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ON THE COVER: Remains of the Stone Stack at Greenwood Furnace State Park, 2007. Courtesy: Wikimedia Commons/Wherring. Image licensed under Creative Commons CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

IT'S JUN-E-ATA, *NOT* JUAN-ITA!

Janet L. Taylor
Guest Editor

First of all, let's get the name right; as a transcription of a Native American name, "Juniata" is easy to pronounce. There are lots of local names in Pennsylvania that can be a mouthful, but "Juniata" is not one of them!

However the word is pronounced, or mangled, the valley that bears its name—a major transportation route from the earliest times—has not been well served by historians. Like the valley's travelers, historians have studied its east/west terminus points of Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, but have rarely stopped to study the world in between. And some of those who did ignored the rich history for their own fabrications. Two early and widely read writers, Uriah J. Jones and Henry W. Shoemaker, are better categorized as "mythologists" rather than historians. Both newspapermen, they used standard formulae to sell copies rather than facts. It is a shame, as both are now suspect even when they have something of value to contribute.¹

Jones found demonization profitable, for example, in the case of Simon Girty, whose reputation has never recovered, despite the fact that Canada considers him a commendable settler. Jones also portrayed Anabaptist settlers as a cowardly bunch, and African Americans were nonexistent. Few women were present, either.

Shoemaker followed up some years later, in the role of a folklorist collecting traditional lore. When he couldn't find any, he conjured his own, creating, among many others, the myth of the Indian Steps in Huntingdon County, in reality built by the state Department of Forestry and later refurbished by the Civilian Conservation Corps. People today still cling to the fallacy of his story involving a 1676 battle there between the Susquehannocks and the Delaware Indians. He also promulgated the legend of the Nittany Lion and Princess Nita-Nee.

A more contemporary writer of popular historical fiction was Roy F. Chandler of Perry County. He assured his readers of sound historical evidence, yet, for example, his descriptions of wagons loaded with settlers headed “west,” passing the tiny settlement near Fort Robinson in Perry County during the 1740s and ’50s, have no basis in fact as no wagon roads existed in the area until many years later.²

These are the writers whose work is accepted as fact in the Juniata Valley today.

Additionally, early accounts by European Americans are skewed with xenophobia, like the Reverend David Brainerd’s 1745 journal of his missionary visit to the Native American village at Duncan’s Island at the mouth of the Juniata. He portrayed the inhabitants as bloodthirsty savages bent on destroying the European settlers who were fulfilling their Manifest Destiny; his writing is a product of its time.

There were, of course, legitimate historians at work, starting with I. Daniel Rupp and his 1837 *History and Topography of Northumberland, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Centre, Union, Columbia, Juniata and Clinton Counties, Pa.* Professor Abraham Guss, a Juniata County native, wrote large sections of Ellis and Hungerford’s 1886 two-volume *The History of that Portion of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys*. In particular, Guss attempted to offer a balanced view of the Native American groups present in the valley (yet pages later, a different writer, George Groff, dismisses that population as having but a “few squalid villages” in the whole area).³ In the upper valley, J. Simpson Africa’s *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties* offered well researched information. But their potential audiences were swept away by the drama and hyperbole of Jones’s blood and gore, and Shoemaker’s romantic views of gypsy maidens and virtuous Indian lovers.⁴ Harry Hain of Perry County utilized Professor Guss’s knowledge, and added to it for his 1922 *History of Perry County*. He was also a newspaper editor but, more than Jones or Shoemaker, realized the need for a factual history, as did Rupp and Africa.

Early mapmakers considered the Juniata Valley as “terra incognita” and left the area largely blank. The course of the Juniata River was fairly well known and depicted, but its major tributaries are not. Even Reading Howell’s famous 1792 map of the new state of Pennsylvania, made after the last Native Americans left and the region was fairly well traveled, shows great blank swaths in the ridge-and-valley area. The map location of the ill-fated Fort Granville at present-day Lewistown wobbles up and down the river depending on which map is consulted, despite considerable knowledge about this provincial fort.

The Fort Granville Road, a lifeline to supplies and manpower at Carlisle, was nearly forgotten, even though Professor Guss mentioned it several times. His family actually used the road, based on a Native American path, when they relocated from Perry County to the Licking Creek area of Juniata County.⁵

Local historical societies also perpetuated myths. For example, in Perry County Anne West Gibson, widow of Col. George Gibson, killed in the post-Revolutionary Indian Wars, is depicted as a sturdy frontier woman struggling to run a mill and educate her sons. In actuality, she was a slave-owning heiress whose brother lived nearby. She made trips to Philadelphia to replenish her wardrobe, and advertised for a competent miller to operate the Gibson Mill along Sherman's Creek. Dorcas Holt Buchanan of Ohesson (Lewistown) ran the family trading post for some years after her husband's death and might have traveled over the Fort Granville road to buy clothes and supplies in Carlisle, but certainly not Philadelphia! Yet Dorcas Buchanan's sole memorial is one short street and her gravestone in Lewistown. The stories of these women need to be told, and accurately.⁶

Juniata Iron became a byword as the iron industry crossed the Susquehanna and moved into the central mountains. Three essentials were found here: rich ores, plenty of limestone, and the timber needed to fuel the furnaces and kilns. With the prosperity of the forges and furnaces came African American ironworkers, and the Underground Railroad slipped through the hills. Black communities formed at Mount Union, Huntingdon, and Lewistown. This rich heritage needs more research.

Despite Uriah Jones's antipathy, beginning in 1791 the largest group of Lancaster County Mennonites and Amish settlers moved into the fertile limestone valleys of Mifflin and nearby counties, establishing farms and businesses, and eventually Juniata College.

The mining industry came and went, leaving great scars on the mountain sides.⁷ Holiday visitors and boaters replaced miners toiling up the Thousand Steps when the Raystown Dam was built.⁸ It more than fulfilled its purpose in June of 1972. Not quite completed, the reservoir filled within days and alleviated downstream flooding. Thankfully, Sheep Rock Shelter, a major archaic archeological site dating over 6,000 years, was excavated by teams from Juniata College, Penn State University, and the State Museum of Pennsylvania before the site was inundated by Raystown Lake. Today the lake is a major recreation area.

This issue of *Pennsylvania History* is an effort to remedy the long blank years, starting at the local level, with articles written by people who can

only be described as passionate about Juniata Valley history. The variety of topics cover many facets of the region including transportation, education, economic, cultural, and religious history and is intended as a firm basis for further research.

Clark's Ferry Tavern at Duncannon is often regarded as the gateway to the Juniata Valley. Victor Hart and Jason Wilson document the circa 1780 stone building, its importance, and the results of several seasons of fruitful archeological investigation. Audrey Sizelove discusses female education in a seminary associated with the Tuscarora Academy, another historic stone building at Academia. Paul Fagley, well-known historian and interpreter, traces the growth and importance of "Juniata Iron" to the national as well as local economy. Betty Ann Landis details the Mennonite settlements in the area that have become cultural landmarks. All are excellent researchers and writers who worked hard to make this issue of *Pennsylvania History* as success and this editor is grateful to them! They are true successors of I. Daniel Rupp, J. Simpson Africa, Abraham Guss, and Harry Hain.

Where do we go from here? Hopefully to more deeply rooted research. In this age of the Internet and digitalization, primary source information is more easily available. Historians have far better tools to use than ever before. It is no longer necessary to create your own scenarios as Jones and Shoemaker did!

To see it only as a corridor to be trudged through ignores the Juniata Valley's vital place in the history of Pennsylvania. It has always been a vital link between eastern and western settlements, but was a place to settle and live as well.

JANET TAYLOR is a retired schoolteacher and former Army wife, who always found local history fascinating no matter where the family found themselves. Adept at the German language, she has translated cemetery records, tombstones, and taufscheins (baptismal certificates). Her "African Americans in Perry County 1820–1925" (The Perry Historians, 2011) and ongoing research have uncovered new information on the Underground Railroad in the region. She has published in several historical society journals in central Pennsylvania, and is the author of three historical fiction novels set in Perry County, as well as *The Log Kingdom*, a study of log structures in Perry County. Currently she is working on the long-forgotten Fort Granville Road, a 1755–56 emergency road from Carlisle to Fort Granville near Lewistown.

NOTES

1. Uriah G. Jones, *History and Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1889), and Henry W. Shoemaker, *Juniata Memories: Legends Collected in Central Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1916).
2. Roy Chandler, *Fort Robinson: A Novel of Perry County, Pennsylvania 1750–1763* (Orwigsburg, PA: Bacon and Freeman, 1981), 105, 110, 208, 210, 212, 227. Chandler makes frequent mention of wagons and seeing wagon tracks beyond North Mountain in Perry County from the early 1750s. For example: “A wagon moving west along Sherman’s Creek was taken. The small family was killed and burned in their wagon” (208), supposedly August 1756. “Wagons still drew to a halt at George Robinson’s but they were stranger-wagons” (212). My research on roads indicates only a bridle path here and not many of these at this time. There is no indication wagons were ever used on the Fort Granville Road between Carlisle and the Juniata during the 1750–60 period. Another example (on pp. 430–31) describes twelve herbs Martha Robinson supposedly found around Fort Robinson for the first settlers to eat and kept them from starving. Nine of these twelve are nonnatives introduced by Europeans and unlikely to be growing in Perry County in 1755–56.
3. *History of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys . . .* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck, and Richardson, 1886). With regard to “Indians,” chapters 2 and 3: chapter 2 was written by Abraham Guss and includes considerable information on Indians of the area during the early contact period, 23–53. Chapter 3 was written by George G. Groff and concerns mainly the French and Indian War period. He makes the “few squalid villages” comment in his introduction on page 53.
4. All of these works are available online in their entirety with a simple Google search.
5. Guss family history: *History of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys . . .*, chap. 9, 766. See also Beverly Anderson, *Ancestors of Abraham and Susan Rindlaub Guss* (Published by the author, 1988), Juniata Historical Society Family Files.
6. Ann West Gibson, from John Bannister Gibson, *Memoirs of John Bannister Gibson, Late Chief Justice of Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: Thomas P. Roberts, 1890). This is very much a “born in a log cabin . . . walked miles through snow” effort. Gibson makes little mention of the highly aristocratic West family. He also does not mention that his mother’s brother lived nearby, the family had slaves, and Mrs. Gibson hired a miller to run the mill and tutors for her sons. An undated reminiscence about Ann Gibson is in the Gibson Family File, The Perry Historians, Lenig Library: “Some years ago I took dinner at the residence of Herman Alricks in Harrisburg and there became acquainted with an old lady by the name of Bull. . . . She remembered that Anne Gibson stayed all night with her once when on her way to Philadelphia to *bring up the*

fashions [emphasis added] but doubtless Anne had other business to attend to in Philadelphia besides getting the fashions.”

7. Mining in Juniata Valley: there was, naturally iron ore mining and quarrying of limestone for the Juniata Iron Industry. The main mining around Mount Union and Huntingdon that left great scars visible from US 22 was for sand and a silica rock called “ganister” that was used to produce heat-resistant silica bricks, a very big industry in the area, and likely one reason there are large African American communities there
8. The Thousand Steps are in Jack’s Narrows near Mount Union, a few miles east of the Raystown Dam and accessed from a sign-pointed trailhead along US 22. A good website for this is Trailvista.com.

A BRIEF CALL TO A GREATER HISTORY

Tim H. Blessing
Alvernia University

Much of Pennsylvania is, from a historian's point of view, invisible. Once past the Pittsburgh area and its hinterlands, the Philadelphia area and its hinterlands, and the coal regions, only an occasional article has appeared on what processes, what events, defined the lives of those who occupied the great majority of the area we call Pennsylvania. We have only a few professional articles on the West Branch of the Susquehanna and very few on the upper regions of that valley. The Allegheny River Valley only becomes visible as the Allegheny River approaches Pittsburgh. The "northern tier" counties are rarely written about. Appalachian counties such as Fulton and Sullivan have almost no presence in any professional narrative. The region along the upper Delaware River has been rarely touched upon. How many who are reading this have ever read an article that focused on Jefferson County, that touched upon why Elk County has such a large Catholic population in the midst of an overwhelmingly Protestant region, which asked why Huntingdon County's African American population, as percentage of overall population, is much larger than any of its adjacent counties? There is, in short, a scarcity of scholarly articles and books, and at times a complete lack of such articles and books, for far too much of Pennsylvania.

The paucity of scholarly works about the Juniata Valley has been among the more puzzling aspects of the way in which Pennsylvania history has been traditionally written. The main section of the Pennsylvania Mainline Canal ran the length of the valley. The main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad ran the length of the valley. The main shops for the Pennsylvania Railroad were in Altoona, railroad shops that, by the mid-twentieth century, were one of largest such complexes in the world. The region is filled with a plethora of religious groups, many of them existing in regions that also contain large

mainstream Protestant populations. Different large industries lined the banks of the Juniata River for many decades through the nineteenth century. Although it is clear that a significant number of different ethnic groups settled in the Juniata Valley, there is only limited information concerning them and no comprehensive study regarding the region's ethnic diversity.

I wrote in 1998 that historians know less about the history of the Juniata Valley than we do about the early Middle Ages. This volume of *Pennsylvania History* starts to redress this situation and for that we should be grateful. Paul Fagley addresses an item much in need of being addressed: the nascent iron industry that flourished across the region during from the late 1700s to the mid-1800s. A glance at the list of furnaces and forges cited in Fagley's article demonstrates the volume of activity in iron smelting that ranged across the Juniata region during the period of "Juniata Iron." Fagley quite properly follows the iron production in the Juniata Valley past its peak and into the twentieth century, demonstrating the vitality of the industry in the region and the way in which it shaped the culture of the Juniata Valley. Jason Wilson and Victor Hart's work on "Clark's Ferry and Tavern" demonstrates not only the social and cultural aspects of entrepreneurship in the near frontier, but also, as the narrative progresses, the many strands of economic endeavor that flourished as the national economy expanded into the valleys and plains away from the seaboard. This last point needs to be emphasized. While the Juniata Valley is today one of many "Appalachian" valleys that have become backwaters as modern engineering, modern transportation, intense urbanization, and the increasing rural-urban divisions have encouraged the mainstreams of commerce and consumption to bypass the Juniata Valley, it was not always thus. Regions such as the Juniata area shared reciprocal commerce, consumption, travel, and cultural ties with the seaboard regions of the country.

The historical integration of what is now (2016) considered "rural" and, in some ways, "separate" into the broader national culture of the nineteenth century is emphasized in Audrey Sizelove's "The History of the Tuscarora Female Seminary." Sizelove points out that "by 1838, many Young Ladies Seminaries, or Female Institutes had sprung up as attitudes about governmental support of higher education were changing in the country." As she demonstrates, the location of the Juniata Valley did not insulate its population from such changes. We know, from the continued existence of institutions such as Juniata College (Huntingdon), St. Francis at Loretto, Wilson College (Chambersburg), and Susquehanna University (Selinsgrove) that many smaller schools were established in locations distant from the major

urban regions. What we do not know is how many have existed and for how long. The presence of various small academies, “normal” schools, and colleges of various descriptions existing in areas not generally considered urban (or, today, suburban) needs to be explored. These schools may demonstrate how differentiated rural areas were but, lacking any systematic exploration, we cannot narrate the cultural and intellectual life of the “invisible” parts of Pennsylvania.

Still, even as the valley became an important part of an integrating broader economy culture and culture, it also retained the ability to nurture groups, and prosper from groups, not generally seen as being part of “mainstream” American life. The richness of life in and the centrality of that life to regions such as the Juniata can be seen in Betty Ann Landis’s discussion of Mennonite history and life in Juniata County. Landis demonstrates how an active and growing Mennonite life flourished in along the shores of the Juniata. How many “non-mainstream” groups grew and prospered in regions such as the Juniata Valley? No one knows, for no one has made the inquiry. I have already mentioned the isolated Catholic population of Elk County, but it would be difficult to believe that the Anabaptist populations scattered through the region and the Catholics of Elk County are the only “different” groups in the regions outside of the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh areas, but since, with a few exceptions, we have not looked, we do not know.

Rebecca Smith’s discussion of what was essentially a “railroad war” in Perry County points, perhaps inadvertently, to something little remembered about the Juniata Valley. It was, at one point, significantly entwined with the rhythms of contemporary life. Just as much of the rest of the country battled with the issues of railroad ownership and the economic and social structures that surrounded railroads, so did the Juniata Valley, not just in Perry County, but all across the region. There is today very little to remind us of the valley’s industrial and railroading past, but railroads and industries, many of them now little more than green mounds in the landscape, sprawled across the region. There is a sadness in the presence of such a rich industrial past slipping into the unknown and, soon, unknowable.

This edition of *Pennsylvania History* is a good first step into one of the less-noticed parts of the Commonwealth. It is, however, only a first step into a mansion with many rooms and little light. Above the “place” of these articles is the central valley that begins at the Lewistown Narrows and, above that, the upper valley that begins near the present-day town of Water Gap (between Huntingdon and Tyrone). The different eras, pre-Revolutionary,

Revolutionary, Early Republic, Ante-Bellum, and so forth, moreover, had quite different histories in the different parts of the Juniata Valley. A handful of histories and an occasional article cannot supply the backgrounds needed to develop a real history of the region. And, if the Juniata Valley, so near Harrisburg and on the main routes between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, is so unsupplied, then it surely follows that even larger areas of the Commonwealth are even less supplied. Thus this issue is doubly important: it both calls our attention to the need to explore the complex history of a particular river valley at greater length and it draws notice to how much of the state's history has been left largely untapped.

TIM H. BLESSING is professor of history and political science at Alvernia University, Reading, Pennsylvania. With regard to the Juniata Valley, he has authored "The American Revolution and the Upper Juniata Valley: The Reconfirmation of Localism," a chapter in Frantz and Pencak, eds, *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*, ed. Frantz and Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), and "The Lewistown Riots, 1791–1793: A Micro-Analytic Approach," *Pennsylvania History* (December 2004).

CLARK'S FERRY AND TAVERN

GATEWAY TO THE JUNIATA VALLEY

Victor A. Hart

Historical Society of Perry County Archaeological Program

Jason L. Wilson

PA Capitol Preservation Committee

ABSTRACT: The evolution of the transportation history of the Commonwealth can be viewed at the confluence of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers where in 1790 John Clark built a tavern and a ferry to transport travelers across the rivers. While the ferry system has been replaced by the current Clark's Ferry Bridge, the 1790 wood and stone tavern structure remains as one of the oldest buildings in the town of Duncannon. Archaeological and historical information can be gleaned from this important structure, which retains a vast amount of its 1790–1800 integrity. It stands as a reminder of the days of the packhorse, stagecoach, Conestoga wagon, canal boats, railroads, and automobiles at the entrance to the Juniata Valley.

KEYWORDS: transportation, ferries, Juniata River, Susquehanna River, early American taverns

PRELUDE

In present-day eastern Perry County, the Susquehanna River makes an abrupt southeastward bend around the end of Peter's Mountain. Here, just northwest of this mountain, many millions of years ago the Juniata River joined the Susquehanna. Over time an alluvial flood plain, as well as several large islands, formed from the yearly spring freshets that accompanied the winter snows, spring rains, and summer storms. The riffles or shallows near where the two rivers met became a logical crossing-point for westward travel from prehistoric to modern times. Standing just south of the confluence of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers, on the west bank of the Susquehanna

and in the shadow of the current Clark's Ferry Bridge, sits the old Clark's Ferry Tavern. At this tavern site, one can view the evolution of America's transportation history in a nearly continuous arc. Here, centuries of passers-by made their way in all directions along both rivers and followed the Juniata to its source deep in the Pennsylvania hinterland. Early traders and pack-horses headed westward, as well as settlers on horseback and later coach and wagon. Eventually a ferry, stagecoach line, canal, and bridges would span the river here, followed by railroads and, finally, concrete ribbons of highway carrying automobiles. The importance of this particular tavern in tracing the commonwealth's transportation history is indeed significant as both an archaeological and historic site. According to noted preservationist Steve Smith, "walking into the front room of the tavern it is as if you are stepping back in time to 1798. All of the basic elements of a late eighteenth century tavern remain intact."¹ As a result, studying the architecture, history and archaeology of Clark's Ferry Tavern is useful in understanding Pennsylvania's federal period transportation systems and the westward movement. The building itself is worthy of preservation, standing as one of the most historic structures in Perry County and the oldest remaining structure in the borough of Duncannon.

It was at the site of the tavern that John Fanning Watson noted that the Indians had a crossing known as "Queenashawakee."² Though Watson had the location of "Queenashawakee" wrong, there was a crossing at the confluence of these two rivers dating to prehistoric times. This was well documented by many of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century chroniclers of county and regional history, including Wright, Ellis, and Hain. An early, albeit biased, eyewitness account of a European American's encounter within the area comes from the journal kept by Reverend David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary. In 1745 and 1746, well before the area was officially opened to settlement, Brainerd visited "Juneauta Island" (now Duncan's Island), which lies at the tip of land formed at the junction of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers. Though this account is perhaps what one may expect from a zealous missionary attempting to "Christianize" Native Americans, it does provide an interesting early account of an Indian village that existed near the tavern site before European settlement.³

Possibly the earliest recorded European Americans in the vicinity of present-day Clark's Ferry Tavern were Marcus Hulings, William Baskins, Francis Ellis, and traders Thomas McKee and Jack Armstrong. In 1744

several Delaware Indians murdered Armstrong, along with two of his men, at what is known today as "Jack's Narrows" on the Juniata.⁴ Hulings, Baskins, Ellis, and McKee are mentioned in a sworn affidavit given by them when they went to bury Armstrong. Hulings settled on Duncan's Island possibly as early as 1735. Later, a 1762 land draft names George Clark (not a known relative of the Clarks of Clark's Ferry), John Baskins, James Reed, a Mr. Neave, and William Kerl as early settlers in the area.⁵

Several sources suggest that Marcus Hulings operated a ferry across the Susquehanna, as his property in Middle Paxton Township was called "Hulings's Landing," and that the Baskins family operated one at the mouth of the Juniata River.⁶ These ferries, along with Harris's and Simpson's ferries to the south and Reed's, Bachman's, and Montgomery's ferries to the north, may have been in operation as early as the 1760s to accommodate packhorse and foot traffic, the only means to navigate the still narrow trails or often rain-swollen rivers. In 1774, just prior to the American Revolution, the land south of William Baskins at the mouth of the Juniata was granted via proprietors John and Thomas Penn to Samuel Goudy. Goudy had petitioned and surveyed the land in 1766 (see fig. 1).⁷ He must have been in the vicinity during the French and Indian War as he is listed in 1757–58 as one of a number of "battoe men" who transported goods upriver to Fort Augusta (present-day Sunbury).⁸ In 1786 he appeared on a Cumberland County tax list. We know with some degree of certainty that Goudy, with his wife Sarah and several children, lived upon and improved his 215 acres of land, which he called "Silver Spring." That same year Goudy was taxed sixty pounds for his acreage in Rye Township and twenty pounds for two horses and four cows.⁹ Though no archaeological evidence has been uncovered yet, a December 27, 1785, "To Be Sold" advertisement by Samuel Goudy, and a deed in which Goudy sells John Clark the property, corroborate that Goudy and his wife did have "two small dwelling houses," at what would later become Clark's Ferry and Tavern.¹⁰ Goudy's advertisement does not mention the type of construction of the two houses, but they were likely made of wood, that is, probably log during that time period.¹¹ It is also probable that the Hulings, Goudy, or Baskins families kept or co-operated some type of ferry system across the Juniata and Susquehanna, as rafts were already being used at Baskins's residence as early as 1767.¹² Travelers and passersby could find food or lodging with one of the families, while others could have made camp on their properties before or after their river crossing.

FORM No. 1.

A Draught of a Tract of Land situate in Rye Township in the County of Cumberland Containing two hundred and fifteen Acres and thirty eight Perches and an Allowance of Six p. Cent. for Roads Surveyd March 9th 1768 for Samuel Goudy in pursuance of an Order of Survey Dated August 19th 1766 N^o 901.

To John Lukens Esq^r } John Armstrong
Surveyor General } D.S.

IN TESTIMONY that the above is a copy of the original remaining on file in the Department of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania, made conformably to an Act of Assembly approved the 16th day of February, 1833, I have hereunto set my Hand and caused the Seal of said Department to be affixed at Harrisburg, this fourth day of November 1904.

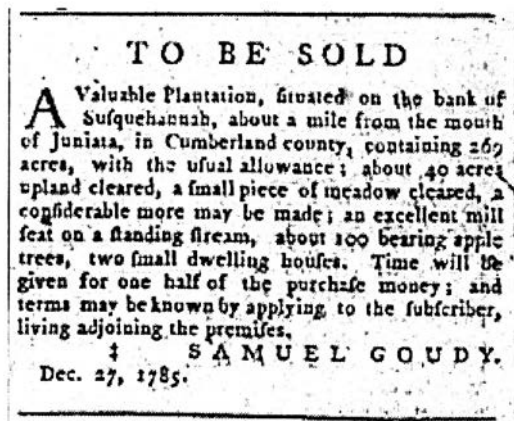
James D. Branson
Secretary of Internal Affairs

FIGURE 1 The survey for Samuel Goudy's land, Survey Book C-58-161, RG-17, Pennsylvania State Archives.

JOHN CLARK ACQUIRES THE PROPERTY FOR HIS FERRY AND TAVERN

John Clark was the namesake and founder of what would be known as Clark's Ferry and Clark's Tavern. He purchased the property on which these enterprises were built from Samuel Goudy and his wife, Sarah, on January 23, 1787.¹³ In the December 27, 1785, edition of the *Carlisle Gazette*, Samuel Goudy offered for sale a "Valuable Plantation, situated on the bank of the Susquehannah, about a mile from the mouth of the Juniata, in Cumberland county." In the advertisement, Goudy states that the property contains 269 acres, although his original warrant was for 200 acres. He must have acquired some additional acreage, as two years later he sells John Clark 215 acres and thirteen perches.¹⁴ Goudy's advertisement is also significant in that it documents the type of land and what was on it: about forty of the acres are "upland cleared," and the land also includes "a small piece of meadow cleared, a considerable more may be made." He goes on to state that there is an excellent site for a mill on a "standing stream" (known as Clark's Run today). Notably, Samuel states that there are about "100 bearing apple trees." One can surmise that the street running behind the tavern today, Apple Tree Alley, was named this from the nearby orchard. Besides the orchard, the advertisement bears another important piece of evidence: the property had "two small dwelling houses" (see fig. 2).¹⁵

FIGURE 2 Goudy's December 27, 1785, advertisement in the *Carlisle Gazette* and the *Western Repository of Knowledge*.



JOHN ESTABLISHES HIS FERRY AND TAVERN

Sometime in the late 1700s, John and his oldest son, Daniel, established a ferry route across the Susquehanna River from the end of Peter's Mountain in Dauphin County to the site of Clark's Tavern in what was then Cumberland County, now Perry (fig. 3).¹⁶ This became known as the upper ferry. At some later date, the Clarks started another ferry south of the upper ferry. This ferry crossed at the mouth of Sherman's Creek where it empties into the Susquehanna and became known as the lower ferry.¹⁷

The year when the upper ferry was started by John and Daniel is uncertain but is usually given in sources as 1788, calculated from a statement Daniel Clark wrote in a July 1800 advertisement in Harrisburg's *Oracle of Dauphin*.¹⁸ In this statement, Daniel Clark has a war of words with another ferry owner, Mathias Flam, over ferry rights. In the advertisement, Daniel states that he "has conducted this Ferry for twelve years past." This is the only indirect evidence as to when Clark's Ferry began. This date is problematic, as in both the 1788 and 1789 Cumberland County tax assessments John is taxed for 200 acres and livestock, but no ferry, and tax records for Cumberland County are missing for 1790, 1791, and 1792. In the 1793 tax record, John is assessed for 200 acres, two horses, three cows, and one ferry.¹⁹ This is the first primary government source mentioning the ferry. Given that counties



FIGURE 3 Detail, Melish-Whiteside Map of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties, 1818. Courtesy Pennsylvania State Archives (MG-II, no. 82).

assessed properties for taxes in the fall of the year before they were listed, the ferry could have begun anytime between late fall 1788 and late fall of 1792. Hopefully further research will reconcile this discrepancy and eventually uncover a definite year for the ferry's establishment.²⁰

As previously noted, when John Clark purchased the Goudy property there were "two small dwelling houses."²¹ One of these dwellings was possibly used later as the wooden part of Clark's Tavern. Oral lore within the Smith family, who lived in Clark's Tavern from 1880 until 1974, is that the earliest part of the tavern was log.²² No historic or archaeological evidence has been found to substantiate this, but given the early time period when Goudy's houses were constructed, it does seem probable that they would have been simple log structures.

We know that by 1798 John had built a stone addition onto an earlier wooden structure. The earliest historic document describing the "wood and stone" building is the US Direct Tax of 1798 (more commonly known as the "Glass Tax"). The tax lists the owner as John Clark, but does not specifically state that the building was a tavern.²³ Also the assessment states the building is made of "wood and stone," measuring 46 × 22 feet, and two stories tall, with twelve windows and 144 windowpanes.²⁴ The dimensions of this original "wood and stone" structure are similar to the footprint of the section of the tavern facing North Market Street today.

The first documented record of the building being "a house of public entertainment" (i.e., a tavern) does not appear until 1801. That August, John's son Robert applied for and received a tavern license.²⁵ It is not known if his father applied for a license before Robert. John's license may have been lost or he may have been running an illegal tavern known as a tippling house. There was a considerable government fee for running a licensed tavern. As a result, despite the possibility of a fine, illegal taverns or tippling houses were widespread.²⁶ The only evidence showing that John ran a tavern, legally or illegally, is found in his estate inventory. When John died of unknown causes in 1800, among the items listed in the inventory is "China Delft & Queens Ware in Bar."²⁷ Bars in taverns during that time period were wooden cages used to keep and serve liquor.²⁸

A GLIMPSE OF LIFE AT JOHN CLARK'S TAVERN, CIRCA 1800

Combining information from the 1798 US Direct Tax, Clark's Estate Inventory of 1800, the federal census of 1800, and an examination of the

interior of the tavern's original stone structure, a glimpse of life in the tavern around 1800 can be envisioned.²⁹ In the federal census, there are ten Clark family members living at the tavern. Males listed are as follows: two from ages ten to sixteen, two from sixteen to twenty-six, one from twenty-six to forty-five, and one forty-five and over. Presumably, John was the male over age forty-five. Females are listed as one from ten to sixteen, two from sixteen to twenty-six, and one from twenty-six to forty-five.³⁰ With this many family members, as well as traveling guests and visiting local people, life in the tavern must have been at times crowded and chaotic. Travelers stopping to eat and/or stay overnight, as well as local people visiting the public room to pick up mail, play games, catch up on the latest news, socialize, and enjoy an alcoholic beverage may all have been in the tavern at the same time. In most taverns the public room was the main gathering place for activities where both "meals and services" were offered.³¹ For reasons discussed later, it is believed the original public room in Clark's Tavern was located in the small wooden/log section of the structure. Because of its small size, some tavern services must have also been provided in the stone part of the tavern.

Today, the early wooden/log section of the tavern in which the public room was located is no longer present. It is believed to have collapsed sometime in the mid-1800s.³² It was replaced shortly afterward with the current balloon-frame wooden structure. The first floor of today's frame structure is divided into two rooms. One small room faces North Market Street while a smaller entry hall behind it faces Clark Street. The size of the living space of the two rooms combined is 19 × 11 feet or 209 square feet. Since the small footprint of the present-day frame structure is similar to the original wooden/log building, the first floor of the original structure most likely had only one room. This room would have been used as the public room.

Adjoining today's frame structure is the original stone section of the tavern. An early board wall divides the first floor of the stone section into two rooms, a larger room containing a fireplace and a smaller stair hallway. The dimensions of the large room are 19 × 19 feet and the stair hallway is 8 × 19 feet. Adding about one foot for the width of the beaded board wall, the total square footage of both rooms combined is 608 square feet. Based on an architectural study of the first floor large room and stair hallway, we believe that the present first-floor plan is basically the same as the original.³³

The question arises as to what activities were conducted in the first-floor rooms of the stone and wooden/log sections of the building. The answer can be found by examining the construction of the original stone part of the

building and John Clark's two-page estate inventory of 1800. In reading parts of this enlightening inventory, there is a sense the reader is walking through the tavern room by room, for items are grouped according to the areas in which they were found.³⁴ Looking at these groupings, along with the type of fireplace found on the first floor of the stone part of the tavern, we have some understanding of how the stone and wooden/log sections of the tavern were used.

Most of the first page of John Clark's inventory is dedicated to recording his exterior possessions: animals, crops, and tools, as well as materials used for his ferry business. The last section of page 1 begins to list the tavern furnishings, beginning with furnishings that might be expected in a "dinning room." These include three large tables: "1 dinning table," "1 mahogany breakfast table," and "1 walnut breakfast table." In addition, the inventory lists "2 small walnut tables" as well as "18 Windsor chairs." Most of the tables and chairs must have been used for dining in the large room on the first floor of the stone part of the tavern. The two smaller tables and some of the chairs might have been used in the smaller first-floor room of the wooden/log section. The stone fireplace in the dining room is designed only for warmth, not for cooking. This eliminates this room as a possible kitchen for the tavern.³⁵

On the second page, after a list of beds (presumably on the second floor), are listed items found in a food preparation area, that is, the kitchen.³⁶ Kitchen items in the inventory include "1 Old Walnut Table & Dough Tray, 1 Dresser [hutch/cupboard] & Kitchen Furniture." These items were, of course, for preparing meals, done using a large walk-in fireplace. Additional items grouped together were for serving. They included "China Delft & Queens Ware in Bar & Cupboards, 1 Half Dozen Silver Tea Spoons & Silver Tea Tongs, 4 Servers & Knives and Forks and Brass Candlesticks."³⁷ Because there was not a cooking fireplace in the stone addition and the cooking and serving items were listed together with the tavern's bar, it would appear that both the kitchen and the bar for the tavern were in the first-floor room of the small wooden/log section of the tavern. Since the cooking was done in this room and the beverages served, this would have been the public room of the tavern. An excellent visual representation of what the public room inside Clark's Tavern might have looked like can be seen in John Lewis Krimmel's 1814 painting, *Village Tavern* (see fig. 4).³⁸ Although small, this room was probably where most activities except dining, sleeping, and larger events such as weddings and dances took place.



FIGURE 4 John Lewis Krimmel, *Village Tavern*, 1814, oil painting.

If the public room and dining room on the first floor were crowded and chaotic, the second-floor bedrooms at night were likely not much better. The rooms on the second floor of the stone part of the tavern replicate the first-floor rooms with a stair hallway and one large room. A beaded board wall, however, divided the large room into two rooms of unequal size. Only the larger of the two was heated with a fireplace. It is not known how many rooms were above the kitchen/public room in the wooden/log section of the tavern. Given the small size of the building, it was probably just one or possibly two rooms. In 1800, in taverns such as Clark's, "sleeping had not yet become the intimate and private act it is today . . . and customers shared the rooms of the tavern keeper's family." Such an arrangement must have been extremely crowded and uncomfortable for everyone. Most eighteenth-century taverns were furnished with from six to eight beds. This would allow the tavern to sleep twelve to sixteen men. Before 1800, women travelers were uncommon. If they did travel, they would have experienced the same rudimentary conditions as men.³⁹

The inventory lists seven bedsteads—six of them feather beds and one a chaff bed. Of these beds, four had curtains.⁴⁰ "Bed curtains were used, perhaps as a concession to privacy." With two persons to a bed, Clark's seven beds would have been enough to accommodate fourteen adults. If five of these beds were used for Clark's ten family members, only the two remaining beds would have been available for four guests. Although there were no Clark children under ten years old at that time, if two of the younger children were small, they might have slept across the foot of a bed, thus freeing up another

bed for guests.⁴¹ While the peak of their tavern business did not come until after an addition was added to the rear of the building, there must have been times when there were more guests than beds.⁴² If so, where did they sleep? In reality, travelers staying overnight in a tavern slept wherever they could find a spot. Perhaps some of John Clark's family members were evicted for the night and their beds used for customers. It is just as likely, however, that guests slept on a pile of straw with a blanket on the floor of the public room, stair hallway, or dining room.⁴³

A DIFFICULT YEAR FOR THE CLARK FAMILY

In April 1800 John Clark died, leaving his son Robert as his executor. The following December, John's eldest son Daniel, of whom the *Oracle of Dauphin* stated was "in the prime of life," passed away after a short illness, leaving his brother Robert to manage his affairs as well. There is no will on record for either John or Daniel Clark. A look into how successful John Clark had been as a businessman can be found by again examining the first page of his estate inventory. His personal property was valued at 313 pounds, a considerable sum for the time, and included four horses, several cows, pigs, and sheep, as well as the three "flats" or rafts, with which to operate the ferry. John was a successful ferryman, farmer, and tavern owner. Outside of his land and buildings, about 46 percent of his wealth was invested in farming, 24 percent in ferrying, and 30 percent in the tavern.⁴⁴ Robert Clark inherited the ferry, tavern, and farmland, as well as a number of debts owed to both his father and brother, and inherited them at a commercially opportune time.⁴⁵

ROBERT BUILDS ON HIS FATHER'S SUCCESS

In the early 1800s, the Conestoga wagon was a main transportation vehicle for heavy land commerce, made to transport freight over rugged roads.⁴⁶ Being pulled by four to six large Conestoga horses, a local variation of a draft horse, or oxen, the wagons moved farm products from rural areas to towns and cities, then returned to outlying areas carrying manufactured commodities.⁴⁷ By the time Robert inherited his father's ferry, the Conestoga wagon was a major means for transporting agricultural and manufactured goods back and forth across the Susquehanna River. "It was not uncommon to see fifteen or twenty of these large wagons, drawn by six or eight horses each, in the old [Clark's Ferry] inn-yard and along the road nearby, waiting their turn for the ferryboats."⁴⁸

With a steady increase in demand for ferry service in the early 1800s came an equal need for tavern service. As a result, sometime after 1800, it was probably Robert who added a stone wing to the rear of the original wood/log and stone sections of the building. This was the third stage in the building's development and the second stage for the tavern. This new section of the tavern consisted of a stone wing running perpendicular to the earlier wooden/log and stone sections giving the tavern an "L" shape (see fig. 5).⁴⁹

The tavern's front now faced south towards Clark's Run and what is today Clark Street, instead of being oriented toward North Market Street, and was larger than both of the earlier two sections of the tavern combined, containing about 952 square feet. It had four rooms on the first floor and three or four rooms on the second. It was built in a five-bay Georgian style with a balance of rooms on either side of a central stairway and a chimney at either end of the building. The authors believe that with the new addition John's earlier stone structure became a private family residence for the Clarks, the

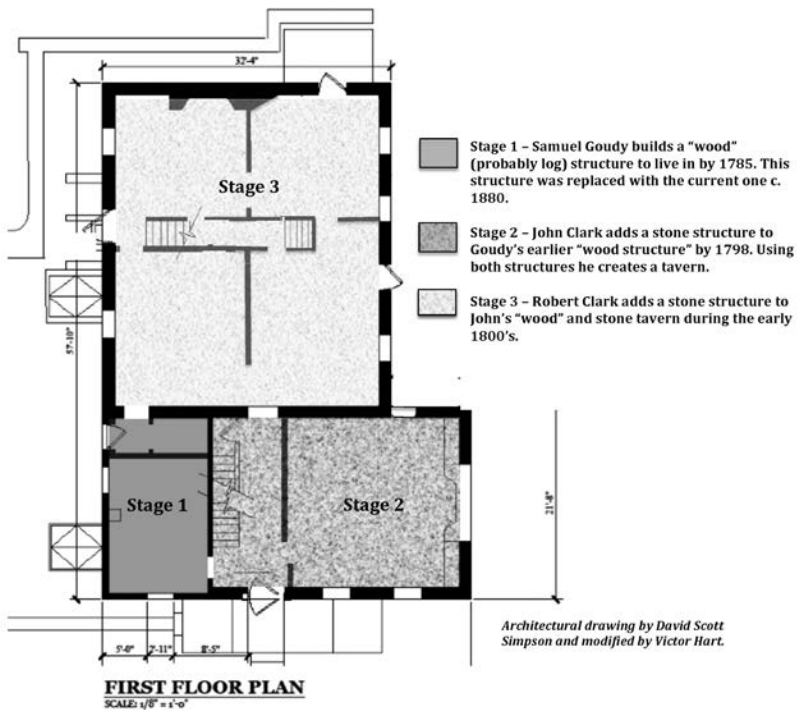


FIGURE 5 The three building stages of the tavern. Floor plan by Victor Hart.

first since the tavern opened. It is not known how the earlier wooden part of the tavern was used after the addition was built.⁵⁰

From the successful ferry and tavern business, Robert began investing surplus capital in other ventures. He purchased numerous tracts of land and early industries in both Cumberland (later Perry), and Dauphin counties, and profits eventually allowed him to partner in establishing a stage line.⁵¹ Indications of his holdings are given in a description of his properties advertised for rent in the November 1827 issue of the *Oracle of Dauphin*. In the advertisement, Clark offers for lease: a merchant mill in Petersburg, Perry County, with house and barn; a complete sawmill at the mouth of Little Juniata Creek; another farm in Petersburg with 216 acres, house, and barn; a farm and ferry at the mouth of Sherman's Creek; a farm adjoining Clark's Ferry, containing 120 acres; and a tavern opposite the mouth of the Juniata in Dauphin County, with a large dwelling house, still, and fifty acres of land (see fig. 6).⁵²



Robert Clark's first wife, Mary Stuart (or Stewart), died in 1806 and it appears he would not marry again until late in life.⁵³ In 1808 Robert, together with numerous tavern and innkeepers along the river, formed the Juniata Mail Stage Company.⁵⁴ This initial stage line presaged the route of the commonwealth's Main Line of Public Works (the Pennsylvania canal system) some fifteen years before its establishment, and would later evolve into part of the old William Penn Highway (US routes 22/322). As an entrepreneur and businessman, it seems that Robert Clark, with both tavern and ferry to help travelers cross the river, was uniquely positioned to profit doubly from the stage line.

At Clark's Ferry on November 28, 1811, Robert's sister Jane married John Boden, the high sheriff of Cumberland County. Earlier in 1800, Boden had taken charge of the tavern for a short time after his future father-in-law John Clark died.⁵⁵ There is no reason to believe the marriage between John Boden and Jane Clark was arranged, but records show that Boden and Robert Clark were partners in several business ventures. Perhaps the most significant was a gristmill operation that later became the Duncannon Flouring Mill on Little Juniata Creek. William Ramsey (Carlisle attorney and future US Representative) started the mill in partnership with Clark and Boden. John Boden also held a commission as a brigadier in the Pennsylvania State Militia. In 1821 he built the elegant brick tavern building still standing on the Harrisburg Pike east of Carlisle. It was known as the "Sign of the Rising Sun." He was the tavern's owner from 1821 to 1823.⁵⁶

VALUABLE PROPERTY
For Rent.
PROPOSALS

Will be received from this date until *Saturday the 22d day of December next*, (inclusive) for Renting for one or more years, the following described valuable property, to wit:

THAT WELL KNOWN

TAVERN  STAND,
FARM &  FERRY HOUSE.

called Clark's Ferry, now in the occupancy of John Boden, Esq. situate on the Perry side of the Susquehanna river. The farm contains *Two Hundred and Fifty Acres* of first-rate land; one half of which is cleared.

ALSO:


One other Farm, containing 150 acres, about one half of which is cleared, having thereon erected a full

Patent Distillery,

in complete operation.

Also—One other Farm, Situate in Wheatfield township, Perry county, bounded by lands of Frederick Speck, Esq. and others, containing 300 acres, more or less, about 8 acres of which are cleared, on which is erected a good

HOUSE and BARN, a

 Grist mill 

AND SAW MILL,
in good repair.

Also—One other small Farm, & Ferry in said township, situate at the mouth of Sherman's creek, with a comfortable Dwelling House and Barn thereon.

Also—One other Farm of 300 Acres, One hundred acres, more or less of which are cleared, situate in said township, with a House and Barn thereon erected.

ALSO—the

Tavern Stand & Ferry

now in the occupancy of Mr. James Martin, on the Dauphin side of the Susquehanna river. As most of this property is well known to the public, further description is deemed unnecessary.

ROBERT CLARK.

Clark's Ferry, Nov. 27, 1827.

FIGURE 6 Valuable properties listed for rent by Robert Clark, November 27, 1827, issue of the *Oracle of Dauphin*.

During the War of 1812 Robert Clark enlisted in Co. C of the Second Pennsylvania militia under Capt. J. S. Smith, and mustered out with the rank of sergeant, serving from August 7, 1814, until February 17, 1815.⁵⁷ In his absence, Joseph Robinson ran the tavern. Robinson was granted a license to run the tavern in August of 1814.⁵⁸

An interesting account of a trip on Clark's Ferry also occurred in 1814. Benjamin Long, five years of age, crossed the Susquehanna on the ferry with his family, on their way to their newly purchased farm in Pfoutz Valley near Millerstown, Perry County. At the time of the crossing, it was storming and the Susquehanna River was at flood stage. To compensate for the river current, raftsmen used horses to haul rafts far up the Dauphin County side of the river. The Long family had two wagons, and a late day thunderstorm separated each of them on opposite sides of the river. Benjamin Long's account describes how he had made it across the river on the ferry with his mother and the first wagon. His father and the second wagon, however, remained stranded on the eastern shore of the river. Benjamin described the relief he felt the next morning when the wagon with his father safely made it to the western side of the river and they continued on to their new farmstead.⁵⁹ The story is interesting not only because it describes an early river crossing, but also that ferrymen continued to operate the rafts during high water.

The Pennsylvania General Assembly established Perry County in 1820 from the northern part of Cumberland County. Clark's Ferry vied for the distinction of being selected as a potential site for a new county seat, being listed as the tenth potential location by a board of commissioners selected by the governor. The location was fully eliminated in a second round. Two years prior, in 1818, the Commonwealth determined that a canal bridge across the Susquehanna would be built near the site of Clark's upper ferry landing at the tavern or below the lower ferry at Sherman's Creek. As a result, Robert Clark began to diversify his interests in anticipation of new business opportunities. In 1822 he began establishing new stage lines westward to Landisburg, Blain, and Concord, in Franklin County.⁶⁰

By April of 1825, Robert had joined John Blair and Company in "running their Stages three times a week . . . in less than four days" between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. The "fare for the whole distance" was \$10.00. If you traveled only part of the way, the fare was "six cents per mile." Ever the shrewd businessmen, Robert and John, in their advertising for the stage line used the disclaimer, "All baggage at the risk of the owners" (fig. 7).⁶¹ Also in 1825,

Stage fare reduced on the Northern Route turnpike road from Harrisburg to Pittsburg.



THE Stage proprietors on the above route have determined on running their Stages three times a week, to run through in less than four days, leave Harrisburg and Pittsburg respectively every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings.

Fare for the whole distance \$10 00

Way Passengers six cents per mile

All Baggage at the risk of the owners.

By the above arrangement passengers going to or from Baltimore or to or from Philadelphia either by the Lancaster or Reading route will be certain of passing on without delay or disappointment. In addition to a connexion with the Baltimore and Philadelphia line of Stages at Harrisburg our line will connect at Pittsburg with the Washington, Beaver and Erie Stages, which will accommodate travellers to any part of the western country. The Bellefonte and Erie stage leaves Harrisburg every Tuesday and Saturday mornings.

John Blair & Co.

&

Robert Clark.

* * The Printers who have formerly inserted advertisements for this line of Stages will be so good as to insert this.

FIGURE 7 "Stage Fare Reduced," classified advertisement, April 23, 1825, issue of the *Oracle of Dauphin*.

Robert began a route to Bloomfield (the new county seat of Perry County), and the new town of Ickesburg. This route was quickly abandoned, most likely due to fiscal concerns.

DECLINE OF THE FERRY AND TAVERN ENTERPRISES

By 1828, the Commonwealth's covered bridge across the Susquehanna was completed. Although called Clark's Ferry Bridge, the bridge was not

constructed directly at either Clark's upper or lower ferry. Because of cheaper construction costs, the bridge was built from Duncan's Island to a small point on the Dauphin County side. The bridge was to connect the new Juniata Division of the Pennsylvania Canal to the Susquehanna Division. Robert Clark had purchased eight parcels of land in Dauphin County. Five of these were directly in the route where the canal would pass (fig. 8).⁶² When the canal was built through his properties, Robert's natural resources were used and some of his property destroyed. Along with these losses, Robert knew that the new bridge would ruin his ferry business. In response to this potential loss, Robert tried to halt progress on canal construction.

A meeting was held on August 11, 1827, at Clark's Tavern to sell contracts for building the canal and a dam that would allow canal boats to cross the Susquehanna. Robert Clark tried to stop or at least cover his losses by personally placing in the hand of Charles Mowery, the Canal Commissioner, the following note, "Sir: TAKE NOTICE, That I will prosecute all and every person or persons, who shall be found on my premises, erecting any dam or dams, for the purpose of injuring any of my ferries on the Susquehanna River, or

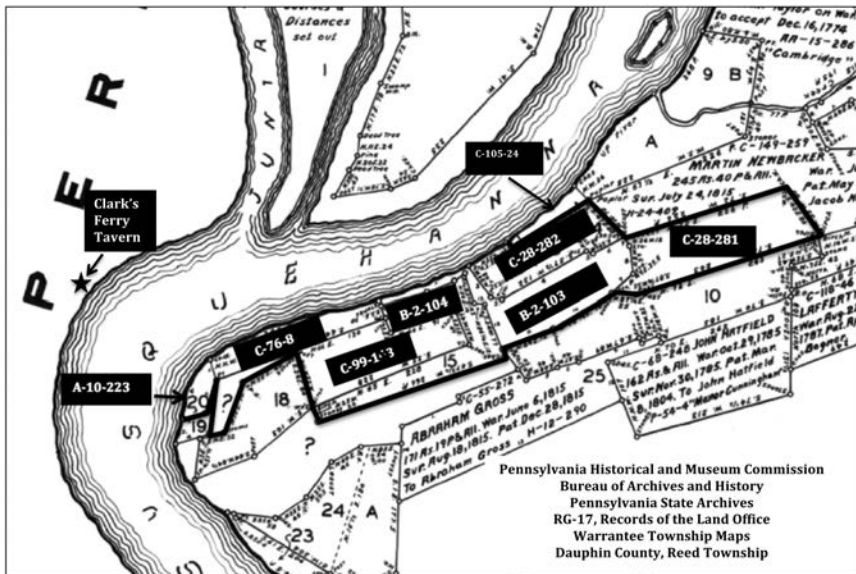


FIGURE 8 Composite map of Dauphin County properties acquired by Robert Clark across from Clark's Ferry Tavern. Compiled and modified by Victor Hart from Pennsylvania State Archives Land Records, Survey Books and Pages, B-2-103, C-28-281, C-28-282, B-2-104 and A-10-223.

injuring any other of my property, bordering on said river.” To no avail, he posted a similar note on the wall of his barroom. As stated in the annual reports of the Canal Commissioners, despite Robert’s protest, contracts were awarded by Commissioner Mowery for both canal and dam construction by the end of the meeting.⁶³

After the dam and canal were built, not without some merit, Robert Clark petitioned the Canal Commission stating that the building of the canal had caused approximately \$43,650 in damages. The most critical damage he assessed was the ruin of his ferry business, which he valued at \$30,000.⁶⁴ The commonwealth agreed to pay \$500 to Robert Clark for the destruction of his stables at his ferry landing in Dauphin County. On appeal, he was awarded \$2,100, nowhere near the initial amount he claimed the new bridge cost him.⁶⁵

The new bridge would not only allow wagon and pedestrian traffic a year-round river crossing, but also facilitate a towpath for the Pennsylvania Canal in the early 1830s. The Pennsylvania Canal was part of the broader Philadelphia to Pittsburgh to Ohio Valley connection. Its ultimate competition was with the Erie Canal to the north and the soon-to-be named Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to the south.

This first Clark’s Ferry Bridge was somewhat unique. A Burr-arch covered bridge, it had double decks, with one lane atop another instead of having two lanes on one deck. Traveling on the bridge was famously described in 1842 by Charles Dickens in his *American Notes*. Dickens was on his way to Pittsburgh via the Pennsylvania Canal. He wrote after leaving Harrisburg on a canal packet:

As night came on, and we drew in sight of the first range of hills, which are the outposts of the Alleghany Mountains, the scenery, which had been uninteresting hitherto, became more bold and striking. The wet ground reeked and smoked, after the heavy fall of rain, and the croaking of the frogs (whose noise in these parts is almost incredible) sounded as though a million of fairy teams with bells were travelling through the air, and keeping pace with us. The night was cloudy yet, but moonlight too: and when we crossed the Susquehanna river—over which there is an extraordinary wooden bridge with two galleries, one above the other, so that even there, two boat teams meeting, may pass without confusion—it was wild and grand.⁶⁶

It is telling to note that Dickens makes no mention of Clark's Tavern. When crossing the Susquehanna, he used the sleeping accommodations available on the canal boat rather than stopping at a local facility. The dynamics of traveling west were changing.

As a result of the new bridge, Robert Clark sold most of his interests in the stage business to Calder and Wilson Company of Harrisburg. It is believed, though not substantiated, that he kept the tavern, leasing it out until his death April 4, 1855. After his death, his second wife, Margaretta Bovard, inherited it. He had married Margaretta around 1836 and along with her relocated to Saville Township, Perry County, where he is listed on both the 1840 and 1850 census. In his last will and testament, dated October 10, 1842, he states that he is "Robert Clark of Clark's Ferry Perry County."⁶⁷ Robert was buried at the old Duncannon Presbyterian Church Cemetery above the ferry and tavern that he ran for so long. Margaretta would remarry, to Zachariah Rice, one of the principal operators of stage lines in the state in the mid-1800s. She died in 1874 and is buried in Landisburg Cemetery, Tyrone Township, Perry County.

H. H. Hain, in his 1922 *History of Perry County*, lists two other innkeepers for Clark's Tavern, Henry Lemon and William Wilson.⁶⁸ Little information has been found regarding who they were and when they kept the facility. By the start of the Civil War in 1861, the building was known as the Topley Hotel, and served as both the post office and mustering location for Company B of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Reserves, part of the famed Pennsylvania Bucktails.⁶⁹ The company, raised in Perry County, was known as the "Morgan Rifles."

In March of 1865 the tavern structure survived a devastating flood by the combined Juniata and Susquehanna rivers. Newspaper accounts report the rivers were twenty-two feet above low water stage and most houses had five feet of water inside them: "Surrounding the old stone tavern were two barns and some other buildings. When the water receded the old stone tavern was found to be the only remaining structure."⁷⁰ It is possible that this flood rendered the structure unlivable as it was purportedly used as a storage facility for hay or straw around this time. On March 17, 1880, it was seized by the county sheriff, advertised for sheriff sale, and sold to Michael and Enos Smith on April 4, 1880.⁷¹ When the Smiths bought it, the building had already been converted "for rental of four different families with necessary outbuildings."⁷² It remained in the Smith family as three apartments for almost a century

until 1974, when Max Smith sold it.⁷³ The building then passed through several different owners.

Due to be razed or condemned, the building was saved from the wrecking ball when the Borough of Duncannon purchased it in 2012. Since that time Victor Hart, Tom Prescott, and numerous volunteers with the Historical Society of Perry County have conducted archaeological research uncovering thousands of artifacts from both prehistoric and historic time periods. Although in need of repairs and a comprehensive plan of restoration, much of the building's historic early federal (1790–1810) fabric remains intact and is well worth preserving. At the beginning of 2016, the borough of Duncannon transferred ownership to the Historical Society of Perry County, who plans to restore and preserve the oldest parts of the tavern and adaptively reuse portions as community meeting rooms.

With the construction of the first Clark's Ferry Bridge in 1828–29, Clark's ferry business was effectively destroyed. The Northern Turnpike, of which it was a part, and later subsequent Clark's Ferry covered bridges, all fueled the importance of what would become in 1926 the automotive route to the west, the William Penn Highway, or US Route 22. The first concrete Clark's Ferry Bridge was completed in 1925 by the firm of Modjeski and Masters of Harrisburg, and the second and current concrete structure in 1986 by PennDOT.⁷⁴

Though modern changes rendered the ferry and tavern obsolete, both hold significance on a local, state, and national level in terms of what they reveal not only about the early federal period, but moreover the American transportation revolution from 1750 to the advent of the automobile. Taverns were built at locales and crossroads, but few others occupy such a centrally propitious locale along the junction of two major river routes, as does the Clark's Ferry tavern. Standing at the confluence, one can imagine foot traffic along well-worn Indian paths, pack horses carrying the first traders, large rafts ferrying Conestoga wagons and eventually stagecoaches crossing the river, the building of the first massive Burr-arch covered bridge at the site, the towpath for the Pennsylvania Canal boats, the rise in the late 1840s of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and finally the paving and widening of the roadway and new bridge of the William Penn Highway and US routes 22/322. The tavern and ferry built and run by John, Daniel, and Robert Clark, at the gateway to the Juniata Valley, serves as an important and worthy reminder of the evolution of state and national transportation history—a history worthy of further interpretation, archaeological investigation, and preservation.

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NOTES

Acknowledgments: Max and Nathan Smith, Tom Prescott, Sis and Roy Clugston, Janet Taylor, Roland Finkenbinder, Michelle Smith, Krista Haas, Duane Hammaker, Barbara Bartos, and Linda Ries.

1. Steve Smith, personal communication with the authors, September 13, 2015.
2. This place name is an error on the part of Watson and repeated by later compilers such as Ellis and Hungerford, and Hain. The Indians did cross at present-day Duncannon, but Queenashawakee is west of Williamsport where Quenshukeny Run meets the Susquehanna.
3. Henry H. Hain, *History of Perry County, Pennsylvania: Including Descriptions of Indian and Pioneer Life from the Time of Earliest Settlement* (Harrisburg, PA: Hain-Moore Company, 1922), 123–26; Jonathan Edwards, ed., *The Life and Diary of David Brainerd, With a Biographical Sketch of the Life and Work of Jonathan Edwards by Philip E. Howard, Jr.*, 10th printing (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Books, 2001).
4. David Hsing, "Death on the Juniata: Delawares, Iroquois and Pennsylvanians in a Colonial Whodunit," *Pennsylvania History* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 445–77.
5. Hain, *History of Perry County*, 122.

6. Ibid., 120.
7. Cumberland County, PA, Deeds, Title Transfer, "Samuel Goudy and Wife, January 23, 1787 to John Clark," Books H and I, 1787–1791, vol. 1, microfilm roll 2–3, Cumberland County Historical Society (hereafter "Title transfer, Goudy to Clark").
8. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser., vol. 1 (Harrisburg, PA: State Printer, 1906), 100.
9. Cumberland County, PA, Tax Rates, Rye Township, 1786, microfilm roll 150, Cumberland County Historical Society.
10. Samuel Goudy, "Advertisement of land to be sold," *Carlisle Gazette*, December 27, 1785.
11. A reading of the title transfer between Samuel Goudy and John Clark uses the archaic word *messuages* meaning "a dwelling house together with its outbuildings, curtilage, and the adjacent land appropriated to its use."
12. Hain, *History of Perry County*, 395–96.
13. Title transfer, Goudy to Clark.
14. Ibid.
15. *Carlisle Gazette*, December 27, 1785.
16. John Melish and Sam Harrison, *Map of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties*. Constructed by virtue of an Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed 19th March 1816, printed Philadelphia, 1818, Manuscript Group 11, no. 82, Pennsylvania State Archives; available online at <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/rg/di/117-534WhitesideMaps/1017-534WhitesideMapInterface.htm>.
17. Frank M. Masters, "Notes and Data Relative to the Building of the Bridge Across the Susquehanna River at Clark's Ferry," 1925, unpublished manuscript, Historical Society of Perry County, 28, 30, 35, 38, 39.
18. *Oracle of Dauphin*, July 14 and 21, 1800.
19. 1788, 1793 Cumberland County tax records, available at the Cumberland County Historical Society.
20. John C. Fralish Jr., e-mail to authors, August 8, 2015.
21. *Carlisle Gazette*, December 27, 1785.
22. Max Smith, e-mail to authors, February 19, 2015.
23. US Direct Tax of 1798 for Cumberland County, available at the Cumberland County Historical Society.
24. Ibid.
25. Cumberland County Tavern License Application, 1801, available online at http://records.ccpa.net/webink_public_print/DocView.aspx?id=502700&dbid=7.
26. Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983), 64–65.
27. Cumberland County Register of Wills, Estate Inventories: Clark, John, Folder C-93, Cumberland County Archives, Carlisle, PA, May 7, 1800 hereafter "John Clark Inventory").

28. Rice, *Early American Taverns*, 96.
29. Victor Hart, "2012–2015 Archaeological and Architectural Study of Clark's Ferry Tavern," in possession of the author.
30. Federal Census of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1790–1910.
31. Rice, *Early American Taverns*, 94–102.
32. Undated news article. "Clark's Ferry File," The Perry Historians, Harry Lenig Genealogical Library, Newport, PA.
33. Hart, "Archaeological and Architectural Study."
34. John Clark Estate Inventory, May 7, 1800, Estate Records, Cumberland County Archives, accessed through microfilm at the Cumberland County Historical Society.
35. Ibid.
36. Hart, "Archaeological and Architectural Study."
37. John Clark Estate Inventory.
38. Krimmel, John Lewis, *Village Tavern, 1814*. Toledo Museum of Art.
39. Rice, *Early American Taverns*, 102, 103, 105.
40. John Clark Estate Inventory.
41. Rice, *Early American Taverns*, 103–4, 105.
42. Unfortunately, no registers or ledgers of accounts have been found for Clark's Tavern to date.
43. Rice, *Early American Taverns*, 102–3.
44. John Clark Estate Inventory.
45. A request by Robert Clark for settlement of the debts owed to John Clark's estate and/or monies owed from Clark to others was published in the *Oracle of Dauphin*, October 6, 1800.
46. "The Conestoga Wagon," Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/things/4280/conestoga_wagon/478210; William Shank, *The Amazing Pennsylvania Canals* (York, PA: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1981), 5.
47. Colleen Moran, "Conestoga," *Manifest Destiny: The Trails*, available online at <http://manifestdestinytrails.weebly.com/conestoga-wagons.html>
48. F. Ellis and A. N. Hungerford, *History of That Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards, 1886), 1074.
49. Hart, "Archaeological and Architectural Study."
50. Ibid.
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52. Advertisement, "Valuable Property for Rent" *Oracle of Dauphin*, November 27, 1827.
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- James, George, Maria and Lucinda. Available online at http://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/robert-clark_27834868.
54. Ellis and Hungerford, *History*, 429.
55. Ebersole Collection, Boden Family File, The Perry Historians, Newport, PA.
56. Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *Taverns of Cumberland County Pennsylvania, 1750–1840* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1994), 104.
57. Record of Burial Place of Veteran, Perry County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Military Affairs, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, PA, *Pennsylvania Veterans Burial Cards, 1929–1990*; RG-19 Series Number 1.
58. Cumberland County Pennsylvania Tavern License Applications, available at <http://www.ccpa.net/2566/Archives>.
59. Theodore K. Long, “Forty Letters to Carson Long,” Carson Long Institute, New Bloomfield, 1931, 12–13.
60. Hain, *History of Perry County*, 222–23, 366–67.
61. *Oracle of Dauphin*, April 23, 1825.
62. Pennsylvania State Archives Land Records, Survey Book, Subseries and Pages: B-2-103, C-28-281, C-28-282, B-2-104 and A-10-223, <http://www.phmc.pa.gov/>.
63. Masters, “Notes and Data,” 60.
64. Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners, Journal of the House of Representatives, 1830–31, 318–19.
65. Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners, Journal of the House of Representatives, 1830–31, 318–19, 477.
66. Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, chap. 10, <http://www.online-literature.com/dickens/americannotes/11/>.
67. Robert Clark, Last Will and Testament, dated October 10, 1842. Folder C-85, The Perry Historians, Newport, PA.
68. Hain, *History of Perry County*, 953.
69. Osmund Rhodes, Howard Thomson and William H Rauch, *History of the “Bucktails,” Kane Rifle Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps* (Philadelphia: Electric Printing Company, 1906), 19.
70. Hain, *History of Perry County*, 389.
71. David and Enos were unable to pay either taxes or mortgage on the property and it went to sheriff’s sale, where it was bought back by Enos and either his father or brother Michael (both were named Michael), for Enos and David. *Perry County Democrat*, March 31, 1880.
72. *Perry County Democrat*, March 31, 1880.
73. Max Smith, telephone communication with the author, March 13, 2015.
74. Ernest H. Coleman, “American Canals,” *American Canal Society* 44, no. 1 (1983). Though somewhat confusing there were a total of five covered bridges built at Clark’s Ferry during the nineteenth century, and two concrete bridges in the twentieth, making seven bridges in total.

THE HISTORY OF THE TUSCARORA FEMALE SEMINARY

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ABSTRACT: The Tuscarora Female Seminary played a unique role in women's education in Juniata County, being the only secondary school established to educate young women. It began in 1847 and educated young women for almost twenty-five years; however, its story has been neglected by historians and further obscured by poor documentation. This article is an opportunity to finally tell its story.

KEYWORDS: academia, Pennsylvania, women's education, Tuscarora Female Seminary, Juniata County

The Tuscarora Female Seminary played a unique role in women's education in Juniata County, being the only secondary school established there to educate young women. It began in 1847 in the humble surroundings of Alexander Patterson's home in Spruce Hill Township; he was a gentleman farmer and is credited with the school's establishment.¹ The school educated young women for almost twenty-five years until 1872, and then again in 1878–79; yet its story has been neglected by historians and further obscured by poorly documented research. County histories like Ellis and Hungerford's *History of that Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys* and Uriah J. Jones's badly flawed *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* failed to mention the seminary although they were published in 1886 and 1889 respectively, only a decade after its last year of operation, when memories would have been fresh and unclouded.² This lack of a written history encouraged the spread of a verbal history, only amended when a brief paragraph on the seminary appeared within an article about the better-known Tuscarora Academy for boys published in the *Juniata Tribune*, September 26, 1929:

A female academy or seminary stood near the Tuscarora Academy and flourished for many years. The history of this institution is even more obscure than that of the boy's school, since it was abandoned as a school long before the Academy. It is said that it did not survive the Civil War as many students were belles from the aristocratic families south of the Mason-Dixon Line and if the school did not pass out of existence immediately after the declaration of war, it was abandoned soon after because of lack of patronage.

The *Tribune's* writer never mentioned his or her sources and, unfortunately, no investigation of this information was done even when it was published in two twentieth-century local histories.

This article, therefore, is an effort to ameliorate this neglect and to tell a more nuanced version of the Tuscarora Female Seminary and its nearly quarter-century of educating women. This includes the stories of its seven principal-proprietors, a few of the many female teachers, the influence of the Evangelical Christians, and the curriculum of mathematics and science. We will also examine the often-repeated verbal history arising from the *Juniata Tribune* article to see how much truth it holds.

Secondary education for females, like that provided at the Tuscarora Female Seminary, was the responsibility of the family. By 1838 many "Young Ladies Seminaries," or "Female Institutes," had sprung up as attitudes about governmental support of higher education were changing in the country. The Pennsylvania General Assembly in their 1838 session appropriated funds "to encourage the Arts and Sciences, promote the teaching of useful knowledge and support . . . Female Academies."³ This legislation was an outgrowth of the 1834 Free Public School Act in which the state began providing free elementary education for all children. Though met with a firestorm of opposition, it was eventually passed by the General Assembly in April 1835, with strong support from then-State Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Governor George Wolf.⁴

By 1847, when founder Andrew Patterson (director, 1847–53) created his school, attitudes about women's intellectual abilities had undergone a fundamental change: women were now viewed as intellectually equal to men and therefore entitled to a comparable education. This has not always been the case. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, women faced serious obstacles to education. By tradition their intellect was judged inferior to men, assigned simply to natural innate abilities; women were insightful

and intuitive but also flighty and emotional. Deep-rooted beliefs held that women's capricious nature seriously hindered their ability to reason. Others argued that the female mind was much too delicate for education and did not possess adequate intellectual stamina for the creative process; if she did achieve intellectually, the mental strain would imperil her health and reproductive capabilities.⁵ Religion also played a role proscribing female education. Literal interpretation of scripture was used to argue that God intended women to be subordinate and this was confirmed by the events of the Fall of Adam and Eve.⁶ Even St. Paul's words in the New Testament were used by clergymen to legitimize women's subordinate position and men's dominion by asserting that education would ruin her for marriage because she would be unwilling to submit to her husband's authority (see fig. 1). Middle-class parents were not educating their daughters for the same purpose as their sons, to enter the workforce. Rather, daughters were expected to marry and raise a family and confine themselves to the private sphere of the home. If they choose to work, it was expected it would only be temporary. Men, however, were entitled to the public sphere, the arena of politics and the market place.

Two pioneer women educators led the way in overcoming barriers to female education, Emma Hart Willard (1781–1870) and Mary Lyon (1797–1849). Each achieved an unusual education for her time and went on to establish



FIGURE 1 Alexander Patterson, cased image ca. 1850. Courtesy of Adam Gilson.

leading women's schools. Willard moved to Troy, New York, and in 1821, with the town council's help, founded the Troy Female Seminary, a leader for including science, mathematics, and social studies in its curriculum. Willard successfully used the ideal of "republican motherhood," the belief that educated mothers raised better citizen-sons as an argument for women's education. Lyon, after obtaining an education, taught and studied at several schools in western Massachusetts. In 1837 she opened Mount Holyoke in South Hadley. Here women were educated within a single building whose design was based on the current asylum-style architecture.⁷ The architecture provided for and ordered all aspects of student life: living space, bedrooms, classrooms, laboratories, and work areas for domestic staff. Math, science, history, and religion were studied under a rhythm of life that revolved around a defined schedule of classroom lectures, time for study and private reflection, devotions, recreation, and household duties. All this occurred within a large building designed like a home to house students and teachers together in a communal family. Mary Lyon's educational philosophy became the model for female seminaries throughout the country.

Willard's and Lyon's influence will be seen in the courses of study at the Tuscarora Female Seminary from the earliest, when founder Patterson included math and science courses, and through the decades of the 1850s and 1860s with advanced mathematics, science, and—surprisingly—calisthenics. Lyon's influence is also seen in the architectural design chosen for the seminary building in Academia, which provided a safe and structured environment as well as the goals detailed in the Tuscarora Female Institute's circular to prepare young women for a Christian life in the nineteenth century.

In addition to Willard's and Lyon's efforts to prove women's intellectual abilities, four major influences contributed to the growth of their advanced education: (1) the Second Great Awakening, a Protestant religious revival, occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; (2) a new middle class arising out of a capitalist system that desired and could pay the expense of a daughter's education; (3) the demand for more teachers in the common school systems that were developing in each state; (4) and women's desire to be economically self-sufficient, brought on by the nascent women's movement of the 1840s.⁸

The Second Great Awakening, a continuation of the evangelical movement, confined primarily to Methodists and Baptists, was largely responsible for the proliferation of women's seminaries in operation throughout the country by mid-century. While these schools had an evangelical Protestant

orientation, they did not teach their specific doctrines; however, they did require their students to attend chapel services, often morning and evening and church on Sunday. Evangelical Christians believed that their mission was to Christianize the nation. While evangelicals charged both men and women with creating God's kingdom on earth, women, in their roles as wife and mother, played a central role in the creation of a moral American society. Women's education was seen as the essential component to achieve this goal; America's destiny was in their hands as they reared the next generation of the nation's citizens. This ideal of "republican motherhood," fused with the fervor of evangelical Christians, was a catalyst in advancing women's education.

About the same time, the nation's industrialization and manufacturing of goods created business and job opportunities with higher salaries for men who until then had filled the teaching ranks. Men were no longer willing to fill lower-paying teaching positions. At the same time, there was a heightened demand for teachers because of the increasing number of common or elementary schools being established by a number of states. This occurred in Pennsylvania after the passage of the Free School Act of 1834. An inadequate supply of male teachers gave women their opportunity to move into these positions. School boards burdened financially from the costs of building schools and paying teachers' salaries opted to pay women substantially less than what they paid men; but women, eager to teach and interested in finding ways to become independent and to support themselves, willingly accepted this inequity.⁹

For his first session Patterson tried to recruit a young woman from Washington Female Seminary, Washington, Pennsylvania, for a teaching position. In a surviving letter dated April 28, 1846, Sarah Black, a student at the seminary, replied to Patterson's offer, turning it down because she would not graduate until September 1846, but she recommended Margaret C. Whyte, who was "well qualified for filling such a situation and one who can go immediately."¹⁰ Sarah Black later joined Whyte at the school as both their names appeared in Patterson's advertisement printed by the *Juniata Sentinel's* job office dated October 27, 1847.¹¹ A Miss Tisdale served as a teacher as well until she left to marry Dr. Ezra Wilson; nothing else is known about her.¹² Annie Kennedy was headmistress at the school beginning in the fall of 1848.¹³ She was educated at the Octorara Female Seminary in Oxford, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and remained as headmistress for two and a half years until her marriage to Dr. John P. Sterrett on November 27, 1850.¹⁴ Patterson's daughter, Margaret—and possibly daughter Nancy as well—worked as a

teacher perhaps even after the school moved to Academia.¹⁵ In July 1853 Patterson hired Nancy Williams, of Newark Valley, Tioga County, New York. Her letter of acceptance described the route she would take to get to Juniata County: "I go to Corning, from there to Blassburgh [Blossburg,] thence to Williamsport, from there on the canal to the junction, then take the cars to Perrysville."¹⁶

Patterson's students were offered beginner classes in reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic and advanced classes in algebra, geometry, geography, mental and moral philosophy, and religion. For additional charges the young ladies could take French, drawing, piano, and ornamental needlework. The students were also charged for board, washing, and light.¹⁷ A beginner's tuition, including the extra charges, amounted to \$27 per eleven-week quarter (equivalent in 2015 to \$1,187.00); advanced classes including extra charges were \$28.50 (or \$1,253.00).¹⁸

By the early 1850s Patterson's school had earned an excellent reputation among young women eager for an education as two letters attest: "I am wanting to know the terms on which scholars are taken in at your school as I want if nothing happens to come to your school this fall."¹⁹ Another dated October 20, 1851, stated "my sister hearing of your institution as being one of the first in the state she wishes to come here this session."²⁰ The school remained in Patterson's home until Rev. William S. Garthwait opened the school in Academia in 1854.

Reverend William Styles Garthwait (1854–57), is responsible for the next phase of the Seminary's history and for building the huge stone Gothic Revival mansion in Academia on the hill above the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church. He came to Academia as the co-principal of the Tuscarora Academy for the 1852–53 school term.²¹ Founded in 1837, the Tuscarora Academy trained young men in a classical education that prepared many for the ministry and some for teaching.

Garthwait shared leadership of the Academy in 1852–53 with Rev. George W. Thompson, minister at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church. This was an important term for the academy, as a fire the previous year had destroyed the school's dormitory. Prior to the fire the student population numbered over 100, but had declined dramatically due to lack of dormitory space. Trustees raised funds privately and collected some insurance money to erect a new brick building and remodel another.²² The trustees were hopeful that the new dormitories would increase enrollment as tuition monies were essential for the academy's continued operation.

Having enough funds to meet a school's expenses was always an issue, but especially when constructing buildings. Infrequently, capital funds were acquired from an individual who expected investment returns, but it was a rare situation when a school generated profits. Some schools received capital funds from individuals who donated money with no expectations. Other schools received small donations from many individuals and conducted fundraising events to raise the needed capital. Churches like the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterians supported schools but there is no evidence that either the academy or the Female Seminary received financial assistance, for example, from the Presbyterian Board of Education.²³ The most stable method of providing capital funds occurred when the community provided the financial support through school taxes. Most risky was a loan from a bank or individual; institutions had enough difficulty paying the costs of operating the school let alone the cost of interest and repaying a debt.²⁴

By 1854 Tuscarora Academy's student population had recovered with 150 young men enrolled. At this time, although sectional differences between North and South were increasing, southern students were still coming north for their education as the Academy's roster demonstrates: of the 150 students, 20 were Virginian, 9 were from Maryland, and 4 were from Alabama, the total 22 percent of the class.

At the Tuscarora Female Seminary southern women made up a much smaller proportion of the student body. One statement from the *Juniata Tribune's* 1929 story relates that southern women attended the seminary and that their withdrawal after the onset of the Civil War caused the school's demise. A recently discovered 1856 catalog for the Female Seminary, however, reveals a roster of 73 students; of these, 2 were from Virginia and 4 from Maryland; of the rest, 55 were from Pennsylvania, 11 from New Jersey, and 1 from New York. Twenty-seven of the Pennsylvanians were from Juniata County. The roster establishes that southern students comprised only 8 percent of the student body and Juniata County natives 37 percent.²⁵

Southern students made up similar proportions of the student population at the Washington Female Seminary in Washington, Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Female College in Montgomery County. For the Washington Female Seminary, between 1855 and 1860 11 of the 133 students enrolled were southern, or 8 percent.²⁶ At the Montgomery County Pennsylvania Female College (there was a school of the same name in Harrisburg, 1856–60) between 1851 and 1856, there were fifteen southern women representing 3 percent of the total enrollment of 463.²⁷ Between 1857 and 1861, of the

166 students, 4 were southern, being 2.5 percent of the total enrollment.²⁸ This is important, as none of the other female seminaries or the academy had southern students in the majority, and it sheds new light on the often-repeated portion of the *Tribune's* story that southern student withdrawal from the Female Seminary caused its demise; since they were not in the majority, their withdrawal would not have had much impact. But enrollment is known to have declined after the onset of the Civil War at both the Washington, Pennsylvania, and Montgomery County seminaries, as well as Tuscarora Academy.²⁹ Therefore it is very likely that enrollment at the Tuscarora Female Seminary dropped, too, from the loss of southern students, but also because students from other states and parts of Pennsylvania dropped out as well.

Garthwait likely became principal and proprietor of the Tuscarora Female Seminary for the spring term of 1854 as a *Huntingdon Globe* letter to the editor reported.³⁰ Additional supporting evidence comes from two tuition receipts identified with "Academia" along with a date indicating the school had moved from Alexander Patterson's home. The first, dated May 3, 1854, and signed by Garthwait, acknowledged "the sum of twenty-five dollars . . . for Lavinia Hart at the Tus. Fem. Seminary during the summer term of 1854." The second, dated September 22, 1854, states "received of Mr. Jacob Adams by the hands of Mrs. Hart the sum of thirty-six dollars for the expenses of her daughter at the Tus. Fem. Seminary during the term ending September 23, 1854" (see fig. 2).³¹

Garthwait recognized the need for a women's school as a business opportunity: since Academia was the home of the prestigious Tuscarora Academy, why not expand the Tuscarora Female Seminary to a similar size? A large amount of capital funds was required to construct a school building for that many students: it had to provide the proper security and moral environment, classrooms and dormitories, as well as kitchen, laundry, and other work

FIGURE 2 May 23, 1854 receipt for Lavinia Hart. Courtesy of the author.

spaces for the domestic staff. Garthwait chose the riskiest option for establishing his school by purchasing on credit sixty-five acres of land for \$1,632 and borrowing \$7,000 from Aaron O. Price, his brother-in law, to construct his building.³² The mansion was finished at least by June 25, 1856, when a letter to the editor of the *Huntingdon Globe* was published with the following remarks: "This institution was founded in 1854 by Rev. Wm. Garthwait, of New Jersey. The building is large and convenient; commanding an extensive prospect of the surrounding country. The grounds are being laid out and beautified with ornamental trees."³³

When completed, the seminary was a huge, imposing building in the Gothic Revival style, about 130 feet long and 30 feet wide, and constructed of limestone. It had a raised basement in which the dining room, kitchen, laundry, and other work space was located. Also in the basement, one at each end, were the two fireplaces to heat the building.³⁴ Two floors of living space were above the raised basement; the first floor contained a parlor and classroom space as well as living space for Reverend Garthwait, his wife, and child. The supervisor's bedroom and student bedrooms were on the second floor, arranged along both sides of a long hallway that ran the length of the building; 75–100 students could be accommodated.³⁵ The students' traveling trunks possibly served as dressers as there were no closets.³⁶ Each was probably furnished with a bed, washstand, perhaps some shelves, and a chair.³⁷ The 1856 catalog/circular described the building as having warm-air furnaces; the 1860 circular states that eight dollars would be charged when "fire is required in sleeping rooms."³⁸ The school had no indoor plumbing, no hot or cold running water, or bathrooms. A wide veranda or porch, about fifty feet long, ran across the center wing of the front façade. A porch also ran along the rear of the building.³⁹ At the very top of the house there were some rooms in the gables and a cupola could be accessed from there that provided an expansive view of the Tuscarora Valley.

Soaring stone gables, rising four stories from ground level, coupled with the steeply pitched roof, gave the building a commanding presence. Reverend Garthwait's seminary building was unique; nothing like it had ever been built in Juniata County and it must have generated much interest and conversation. The school's design was very similar to Mount Holyoke College's original building. Based on the asylum architecture in vogue at this time, female students, like asylum patients, were believed to function at their best with protection and supervision. This established the school under one

roof where every need was provided within the confines of the architectural design and the school's communal family experience.

Court records indicate that Garthwait began experiencing financial difficulties almost immediately.⁴⁰ Court records dated August 27, 1855, show that Garthwait owed \$364.02 (\$13,853.81 in 2015 dollars) to Joseph Pomeroy, a local merchant; \$129.19 (\$3,234 in 2015 dollars) to Samuel Davis, and \$500 (\$19,020 in 2015 dollars) to John Linn, another local merchant.⁴¹ He settled his debts with Pomeroy and Davis but not with Linn. His debt to John Linn, along with a debt to Samuel Okeson for the land, and his mortgage to construct the mansion owed to Aaron Price would be his downfall.

Ephraim Hinds, the next principal of the Female Seminary, was in place by December of 1856; it is not known what role Reverend Garthwait had with the school at this time. Hinds was a graduate of Amherst Academy, Amherst, Massachusetts, a professor of ancient and modern languages, belles lettres, and the theory and practice of teaching. He advertised in the December 15, 1856, *Lewistown Gazette*, stating "young ladies wishing to attend during the winter session should apply on or before January 2, 1857. It is believed that changes and improvements have been made by the present Principal, as will render the Institution in every respect a Seminary of first class, Expenses per Session of 21 weeks: Board, Washing and Tuition in English \$60, Music \$15.00 French, Spanish, German, Greek and Latin each \$8.00."⁴²

In March of 1857 advertisements for the summer session, to begin in early May, appeared in the *Lewistown Gazette*.⁴³ However, court records show that in January 1857 Juniata County sheriff Jamison served to Hinds a writ notifying him that John Linn, the merchant, was pursuing his suit against Reverend Garthwait and the Female Seminary.⁴⁴ This action culminated in the sheriff remanding the property to public sale December 7, 1857, at the courthouse in Mifflintown.⁴⁵ The property was sold for \$520 to the highest bidder, Aaron O. Price.⁴⁶ In April of 1858 Reverend Garthwait officially ended his involvement with the seminary by assuming a position in Hughsonville, New York.⁴⁷

One year after the sheriff's sale, in December 1858, twenty-four-year-old Lucretia Moore Patterson, wife of John J. Patterson, purchased the Female Seminary from Price for \$7,000.⁴⁸ Fifteen months later, on March 8, 1860, a *Juniata Sentinel* advertisement announced the school's reopening.⁴⁹ It was to be directed by Rev. William G. E. Agnew, a Methodist Episcopal minister, accomplished educator, and medical doctor who was the principal of the Zane Street Public School in Philadelphia.⁵⁰ Letters in the 1860 school

circular attested to Dr. Agnew's excellent reputation as a scholar, teacher and Christian (see fig. 3).⁵¹ Possibly due to Dr. Agnew's reputation the school was incorporated March 12, 1860, by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Its name changed to the Tuscarora Female Institute and it was described as "a high school or seminary for the education of females in science, literature and the useful arts."⁵²

Dr. Agnew most likely also wrote the school's 1860 circular describing the goals for each student's educational experience. Besides an education in science and literature, the evangelical Christian movement believed that training a woman's intellect would provide a firm moral foundation upon which she could conduct her life. Women were considered the moral guardians of society and asserted a strong influence within the family. The first two goals of the *Circular* addressed this and like many other schools chose Frances



FIGURE 3 Dr. William G. E. Agnew, carte-de-visite, ca. 1860. Courtesy of Juniata County Historical Society.

Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* to instruct its senior class in moral philosophy.⁵³ Wayland wrote that proper moral conduct required "interrogating the self through rational reflection."⁵⁴ The *Circular* described its second goal as "to instill in the minds of each pupil a dear love for the noble precepts of a pure morality."⁵⁵

Good physical health was also a concern as the evangelicals believed a direct relationship existed between physical health, growth of intellect, and moral development. Emphasis on all three embodied the best education and was phrased as "perfecting our whole nature."⁵⁶ The *Circular* stated the third goal this way: "every arrangement will be made with a view to the physical, moral and intellectual development."⁵⁷ It described the school grounds as being a "superior playground for open air calisthenics" and that in bad weather the mansion's large commodious attics could be used for indoor exercise.⁵⁸ Garthwait's earlier 1856 *Catalog* also mentions exercise and states "the gymnasium, the riding ground, the groves and walks, all invite to healthful exercise."⁵⁹ This goal reflects the emphasis placed on physical education brought about by Mary Lyon who established a system of rhythmic drills for her students at Mount Holyoke to follow.⁶⁰ By mid-century calisthenics were a part of every female seminary's curriculum (see fig. 4).

The *Circular's* final goal intended each student "to [develop] a proper estimate of and reliance on her own powers."⁶¹ Self-reliance for a mid-nineteenth-century woman was novel. An education equal to men was the early right women achieved, yet they still lacked legal, economic, and political equality. Through a seminary education, women developed their intellect, reasoning skills, and a self-respect and confidence in themselves and their abilities. This was a first wave in consciousness-raising for women and catalyzed the nascent American women's rights movement.⁶²

The Tuscarora Female Institute's first session began May 1, 1860, and ran for five months, ending September 29, 1860.⁶³ Tuition was seventy-five dollars and included board, fuel, light and washing. Each student was instructed to bring "napkins and towels," and all clothing was to be marked with their full name "in order that there may be no mistake made in the laundry department." Laundry service at the institute cost thirty-eight cents per dozen.⁶⁴ Another source advised students to bring a silver fork and spoon, table napkins, umbrella, towels, brushes, combs, and India rubber-shoes.⁶⁵

Students were expected to be proficient in the basics of spelling, writing, arithmetic, US history, geography, reading, and grammar. If "not advanced sufficiently far in the elementary studies" the student was placed in a juvenile

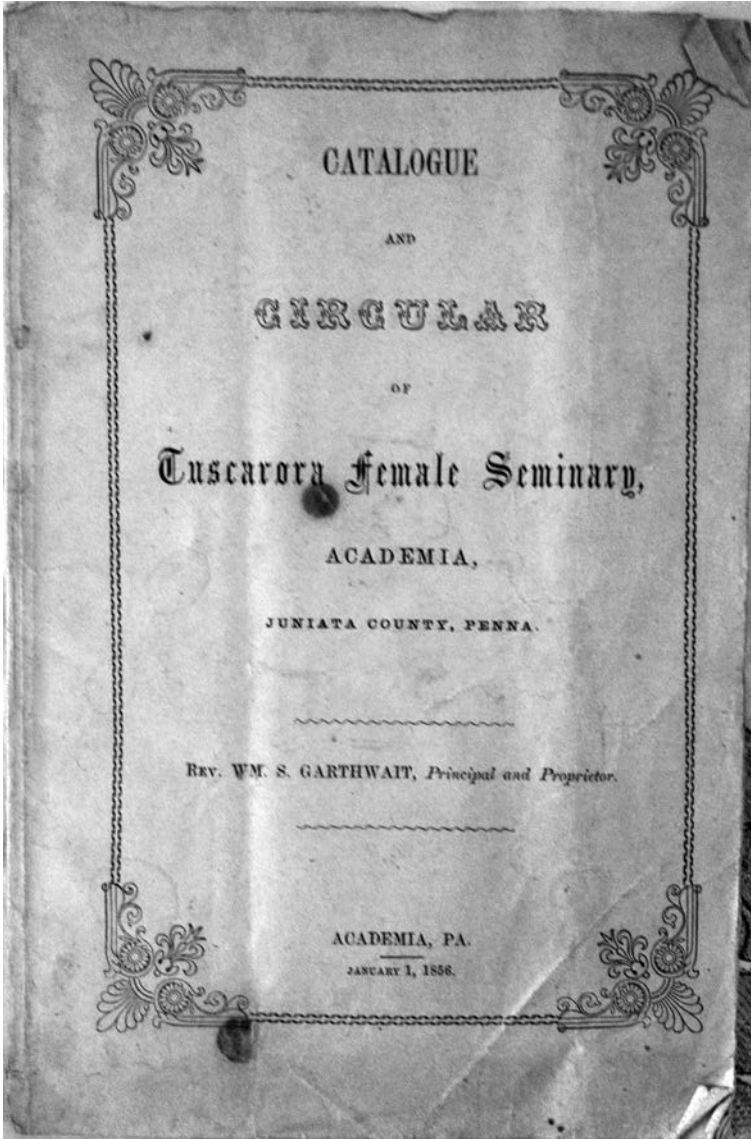


FIGURE 4 Cover of the 1856 Tuscarora Female Seminary Catalog. Courtesy of Adam Gilson.

class where these subjects were more thoroughly studied until the student was ready for advancement.⁶⁶ This focus on an academic course of study was in sharp contrast to the education of earlier generations of upper-class

women that focused solely on social accomplishments like needlework, piano, French, or dancing, deemed then as the only education necessary for their future role as a gentleman's lifetime companion. As we examine both the Garthwait and the new institute curriculum it is obvious that in each the course of study provided a thorough education in math, science, and literature.

Four class levels made up the course of study at both the former seminary and Dr. Agnew's institute; courses were almost identical except for the year in which they were studied. Grammar was studied at the freshman and sophomore levels and "exercises in spelling, reading, composition writing and diction continued through all the classes."⁶⁷ Logic and rhetoric were also part of the curriculum as students were expected to write compositions expressing their ideas persuasively, logically, and clearly. Orthography, the "science of spelling," and etymology, "the sources of the formation of a word and the development of its meaning," were part of the sophomore and junior curriculum at the institute. English and US, French, and Greek history were studied, as well as a text by Emma Willard, *Universal History: In Perspective*, published in 1854 by the eminent founder of Troy Female Seminary.

Arithmetic was studied at the freshman level, algebra at the sophomore, and geometry at the junior. At the institute the freshman and sophomore classes used textbooks written by Benjamin Greenleaf, AM.⁶⁸ His textbook, *A Practical Treatise on Algebra*, published in 1856, lists the "Tuscarora Female Seminary, Academia, Pa" as a "seminary of high grade . . . in the state of Pennsylvania . . . using, in part, or whole, Greenleaf's Mathematical Series."⁶⁹

As the number of secondary schools increased, demand for teachers, male or female, to teach algebra and geometry also increased, influencing seminaries to include these subjects in their curriculum. Though many young women studied mathematics the controversy never waned. The argument that women did not have the aptitude had changed; educators were finding that they were very capable. New criticism centered on the usefulness of higher mathematics in the women's sphere. "In Horace Greeley's opinion, girls of all classes would have derived much greater benefit from learning to cook."⁷⁰

Both the seminary and the institute's curriculum included the sciences, a requirement if an education was to be considered rigorous and thorough. Geography was the first to enter the classroom of either sex, appearing after the American Revolution, and by the close of the Civil War "natural

philosophy, astronomy, chemistry and botany were among the ten most frequently listed courses of study at female seminaries.”⁷¹

Schools did not abolish the ornamental branches but, like the institute, offered them at an extra charge considering them as “decorations on the tree of learning.”⁷² At the institute they included piano and guitar instructions, drawing, and the study of French, Latin, or German.⁷³ Among the ornamentals, music was the most popular, especially piano, chiefly studied to provide home entertainment. Some schools put on musical programs to entertain the local community and music also figured prominently in a school’s closing or graduation ceremonies.⁷⁴

In August 1862 change came to the institute when Reverend Agnew departed after two years as principal-proprietor, most likely due to an enrollment decline resulting from the onset of the Civil War. In October Lucretia Patterson sold the property to Andrew Patterson for \$7,000.⁷⁵ Professor Carl F. Kolbe was next, and recruited to teach music, French, and German. Previously he taught at Millersburg, Ohio, the Olome Institute in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania. A native of Hannover, Germany, he had moved to the United States in 1852.⁷⁶ Though an immigrant, Kolbe was a veteran of the Civil War. An interesting anecdote relates that at the outbreak of the war he raised a band in Millersburg, Ohio, for the First West Virginia Cavalry, Union Army, at the special request of Col. H. Anisansel, commander of the regiment. Kolbe “recruited, and drilled said band at Millersburg, Holmes County [Ohio].”⁷⁷ The federal government eliminated all regimental bands at the beginning of 1862 in a cost-cutting measure. He came to the Female Institute in Juniata County the following fall after his stint at the Olome Institute in Canonsburg (see fig. 5).

Some schools held public examinations at the end of a term to demonstrate a student’s knowledge of a subject. The institute held closing exercises rather than public examinations, consisting of painting exhibits, and musical and composition presentations. The *Pennsylvania School Journal* took note of the April 23, 1863, closing exercises at the institute: “The exercises were highly creditable and the pupils displayed great progress in music, painting, and essays well written and well read. Misses Callahan and Bresse were awarded diplomas.”⁷⁸

The *Journal* also noted that “A. Patterson, Esq.” and “Mrs. French” were in charge of the school. “A. Patterson” was Andrew Patterson, who bought the



FIGURE 5 Dr. Carl Kolbe, cabinet card, ca. 1875. Courtesy of University Libraries Photograph Collection, The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

school property the previous year and “Mrs. French” was Olivia J. French, the widow of Presbyterian minister Rev. John M. French. She was a graduate of Steubenville Seminary and after her husband’s death founded Olome Institute in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and ran it for eighteen years, until

about 1862. She came to the Tuscarora Female Institute possibly sometime in 1863. The earliest newspaper advertisements noting her as principal were found in October 1863.⁷⁹ It is also possible she came to the Tuscarora Female Institute at the same time as Carl Kolbe in the fall of 1862.⁸⁰

By 1864 she was well established and on September 21 signed the report card of Ada F. Patterson.⁸¹ Report cards were a means of informing parents about their daughter's progress. Patterson was graded on Latin translation, arithmetic algebra, mensuration, geometry, botany, and music, as well as Bible class and deportment.

Other institute teachers are noted: Lizzie C. McGinnes is mentioned in Port Royal's sesquicentennial publication of 1962: "To the friends and former pupils of the school, it is only necessary to say that Miss Lizzie C. McGinnes was the principal teacher here and devoted all of her times and energies to the school. Her skill and fidelity as a teacher have been acknowledged wherever she has taught."⁸² Anna B. Patterson is also mentioned in the Port Royal sesquicentennial publication. Described as being "possessed with rare talents in drawing and painting," she was in charge of that department.⁸³ Anna B. Patterson was the daughter of property owner Andrew Patterson and his first wife, Ann Elizabeth (Walker) Patterson.

James Walker Patterson, another child of Andrew Patterson, returned to teach at the institute after graduating in 1864 from Washington and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania. He taught and acted as principal between 1864 and 1869.⁸⁴ An 1867 advertisement in the *Juniata Sentinel* states "this institution is conducted, as nearly as possible, on the principles of a well-regulated family. The utmost care is bestowed on the manners of the young ladies. The course of study embraces all branches of a thorough English education."⁸⁵

Despite the disruption of the Civil War, the institute continued to operate, as the editor of the *Juniata Sentinel* noted in his column on September 27, 1865: "By referring to our advertising columns it will be seen that our friend Carl F. Kolbe has taken charge of this institution. Both the School and the principal are so well known in this community that recommendations are useless. Persons having daughters to educate cannot do better than to send them there."⁸⁶

Kolbe remained at the institute until October 1866 when he traveled to Germany for a visit; he returned to the institute sometime in 1867 and stayed until 1870 or 1871.⁸⁷ After Kolbe left, the school closed. In April 1872 it was advertised as being reopened with Prof. Josiah P. Sherman in

charge. The *Juniata Sentinel* had reported on March 20: "The Tuscarora Female Seminary, located near Academia, this county, will be reopened on 17th of April, under the supervision of Mr. J. P. Sherman."⁸⁸ Educated at Newcastle Academy and Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, Sherman was an experienced teacher and administrator, having been the superintendent of public schools at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, for fifteen years and for the previous five years director of the Pennsylvania Female College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ He was forty-eight, married to Malvina Foster Sherman, and the father of four.⁹⁰ Sherman's advertisement for the school reported that the rooms would be "papered and re-furnished" and that he had hired a "full corps of efficient and experienced teachers." Interested students or parents could write for a "circular with full particulars" to him at Academia in care of Reverend Shryock, minister at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church.⁹¹

Thirteen young women from Montgomery County followed Sherman to his new teaching position. The *Sentinel* commented that "their attendance at the school was evidence of his high regard within that community. Several young ladies from Juniata County were also pupils." The first commencement occurred just two months after the school's opening Wednesday, April 27, at 10:00 a.m. at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church.⁹²

The *Sentinel's* editor in a July 17, 1872, column expressed hopeful sentiments for the school's future: "The success of this institution under the present principal is very encouraging. We understand that the prospects for next term are very good." Likewise, the *Democrat and Republican's* editor on the same date echoed the desire for the school to succeed: "We are pleased to hear that the school under its present management [is] meeting with excellent encouragement. It is the only Female Seminary in the county and our citizens who have daughters to educate should take a county pride in sending them to this school, thereby assisting in building it into a permanent institution. The Female Seminary is a safe and proper place for young ladies to receive their education."

Advertising for the term beginning September 4, 1872, first appeared in the July newspapers. The ads noted that the "location unsurpassed, buildings spacious and convenient, teachers were thorough and terms were moderate."⁹³ The advertisements continued a month past the opening day, suggesting that not all student positions had been filled.

It is not known why Sherman left a comfortable position as head of the Pennsylvania Female College in Montgomery County to come to Juniata

County, a rural, agricultural community certainly with less demand and interest in educating women. Sherman no doubt believed that his school would meet with success. He invested his own money for the papering and furnishing of rooms with beds and wardrobes, printing the circular, and buying a piano and organ.⁹⁴ He also came intending to transform the institute, a high school, into a women's college, for in March 1873 the Pennsylvania legislature approved a bill that allowed the school to grant "degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by collegiate institutions."⁹⁵

The following year, on June 18, 1873, the *Sentinel* reported graduation exercises conferring AB degrees. Of the eleven students granted with this degree, one, Mary E. Ramsey, was from Juniata County, and eight were students who came with Professor Sherman from the Pennsylvania Female College. Two other Juniata County women were awarded academic silver medals for scholarship, Jennie and Grace Robinson.

No advertisements for the 1873 fall term were found in local papers, but the *Democrat and Republican* and the *Juniata Sentinel and Republican* editor's column mentioned that the fall term began on September 3. Almost two months later, October 29, the *Juniata Sentinel and Republican* announced that the previously all-boys Tuscarora Academy would receive "girls as day scholars and as bo[a]rders" beginning November 4. This announcement was significant, as this was the first time the Tuscarora Academy accepted female students; it also occasioned the closing of the seminary.

Professor Sherman's attempt to operate a girls' college in Juniata County had failed. In early December an advertisement in the *Sentinel and Republican* announced a public sale at Academia of "a large lot of personal property, wagons, plows, harrows, cultivators, piano, organ, wardrobes, stoves, mattresses. . . ."⁹⁶

One more failed effort at operating the Female Institute took place beginning in May 1877 when Carl Kolbe returned to take charge. Since leaving he had settled in Akron, Ohio, and married. In 1872, with the opening of Buchtel College in the same city, he was chosen to fill the chair of modern languages. He remained in that position until 1877, when, as the *Ohio Educational Monthly* mentioned in its "personal intelligence," he would "take charge . . . of a young ladies institute, at Juniata, Pa, where he formerly taught."⁹⁷ By early May 1877 he and his family were living at the institute, preparing for a September 5 opening. Kolbe had also "secured the services of Miss Annie Thompson, of Ashland, Ohio as the Principal Lady Teacher."⁹⁸

The *Port Royal Times*' Academia correspondent visited the property in mid-July and wrote:

The Seminary building, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, is of Gothic style, attractive in appearance and occupies a retired eminence in Tuscarora Valley, so remarkable for its healthful climate and picturesque scenery. The views from this delightful position are grand, combining mountain, valley, and forest. A beautiful cupola, easy of access, enables the observer to see Port Royal, seven miles away, in one direction, and in the opposite course, as far as the eye can reach is a line of broken ridges clothed in the varied hues of living green, checkered here and there with cultivated fields; in front is the Valley, with its undulating surface thickly dotted with rich farms; the Tuscarora Creek, as a silver thread, winding its serpentine course through the hills; the whole prospect, unsurpassed for variety and grandeur, is bounded by the Tuscarora Mountain, with its level top stretching right and left into the dim distance.

The students' rooms were described as "comfortably heated and well ventilated" and each room was "furnished with rich carpet and a handsome cottage chamber set" that was new. The number of students was limited to thirty-five.⁹⁹

On September 27 the *Times* further reported that the "Seminary opened as per announcement." The article went on to say that the writer had "never heard the science of music so clearly and satisfactorily explained. The buildings, the conveniences, the grounds, the appurtenances, and all the appointments of the Seminary are first-class." However, though the writing was upbeat and hopeful, the *Port Royal Times* reported in mid-October that the tuition at the seminary had been reduced from \$19 to \$15 per session, indicating most likely that Kolbe hoped to fill his classrooms with young women by reducing the cost of their education.

Throughout January 1878 advertisements appeared in the *Port Royal Times* announcing the next session, to begin on January 30. Finally, on February 7, the *Times* ran a scathing editorial:

The thirst for knowledge in Juniata County proved so great that the proprietor of the Tuscarora Female Seminary for young ladies in Academia, decided to close its door for fear of too great a rush from seekers after

culture and refinement. This of course settles forever the “Seminary question” so long and persistently debated by people who are fond of talking but deplorably slow in acting. Possibly our people may see their mistake now when it is too late, but even this is doubtful; however I am willing to give them the benefit of this doubt. This rejected Institution will now be opened by the proprietor Prof. C. F. Kolbe, as a Summer Resort for which home support is fortunately not needed. Prof. Kolbe continues to teach music at home and in Mifflin, a business for which an experience of many years well qualifies him.¹⁰⁰

Carl Kolbe and family returned to Akron, Ohio, in the latter part of 1878. He resumed his position as chair of modern languages at Buchtel College and served in that position for thirty-three years until his death in 1905.

Thus the Tuscarora Female Seminary ceased existence but its gothic mansion did not. For years it was a Patterson family home and eventually sold to Henry Strassberger. He and his wife made it their home and farmed the fields around it. After her death he remarried and began to disassemble the mansion, removing the third floor, staircase, doors, and other parts of the wooden interior to build a home in Mifflintown for his second wife. In the shell of what remained of the Gothic mansion he stored hay. Nature and time were not kind to the building. A storm tore up a corner of the roof, resulting in the collapse of the western side wall; termites and carpenter bees homed in on the exposed wood and began to devour it. Vandals broke into the building, carried away the front door, broke windowpanes, and scribbled graffiti on the walls. High school students conjured ghosts of dead girls and murderous professors and made the deserted mansion a place to go to on dark, moonless nights on a dare. Artists painted the Gothic mansion, attempting to capture its beauty in the decaying ruins. The Strassbergers' granddaughter envisioned restoring the building but the dream died and the building slowly collapsed on itself. Even in ruins one could experience its past grandeur, massive height, and perimeter and imagine it whole. Finally, in 2006 new owners knocked down the remaining walls to keep curious, incautious trespassers safe.

The Tuscarora Female Seminary deserves to be recalled as vividly as the massive Gothic stone structure that sheltered it; it deserves an accurate history since it played such an important part in educating women in Juniata County. Beginning in 1848, through the decades of the 1850s, 1860s, and the Civil War, until 1872 and then again in 1878–79 it educated young women

coexisting with the Tuscarora Academy for boys in a little village that called itself Academia. Rather than eighteenth-century ornamental branches like embroidery, music, and languages, the seminary taught English, literature, religion, science, and mathematics and was part of the proliferation of seminaries that educated thousands of women in Pennsylvania and throughout the United States. Professors Garthwait, Hinds, Agnew, Patterson, Kolbe, and Sherman were credentialed scholars and administrators. Women teachers, themselves graduates of well-known, established seminaries like Steubenville in Ohio and the Washington Female Seminary of Washington, Pennsylvania, instructed the students. Prior to the Civil War only 8 percent of the students were southern and the rest were from northern states. During the war, while student numbers decreased, the Seminary continued to operate.¹⁰¹ These facts reject the *Juniata Tribune's* September 26, 1929, article and disprove its oft repeated statements. The seminary's patronage was not made up of mostly "belles from the aristocratic families south of the Mason Dixon Line" but consisted of students from Pennsylvania and in large part from Juniata County. It survived the Civil War and continued through the decade into the 1870s. This article's goal has been achieved: the neglect of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians has been remedied—a history of the Tuscarora Female Seminary has been written.

AUDREY SIZELOVE has been involved with the Juniata County Historical Society for over fifteen years in several capacities: a volunteer, member of the board of directors, and most recently as president.

NOTES

1. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, October 27, 1847, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
2. *History of that part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards 1886); Uriah J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Co., 1889).
3. *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed at the Session of 1837–1838* (Harrisburg, PA: Theo. Fenn 1838), 332–33.

4. Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 6, "The Fight for Free Schools in Pennsylvania," Donald H. Kent, 3rd printing (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), 4.
5. Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 74–75.
6. Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996), 8.
7. Nineteenth-century physicians believed most mental derangement was caused by disorder in the individual's environment, disruptive tensions in the domestic or societal setting. Changing the environment was instrumental to the cure; therefore, individuals were removed to an asylum, a large building that provided for every need of the patient. In essence the building was part of the cure in restoring order to the individual's life. Mary Lyon built upon this theory of restoring order to the psyche when she planned Mount Holyoke. Basic to her beliefs were that an ordered life, rising early, scheduling each moment, and planning carefully would provide the structure that her students needed for nineteenth-century life. She chose the asylum architecture to provide the physical structure because it fit so perfectly into her teaching methodology.
8. Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 55–61.
9. *Ibid.*, 59–61.
10. Sarah Black, letter to Thomas Watson, April 28, 1846, from Gilson/Henry Collection, copy provided by R. Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
11. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 27, 1847, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
12. *Robert Stewart, Colonel George Stewart and His Wife Margaret Harris: Their Ancestors and Descendants* (Lahore, India: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1907), 194.
13. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 19, 1848, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
14. Obituary, Mrs. John Sterrett [Annie Kennedy Sterrett], Sterrett Family File, Juniata County Historical Society (hereafter JCHS), Mifflintown, handwritten, dated August 23, 1900.
15. Attendance record, Rose Hill Seminary, dated May 16, 1853, signed by Margaret Patterson November 13, 1853, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
16. Letter to Alexander Patterson from Nancy Williams, dated July 20, 1853, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.

17. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 27, 1847, Gilson/Henry Family Collection, scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
18. All estimates for inflation come from Tom's Inflation Calculator, http://www.halfhill.com/inflation_js.html (accessed April 27, 2015).
19. Margaret Stunkard, letter to Alexander Patterson, August 3, 1850, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
20. J. L. Ervinger, letter to Alexander Patterson, October 20, 1851, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
21. William J. Gibson, DD, *History of the Presbytery of Huntingdon* (Bellefonte, PA: Bellefonte Press Company Print, 1874), 156, 370–71.
22. Tuscarora Academy, Record Storage Box 16, Folder 3, *Catalog of the Officers and Students of the Tuscarora Academy for the Year Ending September 30, 1854* (Lancaster, PA: Rohrer and Weller, Printers), 11, JCHS.
23. *Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, presented to the General Assembly May 1868* (Philadelphia, Published by the Board, No. 907 Arch Street, 1868), <http://books.google.com> (accessed January 19, 2009).
24. Nancy Beadie, "Female Students and Denominational Affiliation: Sources of Success and Variation among Nineteenth-Century Academies," *American Journal of Education* 107, no. 2 (February 1999): 84–86.
25. *Catalog and Circular of the Tuscarora Female Seminary, Academia, Juniata County, Penna.*, Rev. Wm. S. Garthwait, Principal and Proprietor, Academia, PA, January 1, 1856, 6–7 (hereafter 1856 Circular). Scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, April 23, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
26. *The Second Register of the Officers and Graduates of Washington Female Seminary* (Washington, PA: Observer Job Rooms, 1924), 20–38.
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 31. Original receipt dated Academia, May 3, 1854, signed by W. S. Garthwait; original receipt dated September 22, 1854, signed by L. L. Garthwait, owned by the author.
 32. Deed Book G, 117, Office of the Register, Juniata County Courthouse (hereafter JCC), Mifflintown, Samuel Okeson to Rev. William S. Garthwait, August 3, 1853. Mortgage Book A: 69, Rev. Wm. S. Garthwait to Samuel Okeson, August 3, 1853; 117, Rev. W. S. Garthwait to Aaron O. Price, September 18, 1854. Office of the Register and Recorder, JCC, \$1,632 (mortgage on land) in August 1853 is equivalent to \$65,017 in 2015; \$7,000 (mortgage on building) in 1853 is equivalent to \$278,872 in 2015.
 33. *Huntingdon Globe*, June 25, 1856, 3.
 34. Dorothy Mark, granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Strassburger, conversation with the author, January 11, 2008; she spent many summers with her grandparents when their home was in the Tuscarora Female Seminary mansion (hereafter “Conversation with Dorothy Mark”).
 35. Tuscarora Female Seminary advertisement, ca. 1857, Tuscarora Female Seminary File Box 27, Folder 5, JCHS. This advertisement states that they could accommodate seventy-five students. Garthwait’s catalog and circular states that the building could accommodate one hundred students.
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 37. Christie Ann Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 144.
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 41. Appearance Docket Book H: 349, satisfied December 20, 1855, Joseph Pomeroy vs. William S. Garthwait; 352, Samuel Davis vs. William S. Garthwait, September 11, 1855; 333, John R. Linn vs. William S. Garthwait, August 27, 1855, JCC.
 42. *Lewistown Gazette*, December 18, 1856, 2; microfilm edition at Mifflin County Historical Society, Lewistown (all subsequent references to the *Lewistown Gazette* are from this source).
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64. 1860 Circular, 6.
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94. *Juniata Sentinel and Republican*, December 10, 1873, 3.
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97. W. D. Henkle, ed., "Educational Intelligence, Personal," *The Ohio Educational Monthly and the National Teacher*, 3rd ser., vol. 2; old ser. vol. 26 (1877 <https://books.google.com/books?id=BiAbAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:uLkyMN84OTYC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwjgksijoqfLAhUBfCYKHx4ZAwQ4FBD0AQglMAI#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed October 15, 2009)).
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100. *Port Royal Times*, February 7, 1878, 3. Carl Kolbe also composed music for the piano that was published by S. Brainard's Sons of Cleveland, Ohio. One piano piece, dedicated to Mrs. A. B. Fry of Millersburg, Ohio, was entitled "Water Drop Schottisch." He was described as the author of "Jolly Polka, College March and Tuscarora Waltz."
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THE ROMANTIC DAYS OF JUNIATA CHARCOAL IRON

*Paul T. Fagley
Greenwood Furnace State Park*

ABSTRACT: In the annals of Pennsylvania history, few industries had as significant an impact as iron and steel. From its beginnings in the southeast, the industry headed westward after the American Revolution, until firmly landing in Pittsburgh in the mid-nineteenth century. Historian Arthur C. Bining documented the origins of ironmaking in the state, and numerous authors wrote of the later steelmaking centers in the Lehigh Valley and western Pennsylvania. Sandwiched in between is the Juniata Valley, which has been and is a major transportation corridor, with trails, the turnpike, canal, railroad, and modern highway successively following the Juniata River through central Pennsylvania. It seems a backwater today, but centered in the nineteenth century, the iron and steel industry briefly stopped here and sent the name “Juniata” around the world. In 136 years, around 150 charcoal-fueled furnaces and forges produced iron regarded as among the finest in the world. During its peak, the Juniata produced nearly half of all iron in Pennsylvania, and a fifth of the national output. With the rise of big steel, the Juniata Valley became a mere footnote in history. Few today know of the incredible legacy of Juniata iron. This article brings to life the story of Juniata iron, its rise, prominence, and fall, and sheds light on the veracity of its reputation.

KEYWORDS: Juniata River, Pennsylvania iron industry

*Wild Roamed an Indian Girl, bright Alfarata, where sweeps the waters of the
Blue Juniata.*

— Marion Dix Sullivan, “Blue Juniata” (1841)

INTRODUCTION

Driving through the Commonwealth today, one is struck by the beauty of the Juniata Valley of central Pennsylvania. It is here that the Juniata River wends its way through and around mountain after mountain in the state’s

ridge-and-valley geographic region. Small towns dot the landscape. It is a side road in modern times, a place to pass through while heading east or west.

To some, echoes of the song “Blue Juniata” come to mind. Written by Marion Dix Sullivan around 1841 while traveling by canal through the valley, she was moved to create what became the first hit song composed by a woman in America, and a popular tune in its day. Author and humorist Samuel Clemens, better known as “Mark Twain,” commented on the song. Laura Ingalls Wilder wrote about her pa playing it on his fiddle in one of her books. Sherman’s troops sang it while marching through Georgia, and several groups have recorded it, including the Sons of the Pioneers and Riders in the Sky.¹

The word itself is melodic, flowing off the tongue as easy as a lullaby. It is not of Hispanic origin, as some from afar often pronounce it as “Juanita.” It is one of many local place names derived from the language of the original inhabitants of the valley. In its earliest form it is described as “Ona Utta Haga,” the “peoples of the Standing Stone.” Early settlers pronounced it “Choniata” among others, before it morphed into its current form.²

Mixed with the scenic beauty of the Juniata, one often encounters along the highway overgrown crumbling flat-topped stone pyramids, or perhaps they drive through a town or village with the word “furnace” in its name. Some of these structures are preserved in state or local parks. When were they erected? What happened here? To what exactly does the “furnace” in the town name refer? These stones are silent sentinels of an underappreciated and understudied era in Pennsylvania history, when the valley was not merely passed through, where charcoal iron ruled supreme, and the name “Juniata” was known around the world (see fig. 1).

One industry above others has laid the infrastructure of America today, and it certainly can be stated that the iron and subsequent steel industry of Pennsylvania played a major role. Modern histories of her great iron- and steel-making centers such as Bethlehem and Pittsburgh have been published. One region stands out as conspicuously neglected in these studies, yet during much of the nineteenth century was synonymous with high-quality iron and provided a significant share of the wealth enabling Pittsburgh to become the Steel City. This article is an attempt to rectify this neglect, though is merely an introduction to a far larger history awaiting further exploration.

The Juniata Iron District, located in central and south-central Pennsylvania, comprises all or parts of the present counties of Perry, Juniata, Mifflin, Centre, Huntingdon, Blair, and Bedford.³ During most of the



FIGURE 1 Remains of Huntingdon Furnace, one of many of the crumbling “pyramids” found throughout the Juniata Valley and Pennsylvania. Photo by the author.

nineteenth century, high-quality ores smelted with charcoal made from local hardwood forests were turned into iron that would travel around the world and put the Juniata Valley on the industrial map. This was a time, in the westward progress of iron and steel manufactories, when the industry briefly stopped here.

Iron production began in the valley in 1786 and ended in 1922. Between those years, there were seventy-three furnaces and sixty-two forges fueled by charcoal in the valley. It should be noted that a good number of these works were later converted to coal or coke. Several additional works were present, fueled only by anthracite coal or coke, but are not included here because the reputation of the Juniata district was built on iron produced with charcoal as fuel. Out of the many, many ironworks, only a few are featured in this article.⁴

So great was the reputation of “Juniata Charcoal Iron” that contemporary works often considered that reputation to be universally known and gave little documentation to back up the claims. What exactly was this reputation? Why did this valley become so well known in iron production, and why was

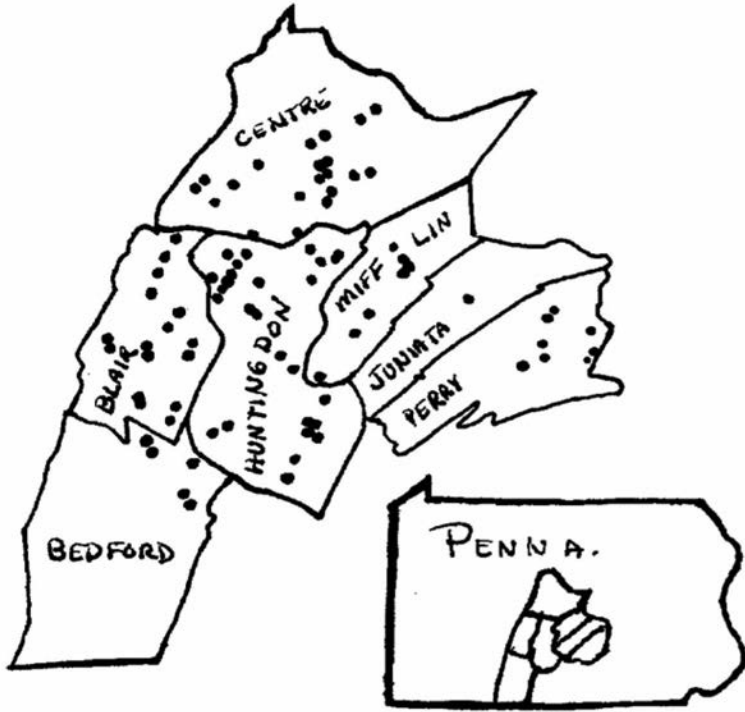


FIGURE 2 Map of the Juniata Iron District, showing general distribution of ironworks. Illustration by the author.

the word “Juniata” synonymous with high-quality iron? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the valley, its ironworks, and what special forces and resources combined here to grow and bear fruit. In many instances, the names and borders of towns, townships, and counties have changed over the years. Locations given in this paper are the modern names, for the benefit of the reader (see fig. 2).

IN THE BEGINNING

Iron was first made in the Jamestown colony of Virginia around 1622, but was not a success. Twenty-four years later, the Saugus Ironworks outside of Boston became the first commercially successful iron works in the New World. Pennsylvania would not make its first iron until 1716, nearly

a century later. By the American Revolution, Pennsylvania was the leading iron-producing colony. The Hopewell Iron Works (1771) in Berks County and Cornwall Iron Furnace (1742) in Lebanon County are outstanding examples of iron works east of the Susquehanna.

The British government had little intention of producing finished iron and steel in the colonies. While some local production was tolerated, England wanted pig and bar iron to be shipped back to the mother country. British policy viewed the colonies as the supplier of raw materials and the consumer of finished products. Manufacture was to be in England, to keep the wealth of the New World in Britain.

American colonists thought differently. Why not manufacture iron here? If this was the policy of the Crown, then, where better than to build ironworks than in the wilderness, far from royal detection? Pine Grove Furnace, built in 1770 in Cumberland County, was one of many “bootleg” furnaces in this time period, far enough in the backcountry to escape British attention, but still civilized enough for permanent towns. Production slowly crept westward over the Susquehanna River, but did not jump far beyond it just yet.⁵

Before 1754 most of the Juniata River watershed was territory under the control of the Iroquois Confederation, who complained to the provincial government about intrusions by European American settlers. The Penn family tried to keep settlers away, even resorting to forced evacuation at such places as Burnt Cabins in 1750, largely to no avail. At the Treaty of Albany in 1754, the Pennsylvania delegation successfully negotiated the purchase of the Juniata region in what became known as the Albany Purchase. Settlers legally moved in, only to be attacked and driven eastward during the French and Indian War.

Following the war, the Juniata region became a bit less wild, as settlers made permanent homes and Native Americans moved further west. By the 1760s, numerous unconfirmed accounts of rich iron ores found by traders and settlers in the Juniata Valley had traveled east and piqued the interest of colonial and British entrepreneurs alike. In 1767 a group of British capitalists under the direction of Joseph Jacobs from eastern Pennsylvania organized themselves as “The Juniata Iron Company” to explore the valley and hopefully confirm these accounts. Explorers descended upon the region, and indeed copious quantities of ore were found and samples sent east to be worked in furnaces and forges; the iron content was confirmed to be excellent.⁶

Even more important, good quality limestone for fluxing furnaces along with dense hardwood forests for charcoal manufacture were found in abundance and would provide the necessary ingredients for successful iron production. Before the British were able to utilize these ores, the colonies broke their bonds from King George III, and it would be many years before the first iron was made in the valley.

THE STAGE IS SET

Freed from British rule, eastern ironmasters and industrialists looked favorably to the Juniata watershed as a place of untapped wealth. The fledgling nation needed iron as the Industrial Revolution took hold. One thing that impeded industrial expansion into the region was the lack of well-established transportation routes. Unlike the network of good quality turnpike roads already developed in southeastern Pennsylvania, the area was still wild, with little more than crude trails and untouched waterways. This began changing as more people entered the valley, and trails became early roads widened for pack-mule teams. Two main roads heading westward from the Juniata were the Forbes Road, completed in 1758, and the more northern Frankstown Road, developed from the Frankstown Path, completed around 1764.⁷ Navigable rivers and creeks were designated as public highways by the legislature to spur expansion and growth. Towns were being established, and counties laid out to bring government closer. Farmers, including Amish and Mennonites, were clearing valleys for agriculture, and timber was plentiful. The stage was set, and the curtain would soon rise. The last fifteen years of the eighteenth century would witness the birth of the iron industry in the Juniata Valley.⁸

FIRST IRONWORKS

In 1786 Baltimore industrialists George Ashman, Thomas Cromwell, Tempest Tucker, and Charles Ridgely formed the Bedford Company to erect the first furnace in the valley, named for Bedford County, a “mother” county for much of the Juniata Valley. It was located in what is now downtown Orbisonia, Huntingdon County. Ashman had recently moved to the valley with several of his freed slaves. They set about building Bedford Furnace, described as small, probably fifteen to seventeen feet high, with a five-foot bosh, with a daily output of about one and a half

to two tons per day. Accounts say that the stack was constructed mostly of wood, with a stone lining and base to contain the intense heat. The ingots were cast into U-shaped bars, for shipment by pack-mule teams to local forges.

By 1791 Bedford Forge was built nearby. Pig iron was now processed into bar iron for blacksmiths locally or was cast into Franklin stoves right at the furnace. Shortly after 1800 surplus iron was being shipped overland to Pittsburgh, where new forges were being built. Iron was also sent in arks down the Juniata River to eventual markets in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The furnace and forge appear to have closed around 1816, possibly victims of the depression following the War of 1812.⁹

In what is now Juniata County, Thomas Beale and William Sterrett established Freedom Forge (circa 1790) on the banks of Licking Creek in Milford Township. It was located in the deep forest, and again there were only pack-mule trails to the forge. The owners petitioned the Mifflin County court for a road numerous times; however, this court repeatedly ruled the taxpayers should not shoulder the cost of a road that would only benefit the forge. The road was not built until years after the forge ceased operation and the area further settled. Iron for the forge originally came from furnaces in Lancaster County and later Centre County. Some also came from Bedford Furnace. This Freedom Forge was never a real success, and the difficulty in transporting iron to and from the forge led to its shutdown in 1795. The forge may have operated sporadically for the next decade. In 1806 the county sheriff sold the forge to its creditors. It sat idle for another two years, when it was accidentally set on fire and never rebuilt, but would be relocated fifteen miles away near Lewistown, where it had a ready market. Today its descendant, Standard Steel, is still in business in Burnham.¹⁰

For much of the valley at this time, the Juniata River and its many tributaries were improved for navigation by removing rock barriers from the main waterway. Similarly improved trails allowed iron to be carried overland by pack mule westward, or brought the iron to the river to be loaded onto log arks and sent downriver to eastern cities. After the iron reached its market, the arks were torn apart and the logs were sold. The raftsmen then walked back upstream.

Centre County

By the mid-1790s ironworks had been established all over the Juniata Valley. Most were in Huntingdon and Centre counties, both leading the watershed

in the number of ironworks throughout the ironmaking era. Several entrepreneurs were attracted by reports of excellent ore in the Nittany Valley. Colonels Samuel Miles and John Patton began operation of Centre Furnace in 1792 at the headwaters of Spring Creek. With the success of iron making elsewhere in the region, Centre Furnace quickly faced stiff competition.¹¹ General Phillip Benner established his extensive ironworks operation beginning in 1793. Collectively known as the Rock Ironworks, the firm ultimately consisted of two forges, two furnaces, a rolling and slitting mill, and a nail factory, and would continue successfully for many years. Following the general's death in 1832, his heirs carried on some of the works until it passed out of existence in 1852. The Rockview State Penitentiary occupies the general location of Benner's iron works today.

The Bellefonte and Milesburg areas became another center of iron production prior to 1800. There several ironmasters got together and built Harmony Forge just north of Bellefonte to process iron from their local furnaces. The works eventually became Milesburg Ironworks and consisted of a forge and rolling mill. These works would continue for nearly a century. Another large company was the Bellefonte Iron Works, which consisted of several forges and a furnace. An interesting bill of lading surviving (at least until the 1870s) from the forge gave an indication of the costs of iron at the time. The iron was sold by James Lindsay, on the account of John Dunlop and signed by Lowrey, to William Irvin. Amounting to 1,010 pounds of bar iron, it was sold at \$5.60 per hundred pounds, and amounts to \$56.50 for the total order.¹²

In the northern part of the county, Henry and James Phillips built Cold Stream Furnace near Phillipsburg in 1797. Twenty years later, Hardman Phillips built a forge, rolling mill, and a screw factory. This screw factory, built in 1823, is claimed to be the first in the United States. It operated until the 1850s.¹³

Huntingdon County

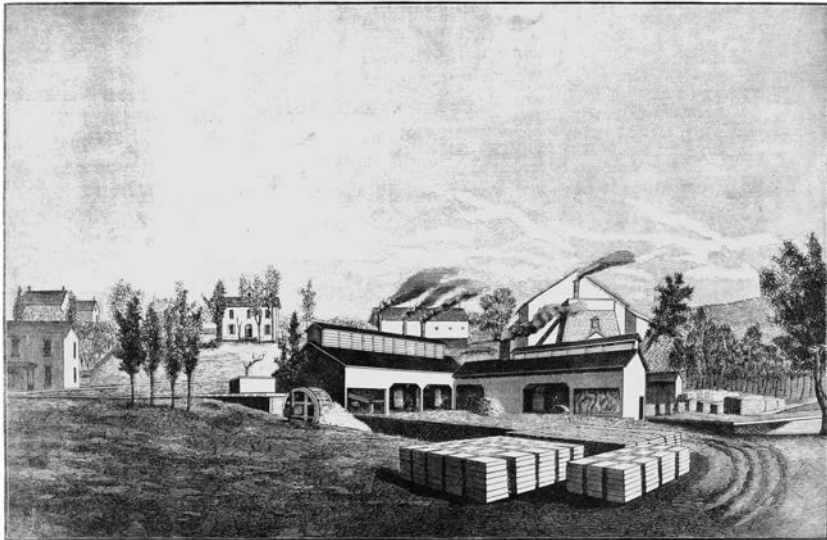
Several extensive ironworks were established in Huntingdon County in those final years of the century. About 1796 Greenberry P. Dorsey and Edward Bartholomew built Barree Forge near Alexandria along the banks of the Little Juniata Branch. The iron soon gained a good reputation among blacksmiths and iron mills as an excellent-quality iron. The first iron processed at Barree Forge was purchased from Centre Furnace. This shipment was thirty tons of

pig priced at eighteen pounds per ton, or 540 pounds, translating to 2,700 silver dollars.

With Dorsey's sudden death in 1807, his widow Elizabeth took over ownership and management of the works as the estate was in financial distress and in danger of ruin. Her courageous management of the works made it profitable again, and allowed it to remain in the family for decades after her death in 1834. Later her son Henry joined her and took over active management of the forge.¹⁴

The works prospered though the heyday of Juniata iron and expanded with Barree Furnace in 1864 (see fig. 3). Following the Civil War, it passed to Abraham Mumper and the Dorsey name faded in the winds of time. The Barree Ironworks would continue to operate until 1883. The mansion and stack, the latter in poor condition, remains on the site today, now the Green Hills United Methodist Camp.

A history of the Juniata Charcoal Iron District in Huntingdon County would not be complete without biographies of noted ironmasters. George Anshutz and William McDermott are two of the most prominent.



BARREE IRONWORKS,
BARREE, PA.

FIGURE 3 A drawing of the Barree Ironworks, as it appeared after 1864. From Africa's *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, opposite 424.

Pioneer Ironmaster George Anshutz. George Anshutz will forever be tied to the history of Huntingdon Furnace. This man's career includes deeds virtually forgotten, yet he can rightly hold the claim as establishing the first ironworks in the Pittsburgh area, planting the seed for that city's rise as an industrial power.¹⁵

Born November 28, 1753, in Alsace, France, the ethnically German Anshutz grew up in the iron business, and in 1789 immigrated to the United States and made his way to Pittsburgh. Here he built Shadyside Furnace, in operation by 1792 and likely the first ironworks within that city.' It is not known how large the furnace was, or how much iron it produced, but it is known to have made primarily ten-plate stoves, fire grates, and other castings for local consumption. The ores in the vicinity that looked promising turned out to be of an inferior grade, and the expense of transporting ore from a distance was considered too cost prohibitive. Anshutz abandoned this furnace in 1794 and moved to Westmoreland County, where he managed another furnace for John Gloninger for a short time.

In 1796 Anshutz came to Huntingdon County and, finding that the ores of Franklin and Warrior's Mark townships were of excellent quality with good running streams and great stands of forests, he chose a place to build a furnace. Lacking capital himself, Anshutz recruited local landowner Mordecai Massey, John Gloninger (the owner at Westmoreland Furnace), and Philadelphia businessman Martin Dubbs to enter into a partnership under the name "John Gloninger & Co.," with Anshutz as manager. They built Huntingdon Furnace on Warrior's Mark Run. In these early days, much iron was cast into stoves, and bore the familiar legend "Huntingdon Furnace." In 1800 the company leased nearby Spring Forge, and George Shoenberger joined the company.¹⁶

In 1805 a larger stack was erected two miles downstream and, under the practical direction of Anshutz, it quickly became a success and through his care and thrift made profits for all the owners. Anshutz was rewarded with a partnership in the firm. In 1835 all of the partners except Shoenberger sold their interests in all of their Huntingdon County holdings to their business rivals Shorb, Stewart and Company, who owned Pennsylvania Furnace a few miles away. A few years later Dr. Peter Shoenberger became the sole owner of Huntingdon Furnace. Following Peter's death in 1854, his sons George and John H. operated it until 1870, when it closed for good. Although located entirely on private property, the stone stack and other surviving structures, still standing today, make it one of the best-preserved furnace sites in Huntingdon County.

William McDermott and His Steel-Making Process. In the annals of Juniata iron, William McDermott must be mentioned.¹⁷ He had apparently developed a process of making steel described as unique, but details of his method have never been found. Two centuries ago, steel was still decades away from the Bessemer process and the modern steelmaking era. Steelmaking was still an artisan craft, handed down for nearly 4,000 years. In the late eighteenth century new processes were developed that allowed steel to be made in greater quantities, but production was still greatly limited.

McDermott (spelling varies) was born in Glasgow, Scotland, and became interested in iron manufacturing at an early age. Experimentation in this field led him to create a unique process of steel manufacturing. He decided the ores of Pennsylvania were better suited for processing in his method, and came to the lower Juniata Valley. Here he built Caledonia Forge and Steel Furnace and within a few years was successfully manufacturing steel using his special method. Disaster soon struck, as a friend he lent money to defaulted, resulting in the county sheriff seizing his steel works. No one understood his process, and the works were left to ruin; the machinery was carried away and converted for other uses.

About 1811 McDermott moved his family to the Upper Sligo Forge on Spruce Creek in Huntingdon County, and built Millington Steel Works. McDermott again made steel in his own way and soon regained a part of his earlier fortune. The trade of his steel grew through the War of 1812, but then financial ruin again intervened. This was a period where many industries suffered tremendous losses, and for McDermott it was too much; he died soon thereafter. His son-in-law, Pennsylvania governor David Rittenhouse Porter, frequently spoke of McDermott's accomplishments and lamented that he never made his steel-making technique known for others to follow. It was Porter's firm belief that the loss of this method not only retarded steel production, but also prevented the industry from being revolutionized by the quality of the old Scotsman's steel.

Mifflin County

In addition to Freedom Forge already mentioned, General William Lewis of Berks County put into blast Hope Furnace on Strode's Run in 1798. Stove plates and other castings were made there in early days. In 1830 David W. Hulings purchased the furnace and made Franklin-type stoves carrying the name "Hulings Hope Furnace." In 1846 Hulings leased the furnace to A. B. Long and Brothers, who made "chair castings" for the construction of

the Pennsylvania Railroad. These were used to support the rail on top of the wooden ties. Several other lessees operated it between 1849 and 1860, when the furnace was abandoned for good. Despite its favorable location, Hope Furnace seems to never have been a profitable enterprise.¹⁸

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

By 1800 twenty-four ironworks had been built, about half of them furnaces. In the years to follow, the number of ironworks in the Juniata grew even more rapidly, as word of the quality of the iron quickly spread. Forgers used to working the best Russian and Swedish iron found Juniata iron to be equal or better in quality, even rivaling the Salisbury iron of Connecticut.¹⁹ It was during this time, that reputation would span the globe, and the number of ironworks in the Juniata Valley exploded. Much of this was due to the high profitability of Juniata iron, bolstered by its well-deserved reputation.²⁰

As transportation routes improved and expanded, the Juniata River Valley became the major east-west transportation corridor, with a succession of at least seven forms of travel: footpath, pack-mule trail, navigable river, turnpike, canal, railroad, and modern highway. As one new form replaced the other, greater opportunities existed for shipping iron and other goods. This was especially true for shipping west. In eastern markets prices were depressed because of competition with cheaper imported British iron. But if shipping west, prices were better, as less British iron made its way west due to the high costs of shipping overland that far.

First to be improved were the pack-mule trails that were now becoming turnpikes. These were roads built by the Commonwealth or chartered by county courts as private companies to build and maintain roads, paid for by revenue generated by collecting tolls about every seven miles. Villages grew up around the toll houses, and amenities for travelers were established. Taverns served as early restaurants and motels, and had places to feed, water, and rest the draft animals that pulled the stagecoaches and the great Conestoga wagons. Daily travel by this method was about twenty-eight miles, so larger towns grew around the overnight stops. In the 1830s canals would steal away the bread-and-butter revenue of heavy freight traffic from the turnpikes, which in turn was captured by the railroads a decade later. Today, modern US and state highways, especially US Route 22, still follow early turnpike routes.²¹

The valley became an important ironmaking center, and by 1816 it was considered the principal iron-producing district of the United States.²² The rich iron ores provided much wealth and was a substantial portion of the economic base for the region. The Juniata District was a powerhouse of iron production, producing tons upon tons of the celebrated Juniata charcoal iron. At the peak of production in 1828, almost half of all iron made in Pennsylvania came from the Juniata Valley, which equated to 20 percent of the national output.²³

Acclaim for Juniata iron came from many corners, and one notable example is from Eli Whitney. Though known for the invention of the cotton gin, he has a more lasting legacy as an early adopter of concepts of interchangeable parts and assembly line production.²⁴ Whitney bought iron from different locales to make his muskets and was well aware of the quality of Salisbury iron, as he often used it. On a trip to Pennsylvania he purchased some iron produced in the Juniata Valley. Years later, in 1819, he would tell a friend of the quality of the metal he had purchased, stating,

About ten or twelve years ago I purchased at Columbia, Pennsylvania, about 15 tons of the common Juniata Iron, made by Phillip Benner, which was wrought in my manufactory, into various parts of muskets. I am satisfied that the Juniata Metal, in its native state, is some of the best in the world & that if it is carefully & skillfully manufactured, it will answer an excellent purpose for Musket Barrels or any other use.²⁵

In the 1840 US manufacturing census, Huntingdon County (including Blair County at the time) led the state in tons of cast or pig iron produced and was second in tons of bar iron.²⁶ However, the valley was not immune to the economic ups and downs of the national economy, and many ironworks would experience failure due to periodic downturns in the business. Presidential administrations alternated between free trade and high tariff protectionism, further affecting the health of the iron industry. The Tariff of 1842, coupled with the rise of iron made with mineral fuel, wrested the crown from the Juniata Valley as the industry shifted to the Lehigh Valley and later Pittsburgh.²⁷

Turnpike-Era Expansion of the Iron Industry

The Industrial Revolution was growing, and iron was increasing in demand. As the War of 1812 began, there was a spike in new ironworks in the valley.



FIGURE 4 The Stone Arch Bridge at Lewistown, 2013. Photo by Nathaniel Thierwechter, Mifflin County Historical Society.

Much of the ironworks development was spurred by the improvements to the cross-state roads, especially to what was known as the Harrisburg, Lewistown, Huntingdon, and Pittsburgh Turnpike Road, chartered in 1807, and completed ten years later. It followed sections of the old Forbes and Frankstown roads. Today, US Highway 22 generally follows the course of this original road (see fig. 4).²⁸ Other turnpikes funneled iron to this road, most notably from Bellefonte and Tyrone to Water Street, for shipment westward. Pittsburgh was becoming a focal point for pig and bar iron, where it was processed into products for local consumption or shipment further west. Turnpike roads reduced shipping time and costs, and brought greater prosperity to the Juniata Valley.

The Curtin Family

One of the most significant iron families of the Juniata, and spanning several generations over 112 years, the Curtin family was prominent in Centre and surrounding counties. Although best known for their Eagle Iron Works furnace and forge (at Curtin Village) near Milesburg, the family was involved in several ironworks throughout the Juniata Valley, including Martha Furnace in Huston Township, Centre County, and Rebecca Forge and Furnace at Jackson's Corner in northern Huntingdon County. Roland Curtin

was one of Centre County's true pioneer ironmasters. His son, Andrew Gregg Curtin, eventually took over control of his father's iron interests and was Pennsylvania's governor during the Civil War.

In 1810 Miles Boggs and Roland Curtin erected the Eagle Forge along the banks of Bald Eagle Creek. Though the Bald Eagle flows into the West Branch of the Susquehanna, not the Juniata, these iron works were considered as part of the Juniata Iron District. Iron produced at the forge was shipped to Pittsburgh. Boggs's association with the forge was short-lived, for he retired in 1815. In 1818 Curtin erected Eagle Furnace at the forge. In 1830 he added a rolling mill and built Martha Furnace several miles away. By 1836 the old Eagle Furnace was abandoned, and the Curtins later built a new furnace on the site of the old one. It continued under the family's management until the end of operations, one of the very few long-lived furnaces to remain in the same family for its entire existence. In May of 1921 the furnace caught fire and burned to the ground. The forge continued to operate for a short time after the furnace ceased, going out of business in 1922. The ironworks complex is now a historical site owned by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and operated by the Roland Curtin Foundation. The furnace has been reconstructed, and displayed today in front of the casting shed is the last charcoal iron made in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.²⁹

Spruce Creek Valley

In Huntingdon County, Spruce Creek Valley had perhaps the greatest concentration of ironworks in the entire Juniata District. In a distance of about fifteen miles, there were three furnaces and fifteen forges due to the presence of large amounts of good iron ore. Three of the works were among the wealthiest: Huntingdon Furnace, Pennsylvania Furnace, and Colerain Forges. Shipment by water and road was relatively easy, as the Little Juniata River was navigable as far north as Birmingham. Also, Centre County ironmasters further east helped fund the building of a highway through Spruce Creek Valley and the heart of its ironworks, to ship their iron westward or to connect with the Juniata River. Tons of iron also came into the Little Juniata from the Tyrone area.

Located on the Huntingdon/Centre County line, Pennsylvania Furnace was perhaps the most profitable ironworks in the valley. Erected in 1813 by the partnership of John Lyon, Jacob Haldeman, and William Wallace, it replaced nearby Tussey Furnace, built three years earlier. In 1835, under the firm name of Shorb, Stewart and Company, the partners acquired the

controlling interest in Huntingdon Furnace and the Tyrone Forges. Most of the iron produced in the furnace was turned into blooms at local forges and then sent west to Pittsburgh where the Sligo Ironworks manufactured it into rolled bars. By 1881 wood for charcoal was getting scarce, so the furnace was converted to run on coke but by this time was no longer profitable. It was idle by 1888 and was never fired again. In its final years, Andrew Carnegie owned it. In conjunction with ownership of Tyrone Forges and Bald Eagle Furnace, Shorb, Stewart & Co. was among several Juniata iron companies to utilize the mineral wealth of the Juniata to provide resources for Pittsburgh.³⁰ The elegant twenty-eight-room mansion built by the Lyon family in 1834 remains.

Blair County and Dr. Peter Shoenberger

Several important Huntingdon County ironworks became listed in Blair County when it was formed in 1846. There were several families prominent here in the iron business, including the Spang, Royer, Baker, and Shoenberger families.

In 1808 Canan, Stewart and Moore erected Mount Etna Furnace near Williamsburg and soon added a forge to the works. It prospered well up to the War of 1812, but like many hit hard times during the postwar depression. In 1823 Henry S. Spang of Berks County purchased the ironworks. The prosperity brought by the canal and later railroad, both of which passed near the works, allowed increased production but it was blown out in 1877.

Robert Allison and Andrew Henderson erected Allegheny Furnace in 1811 in what is now Altoona. The furnace ran about seven years and failed around 1818. During this time, the partners may have experimented with using coke to fuel the furnace. It came back to life in 1836 under new owner Elias Baker, who took advantage of the canal and later railroad. His son operated it until 1884. Today the furnace stack, several associated buildings, and the Baker Mansion remain in the City of Altoona.³¹

Dr. Peter Shoenberger, the “Iron King,” was one of the most active industrialists in the Juniata Valley and early Pittsburgh. He once owned so much land that he bragged he could walk from his ancestral home in Petersburg in Huntingdon County to the Ohio Valley without getting off his land. As prominent a citizen as he was, very little was recorded of his remarkable life and career in iron manufacturing. Yet, the vestiges of his activity are found throughout the Juniata Iron District and beyond. It seems the consensus of historians is that the title “ironmaster” did not fit the doctor,

for his iron enterprise was so much more extensive. The title “Iron King” seems more appropriate to this remarkable, and sometimes cunning, man.

Peter Shoenberger trained as a medical doctor and for a while practiced in Pittsburgh, until poor health forced him to retire. In the meantime, he inherited his first ironworks from his father, who died in 1815. Samuel Fahnestock and George Shoenberger erected Juniata Forge about 1798 along Shaver’s Creek, at Petersburg, where it emptied into the Little Juniata. From the beginning, iron from this forge was considered excellent by local blacksmiths, and as the iron reached far-flung markets, its reputation grew. Revenues derived from the sale of this iron laid the foundation of the great Shoenberger family wealth in the nineteenth century.

Peter built his first furnace, Rebecca, in 1817, in Blair County, and aggressively sought a steady market for his iron. A savvy businessman, he became the sole supplier of iron to the gun works at Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia. However, allegations of paying off workers and supplying inferior-grade iron led to the canceling of his contracts in the late 1820s.³²

To expand his enterprise, he erected the Juniata Rolling Mill in Pittsburgh in 1826. He ultimately owned numerous ironworks, from Philadelphia to Marietta Furnace in Lancaster County, through the Juniata Valley, and was one of the founders of the Cambria Ironworks at Johnstown. He had operations in Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnati, and into Illinois. His works in the Juniata Valley included several named for his daughters. Most of these, in Blair County, included Rebecca Furnace (1817–82), Elizabeth Furnace (1827–42), Sarah Furnace (1832–82), Bloomfield Furnace in Bedford County (1846–88), and the three Maria Forges (1828, 1830, and 1832–18??).

At his death on June 18, 1854, his vast iron empire was valued at over \$5 million, a remarkable sum in his day, equating to nearly \$130 billion today. His works were divided among his ten children and their families. Few of them had their father’s business acumen, and most of these works failed within a few years. His death notice referred to him as “The King Ironmaster.”³³ This position was never challenged, and steel magnate Andrew Carnegie acknowledged the title, considering the doctor the only person worthy to be his predecessor. He recognized Shoenberger as the “Iron King,” in reference to his own position as the “Steel King.” Much of Pittsburgh’s later success in steel manufacture can certainly be grounded in Shoenbergers’ Juniata Rolling Mill and his extensive enterprise, and it would become a cornerstone of the US Steel Corporation many years later.³⁴

Bedford County

The original boundaries of Bedford County contained the first ironworks in the Juniata Valley, and as its size was reduced with the erection of several new counties, it remained a prominent area for iron production in the early nineteenth century. Turnpike roads allowed transport of its iron to distant markets, but the county would not benefit from the Main Line Canal as did the rest of the valley.

William Lane came to Bedford County and built Hopewell Forge, finished by 1802, and in 1808 built Lemnos Forge. Hopewell Furnace ceased operation about 1820, in part due to Lane's financial problems and his sudden death. The forges, however, were kept in operation by a number of managers. About 1831 the Hopewell was back in production. After a succession of owners, it was rented in 1840 to David Puderbaugh, who operated the furnace and forge until 1847. While he was renting the ironworks, he began experimenting with the use of coke in ironmaking. He did not use it in the blast furnace, but rather built a crude furnace to convert pig iron into what was then called "pig metal." Just what "pig metal" referred to is not certain, but it may have been a reference to a type of steel, possibly similar to cast steel, and appears to be a crude forerunner of the open hearth furnace, still years in the future. By 1850 Hopewell Furnace and Forge passed to new owners, but apparently never operated after Puderbaugh's experiments failed. By 1855–56, during construction of the Huntingdon and Broad Top Mountain Railroad, all of the buildings were demolished except for the furnace stack.

Perry County

Perry County did not get into the iron manufacturing business until the early days of the nineteenth century. The county's mountainous surface and lean ores discouraged much investment in ironworks. Only where sufficient waterpower and good roads for transportation existed were ironworks built. Mount Vernon Forge (a.k.a. Lewis Forge) was built in 1804 near Millerstown. General William Lewis, owner of the Hope Furnace in Mifflin County, owned and operated them in conjunction with each other. Metal for the forge came from Hope Furnace in the early days and later pig iron was obtained from the Juniata Furnace, located in the same county. Free African Americans workers operated it. After several changes in owners, it was sold in 1808 to William P. Elliott of Lewistown and William Powers of Perry County. The forge was then abandoned around 1817. In 1873 one of the old hammers, broken through the eye, still remained on the site.³⁵

In 1808 William Powers and David Watts built a Juniata Furnace on a small stream in Centre Township. For ten years beginning in 1824 the furnace was leased to John Everhart of Chester County. He erected a forge and put the furnace back in blast in 1825. In 1838 James McGowan acquired the property and erected a second furnace farther upstream. The new furnace was named the same—Juniata Furnace—and from this point, the earlier one called Old Juniata Furnace, which was soon abandoned. Around 1849 the latter furnace was abandoned and the gristmill was sold to William R. Shoaff. A tornado destroyed the furnace complex and office in 1855. The restored gristmill is a showpiece of Little Buffalo State Park.

CANAL FEVER

While improved turnpikes greatly aided commerce, canal fever swept the state and the nation. By 1825 the Erie Canal connected New York City to the burgeoning interior and the Great Lakes. The Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal in Maryland likewise would connect Baltimore with the west. Pennsylvania needed its own canal. But unlike the Erie and C&O, which were water routes over their entire length, the Commonwealth had some formidable geologic obstacles. First, there were no rivers connecting the Delaware to the Susquehanna, and a miles-wide wall of mountains stretched diagonally across the state's middle.

The Pennsylvania government therefore authorized the Pennsylvania Main Line of Public Works, an ingenious and complex combination of canal and railroads, requiring dozens of locks, along with tunnels, aqueducts, and related systems, to link east and west. Finally, ironmasters had a transportation system that could easily haul tons of bulk freight. No longer were ironmasters restricted to the pack mule trains, limited to 250 pounds per animal, or the six- to eight-ton limits of the Conestoga wagons that traversed the turnpikes. Shipping would also be faster. It took about twenty-three days to travel between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh by turnpike. The canal would cut that time down to just four days.

To conquer the formidable Allegheny Front, the state built the Allegheny Portage Railroad, where the boats had to be carried overland for thirty-six miles. It was an engineering marvel in its day, and played a crucial role in the expansion of the west to commerce and settlement. Famous author Charles Dickens traveled on the Portage in 1842 and wrote about it in his *American Notes*.³⁶

Construction of the system began in 1826, and was completed in 1834, with the Juniata Division built between 1827 and 1829. Private and state-owned feeder canals and waterways furthered the system's reach. Centre County operations shipped iron eastward via a connection to the North Branch of the Main Line, and westward from the Little Juniata feeder canal. While it can be argued that the Main Line brought new prosperity to the towns and industries along its route, it was a financial disaster for the state, which never profited from it. When it was sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1857, it was for only a fraction of what it cost the Commonwealth to build, maintain, and operate.³⁷

The largest expansion of ironworks in the valley occurred between 1830 and 1845, largely due to the availability of the Main Line Canal. All but Bedford County ironworks benefitted from them. During this time, Juniata Valley ironworks were supplying as much as 40 percent of the iron processed in Pittsburgh.

The route of the canal specifically along the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata brought prosperity to several ironworks within reach of it. Mount Etna furnace, already mentioned, was conveniently right along the line. Elias Baker revived the abandoned Allegheny Furnace in Altoona in 1836, also taking advantage of the canal as it passed through nearby Hollidaysburg.

Henry S. Spang built the conical-shaped Canoe Furnace near Williamsburg in 1837, located at the base of Short Mountain, and handy to the canal. This furnace was more commonly called the "Soapfat Furnace," as local lore relates a story of a load of bacon that arrived at the furnace so rancid that the furnace workers claimed it was unfit to eat and was only good for rendering soapfat. The furnace operated only about ten years, then fell to ruin. Today, the partially collapsed stack remains the only known surviving example of a conical-shaped furnace (see fig. 5).

West of Tyrone in what is now Bellwood, Edward Bell built Mary Ann Forge in 1830 and Elizabeth Furnace two years later, which he quickly passed to his son Martin. In 1836 Martin Bell developed a system of capturing and utilizing the waste gases to create steam, for which he was granted a patent in 1840. Although the invention came into practical use, he derived little or no profit from it. Additionally, Martin was devoutly religious and did not like working the furnace on Sundays. He devised a method to bank the furnace's fire from Saturday night through Monday morning. From this practice, the furnace and village came to be known as "Sabbath Rest Furnace." In 1880 new owner John Whitehead refitted the furnace to use coke, operating them until 1884. Edward Bell's son John operated the forge until 1872.

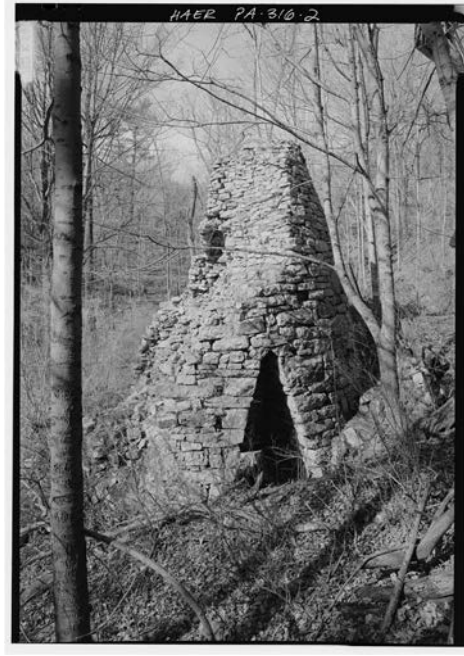


FIGURE 5 A Historic American Engineering Record image of Canoe Furnace (HAER PA-316) sometime after 1968. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/pa3039>.

The Royer Family

The Royers were one of the more prominent families in the region in iron production. Patriarch Samuel Royer, a commissary in the federal army during the American Revolution, also commanded a company during the Battle of Brandywine. Samuel may have been involved in ironworks in Franklin County, possibly as an owner or investor. Several of his sons, including John and Daniel, would enter the iron business.

John Royer left Franklin County in 1808 and went to Centre County, where he partnered with Andrew Boggs. Under the firm name Boggs and Royer, they rented the Logan Furnace in Bellefonte for two years. Royer left that business and came to the Williamsburg area, where he erected Cove Forge in 1810. He manufactured bar iron and shipped it west to Pittsburgh at a cost from \$20–\$40 per ton. As rolling mills became established locally and in Pittsburgh, iron was then made into blooms. The forge employed

from twenty-five to thirty men, and produced about 400 tons of bar iron or blooms per annum. It operated until 1880 when production halted, the last forge to close in Blair County.

In 1815 brothers Daniel and John Royer erected Springfield Furnace five miles south of Williamsburg on Piney Creek. The furnace's output of pig iron was fabricated into blooms at their Cove Forge. Later, the company made ten-plate stoves. The furnace operated until 1885, when it shut down permanently. The Royer family owned it for its entire existence, and it was one of the last charcoal-fueled furnaces to go out of blast in the county. Finally, Samuel Royer built Franklin Forge in 1830, employing about twenty-five men. It was demolished in 1861.

John Gloninger

One of the major owners of several local ironworks in the Tyrone and Spruce Creek areas was John Gloninger, already a well-established ironmaster. He was owner of Westmoreland Furnace, where he met George Anshutz. When Anshutz came to the area to build his Huntingdon Furnace, Gloninger was one of the partners. Impressed with the quality ores and reputation of the Juniata iron, Gloninger expanded his local holdings. He built the (Lower) Tyrone Forge in 1805, near Ironville, and two years later added a rolling mill and nail factory. The Upper Forge was erected in 1813 at the mouth of Plummer's Hollow. Both forges and the associated mills operated for many years, and later became part of Lyon, Shorb and Company, who owned Huntingdon and Pennsylvania furnaces, along with the Colerain Forges. The last of these forges operated until 1874, when operations were suspended.

Gloninger built Bald Eagle Furnace in 1824 east of Tyrone, in the Bald Eagle Valley, and about 1835 it became part of Lyon, Shorb and Company. Pig iron was forged into bar iron and blooms at the nearby Tyrone Forges. The furnace could produce in excess of 2,200 tons of metal per annum. It closed in 1865. Gloninger's empire utilized the Little Juniata feeder canal to funnel iron to the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal and onto their rolling mills in Pittsburgh.

Black Log and Trough Creek Valleys

There were several ironworks scattered through southern Huntingdon County. These works were able to ship on the canal via a long-forgotten feeder up the Raystown Branch of the Juniata, which went as far as the Great

Trough Creek. Despite favorable ores, however, only one of the works was truly successful, the coke-fueled Rockhill Furnaces no. 2, which did not rely on the canal, but rather shipped by rail via the East Broad Top Railroad.

In 1829 Berks County ironmaster Reuben Trexler erected Trough Creek Furnace³⁸ and Eagle Foundry in Trough Creek Valley. In 1833 John Savage of Philadelphia leased the furnace and forge, who renamed it the Mary Ann Furnace; the forge was known as Savage Forge. Shortly after production began in 1834, he suddenly died. The works remained in the Savage family for only a few years.

In 1835 William Firmstone of Shropshire, England, came to the furnace and utilized his knowledge of using coke as a fuel to experiment with local semi-bituminous coal from Broad Top, in southern Huntingdon County. Instead of kilns or beehive ovens, it is said that the coal was piled in heaps and burned into coke in a process much like traditional charcoal making. Firmstone claimed to have made a good grade of forge iron for a one-month period in that year. Some evidence also suggests that he was among the first ironworkers in America to utilize the hot blast system for furnaces. Although his experiments seemed to have produced good iron, they were short-lived.

On a final note, in 1835 the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia offered the prize of a gold medal to anyone who could manufacture good iron during a three-month period using only anthracite coal. Firmstone, if he did meet the requirements (which is unknown), never came forward to put in a claim for the prize. After managing furnaces in the Hanging Rock region of Ohio, where he introduced the hot blast system to that area, he eventually ended up in Easton, where he owned the Glendon Ironworks.³⁹

Reuben Trexler regained ownership of Mary Ann Furnace in 1841, and operated it through his death in 1846. He changed the name to Paradise Furnace. The furnace operated sporadically until 1852, when it again went out of production. In 1858 Rueben's son Horatio put the furnace again into blast. It continued until 1867, when it was put out of blast for the last time. The forge operated into the late 1850s. The stacks' remains can be seen today in Trough Creek State Park.

Thomas T. Cromwell

Cromwell was one of the most notable figures in iron production in the Orbisonia area, and his father was a partner in the erection of Bedford Furnace. In 1821 Cromwell built a large gristmill in the Black Log Creek Narrows, and in 1831 began construction on Rockhill Furnace, just east of

the gristmill. Before it was finished, he sold it to Thomas Diven and William Morrison, who put it into blast in 1832. Cromwell then erected Winchester Furnace just west of the gristmill. He operated it for only a few years, then leased it to several parties until 1856, when it was abandoned.

In 1849 the firm of Isett, Wigton and Company bought Rockhill Furnace and operated it until 1857, when production ceased. In 1864 Lorenz and Leamer purchased the furnace, and then sold it in 1868 to Lewis Royer and Percival P. Dewees, who were in the process of acquiring properties, which also included the abandoned Winchester Furnace for the recently formed Rockhill Iron and Coal Company. They operated the furnace for a short time until construction was completed on the New Rockhill Furnaces no. 2, fueled by coke made from Broad Top coal. These furnaces operated until 1907 and were the last blast furnaces to operate in Huntingdon County. The crumbling stone remains of Cromwell's grist mill along with Winchester and (Old) Rockhill furnaces remained in the narrows south of Orbisonia until a few years ago, when they were removed due to highway improvements.⁴⁰

Greenwood Furnace

In the northeastern corner of Huntingdon County, Greenwood Furnace went into blast on June 5, 1834, under the ownership of Norris, Rawle, and Company, who also owned Freedom Iron Works near Lewistown. The stack had an annual capacity of 1,200 gross tons of iron. The furnace passed to John A. Wright and Company in 1847, then became part of the Freedom Iron Company in 1856. The iron produced here was used to make various products for railroads, principally locomotive tires. The iron from Greenwood Furnace was shown to be the best in the world for this product, as no other iron could match it in quality and durability.⁴¹ A second furnace was constructed in 1864, making this the only known site within Pennsylvania where two charcoal furnaces operated simultaneously side by side. The firm became Logan Iron and Steel Company in 1871. By 1882 the older furnace was shut down. The number 2 furnace was extensively remodeled in 1889, and again in 1902, increasing its height to fifty feet with an eleven-foot bosh. This made it one of the largest charcoal furnaces ever built. However, trees for charcoal were getting scarce, and the economics were shifting toward larger, urban-centered furnaces. The furnace's remote location in mountainous terrain hindered the addition of a rail line. The final day came December 7, 1904. In 1906 the Commonwealth purchased the property and established the Greenwood Forest Tree Nursery and in 1924 created Greenwood Furnace

State Park. Greenwood Furnace is the best-preserved charcoal iron furnace open to the public in the Juniata Valley.

Perry County

The Duncannon Iron Works was located south of the mouth of the Juniata River in Duncannon. The first forge, built in 1827, was destroyed by fire in 1829 and quickly rebuilt. In 1837 a rolling mill was built on the site of the old forge. This factory was small and crude, and could only produce 5,000 tons of bar iron per year. Two years later, a nail factory was added that could make over 25,000 kegs of nails per year. A flood damaged the plant in 1846 but was rebuilt, and by 1853 a twenty-ton-per-day furnace with a twenty-ton-per-day capacity was added to the works. Disaster struck yet again, when the nail factory burned in 1860. Again, it was rebuilt and increased in size, making 100,000 kegs of nails annually.

On February 1, 1861, the facility reorganized as the Duncannon Iron Company. The old partnership of Fisher, Morgan, and Company retained stock in the new company, and the firm came under the management of James Wister. Over the next two decades, the plant would suffer, then recover several times from fires. The furnace was remodeled in 1880 to make 15,000 tons of iron per year and continued to operate until 1900. The nail mill, which made cut nails, was becoming obsolete as wire nails were becoming common. Rather than modernizing the plant, the owners closed it in 1908. The remaining factory was sold to the Lebanon Iron and Steel Company, which operated it sporadically for several years.

John Wister stands out as a great iron manufacturer in Perry County. For over fifty years, he was connected with the Duncannon Iron Works, starting as an errand boy and working his way up to the president and general manager of the company. When his employment started, the plant was still operated by water power. He was instrumental in introducing steam power, making the company one of the most important in the state.⁴²

THE COMING OF THE RAILROADS

No sooner than the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal had gone into operation, railroads came of age, and towns and industrialists were clamoring for a rail link. Canals were costly to build and maintain, did not operate in the winter, and could not go everywhere. Railroads not only solved these problems, they were faster and more efficient. Even the Main Line utilized railroads as part of its system.

In the 1830s the Pennsylvania legislature authorized the surveying of cross-state rail lines. Noted railroad surveyor Col. Charles L. Schlatter was chosen to make many of these surveys for new rail lines. Two of these survey excursions passed through the Juniata Valley. One was known as the Central Route. It would start at Columbia, on the Susquehanna River, at the western end of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, which was a part of the canal system. From here, the line would follow the Susquehanna upstream to the Juniata River, and then continue along the Juniata to the Hollidaysburg area. Crossing the same mountains that were an obstacle for the canal, the line would go to Johnstown, and then on to Pittsburgh. Numerous alternate routes were proposed. Ultimately, the route chosen followed the Juniata River and was constructed beginning in the late 1840s. While this route added more mileage than some of the alternates, a big reason for its choice was conservation of fuel and less expense to build along the river.⁴³

During the surveys, some of the alternate routes were favorably regarded, to the extent that ironworks were built in anticipation of the rail lines passing through their area. One good example was the Stone Valley option, in northern Huntingdon County, which would have diverged from the Juniata at Lewistown, proceeded to Kishacoquillas Valley, then tunneled through Stone Mountain and diagonally cross Stone Valley to the Little Juniata Branch. Along this route, the Freedom Iron Works in Burnham would have been favorably located, as was its Greenwood Furnace, which would have been near the proposed Stone Mountain tunnel. Both of these were well established before the surveys. Just down valley from Greenwood, three new furnaces were built, but when the route was abandoned as too expensive to build, two of these furnaces quickly met their demise.⁴⁴

When construction began on the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR), the track had to be built on the opposite side of the river from the canal, as it was considered direct competition. This is why rail stations in the lower Juniata Valley are on the opposite side of the river from the major towns, such as at Lewistown (see fig. 6).⁴⁵ But as the canal lost money for the state, and by the time the PRR reached Huntingdon, it had purchased the canal from the Commonwealth.

As rail lines proceeded westward, they did not follow the canal route up the Frankstown Branch, but rather followed the Little Juniata Branch to Tyrone, before turning west. This alignment sent the PRR through the very heart of the Juniata Iron District. Reaching the mountains, they established the city of Altoona north of Hollidaysburg. Crossing the same mountains as the Allegheny Portage Railroad, the line conquered the barrier with the



FIGURE 6 The Pennsylvania Railroad station at Lewistown, circa 1860. Courtesy: Forest Fisher, Mifflin County Historical Society.

famous Horseshoe Curve, completed in 1854. A spur line would service the Frankstown Branch.

The second route surveyed was the “Southern Route” by Hother Hage in 1839, and worked its way through the state and mountains south of the Central Route. This survey would years later become the infamous South Penn Railroad, a collaboration between New York Central Railroad president William H. Vanderbilt and steel magnate Andrew Carnegie in direct competition with the PRR. Construction started on grading the right-of-way, digging several tunnels, and beginning bridges such as one over the Susquehanna at Harrisburg. Financier J. P. Morgan realized this only meant superfluity and disaster, and brought the two sides together, and forced them to agree to cease activity. Vanderbilt abandoned the South Penn. It was never built and became known as “Vanderbilt’s Folly.” In the 1930s some of the grading and tunnels were used for the route of the Pennsylvania Turnpike.⁴⁶

The railroads did not at first bring expansion of ironworks as expected. Economic conditions were not as favorable as in earlier times. Between 1837 and 1850, fully three-quarters of Pennsylvania’s ironworks had either failed or were sold at sheriff sales.⁴⁷ The Wildcat Panic of 1837 caused economic hardships, as the departing Andrew Jackson administration recalled the bank notes that many bought on speculation, drying up credit. In the late 1840s conditions worsened with the lowering of tariffs on iron imported mainly from Britain.⁴⁸

This situation continued through the 1850s, reaching its lowest point about 1856–57. Ironmasters like General James Irvin suffered, being severely crippled financially. His Centre Furnace was blown out in 1858, never to operate again, but it did have a later life as a lime kiln. Always a charitable man, Irvin's lasting legacy was his involvement in the establishment of a state "Farmer's High School" on the lands of Centre Furnace, which opened in 1856 and is now the main campus of the Pennsylvania State University.

Freedom Iron Works

Shortly after the demise of the original Freedom Forge in Juniata County, Miller, Martin and Company around 1810 erected and put into production a new Freedom Forge about a mile north of Lewistown, on Kishacoquillas Creek.⁴⁹ Although the connection between this forge and the earlier one is tenuous, there does appear to be some evidence of a relationship. This forge consisted of two fires, three waterwheels, and one hammer. The ore came from the Greenwood ore banks near Belleville. In 1812 Freedom Furnace had been added to the works, and had an output of about six tons a week. The firm would change hands many times over the years as partners came and went. Products included bar iron, small forgings, and domestic wares, such as andirons, skillets, tools, and Franklin-type ten-plate stoves.⁵⁰

In 1825 the old stack, abandoned five years earlier, was torn down and a larger furnace erected. Weekly output was ten to twelve tons of iron. Freedom Iron Works again went through a major change of ownership in 1833, when Norris, Rawle and Company took over. The forge was completely rebuilt, with one chafery and six refining fires.⁵¹ Annual capacity increased to 800 tons of blooms. The firm also took out a lease on Rebecca Forge, just down the valley, and used it to process some iron from their Greenwood Furnace for local consumption. The old Freedom Furnace was permanently abandoned.

The Freedom and Greenwood Works were sold at sheriff sale in late 1847. John A. Wright and his family purchased both plants, and he soon gained a reputation as one of Pennsylvania's foremost ironmasters. John was born in Philadelphia in 1820 and was fascinated by railroads as a child. He became a civil engineer and a noted railroad surveyor. He first assisted Hother Hage in his surveys in 1839, and later surveyed a section of the Central Railroad of Georgia, where he met J. Edgar Thomson, the "father of the Pennsylvania Railroad." The two became life-long friends. Wright was a founding member of the PRR board of directors, and was instrumental in the establishment

of Altoona as its rail city. During the Civil War, he served as one of two aide-de-camps to Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin.

Wright began to manufacture spring wire blooms, which were quickly celebrated as a superior product. The demand for quality iron products for the growing railroads allowed the company to grow and prosper.

Wright decided to enlarge the works to manufacture a whole new range of products, especially locomotive tires, wheels, and other parts. In order to better capitalize this expansion, he incorporated the ironworks as the Freedom Iron Company in 1856 and became its president. The firm added a new hammer shop, rolling mill, and tire shop. The company became the first manufacturer in the United States to produce a locomotive tire that was not only equal, but superior to any foreign manufactured tire. This was the testimony of the superintendents and master mechanics of the leading railroad companies of America. The plant could produce two thousand tires per year.⁵²

IRON IN THE WAR

Juniata's ironworks cranked out much iron for the war effort, including munitions. Some iron went into the ironclad ships, while some went into the famous Rodman guns. The Juniata Valley and its ironworks and railroads were potential targets of Lee's armies during his invasion of Pennsylvania in the summer of 1863. An interesting story from this time tells of a charcoal pit exploding near Greenwood Furnace in northern Huntingdon County, and the people going into a panic, fearing it was Confederate cannon fire. Altoona was days away from Confederate occupation when Lee had the invaders turn east to meet Meade at Gettysburg.⁵³

In 1864 several new furnaces were built in the Juniata Valley. This would be the last major expansion of charcoal iron in the district. Following the war, most of the new furnaces were built to use coal or coke, while others were converted to mineral fuels. The last charcoal furnace in the Juniata Valley, Laura Furnace, was built in 1873, near Millerstown, Perry County.

THE AGE OF STEEL

Beginning in the late 1700s, new manufacturing processes were developed for making steel. While steel had been around since ancient times, it was difficult and expensive to make, thereby limiting its use. Crucible steel became an

interim method that allowed modest increases in production volumes. In 1855 Englishman Henry Bessemer introduced his process that would revolutionize the iron industry, and bring rise to the modern steel age. At the same time in America, Kentucky ironmaster William Kelly experimented with blowing air through iron to make steel, independently developing a process much like Bessemer's. Another process under development at the time was commonly known as "open hearth" and would supplant Bessemer's process and dominate the industry through World War II.

Less known, but more important in some ways, were processes and improvements in manufacturing, largely driven by railroads. New demands for quality iron for locomotives, rails, bridges, and the like led to many companies investing in plants to manufacture these products. The Juniata Valley would not be outdone in this new expansion. Many ironworks expanded into car wheels, locomotive tires, axles, and boilerplates for locomotives. Charcoal iron was particularly suited to these products, so production remained strong in the valley. But iron made with anthracite coal or coke was overtaking charcoal iron, and the ironmaking center of Pennsylvania shifted from the Juniata to the Lehigh Valley before settling in Pittsburgh by the 1870s.⁵⁴

Freedom Iron and Steel Company

During this period, Andrew Carnegie became involved with the company and in 1860 was its major stockholder. This association with the Freedom plant would be Carnegie's first tentative steps into the production of steel. The Bessemer process was not yet available to American manufacturers, so Carnegie was one of a handful of manufacturers trying to utilize other ways to make steel rails, but found no success.⁵⁵

At the close of the Civil War, John Wright became interested in the Bessemer process. Carnegie later claimed it was he who talked Wright into obtaining the rights to the process for the plant. Wright went to England to study the Bessemer technology and purchased all of the equipment necessary. The plant consisted of two five-ton converters and a new tire mill. Iron would come from the company's furnaces.

The Freedom Bessemer plant was the fourth in the nation and the second one in Pennsylvania.⁵⁶ The first steel was made on May 1, 1868, and used for steel tires and boilerplates, and, finally, rails. Unfortunately, the steel was of poor quality. A chemist from Yale University determined the problem to be small amounts of phosphorus in the local ores, which makes iron and steel

brittle. Phosphorus could not be removed during the manufacturing process in those days, requiring the use of phosphorus-free ores.

This revelation came too late, for creditors seized the plants and foreclosed on the mortgages. The Bessemer converters were sold to the Joliet Steel Company in Illinois, while the rest of the works went for sale. Carnegie later lamented on the failure of the plant and his friend, saying,

My friend, John A. Wright, president of the Freedom Iron Works at Lewisto[w]n, Pennsylvania, had visited England purposely to investigate the new process. He was one of our best and most experienced manufacturers, and his decision was so strongly in its favor that he induced his company to erect Bessemer Works. He was quite right, but a little ahead of his time. The capital required was greater than he estimated. More than this, it was not to be expected that a process which was even then in somewhat of an experimental stage in Britain could be transplanted to the new country successfully from the start. The experiment was certain to be long and costly, and for this my friend had not made sufficient allowance.⁵⁷

It is interesting to contemplate the significance of the Freedom Bessemer plant and Carnegie's involvement. Previous local histories have addressed the Bessemer works with but a few sentences, and none mention Carnegie's involvement. As the foregoing shows, this was a major and bold step by Wright and the company. What if the plant had been a success? It is quite possible that the Juniata Valley could have been the "Pittsburgh" of the steel industry. For John A. Wright, it was the disastrous end of an otherwise illustrious career as one of the Commonwealth's foremost iron manufacturers. During the Bessemer fiasco, his health failed, forcing his retirement. He died in 1891, yet his legacy lived on. His ironworks refused to die, and was given not one, but two new leases on life: Logan Iron and Steel Company, and Standard Steel.

Logan Iron and Steel Company

This company purchased the defunct Freedom plant on March 30, 1871, and included both Greenwood and Monroe furnaces. Monroe Furnace was abandoned. The Greenwood Furnaces and Emma Furnace remained in production. The plant consisted of the now very old 1810 water-powered forge, the puddling mill, and the plate/rail mill. The product included

hammered and rolled bar iron and blooms. The product line expanded to include bar iron in the following shapes: flat, round, oval, square, half-oval, half-round, band iron, bevel edge, wagon and buggy tires in round or square edge, and special small shapes. The plant operated through World War II and by its end the equipment was worn out. The plant closed for good during the National Steel strikes of 1946. It was one of the last puddled wrought iron companies remaining in America.

William Butcher and Company

Around 1865 William Butcher Jr. came to America. He was the son and nephew (respectively) of famous English steelmakers Samuel and William Butcher. In England William Jr. was a well-known manufacturer of cast steel locomotive tires, using crucible steel. His intention was to introduce the process on a mass scale to America, as this country was still years behind England in steel production. He first designed a new steel plant being built in 1865 at present-day Steelton, near Harrisburg. He soon left and went to Philadelphia, where he was one of the founders of the William Butcher Steel Works, which became Midvale Steel Company.

He left that firm in 1871 and came to Burnham, bringing forty English steelworkers with him, and founded William Butcher and Company. He leased the old tire mill, hammer shop, and empty Bessemer buildings, and began again to manufacture cast steel locomotive tires and axles from crucible steel. Butcher was a good steelmaker, but seems to have had no head for business. By late summer of 1872 he was in financial trouble, and creditors soon seized the plant, assuming control. They operated it for three years as the Crucible Steel Works. It is possible Butcher's financial troubles were tied to the deaths of his father and uncle in 1869 and 1870 respectively, when the family fortune was tied up in the estate settlements.⁵⁸ He disappears from the historical record, and details of his life after this are unknown.

Standard Steel

In 1875 principal creditor Baldwin Locomotive Works took full control of the Crucible Steel Works in Burnham and renamed it Standard Steel Works. Baldwin operated the plant as a separate entity until its demise in the 1960s. The initial product line included crucible cast steel locomotive tires, car wheels, car and carriage axles, forgings, and other castings. In 1892 Standard began to manufacture its first steel-tired wheels, and set about solidifying its position as a quality steel maker. The first of many open-hearth furnaces began production in 1895. Standard Steel began experimenting with improving the

quality and durability of wheels for freight and passenger railroad cars. Many of these became the “standard” of the industry. Today they are the major leading domestic producer of forged steel railroad wheels and axles.

Standard Steel is the oldest continuously operating iron and steel forging company in the country.⁵⁹ Starting as the first forge in the valley about 1790, the company grew, expanded, experienced setbacks, and managed to come out of all adversity to remain a strong leader in steel products. While the steel used in the plant is no longer made from the celebrated Juniata charcoal iron, it still is a sense of pride for the residents of Mifflin County and surrounding area, in producing a product so good in quality, and with few if any rivals (see fig. 7).

Though Standard would never achieve the scale of Carnegie’s vast steel empire, or even match Bethlehem Steel, it was part of a fundamental change in the industry, as steel eclipsed iron as the dominant form in the late nineteenth century. With steel came specialization, consolidation, requiring scientific management of the chemistry and production of the metal. Gone were the days where the skill of the founder and worker, with his keen senses, adjusted and worked each batch of iron according to “secret recipes.”



FIGURE 7 Overview image of Standard Steel and Logan Iron and Steel, circa 1880. Standard occupied the two stone buildings to left of center at this time. These were originally built for the Bessemer plant in 1868. Next was the hammer shop, rolling mill, tire mill, and forges (with the five chimneys in a row) of Logan Iron. In the bottom right and foreground are the structures associated with Emma Furnace. Courtesy of the author’s collection.

As the amount of steel used increased exponentially, the small charcoal furnace producing a few tons a day couldn't keep up. Coke-fueled furnaces could produce as much in a day as the old charcoal stacks did in a year. Most of the Juniata charcoal iron furnaces succumbed to the inevitable. A few were converted to run on anthracite coal or coke fuel.

By the twentieth century, only very few furnaces still smelted iron with charcoal in Pennsylvania, all but one in the Juniata Valley. The end of the Juniata iron industry came in 1921 with the burning and closure of the Eagle Furnace at Curtin, Centre County. The associated forge used up the remaining iron and closed in 1922. Laying in front of the cosmetically rebuilt furnace today is the last charcoal iron made in Pennsylvania, and the very last run of Juniata iron. All told, there were seventy-three furnaces and sixty-two forges fueled by charcoal in the valley between 1786 and 1922.

THE REPUTATION OF JUNIATA IRON

From the early days of iron production in the Juniata, ironmasters touted the quality of their iron. Many of these works claimed to make the famous "Juniata iron," but Phillip Benner in Centre County seems to have first used this title as a product label. Freedom Forge in Burnham was also an early user of the title. Was this reliance on the brand name by the various works just hyperbole for their product, or was it demonstrated that Juniata iron was, in fact, a superior grade of iron?

Iron historian John Pearse wrote in the 1870s that "the reputation of Juniata iron was well deserved. . . . The iron from this district of Centre, Mifflin, and Huntingdon Counties had been always used for best bar iron, and when puddled iron displaced the hammered bars, about 1840, the product of the district was used almost exclusively for the best boiler plates."⁶⁰

Likewise, in 1849 Juniata ironmaster John A. Wright wrote a letter to the Convention of Iron Masters in Philadelphia. In it he speaks eloquently of the state of the iron industry in the Commonwealth, and provides stunning evidence of the economic force an iron furnace was in a local community. He states:

There are probably few counties in the State richer in valuable ores than Mifflin, Huntingdon, and Centre. The ores are generally the richest hydrates, making the Iron so long and favorably known throughout the country as the Juniata Iron—equaled by some rare banks but unequalled in extent of ore in the United States. . . .

THE ROMANTIC DAYS OF JUNIATA CHARCOAL IRON

For the manufacture of Charcoal Iron these counties are admirably situated. . . . You will particularly bear in mind, that this is the state of things at the places where the iron made is exclusively of the best character, superior to any iron imported from England or Scotland, and fully equal to the best from Russia, Sweden, or Norway.⁶¹

Such was the reputation of Juniata charcoal iron. Its “romantic” days were long in the past. For much of the first half of the nineteenth century, “Juniata iron” was a household word. But as the Industrial Revolution pressed on, the charcoal iron industry found itself outproduced and outcompeted at nearly every level. Only a few products remained in the market for charcoal iron. The last was for railroad passenger car wheels. Even though charcoal-iron production remained small but strong after 1900, the industry was all but gone in Pennsylvania. The last bastion of charcoal iron in Pennsylvania was the Juniata Valley. Nationally, charcoal iron production ended in the late 1920s, around the same time as the dawn of the Great Depression (see fig. 8).



FIGURE 8 Greenwood Furnace, ca. 1890. It is fitting to remember all of the workmen of the many ironworks of the Juniata Valley. They put the valley on the map, and for a time when Juniata iron was regarded as the finest, their labors helped to forge a nation and make the products used in the westward expansion of America. Courtesy R. Franks, Greenwood Furnace State Park.

Today, few know of the incredible legacy of this beautiful valley. Much of the capital used to establish the ironworks came from southeastern Pennsylvania. In turn, the Juniata Iron District laid the foundation and supplied iron for Pittsburgh and propelled that city to the forefront of national steel production. Vestiges of former ironworks in the valley are disappearing as the years go by. Much research still needs to be done to preserve the rich legacy of Juniata charcoal iron and of the industries that manufactured some of the best iron in the world.

*Fleeting years have borne away, the voice of Alfarata; still sweeps the river on
—Blue Juniata!*

— Marion Dix Sullivan, “Blue Juniata” (1841)

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NOTES

This work is an intermediate publication that draws upon thirty years of continuing research by the author into the Juniata Iron District. An earlier version entitled, “The Romantic Days of Juniata Iron: A Preliminary Report,” was presented at the sixth annual Ironmasters Conference – Lehigh Valley, held in Bethlehem, Pa. on April 27–29, 2001, and published in the conference booklet along with the other presentations. The conference, a mix of amateur and professional presentations, was sponsored by the National Canal Museum in Easton, Pa. and Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

1. Complete lyrics can be found at <http://www.songofamerica.net/song/blue-juniata>. While some have speculated that “bright Alfarata” was a real “Indian girl,” historians have generally held that the name is an invention of Sullivan as she needed a word to rhyme with “Juniata.” Its appearance in the song is always opposite “Juniata.” Interestingly, there are a couple of communities, Alfarata in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, and Alpharetta in Georgia, named for her. Original sheet music for the song can be found in the Keffer Collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

2. For a well-written account of the pre-European settlement era of the Juniata Valley, see Dennis P. McIlnay, *Juniata, River of Sorrows: One Man's Journey Into a River's Tragic Past* (Hollidaysburg, PA: Seven Oaks Press, 2003).
3. The seven counties listed are generally considered to comprise the Juniata Iron District. Of them, Centre County is not geographically within the Juniata River watershed; rather, it is in the Upper Susquehanna watershed. While a few references list its ironworks with the latter, most place it in the Juniata, which was consistent with the Centre County ironmasters considering themselves part of the Juniata as well.
4. Finding information on these ironworks is often challenging, as many came and went prior to the Civil War, or were short-lived. There have also been instances of, say, a forge in the 1820s, mentioned only once in a brief newspaper passage, and no other information has been discovered on it. By the time of the voluminous county histories of the 1870s and 1880s, many of these ironworks were distant memories, and were given only a few lines if any. Surviving company records are even more elusive. While a few scattered record books have ended up in various archives around the state, the vast majority are lost forever. The remaining information comes from contemporary books, governmental records, periodicals, and newspapers, requiring years of searching to collect. A perusal of the endnotes to this article only hints at the number of sources used to help complete the picture of Juniata Iron.
5. Specifically, the Iron Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1750, intended to allow colonial ironworks to only produce pig or bar iron, which was to be shipped to Britain for manufacture into finished products. The act also restricted new rolling and slitting mills, plate mills, and steel works. As many of those in government power in the colonies also had interests in ironmaking, they did not enforce the act, and often located new ironworks in areas where there was little or no British presence. For more information, see Arthur C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933; reprint, Clifton, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley, 1973); and Paul F. Paskoff, *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry, 1750–1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).
6. Evidence for this venture comes from James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages, and Particularly in the United States for Three Hundred Years, from 1585 to 1885* (Philadelphia: Self-published, 1884), 156, and Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), 50. It should be noted that neither offers a source for his information, and Bining likely used Swank as his source. The result is that what little there is has been continuously recycled time and again by numerous authors. In the *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association*

- 19, no. 24 (1885): 186, author "A. N. H" adds details to Swank's account, stating that there was a Joseph Jacobs, who "was treasurer of Cumberland County between 1767 and 1789," and that he was a large landholder in the Juniata Valley. He then links this Jacobs to a Jacobs family who were iron-makers in Lancaster County. He proffers this as "proof" of the Juniata Iron Company, but makes no attempt to provide documentation to definitively show that this and the other Joseph Jacobs were one and the same person. He also fails to show that any of the lands this Jacobs owned had any ore on them, or became seats of iron production. In fact, he states that is impossible to ascertain what lands he actually owned. Finally, there is a collection of "Jacobs Family Papers, 1681-1838," in the manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, that reportedly contains a ledger from this venture. This Jacobs family was based in Chester County, outside Philadelphia.
7. The Forbes Road was a military road built by British general John Forbes to advance troops toward Fort Duquesne, then later developed for commerce. A local entry point was at Fort Bedford on the Raystown path. See Wayland F. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), 246. Conversely, the Frankstown Road was built for commerce and travel. See Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1911), 247-51, 291.
 8. There are few good sources of early history of the Juniata Valley. Much of what has been published is anecdotal in its source. Accuracy varies widely, even within the same volumes, as sections were written by different people. See as examples, J. Simpson Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883); John Blair Linn, *History of Centre and Clinton Counties* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883); J. Franklin Ellis and Austin N. Hungerford, *History of that Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys, embraced in the counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards, 1886), in two volumes.
 9. Two detailed histories of Bedford Furnace can be found in Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, 34 and Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron*, 204.
 10. Historical works, such as Ellis and Hungerford, *History of That Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys*, call this forge "Licking Creek Forge," "Beale's Forge," or simply, the "Forge on Licking Creek." Mifflin County court records (Juniata County was not yet erected) clearly show that the forge was called "Freedom Forge." A detailed correct history can be found in Paul T. Fagley, "Forging Iron, Forging Steel, Forging Freedom: The Story of the Iron and Steel Industry at Burnham, Pa. From Freedom Forge to Standard Steel," *Canal History and Technology Proceedings* 14 (1995): 33-37.

11. Linn's *History of Centre and Clinton Counties* gives excellent accounts of the county's better-known ironworks, though they are scattered throughout the chapters on the townships.
12. Linn, *History of Centre and Clinton Counties*, 32.
13. It is reported in numerous local histories, and in a state historical marker at the site, that this was the first screw factory in America. The earliest source to cite this statement appears to be Linn, *History of Centre and Clinton Counties*, 384. A quick check on the Internet reveals an earlier screw factory in Rhode Island in 1810, though all references found are recent publications.
14. Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, 425; and Albert Rung, "Viators' Journey in 1833," *Daily News* (Huntingdon, PA), December 28, 1946, 6. It is interesting to note that her life paralleled that of Rebecca Lukens, who is considered the first female industrialist in America, except that Elizabeth accomplished her feat twenty years earlier, and ran her ironworks for twenty-seven years, five more than Rebecca. Yet Elizabeth is unknown.
15. In addition to information in Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, 495 (addenda), a good biography of Anshutz can be found in John Newton Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh and Her People*, vol. 2 (Pittsburgh: Lewis Publishing Co., 1908), 13–14.
16. This George is the father of Dr. Peter Shoenberger, and grandfather of the George Shoenberger of Pittsburgh fame.
17. The best account of William McDermott is in James Moore Swank, *History of Ironmaking and Coal Mining in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Published by the author, 1878), 42–44.
18. David Watts Hulings was a grandson of Marcus Hulings, an early settler near Clark's Ferry. See *Commemorative Biographical Encyclopedia of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania* (Chambersburg, PA: Runk, 1896), 121.
19. There was an important iron district centered on Salisbury, Connecticut, that lasted from about 1734 to 1920. While the ore was average in quality, it was high in manganese, a mineral that improved the melting and corrosion resistance of iron, and is a critical alloy in steelmaking. The ore was worked with great labor into a high-quality iron that was as "celebrated" in New England as Juniata iron was on a larger scale. There are many instances of the two being compared to each other.
20. As stated, this reputation of the "celebrated" Juniata iron is unequivocally stated in numerous sources, including those by noted iron historians like John B. Pearse, J. Peter Lesley, and James M. Swank, yet little if any documentation to back up these claims was ever offered, and seems to be more anecdotally derived. In 1964 American University graduate student Harold Edwin Stine wrote a master's thesis exploring this reputation, using surviving nineteenth-century statistical data to attempt to discover solid evidence to back up the claims. While he acknowledged the data was limited and incomplete, there was

enough to demonstrate that Juniata iron was held in high esteem by “downstream” manufactures and consumers. Harold E. Stine, “The Story of Juniata Iron,” master’s thesis, American University, Washington, DC, 1964. This thesis is the only good history of the valley written to this point, yet nearly a century after the authors cited.

21. In addition to US Route 22, which follows the route of the Harrisburg-to-Pittsburgh Turnpike, and US 322, which locally follows the old Kishacoquillas Turnpike from Lewistown to Boalsburg. State Route 45 through Spruce Creek Valley in Centre and Huntingdon counties follows the main route of Centre County iron westward.
22. For instance, Swank, in his *Introduction to a History of Ironmaking and Coal Mining*, on page 44 makes a statement to this affect, yet provides little beyond anecdotal evidence for this statement. Surprisingly, surviving reputable documents from the time do support the idea that the Juniata Iron District was a principal ironmaking district, based on available production figures.
23. These statistics are compiled in Stine, “Story of Juniata Iron,” 32–42. In this study, while Stine rejects the numbers cited by Pease and others as relying too heavily on a single source that itself notes was grossly incomplete, he instead uses other, more reliable data, and is able to very closely match the statistics stated by these authors. These statistics bear out the percentages stated.
24. Historically, mechanical items were made one at a time by hand, which took considerable time. No two items were alike, creating problems when parts broke. Whitney’s radical idea was to use new precision machining technology to mass-manufacture parts, where an operator concentrates on the making of only one part, and then assemble the items from these parts along a line of workers, essentially popularizing the modern concepts of “parts standardization” and the “assembly line.” In Whitney’s case, it was muskets for the federal army.
25. Eli Whitney, letter to Henry Grubb, Esq., dated June 12, 1819, as quoted in “Rung’s Chronicles.” These were a series of historical newspaper articles printed in the *Huntingdon Daily News*. Later, the best columns were compiled in book form. See Albert M. Rung, *Rung’s Chronicles of Pennsylvania History* (Huntingdon, PA: Huntingdon County Historical Society, 1977), 275.
26. These figures are from the 1840 US Census of Manufacturers. Compilers at the time noted the possible inaccuracies in the results, but produced a chart showing production. Huntingdon County had twenty furnaces, producing 13,855 tons of cast (pig) iron. No other county, including Allegheny with twenty-eight furnaces, exceeded the 8,220 tons made in only eleven furnaces in Berks Co. Similarly, Huntingdon County had twenty-seven forges, second only to Berks County with thirty-six. Huntingdon produced 14,093 tons of bar iron, second to Allegheny at 28,100 tons. See page 17 of Cephas G. Childs, ed., *Coal and Iron Trade: Embracing Statistics of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: C. G. Childs, 1847).

27. See, for instance, Swank, *Introduction to a History of Ironmaking and Coal Mining*, 44.
28. One of the few surviving visible remains of this road is the Old Stone Arch Bridge at Lewistown. It was built in 1813 and is considered the oldest surviving bridge of its type in central Pennsylvania. Its single arch is unusual, more of a parabolic shape than Roman, and is rather large for the size of the bridge, giving the bridge a decidedly delicate appearance. The bridge is also a rare surviving example of a stone arch bridge built without a keystone. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and was last restored in 2006.
29. See Gerald G. Eggert, *Making Iron on the Bald Eagle: Roland Curtin's Ironworks and the Worker's Community* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press and the Centre County Historical Society, 1999).
30. Despite the extensiveness of this ironworks, no contemporary history of it exists, beyond brief mentions. It is barely mentioned in the two most important works of the period while it was still active, Linn's *History of Centre County*, and Africa's *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, though the latter states that a requested history was never received. Most of this paragraph is pieced together from numerous contemporary newspaper clippings, industrial records, county tax rolls, and deeds.
31. See Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, 55.
32. Nancy S. Shedd, *Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania. An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites* (Washington, DC: HABS/HAER Record, National Park Service, 1991), 3–5, which in turn largely quoted from Merritt Roe Smith, *Harper's Ferry Armory and the New Technology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 166–68, 170, 179.
33. Syndicated announcement, published in numerous newspapers around the country, on or about July 13, 1854, "Death of a Millionaire. —The *Columbian* (PA) *Spy* says Dr. Peter Shoenberger, one of the wealthiest men of the State, died at the residence of his son, in Marietta, on the 18th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age. He has been long known as 'the king' iron master, and his property is estimated to be worth over five millions."
34. Little biographical information can be found on Shoenberger. The best reference, rather uncritical, is, Calvin W. Hetrick, *The Iron King: The Story of Dr. Peter Shoenberger* (Martinsburg, PA: Morrison's Cove Herald, 1961).
35. See Harry H. Hain, *History of Perry County, Pennsylvania, Including Descriptions of Indians and Pioneer Life from the Time of Earliest Settlement* (Harrisburg, PA: Hain-Moore, 1922), 271.
36. Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (London, 1842), chapter 10. An online version is available at: <http://www.online-literature.com/dickens/americannotes/11/>.
37. There are many detailed histories of the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal; however, a good somewhat recent summary of its impact can be found in Joseph A.

- Strausbaugh, "The Influence of the Pennsylvania Mainline of Public Works," *Gettysburg Historical Journal* 5 (Fall 2006): 18–31.
38. All later histories call this operation "Paradise Furnace." Some do barely mention the "Mary Ann Furnace" name associated with Savage. The "Trough Creek Furnace" name was totally unknown and long forgotten. This author discovered two independently verifiable sources for the original name: (1) a public notice, published in the *Huntingdon (PA) Gazette*, November 10, 1830, et al.; and (2) an article of agreement, dated April 16, 1833, between lessor Reuben Trexler and lessee John Savage, of Trough Creek Furnace and other lands, found in Huntingdon County Deed Book X-1, page 361.
 39. While others conducted experiments in using coke in the early years of the nineteenth century, William Firmstone is generally regarded to be the first person to successfully make iron using coke in America, at Paradise Furnace in Huntingdon County. Swank gives a decent account of Firmstone at Paradise Furnace in his *History of the Manufacture of Iron* (1892 edition), 367–68.
 40. Several metal parts removed from Winchester and (Old) Rockhill Furnaces are today displayed at Greenwood Furnace State Park. Many of the furnace lintels are marked "TTC," Cromwell's initials.
 41. Company-produced sales booklet, *Freedom Iron Company, Manufacturer of Locomotive Tyre, Pump and Piston Rods, Engine & Car Axles, Bar of All Sizes, and All Forgings for Railroad Machinery, Lewistown, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Crissy and Markley, 1863. Obviously this is a biased source, but comparing the mileages given in the booklet, it can be seen that it was a very high quality. Note: "tyre" is the contemporary British spelling of "tire," that was also used in America mid-nineteenth century.
 42. A good source for Perry County ironworks is Hain, *History of Perry County*.
 43. Reports of these surveys are well detailed in Charles L. Schlatter, *Second Report of Charles L. Schlatter, Principal Engineer in the Service of the State of Pennsylvania: To the Canal Commissioners, Relative to the Continuous Railroad From Harrisburg to Pittsburgh* (Harrisburg: James S. Wallace, 1841).
 44. No action by the state was taken on these alternate surveys. No grading took place, and no tunnels begun. While it is technically speculation that these three furnaces were built as a result of the proposed line, they were built when this particular survey was forefront in the local news. The three furnaces mentioned were the Little Furnace, built in 1841 outside McAlevy's Fort, Rebecca Furnace, built in 1843 near Jackson's Corner, and Monroe Furnace, built in 1845 near Masseyburg. Of the three, nothing was left of Little Furnace by 1876, and Rebecca Furnace survived until about twenty-five years ago. The stack of Monroe is still visible along PA Route 26 and Charter Oak Road at the base of Tussey Mountain.
 45. The railroad station at Lewistown Junction, listed on the National Register of Historic Places, has been restored to its 1890s appearance. It is the oldest

existing station along the mainline of the former Pennsylvania Railroad, and may be the oldest station in continuous use in the United States. It was built in 1849 as a freight depot, when Lewistown was the western terminus of the line, and converted to a passenger station in 1868. It is also the oldest surviving building known to have been built by the PRR. The station is still serviced by two Amtrak trains daily, though there are no ticketing or baggage services. The Pennsylvania Railroad Technical and Historical Society has its headquarters and archives in the building.

46. For a good complete history of the Southern Pennsylvania Railroad, see William H. Shank, *Vanderbilt's Folly: A History of the Pennsylvania Turnpike* (York, PA: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1993).
47. Gleaned from the indices of the ironworks of Pennsylvania, found in *Documents Relating to the Manufacture of Iron in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: General Committee of the Convention of Iron Masters, 1850).
48. Much information on the financial hardships of this period on the iron industry of Pennsylvania can be found in *ibid*.
49. It should be noted here that many histories state the founding date of what is now Standard Steel was 1795. This date comes from Ellis and Hungerford, *History of that Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys*. Recent researchers have proven this date to be incorrect. Unfortunately, many other works used Ellis and Hungerford as a prime source, compounding the original error. In fact, Ellis and Hungerford give the source for the date, namely a road petition in the Mifflin County Courthouse. When examined, this petition clearly shows that it is referring to the Freedom Forge on Licking Creek. Prior to Ellis and Hungerford, the company clearly considered its founding date to be 1810. However, this author believes that there is a connection to the Licking Creek Freedom Forge and is tied to the company, which would place its founding circa 1790. See Fagley, "Forging Iron, Forging Steel, Forging Freedom."
50. One stove made circa 1816 at the Burnham plant survives and is on display in the entrance lobby of Standard Steel in Burnham.
51. A "chafery" was a type of hearth for reheating blooms (blocks) of iron while being drawn under a hammer into wrought iron.
52. Company-produced sales booklet, *Freedom Iron Company*, 1863.
53. The story of this invasion is not well known, even locally. The men that were recruited locally are part of the "Pennsylvania Emergency Troops of 1863." They were not enrolled or mustered in any regiment, therefore were not trained or provisioned. Instead, they foraged for food, and took to raiding barns and chicken coops, giving them the nickname "The Chicken Raiders." Despite the connotation of the name, they were in fact brave men who built fortifications and were prepared to fight to save their region. When the emergency passed, they went home. A more complete account of this invasion can

- be found in Milton V. Burgess, *Minute Men of Pennsylvania* (Blair County PA: Morrison's Cove Herald, 1962).
54. Swank, *Introduction to a History of Ironmaking and Coal Mining*, 44.
 55. The story of how the Bessemer process came to America is a complicated one, but its delay of a decade after its introduction in England is largely the result of patent disputes between Bessemer, Kelly, and Robert Mushet, each of whom controlled only some of the many patents needed in America. After the Civil War, a group of ironmakers in Troy, New York, led by Alexander Holley, was able to obtain all the necessary patents and bring it to the American iron industry, using only Bessemer's name. A good source for this story is Jeanne McHugh, *Alexander Holley and the Makers of Steel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980)
 56. The first Bessemer works in the United States were Wyandotte, Michigan (a hybrid Kelly-Bessemer Works technically using the process unlicensed), 1864; Bessemer Steel Works, Troy, NY (John A. Griswold and Company), 1864; Pennsylvania Steel Works, Steelton, PA 1867; and the Freedom Iron and Steel Company, Burnham PA, 1868. Cambria Iron Works' Bessemer Plant was not until 1871 (using the same license as the others), though William Kelly experimented there with his process years earlier. A "Kelly Converter" vessel from these experiments is today housed in the Smithsonian.
 57. Andrew Carnegie, *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), 185.
 58. Much research remains to be done on William Butcher Jr. Dr. Charles Wrege (historian and archivist at the Academy of Management, Briarcliff, NY) and Ronald Greenwood (author) did much early research, and this author had many pleasant conversations with Wrege before his passing a few years ago.
 59. There is another long-lived company in the Juniata Valley. McLanahan Corporation in Hollidaysburg, Blair County, has been in business since 1835, beginning as a forge.
 60. John B. Pearse, *A Concise History of the Iron Manufacture of the American Colonies Up to the Revolution, and of Pennsylvania Until the Present Time* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, and Scott, 1876), 175–76.
 61. Quoted in part from "Extract from a Letter from John A. Wright, Esq.," *Documents Relating to the Manufacture of Iron in Pennsylvania*, 47–53.

THE ANABAPTISTS OF JUNIATA COUNTY

A HISTORICAL PROFILE

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ABSTRACT: The Anabaptist story in Juniata County begins with Johannes Kröebiel Jr., a young, ambitious Swiss Mennonite seeking a wider place in the New World. In the 1770s Johannes began to carve a future for his own family and succeeding generations on central Pennsylvania's frontier land. Within the next century, Mennonite, Amish, Brethren, and Brethren-in-Christ groups had growing settlements in the beautiful Juniata Valley. Today dozens of Anabaptist congregations of various affiliations have found their home in the rural county and the saga of faith continues. Their story is similar to Anabaptist settlement in other central and western Pennsylvania rural counties.

KEYWORDS: Mennonites, Amish, Juniata County, Pennsylvania German Anabaptists

INTRODUCTION

When discussing historical German and Swiss Anabaptist groups who migrated to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, people automatically think of their settlements in Lancaster and Berks counties. But almost from the beginning, some of these sects found Lancaster and Berks too confining. Not long after the Pennsylvania government purchased land from the Native Americans in 1754 and 1768, Mennonites, Amish, Dunkards, and other groups moved into the Susquehanna and Juniata river watershed. They often took up lands left behind by Scots-Irish illegal squatters who had moved on by this time. Many Juniata County histories such as Ellis and Hungerford, Hain, Rupp, and others give the Anabaptist groups only cursory attention. A history of the settlement of Juniata County by these Anabaptists is presented here as a

useful example of how similar counties of central Pennsylvania's ridge-and-valley system were established and still thrive today.

Early Mennonite Settlers

The story begins just before the American Revolution and about fifty years before the 1831 formation of Juniata County. In the early 1770s, thirty-two-year-old Johannes Kröebiel Jr. (John Graybill) traveled from Lancaster County and explored the valleys of the Juniata River. He cut his way through the forest for twelve miles to a location near the current village of Richfield, then part of Northumberland County (now West Perry Township, Snyder County). Tradition holds that Kröebiel chose a piece of land within the shadow of Shade Mountain. He discovered a vacant, but sturdy stone building with a beautiful spring under it that he found adequate and appealing for his future home. The structure still exists, and is approximately 20 × 28 feet with two floors; possibly it was constructed during the French and Indian War and then abandoned, about twenty years before Kröebiel found it. Some controversy exists about the origin of this building, sometimes called Pomfret Castle or Fort Pomfret.

Intending to come back soon with his family and the necessary warrant to claim the land, tradition holds that Johannes Kröebiel hid his log chain and other tools in a sinkhole near Shade Mountain and returned to Lancaster County. With a land warrant dated March 18, 1774, and a survey for the plot performed the following April 7, Johannes moved his family to the fertile, promising valley where the vacant fort became their first residence. The peace-loving nonresistant Anabaptist/Mennonite Kröebiel family closed the port holes of the structure, proving their intentions to live at peace with all men. There the family endured the hard winter of 1774–75.¹

European Mennonites and Amish

Pioneering was not new to the Kröebiel family, who had their origins in Switzerland. For more than 200 years, Anabaptists had been fleeing persecution on European soil.² The Anabaptist/Mennonites were first known as Swiss Brethren in Zurich. A few years after Martin Luther tacked his Ninety-five Theses to the Catholic church door at Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517, Zurich Reformed pastor Ulrich Zwingli also parted ways with Catholicism when he criticized selling indulgences and other practices, but chose to accept the state rule that combined infant baptism with legal citizenship. Some members of Zwingli's group believed salvation a voluntary choice beyond the

understanding of an infant and chose to be rebaptized in 1525. Later they became known as “Anabaptists” (or rebaptizers). Menno Simons, a Dutch priest, left the Catholic Church in 1536 and eventually became a prominent leader of the Anabaptists. His writings were circulated to Germany and Switzerland; his followers were called Mennonites. In spite of severe persecution from both Catholic and Reformed groups, the Anabaptist movement grew and spread to surrounding European lands. A more conservative group in 1693 followed Jakob Amman, a young Anabaptist minister. They became known as “Amish.”³

By 1681 Peter Krahenbuhl/Kröebiel’s Anabaptist family had fled Zazwil, Switzerland, to escape persecution, part of a group of 700 Anabaptists who traveled to Germany. Eventually the Kröebiels found safe refuge in Weierhof in the Palatinate.⁴ Later that year some Mennonites (or Mennonists or Swissers as they were known) made plans to accept William Penn’s offer of religious toleration and freedom in the new colony of Pennsylvania. Thus began the large migration of Mennonites and Amish to the New World, and most famously to Lancaster and Berks counties.

When life in Germany became difficult for Anabaptists—with religious persecution ranging from discrimination to fines, penalties, heavy taxes, and mandatory military conscription—Peter Kröebiel’s descendant Johannes Kröebiel Sr. migrated to Pennsylvania and Lancaster County about 1765. Within the first decade of their arrival, his son Johannes Jr. chose to move into somewhat unsettled territory, possibly after the 1772 creation of Northumberland County. Soon other Mennonites followed Kröebiel Jr. and his family along the West Mahantango Creek near Shade Mountain.⁵ They were likely one of the first groups of Mennonites to cross the Susquehanna and head north and west after the French and Indian War.⁶

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

The Revolution brought new challenges to the nonresistant Mennonite and Amish settlers. They had left Europe to avoid compulsive military conscription. Now they were encouraged to join the military to fight for independence from British rule. When these immigrants arrived at Philadelphia, they had affirmed loyalty to the British crown, intending to practice obedience to the government unless it interfered with God’s higher law of love. But they were living in the colonies—which government rule were they to obey? Some joined the military, and Johannes Kröebiel Jr. was likely one of the majority

of Anabaptists who enrolled but did not serve, paying a hefty fine rather than compromise his nonresistant beliefs and be mustered into the army.⁷

Worship services were held in private homes. Johannes's son, John Graybill III, became the first resident minister among the Juniata County Mennonites and served for fifty-one years from his ordination in 1788 to 1839. His godly influence was a great blessing to the church. Among his descendants are many ordained Mennonite ministers and deacons. In 1818 Christian Graybill, the settler's grandson, established the village of Richfield near the present Snyder–Juniata county line.⁸ Settler Johannes Kröebiel and his wife Barbara were laid to rest in 1806 and 1829, respectively, in a small Graybill family plot in Cross Roads Mennonite Cemetery not far from Fort Pomfret. Today a small marble monument with the inscription, "First settler in this valley" marks his grave.

Brick (Shelleys) Mennonite Church

In 1800 Johannes Shelley donated a parcel of land for a church on the north side of his ridge farm, located about a mile from the Kröebiel homestead in adjoining Cumberland County (currently Juniata). This log building, known as Shelleys, was also used as a schoolhouse for early families, and had an adjoining cemetery. When the log building was no longer adequate as a church, it was razed and some heavy timbers salvaged to become part of the new 1868 Brick (Shelleys) Mennonite Church. Oral tradition tells us the bricks for this structure were made in the farm fields just north of the church. In the following years, the congregation had differences of opinion about biblical applications and practice, resulting in several divisions. One of these, the Leiter division, held services on alternating Sundays for about thirty years in the mid-1800s until the few remaining members reunited with the church in the early 1870s. A family quarrel led to another schism in 1883 and the entire ministry and many members withdrew from the Old Mennonite Brick Church, resulting in the formation of the Richfield Mennonite Church in 1886.

When the new Brick Church was only four years old, John M. and Catharine (Shelley) Kurtz's family was stricken with diphtheria. Five of their large family of children had died of various causes before this date, and in one week in 1872 an epidemic carried away six more. They buried eleven of their twelve children in the adjoining cemetery. The surviving teenage son, John, was later ordained a minister in a double ordination at the church. John served the Brick Church faithfully until 1894 when he moved to Lancaster

County and became part of the Old Order Mennonites. His two younger brothers, born after the epidemic, also migrated to Lancaster County.

The Brick Church was used for services until the 1930s. The building was vacant for almost a decade until it was remodeled for the purpose of a sewing room for local Mennonite congregations. After the sewing circle discontinued its use, the property was deeded to the Juniata Mennonite Historical Society who restored the church in 1995; and the cemetery was deeded to Cross Roads Mennonite Church.

Lost Creek Mennonite Church

After the Shelleys log meeting house was erected, Mennonite settlers ventured a little further west in the Juniata Valley and planned a log meeting house instead of worshiping in private homes. Located along the road to Cedar Spring, the 1819 log structure functioned both as a church and school house, and became known as the Lost Creek Mennonite Church.

Mennonite Jacob Kauffman, with his wife and six children, arrived in the Oakland Mills area in 1795. Soon the Acker, Brubaker, Funk, Gingrich, Holtzapple, Kilmer, Lauver, Meier, Musser, Scherk, Shellenberger, Shelley, Sieber, Smith, Weaver, and other families arrived to erect dwellings and farm the land. The Lost Creek Mennonite Church is believed to be the second-oldest Mennonite Church in Juniata County. Jacob S. Graybill, ordained in 1849, became the first minister to preach in English. Because travel was often by foot over undeveloped roads, and was inconvenient, between 1880 and 1919 the Lost Creek congregation also held services in various area school-houses, including Mexico, Locust Run, Mount Pleasant, Swamp, Fairview, and Rockland. It appears that John Graybill, a son of Johannes Kröebiel, the settler, and ordained as a minister in 1788, may have served as bishop for this area along with the Shelleys congregation.

The Lost Creek congregation erected a new building in 1867 and replaced the original log structure. About 1936–37 electric service was provided from the light plant on the Weaver farm across the road. This electric service replaced the kerosene lights for evening meetings until electricity was provided to the rural area. The building was enlarged in 1962 and then remodeled and enlarged again in 1991. Samuel Gayman was the first Sunday school superintendent on April 9, 1893, when forty-seven persons attended the 3:00 p.m. classes. For many years the Lost Creek and nearby Delaware Mennonite congregations alternated Sunday morning services. They began holding weekly services at both places in July 1979. The Lost

Creek congregation continues to be affiliated with the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, and its cemetery is located on a slope adjoining the church building. Approximately 1,500 burials are recorded in this burial ground for Mennonite families and the local community. Several African Americans are buried here including the Carter family who were Lost Creek members.

Cross Roads Mennonite Church

The Cross Roads Mennonite Church had its beginnings when the Johannes Kröebiel Jr. family worshiped in their home. More Mennonites moved into the area and services also held in their newly constructed farm homes. After 1800 John Graybill, Kröebiel's oldest son, served this congregation as well, and used the Shelleys church schoolhouse instead of homes for services. Because travel to church was often slow and by foot on unpaved roads or paths, the Graybill stone meetinghouse was built in 1854, then Lauvers church in 1867. About 1908, the Graybill church name was changed to Cross Roads. Services conveniently alternated among Cross Roads, Lauvers, and the Brick meetinghouses. When the congregation outgrew the stone building, a new brick building was constructed. It was dedicated debt-free on September 27, 1930. With the introduction of automobiles, travel became less burdensome. Since membership at the Brick Church had dwindled, it was no longer used for regular services. Sunday morning services alternated between Cross Roads and Lauvers for many years, then were held at both places beginning in 1989. They were the last two congregations that alternated worship services in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference.

The congregation withdrew from the Lancaster Mennonite Conference in 1994 and became affiliated with the Keystone Mennonite Fellowship. The Cross Roads congregation grew rapidly and was out of space by 2012 when they were offered the Susquehanna Mennonite meetinghouse in Snyder County. Two Cross Roads ordained leaders, Orval Graybill and Brian Stauffer, along with half of the membership, formed a new congregation, and they meet in the Susquehanna Meeting House near Port Trevorton.

Cross Roads opened its first Sunday school on April 4, 1897, at 2:00 p.m. The attendance was forty-five persons with an offering of thirty-six cents. In the early years, the Sunday school was often closed in the winter months, but became year-round in 1917. A sewing circle was organized in 1919 and held in the homes of various members. From 1922 to 1941 the women met in a vacant house on sewing day. Bishop W. W. Graybill's sons picked up sewing machines with their horse and wagon, one at a time, on sewing circle day.

When the Brick Church was renovated in 1941, the monthly all-day sewing circle was held there. In 1995 it was moved to the Cross Roads church basement.

CIVIL WAR ERA

In the 1860s the Civil War brought another crisis of conscience for the Mennonites and Amish in Juniata County. Again, some young men enlisted but many held to the nonresistant beliefs of their church and paid a heavy fine to be exempt from the army. An 1862 list of conscientious objectors from Juniata County includes many Mennonite surnames such as Auker, Benner, Dysinger, Graybill, Haldeman, Kanagy, Lauver, Musser, Seiber, Shelley, and Weaver.⁹

Lauvers Mennonite Church

Juniata Mennonite congregations grew steadily, and more members were moving west of Richfield and Evendale. Jacob and Catherine Lauver sold a one-acre plot of land near Evendale for fifty dollars to build the Lauvers Mennonite meetinghouse in 1867. The plot was referred to as “a brushy place.” Families among the charter members were Aukers, Gingrichs, Haldemans, Kauffmans, Lauvers, Myers, Rines, Shellenbergers, and Oberholtzers. John Gingrich, who died on May 18, 1868, was the first person laid to rest in the new Lauvers Mennonite cemetery. The first and only wedding that took place in the original stone building was a double wedding on October 13, 1925, when J. Roy Graybill wed Mary Ferster and Nevin Bender married Esther Lauver. At that time weddings were usually conducted in the bride’s home or the bishop’s house.

By 1928 the building was crowded with worshipers so members decided to replace the stone structure with a new 40 × 60-foot brick building. The total cost for the structure amounted to \$7,432.19. Even four-year-old J. Lloyd Gingrich contributed four dollars from his savings account for the project. Other improvements and renovations took place at various times. The most recent and largest addition took place in 2006 when the church was enlarged and renovated to make the building handicapped accessible.¹⁰

Lauvers has the distinction of being the location for the first known Mennonite African American baptism. Cloyd Carter and his parents, Robert and Susan/Susanna Carter, were baptized at Lauvers Mennonite Church by Bishop William Acker on April 21, 1897. Just prior to that date, A. D. Wenger

preached powerful evangelistic meetings in Juniata County. Many responded to God's call on their life and a class of thirty applicants was baptized and received church membership. Some chose to be part of the Lauvers congregation, while others, like the Carter family, chose membership at Lost Creek Mennonite Church.¹¹

Lauvers has been well represented on the mission field through the years. William G. Lauver and his wife went to Argentina, South America, as missionaries in 1921. Clinton and Maybell Ferster, also pioneer missionaries, sailed to Tanganyika (Tanzania), East Africa, in 1935. In more recent years, missionaries have gone to Haiti, Gambia, Ghana, and various points of voluntary service in the United States. The Lauvers congregation transferred its affiliation from Lancaster Mennonite Conference to Conservative Mennonite Conference in 2012.

Delaware Mennonite Church

The Delaware Mennonite congregation met in private homes for services for many decades before a plot of land was purchased from Christian G. and Sarah Ann (Benner) Shelley in 1871 for the purpose of building a meetinghouse. Christian was the son of minister Henry Shelley, who died in 1850. The brick building was heated with small ten-plate stoves and coal oil provided fuel for the lights. A shed between the church and the cemetery provided shelter for horses during a service.¹²

In the early days of the congregation, the ministers occasionally traveled to Pfoutz Valley near Millerstown to conduct services for the Mennonites living there. Casper Acker was an early minister in that area as well. The group met either in the Wardville or Lock schoolhouse. A meeting was held at the Delaware Mennonite Church in 1898 about building a meetinghouse in Pfoutz Valley, and interest was expressed, but it never happened. Eventually, the members either moved away or joined other local churches.¹³ By 1925 a basement was excavated under the Delaware Mennonite church and within a few years, coal oil lights were exchanged for electricity. When the old building was crowded and in need of repairs, the church worked together as a team to build a new meetinghouse on the same property. The facility was dedicated on October 24, 1953, and the old meetinghouse used for a Christian school from 1954 to 1988. Today the Juniata Mennonite School near McAlisterville serves the succeeding generations of students. A group of families left the Delaware congregation to form the Goodwill Mennonite Church in 1967, and is affiliated with the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite

Church. Lost Creek and Delaware continued to alternate Sunday services until July 1979 when they saw the need to conduct services in both churches every Sunday. The Delaware congregation is affiliated with the Lancaster Mennonite Conference.

REACHING OUT

Mennonites have always believed in helping their neighbors. With this sense of community, the Juniata District reached out to assist the Susquehanna Mennonite Church about fifteen miles away in Port Trevorton, Snyder County. That congregation, established in 1879, worshiped in the Brubaker schoolhouse until their meetinghouse was built in 1890. A group met at the Brick Church near Richfield to elect trustees and discuss the need for a place of worship and a burial ground for the Mennonites in the eastern region known as the "Big River District." The first service was held in a newly constructed building on October 26, 1890. The local bishop, Jacob S. Graybill, was ill and unable to attend, so Jonas H. Martin from Lancaster County and John M. Zimmerman were in charge of the service. The church thrived for the next century, when finally, due to dwindling membership, the building was transferred to the Cross Roads Mennonite Church in 2012. Two of the Cross Roads Mennonite ministry and half the membership transferred to the Susquehanna meetinghouse and are affiliated with the Keystone Mennonite Fellowship.¹⁴ Susquehanna Mennonite Church was not the last or only time the Juniata District reached out to surrounding counties. The Buffalo Mennonite Church near Lewisburg, Union County, was established under their wing in 1949 when some Juniata County families and other Mennonites moved into that area. In recent years, the Buffalo congregation transferred its affiliation to the Conservative Mennonite Conference.

During the 1950s the Susquehanna congregation and the Juniata churches banded together to establish a mission outreach at the Locust Grove School House near Meiserville, Snyder County. Eventually local interest waned and the mission was discontinued about 1958. Currently the schoolhouse is a private residence. Another outreach of the Juniata District was the Millmont Mennonite Church near Millmont, Union County, established in 1963. That congregation is now affiliated with the Mid-Atlantic Mennonite Fellowship. A fourth outreach congregation served by the district was the Valley Mennonite Chapel located near Madisonburg, Centre County. Today that small, rural congregation is affiliated with the Keystone Mennonite

Fellowship. Currently, there are more than a dozen Mennonite congregations in Juniata County of various affiliations.

JUNIATA COUNTY AMISH SETTLEMENTS

In addition to Mennonites, other Anabaptist groups settled in Juniata County. The first Amish presence was in the Oakland Mills area about 1806. Joseph Hostetler (Hochstetler) and his two sons were among the first to own a farm there. Joseph was the son of Jacob Hostetler, whose family was attacked by Indians in 1757 in Berks County. Joseph's mother and some of his siblings were killed in that attack.¹⁵ Joseph may have lived in the area a few years before he purchased the farm in Fermanagh Township, Juniata County (then Mifflin County), in 1810. Other Amish settlers followed in a steady stream to the Lost Creek settlement that included family surnames such as Byler, Headings, Hertzler, Hooley, Kauffman, Kurtz, Lantz, Mast, Renno, Rickenbaugh, Sieber, Speicher, Stutzman, Swarey, Yoder, and Zook/Zug. The Amish moved away about eighty years later, due to differences of opinion on biblical applications and the opportunity of cheaper farming land in Nebraska. They left behind a few burial grounds and some descendants who had transferred to the nearby Lost Creek Mennonite Church. Many of the Lost Creek Amish migrated to Nebraska where they pioneered a new settlement.

The well-known "Rosanna of the Amish" moved to the Juniata County Amish settlement with her foster parents in 1842 when she was nearly four years old. Rosanna McGonegal Yoder (1837–95), an Irish Catholic orphan, lived near Jericho with her parents, Christian and Elizabeth (Yoder) Kauffman. After Christian Kauffman died, Elizabeth married widower Shem Yoder and Rosanna moved with them to Big Valley in Mifflin County. Rosanna married Christian Z. Yoder, and their son, Joseph W. Yoder (1872–1956), published in 1940 the book *Rosanna of the Amish* as an homage to his mother and a means of educating others and dispelling stereotypes about the Amish. The book is one of the best-known accounts of Amish life and principles.¹⁶ Joseph and his mother are buried in Locust Grove Cemetery in Belleville, Mifflin County.

Another early Amish settlement was established in the 1830s west of the Juniata River around Mifflin, Port Royal, Academia, Walnut, and Spruce Hill. This Tuscarora settlement consisted of common Amish family surnames such as Blank, Esh, Glick, Hertzler, Kanagy, Kauffman, Reihl, Swarey, Schmucker, Yoder, and Zook/Zug. It seems a more liberal attitude

led to dissolving the settlement in 1880. Many in the Tuscarora settlement were attracted to fertile soils in the Big Valley, Mifflin County, where a large grouping of Amish thrive today. They left behind several burial grounds that serve as a reminder of their Juniata County presence. Although the Tuscarora settlement did not depart from many of the traditional Amish practices, this may have been the harbinger of the present day Amish-Mennonite groups who value a conservative lifestyle but have also adopted some of the practices of the Mennonite groups. Many of the Tuscarora Amish eventually moved to Mifflin County, where a large Amish settlement exists today.

Amish returned to the Oakland Mills area in 1950. German worship services are held in the homes of the members. There are no meetinghouses, but small schoolhouses dot the countryside, where children receive an eighth-grade education.

Juniata County Church of the Brethren

Another Anabaptist group with early beginnings in Juniata County is located in Bunkertown. In 1708, well over 300 years ago, the Church of the Brethren originated in Germany. Alexander Mack Sr. was influenced by Pietism and Anabaptism when he established a group who simply called themselves the "Brethren." While many Anabaptist groups baptize by pouring, the Brethren practice baptism by immersion.¹⁷ Their distinctive immersion practice soon led to the common names "Dunkers" or "Tunkers," meaning "to dip." Another distinguishing feature of the Brethren is the Love Feast, an important occasion for the groups that descend from the Brethren, including the Church of the Brethren, Old German Baptist Brethren, and Dunkard Brethren. They regularly practice the Love Feast resembling the Last Supper as instituted by Jesus with His disciples in Luke 22:7–22 and John 13:1–20. Feet washing, a simple meal, and the communion service are observed at the Love Feast. Although the Moravians later adopted a Love Feast, the Brethren first instituted the Love Feast during the early eighteenth century.¹⁸

As a result of severe persecution in Germany, Peter Becker led a group of Brethren immigrants to the New World in 1719 and established a congregation in Pennsylvania. Mack later led a second group of immigrants to Pennsylvania in 1729. A major schism in 1880 resulted in three factions. The largest group, the German Baptist Brethren adopted the name Church of the Brethren in 1908.

In 1838 the first Brethren Church in Juniata County, the Bunkertown Church, was erected. The meetinghouse was placed on a plot of ground

donated by John Shellenberger, son of the immigrant pioneer who purchased land in 1780. When asked for a price for the land, Shellenberger replied, "Nothing but your goodwill." Therefore, until 1941, the church was called the Goodwill Meeting House; the allied cemetery in Bunkertown continues to carry the name Goodwill Cemetery. Peter and David Shellenberger, sons of the immigrant, were early ministers of the Lost Creek congregation. The church building was rebuilt in 1891 with an addition added in 1960. The expanded building was used until 2002 when it was sold to the Cocolamus Mennonite Church. This congregation, affiliated with the Hope Mennonite Fellowship, uses the facility for church services and a private school.¹⁹ The Bunkertown Church of the Brethren built a new and larger church on an adjoining property. Another Church of the Brethren congregation with a presence in Juniata County includes the Free Spring Church of the Brethren near McAlisterville established in 1990.

Juniata County Brethren-in-Christ Churches

The Brethren-in-Christ Church denomination in Juniata County dates to 1788 when Jacob Engle and a group of Mennonites met near Marietta, Pennsylvania, for Bible study. They came to the conclusion that the biblical mode of baptism was to be immersed three times, representing the Triune Godhead. As most of the early members lived near the Susquehanna, they came to be known as the River Brethren. During the Civil War, this nonresistant group adopted the name Brethren-in-Christ when they registered with the Union government of the United States. Today Brethren-in-Christ are scattered across the United States and Canada and in more than twenty-three countries. The denominational headquarters are located at Grantham, near the institution they founded, Messiah College.²⁰

Cedar Grove Brethren-in-Christ congregation of Mifflintown was established in the mid-1800s as a small body of believers who met in local schoolhouses and various homes. Originally called the Pike Meetinghouse, it was later named the Mount Pleasant Church. The members from this district often walked to Lykens Valley, about thirty miles away, for the Love Feast events. The congregation did not have a meetinghouse until 1930 when the original structure was built at a cost of \$4,817.40. Greely Gingrich donated the land for a place of worship. Additions to the original structure took place in 1965, 1976, 1995, and 2003. The Cedar Grove congregation has assisted in establishing new congregations in neighboring counties in the past few decades.

MENNONITE AND AMISH DISTINCTIONS

Many non-Mennonites are confused by the wide variety of applications and practices of the Amish and Mennonites groups. One Mennonite writer has illustrated this with the metaphor of the hedges people place around their property. Some prefer high hedges that yield only a limited view of the outside world. Their desire is to protect children from wandering into dangerous places. Others prefer low hedges, which are easier to step over. This allows more freedom to move between the property and the world around them. Rather than seeking protection, they are simply establishing boundary lines. As there are varying heights of hedges, so the Amish and Mennonites have varying standards of separation from the world and its influence.

The most conservative Amish and Old Order Mennonite groups drive a horse and buggy, avoid modern conveniences in their homes, and have very simple, plain clothing. They view higher education as a danger for their children. In contrast, many Mennonites drive cars, have electricity, and telephones. Many do not use the radio or television and other forms of entertainment that might hinder biblical, moral and spiritual values. They encourage modest dress and a simple lifestyle. Higher education is accepted as a way to prepare for Christian service. In general, many Mennonites and Amish differences are the expression of how they choose to be “in the world, but not of it.”

Like some members of many other church groups, some Mennonite and Amish individuals are not truly committed to God and a biblical lifestyle. For some, there is the temptation to assume their simple lifestyle or good works will earn their salvation. Others are tempted to “sow their wild oats” or discard biblical principles. It is not wise to measure a whole group by certain individuals. Both deviations hinder the message of the Gospel to the world around them.²¹

Generally, Amish and Mennonites are widely acclaimed for their beautiful quilts, and community barn raisings, but the deeper richness of their lives is a shared faith and community. Nor is their generosity limited to their own community. Van loads of Amish and Mennonites can be seen traveling from Juniata County to assist residents in other parts of the country who have suffered the devastating effects of a tornado, earthquake, or other tragedy. Mennonite Disaster Service functions under the umbrella of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), a global relief agency established in 1920 of inter-Mennonite connections. Christian Aid Ministries, established in 1981

is also an important Mennonite relief agency in the role of disaster service. They have teams in many states that are on twenty-four-hour call as first responders in the event of a major disaster such as forest fires, hurricanes, or tornados in their region.

The Juniata County Anabaptist story continues to be an intriguing saga of faith. We reflect in appreciation for the sacrifices and bravery that Johannes Kröebiel and many others exemplified. Their vision and enduring faith helped to open a whole new territory in our beautiful Keystone state. The scenic, rural Juniata Valley continues to attract Mennonites and Amish from other counties and states with its fertile farm land and peaceful surroundings.

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NOTES

1. Spencer L. Kraybill and Noah L. Zimmerman, *History of a John Graybill Family in America 1681–1981*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, 1982), 30. Fort Pomfret is located at 1829 Winey Road, Richfield. Pennsylvania Land Warrantee Records and Survey Book C-79, p. 112, Pennsylvania State Archives.
2. An excellent overview is Donald B. Kraybill, *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 10.
3. Leroy Beachey, *Unser Leit: The Story of the Amish* (Amberson, PA: Scroll Publishing, 2011).
4. John L. Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2001), 119.
5. Kraybill and Zimmerman, *History of a John Graybill Family*, 73–74.
6. In 1755 the Jacob King family migrated to the “Big Mahanoy” (Penns Creek) and became victims of the Penns Creek Massacre along with some other “Dutch” settlers. See Ruth, *The Earth Is the Lord's*.
7. Leann Lauver, *Cross Roads Mennonite Church* (Richfield, PA: Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, 2009).
8. Betty Ann Landis, *Brick Mennonite Church* (Richfield, PA: Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, 2014).

9. Editor, *Mennonite Research Journal* (April 1965): 21.
10. Betty Ann Landis, *Lauvers Mennonite Church* (Richfield, PA: Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, 2010).
11. Bishop William Acker 1897 baptism record, preserved at Juniata Mennonite Historical Center.
12. Mary (Peachey) Graybill, *Delaware Mennonite Church* (Richfield, PA: Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, 2005).
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14. Betty Ann Landis, *Susquehanna Mennonite Church* (Richfield, PA: Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, 2013).
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16. Joseph W. Yoder *Rosanna of the Amish* (Huntington, PA: Yoder Publishing Company, 1940), 27–52.
17. Donald B. Kraybill, *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren Hutterites, and Mennonites* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 29.
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19. Mary Alice Charlton, “A Glimpse at Bunkertown,” *Echoes: The Newsletter of the Juniata Mennonite Historical Society*, April 2013, 6.
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PERRY COUNTY POLITICS AND RAILS

THE PERRY COUNTY RAILROAD EXTENSION VS. THE NEWPORT AND SHERMAN'S VALLEY RAILROAD AND THE COUNTY SEAT DEBATE

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ABSTRACT: The county seat debate in Perry County took more than seventy years to be finalized. Out of desire to use the railroads to secure the county seat, two railroad companies were formed in the late 1880s: one primarily supported by Newport businessmen and the other by those from New Bloomfield. In 1891 both companies were building in the same area, and before an agreement could be reached regarding right of way, the Perry County Railroad Extension, a narrow-gauge rail system, created a grade crossing over the Newport and Sherman's Valley Railroad, a standard-gauge rail system. The different gauges made transfer or sharing of rails challenging. The subsequent lawsuit between these two entities reached the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. This is one of only a few cases in which a narrow-gauge railroad won right of way in a suit against a standard gauge.

KEYWORDS: Railroads in Pennsylvania, New Bloomfield, Perry County, Juniata Valley, Sherman's Valley

Today Perry County is known for little except its close proximity to Harrisburg, the Rockville Bridge between Marysville and Harrisburg, and a relatively low cost of living provided by its rural location. It is difficult to believe that for the first three-quarters of a century the county was frequently involved in disputes about the locale of the county seat or housed two competing railroads born of that dispute. The division between supporters of New Bloomfield and Newport for the center of government pitted financiers of the railroad industry against one another and divided the county in earlier years.

This is not the first work to focus on the railroads of Perry County. Roy Chandler, Richard H. Steinmetz and Frederick A. Kramer, in a combined effort, published books about the railroads in the 1970s, as did Dennis J. Hocker in 2011. This work differs by emphasizing the court case resulting from having two railroads with competing goals attempting to operate in the same area outside New Bloomfield as well as on the contribution of the county seat debate to this conflict.

When Perry County was formed out of Cumberland County in March 1820, a decades-long debate over the county seat began. Six Perry County communities vied for the title, with Landisburg named as the temporary center for county business. It was not uncommon in Pennsylvania for there to be extended debate over the location of a county seat; however, Perry County's debate lasted longer and required more investigations by commissions than any others in the Commonwealth. Three commissions were required in Mifflin and Adams counties, but Perry County required a fourth. The first and third commissions' recommendation was for Landisburg. The second selected Newport and the final selected the area of Bloomfield (also known as New Bloomfield due to the post office name). George Barnett announced that he would donate eight acres of land in Bloomfield to the county in March 1823 for the purpose of building the courthouse and county offices, which ultimately swayed the decision in favor of Bloomfield.

While located in Landisburg, county offices were placed in a number of businesses throughout the town until the governor-appointed commission could establish a permanent county seat and a courthouse could be erected. Once the decision was made to locate the county seat permanently in Bloomfield, George Barnett officially donated the land and the county was able to sell some parcels to raise funds for the construction of the courthouse. By 1827 it was completed and county offices moved there. Though some community members still did not agree with the location, the issue was temporarily laid to rest until 1849 when a motion was raised in the state legislature to move the county seat to Newport. This motion was reported on negatively and died.¹ Again the issue was laid to rest for a time. In the mid-1880s Newport businessmen again brought the county seat issue to the forefront. They called for a county-wide vote to move the county seat to Newport based on the reasoning that it was the largest town in terms of both industry and population. At this time, Pennsylvania as a whole was in a period of extensive railroad building. There were more railroads incorporated, at approximately 2,500, than any other state in the United States.²

It is important to note that a large number of these railroads only existed as a charter, but that many others ran without a charter, so other states could have had more active railroads than Pennsylvania.

The prospect of moving the county seat spurred leading residents of Bloomfield to push for the building of a railroad to connect Bloomfield to the Pennsylvania Railroad, which ran along the eastern border of Perry County. Citizens met on January 22, 1887, at the home of Judge Charles Smiley near Bloomfield to organize a railroad and begin preparations for obtaining a charter from the Commonwealth. While they were raising funds required for chartering, Newport businessmen were also attempting to gain support for their own railroad. The *Perry County Democrat* reported that former county sheriff David Rhinesmith had contributed liberally to a Newport-based railroad and also warned that six out of every ten voters in Spring Township were prepared to vote for the removal of the county seat to Newport unless the railroad could be built. The same edition of the *Democrat* tells that a "Removal Bill" was to be introduced to the state legislature later that week and included the following editorial statements: "Newport started out dead earnest to remove the county seat. Such is still her settled purpose. To defeat that end aim the railroad must be made." "All citizens of the valley, able to subscribe to the stock, should now show that they, too, are favorable to the construction of the road. It will largely advantage them, as well as the citizens of Bloomfield and vicinity."³

The necessary funds were raised and the Bloomfield-based standard gauge Perry County Railroad (PCRR) was chartered February 4, 1887. Ground was broken the following May 9, with a special ceremony at seven o'clock in the morning on the east side of Carlisle Street in New Bloomfield.⁴ The *Duncannon Record* advertised positions building the railroad for one dollar a day wages.⁵ In spite of optimistic predictions and reports of early progress in the newspapers, work on the PCRR was beset with problems and had to be suspended in February 1888, when it was realized that a bid by contractor Maginnis and White of \$32,199 was not sufficient to cover their costs, which had already reached \$24,000. By this point an estimated two-thirds of the grading was completed and six of thirteen bridges were built. Early reports of the suspension indicate that Maginnis and White were believed to be in breach of contract when they abandoned the construction.⁶ PCRR decided to hire another contractor rather than pay the increase, which led to a lawsuit. Construction did not begin again until September 1888. The road to Bloomfield was finally completed in the fall of 1889, and a formal

grand opening ceremony held November 2, 1889, complete with the playing of "The Perry County Railroad March," a special piece of music written by Charles Barnett Jr.⁷

With the construction of the railroad to serve Bloomfield, Newport advocates seem to have been aware that unless they were also able to connect to the farmland to the southwest portion of the county by railroad, the county seat would remain in Bloomfield. Local businessman David Gring had lost a contract for lumbering in Huntingdon County and was tearing down his narrow-gauge Diamond Valley Railroad, which had run unchartered from Barree to Neff's Mills, a distance slightly over eleven miles. He negotiated with Newport businessmen to use the Diamond Valley equipment to form the Newport and Sherman's Valley Railroad (N&SVRR). Gring was named the president of the new company, a role he would fill for the majority of the company's life. He had come to the area as supervisor of his father's lumber company, Gring Lumber.⁸ He bought large tracts of land in Perry, Juniata, Huntingdon, Mifflin and Blair counties, and beyond.⁹ His involvement in the railroad was extremely influential and he also became involved in other facets of Newport, later serving as the chair of the Newport Water Company.¹⁰

Given that the Diamond Valley Railroad had been in operation for less than five years and was used almost exclusively for transporting lumber out for the Gring Lumber Company, it was reasonable to expect that the N&SVRR would also serve the lumber industry and would also be removed with the depletion of timber resources of Perry County. Narrow-gauge equipment was well suited for the purpose of easily moving up and down the narrow valleys of the ridge-and-valley region of central Pennsylvania, in addition to being less expensive to build than standard gauge. However, there were many differences in practices between Diamond Valley and the N&SVRR from the beginning. The N&SVRR was built to standard gauge specifications.

Construction of the N&SVRR was completed with relative ease. The formal charter was issued on July 30, 1890, and construction underway by September. On November 7, 1890, an N&SVRR engine made a ceremonial first run on Peach Street in Newport after arriving via the Pennsylvania Railroad. The first regular run to Loysville was made on February 16, 1891, and by December rails had reached Blain. As the first company to serve Sherman's Valley, N&SVRR was able to secure prime land for their route as well as a lucrative contract with Adams Express Company for package delivery. The

company also benefited from the Oak Extract Company's Newport facility, which extracted chemicals from bark for use in tanning leather.¹¹

Almost immediately after completion of their initial routes, both the PCRR and the N&SVRR began to consider expansion further into southwestern Perry County and beyond. The PCRR Extension Company was formally organized May 23, 1891. On May 28 the application for a charter was made in Harrisburg and the route and location selected June 17, 1891.¹² Discussions of a possible grading and railroad crossing with N&SVRR began even before the charter was formally approved, and by August 8, 1891, the PCRR Extension was said to have made great progress.¹³

Progress continued on the extension until it reached the point of crossing with the N&SVRR. Beginning by September 7, 1891, meetings regarding the proposed crossing were taking place. William N. Seibert, a Bloomfield attorney and treasurer of the PCRR Company, went with Charles Smiley, president of the PCRR, and also representatives of the new N&SVRR, to meet with William H. Sponsler, the attorney representing N&SVRR, to arrange for a crossing view. Seibert kept a diary and referenced the visit he and his son had accompanying a corps of surveyors on September 10 to learn what he could about civil engineering, presumably in regard to the crossing. On the twenty-second, Seibert and his son met with Smiley, Sam Bernheisel, and representatives from N&SVRR on the Neilson farm near Ellittsburg, to inspect cattle ways. Seibert said that N&SVRR "refused to sit to hear testimony to rumors" and they postponed further discussion until October 14; unfortunately Seibert's diary contains no entries from October 12 to November 4, so there is no account of that meeting. They met again on November 11 in the afternoon, this time with B. F. Junkin, C. H. Smiley, and J. C. McAlister representing the Perry County Railroad Company. One of these meetings regarding the crossing is discussed in depth in court documents, though a date is never given.¹⁴

On December 12, 1891, Seibert recorded the following in his diary, "About 7pm John and I drove up to David Tressler's and went to Junction of PCRR and N&SVRR where former was forcibly putting in a crossing frog mechanism to allow the train to travel over the different rail lines. Remained there until 9pm then drove home." This crossing frog led N&SVRR to file for an injunction, which Judge J. W. Simonton, who had been brought in from Dauphin County to preside after Judge Barnett had recused himself (due to a conflict of interest as he was a stockholder for the PCRR Extension Company), ordered on December 19. Judge Simonton had heard at least

three railroad cases in 1889, which may have, when combined with the proximity, encouraged his appointment. Upon learning of the injunction, Seibert wrote, "At noon I learned that Judge Simonton held that the crossing was illegally placed (certainly it was) and ordered a preliminary injunction to restrain us from crossing and meantime N&SVRR not to molest the crossing."¹⁵

Orders to begin the court proceedings were filed on December 26 on behalf of County Sheriff George M. Ritter, by J.G. Preisler, deputy sheriff. The Honorable D. Watson Rowe was appointed the examiner and master, but was replaced by Alexander F. Thompson on January 2, 1892, after Rowe declined. The PCRR Extension Company was represented by Judge Junkin, Judge Barnett, and James Shull, all of whom were also board members of the company. N&SVRR was represented by William H. Sponsler.

Testimony began on February 2, 1892 with Samuel Hepburn, the civil engineer for the PCRR, as the first witness for the plaintiff, the PCRR Company. Hepburn explained the grades along the railroad line and the costs of the different options that had been examined. Costs for underground and two heights of overhead crossings were calculated in spite of the fact that Hepburn did not believe it would be possible to build an underground crossing "due to swampy clay and slaty rock."¹⁶ Between the sixteen- and eighteen-foot overhead options, calculations differed by less than \$1,500, with both exceeding \$39,000. This led Hepburn to state he did not consider those options because they would cost more than the entire line, contracted for a cost of \$13,500 (7). Two ground-level routes were also calculated and Hepburn stated he selected the site for what he considered the best route from Bloomfield to Landisburg in view of the company's money. Either of these options would cross the N&SVRR, and by Hepburn's calculations avoidance would require the route to cross the summit between Elliottsburg and New Bloomfield at an increased height of twenty feet. In cross-examination, Sponsler asked about the possibility of lower-cost options. Hepburn acknowledged that there may be cheaper ways, but that he did not calculate costs for those because "it wouldn't be as good" (28). Sponsler was able, in re-cross-examination, to force an admission by Hepburn that there were areas near the crossing where visibility was problematic.

The next witness, James Elliott, had also been employed by PCRR as a civil engineer, but had left civil engineering and was engaged in the "grain and forwarding business" at the time of the trial. Shull made it a point that Elliott was educated at Lafayette College in a four-year civil engineering program and had worked on a number of railroads throughout the country. The

primary emphasis of Elliott's testimony was to establish the time frame of the two companies, though the point was made under objections. He testified that he had been part of surveying the line in August 1890, "about a day or two before the N&SVRR came up" (50–51) in order to determine distance and feasibility of the extension project (42–52).

The third witness, Dr. A. R. Johnson, was a druggist and practicing physician who had no real experience as a civil engineer. Again the visibility issue was a key topic and Dr. Johnson based his opinion that it would not be an issue largely upon the amount of smoke that the trains make. However, he seemed to stumble when asked how certain he was that a person could see from a specific distance. His reluctance was supported by the next witness, F. K. Holtzinger, the superintendent of the PCRR Extension, who said that from portions of the engine the smokestack of an approaching engine was visible at a distance of 300 feet west of the bridge, but not the entire engine, and at night even that was not visible (54–63).

James Shull was called by PCRR Extension Company and questioned by Judge Junkin to prove that the two parties had agreed upon the crossing before N&SVRR raised their line five feet and that the crossing had been agreed to before any money was spent. He described a meeting on the grounds of the crossing with the now state senator Charles Smiley, in his capacity as president of the PCRR Extension Company, Sheriff Shearer, E. D. Stambaugh, Dr. Johnson, David Gring, and some young men who were there to carry the chains. They discussed the possibility of N&SVRR raising the tracks to allow the PCRR's extension to cross underneath. According to Shull, "That was the question discussed in the first place, and it was found not to be possible. That was what Mr. Gring said to me" (84).

When they were called to the stand for the plaintiffs shortly after Shull, Edward Stambaugh and H. C. Shearer also recounted the conversation between Gring and Shull. Both recounted Gring suggesting a crossing point that was on a straight line and would be agreeable. Stambaugh also recalled Gring referencing a cost reduction for the supposed agreeable crossing point.

Shull had also provided testimony relating to an early December meeting in Sponsler's office in which he claimed Sponsler telephoned Gring about the track being raised or lowered at the point of crossing. According to Sponsler, after the phone conversation he said,

Mr. Shull I can say to you this as the result of this conference—that the N&SVRR will not raise their tracks over six inches, and will

probably, if any change is made, depress the track eighteen inches, but that Gring will not agree that you shall cross over the tracks; that he will give me no answer upon that point? (90)

However, Shull said that there was no mention about the crossing in that conversation.

James Elliott was recalled and asked about the line Hepburn had proposed near the Valley Road Station near Elliottsburg. In the course of this testimony, Elliott stated his belief that the route going through David Tressler's farm, which was the existing route, was the road that would cause the least damage to the operations of the N&SVRR road. His only objection to the line Hepburn proposed would be the grading of it, but the visibility would be improved on that route (97–99).

Hepburn was called to describe his proposal for an alternate line after Elliott was asked to provide his evaluation of the route. Hepburn's route would cross the summit at a height nineteen feet higher than the current route but then follow a ravine down the summit and was not near a water course. This route would come within fifteen feet of the N&SVRR depot at Elliottsburg, but would not require a crossing. Elliott had concerns about the grade that would be required to reach the summit as well as the cost of the fill, which he said would be more difficult to get for this route. In cross-examination, Sponsler extracted admissions that there would be no technical difficulty on the east side of the summit, but Elliott remained concerned about the grading for the west side (113–17).

Elliott was recalled again and questioned about the grading on the west side of Hepburn's route. In spite of the fact that he earlier claimed he had no knowledge of this route he explained that it "would be almost prohibitory to the PCRR or any broad gauged [standard-gauged] railroad" (130), referencing the fact that one of the strengths of a narrow-gauge rail system is the ability to traverse steep grades and would give the lower road the advantage. Elliott also described the N&SVRR route as being constructed in an unnatural line, while he considered the current route of the PCRR to be natural (by which he later explained meant easier to traverse). To illustrate the difficulty the PCRR would encounter on this route, Elliott explained that on sleety mornings they would struggle to haul anything more than two heavy loads of grain, a conclusion he based at least partially on observation of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, for which he had also worked (130, 142).

W. A. Houston, another civil engineer with fifteen to twenty years of experience, was called to provide information on alternate crossings. He was

asked to compare alternate routes both to the north and south of the current position. He explained that his objections to the southern route were related to the curvature and the grade, which would be affected by the fact that there are more hills than on the northern route, and would make the route more expensive, although he was unable to give a definitive answer regarding the cost difference (145).

To further illustrate the difficulties of the southern route, William Kistler, who lived in Centre Township near the line, was called upon to testify. He explained that he had seen trains of the N&SVRR having trouble with the ascent on their route, demonstrating that it would not work well for a standard gauge. When asked how many cars the N&SVRR was hauling when they had trouble, he responded that they were unable to cross if they had four heavy engines with the engine they called "Donkey," but that with the passenger engine they were more likely to have trouble (158–59).

The following witness, David Tressler, on whose land the disputed crossing was located, also referenced difficulty crossing the summit time and again and noted that it had become common since the crossing frog was installed. When asked if the difficulty crossing the summit had improved he explained that they stopped carrying as heavy of a load. Dr. Johnson likewise had seen the N&SVRR struggle with the summit, though he said it was only once, and before the crossing frog was installed (159–62). Dr. Johnson was recalled again and asked about the timing of the raising of the tracks. He said that the PCRR's extension was graded and track laying had begun before the N&SVRR raised their tracks by four to five feet. After this testimony the plaintiff rested.

Sponsler began the defense by offering into evidence the charter, certificate, and letters of patent for the N&SVRR, and then proceeded to call C. M. Dechant, a civil engineer in private practice who had also worked for a number of railroads in his twelve years of experience. Dechant had worked with a colleague, E. H. Beard, also a civil engineer, to survey a line to the south of the N&SVRR route three weeks prior to the trial. Dechant requested Beard be brought to the stand for technical assistance. This route was chosen to allow the PCRR Extension Company access to the towns but to avoid a crossing entirely. The proposal would make the line shorter by approximately 300 feet, reduce the number of bridges required from eleven to two, and would require approximately thirty cubic yards of fill material, which Dechant estimated at a cost of twenty-five cents per cubic yard. During cross-examination, Shull questioned a possible discrepancy in the

calculations of fill required based on the scale of the profile presented into evidence, but Dechant explained that his cost calculations had been based upon actual measurements. Dechant did concede that this route would be more expensive than the graded route, but he did not estimate that it would be a significant increase. Shull disagreed, estimating that it would increase the cost by three times (166–91, 243).

The proposed route would also increase the height the PCRR had to climb by nearly twenty feet, prompting Shull to ask “whether any engineer who has any regard for his reputation at all would increase the summit when he could go through a hollow that was that much lower?” (185). Dechant answered that if there were nothing in the way he would not mount the hill, but in this case the crossing of another railroad was in the way.

Shull asked, “Now I ask you the plain question whether the Perry County line as now graded isn’t greatly superior to the line you have run?” (186). Dechant disagreed, leading to extensive debate which the master of the court had to interject to end it, saying “A good deal of this is arguing I’m afraid . . . I have no objection to your getting out; but you seem to be arguing with the witness” (190). Shull’s final objection to the route proposed by Dechant was that it would take the line through what was presently a garden and very close to a barn at a point where it was also very close to the N&SVRR line and would be a considerable disturbance for those living nearby. Dechant’s solution for this problem was to make a union, or shared, station, which would eliminate some of the added land requirements even if it did not impact sound disruptions (191).

Through the course of the defense, Sponsler called a number of civil engineers to provide support for the route Dechant and Beard had proposed. Each of these engineers was asked if the road was feasible and practicable, to which each responded in the affirmative. Many of the engineers supported the reasoning given by William H. Woodgrove, the superintendent of the Harrisburg and Pittsburgh Division of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, who observed that the graded line followed very close to the creek and was, as a result, washed out in some places while the proposed line on the hillside would require fewer bridges and would be easier to maintain (196–97).

Each of the civil engineers was also asked to what extent the crossing would interfere with the operation of the N&SVRR. Again there was agreement among all of the engineers that the crossing was a danger not only to the N&SVRR but also to the PCRR. There were several reasons given in

reference to this danger, including it would take longer to cross than if there were no crossing present especially at the angle which this crossing is located; there is significant risk of collision between the two trains; and the rails would creep or shift because of the impact placed upon them by the crossing frog mechanisms. Several mentioned the need for a reduction of speed over the crossing, Beard being the most specific with an estimate, based on his experience with the Lake Shore and Western Railroad, of ten miles an hour being the safest speed for crossing (271).

Of the witnesses asked about the potential for collisions at the crossing, all said that the risk was high and that they knew of collisions but had not experienced any themselves. Dechant stated, "Accidents at crossings are less frequent than all other accidents combined but more frequent than if there were no crossings" (276). In the defense testimony, R. S. Mercer, a civil engineer with ten years of experience on the Pennsylvania Railroad and several years on others, explained that, at the PRR in Philadelphia, they were taking the expense of building an overhead crossing at Thirty-Sixth Street, not because there had been collisions, but solely because of the risk for collisions (345).

Several of the witnesses explained "creeping" issues, meaning that pressure on the rails would be different because of the differing weight of the rails. The grade of the line would also contribute to creeping. Creeping can create issues with traction and also cause shearing of the rails (254). Beard explained that while both lines' rails would creep east, they would creep at different angles (310). Samuel Stair, the engineer for N&SVRR, described his experience with the light rails used on the Diamond Valley Railroad, saying that "with those on a six foot and a half grade on the Diamond Valley Road we had a heap of trouble about the rails travelling" (310). Mr. Gable, another civil engineer, also said that the problem of creeping would be worse on the narrow gauge than on the standard gauge because it would be pushed by the heavier rails (315-19).

During Woodgrove's testimony, Sponsler also asked what impact placing signal men at the crossing would have on safety. Woodgrove saw that there were two major flaws with this plan: signal men are not always available to do their duty, and that once a train started up the grade it would need to stop in the event that the other line did not properly respond to the signal man on either line, resulting in delays due to loss of power and the need to reverse and start again (200). During cross-examination by Judge Barnett, Woodgrove conceded that if there were to be a plan in which N&SVRR had

the right of way every time they approached the crossing, and the PCRR Extension was required to stop every time they approached, and both crossed the crossing frog at a reduced speed, the crossing would be safe. It would not be safe at full speed, however, even under those conditions. F. S. Stephens, a civil engineer for the Philadelphia and Reading main line with twenty years' experience, also addressed the danger of the crossing when asked if the crossing would be less dangerous if the trains were able to see each other the entire time. Stephens felt that increased visibility would be a detriment, as the trains would be likely to race to reach the crossing first (223).

In redirect questioning, Sponsler asked the following:

Suppose you were laying out, as a railroad man, a line of road, and you found you had to cross the tracks of another railroad twice and you could build a line south of the N&SVRR that avoided both these grade crossings and had no greater grade than 1 5/10 would you consider it business like . . . to construct a road that crossed the other road twice at grade? (206)

Woodgrove replied he "would cross the road under no circumstances if it could be avoided, any more than I would put a wagon across the railroad twice in that distance" (206). He further stated he would pay more money if necessary rather than risk the danger of the crossing. A variation of this question was likewise asked of every railroad expert the defense called, and each agreed that he would take the higher route. F. S. Stephens elaborated on the reasoning for avoiding the crossing, saying that it was bad for business for the economics and the danger would increase twentyfold because it would take twenty times as long to cross the area, although he did concede that he was basing his estimation of danger on lines with heavier traffic than either the N&SVRR or PCRR was likely to experience (222).

Each engineer was also asked to state whether the estimate given by Dechant of twenty-five cents per cubic yard for fill was fair and they all agreed that if there was no solid rock it was a fair price. P. W. Johnson, who laid out the N&SVRR line from Newport to Blain Borough, said there would be one or two places where they would strike solid rock on the proposed route and explained where those would be located. His estimate for fill was eighteen cents in areas where it was only earth, but seventy-five in areas where solid rock needed to be taken out, so he said that twenty-five cents was fair except where solid rock had to be removed (231). This line of questioning

led to PCRR calling in local landowners to testify as to the quality of the soil during rebuttal.

William R. Dumm lived near the line, and had walked over the proposed route for a distance of one to one and a half miles. He explained that he would expect to see limestone and red rock along the route from a depth of eleven to sixteen feet or less, and explained that red shale is more gravel-like than red rock. Red rock was more like limestone, heavier and harder to work. His house was only 150 feet from the proposed line and he had struck hard pan at a foot depth. In reference to the cost of handling the rock in the cut on the route, Dumm said that if it was as bad as some he had seen he would not be willing to do it for a dollar let alone twenty-five cents, but that other areas are not so bad. In cross-examination Sponsler asked if this was based upon experience with contracting work removing rock with explosives. As a farmer, Dumm admitted he did not have any such experience. When asked how the line impacted elsewhere on his family's property, Dumm explained that he felt they were routed in one area in a way that would prevent anyone else from having room to use the field without cutting down the bank, and also that the route seemed to be through his fish pond, according to the stakes (407-14).

William Kistler was again called upon, this time to provide information about the soil quality, but proved to be an immaterial witness as he said he knew there was some red rock but had never been over any of the ground except his own. Judge Junkin asked specifically about the soil on William Dumm's property. Kistler stated he had never been on it in his life (414).

E. D. Stambaugh, who lived between the station and Elliottsburg, was likewise asked about soil quality and said that there was a field he knew of that could not be plowed deeper than three to four inches without hitting rock. "Where that rock is in the field there that Dumm has spoken about; I know it runs very high there" (415-16), he explained. Like Dumm, Stambaugh also believed from the placement of the survey stakes that he would lose space because there was not sufficient room between his barn and the route for his hog pen (415-18).

Near the end of the defense opening arguments, Sponsler called himself to the stand to address the undated meeting that had taken place at the crossing. He explained that it was called at the suggestion of Judge Barnett after he had received a request for an injunction preventing N&SVRR from raising its tracks and that the primary objective of the meeting was to determine if it would be practical to raise the track sufficiently for the PCRR to cross under

it. Everyone on both sides agreed that it was not a practical change, according to his testimony. He said that he had no knowledge of the conversation Shull allegedly had with Gring and then proceeded to describe his view of the meeting with Shull in his office, during which he had held a phone conversation with Gring.¹⁷ According to his testimony he asked Gring if the crossing would be allowed at the point they had described and relayed to Shull that Gring was unwilling to make such an arrangement (283–87).

Sponsler also described approaching Shull after he had been ordered to prepare an order requesting an injunction preventing the PCRR Extension from crossing the N&SVRR line. He explained that he had not filed for it because he did not feel that they would cross, but rather that he approached Shull who urged him to try to consult with his client to reach an amicable agreement including terms of a crossing. Sponsler said that he told him he did not know what terms would be required but would consult with those who could make the decision and left. He did not recall in this conversation that Shull had told him that the PCRR Extension intended to install the crossing mechanisms that Sunday night or he would have taken out the injunction. His first knowledge of the intended crossing was on Saturday evening on the day the tracks were torn out and the crossing frog put in place when he was in business in Newport and learned via the telephone, he explained (283–87).

In cross-examination, Shull asked about their speaking of drawing up terms for the crossing, referencing Judge Rockefeller's decision in the Sunbury case; Sponsler said he did recall. Shull then asked about a conversation where they agreed for limits relative to the crossing, which Sponsler said never occurred. Both men recalled a conversation near Green Park in which Sponsler told Shull, "Now, don't interfere there; because it will rise against you in the future; and will start a war between the Newport and Sherman's Valley Railroad and the PCRR" (289–90). Shull then asked who from the N&SVRR had said that the overhead crossing was impracticable besides Gring. The PCRR council had alleged that no person did so except Gring, and that Sponsler had made a proposal at the November court session that if the PCRR Extension would contribute to the expense they may be able to make an overhead crossing and avoid litigation if it were practicable to do so (294).

Shull's questions then turned to the early December telephone conversation, determining that a Mr. Markle and a Samuel Clouser may have been listening in the next room and claimed that while on the phone Sponsler

referenced that the PCRR Extension would put the crossing frog in place on Saturday or Sunday evening so as not to interfere with the trains. Sponsler denied such a comment. Then in redirect, Sponsler said:

I desire to say further with respect to the conversation which took place between Mr. Shull and me as to what had taken place in my office that night, that a number of days after the frog had been put in Mr. Shull came to my office for the purpose of borrowing something. . . . Whatever he wanted I refused to give it to him. I was provoked at the time, because I had been informed that Mr. Shull had said, and that the conversation could be backed or proved by a woman who lives in the same building in which my office is located (at this point there was an objection by the master and discussion). I said to Mr. Shull, relating to him what I had been informed, that he had said that I had agreed on that night that a crossing might be put in on that point and that Mrs. Cram could prove it . . . and I said to him that no such conversation as that took place; and Mr. Shull said, "No sir, no such conversation as that took place and Mrs. Cram never heard such a conversation." He said that a conversation in which it was agreed that they might cross, took place up at the crossing, at the mill with Mr. Gring. . . . I then said to Mr. Shull, "James, it would be better if you and I would not talk on this subject at all." (294-95)

In re-cross-examination Shull and Sponsler agreed that in the office that night they did discuss the raising or lowering of the grade, and, according to Sponsler, this led to one of his questions to Gring on the phone so that there could be no misunderstanding (296).

David Gring was also called for the defense and asked about the schedule of the trains. He explained that there were sometimes special freight trains not on the schedule and also that within thirty days they were expecting to add two more trains going roundtrip. Sponsler then asked him about the conversation Shull alleged he had with Gring at the crossing and he said that he made no suggestions of a place that the PCRR Extension should cross, nor agreed to any crossing suggested by the PCRR Extension representatives. In Shull's cross-examination Gring said, "Well I said nothing at all in regard to a crossing. I said to cross it was impossible" (330). Likewise, Sponsler asked about the phone conversation he'd had with Gring, with Shull present, and Mr. Gring said that he had told Sponsler that he "had no right to allow a

crossing there and could not grant it" (329). After several more civil engineers provided testimony, the defense rested.

The PCRR Extension began its rebuttal by calling John A. Magee, a reporter for the *Perry County Democrat*, who was asked to recount a conversation he had had with Sponsler. After an objection was raised he was withdrawn from the stand, and Sponsler recalled to it. Sponsler likewise was asked if he recalled a conversation with Magee. In his questioning, Shull asked if Sponsler had said it was "virtually settled, that if they would come east to the other point designated, that there would be no difficulty and they would be allowed to cross at that point" (383–85). Again Sponsler denied having said that. Likewise, Shull asked about the phone conversation in Sponsler's office with Gring; Sponsler reiterated that he had never given indication that Gring had agreed to the crossing.

Magee was then again questioned about his conversation with Sponsler outside Sponsler's office. According to Magee, Sponsler had said that if the PCRR Extension could move 300 feet, N&SVRR would not raise or lower the tracks and they could cross as a result. Magee had written an article appearing in the *Perry County Democrat* on December 2, 1891, stating that the difficulty regarding the crossing had been amicably settled and an arrangement was met that would avoid further delay. Shull then asked a series of questions to determine the date of this conversation in relation to the placement of the crossing frog. This established that the conversation was before the crossing frog was placed (386–87).

Samuel Clouser was then called to be questioned regarding the telephone call made to Gring from Sponsler's office, which Clouser established took place mid-week the same week that the crossing frog was put in place. He explained that he was in the outer office discussing ice with some other men when the conversation occurred. When the railroad matter came up in Sponsler's office they stopped talking to listen. He claimed to have heard Sponsler tell Gring that they should give them a crossing. In cross-examination it was pointed out that Clouser was a stockholder in the PCRR Company (388).

Martin Hench, one of those in the outer office discussing ice, was also called to describe the telephone conversation he had overheard. He said that Sponsler stated that he'd had a conversation with Shull and that "there seems to be no question as to their right to cross our road," and also that he referenced that the crossing frog was going to be put in on a weekend so as not to interfere with operations. In cross-examination he explained that he had been

in the office to see Clouser about hauling ice and had heard the conversation through a closed door (419–20). Before closing their rebuttal, the plaintiff recalled Dr. A. R. Johnson, James Elliott, and Samuel Hepburn on the stand regarding questions about the safety of the crossing frog, the proposed route in general, as well as recalling the three landowners previously referenced who testified as to the soil quality.

The defense called only one witness in rebuttal, E. H. Beard, a civil engineer, who was asked about the blueprint and stakes in relationship to a dam and fish pond on William Dumm's property. Beard explained that while it may have appeared that the line was going to interfere with the dam, or vice versa, this was not the case and that "there is nothing that is impossible placed upon the profile." With that, all testimony was closed (421–23).

The following March 30, 1892, A. F. Thompson, Master of the Court of Perry County Common Pleas, issued his Master's Report, recommending that the PCRR Extension be allowed to cross the N&SVRR at the two points they had requested, but that they must be responsible for any damages caused. The PCRR Extension was also to be responsible for the expense of the crossings being installed under the supervision of an engineer, in addition to keeping the line in good repair and completing any repairs requested by N&SVRR within five days. If there was damage causing immediate danger or if less immediate repairs were not addressed within five days N&SVRR was authorized to make the repairs and bill the PCRR Extension. N&SVRR was to have automatic right of way. The PCRR Extension was required to stop 200–400 feet from the crossing and wait for a signal from the watchman, whom they were to have present during all scheduled hours of operation and pay from their treasury. N&SVRR was prevented from interfering in any other manner with the construction of the PCRR Extension. PCRR Extension was liable for all court costs.¹⁸

On April 18, 1892, the opinion of the court was filed. Judge Simonton agreed with most of the Master's Report; however, he amended the watchman requirement to state that PCRR Extension must heed the signal of a watchman or *flagman* due to low-risk terrain and traffic. He explained this change was in accordance with Public Law 62, Section 10, and Article XVII, Section 1, Clause II, of the 1874 Pennsylvania Constitution. The PCRR Extension objected to paying for a portion of the court costs citing irrelevant testimony, but Judge Simonton did not reduce their liability. He also ruled that PCRR Extension had not caused any damage to N&SVRR thus far.¹⁹

On April 28, 1892, a writ of certiorari was filed from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, ordering that all case documents be forwarded to them for review.²⁰ An appeal to the Supreme Court was filed on the following May 2 by N&SVRR. In the Supreme Court argument on May 24, William H. Sponsler and George F. Baer argued for the N&SVRR, and B. F. Junkin, Charles Barnett, and James W. Shull argued for the PCRR Extension before Chief Justice Edward M. Paxton.

Chief Justice Paxton issued the opinion July 13. It began by outlining the facts: this was a case regarding a grade crossing; that the N&SVRR was already in operation to Loysville by the time the PCRR Extension was chartered; that all PCRR Extension stations lie to the south of the N&SVRR's road; and that the graded route for the Extension formed a loop by crossing twice in four miles. Justice Paxton explained that the Act of Regulating Railroads of 1849 applied to crossings that were absolutely necessary and it was a misinterpretation to suppose that it gave automatic authority for a railroad to cross an existing railroad. He also stated that Public Law 1360 of June 19, 1871, gave courts the authority to determine if a crossing were necessary and said grade crossings should be prevented where they can be reasonably avoided. While the Extension cited low capital and business and travel through a sparsely populated area as reasons why they should be allowed to cross, the future should be considered, for if the railroad later became a major route the crossing should be avoided now. Capital alone could not be the determining factor and evidence clearly showed that a practicable route was available for a relatively inexpensive cost of \$20,000. Justice Paxton concluded that "I doubt if in the history of railroad engineering in this state, an instance can be found of one road crossing another at grade and by a loop re-crossing it within four miles when another reasonably practicable route was open for its location, which would have avoided crossings altogether. Such railroad as this is not to be encouraged."²¹

The ruling prevented the PCRR Extension from crossing the tracks of the N&SVRR Company at grade and ordered the Extension to pay the court costs.²² This is one of only a limited number of cases in which the narrow-gauge railroad was able to prevent a standard gauge from crossing it and allowing the narrow-gauge to maintain their right of way.²³

On August 3, 1892, the *Perry County Democrat* printed a scathing article criticizing the Supreme Court ruling and negotiations with the N&SVRR in order to make arrangements to continue west. According to the article

the board of the PCRR had determined the previous Friday to continue the route to Landisburg and Loysville and to raise the money made necessary by the ruling. The author remarked, "Is it any wonder that respect for Supreme Court decisions in Pennsylvania is not what it was in the days of Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson?"²⁴ and "Why is it that the powerful railroad corporations have been permitted to cross each the other's tracks at *grade* at their own sweet will and pleasure and the smaller railroads are restrained from crossing each other in the same way?"²⁵ Referencing Judge Paxon specifically the writer asked, "Did he even take the trouble to look at the profiles of the two roads, laid before the court by the N&SVRR?"

By August 31, 1892, newspaper reports indicated that negotiations between the two companies had failed and that the PCRR Extension would begin building an overhead crossing. Several proposals that had been made were outlined, but each had been rejected. Again the two companies became involved in a suit of equity where the Extension was granted the approval for the overhead crossing on October 20, 1892.²⁶

The PCRR Extension completed its expansion to Elliottsburg by November 1892, then to Landisburg in January 1893, and Loysville by February 1893. The Extension announced further expansion plans, but these were never completed due to costs accrued fighting the N&SVRR for crossing rights. There were payments missed over the years, a few other cases filed against the company, and very little profit. In July 1903 the mortgage for the railroad was foreclosed. That September it was sold at public auction for \$10,000 cash and a \$65,000 mortgage to H.S.P. Nichols, David Gring, E. R. Sponsler and W. H. Sponsler. It was reorganized as the Susquehanna River and Western Railroad with David Gring as president. The railroad west of Bloomfield Junction was removed with the materials sold to raise the money needed for operations. Thus, the route so hotly contested in 1892 lasted for only slightly more than ten years.²⁷

The N&SVRR also turned its attention to expansion after the settlement of the crossing dispute with plans to expand to Fannettsburg in Franklin County and south into Maryland. Along the way the railroad would have the opportunity to connect to the Tuscarora Valley Railroad, serving Juniata and Huntingdon counties, and the East Broad Top Railroad in Huntingdon County. However, by the time the expansion plans were incorporated in October 1893, the national railroad climate had changed, as several prominent companies had gone bankrupt and the country was in the midst of financial panic. The expansion was therefore incorporated as a separate

venture, the Path Valley Railroad. This was done in order to protect the N&SVRR and it was a very wise move. The route at Blain required the train to bypass the Conococheague Mountain. In order to cross the mountain very steep grades would be required so it was instead decided to tunnel through it. Grading on both sides of the mountain was completed, again to standard-gauge specifications, fueling again rumors that the N&SVRR would convert to standard gauge, but by December 1894 the tunnel was remained uncompleted. In the previous September, the contractor responsible for the tunnel construction had failed, and work was halted at a length of 2,600 feet, never to be resumed. The tunnel opening remains along a trail in the Big Springs State Forest Picnic Area near New Germantown. In August 1899 the Path Valley Railroad was declared a failure.²⁸

The N&SVRR remained in business with moderate success until the nationalization of railroads during World War I and the closing of the Oak Extract Company, one of its primary customers. This led to foreclosure in 1920. The N&SVRR, like the PCRR, was bought by the Susquehanna River and Western Railroad. David Gring had recently died and his son Rodney Gring was in charge of the company. The tracks from Newport to New Bloomfield were dismantled and the Susquehanna River and Western served from Duncannon to New Bloomfield as a standard gauge, then connected to the narrow-gauge tracks to New Germantown at Bloomfield Junction. In 1930 and 1935 the service type was reduced, so that by 1935 the train was only hauling freight from Duncannon to New Bloomfield. Competition from automobiles and deteriorating tracks led to the abandonment of the Susquehanna River and Western in 1939.²⁹

The conflict between the two railroads of Perry County extended service to residents and businesses of only eight miles between Newport and New Bloomfield and proved to be costlier than either company anticipated. With the advent of the automobile not only did the local railroad companies die but the county seat debate was finally settled as roads were able to make the trip to New Bloomfield more manageable from all areas of the county, as it is nearly the geographic center. Many of the Newport businesses that had helped fuel the argument that the county seat should be moved to the more industrially prominent town also had failed, some of them leading to the decline of the railroad. Today the only remnants of the railroad are a few sections of grading, the failed Path Valley Railroad tunnel, N&SVRR restored rails and cars at Blain and in Little Buffalo State Park near Newport, an engine located in Iowa, the restored Blain Station (now used by the borough)

and the Newport Station—now a house and no longer on the original land, it retains little of the railroad station character.

Throughout the golden era of railroad building, competition between two or more railroads in the same limited geographic area was not uncommon. Nationwide, competing railroads struggled chiefly to negotiate railroad rights of way and crossings. While the majority of conflicts between competing railroads that reached the courts were decided in favor of the standard-gauge railroad, there are other examples of rulings favoring a narrow-gauge company. Among these is the 1911 case of *Pittsburg S&N.R. Co vs. Keating*, in which the precedent set in *N&SVRR vs PCRR Ext.* was utilized. In that case there had been an arrangement establishing a crossing between two companies; there had been no provisions for expansion beyond the crossing. The advantages of railroad service to any given community were numerous, including, as in this Perry County example, political power, and the chance to gain significant revenue and property.

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NOTES

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1. H. H. Hain, *History of Perry County, Pennsylvania, including Descriptions of Indians and Pioneer Life from the Time of Earliest Settlement, Sketches of Its Noted Men and Women and Many Professional Men* (Harrisburg, PA: Hain-Moore, 1922).
2. Thomas T. Taber III, *Railroads of Pennsylvania Encyclopedia* (Muncy, PA: Self-published, 1987).
3. *Perry County Democrat*, January 26 and February 23, 1887.
4. *Ibid.*, May 11 1887.
5. *Duncannon Record*, May 11, 1887.
6. *Perry County Democrat*, April 27, 1887, and February 29, 1888.

7. Dennis J. Hocker, *The Rails of Perry County* (Las Vegas, NV: Genesis Capital Group, 2011), 59.
8. Roy Chandler states in *A History of Perry County Railroads* (New Bloomfield, PA: published by the author, 1970) that David Gring moved to the area after being contracted for building the railroad.
9. "David Gring Biographical Sketch," Perry Historians, accessed April 14, 2015, www.theperryhistorians.org.
10. "Emma Caldwell Gring obituary," unnamed newspaper, September 1945, Subject Files: Gring, Perry Historians Lenig Library.
11. Hocker, *Rails of Perry County*, 157–58, 166.
12. William N. Seibert, unpublished diary (hereafter referred to as Seibert Diary), Historical Collections and Labor Archives, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University, University Park (#1999-0336H), May 23 and 28, 1891. *The Newport Sherman's Valley Railroad Co. vs. The Perry County Railroad Extension Co.*, January Term 1892, Perry County Court of Common Pleas, Court Transcripts, Perry Historians, Hoverter Archives, Stipulation of Facts (hereafter referred to as Court Transcripts).
13. Seibert Diary, August 8, 1891.
14. Ibid., September 7 and 22, and November 11, 1891.
15. Ibid., December 19, 1891.
16. Court Transcripts, 6. Subsequent page numbers appear in the text.
17. This is the phone conversation Shull testified about earlier.
18. Perry County Court of Common Pleas, Master's Report.
19. Perry County Court of Common Pleas, Opinion of the Court.
20. In 1892 the State Supreme Court was referred to as the Superior Court, the term "Supreme" is used to delineate from the Superior Court of today, not formed until 1895.
21. James Monaghan, ed., *Pennsylvania State Reports Containing Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, vol. 150 (New York: Banks and Brothers, Law Publishers, 1892), 193–202.
22. Ibid., 201–202.
23. Another example is the Pittsburg, S & N R Co vs Keating and S R Co, et al., 1911.
24. *Perry County Democrat* August 3, 1892.
25. Ibid., August 3, 1892.
26. Ibid., August 31 and October 26, 1892.
27. Hocker, *Rails of Perry County*, 60–61, 168.
28. Ibid., 160–63.
29. Ibid., 163–67, 168–75.

PHA 2015 CONFERENCE POSTER SESSION

Adam T. Bentz
Lebanon Valley College

The Pennsylvania Historical Association sponsors a poster session at its annual meeting for undergraduate and graduate students to present their research as emerging scholars in the field of Pennsylvania and Mid-Atlantic history. Beginning this year, posters were divided between graduate and undergraduate levels with first, second, and third places at the undergraduate level.

At the Fall 2015 meeting held October 8–10 in Grantville, the following undergraduate and graduate posters were selected as the best in their categories. The first-place posters are reproduced on the following pages, along with their abstracts. A list of all entries and winners follows.

FIRST PLACE, GRADUATE

“Internationalizing the National Park Service (NPS): A Study of the NPS Division of International Affairs, 1956–1970”

Joana Arruda, Temple University

Faculty Sponsor: Hilary Iris Lowe

The United States National Park Service (NPS), founded in 1916 to conserve America’s natural and historic landscapes, established a Division of International Affairs (DIA) in 1961. The NPS, as scholars Lary Dilsaver and Terence Young explain, has always participated in international work in some capacity since its agency’s origins. I argue that this rich unexplored history of overseas engagement at the height of the DIA is a telling narrative of how the NPS contributed to the “containment through nation-building” phenomenon at the height of the Cold War era both at home and abroad.

The decision to create an office specifically dedicated to foreign engagement was directly related to the expansion of the Park Service at home following World War II. Relaxation of wartime travel restrictions and the creation of the national interstate highway system made national parks more accessible than ever before. Travel accessibility, in addition to the postwar economic boom and surge in nationalism, spurred a 30-million increase in visitors to national parks between 1941 and 1956. The parks, however, were unequipped to accommodate this unprecedented increase in visitation. Armed with a solution, NPS director Conrad “Connie” Wirth approached President Dwight Eisenhower’s cabinet in 1956 and proposed Mission 66, a ten-year initiative to completely expand the park system in time for the agency’s fiftieth anniversary in 1966. A Mission 66 pamphlet advertised, “The very idea behind the parks is America—that the country belongs to the people for the enrichment of all.” This expansive initiative was a physical and thereby ideological rebuilding of the American landscape to reflect its democratic and powerful postwar image on the world stage. Mission 66 was an example of nation-building at home.

As the NPS expanded its authority at home, the United States extended its powerful postwar image abroad. The Kennedy administration secured the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which created initiatives such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to contain communism overseas through economic means. The formation of the NPS’s Division of International Affairs that same year converged with the United States’ larger mission to exert its influence internationally. It distributed pamphlets overseas that glorified American heritage and democratic values reflected in parks such as Yellowstone and Independence National Historical Park. In 1966 the DIA began its first official international project in Jordan, where twelve NPS employees were assigned to develop a Jordanian national park system at Jordan’s request. Using USAID funds, the NPS developed national parks to drive Jordan’s economy as a containment measure. The expansion of the NPS at home through Mission 66, argued Wirth, was necessary to remind Americans of the democratic values that the national parks represented. In many ways, the NPS’s project in Jordan was an extension of the ideological and economic models of Mission 66 to legitimize foreign nations in the American image.

Not only did the NPS participate in nation-building overseas, but it also invited foreigners to visit the United States to see for themselves the American way of life. In the 1960s, the Park Service developed the African

Student Program. It invited African students attending American universities to tour American national parks such as Yellowstone and Yosemite. This program was developed to teach students about the democratic meanings and inherent universality of the national parks in the hopes that they would return home and champion national park development in their respective nations. The NPS, on the behalf of the United States, was demonstrating how to literally build democracy through a national park system.

These overseas projects were tied to the expansion of the NPS at home and the growth of American influence abroad. Tracing the DIA's involvement in this history is a vital piece to more fully understanding the agency's contributions to world development through national parks.

FIRST PLACE, UNDERGRADUATE

“‘Every Town Has . . . Half a Dozen Lunatics’: Insanity
in Snyder County, Pennsylvania”

Rachel Baer, Susquehanna University

Faculty Sponsor: Edward Slavishak

Between 1860 and 1904, court officers in Snyder County, Pennsylvania, identified fourteen residents as “lunatics” in county court records. These records, known as lunacy papers, detail the legal proceedings surrounding insanity. The papers naturally document the process of officially declaring a person insane and appointing a guardian. More importantly, however, they are heavily invested in the economics of insanity, including the financial accounts of insane persons, the payment of court fees, and the sale of estates and possessions. Those people declared insane, moreover, were often farmers or laborers or had close family members in these working-class professions. The intense focus on economics in these records emerged in the context of a period of transition in Snyder County's history. After Snyder County's boundaries were officially formed in 1855, the rural central Pennsylvania area experienced years of troubled growth until the early twentieth century, especially in transportation, agriculture, and industry. The region's briefly booming canal network was scrapped in favor of a railroad system, which then faced many failed attempts before it ultimately succeeded. Furthermore, agriculture was slowly expanding beyond the boundaries of the county and professionalizing via new modes

“Every Town Has...Half a dozen lunatics”: Insanity in Snyder County, Pennsylvania

Rachel Baer

Susquehanna University

INTRODUCTION

A quiet rural area in central Pennsylvania, Snyder County would at first glance seem to be a relatively unexceptional part of the U.S. However, a closer look shows that this region possesses a wealth of information about the lives of its residents. In the early 1900s, when the county's legal proceedings were called lunacy papers, which reveal fourteen lunatics in Snyder County between 1860 and 1904 (the total population of Snyder County was 15,035 in 1860 and 17,304 in 1900). Since Pennsylvania law required that all mentally ill persons be committed to an institution, lunatics to occur in the county, and the records of these commitments provide an excellent representation of how lunacy was dealt with in a rural setting.

- With this in mind, the goals of this project were to:
- Investigate how lunacy functioned within a rural community
 - Study perceptions held by the public about lunacy
 - Discover what made people susceptible to being declared lunatics
 - Understand what purpose lunatics served in the life of the “Sane” public.



John H. M. McCandless, a judge in Snyder County from 1860 to 1904.

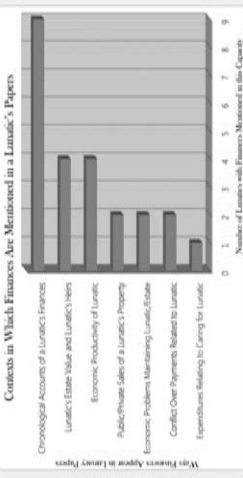
- PRIMARY SOURCES**
- Lunacy papers from Snyder County (1860-1904)
 - The Middletown Post (1860-1904)
 - Census and death records
 - Pennsylvania lunacy laws

- SELECTED REFERENCES**
- Fisk, Richard W. *So the Disordered in Mind*. University of North Carolina Press, 1978.
 - McCandless, Peter. *Midnight, Agony, and Madness: A Journey in South-Central Pennsylvania*. University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
 - Waggoner, George Washington, and Clara B. Waggoner. *Snyder County: A History of the County from the Settlement of the First Settlers to the Present Time*. The Middletown Post, 1904.
 - *The Middletown Post*. Middletown, PA. The Middletown Post, 1860-1904.



CONCLUSIONS

- Snyder County residents had a high level of interest in lunacy cases, as evidenced by the many articles in the *Middletown Post* about the cases.
- People with economic problems or whose families could not afford to care for them were susceptible to being declared lunatics.
- Local lunacy fed the public's existing fascination with lunacy and gave the public financial information about the lives of lunatics' property and possessions.
- Though lunatics were not considered "normal," they were considered "human" and their lives were an important part of life in Snyder County between the mid-19th century and early-20th century.



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FIGURE 2 The first place undergraduate poster.

of transportation and farm organizations, while extractive industries such as lumber began to replace other forms of industry after the Civil War. Such an uncertain economic situation created an atmosphere conducive to exploitation of people from the lower classes—perhaps by declaring them lunatics in order to remove their ability to control their own finances and also sell their property. In Snyder County, relatives of the legally insane and other local residents could feasibly derive economic benefits from lunatics' loss of financial independence.

Through close study of these lunacy papers as well as newspapers, census records, and Pennsylvania lunacy laws, this project uncovers the social, cultural, and economic meanings of insanity in Snyder County. It also aims to add to the existing literature on insanity by studying the experiences of the insane poor in a predominately agricultural, rural area that lacked an insane asylum and almshouse. This project moreover challenges scholars who emphasize the marginalization of the insane, instead showing that those declared lunatics could become a beneficial part of life for both their immediate family members and the community at large.

ALL UNDERGRADUATE-LEVEL INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

Rachel Baer, Susquehanna University, "Every Town Has . . . Half a Dozen Lunatics': Insanity in Snyder County, Pennsylvania" (first place)

Faculty Sponsor: Edward Slavishak

Marie Gorman, Lebanon Valley College, "LVC at War: Vietnam" (third place)

Faculty Sponsor: Rebecca McCoy

Erich Lenz, Kutztown University, "The Light Shines On: How America Preserves Its Historic Lighthouses"

Faculty Sponsor: Michael Gabriel

Taylor Mason and Devon Newcomer, Shippensburg University, "Inside These Walls: The Stewart Hall History Project" (second place)

Faculty Sponsor: Steven Burg

Jennifer Wendt, Susquehanna University, "How the Past Defines the Future: A Historiography on Maximilien Robespierre"

Faculty Sponsor: Edward Slavishak

Lebanon Valley College Sesquicentennial History Projects

Faculty Sponsor: Rebecca McCoy

Marie Gorman, "LVC at War: Vietnam" (third place)

Cody Kelly, "This Ringing Song We Raise: Spirit, Song, and Passion of the LVC Music Department"

Brianna Leiter, "LVC's Presidents: 'Taking Courage for an Ever-Inspiring Future'"

Becky Sausser, "A Beginning Grounded in Religion"

Cody Stryker and Michael Mango-Puglisi, "LVC's Tradition of Athletics"

Jeannette Tropp, "Science on the Bunsen Burner"

ALL GRADUATE-LEVEL ENTRIES

Joana Arruda, Temple University, "Internationalizing the National Park Service (NPS): A Study of the NPS Division of International Affairs, 1956–1970" (winner)

Faculty Sponsor: Hilary Iris Lowe

Tiffany Dacheux, Millersville University, "'A Little of Most Things': The Intellectual World of Elizabeth Drinker"

Faculty Sponsor: Robyn Lily Davis

Grace DiAgostino, Temple University, "Selective Chinese Inclusion during an Era of Exclusion: American Unilateral View of Development and the Exhibit of a 'Native' Chinese Village at the National Export Exposition, 1899"

Faculty Sponsor: Hilary Iris Lowe

Michael Fitzpatrick, Millersville University, "The Northampton Insurrection: John Fries' Rebellion as America's Thermidorian Reaction, 1799–1800"

Faculty Sponsor: Robyn Lily Davis

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BOOK REVIEWS

William W. Boyer and Edward C. Ratledge. *Pivotal Policies in Delaware: From Desegregation to Deregulation* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014). Pp. 246. Cloth, \$80.00.

Nelson Johnson. *Battleground New Jersey: Vanderbilt, Hague, and Their Fight for Justice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014). Pp. 259. Cloth. \$29.95.

John J. Kennedy. *Pennsylvania Elections* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2014). Revised edition. Pp. 222. Paperback. \$32.99.

Students of politics must contend with an inescapable irony: American democracy requires an electorate actively engaged with the making of policy, but most citizens, regardless of the era, hate politics. Then again, perhaps it is not ironic. As the old adage goes, you may like sausage, but you do not necessarily want to see how it is made. Dining on Middle Atlantic politics is not for those with delicate digestive systems.

Attorney and legal scholar Nelson Johnson, who achieved acclaim with *Boardwalk Empire*, is the nation's foremost bard of New Jersey political corruption. In *Battleground New Jersey*, Johnson wonderfully describes the Captain Ahab/Moby Dick relationship between Jersey City Democratic boss Frank "I am the Law" Hague and gentleman lawyer, reformer, and professor, Arthur Vanderbilt. There is dedication, and then there is obsession. Vanderbilt spent decades futilely trying to bring down Hague's venal organization. Only death ended the duel.

Hague, like many other Irish Catholic politicians on the East Coast who clawed their way to the top, served his tribe. In Boston, New York City, and

Jersey City, the Irish had no problem excluding other ethnic Catholics, as well as Jews, blacks, and middle-class Protestants, from patronage and leadership positions. As Johnson emphasizes, in Hague's world Protestants were congenital oppressors who needed to be wrung of every cent they had stolen from working-class Irish Catholics. Others were to fall in line, grateful for the grandiose hospital Hague built—a temple that generated kickbacks to favored contractors and that employed enough Irish loyalists to add another suburb to Dublin.

During the 1930s Hague's Irish police force famously beat and arrested industrial union organizers. While many of those union activists may have been fellow Catholics and Democrats, Hague did not tolerate potential rivals to his absolute power. Hague had cause to defend his political power so brutally: it was the source of his wealth. As George Washington Plunkitt of New York's Tammany Hall Democratic machine had observed a generation earlier, "I seen my opportunities and took 'em." The difference between Plunkitt and Hague, however, was that Plunkitt recognized there were moral and practical limits to corruption. Building shoddy, overpriced, bridges and orphanages would come back to haunt a politician, at election time or at Heaven's gate. Hague knew no limits.

Hague's nemesis, Arthur Vanderbilt, was the quintessential good government advocate; the kind of reformer that Plunkitt contemptuously referred to as a "good-goo." Vanderbilt, however, had difficulty arousing the public against Hague. The problem was that to upper-class Protestant Republicans like Vanderbilt, good government often translated into no government for unemployed workers, the impoverished, and the victims of ethnic, racial, and religious discrimination. It would take a younger generation of reformers, one willing to compromise across the political aisle, to clean up Jersey City.

Political machine bosses are one aspect of politics; another component is the conception and execution of public policy. Political scientists William Boyer and Edward Ratledge use Delaware as the backdrop for understanding public policy initiatives over the recent decades. Although Delaware is easy to overlook given that the state is comprised of just three counties and is often mistaken for Philadelphia's backyard, there are important geographical and demographic differences that make for a potentially rewarding study.

Boyer and Ratledge examine ten public policy issues ranging from racial desegregation in the 1950s to business deregulation in the 1990s. If anyone

ever wondered why Delaware became a national center for the incorporation of businesses, or doubted the political influence of a wealthy, paternalistic family (the DuPonts), *Pivotal Policies in Delaware* provides answers.

There are, though, two quibbles. First, the authors could have delved more deeply into Wilmington's crime statistics, rather than framing law and order as a white backlash issue. When controlled for population size, Wilmington (71,000) not only ranks among one of the most violent cities in the United States, it also has one of the lowest arrest rates for homicide. Nearly all the victims of crime were, and continue to be, African American. These facts have been true for years. Famously, anonymous Internet posters not only warned Wilmington residents about cooperating with police investigations, they posted the names and addresses of those who had assisted law enforcement. Since such information is typically closely guarded by police and the district attorney's office, serious questions about public safety in Wilmington may be raised.

A second issue is Boyer and Ratledge's heavy reliance on Wikipedia as a research source. While political journalists have embraced Wikipedia as a quick reference tool, historians have been leery of using a site that is not peer reviewed for accuracy and which allows anyone to edit information. If one is going to cite a public law ruling, it is preferable to read the actual case, rather than its Wikipedia synopsis.

To most Americans, politics is not about public policy issues or political machines; it comes down to elections and voting. In *Pennsylvania Elections*, John Kennedy has compiled Keystone State election statistics since 1950. He also provides a useful historical analysis of geography and demography, and the ways in which both shaped electoral outcomes.

Looking at election trends and results over several decades sharply underscores the fact that as Pennsylvania's population growth lagged behind much of the country, and its economy experienced wrenching deindustrialization, the state lost political clout.

On the other hand, what Democratic political strategist James Carville said about the Keystone State in the 1980s has largely remained unchanged: Pennsylvania is two cities with Alabama in between. Unpacking that observation is what makes being a student of American politics so much fun.

KENNETH J. HEINEMAN
Angelo State University

Robert D. Lifset. *Power on the Hudson: Storm King Mountain and the Emergence of Modern American Environmentalism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014). Pp. xvi + 309. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$25.95.

Appropriately and wittily titled, Lifset's book presents a well-researched and lively account of the political and environmental power struggles surrounding Consolidated Edison's plan to construct a pumped-storage hydroelectric power plant at Storm King Mountain located in the Hudson River Highlands, fifty miles north of New York City. The debate over the potential consequences of the proposed plant did much to shape the early history of the broader, modern environmental movement in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. During the course of nearly two decades, the struggle over electric power generation at Storm King led to "a new balance" of power regarding "the relationship between the need for energy production and the desire for environmental quality" (xiii).

In late 1962 Con Ed, then the nation's largest utility, faced exponentially increasing electricity demand while simultaneously having to deal with conventional power plant siting issues and calls for cleaner air in New York City. Here E. B. White is appropriately quoted as having quipped in 1954 that "soot is the topsoil of New York" (13). Thus, it is no surprise that the utility should reveal plans for a pumped-storage facility slated for a site near Cornwall, New York, on the west bank of the Hudson. The rationale for a pumped-storage plant, despite inherent inefficiencies, is that it utilizes steam-powered generation, which is neither technically easy nor economically efficient to shut down during underutilized (e.g., early morning) hours, to pump water uphill to a storage reservoir, from which it can then be drawn off to meet "peak" (read: more expensive) electricity demand during the late afternoon/early evening hours.

Con Ed readily convinced local, state, and federal, most notably the Federal Power Commission (FPC), political officials of the project's energy and economic values, while downplaying aesthetic issues. Indeed, they agreed to place the necessary high-tension power lines under the Hudson, and then underground them, at least in places, as they worked their way down the east side of the river to the city where most of the power would be consumed. Con Ed also agreed to design the plant itself to minimize aesthetic visual impacts, in effect promising a park-like setting along the river side. These concessions mollified most traditional aesthetic preservationists. A handful

of environmental activists not so convinced created a new, cross-sectional environmental group, the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference, which would ultimately take a lead role among many other anti-pumped storage organizations.

The town of Cornwall largely bought into the project for economic reasons—increased employment opportunities and enhanced tax revenues—combined with a promise of an adequate water supply. The FPC, although the product of Progressive era conservation legislation (the Federal Power Act of 1920) designed to better manage the nation's water-power resources, generally viewed itself in the role of energy development promoter. Con Ed would seemingly have its way when in March 1965 the FPC, following hearings held the previous year, granted the utility its requested plant license. Yet, two things happened during the hearings that would prove crucial in the long run, contributing to significant delays and ultimately failure of plant construction.

At this time, citizen groups, unless they could prove direct economic impact, seldom received legal standing to intervene in federal hearings; however, given increasing *New York Times* publicity, the FPC granted Scenic Hudson intervener status, which proved crucial for this case, but also set a broader national precedent. Although the FPC in granting Con Ed its license dismissed Scenic Hudson's aesthetic arguments as largely immaterial, they turned back the question of transmission-line siting to the company and for further hearings. They also left open for further research and discussion what would prove to be a controversial environmental issue, the health of the Hudson River fishery, especially that of the striped bass. Following articles by *Sports Illustrated* journalist Robert Boyle on a massive fish kill tied to Con Ed's Indian Point nuclear plant, Scenic Hudson's opposition to Storm King increasingly, and more effectively, focused on ecological rather than aesthetic issues.

Here the story gets more complicated than can be detailed in a short review, but suffice it to say that the politics were fractious, the debates spirited, and at times the language salty. Mike Kitzmiller, a lawyer working for Scenic Hudson, remembers believing "we could win, but only if we played rough and dirty," and further reminisced that it was his job "to piss in Con Ed's soup. And I liked it" (47–48). A major "breakthrough" occurred late in 1965, when upon what was actually considered a "hopeless" appeal by Scenic Hudson, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the FPC ruling, setting aside the Con Ed license. Lifset views this decision as "usher[ing] in the modern era of environmental litigation" (101), as it moved the question of who had legal standing beyond solely one of economic interest.

The debate would rage on for a number of years, including over a second license granted by the FPC in 1970. In the face of a proliferation of environmental lawsuits up and down the Hudson River Valley by a growing number of environmental organizations, especially over the 1972 Clean Water Act-related issues, as well as the fishery, Con Ed, which was also facing serious financial difficulties, finally dropped its plans for Storm King. Although by then Storm King had effectively become but a bargaining chip in a larger debate over EPA-mandated cooling towers and water discharges from its Indian Point nuclear plant, Con Ed did not officially surrender its license until 1980. Russell Train, a former head of the EPA, served as mediator and believed that the ultimate settlement demonstrated that “environmental and energy needs can effectively be balanced” (184), an assessment with which Lifset agrees.

Lifset’s epilogue outlines the legacies of Storm King in terms of environmentalism, energy provision, and Hudson River Valley life, all of which are in a healthier balance as a result of the controversy. In his view, the most important political legacy was the redefinition of legal standing in matters of environmental law, which helped democratize land-use decisions. At the same time he recognizes we must pay closer “attention to how we produce and consume energy” (206). For environmental historians seeking to understand Storm King as an essential turning point, or for citizens and politicians seeking tools for current decision making, *Power on the Hudson* is highly recommended reading.

STEPHEN CUTCLIFFE
Lehigh University

Terry Alford. *Fortune’s Fool: The Life of John Wilkes Booth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Pp. 454. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$29.95.

Terry Alford considers John Wilkes Booth as “one of the most remarkable personalities of his era” (6). Consequently, *Fortune’s Fool* presents an always interesting but often contradictory Booth, part affable gentleman and part moody murderer.

Accordingly, the book has several components. One segment describes Booth’s theatrical career, another tracks his politics and path to the balcony in Ford’s Theater, and the final page-turning portion recounts Booth’s frantic

escape into southern Maryland and death in a northern Virginia tobacco barn. To put this story together, Alford draws heavily on the memories of Booth's friends and acquaintances, sometimes recalled years after the events.

To be sure, Booth could be winsome. The most frequent comment about him was his extraordinary good looks. He never lacked for female companionship. He was also genial, hard-working, down-to-earth, and a good colleague. In public he was quiet, perhaps reserved, but with a healthy sense of humor. His five-foot-eight height was average, but he exercised regularly and was very athletic. Alford says that as an actor Booth was "kissed by genius" (157).

Yet Alford describes a darker side to the presidential assassin. Booth was "sinister" (6), "moody and erratic" (98), and closed-minded. Once a temperance man, by the end of the Civil War he drank heavily, though never becoming drunk. He brooded; the imprisonment of Baltimore police chief George P. Kane left him fuming for months. He was temperamental. When his brother-in-law insulted Jefferson Davis, Booth grabbed him by the throat and swung him side to side. Then, as self-control gradually returned, Booth threw his victim back into a chair and, standing over the panting man, warned him to "never, if you value your life, speak in that way" again (137).

Appropriate for a conflicted personality, Booth's acting career was meteoric. He quickly became a national figure in the theater, a situation that lasted for three years and earned him a fortune. Then the phenom lost his voice, his career, and his money to chronic throat disease.

No surprise that a book about a remarkable personality is filled with remarkable detail. Several examples are as follows:

Although Booth's conspiracy team has often been lampooned as a team of buffoons, Alford points out that David Herold was quick-thinking, loyal, and intelligent, and that Louis Powell saw action in the war, played chess, and read medical books.

Boston Corbett, the famed sergeant who shot Booth, was highly religious. After the dragnet trapped Booth in the barn, Corbett pestered his superiors for permission to enter the building and confront Booth *mano et mano*. Denied, Corbett then shot Booth after soldiers set the barn afire. Inspecting his handiwork—a spine-severing, mortal wound to the neck—Corbett exclaimed, "What a God we serve!" (313).

Booth attended Abraham Lincoln's second inauguration. A well-known photograph places him on the Capitol portico as Lincoln pleaded for "malice toward none," but Alford adds that Booth attempted to jump the police line inside the Rotunda and join the dignitaries as they processed to the portico

and the ceremonies. Booth was just a few feet from the president, but a brief scuffle with police sent him back into the crowd. Whether Booth would have attempted assassination at this very dramatic moment is pure conjecture because he always intended to survive his crime, but he was also impulsive and the police who dealt with him were convinced that he “meant mischief” (226).

Alford wisely steers clear of definitively identifying Booth’s motives. To be sure, Booth was a white supremacist and a Confederate sympathizer marooned in the North, which grated on him. Moreover, a promise to his mother not to enlist weighed heavily, and as the war turned desperate for the South, Booth felt guilty for his avoidance of military service. Alford thinks that a decisive moment came as Booth stood with a large crowd outside the White House on April 11, 1865, and listened to Lincoln endorse enfranchisement for black veterans. This, Alford surmises, “snapped the last line holding Booth to the ground” (257) and from that moment the unemployed actor was determined to kill the Great Emancipator.

Alford also skillfully addresses the age-old question of conspiracy. On one hand, Booth’s ring clearly extended to Confederate sympathizers in southern Maryland. As he spun his plot, which originally was a kidnapping scheme, Booth visited this area, where he met numerous underground Confederates ready to assist.

More debatable is Booth’s contact with the Confederate government. Not a shred of evidence places Booth in contact with Confederate authorities in Richmond, but more suspect was an October 1864 trip to Montreal, where Booth consorted with the Confederate agents, sympathizers, refugees, and spies. All he said was that this jaunt was “a little business” (189), but Booth met often with Confederate agent George N. Sanders, who told an English journal that he was “plotting atrocities which would make the world shudder” (187). No record exists of Booth’s conversations with Sanders. Alford does not believe that Booth spoke with the chief Confederate in Canada, Jacob Thompson, who reportedly controlled a million-dollar treasure chest to further the Southern cause. Nobody observed the two together, and six weeks after the assassination Thompson asserted that he had never met or corresponded with Booth or any of the other conspirators. (Alford might have added that at this point what else could Thompson have said?) This reviewer is deeply suspicious of Booth’s visit to Canada—he was not there to polish his French—but Alford has little hard evidence to support involvement by Canadian Confederates.

In sum, *Fortune's Fool* is a very readable, well-researched, balanced biography of a complicated person. Alford's 340 pages of text are probably too much for most undergrads, despite his readability, but his work is prime fodder for lectures and should be read by scholars of the period and those simply looking for an excellent book.

STEVE LONGENECKER
Bridgewater College, Virginia

Dominick Mazzagetti. *Charles Lee: Self Before Country* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013). Rivergate Regionals. Pp. 304. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$32.95.

Educated at both Rutgers and Cornell, Mazzagetti is a retired attorney and banker who now lectures and writes about local New Jersey history, and more broadly on the American Revolution and Civil War. In this volume he investigates enigmatic and controversial Revolutionary War general Charles Lee, with a critical eye toward modern biographer apologists.

Born in 1732 in the English county of Cheshire, which the author twice mistakenly refers to as in Wales (16, 26), Lee was the son of a British army officer who followed in his father's footsteps. Educated on the Continent, where he picked up a knack for languages and a taste for democratic political philosophy, Lee saw active military service, including French and Indian War (Seven Years' War in Europe) campaigns such as Braddock's March (1755), Fort Ticonderoga (1758), and Portugal (1762). After the war he was put on half-pay as a major (later lieutenant colonel) in the British army with little prospects for an active commission.

By this time he was an ambitious egoist who was also an accomplished letter writer and polemicist with a "blistering pen" (27). His political opinions made few friends so he left for Poland in 1765 where he was aide-de-camp to King Stanislaus II. He made several return trips to England, the longest being in 1766–68 after the death of his mother. His growing estrangement from the British establishment has induced some to claim he was the author of the mysterious and radical Whig "Junius" letters, but this is unlikely, though he had earlier stated America was the "one Asylum" on Earth for the rights of man (41).

He moved to America in 1773, eventually purchasing a farm in present-day West Virginia. His radical and colorful writings made him popular, though with his thin face and big nose he was described as an “oddity” by John Adams (55), with an excessive attachment to dogs and a lack of personal grooming. Lee was highly regarded for his military background and selected by Congress as a major-general in 1775, third in seniority after George Washington and Artemis Ward. Lee had still been a half-pay British officer so his transfer to American service was based upon Congress agreeing to indemnify him for loss of property in England, which compares poorly to George Washington forgoing even a salary.

Lee was resentful at not being given the top post, but nevertheless had early success defending Charleston in 1776, though he was foolishly captured at year’s end in a New Jersey tavern. Repatriated more than a year later, he famously plotted against Washington’s authority and mismanaged the American attack on the retreating British at Monmouth in June 1778. He was court-martialed and left the army, though he continued to attack Washington’s reputation, even fighting a duel with Washington’s aide-de-camp John Laurens. Lee died in relative disgrace and poverty in Philadelphia in 1782.

Mazzegetti observes that there were many foreign generals in the Continental Army, including Englishmen Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, Scotsmen Hugh Mercer and Arthur St. Clair, Irishmen Richard Montgomery and Thomas Conway, Frenchmen the Marquis de Lafayette and Louis Duportail, Germans Friedrich von Steuben and Johan de Kalb, and Poles Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Most are remembered fondly in American history and Lee’s mixed legacy might have fared better but for his early death. Lee benefited, however, in not being reviled as a traitor, akin to Benedict Arnold, for his treason, while in captivity, in writing a plan (“Mr. Lee Plan—March 29, 1777”) suggesting how the British could win the war (by occupying Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia), which was not known until discovered by a British archivist in 1858.

George Moore, librarian of the New York State Historical Society, purchased Lee’s plan in 1858 and presented a paper titled “The Treason of Charles Lee” that closed the book on Lee for a century (145). Moore suggested that Lee’s actions at Monmouth were related to his 1777 decision to leave the American cause. It is at this point that Mazzegetti is most critical of Lee’s other modern biographers, specifically John R. Alden (*General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot?* [1951]), Samuel W. Patterson (*Knight Errant of Liberty: The Triumph and Tragedy of General Charles Lee* [1958]), and Theodore G. Thayer

(*The Making of a Scapegoat: Washington and Lee at Monmouth* [1976]). He would doubtless include Phillip Papas (*Renegade Revolutionary: The Life of General Charles Lee* [2014]) had the publication of this work predated his own.

Alden, Patterson, Thayer, and Papas have challenged Moore's opinion, portraying Lee as a complex political idealist sometimes blinded by ego and ambition. Patterson argues that Lee's plan was a trick, while Alden says it was a misguided effort to help the American cause. Lee may have written the plan to spite Congress for not supporting his offers to mediate a peace deal or he may have just feared being irrelevant in captivity. Even though the British were not impressed by Lee's plan, Mazzagetti argues it was a betrayal no matter how apologists portray it. Lee betrayed the commander who worked for his release and the country whose commission and financial largesse he had previously accepted. After his release, it must have weighed on Lee's mind, making him for the remainder of his life a man without a country living in constant fear of exposure.

This book suffers from a lack of photographs and other illustrations, although the index, endnotes, and bibliography are adequate. The four appendices are useful and include James Wilkinson's 1816 reminiscence of Lee's 1776 capture, the text of "Mr. Lee's Plan—March 29, 1777," conflicting accounts of Washington and Lee's confrontation at Monmouth, and miscellaneous facts about the battle. Despite minor errors, Mazzagetti convincingly critiques Lee's biographers and offers a legitimate portrayal of Lee as a quarrelsome opportunist who hypocritically betrayed the principles he constantly espoused.

WILLIAM JOHN SHEPHERD
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Rex Passion. *The Lost Sketchbooks: A Young Artist in the Great War* (Cambridge, MA: Komatik Press, 2014). Pp. 152. Paperback, \$21.95.

World War I is, along with the War of 1812, one of the most important, but least understood, episodes in American military history. Though scholars suggest the conflict was the most important event of the twentieth century, Americans generally fail to grasp the significance of the war in developing America's view of itself in the twentieth century. Decades before America lost its innocence at Pearl Harbor and the World Trade Centers, its sons and

daughters left their farms, homes, and tenements, joined with millions of other Americans training for war, and journeyed across the broad Atlantic Ocean to fight on behalf of democracy and against the tyranny of German militarism. The historiography of America's experience during the Great War lacks the autobiographical works that characterizes much of the writing of World War II, Vietnam, and, of course, the personal videos, blogs, and still photography of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. *The Lost Sketchbooks* is a step to redressing that omission.

In 1917 young men across the nation joined the military and marched optimistically away. One of those men was twenty-two-year-old Howard Edward Shenton Jr. of Philadelphia, an artist and recent graduate of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Arts. *The Lost Sketchbooks* falls into a no-man's land between the autobiographical and biographical. The basis for the work are the sketchbooks and the hundreds of sketches and notes Shenton composed during his two years of military service. The resulting book is a fascinating, first-person account of a journey one young man took from his comfortable, if monotonous life in Philadelphia to the battlefields of the Western Front.

The steps Shenton took from his civilian life to Army life are a window into the lives of millions of American soldiers. The singular difference between Shenton and most other young men was Shenton's ability to record, graphically, military life during the early twentieth century. While cheap, portable cameras existed in 1917–18, most soldiers did not possess them, and those who did took few pictures. Shenton, however, developed the ability to draw a detailed sketch in as little as thirty seconds, a skill that empowered him with an unparalleled ability to “snapshot” his life in the Army.

The 151 sketches selected by the author—and *The Lost Sketchbooks* is very much a pictorial history of Shenton and the war, with most of the narrative limited to contextualization of the sketches—began by offering a glimpse into the life of a boy growing up in West Philadelphia and fascinated by the Spanish American War, knights, and the new sport of automobile racing. As Shenton matured, he contributed sketches to his high school magazine and developed his own cartoon strip. One can well imagine, in the earliest sketches, the little boy lying on the floor with paper and pencil, his imagination giving life in his drawings. In his teen years and his early twenties, Shenton's art classes and experience transformed his work from little more than stick figures and crude impressions to well-composed, color illustrations of high school life, athletics, street scenes, and faces.

Shenton's sketches take the reader from Philadelphia to the training camps of the American south, and through his art one observes a civilian transformed into a soldier, and thence to the battle line. On the whole, the sketches depict the mundane, not the shell blasts and no man's land that World War I normally conjures in the imagination. It is in the quiet moments that Shenton captured with his pencil that he offered his most important gift to future observers, the gift of the ordinary in the lives of America's Great War soldiers. The men he sketched were lying on the ground catching a few brief hours of sleep, or bending over shovels as they scratched a shallow trench, or walking through the ruins of French villages. The fatigue the soldiers experienced was palpable in the slumped shoulders and drooping heads Shenton seemed to sketch with particular detail.

The Lost Sketchbooks does not pretend to be a scholarly history of the war. Nevertheless, it would have benefited from a scholar's input. For instance, neither Shenton nor any of his comrades understood the horrors of trench warfare before they saw the front for themselves. For instance, Passion wrote that though Shenton read about the fighting in the trenches, he enlisted with his friends in the spirit of a crusader. Yet, a perusal of the newspapers and periodicals the nation consumed in the period 1914–17 impresses upon the academic that media gave nothing more than a fleeting impression of the real nature of the war. Indeed, the coverage of the war in every major American newspaper is perhaps best described as surreal when compared to the real state of affairs on the Western Front. Furthermore, the scholar is left wondering what sketches were left out of the book, and why. The most glaring example surrounds the influenza epidemic. Not a single sketch or a single line in *The Lost Sketchbooks* was devoted to an outbreak that killed more American soldiers than the war and surely affected Shenton's division, battalion, and company. A related question concerns the criteria for selecting among the hundreds of sketches found in Shenton's sketchbooks.

Regardless, *The Lost Sketchbooks* stands as an outstanding visual window to the lives and experiences of military life during World War I. General audiences will especially appreciate the work as the nuance it lends to the story of America's Great War soldiers is rarely found outside the archive and more rarely still encountered by the general reader.

JAMES HIGGINS
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Kathryn E. Wilson. *Ethnic Renewal in Philadelphia's Chinatown: Space, Place, and Struggle* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015). Pp. 278. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, \$84.50; paper, \$29.95.

Kathryn Wilson's recent work traces the origin and (re)development of Philadelphia's Chinatown from the late nineteenth century to the present. Despite its relatively small size, the neighborhood has survived decades of urban transitions, retaining a historic core while adapting to community needs. In addition to archival materials and newspapers, Wilson's book draws heavily on oral interviews with local activists and personal observations of the neighborhood. As the author notes, Chinatown has long been a site in which the role of exotic "other" was consciously performed for outsiders. The presence of particular types of businesses such as laundries and restaurants helped fulfill that role. Yet the area has simultaneously served as a home for residents of Chinese and other Asian descent. The tension between these neighborhood roles put Chinatown in a precarious position as public officials and private developers reconfigured the Philadelphia landscape.

Chinatown's built environment retained a mixed-use orientation while the surrounding city first departed from, and more recently returned to, such a design. Chinese settlement began concentrating around the 900 block of Race Street in the late nineteenth century. Many of the area's buildings housed businesses on the ground level with the second and third stories devoted to residential or social club use. Structures dating from the early and mid-nineteenth century received cosmetic updates, especially through the addition of second-floor balconies similar to those found in southern Chinese cities. On Sundays in particular, these sites served as gathering spaces for Chinese throughout the region.

Over the years, the neighborhood faced a succession of threats to its integrity or existence. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinatown had a dangerous reputation due to racialized notions of crime and the overwhelmingly male population wrought by immigration policies and labor migration patterns. By the Great Depression, the physical condition of Chinatown's aging building stock began to concern policymakers. The commonly held notion that Chinatown was simply a business district combined with its proximity to Center City resources to make it a likely target for urban redevelopment in the postwar period. Some outsiders regarded the area as a slum with a preponderance of bars. So too, policymakers and residents had different perceptions of the neighborhood's boundaries. Various

projects—most of them transportation or tourism-related—thus advanced on Chinatown. An expressway, a commuter rail tunnel, a convention center, and a major retail and office development impacted local business climate and neighborhood life in addition to claiming physical space.

Chinatown's postwar population was relatively stable in comparison to the marked decline in other city neighborhoods. Demolition of existing structures met comparatively little resistance during the early sixties from community groups fragmented by religious affiliation, language, and class. Yet over time grassroots organizations more effectively mobilized neighbors against the threats posed to Chinatown's spatial boundaries and lifestyle. The activists guiding groups such as Yellow Seeds were students and young professionals with working-class roots and sufficient knowledge of Chinese culture to build rapport with fellow residents. Their strategy combined formal political appeals with symbolic physical demonstrations. In one iconic moment of resistance, young protesters perched atop a building's rubble with a large banner demanding "Homes Not Highways!" Mindful of their small numbers and relative lack of political clout, these groups built multiracial coalitions with other groups across the city. Their activism won some significant concessions, such as preserving Holy Redeemer Chinese Catholic Church and School. Moreover, the energy marshaled by residents and their allies raised the neighborhood's public profile.

As they won small victories in the fight to defend Chinatown's boundaries, some activists turned their attention to community development. As elsewhere, affordable housing projects became the domain of nonprofit organizations such as the Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation (PCDC). The construction of rowhouses, apartments, affordable senior housing, and a mixed-use development allowed more existing residents to stay in the neighborhood. Concerned about encroachment by adjacent development, PCDC worked with city planners to obtain a special zoning designation for the neighborhood. In more recent years, the area faced financial pressures and cultural tensions from gentrification in nearby Callowhill.

Previously, activists avoided pursuing historic designations at the neighborhood level for fear that it would raise rents and displace residents. More recently, historic preservation of select structures has become a greater focus of Chinatown's community development strategy. As Chinatown continued to reinvent itself, community members also engaged in debates over defining a "Chinese" aesthetic and cultural experience. But the necessities of a functioning residential area usually took precedence. These debates gained

complexity as newer waves of immigration and shifting city demographics continued to increase residential diversity.

Wilson's book sheds light on a small but longstanding ethnic enclave that has received little attention from other scholars of Philadelphia. Her textured account of the neighborhood offers a well-rounded combination of ethnography, oral history, and history of the built environment. Though the chapters are decidedly weighted toward the past forty-five years, Wilson draws useful connections to area's development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The activists that Wilson profiles scored impressive, if small, victories in an era of tight budgets and market-oriented development. Overall, Wilson's story shows how Chinatown residents cannily negotiated development not only to preserve particular landmarks, but even to expand the residential character of Chinatown. At many moments, the neighborhood's future seemed uncertain, but the historic core weathered repeated threats to its existence and reinvented itself in the process.

ALYSSA RIBEIRO
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Ryan K. Smith. *Robert Morris's Folly: The Architectural and Financial Failures of an American Founder* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014). Pp. 360. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$40.00.

Robert Morris was a Founder. He signed the Declaration of Independence. He secured loans from international bankers and with them sustained the Continental army. Pennsylvanians celebrated his success in moving the federal capital from New York to Philadelphia while the Federal City could be built. He served Pennsylvania as representative to Congress. But our view of Founders, Ryan Smith suggests in *Robert Morris's Folly*, needs to be "rounded" (216 n. 12). This Founder's business dealings, friendships, and personality unfold as we meet him at the pinnacle of his mercantile wealth and political service, then follow him to an infamous failure that triggered a rash of bankruptcies in the young nation.

Smith also aims to "push material culture under the noses of even the most object-averse historians," and he interweaves the rise and demise of Morris's financial fortunes with those of the spectacular but unfinished mansion he engaged French engineer Peter L'Enfant to design and superintend.¹ *Folly* is

both a lucid explanation of the diverse business affairs that brought Morris to his financial knees, and a close examination of L'Enfant's unrestrained architectural endeavor. Both are explored within a rich context of national and international developments, among them the Jay Treaty, the French Revolution, and Indian relations.

L'Enfant began the mansion in 1793, but it was still incomplete when Morris landed in debtors' prison in 1798. Contemporaries disparaged the "palace" and would soon declare it a "folly." It became an offensive symbol of insatiable ambition, excess luxury, and aristocratic privilege incompatible with a republican nation. Its royal pretensions of scale, French style, and costly adornment captured the anxieties of a fragile nation. Morris's "folly" was twofold: financial failure rooted in ambition that propelled him into securities and land speculation on a monumental scale, and material grandiosity that fueled desire for a mansion to embody his economic and social status. But contemporaries and indeed later commentators understood the mansion to be Morris's ruin. The unfinished hulk was a tangible lesson in the dangers of extravagance and vanity, whereas Morris's speculative ventures were inscrutable. The architectural folly thus became Morris's "double."²

Smith captures the material texture of Morris's life in 1780s and 1790s Philadelphia by drawing amply on correspondence, household accounts, guests' diaries and letters, and portraits. Morris was an avuncular and generous host who oversaw a well-stocked wine cellar, assorted viands and delicacies, a French cook, porcelain settings, and silver tableware. In their stately residence, Robert and his wife Mary entertained lavishly and sustained fervent relationships with such worthies as George and Martha Washington, for whom they even vacated one of their houses. Robert and Mary enjoyed a loving marriage; Mary shared Robert's passion for acquiring the furnishings, social connections, coifs, and couture appropriate for their status, using consumption to rival other elite Philadelphians.

Morris speculated with few limits and even from his jail perch disclosed barely a smidgeon of self-knowledge about his part in his own—and many others'—failure. Morris did not consider his dealings to be excessive or greedy, and he framed his land speculations, among other pursuits, in terms of advancing the greater good of the nation. While descending more deeply into a financial hole, Morris nonetheless held that the next deal would reverse his fortunes. Those fortunes were soon entangled with the schemes of John Nicholson, a disgraced state comptroller. The two engaged in securities and land speculation, endorsed each other's notes, and formed and reformed

subsidiaries and holding companies to rebundle shares in land companies—increasingly vain attempts to sustain their affairs long enough for a lucrative ship to sail in, a ship Morris continued to believe in.

L'Enfant's ambitions also knew no limits. Temperamental and prone to conflict with employers when they questioned his vision, spending, or progress, L'Enfant would leave a trail of unfinished projects, in particular, the Federal City and the industrial site for the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures on the Passaic River. Morris and L'Enfant nonetheless formed a warm friendship, and early in the planning and building of his mansion while Morris felt flush, he was "inclin[ed] to indulge [L'Enfant's] genius" (92). The architect set out to build Morris a Parisian villa; it was massive in its footprint (the building and grounds were to engross an entire urban square) with two wings flanking the central section, and in height, with two or three stories of cellars underground and another two tall stories capped with a mansard roof. Stone covered much of its exterior, and its glazed windows were strikingly large. It was a distinct contrast to Philadelphia's brick rowhouse and federal traditions, and even to the city's most ostentatious dwellings. L'Enfant employed the best local artisanal talent as well as recently arrived European ornamental stonemasons. At the height of construction, hundreds of men dug earth, set bricks, framed windows, and laid out gardens. By 1795 Morris was struggling to juggle sinking finances, and while his attempts to push L'Enfant toward economy and haste led to quarrels and frustrations, he continued to plow funds into the mansion with the hopes of redeeming his public façade.

Neither construction nor Morris's business ventures proved sustainable. Smith follows the building's dismantling and traces the afterlife of its parts. The denouement is replete with ironic twists. While Morris lingered in the debtors' apartment during a yellow fever epidemic, petty criminals and vagrants were taken out of the prison and sheltered in the Folly. Architect Benjamin Latrobe, though he considered the mansion a tasteless and ill-proportioned monstrosity, bought its marble bas-reliefs and installed them in his renovation of the Chestnut Street Theater. "[R]elics of royalty" (102) that had been shipped from Paris to furnish the mansion disappeared among bargain buyers. Investors carved up the property into streets with small lots, and using building materials from the mansion, mechanics erected brick rowhouses that were soon praised as improving the city. Morris—identifying with his double—complained that the erasure of his mansion "seem[ed] to be in the way of bidding me adieu" (174).

BOOK REVIEWS

Readers see little of the damage Morris's speculations caused (except to his wife), and it is difficult not to like the man portrayed in *Folly*; perhaps that is a product of a "rounded" approach. A sympathetic treatment, however, does not take away from Smith's success at combining historical and material culture approaches to produce a deeply researched, compelling, and finely crafted narrative.

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NOTES

1. Ryan K. Smith, "Building Stories: Narrative Prospects for Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Buildings and Landscapes* 18, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 1–14, quotation at 6.
2. *Ibid.*, 9.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW PENNSYLVANIA RECORDS AVAILABLE ON ANCESTRY.COM

Ancestry.com has recently made available through its online database the following records that may be of interest to Pennsylvania scholars. The following is information adapted from their website.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania Mennonite Vital Records, 1750–1940

For years, the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has collected genealogical information for Lancaster County Mennonites and related groups. Much of this has been compiled into the Society's genealogical card file, which contains more than 210,000 cards containing vital statistics on families dating back to the 1600s. Cards list names, family relationships, birthdate and place, death date and place, and marriage date (as applicable) for an estimated 800,000 individuals. Both the paternal and maternal lines can be traced if the vital information is complete. Ancestry.com. *Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Mennonite Vital Records, 1750–1940* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015. Original data: Genealogical Card File. Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania Wills and Probate Records, 1683–1993

This collection includes images of probate records for approximately 97 percent of the counties in Pennsylvania. The records come from a collection of microfilm that took years to compile. They have been brought together from multiple courthouses over time to give you a single source to search. Some localities and time periods may not be included because they were not available to be acquired as part of this collection, or the records

ANNOUNCEMENTS

may have been lost or destroyed before the effort to collect them all began. If you are looking for a probate record and believe it to be from a county or year range that is not included in this collection, you can try contacting the appropriate county courthouse to see if the records are available. For details on which counties and records are included in this collection, please explore the browse menu at Ancestry.com. *Pennsylvania, Wills and Probate Records, 1683–1993* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015. Original data: Pennsylvania County, District and Probate Courts.

Pennsylvania Veterans Burial Cards, 1777–2012

Contained in this database are index cards with the burial records of Pennsylvania veterans who participated in all armed conflicts in which the Commonwealth (or colony) was involved. Beginning in 1929 these cards were created by the county Bureau of Veterans Affairs office, which still receives new cards on a regular basis from the Veterans Affairs office at Fort Indiantown Gap. The cards are divided into four series, then alphabetically by veteran surname. There are some exceptions to this system, such as the miscellaneous cards being filed in series 3. Ancestry.com. *Pennsylvania, Veterans Burial Cards, 1777–2012* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data: *Pennsylvania Veterans Burial Cards, 1777–2012*. Digital Images, 3–5. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Archives. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies

Special Issue: Pennsylvania and the Great War

Guest edited by Dr. Barbara Gannon (Fall 2017)

Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies, published by the Pennsylvania Historical Association, is issuing a call for articles to be included in a special issue on the centennial of the United States' entry into World War I, especially as it relates to Pennsylvania, to be published in the fall of 2017.

The guest editor seeks proposals of scholarly articles (25–35 pages, double spaced) featuring new research on the above topic. Pieces may focus on the events and issues leading up to, during, and after the Great War relating to Pennsylvania. These can include the activities of the 28th Division and other

Pennsylvania units, the home front, the politics of war, individual soldiers, veteran's issues, and postwar legacies. Articles placing Pennsylvania within the larger context of national and international reaction to the Great War are also encouraged.

Additionally, vignettes (less than 1,000 words) that showcase a particular artifact or document relating to Pennsylvania and World War I will also be considered.

Deadline: The deadline for submissions is January 1, 2017.

Details: Potential authors should consult the guest editor to discuss their topic, who can be contacted at: Dr. Barbara A. Gannon, Professor of History, University of Central Florida, Barbara.Gannon@ucf.edu. Articles will then be uploaded to: editorialmanager.com/pah

Additional questions relating to this or any other issues of *Pennsylvania History* can be directed to Linda A. Ries, Editor at jaggers1952@verizon.net.