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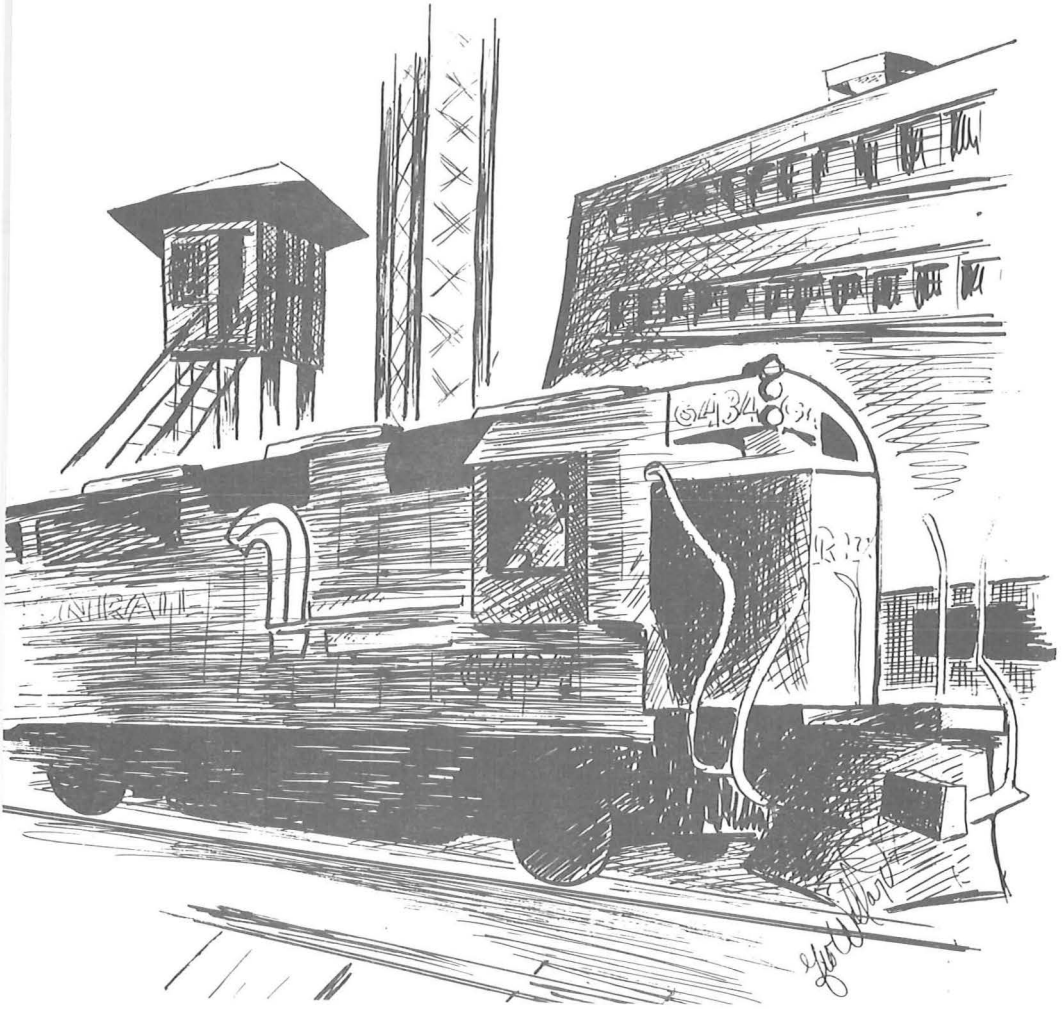

Contributions Solicited
The editor invites the submission of articles or notes on the history of Cumberland County and on its people. Such writing can investigate new areas of research or may reflect past scholarship. Manuscripts should conform to Kate Turabian's *Manual for Writers,* 5th edition. Running copy, as well as citations, should be typed and doubled spaced. Notes may be gathered together and will be placed at the end of the article. Press times are 15 April and 15 November. Please send manuscripts to 1915 Walnut Street. Camp Hill 17011.

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Cumberland County History

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In This Issue

COVER: Original Sketch for this journal: Enola scenes by George Willard, retired art teacher.

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Archibald Loudon of Carlisle: Disseminator of Early American Culture

Eric Fretz

Archibald Loudon was perhaps the most important printer to set up shop in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Actively at work between the years 1804 and 1818, Loudon was involved in bringing the first bit of cultural material of the United States to what was then the frontier of the new republic.

Loudon was born at sea August, 1754 of parents who were Scottish immigrants enroute to the colonies of America. In 1755 his father moved into what was then called the Racoon Valley of Pennsylvania but is now known as Perry County.

Historians lose track of Loudon until the Revolutionary War, when his name made a list as one of the "Rangers on the Frontiers" between the years 1778 and 1783. He served under Captain William Kerr's Cumberland County Militia during the years 1781-1782. After the war he was part of one of the companies that helped subdue the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. In 1802 Loudon was named postmaster of Carlisle by Thomas Jefferson.

Loudon was a man of many experiences, but books were his life-long pursuit. In 1790 he announced the opening of his book-binding business on Bedford Street in Carlisle. Loudon began to publish books in 1797, although he did not set up his own press until 1804. Until 1804 all of Loudon's publications were printed by another Carlisle printer, George Kline.

Prior to the opening of his own press in 1804 Loudon was responsible for eleven publications that made their way into a list of Carlisle imprints. Seven of these publications are of a didactic sort, that is they are made up of primer books and short catechisms. The other four are more interesting, perhaps a harbinger of later Loudon works. In 1797 he published *Travels Before the Flood* an imaginary record of an ancient civilization. In the same year he published an early piece of social satire entitled *The Progress of Dulness* by John Trumbull. An almanac came out in 1797, and then some documents of Congress in 1798.[1]

Loudon occupied a place at 28 High Street in Carlisle that he called Whitehall. From there all of Loudon's publications came. The first publication off Loudon's own press in 1804 was Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry.* Like Trumbull's *The Progress of Dulness,* Brackenridge's work represents an early

prototype of American literature. Brackenridge made a name for himself in early American letters and culture through his many poems and essays. Brackenridge encouraged Loudon's press, and the two men seem to have shared many of the same convictions. Brackenridge was a regular contributor to Loudon's Republican newspaper, *The Cumberland Register,* and also provided an introduction to Loudon's Indian Narratives of 1808. J. Wilson Thompson remarks that "it is a striking coincidence that Loudon's activities as a printer and publisher ceased with Brackenridge's death in 1816."[2]

The year 1805 was a big one for Loudon's press and the political life of Carlisle. Besides two religious tracts by the Rev. Abraham Booth, Loudon began offering his *Cumberland Register* and published both some original poems by a Cumberland County native, Isabella Oliver, and a play entitled *The Gentle Shepherd.* The last three mentioned publications are representative of Loudon's influence over the early cultural development of Carlisle.

As did the other newspapers of the 18th century, the *Cumberland Register* supported a political party. Loudon was chosen by Jefferson to be postmaster, hence his Republican bent. In 1805 the Republican party of Carlisle experienced a schism with one faction supporting the re-election of Governor Thomas McKean and another faction supporting the speaker of the State House, Simon Snyder. The former group was known as the Constitutional Republicans, and the later group as the Democratic-Republicans. Loudon's former printer, George Kline, sided with the Democratic-Republicans, while Loudon went with the Constitutional Republicans. Loudon started the *Cumberland Register,* stating its primary objective to be "the preservation and support of the principles of our present constitution, and election of Thomas M'Kean."[3]

The Constitutional Republicans won the election, and as a result Kline found himself a victim of the vituperative nineteenth century press. He was accused of suppressing information when he refused to promote the election of McKean through his own paper, the *Carlisle Gazette*, and was consequently described in the following way:

> It is true that he can write none himself; but he is the aider and abettor of the villian who stab in the dark, the fair fame of every honest and respectable man in the county, and therefore he incurs equal guilt with the assassin.[4]

Loudon's paper ran from 1805 to 1813. The paper took up other subjects besides politics, demonstrating Loudon's interest in popular and cultural ideas. Loudon had a taste for the sensational in him, as he printed stories of Jou-Jou the

Polish dwarf and English torch murders. Loudon was eager to promote local poetry as is evident in the following poem found in the *Register* in 1809:

> What Pity, beauteous girl, that lips so ready
> for a lover,
> Should not beneath their ruby casket cover,
> One tooth of pearl;
> But, like the rose beside the churchyard
> stone,
> Be doomed to blush o'er many a mouldering
> bone.[5]

Although a bit gruesome, it is representative of early local poetry.

As to Oliver's poems, they were rudimentary at best, but then it was not the substance of her material that make these poems mentionable as much as it was the fact that they were printed at all. Oliver lived on a farm in Cumberland County, and like most farm women of the day was busy with farm chores. She found some time to write in the evenings however, and it was these reflections which made it to Loudon's press in 1805.

The *Register* circulated in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey. Still Loudon had financial difficulties with the *Register*. As early as 1806 the following note appeared in the *Register*: "The Editor at present finds himself embarrassed in making payments that he could make with ease, were he only to receive the numerous small debts that are due to him."[6]

THEATRE

The theatre was perceived as a fifth column in the colonies and the early republic. Anti-theatre laws were lifted in most states in 1789. Boston was the last to repeal in 1794. Loudon printed Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* in 1805. Loudon represents a pioneer printer of plays in Carlisle, as this was the first play to be printed in that town. Loudon printed a host of other plays, but Thompson notes that these plays stayed in print. He found no evidence that they were ever acted. Still, Carlisle had an active theatre life, as various plays and skits were often staged in the local taverns.

In addition to *The Cumberland Register*, Loudon published five books in 1806. *A selection of one hundred and forty of the most favorite English, Scotch, Irish, and American songs* was Loudon's first. Whether Loudon compiled these songs or reprinted them from another source is a mystery. The collection of 142 songs are predominantly Scottish in origin. With this fact it is interesting to note that Loudon seems not to have forgotten his Scottish background. Of the few American songs, most deal with Washington or military excursions.

The year 1807 saw five publications come out of the Loudon Press; two seem to be of importance, one of curiosity. John Hayes, a professor of languages and ministerial candidate at Dickinson, wrote a book of poems entitled *Rural Poems, moral and descriptive; to which are added, poems on several subjects.* Hayes's collection and a play by Thomas Morton, *Town and Country,* represent the important publications of Loudon in 1807. Of curiosity was a book by Joseph Hewlitt, *The Book of Church Government, owned and acknowledged by our Reformed Church of Christ, called Quakers.* Why Loudon would print a Quaker publication is a mystery.

Loudon published four books in 1808. Hugh Blair, who was important enough to make his way into E. D. Hirsh's 1987 national bestseller *Cultural Literacy,* had a book entitled *Lectures and Rhetoric on Belle Lettres* published by Loudon in 1808. Blair was another Scotsman whose work Loudon edited and published. Loudon apparently abridged and published Blair's work under the title of *An abridgment of Lectures on Rhetoric.* Belle Lettres were still suspect in the later part of the 18th century. By abridging Blair's work and changing the title, Loudon was playing to the conservative trends of Carlisle. The following quote from Hirsch demonstrates the wide influence of Blair's work:

> Blair's book became one of the most influential textbooks ever issued in Great Britain or the United States. Between 1783 and 1911 it went through 130 editions. Throughout the nineteenth century the *Rhetoric* remained in the college and school curriculum on both sides of the Atlantic. Its authority in the United States persisted long after the Civil War. Designed as a college text, it was condensed and adapted for use in schools, and it influenced the contents of other school readers and spellers.[7]

Loudon acted as editor in a selection of Indian narratives that he began to gather in 1807 and put in print in 1808. The narratives, dated from the 1750s to the 1790s, tell the stories of various settlers' experiences with native Indians.

Indian tales and narratives were popular at this time. Loudon was keen as to social trends, and his narratives are a good example of this. In addition to serving a contemporary market in the nineteenth century, the narratives provide modern historians with a picture of Indian life as it was nearly two hundred years ago. Although he stops short of calling Loudon an historian, William Hunter praises Loudon for collecting a group of stories that relate a part of American history.[8] The narratives were put out in two volumes, one published in 1808 and the other in 1811. Together they make up a host of disjointed and episodic accounts of Indian outrages against the white man. Gory details of scalping and cold-blooded murders are mixed with detailed accounts of Indian manners and cus-

toms. Although the stories were published in good faith, they still seem to be a reflection of Loudon's interest in sensationalism.

Perhaps the most melodramatic of all Loudon's publications was *The Wonderful Magazine,* a collection of stories telling of the freakish elements of nature and humans—a prototype to *The Guiness Book of World Records,* if you will. More sensational literature came off Loudon's press when he printed a sketch of the trial of a Carlisle man who was accused of murdering his wife and then setting her body on fire.

The year 1809 was an inactive one for Loudon's press. Only two publications were printed, neither of interest. Loudon printed nothing in 1810.

The second volume of the Indian narratives was published in 1811. This may have been a result of the previous dry year and the financial success of the first volume.

1812 was another slow year for Loudon's presses. He published a lecture of Thomas Cooper, the polymath who was then a professor of chemistry at Carlisle College. It was printed at the request of the trustees, probably to be used for students. Loudon also published a collection of nursery songs in 1812.

In 1813 Loudon published a book of travels through Asia, the Middle East, Arabia, Egypt, and other exotic parts of the world, but nothing in 1814 and 1815.

Loudon's last year of printing, 1816, saw two publications from his press. One was a gentleman's handbook, and the other was the *New England Primer,* a book previously printed by Kline in 1799. The *Primer* sold well throughout the states; maybe it was Loudon's last shot at turning a profit. Besides selling well, the *Primer* was influential: "It would be difficult to name a book that had a greater formative influence upon the youth of America."[9]

This paper looks at Loudon as a book publisher, but he was much more. His work-place at Whitehall served as his postmaster office from 1802-180; in addition to publishing and printing books, he also sold drugs, musical instruments, tobaccos (he opened a tobacco manufactory in 1793), and music. Thompson notes that he was also an agent for Buck and Arndt's patent washing machine.

Loudon had many financial interests, but he did not find any of them lucrative. *The Cumberland Register* stopped in 1814, and his presses ceased in 1816. From 1816 until his death there is no mention of Archibald Loudon except for a notice in 1818 declaring that four thousand books were seized from Archibald Loudon and were to be sold by the sheriff's office.

In conclusion, Loudon was an important influence on the cultural development of Carlisle. His press ran off the first plays to be printed in Carlisle. He published both nationally recognized and obscure local poets. Loudon had a more material interest than the dissemination of culture, however. Loudon's main goal was to make money off his publications. Hugh Blair's work was informative, but it also sold well. He never did quite make it in all of his business affairs. Maybe it was because of unpaid debts or maybe it was because he spread himself too thin. Loudon's business life is a good example of the tensions that run through market economics between the desire to produce that which is good and the need to produce that which sells.

TABULATION OF CARLISLE IMPRINTS 1804-1816**

	Loudon	Kline	Alexander and Philips*	Sanno*
1804	2	2	—	—
1805	6	4	3	—
1806	6	4	2	—
1807	5	2	3	1
1808	5	1	2	1
1809	2	0	2	2
1810	0	1	1	1
1811	2	0	1	1
1812	2	0	1	0
1813	1	0	1	2
1814	0	2	1	0
1815	0	0	0	0

**From Thompson's work (90-110)
*Other Carlisle publishers

ENDNOTES

[1] David Wilson Thompson, *Early Publications of Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1785-1835* (Carlisle: The Sentinel, 1932). All publications of Loudon are compiled in Thompson's work under the chapter, "Bibliography of Carlisle Imprints," p. 90-110.

[2] Thompson, p. 27.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 26.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[7] E. D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (New York: Vintage Press, 1988), p. 85.

[8] William Hunter, "Archibald Loudon: Pioneer Historian" Paper Read By Mr. Hunter at a Dinner honoring Him as Historian of the Year at Allenberry on May 4, 1963. *Hamilton Library Association Historical Papers Annual Report*, Vol. 7. Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1965.

[9] Thompson, p. 37.

Southern Sentiments: A Look at Attitudes of Civil War Soldiers

Patricia M. Coolmeyer

The guns fired at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, echoed throughout central Pennsylvania. The citizens of the Cumberland and Susquehanna valleys answered this call with a ready response. Such large numbers of men volunteered that companies were turned away from enlisting in the Army. Early in the war, Leo Faller of Carlisle wrote his family about this response of Pennsylvanians to the call to arms: "The people in Washington seem to think the Soldiers grow like Musarooms in Pennsylvania for we have a terrible lot of men here—more than any other state but still they come."[1] Why were Pennsylvanians so ready to join? What was their reaction to the war? What were the feelings of these soldiers and their communities towards the South and Southerners? Were the same feelings universally shared by all of the local citizens? This paper will examine these attitudes, concentrating on the actual words of soldiers from central Pennsylvania.

The southern portion of Pennsylvania lies within easy access of Virginia. General Robert E. Lee made use of this fact during the Civil War. Even before the war began, slaves fleeing from the South used the Cumberland Valley as an escape route. Residents of the Cumberland Valley came into contact with Southerners on many other occasions. The Cumberland Valley itself was part of a central trade route between North and South. Many travelers between North and South passed through the mid-state area. Resorts such as Doubling Gap, close to Newville, and Mt. Holly Springs were popular tourist attractions, frequented by Southerners. Nearly one half of the student population at Dickinson College at the dawn of the Civil War were students from the South.[2] Carlisle Barracks had been home to countless southern officers, who formed lasting friendships with local residents. The commander of the garrison at Carlisle Barracks in the beginning of 1861 resigned from the Army in June 1861 to accept a commission in the Confederate Army.

The people of the Cumberland Valley and the Susquehanna Valley had more exposure to Southerners and southern views than many other Northerners. This sharing of friendship and activities created varying degrees of sympathy for each side of the issues that severed the country in April 1861.[3]

The Cumberland Valley area harbored an active pro-Southern element. During the 1860 election period local southern sympathizers molested soldiers at Carlisle Barracks and fought in the nearby community. When the threat of war became more imminent, their actions escalated; a soldier from the garrison at Carlisle Barracks was killed on the evening of 28 February 1861.[4] The Democrats won the election of 1860 in Carlisle.[5] Many local residents supported the pro-slavery stand of the southern states. Private Thomas Crowl from York bluntly stated such a point of view: "This negrow freedom is what is playing hell this is a rong thing this will destroy our army we never enlisted to fight for Negrows."[6] Benjamin Ashenfelter echoed this view when he wrote:

Thomas Crowl found that: "The People here is very wild looking anamels. It aperes to me as they dont look like human beings only in shape for they are nearly all irish and as dirty and as slomicking [?] a looking creature as ever I seen."[19]

After having fought for two years, Ashenfelter voiced some frustration and anger in this letter: "Mother these Rebbles are guilty of some very mean tricks. And yet they call us vandals and other barberous names. When they are Really the Barbarians of the Deepest Die."[20]

While the feelings of Pennsylvania soldiers might waver between admiration and scorn, an editorial in *The Carlisle Herald* succinctly stated what northern soldiers felt in their heart: "In this contest, the rebels have found to their sorrow that Northern courage and patriotism are more than a match for Southern bluster and bragadocia."[21]

The citizens of the Cumberland Valley met firsthand more Confederate soldiers than did most of their northern colleagues. Lee's army marched through the Cumberland Valley during its June/July 1863 campaign, and residents of Carlisle recorded their impressions:

> The Band at the head of the column playing "Dixie" as it passed down the streets and the emotions awakened by the incident were of the most humiliating character. The men of the command presented a sorry appearance. Many were barefooted, others hatless, numbers of them ragged, and all dirty. But they exhibited a cheerfulness which was indicative of great spirit and endurance. They had marched twenty miles on that day, yet none of them appeared to be fogged or tired. They went along shouting, laughing and singing "Dixie" and other camp airs. A few by their manner, showed insolence but the reins of discipline were drawn so tight upon them that they could not gratify the latent desire, which they no doubt felt, to inflict injuries on those whom they asserted were the authors of their troubles.

> An hour after their arrival the town was filled with officers, who thronged the hotels and rode quietly through the town. The most of them were gentlemanly in manners, evidently educated, and carefully guarded against any expression calculated to evince the real bitterness which they felt for our people. Occasionally one was to be found who laid aside his restraint and was unmeasured in his abuse of Northern people, their manners, customs and habits. It was only necessary to use the slightest insinuation that they were intruders to elicit a glowing, in some instances eloquent, description of the desolation which had swept over parts of the South, and the suffering which their people had undergone.[22]

Children from the area found the soldiers rather exciting. A fifteen year old boy wrote that he saw: "Big men, wearing broad hats, and mounted on good horses, they had a picturesque air of confidence and readiness for action . . . From the soldiers came civil, even gentle replies [to comments from bystanders]."[23]

As the soldiers were leaving Carlisle for Gettysburg, some of them stopped at the toll house one mile east of town, The young daughter of the gatekeeper recorded that

> The first men came into the house and asked for something to eat . . . Then the commanding general came along and he seeing what was happening told his men to desist; it was not a stern, harsh command, but given in soft, gentle tones, and we saw a soldier's instant obedience in action . . . What a picture the General made with his military cloak and his broad military hat, and how well he sat on his horse![24]

This young womn sensed what others also observed: " . . . no other soldiers are so completely under the control of their officers as those of the South, who are compelled to act in complete deference to the rule of their upper classes."[25]

If the "upper classes" carried such importance in the South, what were northern reactions to this group? Mary Logan, the wife of a newly elected Congressman from Illinois voiced a common view:

> This city [Washington, D.C.] was then [1861] dominated by the aristocratic slaveholders of the South, who looked upon the North and West as "mudsills and drudges," quite unworthy of much consideration; and far too often a swaggering manner and a retinue of colored slaves gave a man a prestige over others of scholarly attainment, simple habits, and no attendants.[26]

George Shuman, a cavalryman in the western campaign, echoed Mrs. Logan: "We were in the city of [Louisville] all day yesterday pressing horses. There was

quite an excitement as it was Sunday. We took the $2000 pairs of carriage horses from the wealthy Secesh that think themselves so much better than a northern Yankee."[27]

A correspondent for *The Carlisle Herald* serving at Hilton Head, South Carolina, felt strongly that the upper and lower classes in the South were not of one mind. He reported:

> As for the unanimity of the south, the blacks declare that many of the whites who enlisted here, in South Carolina, were forced to do so—that some of the soldiers were bro't to Fort Walker, chained refusing to fight, saying they had no cause to fight, no slaves to defend; and among the handful of prisoners taken one had already petitioned to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance and go North; which several others admitted that they had no interest in the quarrel with the North. They say they were told if they did not volunteer they would be drafted and so they volunteered.[28]

The newspaper continued: "We emphasize this passage because it has historical interest and value. It reaches the very tap-root of the rebellion, the Slave Oligarchy forcing the non-slave whites to fight for them when they had nothing to fight for."[29]

> I understand they have concluded not to arm the Niggers it is so I tell you I Will Never fight by the side of a Nigger & that is the feeling of the Army where ever I have been & the sooner the Drop the Nigger Question the Better it will be for us all.[7]

An opposite view was expressed later in a book written in 1904 at the dedication of the monument to the 130th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment at Antietam:

> The primary cause of the Civil War was the bondage of the Black Man, whose emancipation from the shackles of slavery has thrown upon the American people a weight of responsibility second to no other question.[8]

"Typo," a correspondent for *The Shippensburg News* from the 36th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, who was in reality D. D. Curriden from Carlisle, expressed a much more realistic attitude:

> I most earnestly hope that before the weapons employed in this deplorable war shall be "beat into ploughshares" the accursed institution of slavery, which indisputably has brought about the disastrous

> events which afflict our country, will have been extinguished, blotted out. Since soldiers of the "Army of the Potomac" have left their northern homes and seen the "homes of the slaves" they have been convinced of the evils of the "peculiar institution" more effectively than they could have ever been by the denunciations of its enemies or "seeing is believing."[9]

Although the issue of slavery may or may not have been a factor in a soldier's enlisting for service, a patriotic attitude does pervade much of the thinking of the time. The press expressed this with a bombastic flair:

> When the Government is assailed, its laws set at defiance, its property seized and destroyed, its flag insulted, and the capitol of the country menaced by armed traitors, every true patriot will take his stand under the Stars and Stripes . . . while we may deplore the evils of civil war, we must sustain the Government.[10]

Lieutenant George Shuman simply and eloquently voiced the reason for his enlisting:

> I thought it my duty & I still think so & if the war should continue after my time is out & my life & health be spared I shall still continue to serve my country although no person could want home to see the loved ones more than I do. yet my country first is my motto.[11]

Matthew Bracken Black, a resident of Harrisburg and a member of the 4th Cumberland County Militia Regiment, carried a soldier's prayer book which contained the following petition:

> Almighty God, who art a strong tower of defense to those who put their trust in thee . . . we make our humble cry to thee in this hour of our country's need . . . Have pity upon our brethren who are in arms against the constituted authorities of the land and show them the error of their way . . . hasten the return of unity and concord to our borders . . . [12]

Who then were these traitors who had been so disloyal to their government? How were southern soldiers viewed by their Pennsylvanian counterparts? Was the reputation of southern military prowess deserved? Some Northerners were impressed.

Leo Faller's brother, John, also a member of the 36th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, wrote his mother in Carlisle: "We passed three rebels prisoners that our fellows took and they were mighty looking soldiers. Two of them had their guns and one was a desperate looking fellow."[13]

John Weiser, another Carlisle resident, paid a perhaps backhanded compliment to the rebels. He told his parents: "We was within one mile of the Enemy but could not overtake them they being fast afoot and accustomed to running."[14]

Henry Zinn, the commander of the 130th Pennsylvania Regiment, and a Native of Cumberland county related this incident to his wife, Mary:

> Whilst on picket duty a few days ago, a flag of truce was sent in by the rebels who were about to return four paroled prisoners. I accompanied the party that went to meet them, and found the rebels quite a fine looking, gentlemanly set of fellows.[15]

The harsher reality of war caught up with Colonel Zinn: he was killed in action about two months later.

William Devinney, a compatriot of the Faller brothers, wrote in late 1861 from Camp Pierpont, Virginia: "We also took five prisoners two of wich was supposed where spies they where dressed in the finest clothes and where good looking fellows."[16]

Benjamin Ashenfelter, who was also stationed in Virginia at the same time, made a different observation in a letter to his mother. He wrote: "Of the rebbels I seen about 60 killed and I am satisfied that I did not see the half of them they was all very Poorly Clad they left food blankets guns in short everything and run for their lives."[17]

Other soldiers were equally unimpressed. After the Battle of Antietam, John Weiser described this scene:

> After the Union Men were all gathered up and Buried we commenced gathering up the Rebs we buried over five Rebs to every one Union Men we seen among the rebels Boys of fifteen & sixteen and old Gray headed men there was not to the best of my knowledge in all that was buried two dressed alike.[18]

If the southern upper classes evoked such scorn from most Northerners, what did mid-state Pennsylvanians think of the paragons of that class, the southern ladies? Did northern soldiers fall victim to the famous southern charms? Apparently some did. Shuman wrote his wife at home in Perry County: "I saw some very handsome women in the city [Savannah] and they dress very well."[30]

Benjamin Ashenfelter might not have pleased his mother when he told her: "Mother, I have a Virginia Lassie Down here. She is secesh but that makes no difference. She is a fine Girl. I am quite a favorite with the Family."[31]

Joseph Helker from York was not as open-minded as Ashenfelter. He wrote his cousin: "We had a nice time with the girls in Baltimore but here we have not for there is but a few of them and they are secesh."[32]

Jacob Smith from Lebanon summed up what must have surely been a common problem for a northern soldier: " . . . the last young lady I have seen was when we were in Fredericksburg and she said. Everything is lovely when the yankeys ant about. So you can see how welcome we were."[33]

The chaplain of the 5th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, irate over the involvement of some women shooting at soldiers, sent *The Carlisle Herald* a scathing indictment of southern women:

> When in 1611 a cargo of girls were sent to Virginia as wives for the planters, the price of a wife was at first one hundred pounds of tobacco; but as the supply was unequal to the demand some brought as high as one hundred and fifty pounds. These were the primal mothers of the southern chivalry.[34]

While southern women did not entice a great many soldiers, the beautiful scenery of the south captivated many of them. In this letter written nine months before he met his "Virginia Lassie," Benjamin Ashenfelter showed a greater interest in gardens than young ladies.

> I was over at Fredericksburg last Week. it is a Beautiful Place. Most of the Houses are Built of Brick With Slate Roofs. the yards and gardens are the Grandest I have ver seen. I wish Mother could see the Beautiful White and yellow Roses that are here.[35]

As a cavalryman, George Shuman traveled far distances and was able to observe more scenery than many infantrymen. He wrote his wife: " . . . this is as pretty a country as I would wish to see . . . Huntsville is the prettiest place I have seen in any of the Southern States."[36]

Later he sent this description: "Savannah is a pretty place not as large as Harrisburg. It has the nicest warf I ever saw & the revolutionary forts that surround it present a very imposing appearance."[38]

Colonel Zinn saw some of the south during his all too brief military career, and he wrote his wife that "Warrenton is the finest town I have seen on the sacred soil of Virginia, but the place is intensely 'secesh. "[38]

Shuman gave voice to the homesickness he felt after his long absence from home in these two excerpts from his letters:

> This is a very nice county and seems very much like Penna more so than any place we have ever been. the land is generally of a very good quality but it is not farmed half & the difficulty is they have no lime, but I think some of our farmers could bring it up by other means.[39]

> The county here put me in mind of old Perry. Oh how I would like to see the dear old Co . . .[40]

At times it is difficult to tell whether some critiques were made sarcastically. John Weiser wrote: "This is a pretty country to fight for nothing but hills and ravines in the Sacred Soil of Virginia."[41]

Perhaps the experiences of Samuel Conrad of Hummelstown shed a new light on this assessment: " . . . we cant find a level Spt in virginia big enough to Place our regiment an we are camped on a hill if we lay out Side of our Shantiers to Sleep which we must when we are on guard we must drive Stakes in to keep us from rolling down hill."[34]

Shuman must have grown tired of being away from home and seeing too many new places. He wrote:

> I have saw a great deel of the Sunny South & pronounce it a grand humbug. I never had any Idea that the South was so poor, why Georgia is nothing but Sand & woods & swamps. I dont think there is more than about 1/4 of the state cleared the ballance is Pine woods and Cyprus swamps.[43]

A common theme in many civil war letters written by northern soldiers is the great destruction of property that occurred.

> The country here is Beautiful. But there is no houses they have all been Torn Down or Burned.[44]

> The country here is Beautiful. But like all other Parts of Va that we have been in Deserted by and Desolate. There has been no grain of any kind raised here since the War began except Corn and not mutch of that. The present crop is now being Destroyed by our army. I walked all through the Town of Culpepper on Sunday. I saw very few Natives. What fue is her is old and feeble Men & Women. Some small Children. I seen 3 young Ladies. Town showes the marks of War. Several houses are pierced with Shot & Steel.[45]

George Shuman was a part of Sherman's fabled March to the Sea and graphically described the conditions he saw:

> I had often heard of Shermans army Stripping the county as they went through but never had any idea that men would strip a county so bare you cant conceive of the desolation that the army spreads. I was down to Corps HdQrs yesterday 18 miles below here & you cant see a fence rail a hog a cow beef sheep chicken a potato or anything else that would sistain life but that is Sherman's order to devastate the Country so that no person can live in it. I pity the poor women & children but we cant help it. if we dont do it the Rebs will gather in our rear again & our object is to prevent that.[46]

While being far from home and seeing the destruction of poverty all around them made Pennsylvania soldiers yearn to have the war come to an end and return to their families, nothing brought to mind the true horror of war more than seeing the terrible casualties caused by it. Following the Battle of Antietam, John Turner wrote his family in Carlisle:

> . . . oh what a day I hope I may not see or here tell of such another the dead & wounded & dying is crushing to look at poor fellow lying on straw or by stacks and sheds with leg some arm off others apparently in the agonys of death away from home and kind & dear friends how hard I think the men that brought on this war ought to be doubly or twice dammed for they have brought of so much pain & suffering & distress so many homes made desolate & 1000s maimed for life oh my it makes my head swim to contemplate.[47]

Another witness to Antietam wrote his family two months later: "Mother, now is the trying time. this is the Dark hour. I hope and Pray God to help us in this Death struggle for liberty & union. Iff the Union is saved it will be Provential."[48]

Pennsylvania soldiers were justly proud of their contribution to the war. Leo Failor felt that: " . . . the Rebels are terribly down on us for they think the troops from the good Old Keystone State fight them harder than any other state troops."[49] Yet over and over again their letters cry out for an end to a terrible war. The harshest attitude that they express is not so much against the individual southern soldier but about the leaders who brought this war to a head and the politicians who seemed so inept at bringing it to a close.

> I am sorry there is so mutch contention at home amongst the Politicians. Why Dont they Reason together as sencible men should. We in the Army are united & are Determined to save the Country & they should help us all they can & settle other matters afterwards. Would to

> God they could see the needcesity of being united so that we can bring this Bloody War to a close. If the North was united as it should be this struggle would soon end.[50]

Civil War soldiers from south central Pennsylvania fought for many different reasons and saw their foe in many different lights. Their attitudes toward the South and Southerners were varied, ranging from compassion to outrage. The one unifying theme found continually in their letters was the desire to end the terrible death and destruction of war soon, but to end it with an honorable victory. For some that victory was a repudiation of slavery; for most it was a reaffirmation of the Union.

ENDNOTES

[1] Milton E. Flower (ed.), *Dear Folks At Home: The Civil War Letters of Leo W. and John I. Failor* (Harrisburg: The Telegraph Press, 1963), p. 17.

[2] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Dickinson College: A History* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), p. 251.

[3] Cynthia A. Pickel, *Carlisle and "The Big Scare" of 1863: An Account of the Invasion of Carlisle, June-July, 1863* (unpublished articles dated 4 December 1972 and located at the Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA), p.

[4] Lieutenant Colonel Thomas G. Tousey, *Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1939), p. 220.

[5] Lincoln's popularity grew no greater after four years of war. McClellan was the 1864 presidential election victor in Harrisburg and Cumberland County.

[6] Thomas Crowl letter to his sister, 28 January 1863. Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[7] Benjamin Ashenfelter letter to Father Churchman, 1 March 1863. Harrisburg Civil War Round Table Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[8] *In Memoriam.* One Hundred and Thirtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry: Ceremonies and Addresses at Dedication of Monument at Bloody Lane, Antietam Battlefield, 1904, p. 15.

[9] *The Shippensburg News,* 22 March 1862.

[10] *The Carlisle Herald,* 26 April 1861.

[11] George Shuman letter to his wife, Fannie, 21 June 1863. Harrisburg Civil War Round Table Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[12] Matthew Bracken Black prayer book. Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[13] Flower, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

[14] John Weiser letter to his parents, 12 September 1862. Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[15] The letters of Colonel Henry I. Zinn, the commander of the 130th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment are reprinted in *In Memoriam,* previously cited. This excerpt is taken from a letter to his wife, Mary, dated 12 October 1872, p. 68.

[16] William Devinney letter to his family, 8 December 1861. Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA.

[17] Ashenfelter letter to his mother, 31 December 1861.

[18] Weiser letter to his sisters and brothers, 11 October 1862.

[19] Crowl letter to his sister, 20 July 1862.

[20] Ashenfelter letter to his mother, 22 September 1863.

[21] *The Carlisle Herald* 16 May 1862.

[22] *Ibid.,* 31 July 1863.

[23] D. W. Thompson *et al.* (ed.), *Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County* (Harrisburg: The Telegraph Press, 1951), pp. 210 & 221.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

[25] *The Shippensburg News,* 24 May 1862.

[26] Mary Logan, *Reminiscences of the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. George Worthington Adams (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970), p. 16.

[27] Shuman letter to his wife, 25 July 1863.

[28] *The Carlisle Herald,* 20 December 1861.

[29] *Ibid.,* 20 December 1861.

[30] Shuman letter to his wife, 15 January 1865.

[31] Ashenfelter letter to his mother, 3 March 1863.

[32] Joseph Helker letter to his cousin, George, 13 July 1862. George Miller Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[33] Jacob F. Smith letter to Callie, 5 February 1862. Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[34] *The Carlisle Herald,* 27 June 1862.

[35] Ashenfelter letter to Father Churchman, 4 June 1862.

[36] Shuman letter to his wife, 15 July 1863.

[37] *Ibid.,* 15 January 1865.

[38] Zinn letter to his wife, 9 November 1862. *In Memoriam,* p. 72.

[39] Shuman letter to his wife, 16 May 1865.

[40] *Ibid.,* 11 February 1864.

[4] Weiser letter to his parents, 15 February 1863.

[42] Samuel P. Conrad letter to a friend, Lewis Strickler, 3 October 1862. Save the Flag Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

[43] Shuman letter to his wife, 17 December 1864.

[44] Ashenfelter letter to his mother, 15 April 1862.

[45] *Ibid.,* 22 September 22 1863.

[46] Shuman letter to his wife, 26 October 1864.

[48] John Turner letter to his family, 18 September 1862. Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA.

[48] Ashenfelter letter to his mother, 12 November 1862.

[49] Flower, op. cit., p. 88.

[50] Ashenfelter letter to Father Churchman, 23 August 1863.

Lucy Winston: Determination in a Dress

Lynn Farner

Individuals in history are often well known, mostly because of the attention they receive for their accomplishments. However, it is not uncommon for an individual in history to be forgotten when the history textbooks are written. Attempts to break world records happen every day, but the public rarely hears of the attempt, unless it is successful. In the same light, the circumstances affecting political elections are often forgotten. Such was the case with Lucy D. Winston of Mechanicsburg, who, in 1930, ran for Secretary of Internal Affairs for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

For years, it was a popular misconception that former Senior Judge of the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, Genevieve Blatt, was the first woman to run for a state-wide office on a major party ticket. This belief had even been held by Judge Blatt herself, until, upon speaking with her, this writer confirmed the rumors she had been hearing about a woman who ran twenty-four years before she.[2] That woman was Mrs. Lucy D. Winston, Democrat, of Mecanicsburg. She opposed Philip H. Dewey for the office of Secretary of Internal Affairs, and, while faring better than the Democratic nominees for other offices, lost the election. This does not, by any means, make Lucy Winston a loser. Her courage and determination, and not the results of the election of 1930, provide an image of the life of Lucy Winston.

Owner and proprietor of Winston's Dry Goods Store in Mechanicsburg, Mrs. Winston was president of Mechanicsburg's Woman's Club from 1921-1924. She was a large-framed, pleasant woman, prosperous, yet very friendly. Her husband Thomas and she owned a factory called the Little Hope Cap Company which was located behind their home on West Main Street.[3] The factory's specialty was baby clothes,[4] which were shipped to New York City.[5]

According to Mrs. Dornan, Mrs. Winston held no public office,[6] although she was head of the State organization for Democratic Women.[7]

Mrs. Winston seems to have been a colorful person. According to Marjorie Mohler and Mae Noss, Mrs. Winston and her husband kept bees, which they brought to Mohler's farm. Mrs. Mohler also recalled that when she was a child she used to go to Winston's Dry Goods Store to listen to their radio, which at the time, was one of the only ones in town.[8]

Mrs. Winston was originally from East Union, Maine. Her husband was supposedly from the South, possibly Virginia, but no one seems to know for sure.[9]

Possibly Mrs. Winston's knitting mill and store were part of the reason she became interested in politics. Eva M. Williams' mother and grandmother both crocheted for Mrs. Winston when her mill was in operation, but when the minimum wage law came into effect, Mrs. Winston had to shut the mill because she could not afford to pay the minimum wage to her employees.[10] Perhaps this is what forced the Winstons into bankruptcy. Along with pressures being compounded by the Great Depression, and Mrs. Winston using much of her money in her campaign for office, she and her family lost their home and businesses when they filed for bankruptcy on the 26 July 1934. They moved to Rockland, Maine, where Thomas, Sr. raised blueberries.

Not much is known about Mrs. Winston's political endeavors. However, the newspapers of 1930 provided an announcement of nomination and favorable comments about her.

> If by any chance the Democrats should be successful at the polls this Fall and Mrs. Winston should be on the ticket as nominee for this office, she would fill it acceptably. In her case, unlike that of many women who are nominated for important offices, the honor would not be an empty one, but would carry with it a belief in her ability to make a success in the actual conduct of the affairs of the State that would fall to her office.

This certainly shows that Lucy Winston was trusted by those who endorsed her. Obviously, she was also popular within the Democratic party. She was a very strong Democrat and active in party affairs. Unfortunately for her, she ran on the Democratic ticket in a highly Republican area. Mechanicsburg in the 1920s and 1930s was predominately Republican; this explains why Mrs. Winston lost, even in the Mechanicsburg polls, to her Republican opponent, Philip H. Dewey.[11]

Philip H. Dewey, who was listed incorrectly as R. Dewey on page eleven of the 5 November 1930 edition of the *Harrisburg Patriot News,* received 1,418,117 votes. Mrs. Winston received 520,348 votes.[12]

The results of the election should not draw attention away from the political greatness of this one woman, Lucy D. Winston. It is rather unfortunate that a woman of such local prominence would not be well remembered only fifty years after her race for office. Had she won, her name would not only carry with it great prestige, but political recognition.

Lucy D. Winston, a very dynamic woman, can be celebrated as an individual, not only in the history of Pennsylvania, not only in the history of politics, but in the history of women in Pennsylvania politics. Because she dared to take that challenging step, she should finally be recognized, for she opened the door to politics for later generations of women, the ranks of which include Genevieve Blatt.

ENDNOTES

[1] Paul Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday: The Tolerable Association* (University Press: 1980), p. 94.

[2] Telephone interview with Genevieve Blatt 9 January 1989.

[3] Interview with Marjorie Mohler and Eva M. Williams 29 October 1988.

[4] Interview with Eva Williams (whose mother and grandmother were employed by Lucy Winston) 23 November 1988.

[5] Interview with M. L. Anderson 29 November 1988. A Mechanicsburg resident, Mrs. Anderson, called after seeing a notice this student had placed in the Mechanicsburg Museum Association's newsletter. She provided the name of Mrs. Winston's nephew's widow, Mrs. Lillian Dornan. Mrs. Dornan now resides in Rockland, Maine.

[6] Interview with Lillian Dornan 1 December 1988.

[7] *Carlisle Sentinel* 27 February 1930. The newspaper contained Winston's announcement and the endorsement of the Democratic party.

[8] Interview with Mohler and Mae Noss 29 October 1988.

[9] Telephone interview with M. L. Anderson 29 November 1988. She knew the Winston family.

[10] Interview with Williams 23 November 1930.

[11] *Carlisle Sentinel* 27 February 1930.

[12] Interview with Emily Sopensky 22 November 1988. She was a friend of Lucy Winston's son.

[13] *Pennsylvania Manual, 1931,* p. 501.

From Depression Street to Prosperity Avenue: Turning the Corner with Roosevelt In Cumberland County

Donna Swanson

America has been traditionally seen as the "land of opportunity" where anyone who is willing to work hard enough can become rich. Indeed, it was on this basis that generations of immigrants were lured to America in the belief that they could build a better life for themselves here. During the 1920s, however, many Americans thought that they had found a way to become rich without having to work hard by investing in the stock market. As time passed, more and more people put their faith in the upward trend of the market and invested heavily in it.

> And finally they (stock brokers) knew their American public. It could not resist the appeal of a surging market. It had an altogether normal desire to get rich quick, and it was ready to believe anything about the golden future of American business. If stocks started upward the public would buy, no matter what the forecasters said, no matter how obscure was the business prospect.[1]

Cumberland County, as a microcosm of American society, was likewise affected by the investment frenzy of the 1920s and enjoyed the prosperity of the American economy during that period. Indeed, at the end of 1928, predictions for the upcoming year were for continued economic growth. "The year 1928 is going out with a well blazened path of prosperity, contentment, political quietude and pleasant assurances of a continuance during the year 1929"[2] (*Sentinel,* Jan. 1 1929, p. 1). Headlines on 3 January 1929 noted that "Business Leaders See Advance in 1929: Expect Great Prosperity of 1928 to Continue and Increase in Next Year."[3] (*Sentinel,* p. 1). Although people were warned that inevitably there would be a downward trend in the business cycle, few people in 1929 believed that it would come that year.

Indeed, the Stock Market crash on 29 October 1929 shocked the residents of Cumberland County as much as it did people everywhere. Neither was the area

immune from its aspects. Roger Steck, a resident of Cumberland County and a reporter at the *Carlisle Sentinel* during the 1930s, remembered how the Crash affected the county.

> I remember one of the most prominent citizens in Carlisle—socially, economically, other ways, the President of one of our shoe factories—lost very, very heavily. He went to the attic in his home and shot himself—took his life . . . there must have been many, many more in Carlisle—men and families who lost heavily when the Stock Market plunged. You see, this happened all of a suden. It wasn't gradual. It caught many people unaware.

It is also interesting to note the double edged headlines in the *Carlisle Sentinel* on Black Tuesday which noted "First Report Today Gives $11,742 to Community Chest" and "Billions in Market Values Wiped Out in Terrific Selling." Thus, it is ironic that Carlisle began its annual drive to help the needy on the same day as the Stock Market crash which resulted in there being a greater need for welfare services.

As the nations of the world experienced economic collapse in the months following the Stock Market crash, most of them enacted protectionist legislation in order to bolster their industries. However, "Regulations imposed by individual nations tended to hamper international commerce. Such regulations tended to favor inefficient producers. They fostered international rivalry rather than cooperation."[5] In this way, nations attempted to provide more business for their domestic industries by protecting them from foreign competition. In fact, the preservation of diversity in industry saved many local communities from experiencing the extreme desperation and hardship faced by other communities whose economies were based on only a few industries.

Cumberland County was one of the regions to benefit from diversification in industry. From his experience, Roger Steck remembered that

> Carlisle and Cumberland County were rather fortunate to have escaped the brunt (of the Depression) largely through a diversification of industry. First of all, we were a rather prosperous agricultural community; . . . and good dairy farms, for instance, were a substantial source of economic strength . . . We had ribbon factories, prosperous ribbon factories, shoe factories, . . . and we had the Frog and Switch Company, . . . and while it (industry) may have had to slow down during the Depression, it certainly didn't close up.

Another aspect of the County's economic foundation that worked in its favor to avoid the most severe impacts of the Depression was articulated by William B.

Barnitz, who served as the Chairman of the Carlisle Chamber of Commerce. "And by the gradual character of growth, we have been able to build solidly and well, and have avoided the extremes of unemployment and poverty some of our faster growing neighbors have suffered."[7] Thus, the County's economy was based on a variety of industries that had been cautiously expanding in the years prior to the Depression.

In comparison to other regions in Pennsylvania, Cumberland County again was not as severely affected by the Depression. In their book *People Poverty and Politics: Pennsylvanians During the Great Depression,* Thomas H. Coode and John F. Bauman assert that Pennsylvania "In 1930, in fact, . . . had the third highest unemployment total in American . . . (and) in 1932 state relief administrators complained that Pennsylvania bore the nation's heaviest welfare burden."[8] As a result, then, Cumberland County found itself as one of a handful of localities experiencing moderate Depression conditions in a State that was devastated by Depression conditions. Nevertheless, the County did experience increasing demands for welfare services. On 23 December 1929, the County Poor Board requested $44,000 for use in 1930. This amount was described as a "somewhat larger" amount than usual and accounted for ¼ of all the tax money raised by the County.[9]

Construction was one of the first areas to be recognized where Cumberland County was not as severely affected by the Depression as other regions in the State. During 1930, it was reported that "the record of building permits issued here in February showed a decided increase over the previous year, and made Carlisle one of the few towns in the State to show an increase."[10] For the first quarter of 1930, it was more specifically reported that while construction levels were down 55.7 statewide, Carlisle was one of only 14 cities and boroughs reporting an increase for that period."

One local economic sector that was affected by the Depression during the summer of 1930 was agriculture. Because of drought conditions in the region, agricultural production dropped significantly during that period. "Pastures in this county were practically wiped out by the drought and . . . the corn crop is far below normal, as low as eight per cent in some sections and even less in the upper portions of the county."[12] As a result of these conditions, Cumberland County farmers were approved by the State to receive a fifty per cent cut in freight rates on the importation of hay and feed to the County and on the exportation of dairy cattle.[13]

Concern was also shown for the Depression during the local Community Chest fund raising drive in October of 1930. The funds raised by this drive were to sup-

port several local charity organizations that provided welfare services to poverty stricken people. The goal to raise during the last week of October, 1930 was set at $30,750, and there was concern among those involved with the drive "that many contributors, because of existing employment conditions . . . (would) be unable to afford the same generous support given a year ago when the goal was oversubscribed,"[14] Nevertheless, the drive was successful, raising funds slightly over the set goal.

One of the national trends in welfare services that Cumberland County participated in was the bureaucratization of welfare. Locally, the first step toward establishing a professionalized welfare system occurred in December of 1930 with the creation of an Emergency Relief Committee. The purpose of the committee was to act "as a clearing house for all relief agencies in the whole community and . . . (to) join in the movement to avoid duplication of effort and expenditures."[15] It was later added that the committee would work to prevent duplication of welfare services to specific individuals by establishing a card index of all persons receiving assistance from local welfare organizations.[16]

Local employment conditions in early 1931 were reported at 76% of normal, using 1928 figures as "normal."[17] This fact was based on information from 72 of the 95 plants in the County that employed 5 or more persons. The increase in demand for welfare services that accompanied the reduced employment and production levels was demonstrated by the need for an additional fund raising drive in January of 1931 to support three private welfare agencies that had exhausted their funds. It was reported that they were "faced with greater demands than ever before in their histories."[18]

By the time of the scheduled annual fund raising drive for the Community Chest came around again in October of 1931, the organizers of the drive needed to raise $35,000 to support their dependent organizations. This amount was said to include an extra $3,000 cushion to prevent the need for another mid-year drive in 1932.[19] Even President Herbert Hoover noted his support for local efforts to raise money to help the needy in the Depression. "Calling for a neighbor-to-neighbor spirit to help man in distress, Mr. Hoover asked that the local relief quotas be filled."[20] Nevertheless, the drive failed to reach its goal by nearly $10,000, despite efforts to stress the need for contributions to the Community Chest by reporting the "All agencies of Community Chest have had one

experience in common during the past year—increases in the demand for the varied services they offer."[21] In fact, the organizers of the Shippensburg Community Chest drive thought "that the need is so apparent this year that little propaganda is necessary in order to inform the public of the necessity for the solicitation of funds."[22] Still, the results of the drive indicate, in fact, that the need was so great that people did not have the money to contribute to helping others.

With the need for welfare services now greater than the capability of local voluntary funds to satisfy that need, it became increasingly apparent across Pennsylvania and the nation that something more needed to be done to relieve the situation. Some people began to argue in favor of government funding of welfare programs. However, "Conservatives continued to warn that spending large sums on public works was robbing Peter to pay Paul and that deficit spending was both immoral and in the long run dangerous. But they offered few alternatives other than patience, and increasingly, people were demanding that some positive actions be taken."[23] Thus, in the absence of other alternatives to deal with the social problems caused by the Depression, Pennsylvania began distributing state funds to counties for welfare purposes in December of 1931. This money was made available from the Talbot Bill and was to be distributed on a monthly basis through the State Welfare Department, meaning that the welfare system was becoming further professionalized and bureaucratized. Cumberland County's share of the dole for December, 1931, was $77,132.92.[24]

While the availability of State funds may have relieved poverty conditions across Pennsylvania, it nevertheless created other problems for communities to deal with. Primary among these was the corruption that developed in welfare administration. As early as August of 1932, there were allegations in Cumberland County that "money received from the Talbot relief act is being expended, in some instances, for groceries and clothing only after retailers have agreed to support Boss Stuart [Republican county chairman] and his gang." There were also charges made in the same report that road crews, who were being paid with money from the Talbot fund, had to first swear allegiance to Boss Stuart's gang in order to get their jobs.[25] Searight Stuart was the local head of Governor Gifford Pinchot's Republican political machine, and through his influence, politics became part of welfare administration in Cumberland County.

Later, however, it was discovered that corruption in welfare administration did not stop at this level. "Some idea of how far politics has entered into the administration of welfare work at the expense of those in distress and the extreme costliness of gang-controlled administration, is evidenced by figures just released by the State Emergency Relief Board."[26] In this report, statistics on the average cost per county of handling an individual welfare case, or the cost of actually getting

welfare funds to needy individuals, were shown. It was alleged in the article that the vast difference from county to county was directly related to the strength of Governor Pinchot's political machine in that county. Statewide, the costs carried from $1.19 per case in Philadelphia to .06¢ per case in Snyder County. The conclusion reached by the article was that the cost difference was largely "going to political henchmen." Among the counties in south central Pennsylvania, Cumberland County had the highest cost per welfare case at .26¢, and thus, it was alleged that Cumberland County had the highest level of corruption in its welfare administration in the region.

Another article alleged that politics also played a role in getting jobs in Cumberland County's welfare administration. "That politics are rampant in the Carlisle office of the Federal and State welfare relief administration was disclosed last week when four of the original welfare workers were fired. Relatives and friends of members of the Pinchot Cumberland County machine were kept in their jobs, while four women with more independent political leanings were given walking papers."[27] Consequently, the Pinchot political machine was not only taking welfare funds, but it also had enough power to remove outsiders from office.

Just as there was abuse of the welfare system in its administration, there was also abuse by those receiving welfare payments. According to Roger Steck,

> I know that some . . . Township Supervisors, who had a small but steady income from their job as Supervisor, would plead, for instance, poverty—that they had no income in order to get relief and to get jobs that would pay them more money than they would receive as the Township Supervisors. And they were caught deceiving the authorities by pleading no income when, in fact, they had income . . . There was some of that and I suppose there was a good deal of political preferment in giving jobs—work jobs, work relief.[26]

Public works jobs were first undertaken locally under the direction and coordination of the Carlisle Work and Progress Council in February of 1932. This group "was organized by a group of Carlisle businessmen who volunteered to make a survey of possible construction modernization and repair jobs to Carlisle buildings" and, in this way, worked to provide jobs for local unemployed men.[29] For its efforts, the Carlisle Work and Progress Council was commended by the State in "the adoption of the entire program . . . by the Pennsylvania Housing and Town Planning Association, Phila."[30] From Carlisle's example, the Planning Association issued a pamphlet urging other communities to adopt Carlisle's system.

In May of 1932, however, Carlisle realized another impact of the Depression as it listed some 265 properties that had unpaid 1931 taxes on them totaling

$22,630. This amount was said to be "about twice that of former years."[31] To help relieve the desperate conditions statewide that was indicated locally by the rise in Carlisle's unpaid taxes, the State began subsidizing local public works projects with funds from the Talbot relief act in late July of 1932.[32]

> Still, Roger Steck asserts that "The government set those up for more distressed areas than Cumberland County. Cumberland County shared in those projects, but our situation was not desperate and we could have gotten through the Depression, I think, almost as well without those work relief jobs because many of them were getting the work relief jobs that were not entirely entitled to them through politics, and skulduggery, and misunderstanding, and poor administration of the welfare program as a whole."[33]

In this way, Cumberland County did have its share of public works projects to provide jobs for the unemployed, the County was still not as hard hit by the Depression as other regions. Statewide this fact is evidenced by the unemployment figures for August of 1932. These figures reported that the State unemployment rate at 34%, while Cumberland County's was listed somewhat lower at 27.9%.[34] For September of 1932, these unemployment figures were down to 32.3% statewide and 26.7% for Cumberland County.[35] From these statistics, it is clear that local employment conditions were somehwat better than other regions, considering that the State unemployment level would indicate the average unemployment rate for all counties. Consequently, some regions of the State had unemployment rates above the official State unemployment rate.

Nevertheless, there still was significant local need. In 1932, the annual Community Chest drive adopted as its slogan "Give More—The Need is Greater" and set its fund raising goal at $30,340.[36] Despite the organzied effort to make people aware of the great need for their donations, the drive still fell short of its goal for the second straight year, this time failing by $11,500.[37] The trend of failures by the local welfare system to raise sufficient funds was not something only experienced in Cumberland County. Indeed, "the state's (Pennsylvania) archaic public charity system, based on county poor boards . . . buckled under the pressure of massive unemployment. This inadequacy of public relief overburdened private organizations . . . and the host of local emergency agencies which traditionally mobilized to provide the 'thin red line' of charity in periods of depression."[38]

Perhaps the reasons that the Community Chest failed to raise sufficient funds for it to meet the social need were indicated by a report released by the Carlisle Chamber of Commerce in December of 1932. According to the report, "in the past four years there has been a decline of 37 per cent in industrial payrolls, and a decline also of 37 per cent in the value of agricultural crops in the county. Retail sales have shown a drop of 23 per cent."[39] One way that the State and County

discovered to help impoverished families to help themselves was through Thrift Gardens. During the Spring of 1933, in fact, there were 2,085 such gardens tilled in Cumberland County. Under this program, the State provided seed and fertilizer for the gardens, and needy families were given separate plots to tend and harvest the crops from for their own use.[40] By the end of the year, it was reported that these gardens had yielded a total of $49,595.70 worth of produce, or an average of $24.86 per garden.[41]

Chart #1

Assets and Liabilities of Carlisle Banks

Date	Carlisle Deposit Bank & Trust Company	Farmer's Trust Company	Carlisle Trust Company
1/8/29	$2,688,790.46	$2,886,180.46	
4/1/29	$2,669,050.49	$2,909,827.51	
10/4/29	$2,708,482.61	$2,903,705.74	
12/31/29	$2,774,857.17	$2,778,424.11	
3/22/30	$2,521,659.21		
9/30/30	$2,512,532.43	$2,647,880.79	
3/25/31	$2,456,920.34		
9/29/31	$2,514,542.43	$2,662,896.54	$2,548,864.51
12/31/31	$2,403,329.27		
9/30/32		$2,495,701.61	$2,249,899.45
12/31/32	$2,160,621.83		$2,065,826.87
10/25/33		$2,360,773.66	$1,963,444.27
3/5/34	$2,151,474.12		$1,915,130.97
6/30/34	$2,258,449.52	$2,602,290.93	
10/17/34	$2,404,169.22	$2,689,858.14	$1,962,402.86
12/31/34	$2,375,504.77	$2,675,576.04	$1,894,647.71
3/4/35	$2,447,000.66	$2,720,534.51	$1,909,514.95
6/29/35	$2,449,678.52	$2,795,637.63	

*Information taken from the *Evening Sentinel,* Carlisle, PA.

While Thrift Gardens were easing the suffering of many local families, conditions were still harsh for others throughout 1933. In May, it was announced that a total of 558 Carlisle properties, representing $42,873 had not paid their 1932 taxes. It was also noted that this amount was "the largest ever turned over to the County Treasurer" for forced sale.[42] A similar situation was reported in Shippensburg, where it was announced that 75 properties had unpaid 1932 taxes on them. These properties represented $4,305.20 in delinquent taxes and was significantly higher than the amount for the previous year when there were only 2 properties in Shippensburg that had not paid their taxes.[43]

Unemployment in the County also rose during 1933, reaching 30.5% in April against a State unemployment rate of 36.2%.[44] Throughout the Depression, increases in the local unemployment rate meant increases in the need for free medical care at the Carlisle Hospital (See Chart #4). This need reached a crisis level in July of 1933, when it was determined that State grants to Carlisle Hospital to cover these expenses would not be sufficient. While the hospital provided $41,600 worth of free medical treatment in the previous two year period, the State set aside only $22,800 to cover these costs. This fact had led to the hospital running a deficit of $14,046.72.[45]

Chart #2

Results of Cumberland County Employment Survey as of April 1934

Composition of County Workforce:	96.1% White 2.8% Black 0.8% Foreign born
County unemployment rates:	17.9% Overall rate for County 38.2% Among Blacks in County 17.3% Among Whites in County
Employment conditions among Whites:	66.4% Employed full-time 16.3% Employed part-time 17.3% Unemployed
Employment conditions among Blacks:	40.7% Employed full-time 21.1% Employed part-time 38.2% Unemployed
Range of unemployment across County:	30.2% in West Fairview was high 9.1% in Camp Hill was low

*Information taken from the *Evening Sentinel,* Sept. 18 1934, p. 2.

Local participation in President Roosevelt's National Recovery Act program that was initiated during the Summer of 1933 was widespread. In fact, a report on the local effect of the program was issued in September of 1933, where it was said that it had given employment to 250 additional people since it was adopted and had increased wages by 15%.[46] Despite these increases, however, the annual Community Chest drive fell short of its goal for the third consecutive year by $14,000.[47] Also, local dissatisfaction with Republican government was shown by the election of the Democratic candidate for County Sheriff, James C. Lindsey, in November of 1933. "His election marked the first time in six years that the Democrats have been successful in filling a county offices."[48] Other races in the County were won by Republicans, but by narrower margins than usual. Considering the fact that the County still registered Republicans by a two to one margin, the election of 1933 marked a significant shift in local politics.[49]

Federal funding of public works projects was initiated in late November of 1933 under the Civil Works Administration. Locally, the program was directed by Charles Strayer and was said to be "designed to take men off relief rolls and put them to work for which they will be paid fifty cents an hour for a thirty-hour week."[50] Some of the projects subsequently undertaken in Carlisle included improvements at Carlisle Barracks, removal of abandoned trolley tracks, and replacement of water service connections. The fact that these programs improved local conditions was reflect by a report at Christmas that retail sales were up. "Throughout the week there has been an outburst of buying that far surpasses that of last year." Many storekeepers reported a twenty per cent sales increase over Christmas sales during 1932.[51]

The general local perception at the turn of the new year was that the country was slowly coming out of the Depression. This attitude was reflected by the appearance of optimistic political cartoons during early 1934. One such cartoon pictured President Roosevelt riding in a car with Uncle Sam and showed them turning the corner from Depression Street onto Prosperity Avenue.[52] This optimistic view was reinforced by reports in February that many local factories were "enjoying a business boom."[59]

Still, some reports were not yet optimistic. In January of 1934, a report was released on local construction. While it was noted that early in the Depression the area maintained a high level of construction relative to other regions, it had dropped off significantly since then. Whereas there was $275,576 worth of construction in Carlisle in 1931, there was only $84,447 in 1932 and $26,960 in 1933. Also, the number of properties in Carlisle that had unpaid 1933 taxes on them compared "numerically and financially" with the amount reported for the previous year. In May of 1934, it was announced that 552 Carlisle properties were delinquent in their tax payments to the amount of $40,000.

Nevertheless, the number of Thrift Gardens that the area planted during the summer of 1934 was down to 1335 from the previous year. It was reported at the end of the summer that these gardens produced $28,380 worth of goods, or $21.25 per garden, while costing the State only $1.41 in seed and fertilizer to produce them. Also during the summer of 1934, local banks began to realize an increase in assets for the first time since the beginning of the Depression (See Chart #1). In light of improving local circumstances, people had more money available to them and were able to begin putting some into savings.

The results of an employment survey done of the Cumberland County workforce as of April, 1934 was released in September of that year (See Chart #2). This report showed that race played a role in employment patterns in Cumberland County, as blacks had an unemployment rate of 38.2% during the period surveyed while whites had an unemployment rate of only 17.3%. The same survey reported varying unemployment rates in the County that ranged from a low of 9.1% in Camp Hill to 30.2% in West Fairview. Overall, the County unemployment rate for the period surveyed was 17.9%.[54]

Chart #3

Cumberland County Industrial Output

Year	Total Indust. Production	No. of Indust. Plants	No. of Employees	Total Wages	Date Info. in Paper
1927	$11,430,000	157	5,597		12/26/28
1928	$21,972,700		6,075		7/22/30
1929	$22,727,100		5,892		7/22/30
1930	$23,000,000		6,548	$7,216,400	5/26/32
1931	$17,237,300		6,124	$5,673,200	5/26/32
1932	$12,564,000	152	5,673	$4,437,800	6/15/34
1933	$13,201,500	145	6,069	$4,526,000	6/15/34

*Information taken from the *Evening Sentinel,* Carlisle, PA.

By the turn of the new year, it was clear that Cumberland County was on the road to recovery from the Depression. At the end of 1934, it was reported that construction levels for the previous year were twice that for 1933, rising from $28,000 to $51,480 worth of construction.[55] By mid-1935, construction levels had, in fact, already surpassed the level for all of 1934 reaching $73,990 worth of construction done in the area.[56] Business was also improving in the advent of 1935, as manufacturers were reported as having seen "a vast improvement in business during the past few months."[57] Thus, by 1935 Cumberland County was showing signs of steady economic recovery. While the Depression did not effect the

County as severely as it did other regions in the country or State, it nevertheless had a noticeable impact on the area and on the lives of local people at the time. Cumberland County, then, differed from other regions in that it endured the Depression without having to make drastic changes in the character of the region.

Chart #4

Free Medical Care for the Poor Given by Carlisle Hospital

Month	No. of Free Patients Admitted	No. of Free Days Treatment Given	Date Info. in paper
2/32	46	479	3/18/33
3/32	69	767	4/17/33
4/32	69	767	5/11/33
5/32	102	1090	6/19/33
6/32	80	772	7/15/33
8/32	77	924	9/21/32
2/33	73	633	3/18/33
3/33	71	733	4/17/33
4/33	87	731	5/11/33
5/33	70	594	6/19/33
6/33	55	568	7/15/33

*Information taken from *Evening Sentinel,* Carlisle, PA.

ENDNOTES

[1] Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (New York: 1964), p. 246.

[2] *Carlisle Sentinel* 1 January 1929. (Hereafter *Sentinel.)*

[3] *Sentinel* 3 January 1929.

[4] Interview with Roger Steck 26 April 1989.

[5] John Garraty, *The Great Depression* (San Diego: 1986), p. 13. Hereafter *Garraty.*

[6] *Steck Interview.*

[7] *Sentinel* 1 January 1930.

[8] Thomas H. Coode and John F. Bauman, *People, Poverty and Politics: Pennsylvania During the Great Depression* (Lewisburg: 1981), p. 15. Hereafter *Coode and Bauman.*

[9] *Sentinel* 23 December 1929.

[10] *Sentinel* 18 March 1930.

[11] *Sentinel* 19 April 1930.

[12] *Sentinel* 22 August 1930.

[13] *Sentinel* 26 August 1930.

[14] *Sentinel* 11 October 1930.

[15] *Sentinel* 4 December 1930.

[16] *Sentinel* 18 December 1930.

[17] *Sentinel* 13 February 1931.

[18] *Sentinel* 22 January 1931.

[19] *Sentinel* 15 October 1931.

[20] *Sentinel* 19 October 1931.

[21] *Sentinel* 23 October 1931.

[22] *Sentinel* 12 November 1931.

[23] *Garraty*, p. 160.

[24] *Sentinel*, 26 December 1931.

[25] *Shippensburg News Chronicle* 9 August 1932. Hereafter *News-Chronicle*.

[26] *News-Chronicle* 21 March 1933.

[27] *News-Chronicle* 12 September 1933.

[28] Steck interview.

[29] *Sentinel* 19 April 1932.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Sentinel* 7 May1932.

[32] *Sentinel* 28 July 1932.

[33] Steck interview.

[34] *Sentinel* 26 September 1932.

[35] *Sentinel* 26 October 1932.

[36] *Sentinel* 21 October 1932.

[37] *Sentinel* 28 October 1932.

[38] *Coode and Bauman*, pp. 257-258.

[39] *Sentinel* 6 December 1932.

[40] *Sentinel* 20 March 1933.

[41] *Sentinel* 22 November 1932.

[42] *Sentinel* 16 May 1932.

[43] *News-Chronicle* 19 May 1932.

[44] *Sentinel* 27 May 1933.

[45] *Sentinel* 15 July 1933.

[46] *Sentinel* 26 September 1933.

[47] *Sentinel* 28 October 1933.

[48] *Sentinel* 8 November 1933.

[49] *Sentinel* 14 August 1933.

[50] *Sentinel* 20 November 1933.

[51] *Sentinel* 23 December 1933.

[52] *Sentinel* 6 January 1934.

[53] *Sentinel* 22 February 1934.

[54] *Sentinel* 18 September 1934.

[55] *Sentinel* 28 December 1934.

[56] *Sentinel* 28 June 1935.

[57] *Sentinel* 1 January 1935.

What's In A Name - Enola

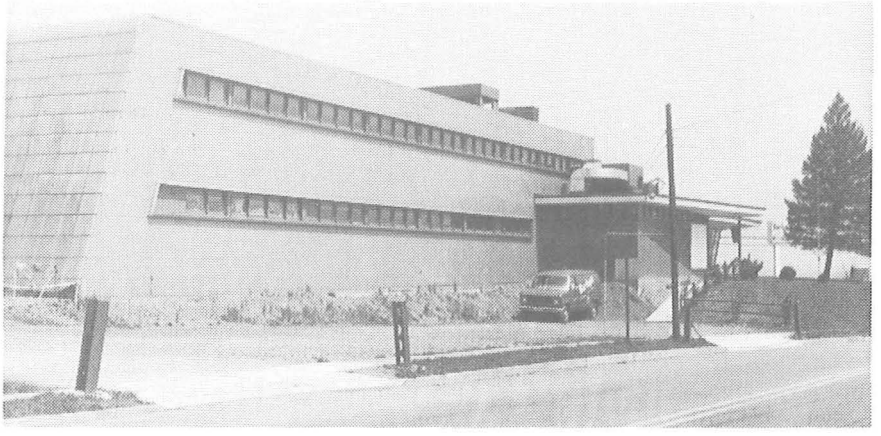
Local legend reported that a lone caller for the telegraph tower which stood in the area, across the river from Harrisburg, made the suggestion that "Alone" might be an apt name. In reverse, this is "Enola" and this could well have been the derivation of the town's name, but, further research into the matter, revealed that Enola is named after a little girl called Enola Miller.

In 1861 in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, a popular novel entitled "Dangers of Darkness" was read by Amanda Gingrich Underwood and her husband. A character in the story was called "Enola," a name which delighted the Underwoods so much that they named their daughter Enola Underwood. A cousin of Mrs. Underwood, the former Fanny Longsdorf, married to Wesley G. Miller, a farmer in the area between Marysville and West Fairview, decided that their baby daughter would also be named Enola. Enola Miller was born in 1884. Wesley Miller, meanwhile, purchased the homestead of his former in-laws, the Longsdorfs.

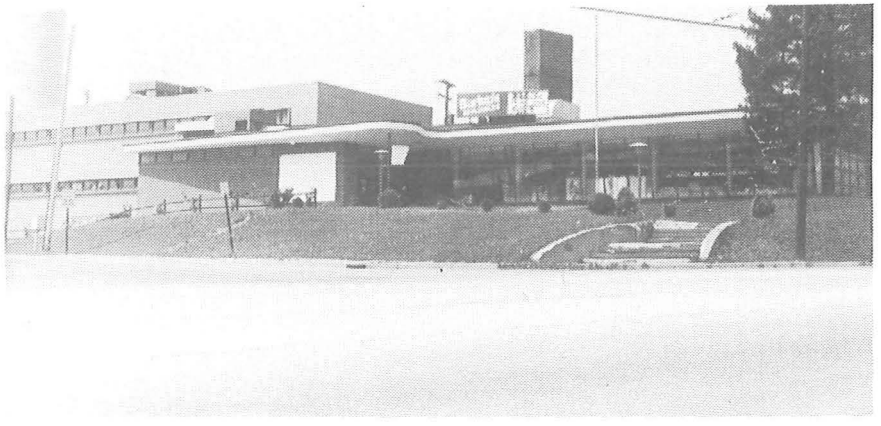
Although just a small community of a few homes and farms, the people of the area petitioned the Northern Central Railroad for a passenger station and freight siding to be built on Wesley Miller's property, the old Longsdorf farm. The railroad purchased the land, and Wesley Miller was invited to name the new station. The first name submitted was Wesley, but this was rejected, as a station with that name already existed. Longsdorf was proposed next, but again it was discovered that an existing station had that name. Miller then suggested the name Enola, in honor of his four year old daughter, Enola Miller. This was accepted, and the surrounding area came to be known by the same name as the station, Enola. When the Pennsylvania Railroad, successor to the Northern Central, established its railroad yards in the area in 1903, it too, adopted the name Enola.

But what about Enola, Arkansas? Was it named after Enola, Pennsylvania, as one story down there in Faulkner County would have us believe? "How Enola Got Its Name, Another Version" by W. E. Bailey, was published in the quarterly journal of Faulkner County Historical Society, Conway, Arkansas, Fall issue, 1967. Bailey submitted a version of how Enola, Arkansas was named. He writes of a conversation with his grandmother, Barbara Bailey, who, living in the area when the community began, remembered how a man working for the Grange came into the area in the 1870's. At the town saloon, the largest building in town at the time, people got excited about the prospect of a Grange and a store. This led to discussion about a post office also and a post office would need a name. The

Two Views



LOOKING EAST, this is a 1990 view of the south side of what once was the club house maintained by the Pennsylvania Railroad for its train crews at the Enola Yards. —Photograph courtesy Richard Beck.



LOOKING NORTH, this is the front view of the form P.R.R. club house, now an appliance store. Harold E. Dickson, Professor of Fine Art at the Pennsylvania State University included it in his 1954 book, *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings*. —Photograph courtesy of Richard Beck.

unnamed Grange organizer told them about a Grange he had helped set up in the north, in a little town called Enola. The residents of the community liked the name, and so an application for a post office was made to Washington. This was approved May 19, 1879.

Those discerning readers will immediately notice the discrepancy of the dates. Enola Miller was born in 1884, so Enola, Arkansas predates her. It is much more likely that a previous issue of the Faulkner County Historical Society's journal had the correct story in an article called "Enola and Cross Roads Communities," written by R. Sam Shipley. This story concurs with local legend about a man passing through town and stopping over. He carved the word "alone" on a board which he placed on a large oak tree where the roads met at Enola. Presumably, the word was reversed and the town came to be called Enola.

The same journal, having peaked the interest of its readers with the possible connection of their town to the town of Enola, Pennsylvania, went on to publish, in their Winter 1967 issue, the true story of Pennsylvania's Enola. Their author was W. O. Denton, and his source was Enola's postmaster, Frank L. Bender, and a verbatim quotation from the *Harrisburg Telegraph* of 11 September 1937.

Are there other Enolas? One in Nebraska, the Norfolk, Nebraska Public Library research says, is named for founder T. J. Malone (spelled backwards with the "m" eliminated). Malone was a farmer who had a Hereford herd. The Chicago and North Western Railroad still has a single line running through Enola, Nebraska, and there are half a dozen houses and a grain elevator. (It sounds like early Enola, Pennsylvania.) Similar reversing of "alone" to give Enola, occurs in Enola Hill, Oregon, and in Enola, South Carolina, information gleaned from *A Concise Dictionary of American Place-Names* by George R. Stewart, published by Oxford University Press in 1970.

One other reference to the name Enola remains to be mentioned and this Enola was not a town, it was an airplane—the famous, or infamous, "Enola Gay." Authors Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan Witts describe in their book *Enola Gay* how Colonel Paul Tibbets named his plane after his mother. The Military History Institute at Carlisle, Pennsylvania confirms a verbal reference made by the Colonel to a story that his grandmother was attracted by the name Enola Gay which she had heard about in Iowa, in connection with wagon trains traveling west. She liked the name so much that she called her daughter Enola Gay.

Although Enola is an unusual name for a town, it is obviously not unique. Compared to the other Enolas discussed here, Enola, Pennsylvania owes its name to a warm and humane source, and not to a play on a cold and lonely word.

VIEW OF the Enola yards as photographed in 1990 by Richard Beck, Lemoyne.

VIEW OF the Enola yards as photographed in 1990 by Richard Beck, Lemoyne.

SOURCES

Stewart, George R., *A Concise Dictionary of American Place-Names.* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1970.)

Thomas, Gordan and Witts, Max Morgan., *Enola Gay.* (Stein and Day: New York, 1977.)

Pennsylvania Place Names., (Pennsylvania State University: 1925.).

Telephone conversation and letter from Norfolk Public Library, dated September 19, 1990.

Correspondence with Conway Chamber of Commerce resulting in copies of extracts from *Journals of the Faulkner County Historical Society* from Spring 1964, Fall 1967 and Winter 1967.

Partial List of Cumberland County Publications in Print

Order your copy by sending a check (adding 6% sales tax and 85¢ postage and handling) to the Society at 21 North Pitt Street, P.O. Box 626, Carlisle 17013).

Biographies

Jim Thorpe: Carlisle Indian. Wilbur Gobrecht. $3.00

Peter Chartier: Knave of the Wild Frontier. William Hunter. $2.50

William Thompson: A Shooting Star. Allan Crist. $2.50

George Stevenson: Conservative as Revolutionary. Roland Baumann. $3.00

Community History

Planning of Carlisle and its Center Square. James Flower. $5

James Silver and his Community. Norman Keefer. $2

History of Cumberland County. Conway Wing. Reprint $36

18th and 19th Century Courthouses. Murray and Flower. $2.25

Camp Hill, A History. Robert G. Crist. $23 including tax and mailing.

Other

Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, R. H. Pratt. Reprint $3

The Lyceum in Carlisle and Cumberland County. Warren Gates. $2.25

Index to the Biographical Annals of Cumberland County. Cordelia Neitz. $5

Three Cumberland County Woodcarvers: Schimmel, Mountz, and Barret. Milton E. Flower, $10.

Guide to the Historical Markers of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. $1.00

Cumberland County History. Previous Issues, $5.00

Atlas of Cumberland County Pennsylvania 1858. $30

Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey, Nancy Van Dolsen. $39.95