22/1860	M	
Asper	John	Huntington	6/17/1874	F	
Asper	Jonas	Huntington	10/19/1871	M	
Asper	William	Huntington	11/29/1884	M	
Asper	William	Huntington	9/8/1886	F	
Baker	George	Huntington	8/6/1877	F	
Baker	Samuel		4/1/1888	F	
Baker			6/25/1873	F	
Bar---	G. W.		2/22/1869	M	
Barret	Joseph		3/11/1889	?	died
Beales	C. W.		11/23/1875	F	
Beales	C. W.		12/16/1877	M	
Beales	C. W.		2/4/1873	F	
Beales	Cyrus] G.	Huntington	5/20/1860	M	
Beals	C. G.	Huntington	6/19/1869	F	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	3/2/1872	F	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	11/16/1884	F	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	3/3/1879	M	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	6/9/1877	F	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	7/21/1874	F	
Becker	H. W.	York Springs	9/13/1881	M	
Beidman	Daniel	Huntington	3/24/1860	F	
Beitman	A. J.		10/4/1875	M	
Beitman	John		10/28/1887	F	
Bensley/Bender/P---	Solomon		10/2/1854	F	
Berkheimer	Miss/Mrs. S.	Reading	10/4/1858	M	
Bewly[?]	C. W.		3/30/1880	F	
Black	Rev. D. M., elder		3/17/1869	M	
Blocher	W. W.	Menallen	2/20/1860	F	
Blocher	W. W.	Huntington	6/30/1858	M	
Bosserman	[William]	Huntington	6/17/1884	M	
Bower	Amos	Huntington	2/28/1868	F	
Bowers	Amos	Huntington	11/18/1864	M	
Bowers	Amos	Huntington	5/19/1862	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Bowers	F. N. W.	Huntington	7/31/1862	F	Lily Alphen[?]
Bowers	Frank	Huntington	3/26/1862	M	
Bowers	J. M.	Reading	9/15/1885	F	
Bowers	J. M. [Jacob]	Reading	4/19/1891	M	
Bowers	M.		9/14/1883	F	
Bowers	Marcelus		5/26/1884	F	
Bradley	Mrs. Kate		3/20/1874	F	
Brandt	George	Latimore	5/12/1869	M	
Brandt	Henry		4/21/1878	M	stillborn
Brandt	J.		11/10/1862	M	
Brandt	Jacob	Franklin, York Co	12/27/1858	M	
Brandt	Jacob	Franklin, York Co	5/21/1871	M	
Brandt	Jacob	Franklin, York Co	5/25/1856	M	John William
Bream	A--		6/3/1870	M	wife died
Bream	Abraham	Huntington	10/3/1867	M	
Bream	Adam	Huntington	12/15/1860	F	
Bream	Adam	Huntington	12/27/1862	F	
Bream	Adam	Huntington	3/18/1868	F	
Bream	Adam	Huntington	4/25/1866	F	
Bream	Adam	Huntington	7/28/1859	F	Ann Mary
Bream	Comellus	Huntington	3/14/1859	M	Zac--- Clayton
Bream	Ed	Huntington	4/25/1876	M	
Bream	Ed[ward]	Huntington	8/10/1877	M	
Bream	Edward	Huntington	1/3/1875	M	
Bream	Edward	Huntington	12/24/1873	M	
Bream	H.	Huntington	8/2/1877	M	stillborn
Bream	H. F. [Henry F.]	Huntington	10/1/1881	M	
Bream	Henry	Huntington	12/1/1878	F	
Bream	Henry	Huntington	12/26/1873	F	
Bream	Howard	Tyrone	4/11/1883	M	
Bream	J--		4/9/1876	M	
Bream	J.	Huntington	6/2/1860	F	
Bream	J. B.	Huntington	2/15/1870	M	
Bream	J. B.		4/28/1872	F	
Bream	J. P.	Huntington	1/13/1866	M	
Bream	Jerry	Huntington	3/21/1869	F	
Bream	Jerry [Jeremiah]	Huntington	12/19/1859	F	
Bream	Joseph W.		10/24/1891	M	shoulder presentation
Bream	W. H.		6/26/1875	M	

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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Brenanan	D.	Latimore	1/15/1862	M	
Brennholtz	I.		7/15/1866	M	
Brennholtz	I.		12/20/1864	F	
Bresdon/Brandon	C. W.		4/15/1862	M	
Brough	Cornelius	Huntington	10/13/1857	F	
Brough	Jacob	Huntington	11/20/1857	M	
Brough	Levi	Latimore	9/4/1876	M	
Brough	W.	Latimore	7/21/1874	F	
Brough	W. [William]	Latimore	6/15/1871	M	
Brough	William	Latimore	3/12/1873	M	
Brougher	H. C.	Huntington	8/23/1861	?	abortion of penit-- mother died
Bu---	N.		12/21/1871	M	
Burkholder	A.	Latimore	2/7/1868	M	
Burkholder	A.	Latimore	8/31/1879	F	
Burkholder	A. [Abram]	Latimore	11/28/1864	F	
Burns	Thomas		3/9/1874	F	
Bushey	Lewis	Latimore	11/3/1886	F	
Bushey	Lewis	Latimore	3/4/1883	M	
Bushey	Lewis	Latimore	6/15/1885	F	
Bushey	Michael	Latimore	11/23/1882	M	
Busy(?)	J---th		8/25/1862	F	
Byn---	Jacob		4/13/1869	M	
Camper[?] [Kemper]	Emanuel	Huntington	5/17/1870	F	wife died after a day
Carl	Joseph	S. Middleton, Cumb Co	12/23/1858	M	
Carr	S.		4/5/1873	M	
Cashman	W.		8/16/1881	M	
Cashman			4/25/1874	M	
Cashman			8/25/1875	F	
Chronister	George	Latimore	3/4/1857	F	
Chronister	George	Latimore	7/9/1854	M	Calvin
Chronister	J. A.		3/6/1868	F	
Chronister	J. B.	Huntington	1/6/1861	F	
Chronister	Jacob B.	Huntington	7/9/1858	F	
Chronister	Levi	Reading	5/1/1857	F	
Chronister	Moses		10/5/1886	M	
Chronister	Thad	Huntington	7/2/1861	F	
Chronister	W. of L.		5/2/1877	F	
Chronister	William	Huntington	4/28/1859	M	
Clapper	George	Latimore	1/2/1879	F	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Clapper	George	Latimore	7/11/1877	F	
Clapper	John	Huntington	12/5/1858	M	
Clapper	John	Huntington	2/13/1860	M	
Clapper	John	Huntington	2/22/1869	F	
Clapper	John	Huntington	3/31/1874	F	
Clapper	John	Huntington	6/16/1876	M	
Clapper	John	Huntington	7/20/1861	F	
Clapper	John	Huntington	8/6/1872	M	
Clapper	James	Huntington	5/15/1862	F	
Clark	James	Huntington	9/14/1860	F	
Cleaver	David		4/9/1867	M	
Cleaver	J. A.	Latimore	4/15/1892	F	
Cleaver	J. A.	Latimore	7/28/1890	F	
Cleaver	J. A. [John]	Latimore	11/30/1885	F	
Clepper	John	Huntington	7/5/1867	F	
Cline	J.		12/21/1876	M	
Cline	John		2/5/1874	M	
Cooley	Samuel	Tyrone	5/18/1861	M	
Cooley			8/27/1879	M	stillborn
Cooley	Samuel	Tyrone	2/28/1863	?	
Coulson	A. J.	Huntington	11/14/1866	M	
Coulson	A. J.		11/18/1870	M	
Coulson	A. J.		4/16/1869	M	
Coulson	A. J.		9/4/1873	M	
Coulson	A. L.		10/10/1868	F	
Coulson	Abraham	Huntington	12/17/1858	F	
Coulson	Abraham	Huntington	4/18/1861	M	
Coulson	Abraham	Huntington	9/9/1856	F	
Coulson	F. S.	Latimore	1/9/1878	F	
Coulson	F. S.	Latimore	2/2/1881	M	
Coulson	F. S.	Latimore	5/25/1879	F	
Coulson	Frank of A.		10/19/1886	F	
Criswell	E.	York Springs	10/24/1879	M	
Criswell	E.	York Springs	6/1/1873	F	[Mary Ellen]
Criswell	E.	York Springs	3/9/1867	F	
Criswell	E. [Edward]	York Springs	10/10/1878	F	[Estella]
Criswell	Edward	York Springs	10/28/1884	F	[Bertha Irene]
Criswell	W.	Huntington	12/23/1871	M	
Criswell	W.	Huntington	2/10/1862	F	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Criswell	W.	Huntington	3/20/1876	F	
Criswell	William	Huntington	4/31/1858	M	
Criswell	William	Huntington	12/17/1859	F	
Cully	James	Huntington	7/14/1857	F	
Culp	William of C. M. Smith		8/21/1880	F	
Darin[?]	George		3/1/1877	M	
Darin[?]	George		3/11/1873	F	
Davis	Ann		4/17/1873	F	
Davis	J. C.	Huntington	6/29/1860	M	
Davis	James C.	Huntington	10/18/1862	F	
Davis	James C.	Huntington	3/16/1869	M	
Davis	James C.	Huntington	3/24/1856	F	
Davis	James Esq.	Huntington	7/1/1859	M	
Davis	M. W.	York County	9/26/1871	M	
Davis	Mart	York County	10/3/1875	M	
Davis	Mart.	York County	11/4/1873	F	
Davis	Martin	York County	2/5/1870	M	
Davis	Re---		7/23/1875	M	
Davis	W. H.	Latimore	5/5/1870	M	
Davis	W. H. [William]	Latimore	5/3/1869	F	
Davis[?]	R--ky		10/7/1864	M	
Day	David	Huntington	1/23/1859	M	
Day	David	Huntington	5/25[?]1866	M	
Day	Edward of George	Huntington	8/25/1886	F	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	7/3/1868	F	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	9/17/1866	M	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	2/4/1862	M	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	4/10/1858	M	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	4/26/1860	F	
Day	G. W.	Huntington	7/24/1856	M	
Day	George	Huntington	6/30/1860	M	
Day	George W.	Huntington	12/18/1873	M	
Day	H---		3/13/1873	M	
Day	Henry	Latimore	5/19/1879	M	
Day	Henry	Latimore	9/28/1875	F	
Day	John	Huntington	1/30/1862	F	
Day	John of N	Huntington	4/5/1868	M	
Day	Joseph	Huntington	7/26/1855	F	
Day	Joseph	Huntington	8/23/1860	F	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Deardoff	Anthony	Huntington	2/7/1862	M	
Deardoff	Anthony	Huntington	6/17/1860	F	
Deardoff	George L.		1/30/1879	F	
Deardoff	Joseph	Tyrone	2/7/1859	F	
Deardoff	Miss Ida	Reading	2/19/1886	F	
Delap	Amos		3/14/1879	F	[Anna Maria]
Delap	L.		6/14/1876	M	
Delap	W.		6/27/1876	M	
Delp	Henry	Lower Dickinson, Cumb Co	8/11/1858	M	
Dentler	Hiram	Franklin, York Co	7/31/1878	F	
Dick	Christ[ian]	Franklin, York Co	6/19/1857	M	
Dick	Christ[ian]	Franklin, York Co	9/23/1860	M	
Dick	Edward	Franklin, York Co	1/1/1858	M	John Henry
Dick	Edward	Franklin, York Co	10/31/1859	M	
Dicks	H---	Reading	2/9/1885	F	
Diehl[?]	D.		9/20/1866	?	abortion at 7 months
Dieterich	A.	Huntington	2/26/1870	F	
Dieterich	Abe	Huntington	11/12/1866	M	
Dieterich	E.		4/18/1871	F	
Dieterich	Augustus	Reading	4/27/1866	M	
Dietrich	Augustus	Reading	5/5/1873	F	
Dietrich	Augustus	Reading	5/9/1871	M	
Diller	[Jacob]	Lattimore	10/15/1859	M	
Diller	J.	Lattimore	10/21/1861	M	
Diller	Miss	Lattimore	1/8/1860	F	
Dollheimer	Jacob	Lattimore	5/11/1858	M	
Dollheimer	Jacob	Lattimore	7/18/1860	F	
Dollheimer	M. W. [Michael]	Lattimore	10/27/1873	M	[William Adison]
Dollheimer	Peter	Lattimore	10/11/1855	F	
Dollheimer	Peter	Lattimore	2/25/1859	M	
Dollheimer	Peter	Lattimore	9/24/1857	M	
Dollheimer	Samuel	Lattimore	1/5/1858	M	died in 48 hours
Dollheimer	Samuel	Lattimore	11/17/1866	M	
Dollheimer	Samuel	Lattimore	2/10/1861	F	
Dollheimer	Samuel	Lattimore	2/9/1859	M	
Dollheimer	Samuel	Lattimore	9/2/1855	M	
Dombaugh	D.	Huntington	8/5/1862	M	
Dombaugh	E. W.		6/23/1861	M	stillborn
Drawbaugh	R.		1/14/1865	F	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Drawbaugh	R.		10/18/1867	F	
Drise	L.		2/8/1861	?	
Eckenrode	G. F.	Tyrone	12/15/1858	M	
Eichenrode	George F.	Gettysburg	2/15/1857	F	
Eichelberger	Alex	Huntington	10/27/1868	F	
Eichelberger	Ben, Jr.	Huntington	10/14/1890	M	
Eichelberger	John	Monaghan, York County	7/29/1876	M	
Eichelberger	John	Monaghan, York County	9/7/1872	M	
Eichelberger	Mr.	Huntington	11/21/1869	M	
Eichelberger	Mr.	Huntington	4/10/1865	M	
Elicker	John	Latimore	4/6/1874	M	
Er---	David		11/30/1873	M	
Erle	Peter		3/1/1859	M	Christ Chronister
Ernest	Edward	Latimore	12/26/1861	M	
Evans	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	1/11/1858	M	
Evans	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	9/17/1860	F	
Fahnestock	Benj		12/8/1857	M	
Fanus	H. [Henry]	S. Middleton, Cumb. Co.	11/19/1862	F	[Ida Susan Amelia]
Fanus	Henry	S. Middleton, Cumb. Co.	12/31/1858	F	[Amanda Elizabeth]
Fanus	Henry	S. Middleton, Cumb. Co.	9/25/1860	F	[Mary Frances]
Fanus	Hy [Hiram]	Huntington	4/25/1868	?	abortion at 6 months
Fanus	Hym	Huntington	3/5/1869	M	
Felix	James	Latimore	7/12/1855	F	
Fickel	B. F.	Franklin, York Co	3/28/1860	F	
Fickel	B. F.	Franklin, York Co	4/22/1857	M	
Fickel	Emerson	Latimore	11/10/1869	M	
Fickel	Gill	Latimore	3/21/1890	M	[federal census says female]
Fickel	Gill [Gilbert]	Latimore	11/22/1887	F	
Fickel	Howard	Latimore	2/28/1858	F	twins
Fickel	Howard	Latimore	1/7/1861	F	
Fickel	J. W.	Latimore	8/21/1862	F	
Fickel	J. W.	Latimore	3/28/1858	F	
Fickel	N.		11/10/1859	M	
Fickel	Samuel	Tyrone	1/30/1867	M	
Fickel	Samuel	Tyrone	4/12/1869	M	
Fickel	Samuel	Tyrone	3/20/1874	M	
Fickel	W.	Huntington	9/24/1871	M	
Fickel	W. A.	Huntington	6/29/1860	F	
Fickel	W. A.	Huntington	2/19/1870	M	7 months, died

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Fickel	W. A.	Huntington	5/6/1869	?	abort at 5 months
Fickel	W. of J.	Huntington	3/1/1866	M	twins
Fickel	William	Huntington	1/8/1857	M	Tamanus[?]
Fickel	William of J.	Huntington	4/21/1868	M	
Fickes	Clayton	S. Middleton, Cumb. Co.	12/8/1879	F	
Fickes	George	Huntington	10/4/1875	M	
Fickes	George	Huntington	3/23/1872	F	
Fickes	George	Huntington	5/18/1870	F	
Fickes	Henry	Latimore	7/4/1862	M	
Fickes	S. S.		1/3/1876	F	
Fickes	Sebastian	Huntington	11/20/1875	F	
Fickes	Sebastian	Huntington	12/29/1873	F	
Fickes	W.	Reading	1/27/1862	F	
Fickes	W. A.	Menallen	10/9/1864	M	
Fickes/Fickel	Jane of S.		7/17/1879	M	
Fissel	George's daughter		10/22/1885	F	
Fissel	Michael	Huntington	6/26/1857	M	
Fissel	W.		6/1/1870	M	
Fissel	William		5/13/1868	M	
Fissel			2/13/1882	M	
Fissel			2/13/1888	?	
Fissel			3/31/1884	F	
Fitzcharles	Joseph	Huntington	10/31/1864	M	
Flickinger[?]		Huntington	12/24/1869	F	
Fransus	Rev.		1/4/1866	M	George
Frazer	S.	Huntington	2/16/1860	F	
Frazer	Speak[man]	Huntington	12/8/1861	F	
Frey	Peter	Huntington	4/11/1865	F	
Fry	John	Huntington	8/16/1859	F	
Fry	Joseph	Latimore	11/22/1856	M	
Fry	Joseph	Latimore	2/14/1858	F	
Fry	Joseph	Latimore	7/6/1855	M	John L.
Fry	Joseph	Franklin, York Co	8/21/1860	M	stillborn
Fry	Peter	Huntington	1/19/1860	F	
Fry	Peter	Huntington	10/30/1869	M	
Fry	Peter	Latimore	12/10/1858	F	
Fry	Peter	Latimore	2/17/1856	M	born dead
Fry	Peter	Latimore	2/21/1857	M	William
Fry	Peter	Huntington	6/10/1867	M	

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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Fry	Peter	Huntington	7/17/1861	M	died in 24 hours
Funt/Font	Jacob	Menallen	2/25/1857	F	Harriet Amanda
Funt/Font	William	Huntington	11/27/1855	F	
Gac---	J. W.		11/29/1871	F	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	11/17/1875	F	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	2/3/1877	F	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	8/1/1888	M	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	8/25/1886	M	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	9/16/1878	F	
Gardner	A. C.	York Springs	9/22/1880	M	
Gardner	A. C. [Albert]	York Springs	10/11/1884	M	
Gardner	Albert	Latimore	8/9/1892	M	
Gardner	Amos	Latimore	11/13/1868	M	
Gardner	Amos	Latimore	2/28/1884	F	
Gardner	Amos	Latimore	2/6/1886	M	born dead
Gardner	Amos	Latimore	3/28/1867	M	
Gardner	B. B.	Huntington	6/8/1860	M	
Gardner	B. P.	Huntington	9/7/1858	F	Mary Hep---
Gardner	Barney	Huntington	9/15/1856	M	William Franklin
Gardner	F. C.	Huntington	10/17/1859	M	
Gardner	F. C.	Huntington	9/23/1857	M	Samuel Sebert
Gardner	H.	Huntington	7/30/1865	M	
Gardner	J. W.	Latimore	8/9/1867	M	
Gardner	J. W. [John]	Latimore	4/7/1865	M	Clifford
Gardner	James	Latimore	3/5/1857	M	
Gardner	Samuel		2/4/1867	M	
Gardner	Samuel E.		7/1/1869	M	
Gardner	T. F.		9/21/1888	F	
Gardner	Theo	Huntington	6/28/1891	M	
Gardner	W. S.	York Springs	4/17/1880	M	
Garrett	James		6/18/1858	M	
Gelwin	Madison	Huntington	10/5/1854	M	
Gelwin	Madison	Huntington	4/16/1857	M	
Gelwin	Madison	Huntington	9/8/1867	F	
Gese	George		7/18/1876	M	
Goachenaur	E.	Huntington	4/14/1870	F	
Goachenaur	E. [Eli]	Huntington	2/14/1869	M	
Goachenaur	S. B.		4/30/1886	F	
Gochenour	Sam		8/19/1883	M	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Good[?]	H.		2/25/1869	F	
Goose	Lucy	Reading	3/7/1858	F	
Green[?]	Jerry		9/7/1872	F	
Griest	C. W.	Latimore	10/3/1868	M	
Griest	C. W.	Latimore	11/24/1864	F	
Griest	C. W.	Latimore	2/22/1860	F	
Griest	Daniel	Latimore	10/27/1872	F	
Griest	Eli	York Springs	8/23/1879	M	
Griest	Jacob	Latimore	1/15/1887	M	
Griest	Joel	Latimore	8/5/1861	M	
Griest	Joseph		8/28/1885	F	
Griest	Owen	Latimore	7/24/1862	M	
Griest	Owen	Latimore	9/19/1859	M	Eli Leas
Griest	Philip	Latimore	3/21/1885	M	
Griest	Reuben		6/5/1873	F	
Griffith	A.	Franklin, York Co	1/23/1862	M	
Griffith	Al[bram]	Franklin, York Co	6/29/1858	F	
Griffith	Daniel	Franklin, York Co	2/6/1857	M	
Group	J. B.	Huntington	12/27/1857	M	
Guise	Ed [Edward]	Huntington	8/8/1887	M	
Guise			8/7/1869	M	
Guiden	W. E.	Straban	10/15/1857	F	
Guiden	W. E.	Straban	10/2/1860	F	
Guiden	W. E.	Straban	2/16/1859	F	
Guiden	W. E.	Straban	2/3/1862	M	
Guynn[Guinn]	R[ev] W.	Huntington	9/21/1855	F	
H---	W.		7/18/1869	F	
H-a--	S.		12/2/1870	F	
Hamilton	John	Latimore	1/2/1869	M	
Hamilton	John	Latimore	1/4/1874	M	
Hamilton	John	Latimore	6/15/1866	F	
Hamilton		Latimore	6/12/1871	M	
Harboldt	Henry	Latimore	1/21/1873	F	
Harbolt	H.	Latimore	1/21/1868	M	
Hare	C.	Latimore	9/4/1875	M	
Hare	C. [Cicero]	Latimore	7/27/1873	M	
Hare	S.		12/23/1868	M	
Hare	S.		3/1/1881	M	
Harlacher	J. [John]	Reading	4/21/1880	F	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Harman	J.		5/18/1869	F	
Hartzell	William		2/28/1876	M	
Hayburger	J.	Latimore	5/10/1862	F	
Hearbaugh	Mrs. Kate		2/24/1874	M	twins
Hee--	George		10/11/1872	M	
Heiges	J. E.		1/27/1859	F	
Heiges	Lewis	Franklin, York Co	2/10/1858	M	Artemas
Heiges	Lewis	Franklin, York Co	6/17/1861	M	
Heiges	Noah	Franklin, York Co	2/15/1856	M	Edward
Heiges	Noah	Franklin, York Co	9/7/1859	M	
Heigis	Alex		2/17/1865	F	
Heikes	A. B.		1/7/1885	F	
Heikes	David		1/2/1890	M	
Heikes	George	Huntington	10/16/1866	M	
Heiner	J.	Latimore	11/30/1865	M	
Heiner	Joseph	Latimore	1/25/1870	F	
Hemphill	R.		12/26/1882	F	
Heppard	H.		4/21/1871	M	
Herm---	H. J.		4/25/1876	M	
Hersh[?]	Noah		5/19/1872	M	wife died
Hershy	Fred		5/9/1876	M	
Hess	Isaac	Latimore	1/10/1859	M	
Hess	Isaac	Latimore	1/15/1861	M	
Hess	Washington	Latimore	1/15/1859	F	
Himes	George		3/11/1885	F	
Hines	Clem		7/16/1887	F	
H-ne---	George		12/5/1881	F	
Hocker	J.		9/19/1878	F	
Hoegert[?]	John		10/2/1865	F	
Hoffman	Am		3/31/1881	M	
Hoffman	Daniel	Latimore	10/22/1870	M	
Hoffman	Daniel	Latimore	7/30/1860	M	
Hoffman	Daniel	Latimore	9/6/1856	F	stillborn
Hoffman	Daniel[?]	Latimore	8/26/1862	F	
Hoffman	David	Latimore	1/29/1858	F	died in 48 hours
Hoffman	David	Latimore	3/13/1859	M	
Hoffman	David	Latimore	5/24/1856	F	
Hoffman	David	Latimore	6/3/1861	M	
Hoffman	David	Latimore	8/27/1867	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Hoffman	Elizabeth		9/30/1858	F	
Hoffman	Henry	Latimore	7/15/1862	F	
Hoffman	M. W.	Latimore	7/18/1867	M	
Hoffman	Michael	Latimore	3/12/1859	M	
Hoffman	Michael	Menallen	7/2/1857	F	
Hoffman	Temp	Latimore	1/6/1869	M	
Hoffman	Temp	Latimore	3/3/1871	M	
Hollinger	Adam	Latimore	5/8/1862	M	
Hollinger	George	Latimore	5/12/1868	F	
Hollinger	J.		12/1/1880	F	
Hoopert	D. W.	Latimore	7/9/1880	M	
Hoopert	H.	Latimore	7/29/1875	F	
Hoopert	Ja---	Latimore	6/20/1876	M	
Hoops	W----		3/28/1861	F	
Hopert	Daniel	Latimore	3/24/1875	M	
Houser	D. A.		9/24/1856	M	
How	D.	Huntington	12/3/1862	M	stillborn
How	James	Huntington	7/2/1857	M	
How	James Jr.	Huntington	3/20/1860	M	
How	James Jr.	Huntington	9/19/1861	F	
How	John	Huntington	7/3/1857	F	twins, H-- Jane & Mary Ellen
How	John Jr.	Huntington	4/13/1860	F	
Howard	E. [Ephraim]	Straban	6/2/1874	F	
Howe	J.	Huntington	11/5/1871	M	
Howe	James Jr.	Huntington	1/19/1867	M	
Howe	John, Jr.	Huntington	9/23/1865	M	
Hoyburger/Hayberger	J.	Latimore	2/14/1866	M	
Hoyburger/Hayberger	J.	Latimore	3/31/1869	M	
Hoyburger/Hayberger	J.	Latimore	7/4/1860	M	George Washington
Hoyburger/Hayberger	J., Jr.	Latimore	9/13/1878	F	
Hoyburger/Hayberger	Jacob	Latimore	4/3/1857	M	
Hoyburger/Hayberger	Jacob	Latimore	12/26/1867	M	
Hull	Abe [Abraham]	Latimore	12/7/1858	F	
Hull	Abram	Latimore	4/29/1869	M	
Hull	N---	Latimore	10/12/1873	M	
Hull[?]			12/4/1870	M	abortion
Huntz	Thomas		3/7/1879	M	
Huppert [Hoopert]	Daniel	Latimore	12/31/1871	M	
Inj---	Howard		12/12/1876	M	

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Ja---	Abe	York County	4/21/1872	M	
Jacobs	Abe		9/27/1871	M	
Jacobs	Gabriel	Franklin, York Co	9/23/1856	M	John
Jacobs	Hy		12/30/1881	M	
Jacobs	Joseph		2/26/1873	M	
Jacobs	Levi	Reading	2/8/1865	M	
Jacobs	Levi	Reading	5/13/1858	M	
Jacobs	M.	Franklin, York Co	11/4/1864	F	
Jacobs	Michael	Franklin, York Co	2/11/1856	F	
Jacobs	Obediah	Latimore	4/12/1867	F	
Jacobs	R.		1/1/1875	F	
Jacobs	Henry		9/6/1867	F	girl at Jacobs
Jenkins	Henry		3/28/1867	M	
Jenkins	Henry		6/18/1869	M	
Jobe	W.	Huntington	12/6/1870	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	2/22/1887	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	4/23/1889	M	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	8/2/1885	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	9/24/1883	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	6/18/1872	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	9/7/1873	M	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	7/12/1875	F	
Jobe	W. T. [William C.]	Huntington	11/20/1879	M	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	8/30/1881	F	
Jobe	W. T.	Huntington	8/5/1877	M	
Johnston	Mr.		12/14/1865	F	
Johnston	Samuel		10/29/1866	M	
Johnston	Samuel		8/16/1867	F	
Johnston	William		8/27/1860	M	
Jordan	J. A. [John A.]	Huntington	5/26/1876	F	
Jordan	J. A.	Huntington	5/21/1878	F	
Kareh---	D. H.		9/18/1875	M	
Keener	George		5/13/1861	F	died
Keener	George		9/3/1862	F	twins
Kenedy	Isaac	Huntington	3/19/1860	F	
Kepner	--		12/15/1861	M	
King	Jacob	Huntington	2/1/1859	F	
Kna---			3/12/1870	F	
Knaub	J.	Huntington	1/25/1888	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Kraft	Joseph	Manchester, York Co	11/20/1859	M	
Krall	Isaac	Warrington, York Co	6/18/1874	M	
Krall	John	Warrington, York Co	12/28/1867	F	
Krepps[?]	Daniel		1/31/1872	M	
Kunkel	Benjamin	Franklin, York Co	11/2/1860	F	stillborn
Kuntz	E. [Englehart]	Washington, York Co	3/13/1868	F	
Kuntz	E. W.	Washington, York Co	1/19/1865	M	
Kuntz	Engle[hart]	Washington, York Co	6/28/1857	F	
Kuntz	Engle[hart]	Washington, York Co	6/8/1861	F	
Kuntz	Hay		9/26/1866	M	
Kuntz	Henry		7/18/1859	F	
Kuntz	Philip	Franklin, York Co	12/17/1860	F	
Lau	Henry		6/18/1857	?	
Lau	Jacob		1/5/1868	M	
Lear	Jacob		11/9/1885	F	
Leas	Samuel	Huntington	7/13/1867	F	
Leas	Samuel	Huntington	9/5/1858	F	
Lease	J. E.	Huntington	2/12/1869	M	
Lease	Jas.		9/3/1867	M	
Lease	Joseph		10/5/1868	F	
Lebenstone	Alex	Dover, York Co	8/11/1867	F	
Lebenstone	Alex	Dover, York Co	5/13/1869	F	
Leer	N. W.		10/22/1880	M	
Leer	W. W.		11/4/1882	F	
Lehr	Jacob	Huntington	1/22/1874	F	
Lehr	Jacob	Huntington	1/23/1873	M	
Lehr	Samuel, Jr.	Huntington	8/29/1874	M	
Lehr	W. H.		8/5/1874	F	
Leishey	W. E. [William]	Huntington	1/12/1867	F	
Lenhart	D.	Latimore	8/17/1862	M	
Lentz	Elizabeth	Dover, York Co.	7/13/1862	M	
Lerew	Aaron [Adam]	Latimore	1/3/1867	F	
Lerew	B.	Latimore	10/9/1861	M	
Lerew	D. P.	Huntington	7/29/1861	M	
Lerew	D. P.	Huntington	9/15/1865	F	
Lerew	Daniel	Latimore	1/31/1861	F	
Lerew	Daniel	Latimore	10/30/1867	M	
Lerew	E. [Edward]	Latimore	8/31/1876	M	
Lerew	Edward	Latimore	7/1871	M	

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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Lerew	Ell	Reading	12/8/1877	?	stillborn
Lerew	George A.		8/3/1884	F	
Lerew	George C.		7/18/1889	M	
Lerew	H.	Huntington	4/7/1860	M	
Lerew	Henry, Jr.	Franklin, York Co	1/14/1886	F	[lived Carlisle, PA, 1900]
Lerew	J.	Latimore	3/3/1862	M	
Lerew	J. H. [Jesse]	Mechanicsville	9/13/1874	F	
Lerew	J. P.	Latimore	8/16/1860	F	
Lerew	Jacob H.	Franklin, York Co	3/1/1869	F	
Lerew	Jesse	Mechanicsville	8/6/1871	M	
Lerew	Jesse	Mechanicsville	9/23/1873	F	
Lerew	Joseph	Latimore	11/24/1860	M	
Lerew	Joseph	Latimore	2/9/1858	F	
Lerew	Joseph	Latimore	3/24/1859	M	
Lerew	Joseph	Latimore	9/11/1867	M	
Lerew	O. A.	Latimore	6/11/1889	F	
Lerew	O. A. [Oliver]	Latimore	2/18/1886	M	
Lerew	Oliver A.	Latimore	12/15/1883	F	
Lerew	Sollomon]	Latimore	7/27/1865	F	
Lippy	Levi	Latimore	3/11/1855	M	
Lishey	B. F.	Huntington	7/17/1860	F	
Lishey	E. W.	Huntington	4/17/1861	M	
Lishey	E. W.	Huntington	6/7/1862	F	
Lishey	H. E.	Huntington	8/25/1868	M	
Lishey	W. E.	Huntington	2/10/1873	F	
Little	G. R.	Latimore	2/10/1859	M	
Little	George R.	Latimore	4/21/1861	F	
Livingston	George	Latimore	12/19/1866	F	
Livingston	George	Latimore	1/1/1862	M	
Livingston	George	Latimore	6/13/1869	F	
Livingston	George	Latimore	7/14/1870	F	
Livingston	J. R.		1/12/1876	M	
Livingston	J. R.		11/26/1873	F	
Livingston	W.		10/13/1884	F	
Livingston	William		1/11/1886	F	
Livingston	William		7/16/1883	F	
Lobaugh	[Ephraim]	Menallen	5/6/1873	F	
Lobaugh	Adam	Tyrone	9/4/1880	M	
Lobaugh	Adam	Tyrone	9/8/1878	M	

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Mangus	Emanuel	Huntington	6/4/1869	M	
Mangus	H. [Henry]	Huntington	2/20/1869	M	
March			6/8/1884	M	
Marks	Hiram	Tyrone	8/18/1877	M	
Martin	H.	Latimore	2/8/1860	M	
Martin	Henry	Latimore	9/2/1858	M	died in six weeks
Mauk	C. H.		11/23/1887	F	
Mauk	J. J.		1/12/1885	M	
Mauk	J. J.		9/12/1883	F	
May	Reuben	Huntington	1/8/1888	M	
McBride	J. A. R.	Huntington	10/3/1861	M	
McBride	James R.	Huntington	4/27/1859	F	
McCort	B. W.		2/14/1867	M	
McCort	B. W.		4/22/1868	M	
McCort	G. W.		9/11/1869	M	
McCosh	A. A.	Huntington	10/28/1862	F	
McCreary	Capt. J.	Straban	10/6/1864	F	
McElwee	J.	York Springs	4/17/1862	M	
McElwee	John	York Springs	11/16/1866	M	
McElwee	John	York Springs	7/12/1869	F	
McElwee	Margaret	Huntington	12/23/1859	F	both died in one week
McReamy	J. F.		12/4/1880	F	
McReamy	J. F.		6/25/1882	M	
Meals	A. [Abraham]	Huntington	9/9/1874	F	
Meals	G. W.	Huntington	1/28/1867	M	
Meals	G. W.	Huntington	8/23/1861	F	
Meals	J. W. [John W.]	Huntington	10/18/1878	F	
Meals	Jenny	Huntington	1/8/1862	M	
Menear	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	11/11/1860	M	
Menear	Samuel	Franklin, York Co	7/15/1855	M	
Mengus	E. [Emanuel]	Huntington	2/16/1871	M	
Meyers	C. F.	Huntington	8/20/1881	F	
Meyers	C. F. [Clayton]	Huntington	2/1/1883	M	
Miller	A. J.		1/22/1865	M	
Miller	A. J.		11/15/1870	M	
Miller	Alex	Franklin, Adams Co	2/18/1860	M	
Miller	Alexander	Franklin, Adams Co	6/21/1858	M	
Miller	B.		10/19/1871	M	
Miller	B. A.		12/13/1892	M	

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Miller	B. A.		7/12/1880	M	
Miller	B. A.		8/21/1886	F	
Miller	B. A.		9/28/1883	F	
Miller	B. H.		2/26/1876	M	
Miller	B. H.		2/7/1878	M	
Miller	B. H.		7/25/1873	F	
Miller	C. G.		1/14/1857	M	
Miller	D. W.		2/18/1877	F	
Miller	George	Latimore	10/11/1860	M	
Miller	George	Latimore	9/18/1871	F	
Miller	H. M.		1/16/1887	F	
Miller	Howard	Latimore	7/30/1861	M	
Miller	J. A.	Huntington	7/20/1865	M	
Miller	J. A.	Huntington	8/26/1869	F	
Miller	J. A.	Huntington	1/18/1862	M	
Miller	J. A., Jr.	Huntington	3/6/1863	F	
Miller	J. Alex	Franklin, York Co	10/15/1862	M	
Miller	J. Alex	Franklin, York Co	2/9/1861	F	
Miller	J. B. W.	Latimore	10/4/1864	M	
Miller	J. B. W.	Latimore	3/21/1862	F	
Miller	Jacob	Latimore	6/20/1859	M	
Miller	Jacob	Huntington	9/24/1860	M	
Miller	James A.	Huntington	5/21/1858	F	
Miller	James A.	Huntington	8/21/1867	F	
Miller	Joseph		2/28/1873	F	
Miller	Joseph		7/29/1886	M	
Miller	L. A.		10/20/1862	F	
Miller	Moses		6/1/1883	M	
Miller	W. D.	Huntington	7/18/1857	M	
Millis [?]	Moni		7/9/1876	F	
Minter	M. [Michael]	Huntington	13/1/1865	F	
Mondorff (?)	Samuel/Isaac		8/8/1860	F	
Mumper	M. W.	Franklin, York Co	1/27/1866	M	died[?]
Mumper	M. W.	Franklin, York Co	8/23/1862	M	
Mumper	M.W.	Franklin, York Co	4/29/1859	F	
Mundorff	John	Huntington	12/14/1859	M	
Mundorff	John	Huntington	3/29/1866	F	
Mundorff	Nancy		8/24/1859	F	
Myers	A. K.	Latimore	2/11/1863	M	

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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Myers	Adam	Huntington	1/19/1859	F	
Myers	B. A.	York Springs	8/7/1875	M	stillborn; deformed
Myers	B. H. [A. ?]	York Springs	7/23/1874	M	
Myers	Benjamin	York Springs	11/1/1872	M	
Myers	Benjamin	York Springs	12/4/1869	M	
Myers	C. F.	Huntington	2/13/1880	F	
Myers	C. F. [Clayton]	Huntington	10/14/1891	F	
Myers	C. O.		12/17/1875	M	
Myers	Clayton F.	Huntington	8/8/1887	M	
Myers	D.		3/28/1862	F	died in three days
Myers	Daniel	Reading	10/13/1860	F	
Myers	Daniel	Reading	7/26/1862	F	
Myers	David	Latimore	11/21/1856	M	Pemberton
Myers	David	Latimore	3/28/1859	F	
Myers	E. J.		1/29/1888	F	
Myers	E. J.		6/20/1886	M	
Myers	G. W.		8/15/1869	M	
Myers	George		6/13/1866	F	
Myers	George		8/10/1869	?	
Myers	George W.		8/28/1879	?	
Myers	H. J.	Huntington	10/6/1869	M	
Myers	H. J.	Huntington	3/4/1861	M	
Myers	H. J.	Huntington	8/4/1857	M	Webster
Myers	Henry	Huntington	8/12/1869	M	
Myers	Henry of B	Huntington	4/12/1868	F	
Myers	Howard	Latimore	10/6/1867	M	
Myers	Howard	Latimore	6/29/1878	F	
Myers	J. Brough	Huntington	2/18/1862	M	
Myers	J. L.	York Springs	11/7/1877	F	
Myers	J. Peter	Huntington	4/27/1858	F	
Myers	J. T.		12/12/1874	M	
Myers	J. T.		5/19/1885	F	
Myers	John T.		11/17/1879	F	
Myers	Joseph		6/10/1859	F	
Myers	Joseph		6/30/1871	M	twins
Myers	Joseph F.		10/5/1873	M	
Myers	Joseph F.		5/20/1876	M	R. Hays
Myers	Joseph F.		7/26/1880	F	
Myers	[Moses?]	Latimore	9/22/1856	F	Flora Belle

Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Myers	Michael		4/17/1866	M	
Myers	Samuel	Dickinson, Cumb Co	1/26/1857	M	Allen Webster
Myers	William		2/7/1857	M	
Myright	David		6/10/1859	M	
Naylor	Frank [B. Franklin]	Huntington	9/20/1887	F	
Naylor	George	Huntington	1/22/1859	M	
Naylor	George	Huntington	11/25/1862	F	
Naylor	George	Huntington	7/14/1861	F	
Neely	J. R.	Huntington	2/12/1877	M	
Neely	J. R.	Huntington	3/7/1879	M	
Neely	J. R. [James R.]	Huntington	11/1/1886	F	
Neely	James R.	Huntington	8/3/1880	F	
Neely	T. G.	Huntington	10/18/1865	F	
Neely	T. G.	Huntington	10/21/1860	M	Charles
Newman(?)	H. David]	Huntington	12/1/1856	M	
Nickel	Sarah		8/21/1861	M	
Osborn	Greer		10/30/1868	M	
Overholtzer	Theo		8/30/1874	M	
Pearson]	Dr.	York Springs	10/8/1866	M	
Pearson	I. W., Jr.	York Springs	1/14/1889	M	
Pearson	I. W., Jr.	York Springs	7/24/1886	F	twins Hazel & Jean
Pearson	Mr.	York Springs	5/17/1855	F	
Pearson	Mrs.	York Springs	9/28/1858	M	twins - wife of Dr. Pearson
Pease	J. [John]	Monaghan, York Co	9/6/1867	M	
Peters	H. C.	Huntington	5/4/1861	F	
Peters	H. C.	Huntington	6/27/1866	M	
Peters	J. F.		6/23/1877	F	
Peters	W.	Huntington	1/18/1860	M	
Peters	W.	Huntington	8/18/1855	F	
Pfeifer	John	Menallen	3/25/1866	M	
Pittentorff	Milton	Tyrone	11/24/1856	F	
Plank	Daniel	Butler	3/8/1873	F	
Plank	Daniel	Butler	4/5/1875	?	abortion at 3 months
Plank	Daniel S.	Butler	4/6/1868	M	
Plank	George		3/10/1869	M	
Plank	Horace	Huntington	11/16/1884	M	
Plank	J. J.		4/4/1886	M	
Plank	Miss E.		12/22/1875	F	
Plank	Samuel	Huntington	2/28/1870	F	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Ports	Richard		4/2/1865	M	twins
Potterff	J.	Franklin, Adams Co	12/7/1864	F	
Powers	G. W.	Latimore	11/27/1861	F	
Powers	Theophilus]	Latimore	3/11/1861	F	
Prosser	Adam	Carroll, York Co	7/7/1885	M	
Prosser	Ol	Latimore	11/9/1887	F	
Prosser	Ol	Latimore	6/23/1890	M	
Prosser	Ol.	Latimore	4/21/1885	M	
Prosser	Oliver	Latimore	7/5/1883	F	
Prosser	William	Latimore	5/22/1878	M	
Prosser	Charles, Jr.		10/15/1878	M	
Raffensberger	J., Jr.		12/15/1874	M	
Raffensperger	J. H.	Huntington	5/15/1860	M	
Rahn	Thomas		2/12/1865	F	
Rarey	J.		8/20/1866	M	
Raдебush	Peter	Huntington	11/24/1875	F	
Rea-n	C. G.		9/21/1866	M	
Reep[?]	Gy		5/28/1886	M	
Reigle	G. W.	Latimore	3/16/1861	F	
Reigle	J. H.		12/8/1872	F	
Reinheart	J.		4/19/1881	M	
Reinheart	J.		7/15/1884	M	
Reitzell	J. W.	York Springs	12/9/1866	M	
Reitzell	J. W.	York Springs	3/20/1870	F	
Reitzell	J. W. [John]	York Springs	11/16/1861	M	Henry
Rhoads	A. A.		12/30/1878	F	
Rhoads	Peter	Latimore	2/17/1856	M	
Rhoads	W. H.	Huntington	2/18/1858	M	
Richardson			5/28/1888	F	
Rickroad			12/14/1869	M	
Riegle	J. H.	Reading	9/15/1861	F	
Roads	A. H.		2/20/1887	F	
Roads(?)	Solomon]		12/1/1861	M	
Roody	Alex		3/11/1868	M	
Rooff/Roop	Rebecca		11/31/1856	F	
Ross	J--		9/5/1862	M	
Ross	Joseph		10/26/1855	F	
Roth		Huntington	6/20/1865	F	
Schrivver	Jesse		9/3/1865	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Sempur	Joseph		12/26/1866	F	
Shaffer	D. C.		4/30/1871	M	
Shaffer	D. C.		8/14/1869	?	
Shaffer	John	Latimore	12/1/1859	M	
Shanefelter	John	Huntington	2/5/1859	F	Mary Margaret - died in 48 hours
Shank	George Jr.	Huntington	7/23/1856	F	
Shank	Jacob	Latimore	11/25/1856	F	twins
Sheets	Jerry [Jeremiah]	Latimore	10/20/1879	M	
Sheetz	Jeremiah	York Springs	7/13/1884	F	
Sheffer	A.	Huntington	3/29/1859	M	
Sheffer	Ben, Jr.	Franklin, York Co	11/12/1879	F	
Sheffer	Benjamin, Jr.	Franklin, York Co	3/7/1873	F	
Sheffer	Die[?]		7/24/1868	M	
Sheffer	J. ?		10/3/1864	M	
Sheffer	Jacob	Latimore	1/28/1881	F	
Sheffer	John		5/21/1862	F	
Sheffer	Valentine		7/16/1854	M	
Sheffer	W. [William]	Franklin, York Co	7/19/1874	M	
Sheffer	W. M.		9/9/1876	M	
Sheffer	William		3/8/1867	M	
Sheffer	William		4/6/1868	F	
Sheffer	William	Franklin, York Co	8/18/1879	M	
Sheffer	William of B.	Franklin, York Co	9/24/1871	M	
Sheffer[?]	Daniel		5/27/1885	F	
Shelley	Charles		1/14/1888	F	
Shelley	Guy		9/28/1866	F	
Shelley	Jeremiah	York Springs	4/4/1878	F	
Shelley	Jerry [Jeremiah]	York Springs	12/17/1868	M	Edward Everet
Shelly	Samuel	York Springs	10/6/1871	M	
Shenfelter	John	Huntington	12/16/1860	M	
Shipley	I. R.		3/6/1866	M	
Shroyer	George		8/15/1857	?	
Shuff	William	Huntington	11/8/1855	F	
Shultz	C.	Butler	1/8/1868	M	abortion
Shultz	C.	Butler	2/23/1862	M	
Shultz	C.	Butler	2/3/1870	M	twins
Shultz	C.	Butler	4/18/1866	F	
Shultz	C.	Butler	4/28/1860	F	
Shultz	Christ[ian]	Franklin, York Co	5/21/1857	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Shultz	Christ[ian]	Franklin, York Co	8/25/1858	F	
Shultz	John of J.		2/7/1870	M	
Shur	Henry		8/15/1879	M	
Sipe	J. H.	Latimore	5/28/1869	F	died
Sipe	J. H.	Latimore	5/28/1870	F	
Sipe	J. H.	Latimore	9/10/1865	F	
Sipe	J. H. [Jacob]	Latimore	6/15/1868	F	died
Sipe	Jacob	Latimore	5/1/1856	F	
Siplinger	Joseph		10/20/1868	M	
Siplinger	Joseph		5/10/1867	F	
Slaybaugh	Amos	Huntington	10/4/1880	F	
Slaybaugh	Amos	Huntington	11/19/1878	F	
Slaybaugh	Isaac	Franklin, Adams Co	10/11/1864	F	
Slaybaugh	Isaac	Huntington	2/28/1869	F	
Smeek	John	Huntington	12/11/1876	M	
Smith	A.		4/18/1877	F	
Smith	A. B.		1/3/1875	M	
Smith	F[redenck] D.	Huntington	9/20/1855	M	Joseph
Smith	Fink Jones		7/9/1885	F	
Smith	G. M.		1/17/1867	F	
Smith	George	Huntington	10/31/1861	M	stillborn
Smith	George	Huntington	4/8/1867	M	
Smith	J. B.		8/30/1887	F	
Smith	J. J.	Huntington	9/27/1855	F	Cora
Smith	J. W.		9/12/1881	M	
Smith	John		3/9/1879	F	
Smith	John		7/4/1878	F	
Smith	John W.		12/31/1879	M	
Smith	Levi	Huntington	11/29/1860	F	
Smith	Levi	Huntington	8/17/1862	M	
Smith	Levi	Huntington	9/15/1865	M	
Smith	Miss of J.		10/8/1868	F	
Smith	P. F.	Huntington	12/24/1864	M	
Smith	Samuel	Latimore	3/10/1859	F	twins; one stillborn; both breech
Smith	Samuel	Latimore	9/12/1861	F	
Smith	Willis	Huntington	12/6/1881	M	
Smith	Willis	Huntington	9/26/1893	F	
Snyder	H. W.		12/3/1874	F	
Snyder	Howard		12/15/1878	?	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Snyder	Jacob of J.		6/3/1887	F	
Snyder	Jacob of J.		7/2/1886	F	died after 10 days
Snyder	Lewis		4/7/1868	M	
Snyder	Samuel	Huntington	12/30/1859	F	
Snyder	W.	Huntington	3/22/1871	M	
Snyder	W.	Huntington	7/27/1860	F	
Snyder	William		11/14/1879	M	
Snyder	William	Huntington	11/27/1858	F	
Snyder	William		4/5/1888	F	
Snyder	William		8/5/1890	M	
Snyder	William		9/26/1884	M	
Sohn	U[riah]	Latimore	8/5/1856	M	
Spangler	Charles E.		3/11/1887	F	
Spangler	J. E.	Huntington	1/27/1862	M	
Spangler	Jacob	Tyrone	3/20/1858	M	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	10/5/1885	F	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	12/19/1870	F	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	2/17/1883	F	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	6/8/1869	F	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	8/28/1880	M	
Spealman	J. A.	York Springs	9/2/1878	M	
Spealman	Joseph	York Springs	6/26/1872	M	
Spealman	Joseph A.	York Springs	1/28/1885	M	
Spealman	Joseph A.	York Springs	3/20/1877	M	
Speck[?]	Mart		7/14/1865	M	
Spiritzel	G. W.	Huntington	10/13/1861	M	
Spiritzel	Isaac	Huntington	1/8/1887	M	
Spiritzel	Isaac	Huntington	12/7/1881	F	
Spitzell	Jord-[?]		3/1/1874	M	
Stambaugh	Mrs. L.		3/2/1875	F	
Stambaugh	Rudolph		1/26/1868	F	
Stambaugh			2/17/1885	F	
Stanis[?]	Many		2/20/1876	M	
Stevens	Peter	Latimore	9/23/1859	?	twins
Still	Thomas	Huntington	1/13/1860	M	
Stitzel	J. A. [John]	Huntington	1/10/1865	M	
Stitzel	D. F.		8/31/1866	M	
Stitzell	J. A.	Huntington	2/6/1879	F	
Stock	E. C.		12/31/1887	F	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Stock	E. C.		12/5/1888	F	
Stock	E. C.		6/26/1886	M	
Stokes	F.	Tyrone	9/20/1861	M	
Stokes	Frank	Tyrone	8/30/1860	M	stillborn
Stokes	George	Tyrone	5/3/1861	M	
Stombaugh	Michael	Latimore	9/22/1857	F	
Storef[?]	Jacob		8/14/1872	M	
Stoufer	A.	Huntington	12/13/1861	M	stillborn
Stoufer	Cornelius	Franklin, York Co	11/15/1867	M	
Stoufes	J. C.		3/17/1876	M	
Stough			5/7/1865	F	
Stover	Adam	Straban	1/6/1863	M	
Strayer	Henry	Latimore	10/21/1855	M	
Strayer	Henry	Latimore	2/2/1857	M/F	twins
Studabaker	Clem[mon]	Huntington	7/5/1860	M	
Stuller	Jacob		7/16/1866	F	
Stuller	John		5/25/1865	F	
Stuller	Lucy		9/16/1861	F	
Stuller	Mr. or Wm.		2/28/1866	M	
Stutter/Stuller	John		12/20/1860	M	
Swinger[?]	W.		12/7/1862	F	
Tate	Charles	Huntington	5/13/1884	F	
Thomas	I. [Isaac]	Huntington	3/29/1880	F	
Thomas	Isaac Jr.	Huntington	1/9/1861	F	
Thomas	Ivan/Isaac	Huntington	12/10/1859	F	
Thomas	Mary		8/22/1861	F	illeg.
Thomas	W. H. [William B.]	Huntington	9/12/1879	M	
Thomas			7/6/1876	M	
Thomas of Myers	?		8/27/1874	F	
T--mitt[?]	J.		12/19/1862	F	
Tod/Tut/Tudor	John		5/26/1859	F	
Tricher[?]	J. F.		3/12/1863	F	
Trimmer	Gibson	Huntington	12/13/1862	F	
Trimmer	W.		3/7/1878	M	
Trimmer	W.		5/16/1876	M	
Trimmer	William	Latimore	2/8/1860	M	
Trimmer			7/18/1874	M	
Trostel	John	Huntington	10/20/1873	M	
Trostel	John	Latimore	2/3/1893	M	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
1854-1894**

Surname	Parent's Given Name	Possible Township	Date	Sex	Child's Name/Comments
Trostell	A.	Reading	2/13/1863	F	
Trostell	I. B. [Isaac]	Huntington	3/4/1867	F	
Trostle	[John]	Huntington	6/21/1872	M	
Trostle	George	Latimore	5/23/1880	F	
Trostle	George H.	Huntington	4/2/1886	M	
Trostle	H. W.		12/24/1875	M	stillborn
Trostle	John	Latimore	1/19/1879	M	
Trostle	John	Huntington	3/28/1876	F	
Trostle	John	Latimore	8/24/1885	M	
Troup	Eli	Mechanicsville	5/24/1873	F	
Trump	Jacob	Latimore	10/6/1873	F	
Trump	Jacob	Latimore	2/26/1867	F	
Trump	Jacob	Latimore	4/21/1870	F	
Trump	Jacob	Latimore	7/23/1868	F	
Trump	John	Latimore	4/11/1861	M	died in ? Weeks
Trump	W.	Latimore	12/7/1874	F	
Trump	W.	Latimore	6/28/1878	M	
Trump	W. [William]	Latimore	12/24/1880	M	
Trump	William	Latimore	9/21/1876	F	
Tuckey	Joseph	Huntington	8/21/1856	F	
Tuder	I. F.	Latimore	6/26/1858	M	David White
Tudor	J. W., Dr.	Gettysburg	7/25/1886	F	
Updegraff	A.		4/14/1877	F	
Updegraff			10/13/1873	F	
Wagoner	J. F.	Latimore	6/11/1876	M	
Wagoner	J. F. P.	Latimore	4/28/1880	M	
Wagoner	J. F. P.	Latimore	5/15/1879	F	
Wagoner	J. F. P.	Latimore	8/10/1877	F	
Wagoner	J. P. F.	Latimore	7/14/1881	M	
Wagoner	John	Huntington	1/2/1855	F	
Wagoner	John	Huntington	5/11/1856	?	
Wagoner	John	Huntington	6/14/1859	F	
Wagoner	Solomon]	Latimore	6/11/1858	F	Clara Luetta
Wal---	B. W.		3/6/1871	M	
Walker	L. P. [Lewis]	Reading	2/10/1866	F	
Wampler	S. E.	Menallen	2/24/1870	M	
Wampler	S. E.	Menallen	2/24/1871	F	
Wampler	S. E. [Samuel]	Menallen	12/25/1868	M	
Weaver	D.		11/9/1881	F	

**Register of Births of Dr. Isaac Pearson
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Weaver	Edward	Reading	12/6/1875	M	
Webb	[William] H.	Huntington	4/13/1855	M	
Webb[?]	John	Huntington	2/9/1868	M	
Weidner	John	Huntington	3/18/1858	F	
Weigle	Amos	Huntington	10/4/1858	M	died in six weeks
Weigle	Amos	Huntington	2/21/1863	F	
Weigle	John	Menallen	1/7/1863	M	
Weigle	John	Huntington	3/1/1866	F	
Weigle	John	Menallen	7/11/1861	F	
Weigle	John	Huntington	9/4/1859	M	
Welch	Hugh	Latimore	12/11/1857	F	
Welcomer	H.	Huntington	12/30/1876	F	
Welcomer	H.	Huntington	9/10/1873	F	
Welcomer	H.	Huntington	9/29/1881	M	
Welcomer	H. [Harry]	Huntington	11/6/1878	M	
Welcomer	Harry	Huntington	4/6/1884	M	
Wel--ome[?]	H.	Huntington	12/21/1870	M	
Whiten	Amos		10/15/1859	F	
Wierman	A. A.	Huntington	3/13/1863	F	
Wierman	J. B.	Huntington	9/15/1856	F	
Wierman	J. B.	Huntington	10/15/1859	M	
Wierman	J. W.		5/4/1881	F	
Wierman	Alexander[A.	Huntington	6/8/1860	F	
Williams	John		5/23/1875	M	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	1/28/1874	M	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	2/3/1875	?	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	3/25/1885	F	abortion
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	3/28/1881	M	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	5/17/1876	F	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	5/23/1883	M	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	6/24/1872	F	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	8/20/1879	F	
Wilt	J. A.	Latimore	9/13/1877	F	
Wilt	J. A. [James]	Latimore	1/20/1870	M/F	twins
Wisler	John Jr.	Tyrone	7/17/1860	F	
Wolf	F. S. [Frederick]	Siraban	1/29/1889	F	
Wolf	Fred	Siraban	1/14/1885	F	
Wolf	Fred	Siraban	10/24/1887	M	
Wolf	Fred	Siraban	10/29/1883	F	

Frederick K. Wentz, Expanding Horizons for American Lutherans: The Story of Abdel Ross Wentz. Gettysburg, PA: Seminary Ridge Press,

2008. xiv + 191 pp. \$19.95.

Abdel Ross Wentz (1883-1976) of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg joked about his small physical stature but he was a giant of American Lutheranism, noted religious historian and theological educator, and exemplar of a great generation of church leaders working in national and world arenas from the 1920s through the 1950s. This biography by his son, himself a historian and seminary professor and president, traces Wentz's life from childhood in Lineboro, Maryland through his significant career in Gettysburg and much wider circles to his retirement near the Seminary campus. Obviously a labor of love and written in a style many readers will enjoy, this is far more than just a family memoir or contribution to local or institutional history. Apart from the inclusion of a few stories and photos involving such homey matters as family pets, the book presents Wentz's life in the context of his ecclesial tradition and assesses his academic work in a critical-minded, scholarly fashion. The author is to be commended for achieving just the right mix of appreciative understanding and historical objectivity. Dr. Wentz's career at the Seminary spanned the years 1916-1951, from his arrival as professor of church history through his retirement as Seminary president. A graduate of both Gettysburg College and the Seminary, his keen mind and ambitious temperament led his professors to groom him as a future colleague. Sent to Germany for two years of study following Seminary graduation, he was promptly ushered into a professorship at the College upon his return in 1909. Shortly after completing his doctoral dissertation at George Washington University (*The Beginnings of the German Element in York County*) a position opened for him on the faculty of the Seminary. Even courtship and marriage to Mary Edna Kuhlman seem to have unfolded with certain inevitability. As the author states, in his formative years Abdel Ross Wentz never had to struggle with the question of next steps in his life development, his calling, or his career (p. 16). Deeply rooted in the American Lutheran tradition of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Samuel Simon Schmucker, Wentz focused his teaching and scholarship on the place of Lutheranism in American history and culture. In addition to his classroom responsibilities and numerous publications, Wentz was a popular and tireless conference speaker on these topics. His classic work, *The Lutheran Church in American History*, first published in 1923, appeared in updated editions in 1933 and 1955 remaining the standard history of American Lutheranism for fifty years. Other books include *History of the Gettysburg Seminary* (1926; updated 1965) and his retirement project, a biography of Schmucker (1967). A chapter on Wentz as scholar and teacher demonstrates his self-conscious embodiment of the Gettysburg tradition, viewing Lutheranism not as an Old World immigrant faith but as a dynamic, fully American expression of Christianity. We are birthright Americans, he explained, with a progressive heritage going back to

colonial days. The author fairly describes how his father's perspective failed to take full account of Midwestern and more confessional Lutheran experiences. And by the end of his career his interpretive framework seemed quaint in comparison with the scholarship of younger historians like Sydney Ahlstrom. Even as the Seminary flourished under his leadership (thwarting arguments for merger with the Philadelphia school), Wentz was somewhat confounded by changes within his own institution especially the movement toward more formal catholic liturgy, which he resisted. But the significance of Wentz's witness must not be underestimated, as he directed Lutherans toward open encounter with the world and responsible American citizenship (pp. 78-80). With this sense of mission he became a national figure, illustrated in the 1930 photo of him speaking before 15,000 Lutherans at Philadelphia's Shibe Park celebrating the 400th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession (p. 113 and the book's cover). In ever-wider circles, Wentz assumed active leadership in the United Lutheran Church in America, the American Society of Church History, the Association of Theological Schools, and ecumenical conferences. At the peak of his career he served on committees that created the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament (1946), the Lutheran World Federation (1947), and the World Council of Churches (1948). In all of these and many other settings, he was recognized as the voice of American Lutheranism. As the biography of one of its leading citizens in the twentieth century, *Expanding Horizons for America's Lutherans* is a welcome addition to the library of Adams County history. As a record of the life of a major figure in the history of Lutheranism in the United States, the book performs a valuable service to the church and academy.

Charles Hambrick-Stowe
Northern Seminary (Lombard, IL)

Contributors

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