




2005

Adams County History 2005

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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 reprints of earlier studies on Adams County, a newsletter, and a journal.

The editorial board 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 Introduction

This issue of *Adams County History* entails a changing of the guard. For a decade Gettysburg College English Professor James P. Myers edited Adams County History as its founding editor. He handled the job with diligence, skill, and good sense. Assisted by Society staff members and a stable of creative researchers on pertinent topics, James developed this journal into a significant vehicle for sharing knowledge about Adams County in a local, state, and even national context. The publication of primary sources has made it ever easier for researchers to pursue their special interests in county history. We were fortunate to have James in this seat at a critical time in the Society's history. We wish him well in his ongoing work on Pennsylvania history.

As your new editor, I am delighted to introduce volume eleven of *Adams County History*. Our lead article, by Gettysburg College alumnus Peter Vermilyea, is the first serious study of an important strand of African American history in Adams County. Focused on John Hopkins, affectionately known by generations of college students as "Jack the Janitor," Vermilyea's article sheds light on the early history of the college, on Gettysburg's African-American community, and on the subtle ways in which a talented black man could exert influence. The article also sheds light on some of the ways in which the great Confederate invasion of 1863 affected local residents like Jack Hopkins.

The second article, by Society volunteer Larry Bolin, explores the question of whether there was an active church in Mt. Pleasant, Conewago Township a century or more ago. While the information that Bolin has developed does not definitively answer every question he poses, the article is full of useful insights about the subject, and it serves as a model of historical detective work. Its methodology is as invigorating as its specific findings.

The final piece we present is an edited document. Derived from a New Hampshire newspaper, this account of Joseph Foster's visit to the Gettysburg battlefield in late July 1863 offers poignant first hand testimony about the situation in Gettysburg only weeks after General Lee and his forces departed southern Pennsylvania. By focusing on one individual who fought and died here, it makes personal and poignant the cost of preserving the Union and infusing a "new birth of freedom" into the American republican experiment.

We are also pleased in this number to publish Sheryl Hollis Snyder's index to volumes 6-10 of *Adams County History*. For the convenience of our readers, in the future we hope to provide an index with each number of *Adams County History*. Meanwhile, enjoy this volume!

Michael J. Birkner
Editor

JACK HOPKINS' CIVIL WAR

Peter C. Vermilyea

In the 1862 Pennsylvania College album there is a photograph of John Hopkins, who that year was entering his fifteenth year of service as the college's janitor. In one student's book, the portrait of Hopkins jokingly refers to him as the school's "vice president." This appellation speaks volumes about the life of the African-American custodian, for while it was clearly made in jest as a token of the students' genuine affection for Hopkins, it symbolizes the gulf between the white students and the black janitor. It goes without saying that the students found the picture humorous because they understood that in their time, a black man could never be the vice president.

John Hopkins was born in Maryland in 1806. The 1860 census lists him as a mulatto. Very little else is known about Hopkins's first forty-one years. Was he born free or a slave? Did he leave Maryland openly, or escape via the Underground Railroad? All that is known for certain is that Hopkins was in Pennsylvania by 1841 or early 1842. Unfortunately, large gaps like these are fairly typical when researching Pennsylvania's antebellum African Americans.

Hopkins reemerges in the historical record in April 1847, when Peter Aughinbaugh resigned as the steward of Pennsylvania College. The trustees authorized the faculty to employ a janitor to assume the task of cleaning Pennsylvania Hall, and John Hopkins was quickly hired at a salary of \$15 a month, which was the average income for a free black in the North at the time.¹

These were eventful days in the borough's African American community. The state constitution was rewritten less than a decade earlier specifically to prevent African Americans from voting. Prior to this, the document was ambiguous on the subject, and local courts were forced to intervene, meaning that laws related to black suffrage varied from locality to locality. Only one state legislator refused to sign the new constitution, Gettysburg's Thaddeus Stevens.² In 1841, African American members of several Gettysburg churches organized the Slaves' Refuge Society with a resolution that proclaimed: "We feel it our indispensable duty to assist such of our brethren as shall come among us for the purpose of liberating themselves, and to raise all the means in our power to effect our object, which is to give liberty to our brethren groaning under the tyrannical yoke of oppression."³

Later that year, the *Pennsylvania Freeman* reported that the Maryland Legislature was afraid of an abolitionist group in Gettysburg and had recently passed legislation prohibiting their black Pennsylvania "neighbors from passing and repassing through the state, subjecting many of our colored friends to great inconvenience." Perhaps this law was enacted in response to the more than 10% reduction in the slave population of Maryland from 1830 to 1840. Maryland's rapid rate of manumissions might be reflected in the twenty-five percent growth in the African American population of Gettysburg the following decade.⁴

Hopkins arrived in Gettysburg around the time the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in the *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842) case. This decision

declared the state's personal liberty laws, designed to protect African Americans from being brought south by bounty hunters, marshals, or kidnappers, unconstitutional as they violated the extradition clause of the Constitution. However, Justice Joseph Story, writing for the majority, declared that while states should abide by the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act, they were not compelled to. This led to a statewide appeal from African Americans for additional personal liberty laws.⁵ These laws, ultimately passed by the legislature, were designed to offer some protection from kidnappers. This was a fear all too familiar for the African American residents of a town only ten or so miles from the Mason-Dixon Line, whose newspapers carried advertisements for the return of runaways, and, at least in the well-known 1845 incident involving Catherine Paine, learned of a resident of nearby Bendersville seized by slave hunters.⁶

If Gettysburg's location near the Mason-Dixon line resulted in an undercurrent of fear in the black community, the town also offered economic opportunities for newly freed or escaped slaves. Jobs were available on the bountiful farms of Adams County or in the town's brick kilns or carriage shops.⁷ Additionally, unlike many Northern communities, no black codes existed in Gettysburg, and African Americans were free to visit the town's shops or restaurants.⁸

But Jack Hopkins had neither the time nor the means for much shopping or dining out. Five months after Hopkins was hired, Pennsylvania College trustees authorized the faculty to "purchase a bell not to exceed 300 lbs in weight." Manufactured in Philadelphia, the bell rang to begin classes for more than 40 years. It was Hopkins' responsibility to ring the bell at 8 am, noon, 4:30, and finally at 10 pm, to signal the time for students to retire.⁹ The 1860 edition of "Odds and Ends, and Things Wise and Otherwise," a campus literary journal, included a poem by Homer, Jr., identified by Henry Eyster Jacobs to be James Q. Waters, entitled "Jack the Janitor." The opening stanzas give us a glimpse of Hopkins's duties at the College:

There's one who treads our College hall
Not quite so white as College walls;
But not less true than he who calls
Him Jack – our Jack the Janitor.

Jack makes our beds and sweeps our rooms,
But precious little time consumes,
And all our books with dust entombs,
Jack does – our Jack the Janitor.

I tell you now, "it am a fac,"
And nothing of the truth doth lack;
At making beds Jack has a nack,
Jack has – our Jack the Janitor.

Jack turns the tick just like a feather,
And spreads the clothes, on all together,
Sometimes one way, sometimes t'other
Jack does – our Jack the Janitor.

Jack sweeps our rooms by sleight of hand,
Or else his boys at his command,
But leaves the dirt in corners stand,
Jack does - our Jack the Janitor.

From morn to morn, from noon to noon,
From night to night, and then too soon,
Jack rings the students home from town,
Jack does - our Jack the Janitor.

In short, Jack is a useful man
And long has been a faithful Jan
He does well all and all he can,
Jack does - our Jack the Janitor.¹⁰

A few other tidbits about Hopkins's professional career survive, especially in the reminiscences of Pennsylvania College students. He apparently made simple, cheap furniture that was perhaps sold to students. Henry Minnigh, who attended the college from 1856 to 1859 and later served as Captain of Company K, 1st Pennsylvania Reserves, offered three reminiscences of Hopkins at work under unusual circumstances. First he recounted the time:

The book of mathematics or some other text book was changed against the wish of the class. Soon afterward at recitation every member of the class who roomed in the college building pled the want of preparation, in as much as that all the books had mysteriously disappeared from their rooms. That afternoon what seemed to be a newly made grave was discovered in the lower part of the Campus, about where Brua Chapel now stands. The attention of one of the faculty was called to this, and the janitor, Jack Hopkins was summoned who opened the grave, when a rough box was lifted to the cavity; this in turn being opened revealed a regular coffin and within this, the lost books.

Hopkins' unorthodox contributions to campus life were not limited to the exhumation of text books, however. Minnigh wrote of the:

Night the college bell commenced ringing at midnight. Jack Hopkins the janitor was hurriedly called, and a rush was made for the bell room, when the door was not found locked as usual, but actually nailed shut. Presently it was opened and the bell rope was missing; next, the belfry was climbed and everyone present was anxious to see the culprit. No one was there, but the bell was still ringing. Finally a rope attached to the bell was found leading out over the building to the fields beyond. The rope was cut promptly, and when the grounds beyond was searched of course no one was found. We do not know that the frolicsome bell ringers ever were located.

Finally, Minnigh remembered the time when:

After the service, our class, the Freshman, gathered as usual at the door of the recitation room awaiting the Professor who always unlocked the door upon his arrival. He arrived in due time, but when the attempt was made to open the door, it would not respond. It yielded just enough to reveal the fact that the room was full of new hay. Taking in the situation at a glance, the Professor very quietly stepping back remarked, "Step in gentlemen, there is sufficient fodder for all the calves."¹¹

Hopkins was apparently called in to dispose of the hay, and reportedly was so angered over being forced to clean up after a student prank that he threatened to quit. And the college was sometimes upset with Hopkins. Dr. Charles Glatfelter, in his history of the college, writes, "The faculty were often displeased with the way in which Hopkins performed his duties. He did not ring the bell on time, his cleaning of the rooms did not suit them, and he sometimes let the classroom fires go out. On one occasion they dismissed him, and on another he resigned."¹²

Yet not only did Hopkins remain on the job, but his responsibilities were increased to include care of the grounds.¹³ And he continued to be popular with the students. As James Q. Waters' poem, the honorary title of "vice president" of the college, and an extant – albeit anonymous – July 4, 1851 toast at a college celebration – "To our worthy Janitor – may the day of his final graduation be far off" – attest Hopkins may have been a sort of mascot to the students, a figure whose work cleaning up after them they appreciated, but one whom they understood could never enjoy equal standing with them.¹⁴

In his own community, however, Hopkins would have been considered a success. At some point, presumably in the early 1840s, he wed his wife, Julia Ann, sixteen years his junior and a native of Pennsylvania. The fact that their son John Edward was born in Pennsylvania in 1842 offers evidence to suggest that Jack arrived in the state before that point. Two years later a second son, Wilson, was born, and a daughter, Mary, arrived a year after that.¹⁵ In 1857 the family purchased a one-story frame house at 219 South Washington Street – which still stands – from an African American man, Abraham Brien, whose new home on Cemetery Ridge would be almost at the center of bitter fighting in July 1863.¹⁶

There are indications that Hopkins, on the eve of the Civil War, was involved in the Underground Railroad. Hopkins reportedly worked on the line that linked Thaddeus Stevens's Mariae's Furnace, at the western end of Adams County, Edward McPherson's farm, and the abolitionists in Gettysburg. An illustration exists of a silhouetted figure in a wagon driving in the railroad cut west of town, with the caption, "Steven's RR used by fugitives from his iron workes to PA College. Jack Hopkins notified the BDs who took them to Wright's."¹⁷ The BDs were the Black Ducks, allegedly an unofficial anti-slavery fraternity whose headquarters were on East Middle Street in town and who reportedly maintained a cave on Culp's Hill for the purpose of hiding runaways.¹⁸ Regardless of the veracity of these episodes, a reminiscence published in a *Star and*

Sentinel article from the early twentieth century provides a tantalizing clue as to Hopkins' role in the black community:

When all the excursionists and picnickers from Gettysburg had returned to their homes, July 4th, 1860, the festivities of the day wound up with fireworks which were pronounced fine, but would be considered very commonplace to-day.

The fireworks, however, were not the grandest feature of Gettysburg's Independence evening, 1860. They were simply nowhere alongside of the 'Grand Fancy Dress Ball' given at the residence of John Hopkins, janitor of the College, which was attended by all the colored aristocracy of the town, with specially invited guests from York, Harrisburg, Columbia, and Chambersburg.

It was the swellest function of the colored citizens the town had ever seen. As the house was not large enough for all to be inside at once, the dancing was conducted on the relay system. There were heartburnings for years afterward on the part of some who were not invited.¹⁹

It is not known if this was Hopkins' home on South Washington Street or on the college campus, for the ball took place in the year of his move. Regardless, this episode suggests that Hopkins might have been seen as a local or even regional African American leader.

As war approached and Hopkins assumed a position of greater prominence in the local African American community, he took on additional responsibilities at the college. In 1860 Jack and his family moved into an on-campus house provided to him by the Trustees.²⁰ The steward system was abolished, eliminating this constant supervisory presence on campus. Hopkins, without being an overt spy, could have been the eyes and ears of the administration and helped students from getting too rowdy, an event not uncommon in this time period. Dickinson College, for example, had several student riots during the time Hopkins was janitor, including one in 1847 – the McClintock Riots – over the confiscation of three African Americans from Carlisle by two Maryland men who claimed them as their fugitive slaves.²¹

The new Hopkins home was located 40 yards behind, or north, of Pennsylvania Hall. Following construction of the building in 1837 there were three or four wells, gardens, a washhouse that doubled as a bake house, a smoke house, and a stable. Also there were privies, a woodhouse, and a bathhouse that also served as a gymnasium. Given this architectural hodge-podge it is little wonder that no 19th century photographer made the north side of Penn Hall the focal point for a camera. At any rate, the washhouse was enlarged and made into a residence for Hopkins and his family.²²

On the eve of civil war, John Hopkins was a family man, active in the political interests of the local African American community, and a long time employee of the college whose responsibilities increased over the years. He was 54 years old when South

Carolina seceded, and his approaching old age inspired several more stanzas of James Q. Waters' poem:

Jack's summer days have fled apace,
And frosts of time have left their trace
Upon his somber, solemn face,
Jack's face, our Jack's, the Janitor.

Yes, Jack has now become quite old,
Has weathered many a winter cold,
And we are sad when we behold,
Old Jack – our Jack the Janitor;

Bowed down beneath the weight of years,
Jack scarce can climb the college stairs,
Or ring the bell for Prep, or Prayers,
Poor Jack! Our Jack the Janitor.²³

In the spring of 1863, the community that Jack Hopkins had known and been a prominent fixture in for about twenty years, was changed forever. On June 15, the leading elements of Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac River, moved rapidly through Maryland, and entered Pennsylvania. Before them traveled a mass of African American fugitives. That night, Salome Myers, who lived around the corner from Hopkins' South Washington Street home, recorded in her diary, "the Darkies made such a racket up and down by our house that we could not sleep."²⁴ Gettysburg's African American population was hurriedly making preparations to evacuate the town. Of this flight, Tillie Pierce, who lived on Baltimore Street, remembered years later, "I can see them yet; men and women with bundles as large as old-fashioned feather ticks slung across their backs, almost bearing them to the ground. Children also, carrying their bundles, and striving in vain to keep up with their seniors. The greatest consternation was depicted on all their countenances as they hurried along; crowding, and running against each other in their confusion; children stumbling, falling and crying. Mothers, anxious for their offspring, would stop for a moment to hurry them up, saying: For' de lod's sake, you chillen, cum right long quick! If dem rebs dun katch you dey tear you all up." Gettysburg's black population correctly feared that the Confederates would enslave African Americans they encountered in Pennsylvania.²⁵

Among those fleeing the Gettysburg area were the members of the Hopkins family. At the regular meeting of the Pennsylvania College Board of Trustees, on June 30, 1863 – incidentally, with Union cavalry in the borough, and Confederate infantry on its western outskirts – it was resolved, "That Mr. Garber be directed to ring the College bell, during the absence of the Janitor."²⁶ Garber was a tutor hired to replace Frederick Klinefelter, who was serving as Captain of Company A of the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia, composed primarily of students from the college and the Lutheran Theological Seminary.



This Mathew Brady image taken on July 15, 1863 is looking east from Seminary Ridge. The Jack Hopkins home is visible in the upper left hand corner of the view near Pennsylvania Hall (white building with cupola). Image courtesy of the Gettysburg National Military Park

Where did the Hopkins family go? No one can say for sure, but it is likely that Gettysburg's African American residents who fled the borough – and many did stay behind to take their chances – went one of three places. First was Harrisburg, where the *Harrisburg Telegraph* reported on June 24, “Contrabands are arriving here constantly, and it really is a distressing sight to see women and children huddled in wagons, bringing all their worldly possessions with them.”²⁷ A second possibility was Philadelphia. Fannie Buehler, who lived just off of Gettysburg's Diamond, wrote of her servant, “I know not whither [she fled], for I never saw [my servant] afterwards. I heard of her from someone who had seen her on the way to Philadelphia.”²⁸ A third possibility was to disappear into the forested areas around Yellow Hill, near today's Biglerville. Here existed an African American community whose AME church had close ties to Gettysburg's AME church. It seems likely that those African Americans who held property and therefore had strong incentive to return to Gettysburg fled to nearby Yellow Hill, while those without significant attachment to Gettysburg went to Harrisburg or Philadelphia and remained there. Jack Hopkins and his family were in Gettysburg in the fall of 1863, for their names appear on the tax rolls. Of the 186 African Americans who were listed as Gettysburg residents in 1860, only 87 appear on the 1863 tax roll. Eighty-five percent of those in town in the fall of 1863 had ties to real estate.²⁹

The destruction wreaked by the battle meant more work for Hopkins. The College received \$625 from the Quartermaster Department for the use of Pennsylvania Hall as a hospital and toward returning it to pre-July 1 appearance, and later another \$1000 was awarded on appeal. In a July 21 appeal on behalf of the college and the seminary, the *Adams Sentinel* noted, “Our quiet and orderly town heretofore known only for its nurseries of literature, science and religion, has been selected as the theatre for one of the fiercest, most extensive and eventful conflicts of the age.” These institutions “have been made a sad scene of devastation and ruin.” “The Seminary and the College are, and for a month to come, probably will be occupied as hospitals for the sick and wounded of both armies, and will require not only many repairs, but also much purification and painting, before they can be occupied for their appropriate purposes.” The college reopened for students in September, despite remaining battle debris, as recorded by the Reverend M. Colver:

On our arrival we found in and around the building, according to the estimate given us, seven hundred wounded rebels. When I came to my room I saw it afforded ample accommodation for three – one on the bed and two on the floor... All rooms, halls and hallways were occupied with the poor deluded sons of the South. The moans, prayers and shrieks of the wounded and dying were heard everywhere.³⁰

The damage was not limited to the college edifice, however. The Hopkins' campus home had been ransacked by Confederates. In 1868, Jack's wife Julia applied for reimbursement from the state government for losses suffered as a result of the battle.

*

Accompanying her claim was the following note from Clara Baugher, wife of the college president:

In July 1863 during the Battle of Gettysburg she lived about 100 yards from Pennsylvania College in the house occupied by her husband then President of said college and about 140 yards from the house then occupied by John Hopkins who was janitor of Pennsylvania College. That during the Battle of Gettysburg the Rebel soldiers had possession of the house occupied by said John Hopkins distant about 40 yards from said college which was used by the Rebels as a Hospital—that witness knows of her own knowledge that the Petitioner had a considerable quantity of good bed clothing, carpeting, and household and kitchen furniture which was taken or destroyed whilst the Rebels had possession of the building and that the property taken was the property of the said John Hopkins.

Julia listed all of the items stolen or destroyed by the Confederates:

19 quilts
8 blankets, 2 double
11 Comforts
5 feather beds
5 Chaff beds
20 yards imported carpet
18 yards Rag carpet
1 dozen china cups and saucers
18 plates
2 rocking chairs
1 copper kettle
4 table cloths
30 towels
2 cooking glasses
2 water bowls and pitchers
2 large buckets
1 coffee mill
1 fat hog
3 chickens
1 pair of shoes
1 clock

A separate affidavit certified the weight of the fat hog at 150 pounds. The total value of the lost personal estate was estimated at \$339.35. But Julia also petitioned the state for five dollars in lost real estate property – “potatoes in the ground.” In 1871 she was awarded the full amount of her request.³¹

On June 10, 1863, five days before Confederate forces crossed the Potomac, Henry J. Fahnestock of Gettysburg wrote to his townsman Daniel Skelly, serving with the Union army: "The Colored Company here under command of Captain Randolph Johnston have offered their services to Governor Andrew of Mass., but have understood since that they will not be allowed to leave the state, but will join a Colored Regt or Brigade to be formed in this state." Whether this unit was one of the many local home guard units being formed in the area, emergency troops who would serve with distinction at the Columbia-Wrightsville Bridge on June 27 where they fought off an advance guard of Confederates trying to capture the bridge, or perhaps was just passing through on its way to Camp William Penn in Philadelphia, is unknown.³² They were, however, a precursor to military service for many of Adams County's black residents. Before the war ended, 50 of the county's 474 African American men served the Union cause, representing, in the words of former Gettysburg College history professor Robert Bloom, "more than the traditional ten percent of the whole."³³

John Edward Hopkins, Jack and Julia's twenty-one year old son, a five foot seven inch waiver, enlisted in Company F of the 25th United States Colored Troops on January 26, 1864.³⁴ Six other men from Gettysburg enlisted in the 25th, including Nelson Royer who previously, as a servant to Surgeon T.T. Tate of the 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry, had tended to the wounded in his hometown.³⁵ This regiment was organized at Philadelphia's Camp William Penn, and sailed to New Orleans on the steamer "Suwahnee" on March 15. The vessel sprang a leak off Cape Hatteras and put into Beaufort, North Carolina, where they remained on duty in the defenses for a month before continuing to New Orleans, arriving there on May 1. In July 1864 the unit was attached to the District of Pensacola, stationed first at Fort Pickens and then at Fort Barrancas, guarding the naval approaches to Pensacola, for the remainder of the war.³⁶ Hopkins must have acclimated well to the life of a soldier; he was rapidly promoted to corporal, and then in October 1864 to sergeant, becoming one of the 16% of blacks who achieved noncommissioned officer status.³⁷ While life at Barrancas was filled with the tedium that pervaded Civil War garrison duty, the men of the 25th were equally beset with feelings of frustration caused by the belief, correct as it turned out, that they would never see combat. Frederick L. Hitchcock, colonel of the 25th summarized the situation: "after a proper time had been devoted to drill, I never for a moment doubted what would be its conduct under fire. It would have done its full duty beyond question. An opportunity to prove this the Government never afforded, and the men always felt this a grievance."³⁸

Of the Spring and Summer of 1865 at Fort Barrancas, Samuel P. Bates, in his massive work, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, wrote, "the men suffered terribly from scurvy, about 150 dying, and as many more disabled for life. The mortality at one time amounted to from four to six daily. This was the result of want of proper food. Urgent appeals were made by the officers in command, but not until the disease had run its course, were these appeals answered."³⁹ Hopkins did not escape the epidemic, for records show him in the infirmary from September 29 to November 13, 1865. James A. Patterson, Hopkins's bunkmate in the army, witnessed his friend's suffering from illness:

I knew John Edward Hopkins while he was a soldier in Co F 25th Regiment Cold Vols Infantry. I did not know him until he enlisted. He suffered from rheumatism while we lay at New Orleans. Also from his eyes, and pain in his head from the heat of the sun. When we left Mooreshead, North Carolina, on the vessel, the heat of the sun from the water hurt his eyes and gave him great pain in the head. At Key West, Florida, he was overcome by the sun, had a partial sunstroke, which disabled him from duty. At Fort Barrancas, Florida, he also suffered from the sun, and always complained of it until he was discharged, and afterward up to the last time I saw him at Gettysburg, August 1889. Hopkins went blind in one eye altogether and could not see much out of the other. He received this disability while in the service and in the line of duty.

Furthermore, Hopkins's medical records show him hospitalized with pleuropneumonia from October 5 to November 7, 1865, and with epidemic catarrhal (inflammation of the mucus membranes) in December 1865. His medical condition was so severe that Hopkins was permanently scratched from guard duty.⁴⁰

The war made three widows in Gettysburg's African American community. Many Gettysburg men fought with 8th USCT at Olustee and one, Fleming Devan was killed. John Watts and William Devan, both of 8th both died during the war, Watts of a leg injury and Devan from pain in his eye. On the eve of the war the Devans had been married in a double wedding.⁴¹

Black soldiers were not demobilized as quickly as whites following Appomattox. Most African American soldiers joined in 1863 or 1864 with 3-year enlistments, and the army could therefore legally hold them in the service. Plus, the soldiers were ideal for occupation duty in areas where blacks were heavily recruited. These soldiers faced frequent episodes of violence from local whites, who felt the presence of black troops was an affront to their honor.⁴² The 25th USCT mustered out on December 6, 1865 and Hopkins returned to Gettysburg.⁴³

As was the case across communities north and south, black Gettysburgians anxiously awaited their soldiers' return. Unlike most northern soldiers, Gettysburg's returning veterans needed only to view the ruins in the town to be constantly reminded of the personal losses caused by the war. And those scars of battle perhaps reminded them that little had changed in the ways of civil and voting rights.

The post-war period saw enormous changes in Gettysburg's African American community. The population of the community grew to over two hundred and thirty, but of the 186 blacks that lived in Gettysburg in 1860, no more than 74 still lived in the borough in 1870. At the most, only 31 percent of the 239 African American living in Gettysburg in 1870 had lived in the town in 1860. Ninety percent of the blacks who moved to Gettysburg between 1863 and 1870 were natives of Maryland and Virginia, some of whom were most likely former slaves escaping the land of their persecution.⁴⁴

Those entering the African American community of Gettysburg after 1865 would find increased economic opportunities because of the birth of the tourism industry. Tourism offered blacks employment as cooks, waiter, porters, caretakers, and a vari-

ety of other jobs. This increase in economic opportunity may help explain why the percentage of black-owned real estate increased at a rate seven times greater than the percentage of African Americans in the overall population of Gettysburg between 1860 and 1870.⁴⁵

The percentage of black children attending school decreased in the years after the war despite the construction of a new school for African American children, and the hiring of a black schoolteacher, Lloyd F. A. Watts, a Gettysburg native. Forty-six percent of African American children were in school in 1860. That number had fallen to forty-two percent ten years later, most likely as a result of the need for workers in the tourist industry. The illiteracy rate showed a corresponding increase.⁴⁶

In the postwar period Jack Hopkins could have become a symbol of a “good” and longstanding member of the African American community in contrast to the new African Americans who came during the war or were coming up from the South in the immediate postwar period. This idea was possibly reflected in an action of the college late in Hopkins’s life. In 1867 – his 20th year working for the college – the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution authorizing the treasurer of the College “to pay John Hopkins \$20 for cleaning the College buildings, and \$20 for each succeeding cleaning.”⁴⁷ This represents a five dollar per month raise, or a much more substantial amount if he could clean the college buildings more than once a month. It is easy to speculate that this was a way for the college to try to provide for a loyal and well-liked employee and his family near the end of his life. It is probably not coincidence that Hopkins, the same year, converted his home on South Washington Street to two stories; this was likely the result of both the increase in pay, and the realization that Hopkins’s days of working – and of a campus home – were dwindling.⁴⁸

The July 24, 1868 issue of the *Star and Sentinel* reported that the “death of John Hopkins, a well known colored man of this place, took place on Sunday, (July 19). He has been the Janitor of Pennsylvania College for about thirty years, serving during the larger [sic] part of the Dr. Krauth’s presidency, and the entire presidency of President Baugher. The name of ‘Jack Hopkins’ is a familiar one with the students and graduates of the Institution during this long period, his integrity and fidelity commanding general confidence. The Faculty and Students, in a body, attended his funeral on Monday evening, the services being conducted by Dr. Valentine, assisted by Profs. Ferrier and Conrad.”⁴⁹ Until it was recently incorporated into matriculation ceremonies, the faculty and students of Pennsylvania or Gettysburg College had processed in a body on just two occasions – one was Hopkins’ funeral, and the other was to attend the Gettysburg Address.

An interesting comparison is offered by the fact that Thaddeus Stevens, long a benefactor of Pennsylvania College, died less than a month after Hopkins. At its August 1868 meeting, the Board of Trustees approved resolutions to mark both occasions. That for Stevens read as follows:

Resolved, That this Board have heard with sentiments of deep regret, the announcement of the death of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, [an] early patron of this Institution, and a member of this Board from the date of its organization.

Resolved, That we gratefully acknowledge the valuable services and the constant friendship of the distinguished deceased, whose earnest devotion to the great cause of education will claim the gratitude of posterity.”

The trustees further specified that a copy of the resolution be sent to Stevens’ family.

The resolution in honor of Hopkins read as follows:

Resolved 1 – That we gratefully acknowledge by the kind Providence that continued for so long a time to the College the valuable services of the deceased.

2 – That in the removal of the deceased the College has lost a most forceful and efficient officer.

3 – That we desire to place on record our appreciation of his long and devoted services – his strict integrity - & honor – his uniform & gentlemanly deportment among the students – our high esteem in which he was held by all connected with the College.

4 – That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family, and be published in the papers of the town.

The language of Stevens’ resolution is notably bland for someone who sold, bought, or donated much of the land on which the college was built, and who had repeatedly secured grants from the state legislature for the college. This was undoubtedly because of some of Stevens’ radical positions during Reconstruction.⁵⁰

The Hopkins family returned to 219 South Washington Street following Jack’s death. The 1870 census lists John Edward as head of household, identifying him as a 25-year-old restaurant worker living with his 20-year-old wife, and children John R., 2, and William, 2 months.⁵¹ His military service may have reaped economic benefits, for as Donald Shaffer argues in his book, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans*, black veterans worked at higher status jobs more frequently than non-veterans.⁵²

While John Edward worked to provide for his family, including his mother Julia, for whom he was the sole means of support, he also worked with his fellow black veterans to keep comradeship and their legacy alive. While the transition back to civilian status brought both opportunity and in some cases danger to the veterans, it also provided some with the opportunity to provide leadership roles in their communities. In Gettysburg, African American veterans were instrumental in forming the Sons of Goodwill, an organization founded to provide disability pay to those of Gettysburg’s African American community who had been wounded or injured in the war, and which was instrumental in the creation of a black cemetery in Gettysburg, created primarily as a resting place for the veterans as a means of honoring their contribution to the war. In a similar vein, Memorial Day activities were widely announced and reported in newspapers. The June 4, 1873 *Star and Sentinel* recounted one such event:

It seems that there are four colored soldiers buried in the colored burying ground on York Street, who died of disease in the service. As the program of the day had special reference to the dead who lie in the National Cemetery, we were glad to notice the thoughtful care of the colored people in doing honor to the memory of *their* dead heroes. At 10 o'clock, AM, a procession passed down Baltimore Street to the tap of the drum, composed mainly of children of the colored Sabbath School, each carrying a bouquet, marshaled by Mr. John E. Hopkins, and proceeded to the burying grounds to deposit their floral tributes.⁵³

This ceremony was apparently organized in response to activities honoring the veterans buried in the National Cemetery, and in this way the black veterans sought to keep their legacy alive. And while white southerners and most white northerners ignored the contributions and existence of black vets, their former white officers also celebrated their legacy, as is witnessed by the aforementioned quote from Colonel Hitchcock of the 25th.

If the Sons of Good Will's most tangible accomplishment was the creation of what became known as the Lincoln Cemetery, it was founded at a meeting related to the establishment of black voting rights. As historian Shaffer has written, "Some black soldiers emerged from the Civil War with the feeling of a battle half won." Henry Maxwell, a sergeant in the 3rd United States Colored Infantry wrote after the war, "We want two more boxes beside the cartridge box – the ballot box and the jury box."⁵⁴ While Gettysburg's own Thaddeus Stevens was a leader in the fight for black suffrage, perhaps the most memorable event in the Gettysburg African American community's struggle for voting rights was the 1869 visit of Frederick Douglass to the borough. The *Gettysburg Compiler* summarized Douglass' as follows:

Douglass described the Negro "in the most flattering colors, and paramount credit was claimed for the colored troops in the late war. The right to vote and be voted for to sit in the legislature n Congress and even higher – all these were claimed by Douglass for himself and his race."⁵⁵

The passage and ratification of the 15th Amendment granted suffrage to Gettysburg's African Americans in time for the 1870 election. In the weeks leading up to that election, the *Star and Sentinel* carried the following notice:

Any person interfering or attempting to intimidate any colored voter in the exercise of his newly acquired rights is liable to heavy fines and penalties. As such actions will be tried in the United States District Court. We make this declaration for the purpose of assuring our colored fellow citizens that no one will attempt to molest them upon election day, while in discharge of their duties as citizens and electors.⁵⁶

Ten thousand of the 57,000 African Americans in Pennsylvania voted. Fifty-five blacks voted in Gettysburg, and while Democrats carried Adams County, all 55 of Gettysburg's black voters went for Republicans.⁵⁷

John Edward continued to suffer from the health problems contracted during the war, especially from rheumatic fever and dizziness. Dr. J.C. Felty was called in to attend to him in March 1890 after a stroke left him paralyzed. He died on March 8, 1890, leaving his wife Margaret and three children. His obituary identified him as "the well-known colored sportsman."⁵⁸

His mother Julia lived only another year. Never remarrying, she demonstrated in the years after her husband's death that she was a strong and sagacious woman. She took in two boarders at the Washington Street home. In the 1870s she pursued a claim with the State of Pennsylvania for damages caused by the Rebels. And after John Edwards' death Julia successfully demonstrated, with the help of her attorney William Scott that she never aided or abetted the rebellion, that she was in needy circumstances, and that she depended upon her late son for her economic survival and thereby won a pension from the federal government – only 36% of African American mothers won such a pension, compared with 70% of white mothers. African Americans often found themselves at a disadvantage because of the bureaucratic process, the need for lawyers, and the costs associated with travel, and of finding witnesses. Many African Americans found these costs more than they could afford on their \$250 average annual salary. And on the application forms for the claim and the pension she did something her husband never could do – she signed her own name! Julia Hopkins died in 1891.⁵⁹

The story of the Hopkins family provides a picture of one of Gettysburg's African American families in the Civil War era. In many ways their experiences were typical of those of the community as a whole, for they lived through the anxiety of the years leading up to the war, the fear of the Confederate invasion, the excitement and sacrifice of service in the Union army, the triumph of voting rights, and the unease of making their way in a radically-different society. On the other hand, their association with Pennsylvania College left future researchers with far more sources about their lives than are available for the typical black family in Gettysburg in the mid-19th century. One of the sources, the final stanza of James Q. Waters's poem, provides a final glimpse of the impression Jack Hopkins left on the students of the college:

How oft he'll ring the College bell,
Ere it shall toll his funeral knell,
We are not able now to tell,
But hope it may at last be well
With Jack, "Old Jack,"
Yes, "Jack our Janitor."⁶⁰

Endnotes

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- ³ File 160, "Slaves Refuge Society," ACHS.
- ⁴ Harry Bradshaw Matthews, "Revisiting the Battle of Gettysburg: The Presence of African Americans Before and After the Conflict," Presentation to the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 6, 1993, 4.
- ⁵ George F. Nagle, "Fugitive Slave Incidents in Central Pennsylvania," http://www.afrolumens.org/rising_free/fugitive.html.
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- ⁷ Peter C. Vermilyea, "The Effect of the Confederate Invasion of Pennsylvania on Gettysburg's African American Community," *Gettysburg Magazine*, 24 (January 2001), 112-128.
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- ¹⁰ James Q. Waters, "Jack the Janitor," *Odds and Ends: Or Things Wise and Otherwise, Pennsylvania College* (Hagerstown, MD: Daniel Dechert, 1860), 17-19.
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- ¹² Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence*, 151.
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- ¹⁴ "Toasts," *Adams Sentinel*, July 14, 1851.
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- ¹⁸ J. Howard Wert, *Episodes of Gettysburg and the Underground Railroad* (Gettysburg, PA: G. Craig Caba Antiques, 1998), 73.
- ¹⁹ "Old Time Notes of Adams County," *Star and Sentinel*, January 30, 1907, 1.
- ²⁰ Pennsylvania College, Board of Trustees Minutes, Special Collections, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- ²¹ "The McClintock Riots," accessed at http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/encyclo/m/ed_mcClintockriot.htm. *Adams Sentinel*, February 11, 1856, 2.

- ²² Glatfelter, *Yonder Beautiful*, 38. The Hopkins home on campus is visible in photographs of the Gettysburg area. See especially a well-known photograph of Gettysburg taken from Seminary Ridge by Matthew Brady in July 1863, William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 74-75.
- ²³ Waters, 17-19.
- ²⁴ Salome (Myers) Stewart diary, Robert Brake Collection, United States Army Military History Institute.
- ²⁵ Tillie (Pierce) Alleman, *At Gettysburg: Or What a Girl Saw and Heard of the Battle* (New York, NY: W. Lake Borland, 1889), p. 19.
- ²⁶ Pennsylvania College, Board of Trustees Minutes, June 30, 1863, Special Collections, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence*, 184.
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- ³⁶ "An Abbreviated History of the 25th United States Colored Infantry Regiment," accessed at http://www.angelfire.com/pa5/8usct/25usct_history1.html.
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⁵⁰ Pennsylvania College Board of Trustees Minutes, August 13, 1868, Special Collections, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

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⁵² Shaffer, 52.

⁵³ Myers, 7, 89.

⁵⁴ Shaffer, 68.

⁵⁵ Matthews, "Revisiting the Battle," 14.

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⁵⁸ Hopkins Pension, National Archives; Myers, 68.

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MT. PLEASANT CHURCH, CONEWAGO TOWNSHIP

By Larry C. Bolin

Preface

Late in the summer of 2004, staff members of the Adams County Historical Society were presented with questions concerning the "Mt. Pleasant Lutheran Church" and shown a deed in which such a church is named. Since no one on the staff could answer the questions to the satisfaction of the patron, and since the society had no unimpeachable evidence readily available that a church of that name ever existed, or did not exist, in the county, it was determined that an investigation should begin, the goal of which was to uncover, within reason, sufficient irreproachable evidence of the correct identity of the church that future misunderstanding might be prevented. It was thought that the society's own resources and perhaps those of similar nearby societies likely could provide what was sought. At that point, Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter and this writer began an in-depth search for factual information relating to that church. This article, then, discusses in some detail our findings.

The range of source materials consulted includes newspaper announcements; church, land, tax, and census records; county and church histories; city directories; personal recollections. Research sites or depositories of materials used were the Adams County Historical Society, the Adams County Courthouse, the Abdel R. Wentz Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, all Gettysburg; the York Historic Trust Library, York; the Pennsylvania Room of the Hanover Public Library, Hanover; the Special Collections Library, Albright College, Reading. Other materials used are privately held.

Acknowledgment must be given to those people who made available some information which appears in this report. Wendy Bish-McGrew and Austin Ruth receive our thanks for providing details found in the Pennsylvania Room and in the St. Mark's Church minutes. Sidney Dreese, Special Collections Librarian at Albright, sent much clarifying information on local Evangelical churches and ministers and has earned our particular gratitude.

Larry C. Bolin
Hanover, Pennsylvania
January 2005 Revised
August 2005

About two miles south of McSherrystown and a similar distance southwest of Hanover, in Conewago Township, lies the small village of Mt. Pleasant. The community developed at and near the intersection of State Route 194, commonly called the Hanover-Littlestown Pike, and Legislative Route 01005, known in days past as the road from McSherrystown to Gitt's Mill and its segment south of the intersection called in

recent times Narrow Drive. In the eastern quadrant of the intersection, a church was built in 1878; nearby and adjacent to the crossroads sat a public school, which had been built sometime before 1858. The school was known by two names, Mt. Pleasant and Schwartz's, and the village itself was also called by some people Schwartz's or Schwartz's Schoolhouse. Further, like the church, the school had religious significance to residents of the vicinity.

The date of the initial acquisition of land for the school is not known – no deed was recorded. Nevertheless, the size of the school lot, undoubtedly as it first existed, is defined, although perhaps not well, in a deed recording the sale of nearly 200 acres of land by John Schwartz to Samuel Schwartz in 1865.¹ The deed description of the land being sold indicates a roughly rectangular area of about 5.1 by 8.1 perches, surely the school property, intruding into the larger tract along its northeastern side and adjoining land of Jacob Keller's heirs. Not until 1902 did the township's school directors enlarge the grounds by purchasing from the estate of Samuel Schwartz an additional rectangular plot 6.25 by 6.95 perches, in area 43.5 square perches, adjacent to the southwestern side of the existing lot.² At the same time, the remaining part of Samuel Schwartz's real estate, still nearly 200 acres, was bought by Samuel L. Johns.³ The deed of Johns's acquisition shows a cutout portion, the just-enlarged school lot, of about 6.25 by 11.5 perches, thus delineating the new total area of the school property. But by 1959, when the school directors, after a centralized elementary school was built for township students, sold the property to R. H. Sheppard, it was shown to be an apparently irregular quadrilateral, its sides approximately 8.8, 11.5, 7.8, and 8.8 perches, with an area of 95 square perches.⁴

The lengths of the sides of the school lot, and their courses, are not often in agreement from deed to deed. Apparent error is most glaring in the 1959 deed, for a draft using the deed numbers clearly will not close correctly. Thus, uncertainty about the exact size and shape of the lot remains. A comparison of all cited deeds, however, seems to permit a juggling of the numbers that will show a lot of 80 square perches, a half-acre, with sides of about 6.95 and 11.5 perches set at 90° angles. The school and its yard are still on site and it is presumed that present boundaries must closely approximate those of 1902, so even now an accurate reading is certainly possible.

Schwartz's school played a role in the community's religious endeavors even during the church's presence in Mt. Pleasant. Formalized religious activity in the village, and in the schoolhouse, however, began before the church appeared, although the exact nature and range of devotional pursuits there are not known.

In mid-autumn 1877, a newspaper announcement told that the building of a church was planned for the next summer on Henry Ramer's land, near Schwartz's school in Conewago Township, for the use of Lutherans and other denominations.⁵ Those plans did not materialize in their entirety as reported, however. Even though a church was erected near the school the next year, it was not on Ramer land and it did not have, as the news item seemingly implies, Lutherans as primary builders or occupiers, although they might have had some immediate use of it.

Before any word of the actual building of a church, however, a news item related that "Swartz's Sunday-school in Union [sic] Twp., Adams Co., will hold their annual

picnic in the grove at the school-house in which the Sunday-school meets.”⁶ That item suggests that the Sunday school, and perhaps other aspects of organized religion, had existed in Mt. Pleasant for some time, perhaps years, prior to 1878. Were Lutherans, who nine months earlier had reported plans to erect a church, involved in conducting the Sunday school at Schwartz’s, perhaps already working in conjunction with people from one or more other denominations?

Then on October 2, 1878, Mary Weisensale, widow of Christian G., late of Conewago Township, and other heirs of Christian G., sold for \$20 to Menases Bollinger, Oxford Township, Conrad Bender, Mt. Pleasant Township, and Edward Stover, Heidelberg Township, trustees, and their successors in office, a lot of ground in Conewago Township “in trust to be kept and maintained as a place of Divine worship by the ministry and membership of the Evangelical Association of North America.” A further directive in the deed was that members of all denominations may use the house of worship for funeral services.⁷

Menases (or Manasseh) Bollinger, born circa 1841, lived in West Manheim Township in 1870, according to federal census records, and is found on tax rolls of Oxford Township 1872-1880, after which nothing more on him has surfaced. He married Esther Garber, who died in 1902 and was buried in the New Oxford Cemetery, where his name, but no other information, also appears on a grave marker.⁸

Conrad Bender lived in Mt. Pleasant Township 1865-1884, taxed at first on 110, later on 98, acres. In and after 1885, his heirs were taxed on the property.⁹

No sign of an Edward Stover who lived in 1878 in Heidelberg Township has been found. He does not appear in 1880 federal census records for Hanover or any nearby township.¹⁰

The Evangelical Association of North America was also known early in its life, and still to some in 1878, as Albright’s church, for its founder, Jacob Albright. Care should be taken to correctly distinguish that denomination from any other which used/uses Evangelical as part of its name; especially in the case of Mt. Pleasant, known to have had Lutheran activity in its church, the Evangelical Church should never be thought to be the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Evangelical Association did undergo changes, including name changes, as time went on, some of which will be discussed briefly below. Evangelicals began to lose their separate identity when in 1946 they joined with members of the already closely allied United Brethren in Christ Church to form what often is called simply the EUB Church, members of which in turn in 1968 combined with Methodists, with whom they had always been in agreement on church doctrine and polity, to establish the present United Methodist Church.

The purchase of land for a church by the Evangelical trustees was a foregone conclusion and already known to the public for at least a few days prior to the transaction, for late in September a news item noted that the laying of the cornerstone of the church, along with appropriate services, would occur on October 13. A similar message was printed a week later.¹¹

The lot of ground on which the church was to be built was described in the deed as beginning at a public road, then running along land of Samuel E. Keller south 39.25° east 5 perches, then by land of the heirs of Christian Weisensale south 47° west 5.6

perches to the public road, then along the road and land of Samuel Schwartz north 7.5° east 7.6 perches to the place of beginning, containing 16 square perches and being part of the land Samuel and Maria Schwartz had sold to Christian Weisensale on March 5, 1857.

The triangular plot on which the church was built was small. Put in a perhaps more easily grasped context, its sides were 82.5, 92.4, and 125.4 feet in length and its area was equivalent to a square just 66 by 66 feet or a rectangle 33 by 132 feet – 33 feet is now usually the minimum permissible width of a building lot in urban settings. Having a building that occupied nearly a quarter of the total area of its grounds did not allow much room for practical considerations, such as space for horses and buggies, a well, or outhouses, nor for aesthetic touches. And surely the lot was too small to include a burial grounds. A still clearer idea of how small the church tract was might be gained by envisioning it in comparison with the Schwartz's schoolgrounds. The church property was certainly less than half the size of the original school lot and just one-fifth, or even one-sixth, the size of the lot as it is today.

A draft of the church lot and the school properties, along with several adjacent tracts, is hereto attached to show their relative locations, since the church grounds, which abutted modern Narrow Drive, no longer exists as a separate tract. Included is a copy of a modern draft on which can still be discerned, but barely, the church land.

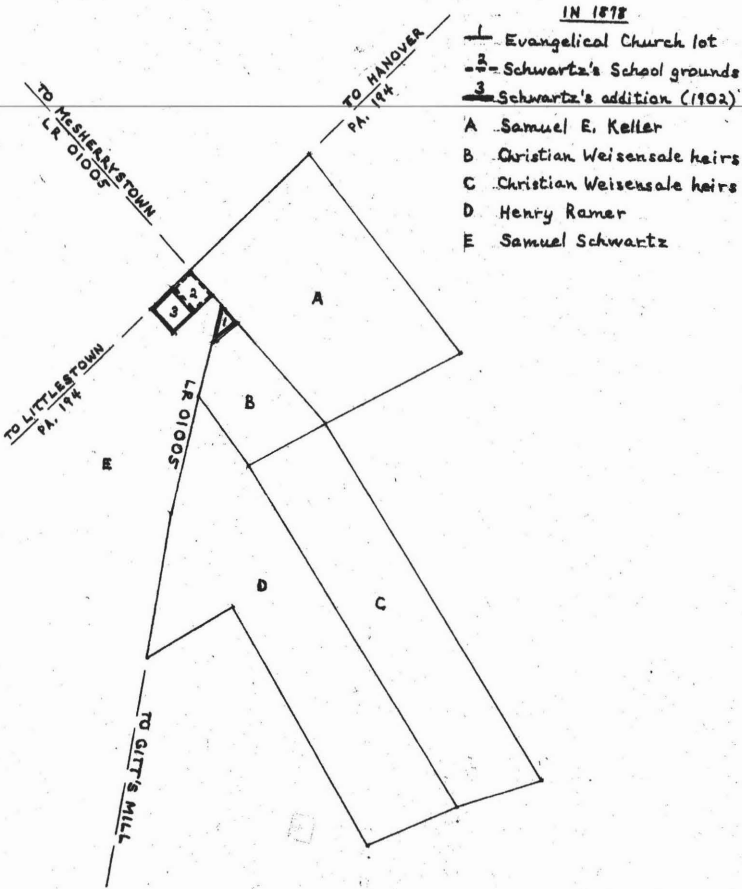
Clearly, the church was erected without appreciable delay, for early in December came the announcement of the dedication, scheduled for Christmas day, of the new "Mount Pleasant Evangelical Church, at Swartz's school-house." There would be services in English and in German, and "Revs. Wallace, Aurand and Buck" were expected to be present. A slightly abbreviated report of the upcoming dedication was also published just four days before its planned occurrence.¹²

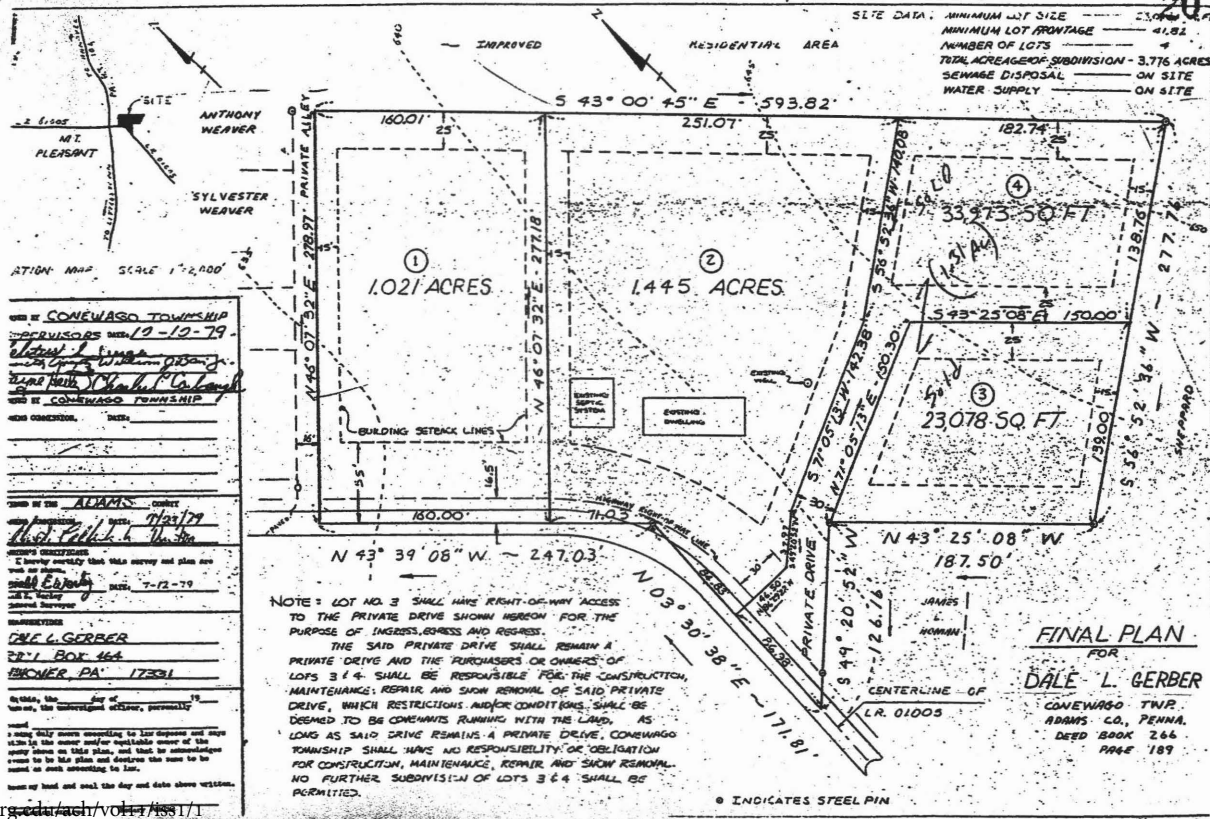
In March 1878, the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association had held its annual sessions, scheduled for that year in Glen Rock, York County. Newspaper accounts of those meetings included listings of ministers appointed to specific sites by the conference's stationing committee. Recorded were the placements of W. N. Wallace in Dillsburg, S. Aurand in York, and H.W. Buck in Glen Rock.¹³ Surely, they are the three ministers who were expected to attend (and possibly conduct?) the church dedication at Mt. Pleasant.

William Nevin Wallis (the correct spelling of his surname), 1848-1922, was licensed to preach in 1870, but actually began his Evangelical ministry in 1873 at Bendersville, Adams County. He was ordained a deacon in 1875 and an elder in 1877. In a fifty-year ministry he served at many places, including, in Adams and York Counties, the aforementioned Dillsburg and Bendersville, and, in addition, New Freedom, Yoe, and Freysville.¹⁴

Simon Aurand, 1827-1909, became an itinerant Evangelical preacher in 1856, a deacon in 1858, and an elder in 1860. He also served for nearly fifty years, experiencing more than twenty changes of appointment. In Adams and York Counties he served Gettysburg, Shrewsbury, York, Loganville, and Hanover.¹⁵ While ministering at Hanover in 1898, his post office address was recorded as Heller. A post office in York County with the name Heller existed only from 1887 to 1903, after which time mail

MOUNT PLEASANT PROPERTIES,
WITH CHURCH AND SCHOOL
(APPROXIMATION)





service to the former Heller area was via Hanover. Nonetheless, a 1911 map of York County still recognized the name Heller and placed it at or near Blooming Grove, in Penn Township.¹⁶

Henry William Buck, 1843-1916, was born into an Evangelical home, the son of Rev. Thomas Buck. He was licensed to preach in 1863 and became an itinerant the following year, then was named a deacon in 1866 and an elder in 1868. He was elected a presiding elder three times, in 1887, in 1891, and in an undetermined year; his office in 1891 oversaw the York District. In York County he served Glen Rock and New Freedom. He died in York, after ministering at least sixteen sites in forty-four years.¹⁷

There can be no doubt that the announced dedicatory service was held as scheduled, nor question that the Mt. Pleasant Evangelical Church was added to the Dillsburg Circuit. It was reported at the beginning of February 1879 that a "protracted meeting" was in progress in the new church, which was crowded each night, with much interest apparent. "Rev. Wallace of East Berlin" was in charge of those gatherings.¹⁸

The name W. N. Wallace is found in tax records of Hamilton Township, in which East Berlin lies, only in 1879; neither his full name nor his profession is shown, however. Nevertheless, the given tax information probably surely, even if not entirely accurately, identifies him as the same Rev. William Nevin Wallis noted above, who was stationed on the Dillsburg Circuit for 1877-1878 and so still at that appointment in February 1879. In the next month, however, he was assigned to Dushore in the Lewisburg District.¹⁹

Protracted meetings, or revivals, are in some aspects analogous to camp meetings, but restricted to a single congregation and not having its participants living at a campsite for the entire length of what often were many days of evangelizing. Protracted meetings were a series of usually evening sessions in a church, intended not only to re-strengthen members' zeal but also to enlist new members to the Evangelical message. Such gatherings were a major recruiting method in that church.²⁰

But, after that early-1879 revival, the church received no mention in newspapers in the next fifteen months, nor did it in fourteen consecutive months in 1884-1885 and five more months in 1889-1890.²¹ Is it possible that regular church activity ceased so soon after the church was dedicated or that no consistency in holding services ever really developed? Or, might the church simply have escaped newspaper notice? Later events show that the church did live on for some years, although apparently in financial difficulty which was either so long-standing or suddenly so overwhelming that it became impractical to continue the church/congregation.

During those times when there was no word of Mt. Pleasant Evangelical Church, however, the papers did occasionally carry items concerning a Sunday school in the village. In the summer of 1884, there appeared a report of a Sunday school celebration and in the spring of 1885 one of a Sunday school's organization.²² In both instances, the terminology used was "Mt. Pleasant Union Sunday-school." Is the designation as union again a hint of Lutheran involvement? With whom? Was that the same Sunday school which predated the church? If so, the use of the word "organization" in the 1885 report is misleading; it should not be understood to mean establishment. Rather, it would refer to a regular, perhaps annual, selection of officers and should be termed reorganization.

Soon after those news items were printed, the 1886 *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania* was published. In the Adams County section of that book appears a seemingly direct statement that already Mt. Pleasant Evangelicals had lost their church. On page 233 is this sentence: "The Lutheran and Union Church, near Schwartz's School-house, was built in 1878." Suggested at the very least is a greatly diminished role for Evangelicals in their own church by 1886 and apparently some sort of takeover of the building by Lutherans and perhaps others. Might it actually only acknowledge, however, known Lutheran activity in the community, conceivably even in the church? Or, might it simply be based on the same type of misinformation which is evident on page 308 of the same history, where the Bendersville Evangelical Church is called Evangelical Lutheran?

In early spring, 1890, "Mount Pleasant Sunday-school was re-organized."²³ Although not called union on that occasion, it appears to have been the same entity as the one noted five years previously because several of the named officers in 1890 were repeats from 1885. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether Evangelicals were part of the union effort and whether their church was the site of Sunday school classes and meetings during those years. It is known, however, that Evangelicals strongly favored Sunday schools as a teacher of Evangelical history and as a builder of faith in Evangelical tenets.²⁴

In the first week of March 1893, the 54th annual sessions of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association were held at Milton, Northumberland County. Proceedings of those sessions include a summary of problems afflicting the Mt. Pleasant congregation (by then a part of the Hanover Mission), which removes some of the mystery of the situation up to that point, and the recommended resolution. There was a debt of \$102 on the church; only three families belonged to the church, all of whom lived nearer to Hanover than to the church; prospects for the church's future did not appear to merit special efforts to save it; there were at the time twelve acknowledged Evangelicals living in Hanover, several others having already left because there was no church there. The Quarterly Conference asked permission to move Mt. Pleasant Church to Hanover or to sell the building and, after paying the debt, to apply the remaining money to the acquisition of a lot for a church in Hanover. That request was granted.

The problems of maintaining a viable congregation at Mt. Pleasant may have had underlying causes outside as well as within the Evangelical Association, contriving to make continuation there impossible. Elements of one or both might have led to a drop in membership beyond recovery.

Nationally, the economic situation was unsettled. A severe depression struck in 1893 and lasted for several years. The Mt. Pleasant Evangelicals likely would have felt the pinch on their financial capabilities, which perhaps deprived them of the means to support the church at a level necessary for survival.

Already brewing for some years in the Evangelical Association was what had begun as honest debate over the acceptable degree of episcopal power in the church, but which had degenerated into personal clashes, with each side having its loyal adherents. By 1887 discord had reached such a level that two church bodies, each claiming to act for the entire church, announced the site of the next general conference – the

majority group, representing the Adolphus W. Harris of the total membership, chose Indianapolis, while the minority picked Philadelphia. And there was a general conference in each city in 1891, signaling to all that feelings had hardened and the division was real. The Evangelical Association was in serious trouble. Had the split affected the Mt. Pleasant congregation directly, with some members leaving?

Civil court cases ensued and in October 1894 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court declared that the majority, as represented at the 1887 general conference and at Indianapolis in 1891, was the actual Evangelical Association. Further, the court ruled that Evangelical church properties in Pennsylvania belonged to the majority. Almost immediately, steps to a total split in the church began – although operating separately since the Philadelphia general conference, the minority had not organized themselves independent of the Evangelical Association. The division, even though real since 1891, had not yet been formally concluded.

Just nine days after the court's decision, the East Pennsylvania Conference, part of the minority, met in Reading and constituted themselves the East Pennsylvania Conference of the United Evangelical Church, keeping also the principles adopted at Philadelphia in 1891. In the next four weeks, the Central Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Oregon Conferences also organized as United Evangelical; in addition, a new body, the Pittsburgh Conference, was established, also United Evangelical. At the end of November, delegates of those groups convened in Naperville, Illinois, and organized as the first General Conference of the United Evangelical Church. The division of one church into two had been accomplished.²⁵ Thus, from late November 1894 Mt Pleasant Church, as part of the Central Pennsylvania Conference and aligned with the minority, was United Evangelical and no longer in the Evangelical Association. Any dissenters of the United Evangelical viewpoint at Mt. Pleasant, if any still remained, very likely would have left the congregation at that point.

For most members, the break in the church was not permanent. Eventually, because that which tended to unite as Evangelicals overrode that which tended to divide, the two bodies again came to agreement and in 1922 merged, renaming themselves the Evangelical Church.²⁶ Even then, though, a small minority, perhaps seven percent, again led by the East Pennsylvania Conference, balked at the merger and formed their own church, the Evangelical Congregational Church.²⁷ By then, however, the Mt. Pleasant United Evangelical congregation was no longer a distinct entity, having faded into oblivion after their church was sold.

Perhaps it should not be surprising to learn that Mt. Pleasant was not the only Evangelical congregation in the county in desperate trouble at that time. An uncannily similar situation appeared in the Emanuel Evangelical Church in Kingsdale, Germany Township. In 1888, 39 square perches of land in Kingsdale had been purchased for the use of the Evangelical Association of North America, on which property a 28 by 40 feet church was then built.²⁸ Just six years later, the proceedings of the 1894 annual sessions of the Central Pennsylvania Conference included the request by the Hanover Quarterly Conference (by 1892 at the latest, Kingsdale was on the Hanover Mission²⁹) to sell the church, and the approval granted. In early September 1894, it was reported that the church, which had recently been sold at Sheriff's sale to S.J. Renner, had been resold by Renner to George F. Krug for the Lutherans of Kingsdale.³⁰ Another

article three months later related that the General Secretary of the Lutheran Board of Church Extension had purchased the building, which for the time being would be a mission of St. John's Church, Littlestown; St. John's pastor, Rev. Wire, would supply preaching at the Kingsdale church. The church was to be renovated the next year and dedicated as Lutheran.³¹ But, although the church is mentioned in the 1895 minutes of the West Pennsylvania Synod of the Lutheran Church, the plans apparently fell through and no fully organized Kingsdale Lutheran congregation ever came into being.

William Curtis Wire was born in 1839 in Loudoun County, Virginia. In 1887, he was named pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran congregation, Littlestown, where he remained until 1892, when he left the area. In the next year, however, he returned to Littlestown as pastor at St. John's, which position he held until his death on April 20, 1897. His body was taken to his hometown, Lovettsville, Virginia, for burial.³²

Apparently, despite the 1893 request by the quarterly conference to fold the Mt. Pleasant Church, and approval given, a strong desire to continue it existed, and held sway for a while, because in the latter half of 1895 the church once again received newspaper mention as an active concern, as will be seen below. In the interim, a Sunday school there frequently made the news, especially in 1895. In a sudden flurry of news reports it was usually called Mt. Pleasant or Schwartz's, and usually union, but in May 1895 an article announced that a "Sunday-school was organized in Mt. Pleasant Church at Schwartz's school-house."³³ Was that the same union Sunday school which met at the school? Again, the officials named in the article hint that that was the case. If so, they had begun to call themselves a church. Two perhaps less likely explanations do seem possible: "Schwartz's school-house" in the citation was meant as the alternative name of the town, or there were two distinct churches in Mt. Pleasant at the time.

What exactly was the relationship between church groups and public schools? In the later decades of the 1800s, frequent reports of Sunday schools meeting in Adams and York County public schoolhouses appeared in newspapers. Some of those Sunday schools were called union and it has been noticed that at times such cooperative efforts were between denominations which differed widely in their religious viewpoints and teachings, even to the point of open antagonism. The subject deserves consideration for a detailed investigation.

In late summer 1895 two items in the same Mt. Pleasant newsletter also suggest that two churches were considered to be operating there. One simply refers to Mt. Pleasant Church; the other says that Rev. Smith preached at "his" (quotation marks added) church the previous Sunday evening.³⁴

Harris Smith was licensed as an Evangelical preacher in 1895.³⁵ Church records from the following March place his residence in Jacobus, York County.³⁶ A report from Mt. Pleasant a month after that reveals that he then lived, or was stationed, in Blooming Grove and, further, that he had recently "held divine services at Valentine Wildasin's" (residence in Mt. Pleasant).³⁷ Then in October an announcement of the upcoming "Third Quarterly Meeting of the United Evangelical Church of Hanover Mission" was published. (Although the Hanover Circuit had been established in 1886, there was no Evangelical church in the borough until 1902.) The meeting would be held at Blooming Grove. An invitation to attend was extended to all and the notice was signed by "H. Smith, pastor."³⁸

It is significant that, although by 1896 the Evangelical church in Mt. Pleasant was no longer in Evangelical hands, clearly there were still people there who wished to attend Evangelical services. Moreover, since 1882 there was an Evangelical church in Blooming Grove, less than five miles distant,³⁹ and in the mid-1890s a minister at Blooming Grove willing to accommodate the Mt. Pleasant faithful.

Rev. Harris Smith was recorded early in 1898 as residing in Jacobus, then later that year as having Heller (Blooming Grove) as his post office address – the latter was during his circuit appointment at Hanover. After that, his whereabouts for nearly twenty years is unknown. He then is found living in York, appearing intermittently in city directories 1917-1932, called a laborer and a woodworker, his given name recorded at times as Harrison. In 1928, he was again, or still, listed in Evangelical church records as one of the “preachers on trial,” his residence York.⁴⁰

Harris Smith’s preaching career began the same year the demise of Mt. Pleasant’s church as Evangelical occurred. For three consecutive weeks in the fall of 1895 the papers reported an ongoing revival in the Mt. Pleasant Evangelical Church. The first week’s item included an exhortation in Pennsylvania German, roughly translated as “Come back and help us.” The third of those reports contained word of a well-attended communion service the previous Sunday evening.⁴¹ The revival was probably a last-ditch attempt to resuscitate the church. But news of the failure of the effort to prolong the church as Evangelical was printed even as the revival continued.

In mid-October 1895, for the first time, papers carried a listing of properties the sheriff would sell on November 9. They included “A LOT OF GROUND, situate in Conewago Township...containing sixteen (16) perches...of land, improved with a Frame Church 26 x 38 feet, Seized and taken into execution as the property of WILLIAM H. CROWL and WILLIAM BECKER, Trustees of Mountpleasant Church of Conewago township.”⁴²

Little detail on William H. Crowl, 1845-1930, has been found. He died at the county home in York. His funeral service was conducted by Rev. Ellis James Bayne, pastor of Grace Evangelical Church, Hanover, after which he was buried in the cemetery of Christ Reformed Church, near Littlestown.⁴³

It has proved impossible to isolate Evangelical trustee William Becker inasmuch as in the years 1894-1900 in Conewago Township alone, one, two, or even three individuals of that name were taxed each year.

A week after the sale by the sheriff of “Mt. Pleasant Evangelical Church at Schwartz’s school-house,” the transaction was reported to have been concluded to satisfy a judgment for \$140 held by F. S. Stover. Stover was the purchaser at \$150.⁴⁴ That newspaper article differs in some respects from information documented elsewhere.

In 1893, seen above, the church debt was said to be \$102, which appears to receive corroboration in a document in which the debt, with interest, is written as \$113.10.⁴⁵ That same document, however, records trustee William Becker’s surname as Beck – that version of the name is taken to be incorrect since no one of that name of a plausible age has been found in the area at the time. Lastly, the deed of sale by Sheriff William B. McIlhenny to Frederick S. Stover places the transaction four days later than the other sources.⁴⁶

Frederick S. Stover, 1846-1917, lived in Heidelberg Township, near what then was known as York Road Station, which is the crossing of Pennsylvania Route 116 and the Western Maryland Railroad at the present Hanover Brands cannery, and therefore very near the Blooming Grove Evangelical Church. Himself Evangelical, Stover was a member of the Blooming Grove Church building committee in 1882 and was on other church committees afterward. By 1915 he had moved to York, where he died. His funeral service was held at his home, conducted by Rev. S. E. Koontz, pastor of St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, York, after which his body was taken to Hanover for burial in Mt. Olivet Cemetery.⁴⁷

Stover's connection to the Mt. Pleasant congregation is not known, nor has a tie to 1878 trustee Edward Stover been found. Had he simply made a loan to fellow Evangelicals and now was seeking to recoup his investment? He did eventually realize a profit of just over \$158.

Stover did not hold the church property for long. At the end of 1895 he sold it for \$195 to William Sheaffer, Michael Etzler, and George Eckert, Lutheran representatives, and Albert Sheaffer, Henry Schmuck, and Samuel Schwartz, representatives of the Reformed denomination.⁴⁸ With the church no longer in Evangelical control, other denominations apparently began to use it with more frequency – before long, evidence began to mount that both Lutheran and Reformed people were gathering at the church and that changes to the church were being considered.

In the middle of February 1896 it was announced that Rev. G. B. Resser of Hanover would hold divine services in the church the next day. That was George B. Resser of Emanuel Reformed Church, Hanover. In the same issue was noted talk of placing a tower and bell on the church, which was deemed a good idea.⁴⁹

Two weeks later, it was reported that Rev. Mr. Stock of Hanover would preach at the church the following day. That was Charles M. Stock, pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran congregation, Hanover.⁵⁰

In two more weeks there appeared a news item which, although it did not specifically say at the church, told that Rev. E. D. Miller of Hanover would hold divine services in Mt. Pleasant the next day. Edward Miller at the time was minister of Reformed congregations at Sherman's and St. Bartholomew's Churches, both in West Manheim Township, York County.⁵¹

Then in mid-April the first of two very similar informative, yet at the same time confusing, news items was printed; the second followed a week later. They told of the organization of a Union Sunday school "at Mt. Pleasant Reformed Church at Schwartz's school-house," with an added statement of the presence of both Revs. Stock and Resser.⁵² Those items are the first which directly indicate a united Lutheran-Reformed effort at Mt. Pleasant and the first to say that the church was considered to be Reformed (by some people, at least). Also, it is not clear whether the articles mean to impart that Schwartz's school was the home of the church or only that the organizational meeting was held at the school. Or, might the cited phrase, in fact, be one more case of using the school name to indicate the town name?

In mid-July, both Rev. E. D. Miller and Rev. M. J. Roth of Hanover held services in Mt. Pleasant. The latter was Marsby J. Roth of Trinity Reformed Church, Hanover.⁵³

By mid-autumn 1896, the apparently unrestricted use of the Mt. Pleasant Church for Reformed services ended. On November 5, the six representatives (trustees) who had acquired the church property the previous December sold it for \$195, the same amount it had cost them, to E. H. Hostetter, trustee of St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover.⁵⁴ At that point a Lutheran congregation became in reality the owner of the Mt. Pleasant Church. Just over a week later, news of the sale included a brief summary of the church's history. Added too were statements that preaching would be provided once a month until residents of the vicinity were able to support their own pastor and that a member of St. Mark's congregation would be chosen to conduct a Sunday school at Mt. Pleasant.⁵⁵

There may have followed some movement toward a self-sustaining Lutheran congregation in Mt. Pleasant, although it appears that any real effort to keep the promise of continuing Lutheran activity alive there was feeble and sporadic, negating the chances for the Lutheran body to grow and become independent of outside support. Prospects of a successful Lutheran congregation developing in Mt. Pleasant seem to have been less than propitious in 1896. There were already three Lutheran churches in Hanover and one in McSherrystown, all within an acceptable distance for most Mt. Pleasant area residents. At roughly twice the distance were two more churches in Littlestown and one in West Manheim Township, those perhaps easier to attend for people to the west and south of the majority of the Mt. Pleasant populace. As time went on, slow advancement or stagnation of the Lutheran effort would have hurt any chance of a viable congregation, especially as travel became easier and faster.

Just two instances of intended Lutheran preaching at Mt. Pleasant made the news in 1897, both early in the year. Rev. Charles M. Stock, St. Mark's pastor, was expected to, and probably did, speak on the Sundays following those announcements.⁵⁶ A check of the papers through the rest of 1897 and seven more consecutive months of issues in 1903-1904 uncovered no more reports of Lutheran preaching in Mt. Pleasant.⁵⁷

But, particularly during the year 1897, news concerning Sunday school in Mt. Pleasant was published more frequently than about the church, although not always in words consistent enough for real clarity. Three items point out the difficulty in being certain of the intended meaning. In May 1897 the organization of a Sunday school was said to have occurred at "the Mt. Pleasant Church, near Schwartz's school-house." That August, "Mt. Pleasant Union Sunday-school" was named. Then on the day after Christmas, 1903, there appeared a reference to "Swartz's Sunday-school," adding to the befuddlement.⁵⁸ Was the same Sunday school meant in all of the reports? Or might there have been two conducted concurrently?

Other than a union Sunday school with Lutheran co-management and the two instances of Lutheran preaching given above, no direct evidence of any kind of Lutheran religious activity in Mt. Pleasant during the church's ownership by St. Mark's congregation has been found. Was the church ever organized as Lutheran? Was a wider range of pastoral acts performed, if indeed any ever were? Minutes of St. Mark's Church are almost silent about the Mt. Pleasant Church, and yet do hint at possible activity, however infrequent it might have been, to the end. The scant information in those minutes reveals that in 1913 the congregation wanted to sell the church, that in

1923 they paid an insurance premium on it, and that in 1927, at which time there were only "6 or 7 members left in the congregation," they sold the church and land to Howard Martin for \$200.

It is true that the Mt. Pleasant Church was considered by many, especially during the tenure of St. Mark's congregation as owner, to be Lutheran and it was commonly called Lutheran. In addition to the documented instances above, a number of deeds relating to properties adjoining or including the church land frequently use the terminology "now or formerly Mt. Pleasant Lutheran Church."⁵⁹ But it is also true that often the wording in deeds, correct or not, is simply copied into ensuing deeds without regard for past or current realities, so an inaccuracy might be repeated again and again.

In the final analysis it is not easy to call the Mt. Pleasant Church anything more than informally Lutheran. There is no evidence of a fully organized Lutheran congregation, no evidence of a church council or of church record-keeping. Neither is there mention at any time of a Mt. Pleasant Church or congregation in the minutes of the West Pennsylvania Synod of the Lutheran Church, in which the existence and legitimacy, if real, would have been recorded.

The church property was sold on March 19, 1927, by St. Mark's to Howard Martin of Penn Township.⁶⁰ The deed mentions the presence of the church building and includes a restriction of use, accepted by Martin, that "said property is to be used for religious purposes only." Both the existence of the church and the same condition of restricted use are again written into the deed of sale of the property by Martin over a decade and a half later. There can be little doubt, however, that by then the church had been removed.

Useful details were elicited in telephone conversations during October 2004 with three individuals with lifetimes of memories of Mt. Pleasant. Earl Teal, Hanover Pike, Hanover, has no memory of any building on the church site, nor can he recall any talk of a church ever being in Mt. Pleasant. But when told where the church had sat, he immediately spoke of "the Amos Carbaugh place nearby." Roger Toomey, Mt. Pleasant Road, Hanover, has what he termed a possible memory, admittedly very dim: "don't remember a church, but believe I recall a building was there – let's put it that way. But it had to be seventy years ago." He too cannot recall talk of a church. Charles Carbaugh, Narrow Drive, Hanover, is much surer of his memories. While he also has no personal memory of a building, he volunteered its location correctly and is "sure a church was there" and "sure it was removed no later than about 1935." Actually, he thinks "the church was taken down maybe before 1930 by Martin" – he hesitated in trying to recall Martin's given name. He remembers hearing that "Martin used the wood from the church to build a shed or something at his place on I think Beck Mill Road – times were tough and you didn't waste anything useful." He also recalls hearing his parents and his grandfather speak of the church, but "don't believe much went on there, except maybe Sunday school." He remembers that "when old enough to drive a tractor, I turned up big flat stones near the bend (in the road) when plowing; my grandfather said they were from the church foundation."

Questions posed to the men were few, as were comments inserted during their discourses, the latter only to seek clarity, to indicate understanding, or to redirect them to

the subject. All things considered, the memories of all three were given in assertive, unhesitating voices. Unsolicited, each claimed recollection back to the mid-1930s. It is hard to accept that, if the church was still standing during World War II, as the deed of Martin's disposal of the property states, none of the three would have retained some memory of it. It seems safe to say, therefore, that indeed Martin was responsible for its removal. Although it is difficult to get a clear idea of the time of the church's dismantling, it is plausible, and probably likely, that by the mid-thirties it was gone.

Howard Martin sold the church tract for \$1 on December 4, 1943, to husband and wife Curvin Calvin Carbaugh and Mary V. Carbaugh.⁶¹ To repeat the by then all but certain inaccuracy in the deed, the tract was said to be improved with a frame church and was to be restricted to religious use. Subsequent changes of possession of the church lot follow a more difficult path.

An involved series of events which culminated in the next sale of the church land is recorded in the deed of that transaction.⁶² The deed relates that by the time Dale L. Gerber acquired the lot from the Curvin C. Carbaugh estate, the 16-square perch tract had been swallowed by adjacent land. A recital of Carbaugh family possession of the property reveals that in 1889 Elizabeth and Sarah Keller sold to Amos Carbaugh a tract of 9 acres 46 square perches along the Littlestown-Hanover Pike in the village of Mt. Pleasant in Conewago Township.⁶³ After selling portions of that tract, Amos Carbaugh died on February 6, 1905, leaving a will by which he devised his real estate to his son, Curvin C. Carbaugh.⁶⁴ As seen above, in 1943 Curvin C. Carbaugh added to his holdings by purchasing from Howard Martin the small triangular church lot, which lay along the southwestern side of his other land. On July 26, 1967, Curvin died (his wife having died some years before), leaving a will by which he directed his executors to make a public or private sale.⁶⁵ The executors, his son Amos S. Carbaugh and his daughter Catharine V. Duttera, sold the real estate on October 21, 1967, for \$5,400 to Dale L. Gerber, mentioned above. The property totaled 3.8762 acres, according to a September 29, 1967, draft by J. W. Rife "showing all the land of said Curvin C. Carbaugh estate." By the time of Gerber's purchase, the deed of sale no longer contained any word of a church or of restricted use.

Later, the former lot of 16 square perches underwent a division as the larger property of which it had become a part was itself partitioned along different lines. On March 7, 1985, Dale L. Gerber and wife Wandalee L. Gerber sold to Donald J. Schriver and wife Dee L. Schriver land which included part of the 16 square perches.⁶⁶ Then, on July 30, 1986, Dale L. Gerber and wife Wanda Gerber sold to Patrick J. Rineman and wife Deborah A. Rineman a tract which contained the remainder of the 16 square perches.⁶⁷ Together, those transactions show that the triangular old church lot had become additions, now in part driveways, to existing neighboring residential properties.

Finally, on February 5, 1996, the Schriver's property became solely the possession of Dee L. Schriver.⁶⁸

Endnotes

- ¹ *Adams County Deed Book X*, 449.
- ² *Ibid.*, 224, 504.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 58, 398.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 226, 36.
- ⁵ *Hanover Herald*, November 10, 1877.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1878.
- ⁷ *Deed Book HH*, 75.
- ⁸ Adams County Historical Society card file, census and tax records.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Herald*, September 28 and October 5, 1878.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, December 7 and 21, 1878.
- ¹³ *Glen Rock Item*, March 15, and *Herald*, March 16, 1878.
- ¹⁴ J. D. Shortess and A. D. Gramley, historians, *History of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Church, 1839-1939* (Harrisburg, PA: 1940), pp. 60, 106, 112, 115; L. M. Dice, ed., *Minutes of the Eighty-Third Annual Session of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, PA 1923), 78.
- ¹⁵ Shortess, pp. 34, 81, 84, 88; *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Session of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the United Evangelical Church (The Fifty-Ninth Session of the Conference)* (n. p., 1898), n. p.
- ¹⁶ John L. Kay and Chester M. Smith, *Pennsylvania Postal History* (Lawrence, MA, 1976), 366. The 1911 map is in the possession of Charles H. Glatfelter.
- ¹⁷ Shortess, 37, 97, 100, 103, 131, 137, 318.
- ¹⁸ *Herald*, February 1, 1879.
- ¹⁹ Tax lists of Hamilton Township 1878-1880, Adams County Historical Society; Shortess, 115, 117-8.
- ²⁰ Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, PA 1942), 316.
- ²¹ *Herald*, February 1879-April 1880, March 1884-April 1885, December 1889-April 1890.
- ²² *Ibid.*, August 2, 1884, and April 11, 1885.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1890.
- ²⁴ Albright, 215-7 and 295-9.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 326-32.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 377-83.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 384.
- ²⁸ *Deed Book SS*, 179.
- ²⁹ I. C. Yeakel, ed., *Proceedings... Fifty-Third* (York, PA, 1892), 35.
- ³⁰ *Gettysburg Star and Sentinel*, September 4, 1894.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1894.
- ³² Abdel R. Wentz Library, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, PA, card file; *Adams County Independent* (Littlestown), April 24, 1897.
- ³³ *Herald*, May 4, 1895.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1895.

- ³⁵ *Proceedings... Fourth*: "Roll and Directory of Ministers" (n. p., 1898), n. p.
- ³⁶ U. F. Swengel, ed., *Proceedings... Second* (Williamsport, PA, 1896), 3.
- ³⁷ *Herald*, April 11, 1896.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1896; Shortess, 39, 214.
- ³⁹ Franklin W. Zarfoss, "Blooming Grove United Evangelical Church" (1992), 1, York Historic Trust Library, York, PA.
- ⁴⁰ *Proceedings... Fourth* (n. p., 1898), n. p.; York City Directory (1917, 1921, 1925-6, 1927-8, 1931-2); Walter J. Dice, ed., *Minutes... Eighty-Eighth* (Harrisburg, PA, 1928), n. p.
- ⁴¹ *Herald*, October 12, 19, and 26, 1895.
- ⁴² *Star and Sentinel*, October 15, 1895.
- ⁴³ *Hanover Evening Sun*, November 15, 1930.
- ⁴⁴ *Herald*, November 16, 1895.
- ⁴⁵ *Sheriff's Execution Docket* 1894-1897, Prothonotary's Office, Adams County Court House, 241.
- ⁴⁶ *Sheriff's Deed Book* A, Adams County Court House, p. 114, November 13, 1895.
- ⁴⁷ *Herald*, March 21, 1917; Zarfoss, 1-3.
- ⁴⁸ *Deed Book* XX, 600.
- ⁴⁹ *Herald*, February 15, 1896.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, February 29, 1896.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1896.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, April 18 and 25, 1896.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1896.
- ⁵⁴ *Deed Book* XX, 602.
- ⁵⁵ *Herald*, November 14, 1896.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, February 20 and April 24, 1897.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May-December 1897 and December 1903- June 1904.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, May 8 and August 14, 1897, and December 26, 1903.
- ⁵⁹ See, for example, *Deed Books* 56, 555; 97, 173; 107, 172; and 178, 120.
- ⁶⁰ *Deed Book* 117, 438.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 164, 66.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 266, 189.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, ZZ, 507.
- ⁶⁴ Estate Papers of Amos Carbaugh, #8583, Adams County Historical Society.
- ⁶⁵ Estate Papers of Curvin C.. Carbaugh, #G-2630, Adams County Historical Society.
- ⁶⁶ *Deed Book* 396, 684.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 432, 869.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1151, 157.

A VISIT TO THE BATTLEFIELD

Edited by Michael J. Birkner and Richard E. Winslow III

Introduction to a Visit to the Battlefield

With fighting concluded at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, the enormous task of burying the dead, treating the wounded, and rehabilitating the town began in earnest. Although Gettysburg looked and smelled worse than it ever had or ever would again, thousands of people arrived on the battlefield in the days and weeks following General Robert E. Lee's retreat. Some came to minister to the sick and reclaim the bodies of neighbors and loved ones; others scavenged souvenirs of the battle. Of the many visits to the battlefield in July 1863, few have been more affectingly described than the account of Joseph H. Foster of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In the document reprinted below, of a speech Foster delivered at the Unitarian Sabbath School in Portsmouth on July 26, 1863, he describes a brief trip to Gettysburg from which he had just returned. His objective in going to Gettysburg was straightforward: he wanted to locate the body of his neighbor and friend Henry L. Richards and bring it back to New Hampshire for a proper interment.

A word about Henry Richards: In October 1861 Richards enlisted in Company F of the Second Regiment, United States Volunteer Sharpshooters. He was thirty-five years of age at the time of his enlistment in Concord, the state capital. So determined was Richards to join up that he walked to Concord from his home - a distance of more than 75 miles. Richards fought in several significant battles, including Antietam in September 1862, where he was wounded in the leg. But once Richards' leg healed, he rejoined his unit and fought at Gettysburg, where he was hit on July 2 in the knee by a minie-ball. According to an account in his home town paper, Richards remained on the ground all night and was then transported to a field hospital, where an amputation was performed. He did not awake from the surgery.

That Richards was prominent and respected in Portsmouth is reflected in the decision of a community leader, Joseph Foster (1825-1885), to journey to Gettysburg and reclaim Richards' body.

Owner of a bookstore and stationery business in Portsmouth at the time of the Civil War, Foster was also active in various civic and charitable organizations, and served in a series of elected positions in local government.

In keeping with Victorian convention, Foster's talk to the members of the Unitarian Sabbath School pays ample tribute to Richards' kindness, integrity, and modesty. It also provides a vivid account of the scene Foster witnessed in Gettysburg approximately ten days after the battle ended. His conclusion, that war is dreadful, did not stop the citizens of Portsmouth and New Hampshire generally from supporting President Abraham Lincoln's policies, nor did New Hampshire shirk its responsibilities in fighting to preserve the Union and to make possible a new birth of freedom in America.

Sources: *Portsmouth (NH) Journal of Literature and Commerce*, July 18, 1863, August 1, 1863; *Portsmouth Daily Morning Chronicle*, July 14, 20, 27, 1863; *Portsmouth Journal*, March 28, 1885; *Revised Register of Soldiers and Sailors of New Hampshire in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Concord, NH: Ira C. Evans, 1895); and Raymond A. Brighton, *They Came to Fish: A Brief Look at Portsmouth's 350 years of history; its local and world-wide involvements, and the people concerned through the eyes of a reporter* (Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall, Publisher, 1994), 231.

VISIT TO THE BATTLEFIELD

The following address by Mr. Joseph H. Foster, given at the Unitarian Sabbath School, in this city, on the 26th of July, contains so clear a detail of what he met with in his journey the previous week, and so just a tribute to the memory of Mr. Richards, that we have requested the privilege of presenting it to our readers

Last Sunday I was far away, amid very different scenes and engaged in a very different manner from my usual Sunday occupations. I had gone to the place where the last great battle had been fought, to obtain and bring home the body of a dear friend, who had been killed there. We have always heard of armies, battles, and such things; of late years the words and thoughts have been sadly more common among us; to those who have never been on a battlefield, or had any close view of the horrors of war, some little description of what I saw and heard may be interesting.

As we approached Baltimore, the first sign that we saw of being in the neighborhood of war, was the guard along the railway, and the frequent little encampments of soldiers beside the track. In Baltimore and beyond, these signs thicken. You cannot leave the city without a pass from the Provost Marshal; at every turn you meet some officer or soldier, either hastily riding with dispatches, or quietly pacing the sentinel's round. At a railroad junction, about 30 miles from Gettysburg, our cars were stopped to allow the passage of two trains filled with wounded, who were being removed from the temporary hospitals on the battlefield, to the more permanent ones in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington. The cars in which they were conveyed were common baggage and cattle cars, covered on the floor with a thick layer of straw, on which the poor fellows were obliged to sit or lie during the weary hours of their ride of from 50 to 150 miles. At this junction the Christian Commission have established a station, providing it with means and appliances for the comfort of these poor men. As soon as the trains reach this station, men pass along the cars with buckets of water and lemonade, and others with berries and more substantial provision for those who need it. A doctor also goes through the trains to examine the bandages, and make any alteration that may be needed. These refreshments are freely given to all, whether federal or rebel soldiers, for it is not forgotten that, although in arms against us, the rebels are still our countrymen, in many cases compelled to fight by wicked rulers, and more often deceived by those in whom they trust; and even if not in their suffering state, the Gospel rules command us to do them all the good we can, and I was very glad to learn how much this feeling prevails in our army: that while hating the cause of slavery and rebellion, there is no feeling of hatred and spite against the men themselves. One gentleman told me that he was among the first who arrived on the field after the fight was over, and that while going around assisting those who were lying there wounded, a loyal soldier, to whom he was rendering aid, would say, "don't stop with me, there is a poor fellow who wants your help more than I do, if he is a reb." And this was not a solitary instance, but repeated at least a dozen times. While there, he saw one man whose own arm had been shot off, and the wound had not yet been dressed, using the strength that remained to him in carrying water around to those unable to rise, and making no

distinction between his comrades and the rebels. The same feeling was also expressed by my friend who was killed, when he said that he could sincerely adopt the words of Mr. [Henry Ward] Beecher, and pray for the soul of a rebel at whom he was aiming his unerring rifle.

I arrived at Gettysburg late Friday evening and found the place (which is a small town whose inhabitants are largely of Dutch origin) so filled with the wounded and those who had come, either to care for them, or from motives of curiosity, or on similar sad errands to my own, that the only accommodation I could procure was a chance to sleep with 8 or 10 others on some old carpets in a garret while some could not even get this. Food was also scarce; for no milk was to be had, for "the rebels had stolen all their cows;" potatoes there were none, for "the rebels had taken all they had," and the same excuse for all short comings. The next day I went over most of the battlefield, which extends for many miles. The fight lasted three days, and the marks of it reach at least 8 miles in one direction and 4 or 5 in another. These marks consist of long lines of breastworks, reaching for many rods, made of stone walls and rail fences heaped together, and strengthened with dirt piled around them—of smaller earthworks, where the cannon were placed—of rifle-pits dug in the ground—of fences thrown down, or pierced all over with bullet holes—of trees whose limbs were cut off by cannon shot, or their trunks scarred by the shells—of houses with their windows shattered, their doors battered in or full of holes, their roofs and walls broken with the shells, some places large enough to put a barrel through—the gardens around them all trampled down by feet, and cut up by cannon wheels—the furniture broken or carried off by pillaging bands of the Southerners. I do not mean of course that every fence and house have suffered in this manner, but that all along these miles you find trees and houses that have, while many others have escaped unharmed. The ground is strewn [strewn] in places with the shot and shell, with bullets and grape shot, with broken muskets, torn uniforms, cast-off blankets, knapsacks, cartridge boxes, canteens, &c. and here and there the wheel of a cannon or ammunition wagon. A great portion of these things have been gathered up and taken into the town by the provost guard, and I saw three rooms filled up with them, and wagon loads being carried off.

The most offensive marks are the carcasses of dead horses and oxen which lie thick wherever the fight was hot. In one field fifty horses, in another the remains of more than as many oxen, and everywhere more or less. Some of these have been burned, others had earth-heaped over them, but have not been taken care of as they should have been, more important matters demanding all the time and labor that could be had; and the result may be more easily imagined than described.

The saddest marks are the graves of those killed. They are in all directions, sometimes singly, sometime in little groups of from 3 to 12. Some are marked with a board, carefully cut with the name and regiment, others have merely a stick with the initials scratched on it, and still others have no mark whatever to show who sleeps there. The graves are generally very hastily dug, not more than a foot, or at most 18 inches deep, and coffins of course are out of the question. I was told that in one part of the ground, where a very rocky hill made it impossible to dig, the bodies are not even thus roughly covered. Every day many are the parties who come in search of the remains of some lost friend. Sometimes they are successful, but often their search is in vain, and they

have not even the mournful satisfaction of giving their dear one the last sad marks of love and respect.

One man (a Portsmouth boy, tho' a resident of Massachusetts) who went on with me searched two days in vain for the body of his son, although apparently plain directions had been sent of the place where he was buried; another was obliged to disinter eight bodies before finding him for whom he sought. I was more fortunate, for my friend had been carefully buried by comrades who knew his worth, and who had time to do it well; and yesterday his remains were carried beneath the trees which his own hand had planted, to rest with kindred dust in our own beautiful cemetery. Never, oh never may that hallowed spot suffer the desecration which has befallen the cemetery at Gettysburg.

This was the central point of our position, and there the conflict raged as hotly as at any but one place. The monuments are broken by shot, scarred by bullets, or thrown over by bursting shells; the pretty iron fences are thrown down or smashed up, the flowers, and bushes, and trees, planted by loving hands, are broken and trampled, and thick around are scattered all the other marks of fighting of which I have spoken. Such is war; destroying all that we hold most dear; desecrating all that we most reverence; polluting all that we most love and cherish. God grant that it soon may cease to rage in this our beloved land, and that we may ere long obtain the liberty for all men, and the firm re-establishment of our glorious constitution, for which we are paying such a fearful price.

I spoke of the wounded men whom I met on the road. These, severe as their wounds seemed, were those who were the least hurt, and who could therefore be first removed. Every day some hundreds are brought to the railroad station in ambulances and carried to other places, or allowed to go home; but there are still great numbers left at Gettysburg, for the whole number wounded in the battle was over 10,000 of our men, and about half as many rebels, who were left behind by their retreating army. The little town is filled with them, many private houses have one or more, and the churches, court house and seminary building are filled with beds, many barns also, are used for the same purpose. But much the largest proportion are in the corps hospitals, of which there are three at different distances of 2 to 4 miles from the town. These consist only of tents of various sizes, some mere shelter tents, which accommodate two men, others large enough to hold 10 or 12 beds, and although one would think this very poor accommodation, yet many of the doctors, and of the men also, say that they are better off than in the confined air of a room. I am glad to say that all possible attention seems to be paid to these brave sufferers. Medical and surgical attendance is abundant, and there are many noble women there devoting themselves unweariedly to their care and comfort. The Catholic Sisters of Mercy are conspicuous by their peculiar dress, but there are as many of our Protestant women whose hearts are at least as tender, and their ministrations as prompt and loving, if their garb is less observable. One lady in particular (Miss Dame from Concord) has been with our New Hampshire boys during most of the war, accompanying them through the whole Peninsular campaign, and lately being in charge of the N.H. State Commission Rooms in Washington, whence she hastened to this place as soon as news was received of the battle.

The Sanitary and Christian Commissions are both there with ample store of provisions, and luxuries even, beside their trained corps of agents, and many are the private contributions which have been poured out freely to comfort and assist the sufferers. The wounds are, many of them, fearful to behold; it appears strange that men can undergo what I saw some suffer and yet live, but they not only live, but in most cases are cheerful, hopeful, and even more, and in none was there any murmuring or repining, but always entire patience. The recollection of the sights which I here saw and of the lessons that I learned will never leave me while I live.

Of the friend for whose remains I undertook this journey, I would say a few words, for altho' never a member of this school, his character was one that you may all well take as a model, especially the boys. Pure, upright, honest, brave; never as a boy do I remember hearing from his lips any profane or indecent word, and as a man, all that which was in the least tainted with impurity was most abhorrent to him. A lie, or anything inconsistent with the strictest honesty and uprightness of word or deed; was his utter detestation. Brave as any soldier in the army, and meeting his death at least because he would not fall back when his comrades did, he yet feared sin, nor did he ever even in his youth regard it as any mark of courage to do what he knew was wrong, or would displease his parents or his God. He eminently obeyed the precept, "be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in honor preferring one another." His little acts of kindness at home, to neighbors and to all with whom he was connected were of constant occurrence; himself he did not consider when another was to be helped. When at home last winter with a wounded leg, he walked several miles to obtain flowers for a poor sick woman, who had not the remotest claim on him but her distress and poverty. His modesty and retiring disposition were as conspicuous as his kindness. He refused a commission in the army, saying that he knew he could be a good soldier, and that was better than to be a poor officer; although friends well knew that whatever position he might take he would fill it well. But for him the toils of life are over. For him we can well quote the hymn,

"Go to the grave; at noon from labor cease;
Rest on thy sheaves, thy harvest task is done;
Come from the heat of battle, and in peace
Soldier go home; with thee the fight is won."

May we all so live that when our call to depart comes, we may rejoin him in that world to which he has gone, where there are no more wars and fightings, no more battles nor sin nor death: and may God hasten the time when here below, also, the song of the Christmas angels shall be fulfilled, and there be "peace on earth, good will among men."

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