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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Antietam National Battlefield Site
(Area)

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THE DUNKARD CHURCH

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FROM:

TO:

PART I
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
FOR

THE DUNKARD CHURCH

Antietam National Battlefield Site

Prepared by:

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Historian (Park)
May 25, 1960
62 Pages

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PART I - ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

A. NAME OF SITE

Dunkard Church Site (not numbered).

B. PROPOSED USE OF AREA

Inasmuch as this proposal for rebuilding of the Dunkard Church is not contained in our MISSION 66 Program, and the proposed rebuilding of the structure will be done by the State of Maryland, this report, as I see it, is merely to help those who are involved in the reconstruction of this building, as far as possible by the National Park Service itself.

C. PROVISIONS FOR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS PROPOSED

Inasmuch as the site is already a part of the Antietam National Battlefield Site and owned by the Federal government, it will be necessary for some sort of agreement to be worked out with the State and the National Park Service so this construction can be accomplished.

I think we, also, should try to include as much as possible such artifacts that came out of the original building. A private citizen owns several benches and they should be put back in the church. As long as they are in existence, I can see no reason for building duplicates. I understand that the gentleman paid less than \$500 for the whole building, and certainly he could be

induced, as a patriotic gesture, to cooperate as far as possible in this restoration.

Mr. Palmer has pretty well covered in his proposal to the State certain fundamental principles that should be followed and included in the Administrative Data of this report. A copy of his recommendations follows:

"The State of Maryland would agree on its part:

1. That it will acquire the approximate 14 acres of land in the original Dunkard Churchyard and transfer it to the Federal Government;
2. That it will appropriate funds for the actual cost of construction of the Dunkard Church on the site now owned as a part of Antietam National Battlefield;
3. That it will erect, as part of the construction costs, a monument or tablet apart from the Church construction to indicate that the building is a Maryland Centennial memorial, and recognizing the cooperation of all parties;
4. That its contribution to the restoration is contingent upon the understanding of all concerned that no church services will be permitted in the restored church.

"The National Park Service of the Department of the Interior would agree on its part:

1. That it will prepare working drawings and specifications for the restoration of the Dunkard Church;
2. That it will furnish a Supervising Architect to direct the construction phase;
3. That the National Park Service will permit the State of Maryland to erect a fitting memorial marker, subject to approved plans, near the Dunkard Church to indicate that it is a Centennial memorial as above;

4. That the National Park Service will fittingly recognize the contribution to national peace and unity that came from the residents of 29 States engaged in the clash of arms on the Antietam battlefield in 1862;

5. That the National Park Service will construct all drives, roads, and walks for the public use in visiting the Dunkard Church;

6. That the National Park Service assume all responsibility for the operation, maintenance and protection of the restored Dunkard Church;

7. That the National Park Service shall permit the organization known as 'The Sharpsburg Rifles' to purchase such original furnishings as may be available for the restoration of the interior of the Church and permit said organization to acquire such other furnishings as approved by the National Park Service.

"The Sharpsburg Rifles', an organization that has a membership made up of many descendants from original members of the Dunkard Church, would agree on its part:

1. That said organization will provide funds for the purpose of acquiring insofar as possible, the original furnishings for the interior of the Dunkard Church;

2. That, insofar as original furnishings are unavailable, said organization will assist in acquiring comparable contemporary furnishing or reproductions in accordance with plans prepared and approved by the National Park Service;

3. That in connection with this agreement, said organization, in accordance with policies to be agreed upon and the laws of Maryland, will seek funds for the sole purpose of refurnishing the interior of the Dunkard Church.

"You will note that in the listing of terms above, I have not made any specific reference to whether the contract for the construction of the building would be let by the State of Maryland or the National Park Service. We would prefer that the State of

Maryland donate the funds for the restoration to the National Park Service and the latter organization would supervise the actual construction. In case the Maryland laws would not permit the actual donation of money, we could reach an agreement that would permit the State of Maryland to make the contract and pay the contractor, but the supervision of the work would have to be by a National Park Service inspector. On a simple building such as this one for which detailed working drawings will be prepared by the National Park Service, we can see no insurmountable difficulty."

D. PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE OF COST

It is rather difficult for a layman to estimate the cost of such a structure but it should not, in my opinion, be over \$45,000, including the refurnishing of the building. I am inclined to think this figure, when the actual work is done, could be lower.

PART II -- HISTORICAL DATA SECTION

1. OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, 1784-1960

The plot on which the "Dunkard Church" site is now located was in the late 18th Century a part of John Reynold's property. Half of his property, including three contiguous parcels known as part of "Anderson's Delight," part of "John's Chance," and "Abstone's Forrest," was willed to his son, Francis Reynolds, on March 22, 1784.¹ The site of the future Dunkard Church was included in the 182 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre inheritance.

On April 2, 1785, Francis Reynolds sold this 182 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre plantation to Christopher Orendorff.² On May 2, 1791, Christopher Orendorff sold to his father, Christian Orendorff II, the same plantation.³ In this transaction, the land is described as being next to "Smith's Hills," a large tract lying between Antietam Creek and the Potomac River. When Christian Orendorff II died, his home plantation, on which he lived in his later years, was divided between his wife, Elizabeth,

1. Recorded in the Office of the Register of Wills, Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland, Volume A, page 91.
2. Washington County Land Records, Vol. D, p. 246.
3. Land Records, Vol. G, p. 473.



Photograph No. 1. The most widely known Brady photograph of the Dunkard Church, showing the post-and-rail fence along the Hagerstown Pike east of the church and the West Woods behind the church. Note artillery damage in the south gable.

and his son Jacob, brother of the Christopher, mentioned above. The wife, Elizabeth, received one-third of the plantation; the son, Jacob, received the remaining two-thirds.⁴

Jacob Orndorff died in 1803, survived by his mother, Elizabeth; his wife, Susanna; and three small children. He left no will. His estate went through the Washington County Orphans Court.⁵ By this act in 1803 the former Francis Reynolds tract of $182\frac{1}{2}$ acres was divided into three parts: one-third to Jacob Orndorff's mother; two-thirds to Jacob's survivors. Of this latter two-thirds, or six-ninths of the whole, one-third (two-ninths of the whole) was apportioned to Jacob's wife, Susanna, as her right of dower; and two-thirds (four-ninths of the whole) went as standard legacy to Susanna's children. Within eight years, ownership of all three parts had been reunited in the hands of a single, new owner, Jacob Mumma.

On March 29, 1805, Elizabeth Orendorff sold "all⁶ her one third part of the plantation" to Jacob Mumma.

4. Register of Wills, Vol. A, p. 371.
5. General Index to Register of Wills, Vol. A, p. 115, entry dated September 11, 1805.
6. Land Records, Vol. R, p.74.

Susanna Orndorff, widow of Jacob,

" . . . entitled to the one third part of the . . . land as her right of Dower, her husband having died, seized and possessed of a plantation in Washington County composed of three parts or parcels of land, the one called 'Andersons delight,' the other called 'Johns Chance,' and the other called 'Abstones forrest,' supposed to contain about one hundred and eighty-two acres and one half of land more or less, . . . " 7

relinquished her right of dower to Jacob Mumma on March 11, 1806. (Susanna's third was of the remaining two-thirds; or actually one-sixth of the original.)

On July 26, 1811, Jacob Mumma had conveyed to him by George C. Smoot, guardian to John, Elizabeth, and Susanna Orndorff, children of Jacob and Susanna, their share of the plantation. By this date the size of the land involved is described as having been $182\frac{1}{4}$ acres, one quarter of an acre small than previously listed. 9

On January 8, 1831, Jacob Mumma sold to his son, Samuel Mumma, Sr., for \$6,595.00,

" . . . part of a tract of land called Andersons Delight part of a tract of land called part of the resurvey on Elwick Dwellings [formerly called 'John's Chance'] and part of Abstones Forest. . . ." 10

These parcels were again described as being contiguous to each other and as containing the same $182\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

7. Land Records, Vol. S, p. 37.

8. Washington County Records, Decree of the Chancery Court of Maryland, dated June 26, 1811. (Reference only.)

9. Land Records, Vol. W, p. 638.

10. Land Records, Vol. MM, p. 114-115.

On February 22, 1851, Samuel Mumma, Sr., and his wife, Elizabeth, transferred by a deed to seven "Deacons of the Church who call themselves Brethren," a plot of land for the purpose of erecting on it a church in which the Brethren (then commonly called "Dunkards") were to hold public worship. By the specifications of the deed, the land was to be used for no other purpose whatsoever than to have erected upon it a house for public worship. Although intended primarily for the convenience of the Dunkards to hold their religious services there, members of "all other Christian denominations" were to have the privilege of using the church building for holding funeral services for their dead to be buried in the nearby "Mumma Graveyard," also on "Andisons Delight."¹¹

The church plot contained "one hundred purchases." Because only ten dollars were paid to Samuel Mumma for this portion of the old Anderson's Delight part of his farm, it may reasonably be assumed this transfer was, in effect, a donation. The deed makes no provisions, per se, for the return of this property to the Mumma estate whenever the plot should no longer be used as a site of public worship for members of the German Baptist Brethren Church. However, because this was the intended

11. Land Records, Vol. I. N. 5, p. 685.



Photograph No. 2. The Mumma Cemetery, looking east from the Smoketown Road.



Photograph No. 3. The Mumma Cemetery, three-eighths miles NE of the Dunkard Church site.

perpetual use of the land described in this deed, it may be assumed that the validity of the title was bound to the fulfillment of this condition of the deed.¹²

Because the Church of the Brethren made no plans to rebuild this house of worship after it was destroyed by a wind storm in 1921, the Samuel Mumma heirs re-established title to the site by court action. A Washington County Circuit Court Decree of February 4, 1924, appointed Omer T. Kaylor trustee for the plaintiffs for the purpose of selling the property at public auction and dividing the proceeds among fifty-six of the Mumma heirs.¹³ On May 13, 1924, Omer T. Kaylor, trustee, sold the Dunkard Church property to Elmer G. and Daisy C. Boyer of Sharpsburg, Maryland, for the sum of eight-hundred dollars.¹⁴

On November 19, 1926, Elmer G. Boyer and his wife sold the Dunkard Church site to Charles and Ora Turner.¹⁵ Prior to sale by Turner in 1951 to the Washington County Historical Society, the Dunkard Church site property, a part of Turner's fifteen acre property, contained .625 acres and was assessed at \$200.00. The portion of the

12. Land Records, Vol. I. N. 5, pp. 685-686.

13. Equity Case No. 9578, Chancery Court Record 48, pp. 321-334.

14. Land Records, Vol. 176, p. 169.

15. Land Records, Vol. 176, p. 169. (Not same document as preceding reference.)



Maryland State Tax Map, Washington County, No. 76.
Scale of original map is: one inch equals 600 feet.

plot on which the actual foundation stood, 0.3 acres, was the parcel sold in 1951. The remaining 0.325 acres of the original site, which had been an integral part of the property for a century, were retained in Turner's possession; and remain in his possession today.

The 0.3 acres on which yet remain the foundation stones were sold by Charles and Ora Turner to the Historical Society on June 1, 1951.¹⁶ The deed to this plot was transferred by the Historical Society to the United States of America on October 31, 1952.¹⁷ Since that date it has been maintained by the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield Site.

Evidence that the Dunkard Church site is located within the boundaries of the former "Anderson's Delight" parcel of 1784, is best shown in this extract from the deed transferring the plot from the Mumma heirs to E. G. Boyer in 1924.

"... the said OMER T. KAYLOR Trustee, as aforesaid does grant and convey unto the said ELMER G. BOYER all the right and title of all the parties /56 Mumma heirs/ the aforesaid cause in and to all the following described lot or parcel of land situate lying and being in Washington County, near the town of Sharpsburg, being in a part of a tract of land called "ANDERSON'S DELIGHT," beginning for said land at a stone planted on the west side of

16. Land Records, Vol. 264, p. 1.

17. Land Records, Vol. 272, p. 593.

"the road running from Hagerstown to Sharpsburg and . . . containing one hundred perches (100) of land more or less, together with all the rights, privileges . . . the said property being known as the "OLD DUNKARD CHURCH PROPERTY" and being the same property which was conveyed to JOS. WOLF et als. Deacons of the Church of the Brethren by deed from SAMUEL MUMMA and wife, dated February 22nd 1851 and recorded among the land records of Washington County in Liber I. N. No. 5 Folio 686." 18

Note: As a unit of linear measure a perch is equivalent to a rod, or $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet.
In area measure 160 ~~square~~ perches equal one acre. Hence, 100 square perches are the same as .625 acres.

18. Land Records, Vol. 176, p. 169.

2. CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH AND ARCHITECTURAL DETAIL

When members of the Church of the Brethren decided around the middle of the last Century to build a branch church near Sharpsburg for the convenience of Brethren farmers in the vicinity, Samuel Mumma in 1851 provided his congregation with the plot of land described in the preceding part of this report. The Church appointed Daniel Miller and Joseph Sherrick as the building committee.¹⁹ Construction was begun in 1852. The labor was supplied by members of the church. These descendants of German pioneers were capable handcraftsmen and builders as well as farmers, and had had communal experience in erecting each other's houses and barns. So, it is not extraordinary that they should assume the construction of their own country church.

The heavier beams and timbers were hewn with a broadaxe from trees on their own farms. These woods also supplied the timber which was sawed into boards in a mill on nearby Antietam Creek. The boards used for flooring were tongue-and-grooved; those used for door and window frames were hand finished. The bricks were baked locally, but not on a church member's land.

19. J. Maurice Henry, History of the Church of the Brethren in Maryland, Brethren Publishing House (Elgin, Illinois), 1936, page 192.

"On the farm of John Otto, the bricks for the church were made. After the clay was moulded, the soft bricks were set in piles of wood, inside an embankment of earth; the wood was set on fire and the bricks kiln baked."

20

(The grandson of this John Otto, John E. Otto, was one of the last preachers of the church before its destruction in 1921.)

The finishing touches were put into the church building by Brethren John Eacker, Joseph Sherry, and George Peterman,²¹ in 1853, the year of its original dedication. Peterman was a skilled cabinet maker, as examples of his craft existant in the form of local family heirlooms attest.

After the battle damage was inflicted upon it in 1862, Elder Daniel P. Sayler asked for contributions to repair the church.²² It was repaired in 1863, and re-dedicated in 1864.²³ Presumably, the repairs were made by the same men who had built the church ten years earlier. The repairs consisted primarily in the replacement of bricks shot away by artillery fire, and the patching with clay daubs of the bricks pocked by rifle balls.

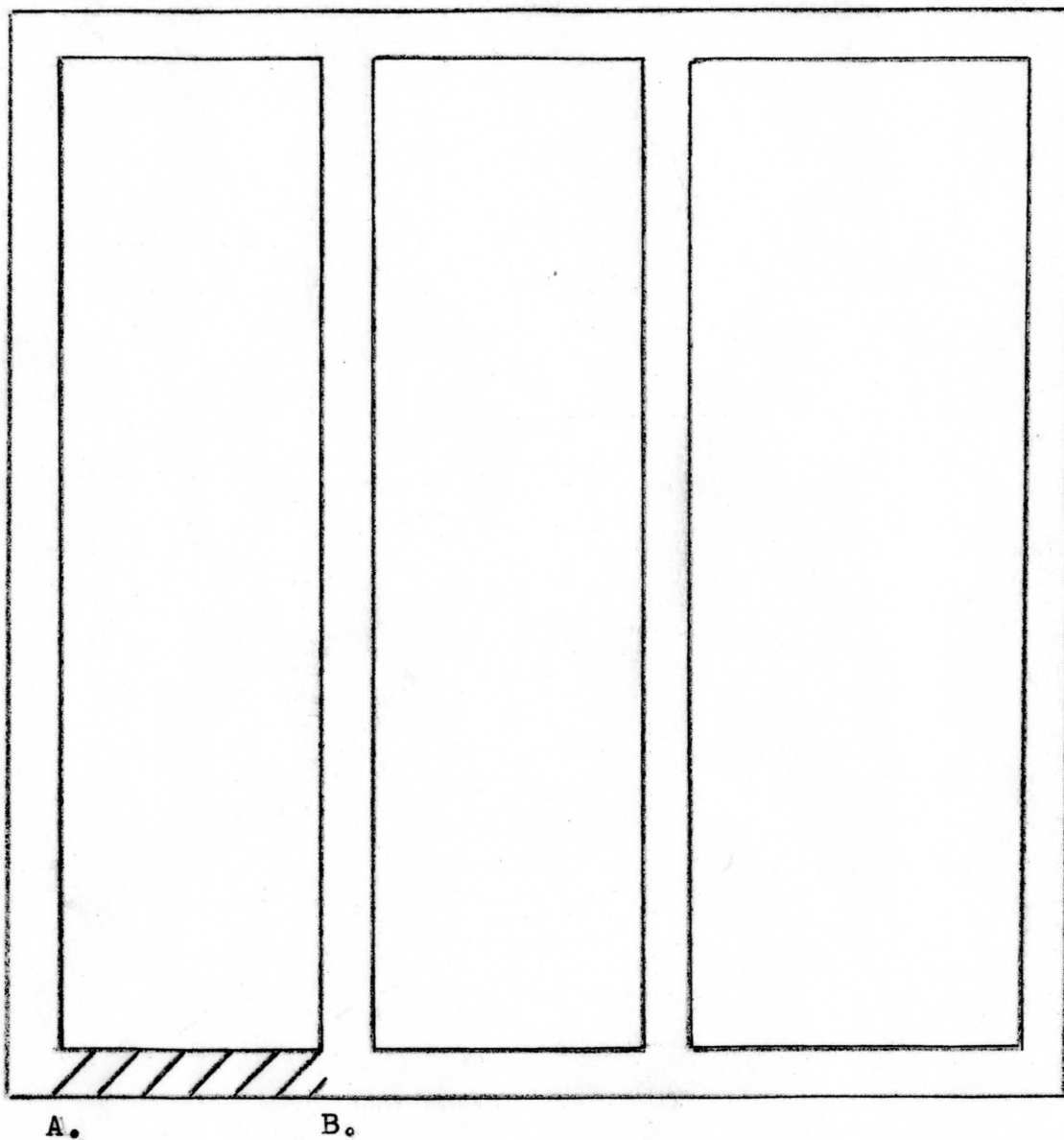
20. "Church of the Brethren Gospel Messenger," Brethren Publishing House (Elgin, Illinois), vol. 101, no. 5, February 2, 1952, page 9.
21. Ibidem.
22. Henry, History of the . . . Brethren, page 372.
23. Op. cit., page 192.

There is no evidence that any alterations were made in the building between this time, 1863-64, and its destruction by storm in 1921. During the 1890's, when the U. S. War Department was marking Antietam Battlefield with cast iron tablets, one iron tablet, 15" by 18", was mounted on the outer wall, to the right of the main door. This minor modification of the exterior is evident in photograph number 9 of this report.



Photo No. 4. Cast iron plaque, originally set into east wall of Dunkard Church; now mounted on an iron pipe, facing Confederate Avenue, on north edge of the church site.

The exterior dimensions of the remaining stone foundation walls are 34' 6" (east to west) and 35' 6" (north to south). Actually the building was nearly square, although it does not always appear so in photographs. The gable end appears to be more than one foot



Plan of the stone foundation walls of the Dunkard Church. Scale: one inch equals approximately six feet.

shorter in width than the lower side walls supporting the eaves. Whether or not this is an "optical illusion," the foundation did support an almost square structure. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that any alterations have been made in the length or width of the foundation since the building's destruction in 1921.

The accompanying sketch shows there are six sections of foundation walls. The two shortest ones, 34' 6" long, run roughly east to west and formed the support for the gable ends of the building. The other four lay at right angles to the shorter ones, and are roughly parallel to Maryland Route #65 which bears slightly west of North here where it forms the eastern boundary of the church site property. Two of the longer 35' 6" walls, of course, were the support for the sides of the church. The other two 35' 6" foundation walls are spaced approximately nine feet from the outer north-south walls, and in the center of the building site are 8' 9" from each other.

In an earlier report on this structure it was stated that a single wall ran north to south through the center of the foundation. I find no evidence for this statement, nor for the statement in the same paragraph that there were

"Six individual stone piling, 20" square, . . . spaced approximately equidistant from central

bracing to side wall and from end to end." 24
At the time the earlier report was prepared (1951),
a frame residence covered the original foundation, so
these "center pilings" were not visible.

The entire arrangement of the foundation stones
now, however, is exposed to view, there being no longer
any structure upon the foundation. A photograph of
these remaining walls as they appeared on May 1, 1960,
follows.



Photograph No. 5 . The remaining foundation of the
Dunkard Church, as seen from the east. The four
parallel walls run north to south and are approxi-
mately nine feet apart.

The average width of these field stone walls is
eighteen inches, except for the westernmost wall which
is twenty-one inches wide. Their height, measured at

24. L. E. Tuckerman, Report of the Old Dunkard Church
Site at Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharps-
burg, Maryland, typewritten manuscript on file at
Antietam NBS, prepared 1951, page 15.

the four corners from ground level to wall top is: SE corner, 6"; NE corner, 20"; SW corner, 16"; NW corner, 19". The upper surfaces of all six foundation walls are approximately level with each other. The westernmost wall is partially covered by a thin layer of cement through which protrude four 1/2" threaded bolts. This addition to the original masonry was made by Mr. Charles Turner in order to anchor the frame dwelling which he erected there in 1928. All of the foundation walls have been capped in places with patches of cement, placed there to protect the old walls from further weathering and to keep the stones bound together. The latest of this periodic maintenance "patching" was applied May 10, 1960.

Near the center of the eastern and southern walls, on their exterior sides are slabs of field stone which were used as the entrance steps to the church's two doors. The lower stone at the south end is partially covered by earth, while earth has eroded away from the lower stone on the east side and has left one corner of it unsupported. As shown in the left of Photograph No. 5, a cut stone door sill has been placed on top of the eastern foundation wall, in line with the steps. This cut stone sill was definitely not a part of the original structure. This stone was originally cut to replace a damaged sill in the Park Headquarters Building in the National Cemetery,

but when an error was made in the cutting it was rejected. Another stone has been set on the south wall, where the other doorway stood. Both of these stones have been added since the frame dwelling was removed in 1951.

Only three alterations have been made to the foundation remains since the site became a part of Antietam National Battlefield Site in 1952: the addition of the two "door sills," the continued cement patching repair as a form of maintenance, and the deposit of a layer of chipped stone on the ground surface between the foundation walls for the convenience of visitors on muddy days. None of these, of course, is a permanent alteration.

With the exception of a portion of the southern wall, the present stones are the original ones. The only section of the historic foundation proper that has been altered was the west end of the south wall, between the west exterior wall and the west interior wall. This 8' 8" long section, marked "A" and "B" on the sketch, was removed in 1929 to make an entrance to the garage attached to the Turner dwelling. Some of the stones used in rebuilding it in 1951 were from the original foundation; others in this section are "newer" field stones of the same type.²⁵

25. Information obtained in an interview with Mr. Charles Turner, who lives adjacent to the site, May 12, 1960.

The foregoing information has been obtained from personal inspection of the site and from interviews with individuals who have had personal associations with the site during the period between the destruction of the original church building in 1921 and the acquisition of the site by the National Park Service in 1952. There is no evidence that the foundation was exposed for repair or alteration from the time the building of the church was completed in 1853 until its destruction in 1921. Since the National Park Service has had the site, only the three minor alterations described above have been made. Therefore, basically the present walls are, with exception of one section in the south wall, the original historic foundation of the old Dunkard Church.

Because the original building which stood on this foundation was destroyed nearly thirty-nine years ago, descriptions of it cannot be so readily verified. The general appearance of the structure is available in a number of photographs, some of which are included in this report. But for descriptions of the actual physical materials and dimensions of the church, I am relying on the evidence collected in 1951 by Ranger-Historian Tuckerman in his interviews with Mr. Elmer Boyer. Mr. Boyer purchased the wrecked building in 1924. Prior to his sale of the plot in 1926, he demolished the remaining ruins. Except for items collected by souvenir scavengers,

Mr. Boyer was able to salvage the damaged and undamaged materials of the building and its contents. These materials included building bricks, wooden shingles, rafters, joists, plates, flooring, door frames and one door, window frames and sashes, church benches, and some miscellaneous pieces of finished lumber.

In an interview with Mr. Boyer, May 13, 1960, at his residence in Sharpsburg, he stated he still has all the artifacts stored in his barn and garage. He has declined a number of offers by private individuals to purchase some of these materials because he hopes they will be some day incorporated in a restored Dunkard Church. In fact, he has been paying insurance on them these several years in the anticipation of seeing such a restoration in his lifetime. Although Mr. Boyer permitted a visual inspection of the materials stored in his barn, he did not welcome a suggestion that they be measured that day. Knowing that Mr. Boyer has recently suffered two strokes, Supervising Architect Franzen, Harpers Ferry National Monument, and I did not press the matter. Therefore, the following information on the physical aspects of the church itself contains several statements which I have²⁶ tentatively accepted without further proof.

26. Tuckerman's report, prepared 1951.



Photograph No. 6. Mr. Elmer G. Boyer, with one of the Dunkard Church benches he has salvaged and stored in Sharpsburg. (Photo by Tuckerman, 1951.)

The nearly square Dunkard Church building was austere in design. It consisted of four outer walls, a roof, and a chimney. There were no interior walls, nor was there a steeple. The front wall, facing east towards the Hagerstown Pike (Maryland Route #65), had three rectangular openings, for the door and two windows. The west wall, of equal dimensions, contained two windows, directly opposite those in the front wall.

The southern gable wall had five openings. In the center was the doorway used by the women. On each side was a window of the same size as those in the front wall. In the gable were two smaller windows. The end wall on the north had two ground floor windows, opposite those in the south end. However, there were no gable windows in this wall.

The eight windows in the ground floor level were all of the same size and appearance. The full opening was approximately 40 x 60 inches. Twelve layers of bricks were between the foundation and the bottoms of the window openings. The window frames contained two sashes each, and each sash contained six 10 x 14 inch panes. The frames were approximately $39\frac{1}{2}$ x $66\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 inches. Each window had a pair of paneled wooden shutters. Each half of the pair had three panels, and measured approximately 64 x $17\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. This would allow $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the sill protruding beyond the exterior vertical surface of the wall below the closed shutters.



Photograph No. 7. The Dunkard Church, after the battle damage had been repaired. Exact date unknown; between 1864 and 1885. South and east walls are shown.

The gable windows in the south wall were 13' 6" above the top of the foundation. Their position in the wall with relationship to the roof line can be determined by a study of a photograph showing the south wall. It will be apparent from a Brady photograph that most of the battle damage occurred in the gable of the south wall, about level with these attic windows. The exterior dimensions of the gable window frames were 28 x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 3/4 inches. The top of the frames was about 6' 6" below the roof ridge. Each gable window had a single shutter, made of plain boards, and hinged at the west edge of the window opening.

The east wall contained the main door, which measured 78 x 41 3/4 x 1 3/4 inches. This six-paneled door hung within a frame measuring 79 x 42 (?) x 8 inches. The door of the south wall is not included in the salvaged materials measured. But it seems to be nearly the same in appearance as its six-paneled mate in the east wall, judging from the photographic evidence available. Tuckerman stated that the door sills were of stone. Turner believes that they were of three-inch hewn timbers. This is one of several details I have been unable to verify.

The angle of the roof line from the ridge to the cornice, from the vertical, was approximately fifty degrees; the angle of the sides of the roof to each



Photograph No. 8. The south and east sides of the Dunkard Church as they appeared in 1885.

other at the peak was approximately 100 degrees. The ridge was approximately twenty-four feet above the top of the foundation. The gable ends had no eaves. A facing board one inch thick and eight inches wide, fastened flat to the bricks, supported the last row of shingles at the ends of the roof. The wooden shingles extended beyond the facing board about one inch, which would make a total projection of the roof edge beyond the vertical surface of the walls of two inches at the gable ends. The layer of shingles which extended over the ridge at the peak of the roof were on the west side.

The east and west walls each had a cornice formed by the three uppermost tiers of bricks. Each of these courses extended about one-fourth the length of a brick (eight inches) beyond its supporting course. This would have made the outer surface of the cornice overhanging the vertical surface of the side walls about six inches. The lower end of the gable facing board was sawed horizontal to the ground and rested upon a lengthwise projection of the endmost brick in the upper layer of the cornice. (The end bricks of the lower two layers of the cornice were flush with the end walls.) The edge of the lower layer of shingles extended about two inches from the cornice. There were no guttering, down spouts, nor other tinware along the roof or elsewhere on the building.

In the center of the roof was a brick chimney which extended above the peak of the roof ten layers of brick. The capping was formed by extending the next-to-the-top layer, and recessing the top layer. (See photographs numbers 7 and 9.)

The bricks used in the construction of the Dunkard Church have an average measure of a full $2\frac{1}{4} \times 4 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which is about one-quarter of an inch wider and three-quarters of an inch longer than the building bricks commonly used today. The bricks were white-washed, both the walls and the chimney. This fact was one of the most important causes of the resultant significance of the church in the Battle of Antietam.

Most of the exterior woodwork was painted green, the typical "shutter green" shade. This included the shutters throughout and the heavy parts of the doors. The panels of the doors were painted white, as were the door and window frames. The facing boards on the gables were white-washed. All in all, the bright white finish of the Dunkard Church stood out strikingly from the dark background of its setting in the West Woods.

No photographs nor drawings of the interior of the church, to my knowledge, are available. Still living in Washington County are several persons who retain personal memories of the appearance of the church



Photograph No. 9. The Dunkard Church, looking west from the Hagerstown Pike, after the War Department plaque had been mounted in the east wall; probably taken after 1905.

interior. I have interviewed a few of them in 1960; Tuckerman conducted a more thorough inquiry of this source in 1951. According to his report, pages 73-79, the interior contained little else than twenty-two benches, two stoves, and the pulpit furniture.

A layer of plaster about an inch thick covered the interior surfaces of the church. The plaster was applied directly to the brick surface of the walls. It was supported from the ceiling by "thick" laths about three inches wide. Two 6 x 6 hewn posts supported the chimney platform directly over the center of the building. These posts were about four feet apart, on a line between the front door and the center of the west wall.

The two iron heating stoves were on the same line, but were nearer their respective walls than they were to the center of the floor. Apparently, stove pipes pierced the ceiling above the stoves, then elbowed in the attic to flue holes in the east and west sides of the chimney. A wood box stood in the SW corner of the room. Above this fuel box was the trap-door entrance to the attic. (This, of course, would have been on the end of the attic illuminated by the gable windows.)

Along the center of the north wall a bench eight feet long was placed parallel to and against the wall. This was the preacher's bench. In front of it was the altar table, also used as the pulpit. In front of the

table was a row of four benches, eight feet long, facing the table. Presumably, during church services the front, or northernmost of these four benches was occupied by deacons. A railing ran over the top of this group of benches, separating the sexes of the congregation seated immediately behind the deacons. The east half of the benches supported men; the west half, women. The back of the rear bench of this group was on an east-west line extending across the church from a point about a foot north of the main doorway.

In the NE corner were three eight foot benches facing the pulpit to the west. These were sat upon by the elders. A complementing arrangement in the NW corner consisted of three eight foot benches, one behind the other, facing the pulpit to the east, and were probably used by the elders' wives.

In the southern part of the church, between a line running across the room from the south edge of the main doorway in the east wall, and the south wall, most of the floor space was occupied by eleven fourteen foot benches. In the SE part were six of these long benches, one behind the other, facing the pulpit to the north. Across the aisle leading into the church center from the women's doorway in the south wall, were five fourteen foot benches in line with the other long benches.

In place of the sixth bench on the east side, that space on the west side was occupied by the wood box in the corner and access to it along the south wall from the center aisle.

During the Civil War period the room was illuminated by candles fastened into holders on the walls. There was no organ or any other type of musical instrument in this Dunkard Church. A large Bible lay on the altar table prior to the Battle of Antietam, when it was taken by a New York soldier.²⁷ The same Bible was returned to the Mumma Church after its whereabouts were discovered in 1903. It is now in the possession of the Washington County Historical Society, Hagerstown, Maryland,

3. USE OF THE DUNKARD CHURCH

A. Its General History, 1853 to 1921.

Following the completion of the construction of the Dunkard Church by local members of the Church of the Brethren, the structure was dedicated as a house for public worship in 1853. In its first years the congregation was not large, comprised mainly of half a dozen nearby farm families. Among the original members were the Mummas, Millers, Niekirks, Eckers, and Sherricks.²⁸

27. Henry, pp. 372 f.

28. Henry, p. 192.

Applicants for membership in this church had to promise, prior to their baptism in nearby Antietam Creek, that they "would own no slaves and would never engage in warfare."²⁹ It is ironic that a seat of worship for such a strict, peace loving brotherhood should become a military objective during the bloodiest single day in the annals of American warfare. Yet, before this small country church had been in service a decade, the Civil War burst violently into their midst.

On Sunday morning, September 14, 1862, while Elders David Long and Daniel Wolfe³⁰ were conducting the services for the Brethren in the Mumma Church, the distant thunder of artillery rolled down into the Antietam Valley, announcing that the Battle of South Mountain was under way. Later that afternoon several of the same persons who had had their prayer thus disturbed in the morning, became duely alarmed at the prospect of the dreaded war invading their farmlands and homes. Samuel Mumma led a small train of farm wagons out of the anticipated path of battle to the shelter of the Manor Church of the Brethren several miles to the north. When they returned later in the week their farms were in shambles; their church was substantially changed;

29. "Gospel Messenger," vol. 101. no. 5, p. 9.

30. "Gospel Messenger," vol. 101, no. 6, (February 9, 1952), p. 13.

and seemingly everywhere were the dead and the wounded.

Except for Samuel Mumma (whose farm buildings were the only ones deliberately destroyed during the battle), the Dunkard farmers had repaired most of the damage to their farms by the following year when Elder Sayler called for contributions to restore the church. In 1864 the repaired church was rededicated. Regular services were held until around the turn of the century. By then

"It was found necessary to build a new house in Sharpsburg to accommodate the children of members living in town who could not go out to the old Mumma house. On the first day of August, 1898, ground was broken for the . . . building."

31

Membership in the country church, a mile north of Sharpsburg on the pike, began to dwindle, and services were held less regularly. The Mumma Church lost its last preacher in 1916.

During the remaining five years of its existence only a few token services were held annually. These were held to fulfill the conditions of the deed by which Samuel Mumma had conveyed the church site to the brotherhood, as outlined on page 9 of this report. Adequate repair and maintenance was not afforded the historic structure. Souvenir vandals had begun to take bricks from the very walls of this nearly abandoned church. Weaknesses which had developed made it unable to with-

stand a very severe wind and hail storm which swept through the Antietam Valley on May 21, 1921. Most of the ripening wheat from Hagerstown southeast to Weverton was shattered; several farm houses in Pleasant Valley had every pane of glass on the north and west sides ³²smashed.

Damage to the "old Dunkard Church on the Hagerstown Pike" was nearly complete. All four walls were blown down, the roof fell in, and many of the interior benches were buried in the debris. At that time the Brethren had no plans for rebuilding the destroyed church. Accordingly, they decided to relinquish the title to the "Dunkard Church site" plot of land they had held since 1851.

"The Board of Trustees at a meeting [June 9, 1921] voted unanimously to give relinquish, and to agree to turn anything of any nature that they might in any way hold in the Mumma Church House over to the Mumma heirs. Later this decision of the trustees was put before the Church and was adopted without one dissenting vote. McClellan Long, Sect."

33

B. History of the Church Site, 1921 to 1960.

Within three years the surviving Mumma heirs had re-established ownership of the land [see part I of this

32. Interview, April 29, 1960, with Owen McKee, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, who vividly remembers this hail storm as the worst in his memory.
33. Washington County Circuit Court Records, Equity Case No. 9578, filed October 1, 1923, Record 48, page 331.

report⁷, and the property had been sold at public auction on the previously advertised date of sale, May 13, 1924. Before it changed hands again in 1926, the ruins had been razed and the remaining materials had been salvaged and stored in Sharpsburg.

A one story frame dwelling was built upon the original foundation in 1928. This structure was in turn used as a filling station in the early 1930's, by the same owner, and then re-converted into a residence during the succeeding decade.



Photograph No.10. The frame dwelling erected on the Dunkard Church foundation in 1928, and occupied until 1951.

When the site was again sold in 1951, the frame house was moved off, leaving the foundation walls bare

again as they had been in the middle 1920's. Since the National Park Service acquired the site as a gift in 1952, the foundation has remained bare and untouched, except for the minor maintenance work mentioned in the preceding part of this report. In 1959 a reflectorized "Scotchlite" sign, 32" by 40", was installed immediately behind the center of the east foundation wall, facing the highway. In February 1960, this sign was relocated at a point near the NE corner of the plot, directing the visitor's attention to the bare site, as he drives towards Sharpsburg on Maryland Route 65. (This is one of ten such modern signs on the Self Guided Tour Route on the Battlefield today.)



Photograph No.11. "Scotchlite" sign installed in 1959.

To date, nothing has been erected upon the site to enable the visitor on distant parts of the Battlefield to orient himself with this focal point of the morning battle actions.

C. Its Civil War Role

The Dunkard Church was located on the Hagerstown Pike onemile north of Sharpsburg. This road here follows roughly the ridge separating the watershed of the Potomac River on the west from that of the Antietam Creek on the east. General Robert E. Lee selected the Sharpsburg area as one favorable in which to fight a defensive battle partly because of this ridge. With his main line on the ridge, the river was behind him, to forestall an attack on his rear; and the creek was in front of him, over which the attacking Federal forces would have to cross en route from South Mountain further to the east.

Prior to the battle, the Confederate line extended from its left on the Potomac, about one and a half miles NW of the church, across the Sharpsburg ridge in the vicinity of the Dunkard Church, swung around the "Bloody Lane" area three-eighths of a mile SE of the church, included the town of Sharpsburg, and planted its right on a bend in the Antietam Creek south of Sharpsburg and two and a half miles south of the church. The heaviest concentration of Confederate troops was in the West Woods,

around and immediately north of the Dunkard Church.

The Dunkard Church was in the immediate vicinity of both the two main roads of the northern part of the battlefield. The Hagerstown Pike, running north from Sharpsburg toward Hagerstown, passed the church a few yards east of its main door. This road was the main line north out of town, connecting with or bisecting all of the east-west roads north of the battlefield proper, down which Lee could expect a south bound attack originating from a sweeping arc movement on McClellan's side of the Antietam.

The other, the Smoketown Road, in fact, terminated just diagonally across the pike from the Dunkard Church. Here it formed a junction with the pike from the NE and a connection with the road crossing the Antietam Creek on the Upper Bridge near Keedysville, two miles from the church. A forceful attack could be expected to approach the center of the Confederate lines, near the Dunkard Church, down this route. Such an attack would be a more direct approach from the Union lines east of the creek, using the Upper Bridge to cross the Antietam, as would also the more indirect, flanking arc line of march outlined above.

In addition, a third possible route of Union attack on the Confederate center lay in an even more direct over-land march, almost due west from the Union Headquarters area near the Pry ford over the Antietam. Any one, or

all of these lines of attack could be expected to bear on the Confederate left-center, the most prominent feature of which was the Dunkard Church on its small knoll.

Therefore, with the Confederate line where Lee had placed it in position along and across the ridge in the West Woods area, the two most probable directions of Union attacks would be from the north and NE out of the North Woods and East Woods, respectively, following generally the routes of the two roads traversing the open ground north of the church and east of the pike; and from the east, over the cultivated lands in the area west of the Antietam Creek where it could be forded by Pry's Mill, one and a half miles east of the church. Accordingly, Lee placed Jackson and the bulk of his army north of Sharpsburg in the West Woods west of the pike to oppose a thrust from the east, and across the pike from the West Woods to face a southbound attack. The church was just behind the angle in Lee's northern battle lines. Thus, the high ground on which the Dunkard Church stood "served as the key to Lee's whole defensive position."³⁴

The Union Commanding General, having observed Lee's placement of troops in strength in the West Woods area, along and across the pike just north of the Dunkard Church,

34. Steere's unpublished manuscript, Antietam, prepared 1941, on file, Antietam NBS, page 65.

prepared his plan of battle very nearly as Lee had anticipated. McClellan intended to use his I and XII corps to strike simultaneously from the North and East woods, respectively, the Confederate line in the vicinity of the lower (south) end of the West Woods in an attempt to cut through the left-center of the line and sweep around behind it. The Dunkard Church was situated in this very part of the woods where it was bordered on the east by the pike. To be held in ready reserve east of the creek was another Union corps, the II, which "if needed there" would be dispatched in a nearly direct line aimed at this same point in the Confederate line.

Therefore, in the general planning for the battle north of Sharpsburg, both army commanders considered the location of the church the key spot in their preparations. Lee and Jackson, with the knowledge acquired by their first-hand acquaintance with this terrain, made the best disposition of the available Confederate troops around the tactical importance of the West Woods line, the keystone of which was the high ground on which stood the little Dunkard Church. McClellan, on the eve of battle, made less detailed plans for the troop movements to be focused on this point in the Confederate line, outlining his overall plan to his corps commanders. It was to be up to them when on the field to decide just where to direct the assaults.

When Hooker's I Corps began the daylight initial attack from the North Woods, the unit commanders had presumably given their men marching directions oriented with the Dunkard Church, visible, beyond the cornfield, three-quarters of a mile to the south. For not only was the high ground of the church site the primary goal from a tactical standpoint in the attempt to cut through the Confederate line, the church's white-washed walls also formed the only landmark clearly visible through the ribbons of powder smoke which had since the artillery barrage half an hour earlier obscured any prominent growth of trees that might have been used instead as marching targets.

Hooker, of course, was repulsed. By then Mansfield's XII Corps was en route from bivouac to the battle raging in the Cornfield (half a mile up the pike, north of the church), where Hooker was being forced back. The XII approached the field of battle down the Smoketown Road to the East Woods, headed directly for the Dunkard Church, half a mile SE of the East Woods. This line of march was abandoned by the largest part of Mansfield's command in the vicinity of the Cornfield, where it went to stop the Confederate counterattack which had sprung out of the West Woods, north of the Dunkard Church, against Hooker. A part of Mansfield's command, under Greene, however, continued down the Smoketown Road directly toward the Dunkard

Church. Confederates remaining there were able to halt Greene only on the very threshold of the church site in a desperate contest.

The Confederate line held in the West Woods, however, throughout the two corps level Union attacks that had been waged during the first three hours of the battle. Thousands of wounded lay within sight of the Dunkard Church--or would have been had visibility not been reduced to a few hundred feet by the pall of powder smoke. The respite was brief. Shortly after the third hour of battle, another Federal advance appeared over the crest of land east of the church. This was the advance division of the II Corps, marching straight west toward the pike and the West Woods beyond. The three brigade-long ranks extended on the north to the Cornfield; on the south to the Dunkard Church as they swept on toward their fate. Twenty minutes later the "Philadelphia Brigade Ambush" had been fought, an action in which over two thousand Federal casualties had been inflicted in the lower part of the West Woods, just north and west of the Dunkard Church.

Between 9:30 and 10:00 a.m. the central scene of combat had shifted away from the Confederate line in the West Woods and the Dunkard Church, to concentrate on "Bloody Lane." Although no longer in the heart of battle, the Dunkard Church was yet far from a scene of peace. The center of "Bloody Lane" was only eight hundred yards distant; directly across the road S. D. Lee's Confederate

batteries were being forced from the position in which they had fired all morning; and Greene's Union troops were massing for another assault on the church knoll itself. By 10:30 the church was in Union hands, where it remained for nearly two hours. Shortly after 12:30 Confederates withdrawing from "Bloody Lane" back to the shelter of the West Woods passed the Dunkard Church and were able to effect Greene's small holding force which had not been reinforced all morning.

By one o'clock the Dunkard Church stood in the middle of a "no-man's land," five hundred yards wide. Hood's exhausted division was in line near the western fringe of the West Woods behind the church; a scant two hundred yards across the pike from the Church Irwin's fresh division lay drawn up in readiness for the "final" Union attack on the Confederate left-center which was never ordered. Here the hostile troop positions remained for the rest of the day as they had been formed by one o'clock.³⁵

But certainly the Dunkard Church had seen its share of the fiercest of fighting in the morning! The church was truly battle-scarred, as the Brady photographs attest. Hundreds of rifle balls had struck and chipped the bricks

35. "Map of the Battlefield of Antietam, . . . Antietam Battlefield Board, . . . , surveyed by Lt. Col. E. B. Cope, . . . ," 1904. This is a set of 14 maps showing troop positions at timed intervals throughout the day.



Photograph No. 12. Brady photograph of the Dunkard Church taken shortly after the battle of September 17, 1862.

in its white-washed walls. Several artillery projectiles had also smashed into its walls. The roof, too, had a multitude of holes in it. A section of the ridge pole just south of the chimney had been shot away. At some time during the morning a number of heavy shells from the Union 20-pounder Parrotts east of the Antietam, aimed at J. E. B. Stuart's light horse batteries on Nicodemus Hill about a mile NW of the church, fell short of their long range target and exploded in the south gable wall of the Dunkard Church.

The church building was used as a field aid station by the Confederates the evening following the battle, and until Lee's evacuation of the Sharpsburg field in the early hours of September 19th. Contrary to popular opinion, this church was not one of the many buildings on the battlefield used as a field hospital by the Union surgeons to serve the wounded of both armies for weeks³⁶ after the battle. A careful examination of the map³⁷ which accompanied the report of Surgeon Jonathan Letterman, U.S.A., Medical Director, Army of the Potomac, of the operations of the medical department, September 2 - November 7, 1862, will reveal that of the seventy-seven field hospital locations shown on this official map, the

36. "The Official Atlas," to accompany the Official Records, . . . , Plate XXVIII, no. 2, in the atlas.

37. Official Records, . . . , Series I, Vol. XIX, Part 1, pp. 106-117; map referred to on p. 109.

nearest one to the Dunkard Church was at the Roulette farm, half a mile to the east.

The widespread and erroneous impression that this church was so used as a field hospital may be based upon the natural assumption that since there were so many field hospitals in the Sharpsburg area after the battle, this building would have served as well as the barns and houses that were so utilized. This, plus the fact that the Confederates did use it as an aid station on the 17th and 18th, and also combined with the knowledge that for several days after the battle the church was used as an embalming center, could well give rise to the often repeated (but not verified) story that "the Dunkard Church was used as a hospital for the wounded of both armies after the battle." In my opinion this is a false statement and it should not be given further credence by the National Park Service in interpreting this historic structure in this vein.

President Lincoln is reputed to have visited the church when he surveyed the principal points of Antietam Battlefield with General McClellan on October 2, 1862. For three decades after the battle, this church was often selected for the site of ceremonies conducted by and for veterans of the battle who returned to Sharpsburg for reunion programs.

As interesting as these side-lights may be to the story of the Battle of Antietam, I believe they should

remain as strictly minor elements and not be stressed in the basic interpretation of the Dunkard Church. For, I sincerely believe this structure should be interpreted in its direct relation to the battle itself. Its role in the active phase of the battle story is certainly of sufficient significance to merit the principal theme in its interpretive treatment.

The two factors of most importance were its geographical location and its physical appearance. These, to my mind, constitute the heart of its historic significance to Antietam, and should not be detracted from by an association with the church of a miscellany of other "facts," which although of real interest in their own right, should not be given undue prominence at the expense of the true battle role of the church. Basically we are interested here in presenting the battle story. General interest factors associated indirectly with the battle story, such as the religion of the builders and owners of the building, and its uses subsequent to the battle, for example, should not be ignored, of course; but they should be considered as definitely secondary factors in interpreting Antietam National Battlefield Site.

In the official reports of nearly every commander in the northern part of the field, the Dunkard Church is referred to: Hooker's, Williams', Crawford's, Hood's,

and Jackson's, to cite a few. In nearly every account of the Battle of Antietam written since, the action around the Dunkard Church is prominent; from the briefest summaries in text books which mention only the highlights of the battle, to detailed analyses of the battle which devote many pages to the action in the crucial morning hours north of Sharpsburg. In the latter, continual reference to the Dunkard Church is made.

It is almost impossible to give a meaningful account of the battle without repeatedly referring to the Dunkard Church and/or its location: in explaining Lee's reasons for placing his left where he did; in outlining the direction of and the immediate goal of Hooker's attack; of the Confederate counterattack; of Mansfield's attack; of Hood's counterattack; of the "Philadelphia Brigade Ambush," all prime elements in the battle.

In interpreting the battle to visitors on the field, not only are these basic elements of the battle narrated in their relationship to the Dunkard Church, but the church site itself is frequently pointed out as the central

38. Official Records, . . . , Series I, Vol. XIX, Part I, Reports, pages, respectively, 219, 476, 485, 923 and 955.

Note: Hood refers to the church as "the Saint Mumma church." Before the war this church was known locally not as the "Dunkard Church," but as "Mumma's Church." Because there were numerous Mummas in the neighborhood, to differentiate the name of the Mumma who donated the church land, the church was also known as the "Samuel Mumma Church," and for convenience this became the "S. Mumma Church." Apparently, Hood misconstrued the abbreviation "S" as standing for "Saint."

connecting point with which to orient other locations in the northern part of the field. The absence of the building, or any suitable marker in its place, is decidedly a handicap in attempting to thus acquaint the visitor with the interrelationship of the individual actions which seem to "naturally" hinge on this location.

Many visitors who in their own reading prior to visiting the Battlefield are already oriented with the church location. They are disappointed, at least, to learn that their key orientation point is no longer to be seen. So, in addition to being a significant historic structure in its own right which deserves to be restored to complement the visible heritage of the nation, such a restored church would considerably enhance the interpretive facilities at Antietam National Battlefield Site. It would be a great aid to the visitors being given conducted interpretation by park personnel, and of equal value to the individual visitor attempting to understand the involved inter-actions of the morning, based on the information he has brought with him (and very probably containing references to the location of the Dunkard Church) and on the information contained on interpretive devices now on the field for the benefit of the "Self Guiding" visitor.

Originally, Antietam Battlefield had two physical, man-made structures of very important significance to

the battle, well known across the nation to all familiar with this battle, the Burnside Bridge and the Dunkard Church. For the past thirty-nine years it has had only one, the bridge.

4. HISTORICAL PLANS OF THE BUILDING

No historical plans of the Dunkard Church at Antietam have been found and it is not expected that any will be.

5. HISTORICAL PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Five historical photographs, two of which are copies of Brady photographs, are contained in this report, on pages 6, 48, 27, 29, and 32. They are:

1. (Photo #1, this report) The best known Brady photograph of the Dunkard Church, showing the post-and-rail fence in the foreground and the West Woods in the background.
2. (Photo #12) Brady photograph of the church, with dead soldiers in the foreground.
3. (Photo #7) Unknown photograph taken between 1864 and 1885, showing the repaired church.
4. (Photo #8) Unknown photograph, dated 1885.)
5. (Photo #9) Unknown photograph, taken after the installation of the War Department plaque in the 1890's.

In addition, three other historical photographs are available at the Antietam NBS Museum on display

or in file. They include:

6. An 8 x 10 inch colored photograph taken after the War Department plaque had been installed, showing in fair detail the north and east walls, in contrast to the south and east walls of the Brady and most other photographs.

7. A $4 \frac{1}{2}$ x $7 \frac{3}{4}$ inch photograph taken fairly soon after the 1863 repair, which shows a portion of the original West Woods before it was cut down.

8. Several copies of the Brady photograph (#1 above) made at different times and with a variety of techniques.

There are probably several more good photographs of the Dunkard Church in existence which I have not encountered. Five other illustrations, and their locations, are included in this list.

9. In the "Church of the Brethren Gospel Messenger," vol. 101, no. 5, February 2, 1952, page 8, is a photograph of the church believed to have been taken a few years before its destruction in 1921. (On page 9 is another version of the often copied Brady, "Photo #1.")

10. A colored postcard, made from a photograph taken in the early years of automotive travel is of little value. The church is not in focus well, and furthermore, the picture has been "touched up" with color by a heavy hand.

11. In Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, The Century Company (New York), 1887, vol. II, page 646, is a print showing a Union charge (Irwin's Brigade) passing by the Dunkard Church. This print is labeled as having been produced from a sketch "made at the time." I doubt this; there are too many features in the background that have a marked similarity to the Brady picture, Number One in this list. Another copy of this same print appears in New York at Antietam, J. B. Lyon Company (Albany), 1923, page 129; here credit is given to the "Century Company."

12. A large, 15 x 22 inch, colored lithograph of the same battle scene, but from another angle, is in my opinion an artist's reworking of a print used in History of the 125th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1862-1863, J. B. Lippincott Company (Philadelphia), 1907, page 70. The colored lithograph, copyrighted in 1887 by the L. Prang and Company, Boston, is on display in the Antietam Museum. Except for proportion, there is very little structural detail of the church visible in this action scene.

13. In History of the 125th Regiment . . ., page 213, is a full page photograph of the regimental reunion on the twenty-sixth anniversary of the battle. In this picture of the regiment's survivors posed northwest of the church, on September 17, 1888, a clear view of the

north and west walls shows good detail of the shutters and shingles. An estimate of the size of the original trees in the West Woods may be made from the few surviving trees also shown in this picture.

6. SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL DATA

A. Ownership and Use of the Land.

The site of the future Dunkard Church was located on a tract of land known as "Anderson's Delight" which was owned by John Reynolds in 1784. Between that date and 1831, when Samuel Mumma inherited it from his father, title to this land had changed hands five times. Twenty years later Samuel Mumma "sold" for ten dollars this 1/16 acre plot from his farm to the Church of the Brethren for the sole purpose of erecting upon it a house in which public worship was to be held. The plot remained the property of the Church of the Brethren until 1924, after which it changed hands twice more before it was acquired by the National Park Service in 1952.

In 1853 the church building was completed and dedicated. Services were held regularly in it until the turn of the century; thereafter, less frequently. After the loss of the last regular pastor in 1916, only a few token services were held annually in order to maintain title to the property, under the specifications of the 1851 deed from Samuel Mumma. Funds were no longer available

to keep the structure in adequate repair, so that it was unable to withstand the severe wind storm which swept through the valley in May, 1921. Upon its total destruction, the few remaining members of the church decided to relinquish title to the property and allow it to revert to the surviving heirs of Samuel Mumma. This was accomplished through a routine court action in which it was further specified that the remains of the building materials, furnishings, and real estate were to be sold at a public auction, with the proceeds going to the fifty-six Mumma heirs represented.

On May 13, 1924, Elmer G. Boyer purchased at a public sale the entire property for \$800.00. Within two years he had salvaged most of the undamaged materials of the building and sold the lot to Charles Turner. Turner erected a frame dwelling on the original foundation in 1928. Of the original 0.625 acre church site, Turner sold the 0.3 acres, bounded on the east by the Hagerstown Pike and on the north by Confederate Avenue, and containing the original foundation walls, to the Washington County Historical Society in 1951. At that time the frame structure was removed. The following year the Historical Society donated this plot to Antietam National Battlefield Site. Since 1952 the National Park Service has maintained the plot, kept the stone foundation walls in repair, and last year installed a modern "Scotchlite" interpretive sign on the site.

B. Construction of the Church.

The church erected in 1852-53 on this site by the Church of the Brethren was a plain, one story brick building with no steeple nor other architectural decorations. The white-washed walls stood on a field stone foundation measuring 34.5 by 35.5 feet. The main entrance was in the east wall, facing the Hagerstown Pike a few yards away. Another door was in the south wall which also contained the two gable windows illuminating the attic. On the ground floor level were two large, shuttered windows in each of the four walls. The wooden shingle roof was pierced in its center by a brick chimney which was supported by a platform on the attic floor level. Heat was supplied by two iron stoves near the center of the main floor. The interior furnishings consisted primarily of twenty-two wooden benches and an altar table; the church had no organ nor other musical instrument.

Labor for constructing the church was furnished by the members who had had considerable experience in building barns and farm houses. The lumber used was hewn and sawed from timber donated by church members from their own woodlands; the bricks were baked in a home-made kiln on a nearby farm. The considerable Civil War damage inflicted on the structure during the Battle of Antietam,

September 17, 1862, was repaired in 1863, presumably by the same men who had built the church ten years earlier.

C. Significance to the Battle of Antietam.

The primary significance of the Dunkard Church to the Battle of Antietam was determined by two factors: its geographical location and its physical appearance. General Lee placed the left of his line, and in it the heaviest concentration of Confederate troops at Antietam, north of Sharpsburg. This line extended from the Potomac River southeastward through the West Woods, crossed the Hagerstown Pike which ran along the most prominent ridge between the river and Antietam Creek, and swung around the town to the Confederate right on the creek. The Dunkard Church was located near the southern edge of the West Woods in the vicinity where Lee's line crossed the pike. The two main roads north of town formed a junction at the very NE corner of the Dunkard Church plot. This factor, together with the placement of the heaviest part of the Confederate line in the West Woods just north of the church, made the knoll on which the Dunkard Church stood the key point in Lee's preparation for fighting a defensive battle on the land just north of Sharpsburg.

As Lee had anticipated, the Federal commander, Gen-

eral McClellan, directed his morning attacks down the two roads in an attempt to cut through the Confederate left-center in the southern part of the West Woods. Another Union corps level attack marched directly over the farm lands between the Union Headquarters and the Dunkard Church location in the last major attempt to break through Jackson's defenses there. In the northern part of the battlefield, from which came the first two attacks, those of Hooker out of the North Woods, and of Mansfield out of the East Woods, little was visible in the Confederate left-center because of the pall of powder smoke which had obscured most physical features that could have been used as landmarks by which to aim the attacks. Strikingly visible, however, was the brightly white-washed Dunkard Church, standing on a slight elevation at the very point of the Confederate line at which penetration was hoped to be made.

In my opinion, these two factors, the location of and the appearance of the church building itself, are the ones to be stressed in interpreting the Battle Story. Indeed, it would be difficult to explain the major actions in the northern part of the battlefield without repeatedly referring to the Dunkard Church. Other miscellaneous associations with the church subsequent to the battle, although interesting in their own right and indirectly related to the battle, should be considered as secondary

interpretive themes. There are at least three of these of general interest to the public. But it is the major responsibility of park personnel and interpretive devices at Antietam National Battlefield Site to explain primarily the battle proper; and the above outlined two factors, location and appearance, constitute the core of significance of the Dunkard Church to the Battle of Antietam.

With the absence of the church building with which to orient the distant parts of the field from which it was formerly visible, a distinct sense of loss is experienced daily by park visitors attempting to tie together the several battle actions, using the Dunkard Church as the focal point, as has been done in most of the written material with which they are informed on this Battle. A restored Dunkard Church would not only greatly facilitate interpretation of the Battle of Antietam for the visiting public, but would in itself be a deserving complement to the visible heritage of the United States.

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