CUMBERLAND County History

Summer/Winter
2005

Volume Twenty-two
Number One–Two

In This Issue

Contributions Solicited

The editor invites articles, notes, or documents on the history of Cumberland County and its people. Such articles may deal with new areas of research or may review what has been written and published in the past.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced. Citations should also be double-spaced; they should be placed at the end of the text. Electronic submissions should be in Word format with any suggested graphics digitized.

Authors should follow the rules set out in the Chicago *Manual of Style.*

Queries concerning the content and form of contributions may be sent to the Editor at the Society.

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

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Editor's Note

The Society is pleased to publish this 2005 double issue of the Journal in which writings from a broad scope of researchers is presented. That scope extends from the work of a high school student participating in the annual National History Day competition, to an undergraduate college intern, to a retired physician turned American History graduate student, to a respected local historian. All of these researchers used resources from the Society as part or all of their documentation for their projects. Topics researched span a variety of issues, from 18th century conflicts between European settlers and Native Americans, to 19th century political and social issues regarding the struggle for African Americans to be accepted in a dominant white society, to the impact of the 1918 influenza epidemic on central Pennsylvania. This broad spectrum serves to clearly illustrate the breadth of the Society's collections and the diverse manner in which the Society meets its mission "to collect, preserve, interpret and promote research of the history of Cumberland County."

Contributors

Dr. Michael J. Wiecks graduated from the University of Minnesota Medical School in 1982 and from UCLA and the Mayo Clinic in 1983 and 1985 respectively with advanced degrees in medicine. He practiced medicine in Harrisburg from 1985 to 2004. He is currently in a Masters degree program in Applied History at Shippensburg University. He has served as a volunteer and intern at the Cumberland County Historical Society, working on varied projects that included helping to re-catalog the 18th century Robert Whitehill papers and creating an in-depth bibliography regarding Cumberland County in the 1950s.

Merri Lou Schaumann is a past contributor to this Journal. She has served as president of the Cumberland County Historical Society, and is a respected local historian and author. Two of her books about Cumberland County history are "A History and Genealogy of Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1751–1835," and "Taverns of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania 1750–1840."

Elizabeth Rhoads graduated from Carlisle High School in 2002, and was a Summa Cum Laude graduate from the University of Pittsburgh in 2006, with a B.A. in history and sociology. She is currently in a Master of Library and Information Science (MLIS) degree program at the University of Pittsburgh with a projected graduation in 2007. She has completed internships with the Cumberland County Historical Society, Teach For America, and Central Catholic High School in Pittsburgh. One of the results of her internship at CCHS is the article on the Odd Fellows organization, which is published in this edition of the Journal.

David Smith began working at the Cumberland County Historical Society in 1997 and has served as head librarian since 2002. A retired educator from Prince George's County Schools in Maryland where he served as Supervisor of Gifted Education, he now has time to pursue his long standing interest in history. He has assisted with the development of local history trips sponsored by the Society and with a variety of exhibits. He is the leader of the popular Camp Michaux walks.

Alexandra B. Houston, a 2005 graduate of Carlisle High School, is currently a student at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, NY, where she is majoring in Cognitive Science. Alex participated in the 2004 National History Day competition, winning at local and state levels before moving on to the National Competition at the University of Maryland. Much of the research done on her topic for the competition was completed at the Cumberland County Historical Society.

The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania

by Michael J. Wiecks

The influenza pandemic of 1918–1919, also known as Spanish Flu, claimed the lives of 675,000 Americans and as many as 40 million people worldwide.[1] The toll among U.S. servicemen during WWI was especially severe. "Of the U.S. soldiers who died in Europe, half of them fell to the influenza virus and not to the enemy. An estimated 43,000 servicemen died of influenza."[2] No part of America escaped this pandemic. Yet, each community in America was affected by, and reacted to, this disease in a unique way. This paper is an examination of the 1918 Influenza epidemic in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania and a comparison with the findings of other historians on the effects of the epidemic in Philadelphia, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Particular attention will be given to the measures taken to curb the epidemic by the Board of Health in each of these cities. The effectiveness of these measures, and the controversies that arose in response to them, will also be examined.

The Spanish Flu of 1918 was caused by the H1N1 Influenza A Virus. The Influenza A virus is an RNA virus that contains 8 genes within a lipid shell (Appendix A). Inserted into this shell are proteins called hemaglutinin (HA) and neuraminidase (NA).[3] It is the properties of these proteins that are used to classify the different subtypes of Influenza A virus. Three subtypes of Influenza A have caused pandemics (world-wide epidemic) in the past one hundred years: H1N1 – Spanish Flu of 1918, H2N2 – Asian Flu of 1957, and H3N2 – Hong Kong Flu of 1968.[4]

When a person is infected with a virus, his or her body mobilizes its immune system to form antibodies to the virus. If all goes well, these antibodies will enable the immune system to clear the virus from the body. Once antibodies have been formed and the virus cleared, that individual will never again be susceptible to infection with the exact same virus. Many viruses have developed ways to deceive the immune system's memory. In the case of Influenza A, subtle

changes frequently occur in the HA and NA proteins (antigens) contained in the virus' outer shell. This is called "antigenic drift" and forms the basis for the nearly biannual reoccurrence of low-grade influenza epidemics. Once every several years, with no predictability and with no periodicity, a replacement occurs in one of the genes that comprise the core of the influenza virus. This causes the virus to produce markedly different proteins in its outer shell, proteins to which no human has previously been exposed. This is called "antigenic shift" and forms the basis for global pandemics.[5] Once an antigenic shift occurs in the influenza virus, it causes a major pandemic and then remains in circulation for many years until the next antigenic shift occurs. For example, the H1N1 shift caused the pandemic of 1918 (Spanish Flu). That virus remained in circulation until the H2N2 shift occurred, causing the pandemic of 1957 (Asian Flu).[6]

The consequence of the 1918 H1N1 antigenic shift in the Influenza A virus for the citizens of Pennsylvania is clearly illustrated in Table 1. Note that the number of deaths from influenza in 1918 was 26 times greater than in 1917. All data were obtained from the United States Bureau of the Census.

Table 1: Deaths from Influenza and Pneumonia in Pennsylvania 1917-1920

Year	Influenza	Pneumonia
1917	1505	10,273
1918	39,301	25,801
1919	6878	7434
1920	6114	9100

There are several questions about the 1918 influenza pandemic that remain unanswered. One question concerns the origin of the pandemic. As recently as 2001 one scientist posited that the pandemic may have originated in France. In "The so-called Great Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918 may have originated in France in 1916," J. S. Oxford notes several localized epidemics of influenza that occurred in Britain and France in 1916.[7] Most historians agree that, in the United States, the pandemic originated in the military and that the most virulent form of the 1918 Influenza A virus was carried from the United States to the rest of the world. Most historians also agree that the 1918 influenza pandemic occurred in three waves: the first in the Spring of 1918, the second in the Autumn of 1918, and the third in the Winter of 1919.

In the United States, the first known case of influenza in the Spring wave was in Kansas. On March 11, 1918, at Camp Funston, Kansas, Albert Mitchell reported to the infirmary with all the symptoms of influenza – fever, headache and muscle pains. Within two days 500 of his comrades were sick, many of

them with pneumonia.[8] In the months of March and April, "camps Oglethorpe, Gordon, Grant, Lewis, Sherman, Doniphan, Fremont, Hancock, Kearney, Logan, McClellan, Sevier, Shelby and others had epidemics of influenzal disease."[9]

The Autumn wave of the epidemic also began in the military. From military camps and training grounds, the epidemic spread to surrounding areas. This spread was facilitated by contact between military personnel and civilians. Appendix B shows three maps that can be used to compare the spread of the second wave of the 1918 influenza epidemic in the United States with the locations of military installations. The correlation between the locations of camps and forts with the sites of initial influenza epidemics is quite remarkable. The third map in Appendix B is an enlargement of the first map with the location of Camps Funston, Dix and Meade noted by a large X. As suggested in this text, these camps represent key locations associated with the spread of the virus in the United States.

The first wave of the 1918 influenza epidemic in the United States was exceptional in many ways. In March and April of 1918 there were very few reports of localized epidemic in the civilian population. The mortality rate for those who did contract influenza was unusually high and many of these victims developed secondary pneumonia. Perhaps most significant of all was the fact that a large proportion of deaths occurred in those who were between the ages of 20 and 40. These same peculiarities continued with the second wave of the epidemic that began in September 1918. The distribution of influenza deaths by age group in Pennsylvania for the years 1917–1920 is given in Table 2. Note the significantly greater number of deaths occurring in 1918 in those persons between the ages of 20 and 40. The increased number of deaths among this same age group for the years 1919 and 1920 reflects the continued presence of the H1N1 influenza virus in the population.

Appendix C provides a listing of all death notices published for Cumberland County in the Carlisle *Evening Sentinel* for the year 1918 where the cause of death was listed as influenza, pneumonia or a "brief illness."[10] Admittedly, this list is incomplete. One important omission from this listing is the inclusion of those persons between the ages of 20 and 40 whose cause of death was not given. Nevertheless, we can use Appendix C to determine the distribution by age group of those who died of the epidemic in Cumberland County in 1918. Table 3 shows a comparison of this result with data published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[11]

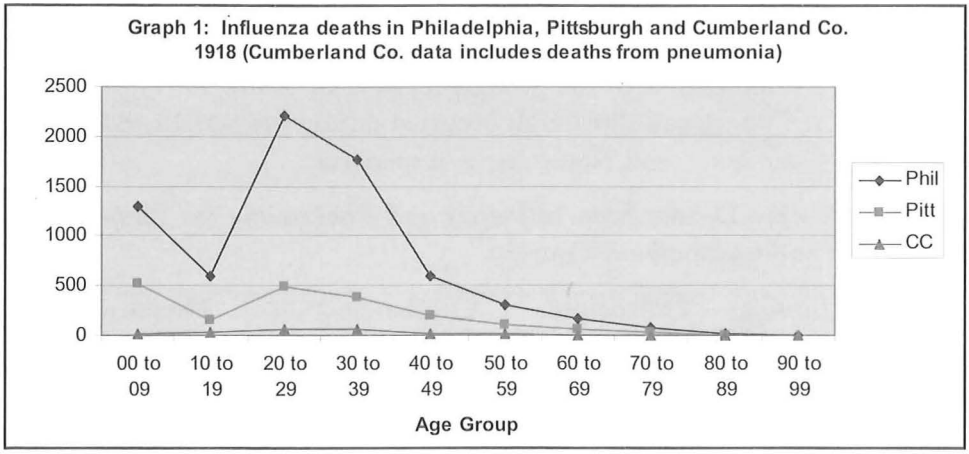
Table 2: Deaths from influenza by age group in Pennsylvania 1917–1920

Age	1917	1918	1919	1920
<1	189	2193	769	580
1	62	1957	394	344
2	27	1186	195	134
3	19	798	122	82
4	6	604	105	59
5-9	26	1556	238	150
10-19	42	3363	472	386
20-29	53	10570	1302	1015
30-39	65	10094	1372	1223
40-49	107	3734	664	679
50-59	150	1665	490	530
60-69	239	861	380	420
70-79	297	518	258	300
80-89	193	172	96	151
90-99	30	24	19	20
100 or >	2	0	1	0

Table 3: Deaths from influenza by age group in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cumberland County for the year 1918 (Cumberland Co. data includes deaths from pneumonia)

Age	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	Cumberland Co.
<1	291	135	8
1	297	134	2
2	185	79	1
3	106	53	2
4	111	33	2
5-9	309	90	3
10-19	593	158	37
20-29	2215	481	64
30-39	1761	388	62
40-49	592	197	22
50-59	298	104	8
60-69	165	59	5
70-79	77	32	6
8089	21	4	2
90-99	2		1
100 or >			

The following illustration is a graphic representation of Table 3 and helps to provide a clearer indication of the effect of the 1918 Influenza A virus on those persons between 20 to 40 years old.



Recall that when a virus infects its host, the host's immune system mounts a response to clear the virus. The magnitude of this response determines the intensity of the disease that the virus causes. The balance between life and death is determined by the balance between the damage caused by the virus and the damage caused by the host's response. In the typical influenza epidemics caused by antigenic drift, the host will already have some experience with the antigens presented by the virus. Infants who have never been exposed to the virus and the very old whose immune systems are weak will be those most likely to succumb to the disease. No one knows exactly why the 1918 influenza epidemic took the lives of so many young and healthy individuals. The Nobel Prize winning immunologist MacFarlane Burnet has offered one explanation that seems quite plausible. Burnet posits that when the influenza virus undergoes a major change in its structure (antigenic shift) it infiltrates a host population that has no prior experience with it, and therefore no antibody defense, against it. The young and healthy will mount the most vigorous immune response to the virus. It is this immune response that will cause their deaths, rather than the tissue damage caused by the virus itself.[12]

Civilian epidemics of influenza in Pennsylvania began in Philadelphia and spread westward across the state. The Philadelphia Naval Ship Yard, Camp Dix in New Jersey, and Camp Meade in Maryland served as sites of origin for the epidemic. "Flu appeared in the Naval Ship Yard on the eleventh [of September], in Dix on the fifteenth, and in Meade on the seventeenth."[13] For the week ending October 5, 1918 there were 706 reported deaths from influenza and pneumonia in Philadelphia. From Philadelphia and the above military camps,

influenza spread westward across Pennsylvania. Deaths from influenza and pneumonia in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cumberland County are shown in Table 4. Again, the information for Cumberland County was obtained from Appendix C and is not as accurate as the figures for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[14] Note that if the three weeks having the greatest number of deaths for each location are combined, then the greatest number of deaths for Philadelphia, Cumberland County and Pittsburgh occurred during the periods ending October 26, November 2, and November 9, respectively.

Table 4: Weekly Deaths from Influenza and Pneumonia for Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cumberland County

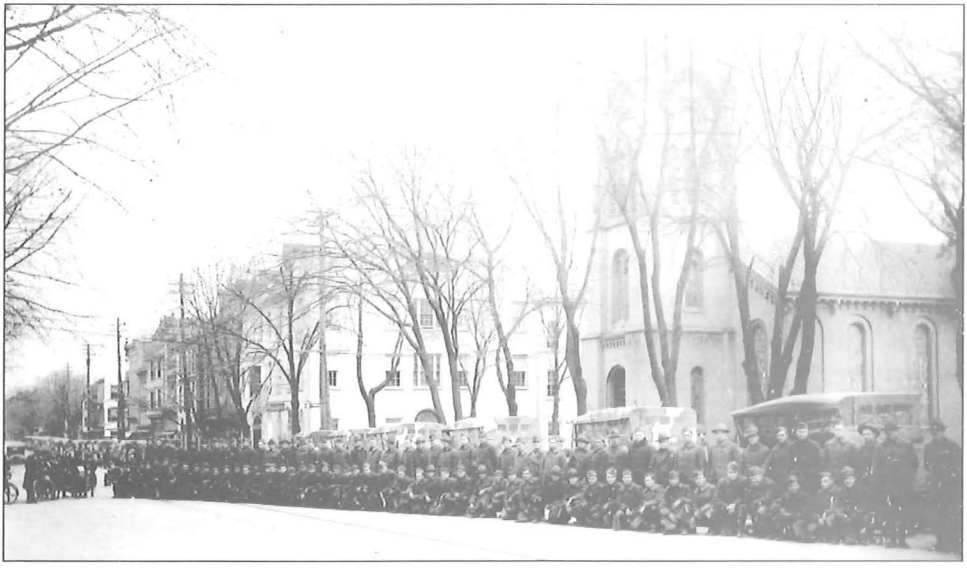
Week Ending	Philadelphia	Cumberland Co.	Pittsburgh
September 14			
21			17
28			34
October 5	706	2	69
12	**2635**	12	114
19	**4597**	**64**	389
26	**2021**	**59**	**576**
November 2	1203	**36**	**630**
9	375	15	**798**
16	164	6	532
23	103	4	385
30	93	5	297
December 7	102	7	200
14	105	12	203
21	143	5	144
28	127	6	127

Not only was Cumberland County in the center of a path of influenza that was spreading from east to west across the state, its citizens' contact with the military, and thus with influenza, was enabled in other ways. On August 26, 1918 the Carlisle Indian School was officially closed and reopened the same day as an army medical center. A large crowd gathered that evening to celebrate the event. Mr. Webster Henderson, speaking for the people of Carlisle, proclaimed:

> And now war is about to give us another institution – one to alleviate suffering. This community bids you welcome. Be assured that you will have all and every assistance that this community can give you.[15]

Carlisle also served as a resting point for soldiers traveling across Pennsylvania, further increasing the citizens' contact with the military. A brief passage from *The Evening Sentinel* of August 7, 1918 illustrates the military's interaction with the civilian population of Carlisle:

> The soldiers [of Company D] did not camp at Middlesex but chose the [Carlisle] fair grounds instead and remained over night here.... The boys were entertained in Saint John's Episcopal Church parish house Tuesday evening and despite the intense heat many enjoyed the dancing. Refreshments were served as usual.
>
> Company B...arrived here about 11:20 this forenoon, 24 hours ahead of schedule time....B company will stay here this afternoon and tonight and will encamp on the fair grounds. The men were fed at noon by the Red Cross workers and they enjoyed every bite and every drink.[16]



World War I Convoy on North Hanover Street in Carlisle.
CCHS Collections

Additional contact with soldiers occurred when they were entertained in Carlisle on August 29, September 2, September 6 and September 25. Both the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. played a major role in providing comfort for the soldiers. Patriotic meetings were a weekly occurrence. One especially large meeting was held at the Carlisle Fair on September 26.[17] This fever of activity came to an end on October 3, 1918, when "Dr. B. F. Royer, Acting State Commissioner of Health [for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania], issued an order

closing all places of public amusement and all saloons in the entire state. The closing of schools and churches he left to local discretion."[18] It is not clear why Dr. Royer did not order the closing of schools and churches. Perhaps he felt that he lacked the authority to do so. Perhaps he did not fully comprehend the gravity of the situation. Alfred Crosby reports that:

> Health officials were cautious, skeptical, and poorly informed about the pandemic. The reports coming in from Boston were still spotty, and the pandemic was moving so fast that it arrived in Philadelphia before even Boston had fully realized the magnitude of the danger....The opinion of the august *Journal of the American Medical Association* at the end of September was that Spanish influenza might have an unfamiliar name, but this "should not cause any greater importance to be attached to it, nor arouse any greater fear than would influenza without the new name."[19]

On October 4, William Bouseman of Carlisle, age 32, died of pneumonia. His was the first death in Cumberland County of the autumn wave of the epidemic as reported in *The Evening Sentinel.* On the same day, the Carlisle Board of Health ordered "all public, private and other schools, all churches, Sunday Schools, etc., all pool rooms, bowling alleys, picture shows, social clubs, lodge meetings, and all unnecessary public gatherings, discontinued until conditions become normal, and further notice from this Board of Health."[20] On October 5, all soda fountains in Carlisle were closed, there were several hundred cases of influenza in Carlisle, 20 Dickinson soldier-students were in the Carlisle Hospital, and the Carlisle Board of Health placed Dr. C. R. Rickenbaugh in charge of the Franklin School to be used as an emergency hospital if necessary.[21] By October 7, one hundred fifty Carlisle school children had influenza and there were 37 influenza patients in the Carlisle Hospital. Many nurses were ill, prompting the Captain from the U. S. General Hospital at Carlisle Barracks to call for volunteers to assist them. Dr. Royer issued a second appeal: "Wholesale liquor dealers, bottlers, fraternal organizations and social clubs are requested to discontinue the sale, delivery or serving of liquors for the period during which the hotel bars and saloons are closed."[22]

In the face of this rapidly escalating emergency many charitable organizations, businesses and individuals began to offer their services. On October 7, the Red Cross began supplying materials for volunteers to make pneumonia jackets in their homes.[23] Individuals volunteered to lend their canvas tents for the purpose of constructing a makeshift hospital, and many citizens placed their automobiles at the disposal of nurses and physicians to assist them with their transportation needs.[24] The U. S. General Hospital assigned one of its physi-

cians "to assist the physicians of Carlisle in getting control of the epidemic."[25] Men and women were encouraged to report to the Red Cross for the purpose of "tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and bearing the burdens of the weak."[26] Yet, the shortage of able bodied volunteers intensified. On October 19, the Red Cross announced that it was willing to pay "any willing person able to give their time for nursing in families where practically all the members of the home are sick... These women need not be trained nurses. A willingness to serve is the only essential qualification."[27]

One rather macabre request illustrates the desperate situation of the citizens of Cumberland County. On October 18, "a local manufacturing company was requested...to begin the manufacture of coffins to relieve the situation."[28] The difficulty of interring corpses was even worse in Philadelphia. In that city the shortage of embalmers, coffins and gravediggers created a ghoulish specter. In his review of the epidemic in Philadelphia, Jeffrey Anderson reports:

> With a capacity to store 36 corpses, Philadelphia's city morgue at 13th and Wood Streets held over 200 bodies at the height of the epidemic. They were stacked up from the basement to the second story, three to four deep, partially covered with bloody sheets, sometimes remaining unembalmed for days. Conditions were so bad that when a number of professional embalmers saw the carnage they refused to work. To rid the building of the stench, the doors of the city morgue were left open, creating a sideshow for all who walked by, including children.[29]

As the epidemic showed no signs of abating, additional efforts were taken to curb its spread. Within one week of the closing ban in Carlisle nearly every town and township in Cumberland County had followed suit. On October 6, physicians were required to report new cases of influenza to the Carlisle Board of Health and an already existing "no spitting" ordinance was more strictly enforced.[30] Beginning October 12, all stores were required to close at 6:00 pm.[31] On October 15, all funerals were made private.[32] If the situation had not been so grim, the following announcement might have struck someone as a bit humorous:

> President J. W. Shutt of the local board of health issued the following notice today to hotel keepers and cigar store proprietors: "All hotel proprietors and drug stores are requested to refrain from selling cigars after six o'clock in the evening, except to guests of hotels." The regular cigar stores have been closing at six and it is not fair that cigars are sold anywhere else in the town.[33]

In the face of the epidemic, the Boards of Health of the cities and townships of Cumberland County acted swiftly and appropriately. The first death from the epidemic occurred on October 4. The order to close schools, churches, and all public gathering places was issued by the Carlisle Board of Health the same day. Unfortunately, the city officials of Philadelphia and San Francisco were slower to act. Although the Philadelphia Board of Health had issued a warning about the flu and had initiated a campaign against coughing, sneezing and spitting on September 18, the city did not cancel its Fourth Liberty Loan Drive.[34] On September 28, 200,000 spectators gathered to watch the Fourth Liberty Loan Parade.[35] It was not until October 3 that Philadelphia closed its schools, churches, theatres and other public gathering places.[36] By that time there were at least 75,000 cases of influenza in Philadelphia. By October 5 there were 706 deaths from influenza and pneumonia. Crosby offers several explanations for this delay in Philadelphia's response to the epidemic. Director Krusen of the Department of Health and Dr. Cairnes of the Bureau of Health "told the public that there was little chance the disease would spread widely among Philadelphia's civilians."[37] Officials at the naval yard and city officials felt that their cooperation would be sufficient "to confine this disease to its preset limits."[38] Dr. Lewis, director of the Phipps Institute of Philadelphia, announced that he had found the cause of Spanish Influenza and felt that he had "armed the medical profession with absolute knowledge on which to base its campaign against the disease."[39] The result of this delayed response and overconfidence of city officials was that Philadelphia had the worst experience with influenza of any major city on the East Coast.[40]

This failure of the city officials in Philadelphia to act quickly was equaled in San Francisco. On September 21 the San Francisco Board of Health suggested taking precautions against the flu.[41] The first case of influenza in San Francisco was reported on September 24.[42] Yet, San Francisco's Fourth Liberty Loan Drive went forward as planned. On September 28, 10,000 people marched in San Francisco's Fourth Liberty Loan Drive parade. On October 6, "150,000 gathered at Golden Gate Park and filed past movie cameras in a column of four abreast for three hours."[43] On October 11, the French tenor, Lucien Muratore, sang for a crowd of 50,000 on the steps of the Chronicle Building in San Francisco.[44] Not until October 18, four weeks after the Board of Health's initial warning about influenza, did the city officials close schools and public gathering places.[45] San Francisco's churches were closed on October 20.[46] By October 19, there were 4,000 cases of influenza and 130 deaths from influenza and pneumonia in San Francisco.

In contrast to Philadelphia and San Francisco, the city of Los Angeles acted more swiftly to confront the influenza epidemic. The first case of influenza in Los Angeles was reported on October 1. On October 11, the city closed all places of public resort, including theaters, churches, concert halls and schools. The Los Angeles Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, which had been scheduled to begin on October 12, was cancelled.[47] Perhaps it is because of these efforts that the city of Los Angeles had a much better experience with influenza than did Philadelphia and San Francisco.

The death rates from influenza and pneumonia for Carlisle, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Los Angeles are listed in Table 5. Los Angeles had the lowest death rate of these four locations. Although the response to the epidemic was swifter in Carlisle than in Philadelphia or San Francisco, I would surmise that a greater percentage of Carlisle's citizens had a closer contact with servicemen than did the citizens of either San Francisco or Los Angeles, thus accounting for a higher death rate.

Table 5: Influenza & Pneumonia Deaths as % of total deaths & % of population:

City	Population	Total Deaths	Influenza & Pneumonia Deaths	I & P Deaths as % of Total Deaths	I & P Deaths as % of Population
Carlisle	10,793	279	89	32	0.82
Philadelphia	1,768,882	42,479	16,262	38	0.90
Los Angeles	525,178	9348	2591	28	0.50
San Francisco	482,543	9855	3592	36	0.75

Mortality statistics alone cannot describe the depth of the misery experienced by many citizens in Cumberland County during the epidemic. For this we must look to those individuals and families who recorded their experiences in letters and diaries, or who were the most severely affected. Mr. A. L. Eshleman wrote in his diary of the pain that he experienced:

> I am not well and can hardly work. (October 7)
>
> 2 to 3 funerals a day – influenza. (October 11)
>
> This p.m. I went to Lemoyne and Camp Hill. Lots of people dying. (October 12)
>
> Lots of people dying. (October 24)
>
> Sister Lizzie Grissinger is not well. Many farmers are sick. Many places the whole family is sick in bed with influenza. (December 1)[48]

Many articles in the *Evening Sentinel* during the last three months of 1918 noted the deaths of several members of the same family. Often, both parents died, leaving several children orphaned. In one instance, four deaths occurred in the same family in six days.[49]

In addition to all the private suffering of individuals from the loss of friends and family members, the epidemic caused an enormous amount of hardship for the community in general. On October 7, twenty-two employees of the Valley Railways were off duty. This meant that several trolley cars could not be used, significantly limiting transportation between Harrisburg and Mechanicsburg.[50] The Cumberland Railway Co. was similarly affected, limiting the transportation between Carlisle and Newville.[51] It was difficult for the larger manufacturing companies to remain open – shoe factories were hit especially hard.[52] Many merchants at the Market House did not operate: "The large stalls of George Brown, builder and James Farabelli, fruit dealer, the stall of Ralph Farabelli, fruit and produce and John Lindsey, the baker, the stall of John Kutz, a country butcher and numerous others were unoccupied."[53] Perhaps the most disheartening "non-event" was the cancellation of the Trophy Train stop. The Trophy Train was a train of six coaches "loaded down with German and American weapons, the former captured as trophies by the fighting doughboys over there."[54] As part of its tour of Pennsylvania in the interests of the Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign it was scheduled to visit Carlisle on October 9. Unfortunately, at noon that day the train was ordered back to Philadelphia as part of the War Department's effort to stop the spread of influenza.[55]

In an era with no vaccines, anti-viral medications or antibiotics, the residents of Cumberland County turned to whatever remedies they could find in order to prevent catching influenza or to minimize its effect. It is not known which of the following treatments Cumberland County citizens actually used, but each was reported or advertised in the *Evening Sentinel,* and would have been available to them. To guard against influenza, United States Surgeon General Rupert Blue recommended the proper combination of work, play and rest, as well as the consumption of milk and the avoidance of overcrowding in the home. For those who caught the disease he recommended staying home and staying in bed.[56] Dr. E. P. Hershey of Denver, Colorado reported that, "Deaths of pneumonia patients are due either to heart failure or to septicemia, seldom, if ever, to insufficient aeration of the blood in the lungs." He recommended cardiac stimulation with digitalis to treat pneumonia.[57] On both accounts he could not have been more wrong. Professor Henry F. Smith, a bacteriologist at the University of Pennsylvania, recommended freely moving bowels, a hot bath, hot lemonade, quinine, bed rest, fresh air and an upper respiratory douche of a teaspoon

of salt dissolved in water.[58] Dr. George F. Baer of the Homeopathic Hospital in Pittsburgh recommended treating influenza with a "hypodermic injection of a sterile solution representing 1.54 grams of iodine in chemical combination with creosole and gunicol [*sic*]."[59] Most physicians took a more conservative approach than Dr. Hershey, Professor Smith or Dr. Baer, recommending fresh air, avoidance of crowds, plenty of rest, separate eating and drinking utensils, and covering of the face when coughing or sneezing.[60]

In the absence of any effective orthodox medical treatment for influenza, and at a time of relatively little access to medical attention, people turned to home remedies. John Myers, a soldier with the American Expeditionary Force in France, wrote to his wife, "The best cure for a sore throat is a thorough swabbing with iodine and glycerene [*sic*]. Better have some on hand until influenza is forgotten."[61] One soldier returning from France swore by a concoction he had learned from a French peasant:

> He dropped a handful of each [elder blossom and peppermint] in a jug and made a strong infusion by pouring a pint and half of boiling water over them.... He let it steep for about half an hour on the bob, then strained and sweetened it, and made us drink it as hot as we could stand it. He simply soaked us with it, but the next day we were like new men.[62]

Perhaps this was an old remedy from the days of the Black Plague. It does bear some resemblance to the use of a "pocket full of posies" to ward off that disease, and the use of concoctions of sweet-smelling herbs to treat that disease.[63] Another interesting recipe was printed in the *Sentinel* on October 24:

> Take six or ten onions and chop them, put into a large frying pan over a hot stove, add about the same quantity of rye flour and enough vinegar to make it a thick paste. Stir it thoroughly, let it simmer five or ten minutes. Put in a cotton bag large enough to cover the lungs and apply it to the chest as hot as the patient can bear. Before it cools, apply another and thus continue heating poultices. In a few hours the patient will be out of danger. This simple remedy had never failed to cure this too often fatal disease. Usually three or four applications will be enough, but continue until perspiration starts freely from the chest. This remedy was formulated by a New England physician. He never lost a case by this disease. It is also an excellent croup remedy when applied to the throat.[64]

Although this recipe states that the remedy was formulated by a New England physician, it is very reminiscent of the blistering plasters that had been

used by physicians since colonial times.[65] The purpose of both hot herbal beverages and blistering plasters was to induce sweating. It was felt that sickness from influenza and pneumonia infection was the result of the accumulation of poisons in the body. One way to rid the body of these poisons was by sweating them out.

Patent medicines were also popular. The ones most commonly used to treat influenza and pneumonia in 1918 are listed in Appendix D. Many of these are laxatives meant to flush the bowels and thus carry away poisons that accumulated as a result of disease. Again, this is a treatment that was in common use in colonial times. One of the most famous individuals associated with patent medicine at the time of the influenza epidemic was Chief Two Moon (Chico Colon Meridas) of Philadelphia (originally) and New York (eventually). In their short biography of Chief Two Moon, Thomas Fillius, Loretta Nugent, Virginia Tyler and Varro Tyler report the claim that none of Chief Two Moon's 1918 influenza epidemic patients died.[66] Patent medicines are medications that can be obtained without a prescription. Americans continue to use patent medicines today. We now refer to them as over-the-counter (OTC) medications. The main difference between patent medicines and OTC medications is that the makers of patent medicines kept their ingredients secret, while the makers of today's OTC medications are required to list their ingredients on the package in which they are supplied. In addition, many OTC medications today have scientific validity. Compared with a physician visit, patent medicines and OTC medications are inexpensive and convenient. They are especially popular with the public when there exists the general belief that the physician has nothing more effective to offer.

Dr. Royer, Acting State Commissioner of Health for Pennsylvania, suggested that closing bans could be lifted on November 5 in the "southern section of Dauphin County and Pike, Monroe, Adams, Cumberland and York counties."[67] It was left up to the local boards of health to decide whether or not to act on his suggestion. Because the number of deaths and new cases of influenza in Carlisle was decreasing, the closing ban was lifted in Carlisle on November 5, with the precaution that "if the action of the Carlisle board is found to be premature and that if the number of cases increases, the ban will go on in double-quick time."[68] Schools, theaters, saloons and churches reopened and stores were allowed to remain open after 6:00 pm.

Activities of daily life soon returned to normal in Carlisle. A patriotic meeting was held on November 10. Perhaps the most important morale booster was the big celebration that occurred on November 7 in response to the (premature) announcement that an armistice had been reached.[69] The celebration be-

gan at noon and lasted well into the night. One thousand people marched in a parade along with 75 automobiles, trucks and fire engines. Mechanicsburg also lifted its ban and celebrated the premature report of an armistice. Eerily, while the crowd was celebrating, Mrs. Bessie Haines dropped dead (heart trouble, not the flu) in Trimmer's five and ten cent store.[70]

Other towns in Cumberland County and the surrounding area did not fare as well as Carlisle and Mechanicsburg. On November 24, fifty-one new cases of influenza were reported in Chambersburg. On November 25, two hundred of the two hundred fifty children at the Tressler Orphans Home in Loysville were afflicted with influenza.[71] The Board of Health in Mt. Holly Springs, which had lifted the ban there on October 30, reinstated it on November 1 because of an increase in the number of new influenza cases.[72] Shippensburg's Board of Health, which had also lifted its ban, reinstated it on November 7.[73]

The immediate economic effect of the epidemic in Cumberland County has never been determined. Crosby reports that in Philadelphia:

> The order closing public places cost the theatres, motion picture houses, and hotels 2 million dollars and the saloons $350,000. The number of passengers using the streetcars dropped off so much that the transit company lost a quarter of a million dollars. Then there is the matter of reckoning up the money loss represented by the dead. Estimated by the scale used by contemporary insurance companies, Spanish influenza cost the city 60 million dollars in deaths by Armistice, months before the final departure of the pandemic.[74]

As the cities and townships of Cumberland County had taken measures similar to those used in Philadelphia to control the epidemic, there is no reason to believe that the economic impact of the epidemic in Cumberland County would have been any less severe than in Philadelphia.

The 1918 influenza epidemic does not appear to have caused any long-term negative consequences in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles or the cities and townships of Cumberland County. Crosby posits that this lack of long-term consequences is one of the reasons that many Americans have forgotten the epidemic.[75] Neither does there appear to be any significant difference in the measures taken to control the epidemic in rural areas or large cities. In each of the locations discussed in this paper, the response to the epidemic was determined by the local Board of Health acting in conjunction with the city government. In each location it was the Red Cross that took the lead in organizing volunteer support and supplying food, clothing and transportation where needed.

Not all the measures taken by the Boards of Health in Cumberland County, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Los Angeles were met with universal compli-

ance. Significant controversies arose over closing orders, the use of facemasks, and the authority of the Board of Health. In Cumberland County, merchants complained about the six o'clock closing time. They "questioned whether the closing of a few hours earlier would amount to much in so far as spreading the disease is concerned, because the crowds through the day would be all the greater."[76] This author agrees with the merchants. There is no medical reason to believe that it would make any difference in the number of influenza cases whether or not the stores were left open in the evening. Perhaps this measure was taken because of the common belief that a person exposed to cold weather is more likely to catch influenza – a myth still believed by many Americans today.

The "booze men" in Cumberland County resisted the closing orders more vehemently than the merchants. Their establishments were completely closed, rather than being allowed to operate with limited hours. Saloonkeepers Steve Justina and Peter Ustaf of Coaldale, Pennsylvania were arrested for violating the closure order and "even sold liquor on Sunday."[77] On October 12, Paul Keefe, director of the Wholesale Malt and Liquor Dealers Protective Association, drafted a letter to Dr. Royer "with an elaborate scheme for getting around the quarantine order." Dr. Royer did not agree to the plan: "Your argument is not convincing and the plan you suggest, which is in effect a request that the closing order be abrogated so far as the liquor interests are concerned, is in our opinion contrary to the interests of the public health."[78] The editor of the *Sentinel* appealed for calm and compliance, noting that the community should be grateful to the head of the health department "who had the courage to adopt extraordinary measures and enforce them to the letter in the face of all opposition."[79] Perhaps the booze men were unfairly targeted, or were the victims of a rising tide of prohibition that was sweeping the county at this time. Yet, other businesses (theaters, bowling alleys, soda fountains) were also closed without the proprietors raising such a strong objection.

Most citizens of Cumberland County adopted a "healthier" approach to the closures and quarantines. The meeting of the Carlisle town council on October 10 was adjourned after three minutes.[80] Noah "Pink" Pinkney, the Dickinson College "pretzel man", mourned the loss of the right to go on the college campus but "just laughs it off good naturedly."[81] One rather amusing event occurred on Saturday, October 26:

> The local board of health has allowed Shiloh Baptist Church (colored) to hold a supper, Saturday night, for the benefit of a rally. But it will be a peculiar kind of a supper. Anybody buying anything must eat it away. The people are not allowed to congregate.[82]

Complaints about closing ordinances also arose in Los Angeles, Philadelphia and San Francisco. In Los Angles it was the theater owners and the Church of Christ, Scientist who complained the most vehemently. The argument of the theater owners was similar to the argument raised by the merchants and booze men in Cumberland County. There is some merit to the claim of the Theater Owner Association's president, Mr. Macdonald, that, "if closed theaters help stamp out the disease, closed stores, offices, no streetcars and a general shut down would stamp it out more quickly."[83] Mayor Woodman agreed with them and called for a measure to extend the closing orders to include all businesses except "grocery stores, meat markets, vegetable and fruit stands, bakeries and dairies."[84] His proposal was unanimously rejected by the city council. The Christian Scientists made a more successful attempt to repeal the closing order. In two separate trials, the Church argued that the closing order was "unconstitutional, invalid, void and an unwarranted exercise of police power."[85] Both the judge in Los Angeles and the judge in Pasadena ruled in the Church's favor.[86] Christian Scientists believe in the power of prayer to heal, rather than the power of medicine. Part of their argument in 1918 was that their church services would actually help in the fight against influenza. Even today, Christian Scientists "believe in the power of prayer to both prevent a bird flu pandemic and heal those who are sick should an outbreak occur despite their efforts."[87] Christian Scientists raised similar objections to the closing orders in San Francisco. The editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* raised the same objection to closing orders as the merchants in Cumberland County and the theater owners in Los Angeles. On October 5, he wrote:

> Since crowds gather in congested eating places and press into elevators and hang to the straps of illy-ventilated street cars, it is a little difficult to understand what is to be gained by shutting up well ventilated churches and theatres.[88]

Masking ordinances were another measure that met with a great deal of opposition. In Cumberland County, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, the Red Cross manufactured masks and freely distributed them to the public. In San Francisco, the city supervisors made the use of facemasks mandatory for everyone in the city:

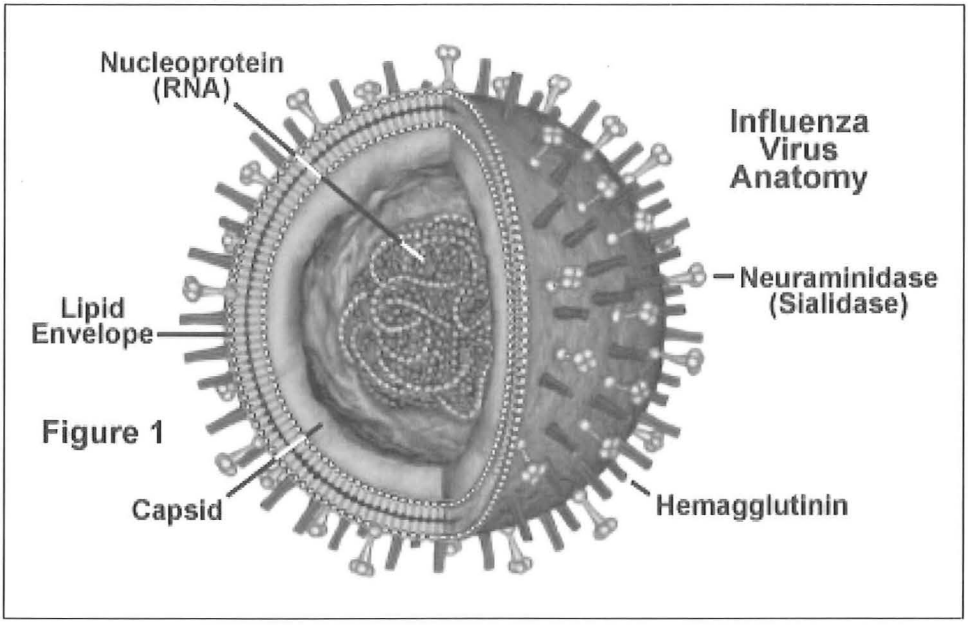
> Every person appearing on the public streets, in any public place, or in any assemblage of persons or in any place where two or more persons are congregated, except in homes where only two members of the family are present, and every person engaged in the sale, handling or distribution of foodstuffs or wearing apparel shall wear a mask or covering except when partaking of meals, over the nose and mouth, consisting of four-ply materials known as butter-cloth or fine mesh gauze.[89]

The Church of Christ, Scientist in San Francisco was just as vocal in its opposition to masking as it was to closing orders.[90] San Francisco merchants were afraid that masks would frighten away customers and ruin the Christmas shopping season. Physicians pointed out that those cities that had masked and those that did not had no difference in infection rates or death. Because of these objections, the city council repealed the masking ordinance on December 19, only to reinstate it again on January 10, 1919, in response to a resurgence in the number of cases of influenza in San Francisco. It was not until February 1 that the Board of Health decided "that it was safe for the city to unmask."[91] In retrospect, it is apparent that masking ordinances were not effective. The main problem with masking was compliance. Masks are inconvenient, frightening and impossible to wear when eating and drinking. As the mayor of Denver noted, "it would take half the population to make the other half wear masks."[92]

A third topic that was hotly debated in 1918 dealt with the authority of the state and local Boards of Health to issue closing ordinances. We have already seen that the Christian Scientists in Los Angeles claimed that the ordinance to close churches was unconstitutional and were successful in the efforts to have this ordinance overturned in court. A similar objection was raised by the editor of the Carlisle *Evening Sentinel.* On October 30 he wrote: "The health authorities, whether state or local, have a large degree of power, but we question whether the state is not assuming too much."[93] Indeed, on October 31, the Attorney General for the state of New Jersey notified the New Jersey Board of Health that, "the health laws as at present constituted do not give the board the authority to order a general quarantine throughout the state."[94] The New Jersey legislature responded to this announcement by passing a law giving such authority to the New Jersey State Board of Health.

The 1918 influenza epidemic in Cumberland County claimed the lives of more than 225 people, nearly 1% of the population of the county at that time. The Boards of Health in Cumberland County cities and townships responded swiftly and appropriately to the recommendations of the Pennsylvania State Board of Health. With few exceptions, the citizens of Cumberland County complied with closing and quarantine orders, and they readily volunteered their services to those who were in need. Perhaps if all stores and manufactories had been closed, rather than permitted to remain open during the day, there would have been fewer deaths. Perhaps less contact with military personnel would have resulted in fewer deaths. These are only speculations. Yet, it is only by knowing and understanding the course of events of 1918 that the citizens of Cumberland County will be able to formulate a better response to the next epidemic of influenza.

Appendix A



Artist's drawing of the Influenza A Virus.

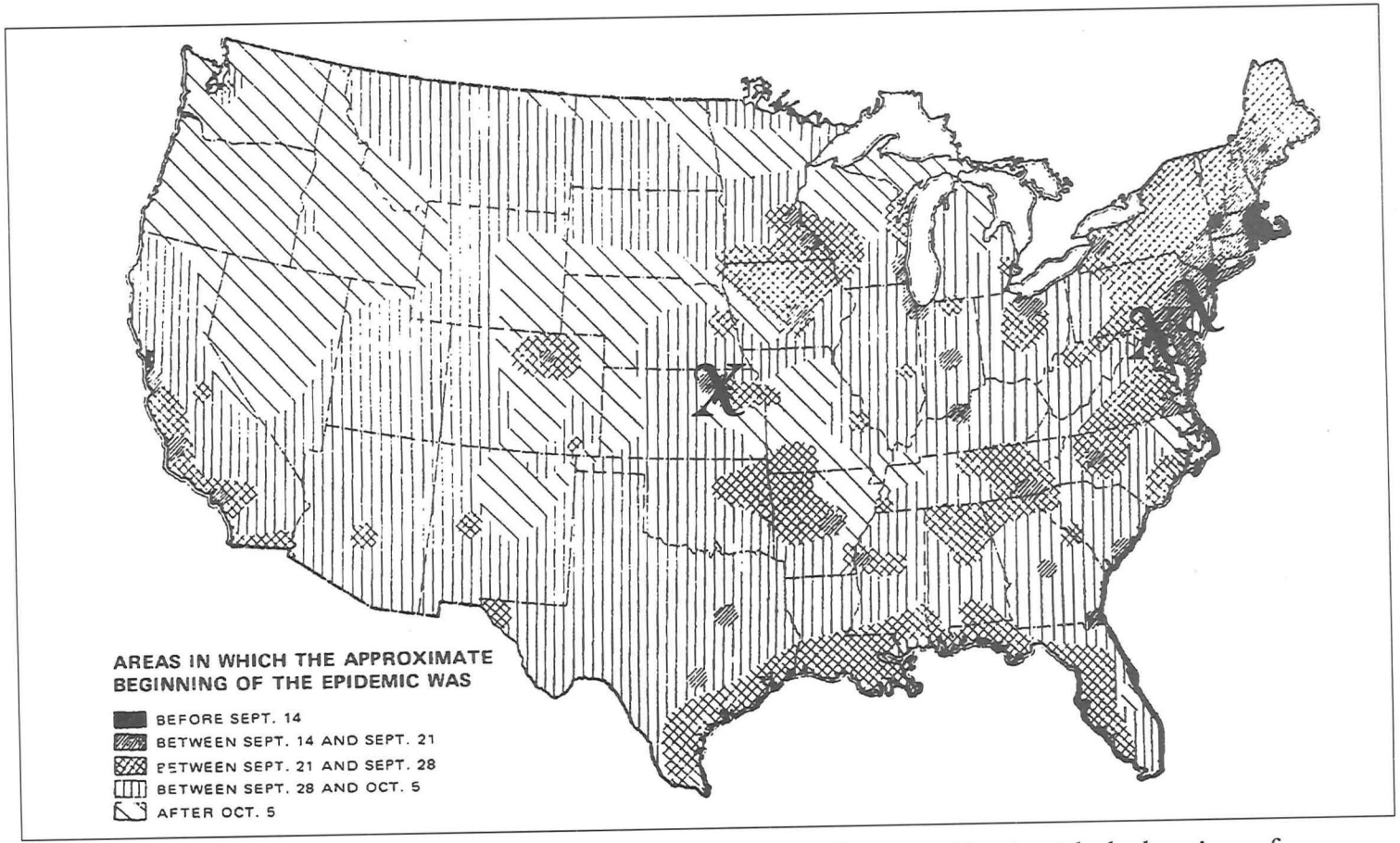
Reprinted from <http://micro.magnet.fsu.educells/viruses/images/influenzafigure1.jpg>

Spread of the second wave of the 1918 influenza epidemic in the United States

Fig. 24. — Military map of the United States.

WWI Military Map of the United States

Reprinted from <http://freepages.military.rootsweb.com/~worldwarone/WWI/Maps/index.html>



Map of westward spread of the second wave of the 1918 influenza epidemic with the locations of Camps Funston, Dix and Meade marked with X.

Appendix C

Death Notices published in Cumberland County for the year 1918 as reported by *The Evening Sentinel*

(P= Pneumonia, I = Influenza, IP = Influenza + Pneumonia, BI = Brief Illness)

Date	Name	Sex	Age	Location	Cause
Jan 14	_____ Hanna	F	17	Rock Springs	P
16	Edward McClure	M	30	Lemoyne	P
21	Cornelius Tillman	M	21		P
Feb 01	Rosco Mumper	M	3m	Carlisle	P
01	D. C. Willard	M		New Bloomfield	P
01	Levi Musselman	M	89	Mummasburg	BI
25	Carl Fetter	M	8m	Carlisle	P
26	James Helman	M	38	Greencastle	P
26	Charles Enders	M	19	New Cumberland	P
27	D. Grant Reeder	M	48	Plainfield	P
27	Sallie Swanger	F	69	Mechanicsburg	P
27	Sadie Snyder	F	59	Camp Hill	P
Mar 04	D. G. Reeder	M	49	W. Pennsboro	P
06	Anna Greenwalt	F		Lemoyne	P
23	Michael Minnich	M	47	Carlisle	BI
28	Charles Wagner	M	48	Connellsville	P
30	James Willison	M	21	Carlisle	P
Apr 02	Kate Hursh	F	60	Newville	I
May 07	Clara Coy	F	54	Carlisle	P
17	Cora Kitner	F	4	Carlisle	P
17	Jacob Fridley	M	73	Carlisle	P
Jun 01	Jane Johnson	F		Shippensburg	P
06	Jane Johnston	F	15	Shippensburg	P
20	Annie Burkholder	F		Newburg	P

Oct 04	William Bouseman	M	32	Carlisle	P
05	Bertha Powell	F	57	Camp Hill	P
06	Chester Kuhns	M	29	Garnet Grove	P
08	John Beecher	M	31	Carlisle	IP
08	Roy Eshelman	M	18	Enola	I
08	Katherine Weidman	F	56	Wormleysburg	P
09	Alexander Williamson	M	20	Lambertville	P
09	Bruce Seavers	M	30	Shippensburg	P
10	Marvie Boice	F	~20	Carlisle	IP
12	Mrs. Harry Love	F		Camp Hill	I
12	Guy Cox	M	28	Enola	P
12	John Darron	M	13	Carlisle	I
12	Mabel Walter	F	5	Dickinson Twp	I
12	Sara Miller	F		Camp Hill	IP
13	Margaret Kline	F		Carlisle	P
13	Emily Stinson	F		Carlisle	P
13	Anna Baker	F	73	Lemoyne	P
14	Mr. Jensen	M		New Cumberland	I
14	Child 1 Jensen			New Cumberland	I
14	Child 2 Jensen			New Cumberland	I
14	Jacob Sloseman	M	26	New Cumberland	P
14	William Yingst	M	30	South Middleton	P
14	Mrs. Clifford Yetter	F	28	New Cumberland	P
14	Susan Wills	F	42	New Cumberland	I
14	Russell Starner	M	18	Mount Tabor	IP
15	Hewitt Zullinger	M		Mt. Holly Springs	P
15	Adolph Taurig	M	40	Carlisle	P
15	Mrs. Abram Myers	F	56	Carlisle	P
15	Pauline Byron	F	4	Carlisle	IP
15	William Warner	M	6m	Carlisle	P
15	Blaine Woods	M	35	Trindle Springs	I
15	Catherine Losch	F	12	Carlisle	IP
15	Frank Myers	M	17	Goodyear	P
15	Martin Mall	M	22	Lemoyne	P

Oct 16	David Martin	M		New Cumberland	I
16	Emma Parmer	F	23	Enola	P
16	Mrs. Hewitt Zullinger	F	27	Mt. Holly Springs	BI
16	Samuel Baughman	M	6	Carlisle	P
16	Mrs. William Deihl	F		Shepherdstown	I
16	Grace Fickes	F	28	Carlisle	IP
16	Christian Wingler	M	24	Shippensburg	IP
16	Nellie Minnich	F	26	W. Fairview Twp	IP
16	Harry Hake	M	23	Carlisle	IP
16	Mrs. David Martin	F	35	New Cumberland	I
16	Grace Sowers	F	24	S. Middleton Twp	I
16	Urban Bent	M	43	New Cumberland	IP
16	Blanche Tenn	F	22	Huntsdale	I
16	George Seward	M	32	W. Fairview Twp	P
16	Charles Murtoff	M	37	Goodyear	I
17	Edward Gitt	M	18	Mt. Holly Springs	P
17	John Humbert	M		Carlisle	P
17	Richard Best	M	40	Newville	P
17	John Kosht	M	75	Newville	P
17	Clinton Goodling	M	35	Boiling Springs	P
17	Mr. J. Kellberg	F	32	New Cumberland	P
17	Alice Sadler	F	25	Mechanicsburg	I
17	Ethel Webster	F	20	Camp Hill	I
17	Roy Danner	M	34		IP
17	Alvin Hippensteel	M	14	Mount Rock	I
17	Frank Coffey	M	27	Carlisle	P
18	Rachel Hubley	F	13	Carlisle	P
18	Mrs. W. Coble	F	21	Wormleysburg	P
18	Clara Griffey	F	17	S. Middleton Twp	IP
18	Zuela Sheaffer	F	19	Boiling Springs	P
18	Howard Williams	M	37	Dillsburg	P
18	Edgar Brennicker	M	38	Camp Hill	IP
19	Francis Fry	M	66	Newport	P
19	Dorothy Creamer	F	13	Shippensburg	BI
19	Bessie James	F	17	Carlisle	P

Oct 19	Bertie Ployer	F	41	Carlisle	P
19	Emma Martin	F	18	Boiling Springs	I
19	Raymond Hall	M	15	New Cumberland	P
19	Ralph Farabelli	M	35	Carlisle	P
19	Rhoda Wilson	F	25	Carlisle	IP
19	Paul James	M		Carlisle	P
19	Ruth Schmol	F		Carlisle	P
19	Murray Renecker	M	32	Shippensburg	I
19	_____ James	M		Carlisle	I
20	Beatrice Gutshall	F	30	Carlisle	P
20	Dallas Mowery	M	23	Newville	P
20	William Minnich	M	36	Carlisle	P
20	John Harm	M	36	Enola	IP
21	James Smith	M	35	New Cumberland	I
21	Robert Steger	M	1	New Cumberland	I
21	Sarah Lesher	F	28	Carlisle	P
21	Mrs. H. Kreiser	F		Allen Twp	P
21	_____ James	F		Carlisle	I
21	Mrs. E. Schmohl	F		Carlisle	I
22	Catherine Hankins	F	29	Carlisle	P
22	George Lautsbaugh	M	11	Carlisle	P
22	Harry Devenney	M	24	Mechanicsbrug	P
22	Stewart Sheaffer	M	18	Mt. Holly Springs	IP
22	George Zearing	M	34	Shiremanstown	BI
22	Bertie Stout	F	46	Mechanicsburg	I
22	Raymond Danner	M	20	New Cumberland	P
22	John Harm	M	36	Enola	I
22	Robert Brandt	M		W. Fairview Twp	I
22	George Fahnestock	M	30	Boiling Springs	IP
22	Harold Geisenberger	M	29	Carlisle	P
22	Mabel Stone	F	25	New Cumberland	P
23	Mrs. H. Young	F	65	Boiling Springs	IP
23	Blair McKillip	M	18	Carlisle	P
23	Dr. S. J. Zufall	M	43	Mechanicsburg	P
23	George Hare	M	36	Mechanicsburg	I

Oct 23	Armond Whitman	M	25	Wormleysburg	IP
23	Charles Richwine	F	31	Gardners	IP
23	John Garman	M	24	Grantham	IP
24	Charles Speck	M	30	Carlisle	P
24	Violet Hopple	F	1	Carlisle	I
24	A. S. Wade	M	24	Shippensburg	I
24	John Hawk	M	31	Shippensburg	I
24	Thomas Conrad	M	32	Upper Holly	P
24	Delilah Corman	F		Carlisle	P
24	Harvey Hinton	M	28	Carlisle	P
24	Cyrus Smith	M	39	Enola	IP
24	Harry Felty	M	39	Mechanicsburg	I
24	Mary Shutte	F	25	Carlisle	P
24	Mrs. W. Conrad	F		Moore's Mill	P
24	J. T. Rupert	M	72	Mechanicsburg	I
24	Elsie Speck	F	36	Carlisle	P
24	Harry Cromleigh	M	34	Mechanicsburg	BI
24	Arthur Pryor	M	10	Newburg	I
25	Robert Baxter	M	30	Boiling Springs	P
25	George Snyder	M	46	Mt. Holly Springs	I
25	Mary Hubley	F	56	Shippensburg	IP
25	Joseph Drey	M	28	Carlisle	P
25	George Brukholder	M	25	Newville	I
25	Ira Fish, Jr.	M	24	Mechanicsburg	P
25	Ida Hollenbaugh	F	8m	Newville	P
25	J. Willis Herberlig	M	36	Newburg	I
26	Mrs. C. Bates	F	25	Shiremanstown	I
26	Samuel Williams	M	88	New Kingston	P
26	Ralph Sowers	M	26	Mt. Holly Springs	P
26	Ronald Dewalt	M	40	Carlisle	I
26	Rosy Adams	F	31	Carlisle	I
26	Ernest Cameron	M	18	Carlisle	P
27	Joseph Benton	M	4m	Mechanicsburg	IP
27	Parker Rider	M	47	Mechanicsburg	IP

Oct 27	Grace Railing	F	42	Mechanicsburg	I
27	Anna Fahnestock	F	27	Boiling Springs	P
27	Elma Durnin	F	21	Carlisle	P
27	Iola Clendenin	F	31	Oyster's Point	P
27	Charles Maxwell	M		Enola	I
27	Calvin Jones	M	15	Newville	I
27	Charles Miller	M	34	Newville	IP
27	J. T. Sweeney	M		Enola	BI
28	Frank Fisher	M	34	Carlisle	IP
28	Emma Diller	F	32	Mechanicsburg	P
29	Samuel Wolf	M	26	Carlisle	P
29	_____ Mumper			New Cumberland	I
29	Dorothy Fleming	F		Enola	P
30	Mary Hunter	F	32	Carlisle	I
30	Mary Dout	F	60	New Kingston	I
30	Mrs. G. K. Sheafer	F	22	Carlisle	I
30	Victor Goodling	M	29	Carlisle	P
30	Treva Hutchinson	F	2_	Renova	I
31	Wilbur Richwine	M	33	Carlisle	I
31	Paul Shutz	M	12	Boiling Springs	I
31	Charles Brindle	M	47	Mechanicsburg	BI
31	Norman O'Donnell	M	35	Mt. Holly Springs	IP
31	William Shannon	M	28	Carlisle	
Nov 01	Samuel Dysert	M	3	Boiling Springs	I
01	Walter Green	M	16	Shippensburg	IP
01	George Cramer	M	23	Shippensburg	P
01	Christina Swomley	F	19	New Oxford	I
01	Walter Green	M	16	Shippensburg	I
02	Stella Hoover	F	34	Carlisle	P
02	Pearle Kramer	F	22	Carlisle	P
02	Ira Strohm	M	45	Mt. Holly Springs	P
02	Charlotte Hinton	F	3	Carlisle	I
02	Grace Hinton	F	10m	Carlisle	I
02	Ada Donner	F	14	New Cumberland	I

03	William Boswell	M	22	Carlisle	IP
03	Emma Weigle	F	39	Carlisle	I
03	Lester Dewalt	M	8	Big Spring	IP
04	Violet Kline	F	22	Carlisle	I
04	Lena Mowery	F	40	Hopewell Twp	I
05	Nina Smith	F	14	Carlisle	IP
05	Mrs. Br. R. Lightner	F	35	Carlisle	I
05	Viola Shearer	F	17	Carlisle	IP
05	Eleanor Weller	F		Carlisle	P
07	Edward Rosenberry	M	15	Shippensburg	I
07	Oren Wolf	M	26	Carlisle	I
08	William Hatfield	M	30	Shippensburg	IP
08	Abraham Cohen	M	45	Carlisle	P
09	Harry Gutshall	M	32	Carlisle Springs	IP
09	Roy Shoemaker	M	26	Shippensburg	P
11	Mrs. Harry Gutshall	F	29	Carlisle Springs	I
11	John Ensminger	M		New Cumberland	P
12	Elizabeth Powell	F		Mechnicsburg	IP
12	John Mowery	M		Hopewell Twp	I
13	Roy Gutshall	M	24	N. Middleton Twp	I
15	Mary Strayer	F	40	Cleversburg	P
17	Jane Teelsinger	F	35	New Cumberland	I
19	Mrs. Mervin Beck	F	27	Mechanicsburg	I
22	William Brubaker	M	2	Carlisle	I
23	Mrs. H. Varner	F	25	Shippensburg	IP
26	Elsie Rebuck	F	3m	Shippensburg	IP
27	Guy Porter	M	34	Carlisle	I
29	Anne Spangler	F	46	Waynesboro	IP
29	Claire Smith	F	7m	New Cumberland	P
29	H.O. Johnson	M	35	Newton Twp	IP
Dec 01	Herman Bosler	M	32	W. Pennsboro Twp	I
01	John Evilhock	M	27	W. Pennsboro Twp	I
01	Paul Leinbach	M		Carlisle	I
02	Warren Peffer	M	38	S. Middleton Twp	I

03	Bertha Hall	F	30	Carlisle Springs	P
03	Geo W. Durf	M	27	Shippensburg	IP
07	John Weibley	M		Shippensburg	I
08	Mr. Martin Krabill	F	50	Brandtsvile	IP
09	Chester Pleam	M	24	Carlisle	I
09	Mary Coleman	F	35	Newburg	P
09	John Rebok	M	47	Newburg	I
10	Raymond Hackett	M	32	Newville	I
10	John Donnelly	M	30	Churchtown	I
11	George Whorley	M	36	Cleversburg	I
11	Grace Barrick	F	27	Newville	IP
13	Helen Barclay	F		Shippensburg	I
13	Pearl Foreman	F	15	Leesburg	IP
14	Mrs. R. P. Hummel	F		Wormleysburg	I
14	Ethel Sutton	F	19	New Cumberland	I
16	Foster O'Hara	M	27	Carlisle	IP
18	Viola Nace	F	10	Wertzville	P
19	Sara Humes	F	73	Idaville	I
19	Mary Swords	F	75	Upper Frankford Twp	P
20	Bessie Fogelsonger	F		Middle Spring	IP
22	Ray Smith	M		S. Middleton Twp	IP
22	Daisey Rhodes	F	22	McKinney	IP
22	Esther Hutchison	F	33	Huntsdale	P
25	Alice Thrush	F	38	Dickinson Twp	I
25	Emma Yenger	F	15	Hogestown	I
27	Jacob Baer	M	29	Plainfield	IP
29	Dr. Thomas Stevens	M	95	Mechanicsburg	IP
29	Nettie Brehm	F	30	Plainfield	I
31	Eliza Lichty	F	50	N. Middletown Twp	I
31	Mrs. Wallace Greason	F	26	Carlisle	I
31	Myrtle Raudabaugh	F	19	Carlisle	I
31	Mary Straitiff	F	30	Huntsdale	I

Appendix D

Patent Medicines

Name of Medicine	Ingredients	Use
Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pills	Mayapple, Leaves of Aloe, Root of Jalap	Laxative
Dr. Pierce's Anuric Tablets		Taken with lemonade to flush the kidneys and bladder in order to carry away poisons.
Dr. Pierce's Irontic Tablets	Iron	Strengthen the system after an attack of influenza or pneumonia.
Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery	Roots and Barks of American Forest Trees	Strengthen the system after an attack of influenza or pneumonia
Horlick's Malted Milk		Dietary Supplement
Chase's Blood and Nerve Pills	Iron, Nux Vomica, Gention, Capsicum and Zinc Phosphate	Dietary Supplement
Dr. King's New Life Pills		Laxative
Vinol	Beef and Cod Liver Peptones, Iron, Manganese Peptonate, Glycerophosphates	Laxative
Assafoetida	Oleo-gum resin obtained from the roots and stems of many Ferula species (carrot family)	Take 16 grains 4x day to cure influenza
Bitter Oil		Laxative

Appendix E

The United States Bureau of the Census reports population statistics every ten years. The following formula was used to estimate the population of selected cities for the year 1918. It assumes a steady rate of growth from the years 1910 to 1920 in each city:

(1920 population – 1910 population) x 80% + (1910 population)

City	1910	1920	1918
Carlisle, PA	10,303	10,916	10,793
Philadelphia, PA	1,549,008	1,823,779	1,768,882
Los Angeles, CA	319,198	576,673	525,178
San Francisco, CA	410,012	500,676	482,543

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The Mystery at Carlisle's Union Hotel

by Merri Lou Schaumann

When a man sleepwalks and falls out of his hotel window on the second floor, that's odd. When two men sleepwalk and fall out of the windows of their rooms on the second floor of the same hotel, that's very odd. But when three men in three years sleepwalk and fall out of their windows on the second floor of the same hotel, that's a mystery.

"Somnambulism," was the title of an item in the May 25, 1871 edition of the *Carlisle Herald.* "On Thursday last, at about 2:00 Mr. Benjamin Stout, foreman of the Pine Grove Iron Works, walked out of a window on the second story of the Union House in this place, Louis Zitzer proprietor."

The newspaper reported that "Mr. Stout had been dreaming of walking in a flower garden, and while so doing got up in his sleep, removed a number of flower pots that were standing on the window, and walked, or rather fell out; falling a distance of at least 20 feet, landing at the bottom of a flight of stairs leading into the basement, and damaging the balustrade in his descent."

"Upon striking the pavement," the account continued, "he was thoroughly aroused, and cried for help."

Mr. Zitzer, the hotel proprietor, went to Stout's assistance, "and after considerable difficulty (Mr. Stout being a man of large proportions weighing fully 200 pounds) succeeded in carrying him to his room powerless, and very nervous from the effects of the fall." Zitzer gave Stout stimulants to ease his sufferings, and Stout slept until 5 a.m.

The newspaper reported that "Mr. Stout sustained severe injuries and was unable to walk or help himself. He was conveyed to the South Mountain depot in the afternoon, and placed on the train for Pine Grove, since which time no tidings of him have been received."

As an addendum to the story, the editor noted that "about three years since, a gentleman stopping at this same hotel, got up in his sleep and walked out of one of the windows on the second floor, sustaining merely a sprain on one of his ankles."

Less than five months after Mr. Stout fell out of his room at the Union Hotel, it happened again.

In September 1871, the *Carlisle Herald* reported that a man "from the upper end of the county walked out of the second story of the Union Hotel, on West Main St." The man sustained severe bruising, the article noted, but was expected to recover.

The editor of the newspaper jokingly wrote that it appeared "that all the somnambulists stop at this popular hotel, as this is the third individual that has walked out of the window while asleep." It is doubtful if the proprietor of the hotel found this remark as amusing as the editor did.

The Union Hotel was located at 168-170 West High St, now the site of the Bosler Library addition. The hotel was a three-story brick building probably built in the 1860s.

The article about Mr. Stout's fall mentions that he fell out of a second story window and landed at the bottom of a flight of stairs leading into the basement. The photograph of the building shows a stairway at the corner of the building at street level that led down to the basement.

This would mean that Mr. Stout must have fallen from the corner room on the second floor, yet the photograph shows that all of the windows on the second floor were standard-sized windows.

Whether each of the men were staying in the same room when they fell out is unknown, and the mystery remains.

Union Hotel building, West High Street, Carlisle. Hotel building is second from left.
CCHS Collections

SOMNAMBULISTIC.—A few nights since, a gentleman from the "upper end" of the county, walked out of the second story of the Union hotel, on West Main street. It appears that all the somnambulists stop at this popular hotel, as this is the third individual that has walked out of the window while asleep. The gentleman sustained several severe bruises, but is slowly improving.

Carlisle Herald, September 7, 1871.
CCHS Collections

The Odd Fellows in Carlisle

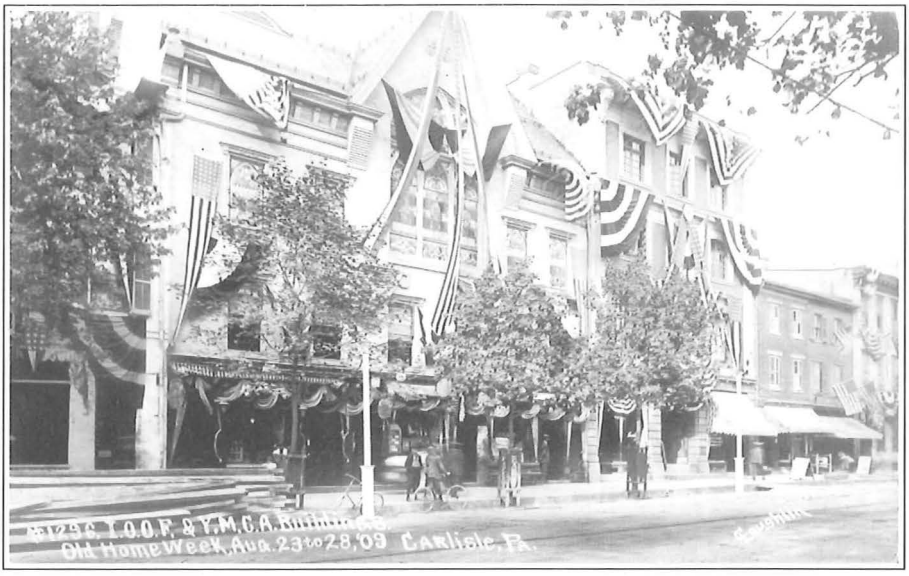
by Elizabeth Rhoads

"All at once I was startled by the howling of members and rattling of ponderous chains...he grasped me with Herculean strength and shook me violently, dragging me up and down the room...the funniest appearance was their grotesque and ludicrous dresses, and all wore burlesque masks" a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows recalled of his initiation in 1832.[1]

Apparently chains, dresses, and masks were not the only props that Odd Fellows used in their initiation ceremonies, as *The Sunday Oregonian* reported in 2001:

> Paul Wallace was alone, repairing overloaded circuits in the old red-brick building, when he discovered a tiny door to a dark recess between two walls. Inside was a black wooden box...A white shroud appeared. Then white candles. "It was like a Dracula movie," Wallace said. "The top of the skull was covered, but you could see the rib cage and the sinew." ...It turns out that skeletons similar to 'Jane Doe Odd Fellow' reside in closets, drawers, attics, and crawl spaces in Odd Fellow Lodges nationwide.[2]

Fortunately, employees and members of the Cumberland County Historical Society have not found any skeletons in the attic of the old Odd Fellows' building at 31 High Street in Carlisle. However, the rooms where the members of the Odd Fellows Lodge Number 91 held their meetings during the first half of the twentieth century are certainly in a decrepit and almost creepy condition today. Dust and bird droppings cover what's left of the worn furniture. In one of the rooms the ceiling has started to cave in, and the cooing and fluttering of the pigeons up near the roof is unnerving. Although the stained glass windows and the large murals are beautiful, it is puzzling to figure out what the symbols represent. Looking at the ornate peepholes on the doors to every room, one imagines grown men in robes whispering secret passwords and performing secret handshakes in order to be admitted to ritual ceremonies held at midnight.

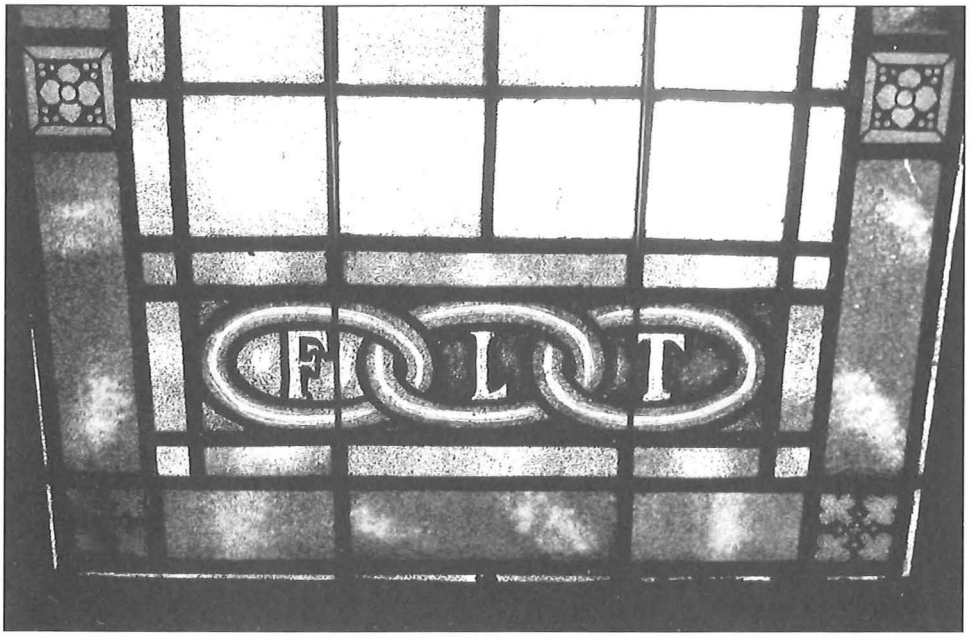


1909 postcard of West High Street showing Carlisle Odd Fellows building, center. *CCHS Collections*

It is a shame that a once thriving fraternal organization is thought of in this way. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century fraternal organizations were not very popular, with only a few thousand Americans belonging to secret societies, including about 3,000 Freemasons, six hundred members of Tammany, and a few Phi Beta Kappas. However, between 1800 and 1900 about 600 more secret societies were founded in the United States.[3] The main purpose of these fraternal organizations was to help fellow members find employment when they were out of work. While fraternal organizations are not an important part of many people's lives in the twenty-first century, in the nineteenth century they were an integral part of many men's lives. Fraternal organizations provided a type of insurance for many members and their families and also provided entertainment for many men, and later women and children. In particular, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was an integral part of the lives of many in Carlisle, Pennsylvania for more than a century.

Known as the Three Link Fraternity with the guiding principles of friendship, love, and truth, the Odd Fellows did more than come up with secret code words and howl during initiation ceremonies. They were dedicated to helping members and their families, and as one book from 1927 stated, no Odd Fellow or his dependents would ever become a public charge.[4] Their motto was: "Visit the sick, relieve the distressed, bury the dead, and educate the orphan."[5] The members would pass the hat to help a fellow in distress and would provide an out-of-work member with a card that entitled him to accommodation at other

lodges until he found work.[6] Odd Fellows visited the sick even though there was a very real possibility the visitors would contract the illness or disease themselves. They also took burying the dead very seriously, and most lodges purchased land and established cemeteries as one of their first activities in a new town or city. In many areas all phases of burial were provided by Odd Fellows.



Close-up of stained glass in the IOOF Lodge Hall, 31 West High Street, Carlisle, Pa.
Photo by David Smith

Further, the Odd Fellows also provided for orphans and the elderly. Education for orphans was considered very important, and orphans of Odd Fellows could expect to receive at least a high school education through the lodge. The Odd Fellows were the first fraternal organization to establish homes for orphaned children and for senior members. In 1929 Pennsylvania lodges led the U.S. with 184, 307 members and the relief paid out in 1929 was $6, 484, 605.[7] The Pennsylvania Odd Fellows in 1937 maintained eight homes for the elderly and also provided money for private nurses.[8] Since the order was founded in 1819, financial assistance has been given to more than eight million members, including 600,000 widowed families.[9] In an age of no insurance, the security of belonging to an organization, which would help members and their dependants in times of sickness, distress, or death was important, particularly as family funds became depleted.[10] Also, the moral uplift that brothers got from helping one another in times of need was important.[11]

In fact, I.O.O.F. was the first American fraternal order to offer its members financial aid in regard to relief of the sick, distressed, orphans, and burial of deceased members.[12] According to Mark C. Carnes, fraternal insurance was no joke. "On the contrary, it proved to be effective partly because of its folksiness. Members constituted an effective and unpaid 'sales' force, and social bonds discouraged submission of false claims and promoted prompt payment of dues."[13] Also, most commercial policies were targeted to wealthier clients at that time, both in terms of coverage provided and costs, and therefore were priced out of the range of working-class salaries.[14] Even though commercial policies did not cater to them, many blue-collar families desperately needed some type of insurance in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Studies show that at least sixty percent of the adult male wage-earners in the United States earned below poverty-level wages at the turn of the twentieth century, including workers in such common occupations as flour millers, foundry workers, shipbuilders, meat packers, and paper manufacturers. In addition to low wages, most workers did not work year-round. Further, workplace injuries were common; it is estimated that at any given time, one out of every ten or twelve railroad workers was recovering from an accident. The death of the breadwinner was a common hardship in many American families; it is calculated that one in twenty women became widows by the age of thirty-five, and it is also noted that sixty-six percent of all individuals who passed away during a three-month period of study in New York left no money whatsoever to their heirs. Also, most employers did not offer pension plans.[15] Therefore, fraternal organizations such as the Odd Fellows were attractive to many blue-collar workers because they provided them with a sense of security. In 1895, half the life insurance in force was held by mutual benefit societies, and by 1920 roughly one-third of all males over the age of twenty held a membership in at least one fraternal order.[16]

The first recorded lodge of Odd Fellows met at various London taverns in 1745; dues were a penny a visit.[17] By 1796 Odd Fellow organizations were numerous in England, and each was independent from the others. Fraternal groups such as the Odd Fellows were suppressed in England for a time, but by 1803 the Odd Fellows were revived by an organization called the London Union Odd Fellows, which later became known as the Grand Lodge of England.[18] Several different reasons are given for the unusual name. One Odd Fellow manual gives the explanation:

> That common laboring men should associate themselves together and form a fraternity for social unity and friendship and for mutual help was such a marked violation of the trends of the times (England in the 1700s) that they became known as 'peculiar' or 'odd' and hence

> they were derided as 'Odd Fellows.' Because of the appropriateness of the name, those engaged in forming these unions accepted it. When legally incorporated the title 'Odd Fellows' was adopted.[19]

Another explanation is that the original Odd Fellows were men who were engaged in various or odd trades.[20] Whatever the reason for its name, the Odd Fellows was a prominent organization in nineteenth century England.

The Odd Fellows soon became a prominent organization in the United States as well. On April 26, 1819 Thomas Wildey, a coachmaker and English immigrant, organized an Odd Fellows Lodge in the Seven Stars Tavern in Baltimore, Maryland. A charter was received from the Duke of York Lodge in Preston, England in 1820.[21] The American lodges entered a fraternal relationship with the Manchester Union, the Odd Fellows in England, which continued until the Americans severed ties in 1842. One of the reasons for the break was that the American Odd Fellows discovered that the English lodge had chartered a lodge for free Negroes in New York.[22] In 1827 the fourth lodge in Maryland, the William Tell Lodge, was chartered to work in the German language, and eventually many jurisdictions had German-speaking lodges. Lodges working in the Italian, Swedish, and French languages were also instituted, and today the Franco-American Lodge No. 207 is still a bilingual French-speaking lodge in California[23] Wildey's leadership was highly effective, and by the time he died in 1861 there were forty-two grand lodges and more than 200,000 Odd Fellows in the United States.[24] Between 1830 and 1895 the I.O.O.F. initiated more than 2,012,840 members.[25] The September issue of the *Odd Fellow Review* claimed that, "Odd Fellowship has become the largest, and is still growing the most rapidly of all secret orders in America. According to the latest reports of the Supreme Bodies of these organizations they have altogether 3, 418, 883 members."[26] Odd Fellow lodges were everywhere in the United States, and most white men were eligible to join. No religious belief was required for admittance, and none disqualified, with the exception of atheists. However, Roman Catholics who joined the I.O.O.F. were denied reception of the sacraments but were not excommunicated.[27]

Not only did fraternal organizations provide men with a type of insurance, but in an age with no television, the I.O.O.F. also gave white men something to do in their free time. The fraternity consisted of four branches: the Odd Fellow Lodge, the Patriarchal Encampment, the Rebekah Lodge, and the Patriarch Militant Canton. The lodges had four degrees: Initiatory, Friendship, Love, and Truth. Each degree was tied to religion; for example, the Degree of Friendship is based on the story of the friendship of Jonathan and David, and the Degree of Brotherly Love casts the candidate in the role of a traveler going from Jerusa-

lem to Jericho and recites the parable of the Good Samaritan.[28] Since Freemasons could go on to "higher degrees" the pressure for such additional degrees was felt in Odd Fellowship. This led to the founding of the Encampment Lodges in 1885, which works three additional degrees: the Patriarchal, the Golden Rule, and the Royal Purple.[29]

Like all secret societies, the rituals could be considered a little strange. A candidate for initiation into the first degree is asked seven questions including "Do you believe in the existence of a Supreme, Intelligent Being?" Members of the lodge put the blindfolded candidate into chains and formed a funeral procession. After marching around the room they take off the blindfold and invite the candidate, who is confronted by a human skeleton illuminated by two torches, to meditate upon death.[30] One member who was admitted into an Odd Fellows' Lodge in 1832 remembered:

> At the door of the Lodge I was blindfolded by the outdoor guardian...I was told to step over imaginary steps and stoop under projecting beams...All at once I was startled by the howling of members and rattling of ponderous chains...Thrusting me close to a painted transparency representing a skeleton, or as they called it, "Old Mortality," two members dressed as priests stood beside the picture with drawn swords...when a voice from behind the picture thus addressed me: "Hold! Approach me not, for know that in my presence monarchs tremble and princes kiss the dust...But know, to the virtuous man my approach hath no terrors; to the guilty alone I am terrible..." ...Oh, it was fearful fun! They had a painted poker, similar to what clowns use in pantomimes.[31]

However, Wayne Colegove, a longtime Odd Fellow from New York, remembers his initiation more than fifty years ago in a more serious light. "The words they say are something like, 'you're here, and pretty soon you're gone, and there's a hereafter,'" he remembers. "It's a lesson in life."[32] An Odd Fellows' Manual also gives a more positive view of initiation:

> As he thus realizes his own mortality, its possible nearness, and his own dependence and helplessness, he will the more willingly ponder the ties that bind him to the woes and sufferings of all around him, and joyously look forward to that bright era when all these woes and pains shall be banished by the prevalence of benevolence and peace, by the reign of brotherhood and love![33]

By today's standards, the initiation rites could be considered very strange. However, they served a bonding purpose for the Odd Fellows.

As the Odd Fellows grew in popularity, many Odd Fellow branches developed in the nineteenth century. The I.O.O.F. was the first fraternal organization to adopt a degree for women and to allow them to form lodges, which work side by side with men.[34] The Rebekah Degree, adopted on September 20, 1851, was written by Schuyler Colfax, who was the vice president of the United States from 1869-1873. Like the other Odd Fellow degrees, this degree is based on the Bible. The Rebekah Degree did allow wives to participate in similar activities as their husbands; however, they were not treated as equals to their husbands. A guidebook from 1866 reminds Odd Fellows that ladies are to be accompanied by their husbands throughout their ceremonies.[35] Interestingly, the male Odd Fellows themselves could also receive the Rebekah degree. Also, the Odd Fellows established a Junior Lodge for young boys and a Theta Rho Girls Club for daughters of Odd Fellows and Rebekahs. Finally, the Patriarch Militant Canton is the uniformed branch of the order.

Two branches of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows were present in Carlisle: the Odd Fellows Lodge and the Encampment Lodge. The Carlisle Odd Fellows Lodge Number 91 was chartered on December 22, 1843, twenty-four years after the first lodge was founded in Baltimore, Maryland. There were sixteen charter members of the Carlisle Lodge, and the officers were Edward P. Lyons, Noble Grand; Holmes Fernald, Vice Grand; Thomas Conlyn, Secretary; John C. Williams, Assistant Secretary; and Peter Monyer, Treasurer.[36] At the Carlisle Lodge's anniversary banquet in 1943 it was noted that there had been 1,201 total members in the first one-hundred years of the Lodge's existence, and from December 22, 1843 to September 30, 1943 receipts from all sources equaled $228,285.32. From those dues, paid sick benefits were $112,422.43 and paid funeral benefits were $40,360.00.[37] The two-hundred men and women who gathered at St. Paul's Lutheran Church Social Hall on December 9, 1943 for the 100th anniversary dinner are further evidence of the popularity of the I.O.O.F in Carlisle during the mid nineteenth century through the mid twentieth century.[38]

For a while the Odd Fellows were very active in the Carlisle area. They were often invited to participate in parades, such as the Fourth of July parade in Lewistown in 1846,[39] and they helped other lodges celebrate anniversaries, such as the Muncy Lodge's anniversary celebration, also in 1846.[40] Not only were they invited to celebrations, but they were also asked to help out in other ways, such as in 1848 when they received a letter from the Norwich Lodge requesting information on a Carlisle member for the member's parents, who resided in Norwich.[41]

The Carlisle Odd Fellows regularly received letters requesting donations for a brother who had suffered losses due to a fire, and sometimes they received letters requesting aid in rebuilding an Odd Fellow hall that was destroyed by fire, such as the letter they received from the Mahoning Lodge on June 30, 1846 explaining that the town had burned up and the hall and much of the furniture was in ruins.[42] In 1848 they received a letter from Odd Fellows asking for aid in procuring a hall to meet in; the letter explained that the lodge was made up mostly of mechanics and laboring men in humble circumstances, and although the men were willing to contribute to the utmost of their abilities, they were still falling short of the requisite sum.[43] Also in 1848, they received a letter from a brother who lost all of his property, which consisted of cotton machinery among other things. This brother was now out of business, leaving him destitute with a wife and eight children. The Carlisle Lodge helped their brother recoup.[44] Further, the Carlisle Lodge contributed to the "Wildey Fund," which was a fund designed for the payment of the debts and disembarrassment of the property of the past Grand Sire, Thomas Wildey, and the "Wildey Annuity," which was designed for Wildey's support and maintenance.[45]

Not only did the Carlisle Odd Fellows help fellow brothers, they also helped the families of brothers. For example, in 1844 the Carlisle Lodge received a letter explaining that a brother in the Harrisburg Lodge Number 68 had died, leaving a widow and three orphans destitute. The Harrisburg Lodge was helping to defray the cost of the funeral, but in order to help the family survive, the Chambersburg Lodge was asking the Carlisle Lodge if they could find boarders for the widow.[46] In 1846 the Carlisle Lodge once again helped collect money for the widow of a brother.[47]

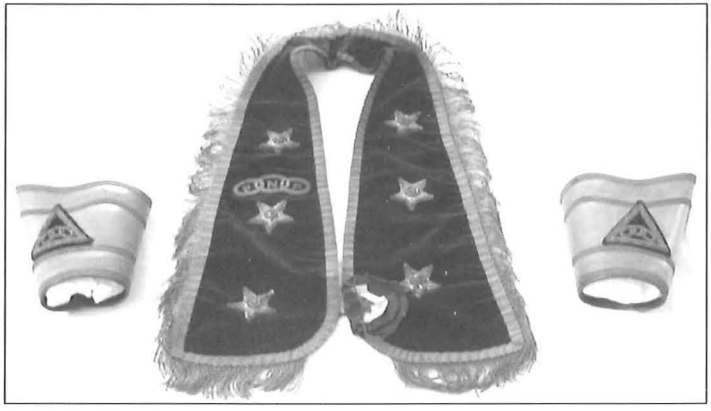
However, as helpful and social as the Carlisle Odd Fellows were, they had their share of fights and drama within the Odd Fellow community. The biggest fight they had was in 1846 when they sent out a circular criticizing the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which angered many of the other lodges. The problem started when the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania passed and ordered into execution a constitution for the government of subordinate lodges without consulting them and without giving them the opportunity to sanction or reject such a constitution, according to the Carlisle Lodge. In response the Carlisle Lodge sent out a circular explaining that the Carlisle Lodge denies that the Grand Lodge can rightfully exercise any such power, and claims for itself the privilege of saying whether it will change or amend its present constitution or not, and regards the action of the Grand Lodge as unjust, illegal, and nugatory.[48] Most of the other lodges decided to simply return the circular back to Carlisle with a note stating that the circular was read but not received; some lodges chose to

write harsh letters back to Carlisle, reprimanding them for their disrespectful language. The Salome Lodge chastised the Carlisle Odd Fellows:

> We deeply regret that, while there is much that is right and true in your circular, you should have neutralized it with more that is improper and wrong...your harsh, uncharitable and unjust aspersions of the principles and motives of some of those who oppose this measure, constrain us also to pray—"Lord: Save us from our friends!"[49]

All Carlisle's circular did was anger its neighbors; despite Carlisle's protests, the Grand Lodge adopted the constitution anyway.

Further, not surprising for the time, the whole Odd Fellow community in the United States had a rocky relationship with African-Americans in the nineteenth century. As African-Americans were not allowed to join the white Independent Order of Odd Fellow Lodges, in 1843 a black sailor, Peter Ogden, received a charter to organize in the United States from the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in Britain. Because the I.O.O.F. severed its formal ties with its English brethren in 1843, one argument frequently heard is that the American Odd Fellows broke from the Manchester Unity because the black Odd Fellows had received a charter that same year. However, black Odd Fellows dispute this; they were chartered by a different group of Odd Fellows from the white American Odd Fellows. Membership eligibility to the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America was never restricted to black males, but because of widespread racial prejudice, whites did not join the G.U.O.O.F.[50] There were African-American Odd Fellows in Carlisle in the late nineteenth century, but they stayed separated from the white lodge. They sponsored an African-American coronet band and often held balls and picnics. In 1876 *The Herald* reported on a picnic to Williams Grove by the "colored" Odd Fellows Lodge, "The excursion train numbering four coaches was filled with big and little darkies, and one hash car...Our town was pretty well deserted of its colored population."[51]



Ceremonial regalia from the G.U.O.O.F., African American Odd Fellows organization in Carlisle. *CCHS Collections*

Membership today is not restricted by race or gender. The current requirements are: a man or woman of good character who is loyal to his or her country and believes in a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe. The Odd Fellows strictly forbid any interference with a member's religious beliefs or political opinions.[52] Except for atheists, anyone can become an Odd Fellow.

However, even with the addition of African-Americans and women, the Odd Fellows have quickly declined in numbers in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The peak membership for the Odd Fellows was probably in 1915, when there were 3,400,000 members; the Great Depression halved that number, and by the late 1970s membership had fallen below the quarter-million mark.[53] Many lodges have closed, including the Carlisle Lodge. When the Carlisle Lodge merged with the Bowmansdale Lodge in 1991, there were only seven members left. Although the Odd Fellows do still make charitable donations to the Arthritis Foundation and the American Heart Association and support a professorship of ophthalmology at Johns Hopkins University, the public rarely hears about the Odd Fellows' contributions. Instead, the public hears of skeletons found in attics and the uninformed think of the Odd Fellows organization as a macabre or even creepy society instead of an organization of men looking out for each other and their communities.

Carlisle IOOF Lodge 91 lantern used to indicate that a meeting was being held.
CCHS Collections

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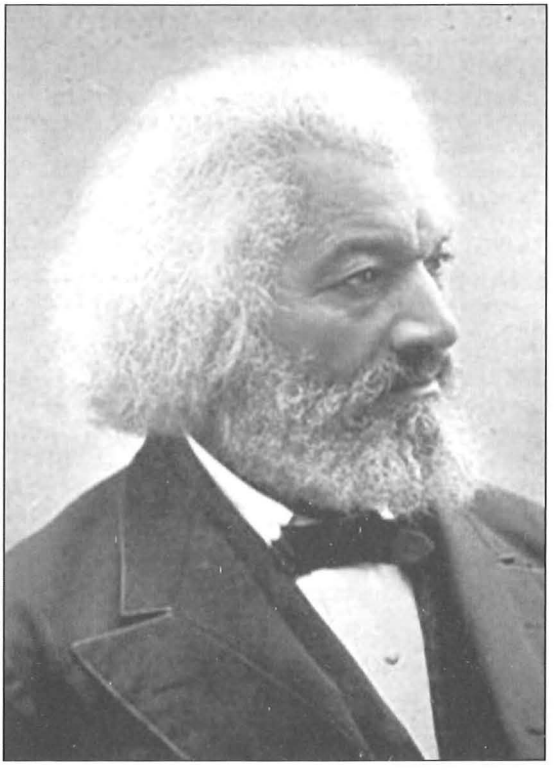
Frederick Douglass in Carlisle

by David L. Smith

Transcriptons of newspaper articles by Mark W. Podvia and Joan McBride

On April 7, 1893, the Evening Sentinel reported that Frederick Douglass was making his first visit to Carlisle when he addressed the students at the Carlisle Indian School. His presence at the school was also subsequently reported in the school's publication, *The Indian Helper*, on April 14, 1893 and April 21, 1893. The text of his speech was later printed by the Indian School's press. Until recently it was not generally known that this was not Douglass' first visit to the area. A prior visit was reported in both the *American Volunteer* and the *Carlisle Herald* on March 7, 1872 and March 14, 1872 respectively.



Frederick Douglass–
photo taken about the time
of his visit to Carlisle in 1872.

This earlier visit was apparently unscheduled, based on information gleaned from the articles. However, Douglass was invited to speak at Rheem's Hall the evening of his visit to Carlisle. Although his speech did not create a stir, his experiences in the town during his stay led to controversy, as reflected in the articles in each of the papers. The full text of each of the articles follows.

Two locations mentioned in the articles may be of interest. The first, Rheem's Hall, where Douglass spoke, was located immediately behind the Old Court House. It is a parking area today. The second, the Bentz House, where Douglass stayed, was located on part of the land that is today the former Wellington Hotel on East High Street.

Both articles are presented here in the order of their publication. They provide interesting insight into racism and the role it played politically in 1870s Cumberland County. Each of the newspapers had a particular political viewpoint as will become evident as each article is read.

American Volunteer, March 7, 1872

LECTURE BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Very unexpectedly to our people, Frederick Douglass, the celebrated colored orator, stopped off here on Saturday, (on his return home from Chambersburg,) and in the evening he lectured in Rheem's Hall, to an attentive audience. His subject was "San Domingo," on which he discanted for a full hour and a half. Having accompanied the Commission sent out by President Grant to examine the island with a view of annexing it to the United States, he spoke of the country, its people, resources, tropical fruits, etc., with a good understanding and knowledge. He is not the "great orator" that his admirers represent him to be; but yet he is an agreeable and forcible speaker, and a fair elocutionist. Of course he favors the annexation of San Domingo; all those sent out by Grant to visit this island of snakes were pledged to report in favor of annexation before they left our own shores. The speaker, it must be confessed, made several good points in advocacy of annexation as good, indeed, as could be made in behalf of a bad cause.

During his speech, he frequently diverged from his subject to refer to himself personally and the colored race of America. In one sentence he hit somebody hard. He said the Commission appointed by President Grant to visit San Domingo, was composed of distinguished and learned men. He was the only colored man in the party, but yet notwithstanding his color, he was recognized, in every respect, as an equal. He ate at the same table with the Commissioners, occupied the same stateroom in the ship's cabin, and in San Domingo they occupied the same sleeping apartments. He was treated as a gentleman, just as all were treated. "But here in Carlisle, as well as in some other towns," remarked the speaker, "I am not treated in this way; here caste is still recognized; here a man is denied certain privileges because of his color. I am not annoyed;

I care little about it; am not much hurt on this account," continued Douglass. "It is only a matter of time; we (the colored men) must wait patiently, and in the course of a few years we will be fully recognized as equals everywhere. There are many colors but only one humanity."

What did the speaker refer to? Where had he been snubbed in Carlisle? Upon inquiry, we learned that he had stopped at the "Bentz House," a most excellent hotel kept by our Republican friend, Mr. Geo. Z. Bentz. Mr. Bentz very properly gave Douglass a good room in his house, but when supper was announced he just as properly informed his sable guest that he could not eat at the public table with his white boarders. Douglass, it was evident from his dejected look, had not expected this kind of treatment. The "Bentz House" has a Republican for its landlord, and nearly all if not all the boarders are also Republicans, and it was not much wonder then that Douglass felt disappointed. He said little, however, and consented to take his meals in his room by himself. With all their professions, then, we have in this circumstance positive evidence that the Radicals are just as loath to recognize negro-equality as the Democrats are. Put them to the test and they squirm like eels in the process of being skinned, when they are asked to take a seat at the same

1924 view of the Sentinel Building, formerly Rheem's Hall,
Court House Avenue, Carlisle.
CCHS Collections

table with a negro. We don't blame them; human nature is human nature; but we desire the "colored troops who fought bravely," to note the facts here mentioned.

Frederick Douglass is a man between sixty and seventy years of age. His hair is long, curly and quite white. He has more the appearance of a Spaniard than a negro. He says he is a mulatto, and perhaps he is, but he shows little if any of the negro character. He remained here over Sunday, and on Monday morning took the cars for his home in Washington.[1]

The Carlisle Herald, March 14, 1872

THE OLD QUESTION IN NEW SHAPE

The *Volunteer* in a notice of Frederick Douglass, raises a question that we were inclined to allow to adjust itself. It says:

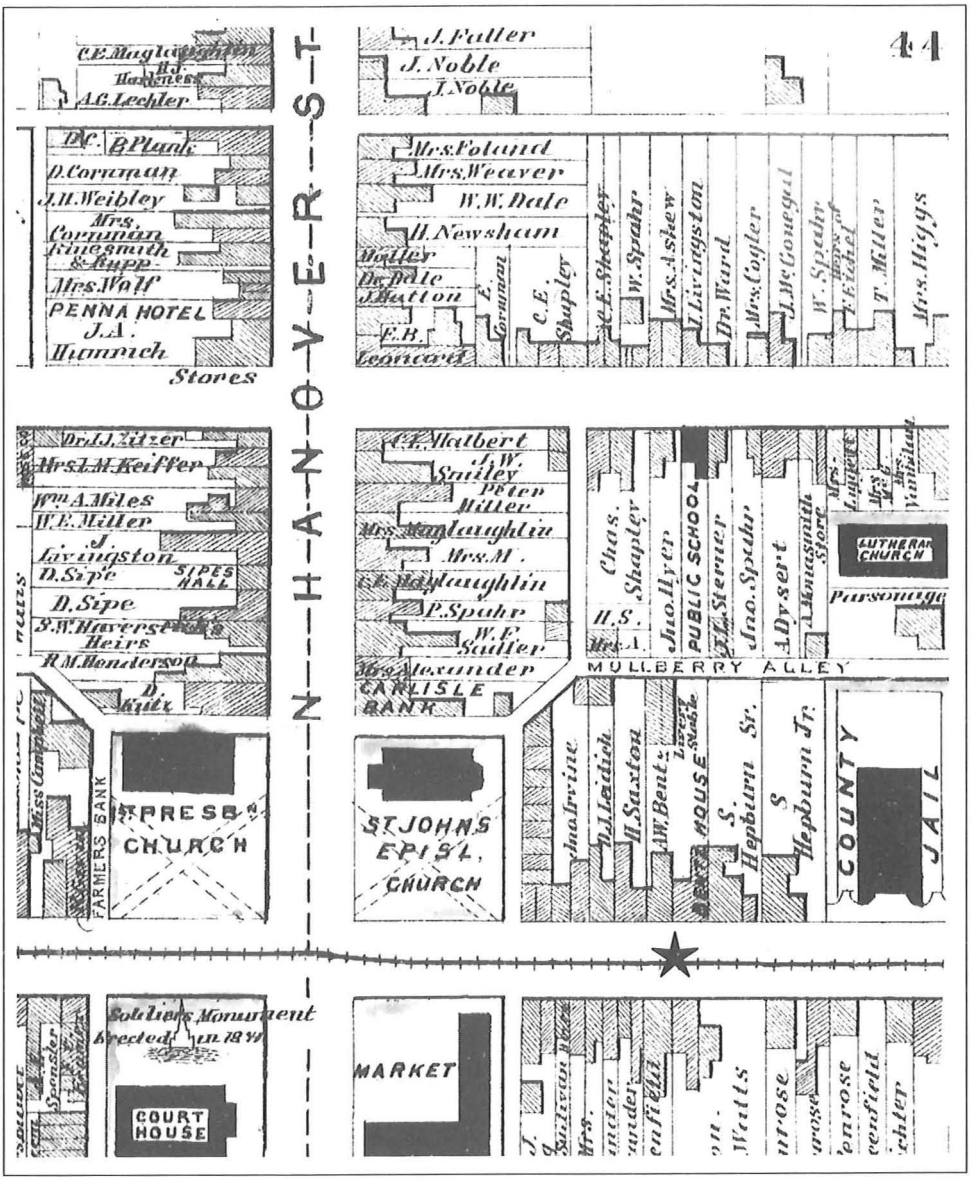
"What did the speaker refer to? Where had he been snubbed in Carlisle? Upon inquiry, we learned that he had stopped at the "Bentz House," a most excellent hotel kept by our Republican friend, Mr. Geo. Z. Bentz. Mr. Bentz very properly gave Douglass a good room in his house, but when supper was announced he just as properly informed his sable guest that he could not eat at the public table with his white boarders. Douglass, it was evident from his dejected look, had not expected this kind of treatment. The "Bentz House" has a Republican for its landlord, and nearly all if not all the boarders are also Republicans, and it was not much wonder then that Douglass felt disappointed. He said little, however, and consented to take his meals in his room by himself. With all their professions, then, we have in this circumstance positive evidence that the radicals are just as loath to recognize negro-equality as the Democrats are. Put them to the test and they squirm like eels in the process of being skinned, when they are asked to take a seat at the same table with a negro. We don't blame them; human nature is human nature; but we desire the "colored troops who fought bravely," to note the facts here mentioned."

This question is coming, and may as well be met. Mr. Bentz, of himself, had no disposition to refuse to allow Mr. Douglass to come to the dining room. He put it on the ground that there was so much prejudice here on the subject, that he could not do it without pecuniary loss. This

seemed to be almost certain from the ordinary street talk of the town, and, therefore, we find no fault with Mr. Bentz for his action. He was under no obligation to incur even the risk of loss in the matter. As a question of fact, however, we respectfully differ. If Mr. Douglass had gone into the dining room, it is quite possible that two or three persons out of the whole number there, might have illustrated their superior manners by contemptuously leaving the room; but they would have come back afterwards rather than to have gone anywhere else on such provocation, and that would have ended the matter. We don't believe seriously, Mr. Bentz would have been out a penny in the transaction. But as we said before, to judge from the silly clamor on this question, there was a risk, and we don't blame Mr. Bentz for avoiding it.

Now we wish to say a word on this question. There is in this community a prevailing sentiment that a colored man – because he is a colored man – should not be received into a hotel. This is simply silly and wicked. It has never been denied that a colored man has a right to travel wherever he pleases, just as a white man or an Indian has. When he travels, he must rely on houses for the accommodation of travelers for food and shelter. He has no right to impose himself on any private family, and cannot come within the door of the meanest hovel, in the place he visits, uninvited, except as a trespasser. The public sentiment that refuses to allow any man who will conform to the rules of a public house to be entertained, when he is away from his family, if developed logically, would allow him to starve or freeze in the streets. That it is wicked, tyrannical and cowardly, needs no argument to prove.

But look at its absurdity. There is no degradation of the white race possible that excludes from hotel accommodations. The worst and vilest characters in the land are continually on the wing, and hotels receive and entertain them as guests and often knowingly. A Chinaman or a Japanese would be given room anywhere, and no one's dignity would be compromised. A lot of half naked, painted savages from the plains, could stop anywhere without any restrictions, although perhaps, their scalping knives were spotted with the blood of some members of our superior and very consistent race. But so carefully and thoroughly have small politicians excited the prejudices of the people of some parts of this country against the negro race, that when a man venerable in years, of learning, refinement, extraordinary ability and character in all respects; one who, without any official station or position, whatever, has been received and entertained by Presidents, governors and leading states-



Close-up of 1872 Atlas of Cumberland County, p. 44,
with location of Bentz House identified with a star.
CCHS Collections

men of this country, visits a country town on business, he must in deference to this stupid and malignant prejudice be insulted by the information that the boarders at the hotel refuse to eat in the same room with him. This would be funny, indeed if it weren't contemptible.

But the social equality nonsense must be discussed. Who ever heard of social equality in any place on this earth where there were enough of people to relieve each individual from being directly dependent on every one also? Each person in a community chooses his own society, provided the people he likes are fit to associate with him. If they do not, he then takes himself to the society, which will endure him. A man must have a slight opinion of his neighbor's sanity, who would insist that eating in the same dining room at a hotel established or implied any other equality than that which grows out of a common brotherhood of men. It is simply right that no man should be proscribed because of his color or race, and this we will all recognize when we have outgrown our prejudices.

But we will soon have an end of this trouble. We have learned that a country can exist without enslaving black men; that the peace, order and prosperity of a community are in no wise imperiled by allowing them to vote, to sit on juries, or even to hold any office to which they may be appointed or chosen. We have also had demonstrated that it does not seriously injure the health or life of white men to give them equal accommodations on railroad cars when they pay the same fare. Most persons now living will also learn that the way-farer who pays the common charges at a hotel, is entitled to all the privileges of a guest; and after they have learned it, they will appreciate how extremely silly are all actions dictated by prejudice.[2]

Author's note:

Since this article was written, it has been learned that Frederick Douglass visited Carlisle on at least one other occasion. On August 9, 1847, Douglass was traveling the anti-slavery lecture circuit with the white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison.[3] After a speaking engagement in Harrisburg, the train on which they were traveling stopped briefly in Carlisle, and Douglass and Garrison were enthusiastically greeted by local anti-slavery advocates, who were well represented in Carlisle at the time. Not only was it the hometown of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society's J. Miller McKim, but preparations were underway for the trials that came in the aftermath of the McClintock Fugitive Slave Riot, which had taken place in June.

Endnotes

1 American Volunteer, 7 March 1872.

2 Carlisle Herald, 14 March 1872.

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Alexandra Houston's article explores the relationship between white captives and their Native American captors during the violent Indian wars of the mid 1700s in Pennsylvania. It is a revised version of a paper that took her to the national competition at the 2004 National History Day event at the University of Maryland. The theme that year was "Exploration, Encounter, Exchange in History".

Red, White, and Bonded: The Surprising Truth Behind the Experiences of Some White Captives Living Among the Indians

Alexandra B. Houston

The rolling hills and wooded valleys of Central Pennsylvania, now so tranquil, were, a mere 240 years ago, the scene of dramatic, violent, and sometimes heartrending confrontations between the Native Americans and the incoming white European settlers. Cumberland County at that time comprised the western frontier, and Scots-Irish settlers were rapidly establishing a presence in lands that had long been home to the Delaware Indians. In 1758, during the French and Indian War, the British negotiated the Treaty of Easton with the Native Americans of the Ohio Valley. In it, the British promised not to settle the land west of the Allegheny Mountains and to abandon all forts in "Indian Territory" at the conclusion of the war. However, after the British victory over the French in 1763, it became clear that the provisions of the treaty would not be honored. Realizing that their only options were to either resist the incursions of the white settlers or lose their lands and culture to the newcomers, the Native Americans formed a confederation under the leadership of the Ottawa chief Pontiac, aiming to drive the whites out of the frontier lands. During both the French and Indian War (1754-1763), and the period now known as Pontiac's War (1763-1764), many white settlements in the Cumberland Valley were attacked and destroyed, and settlers lived in constant fear of violent Indian raids. The fearfulness of this period is expressed in a 1755 letter from John Potter, Sheriff of Cumberland County, to Richard Peters, Esq., in which he describes the condition of the county after a horrific Indian raid. He wrote:

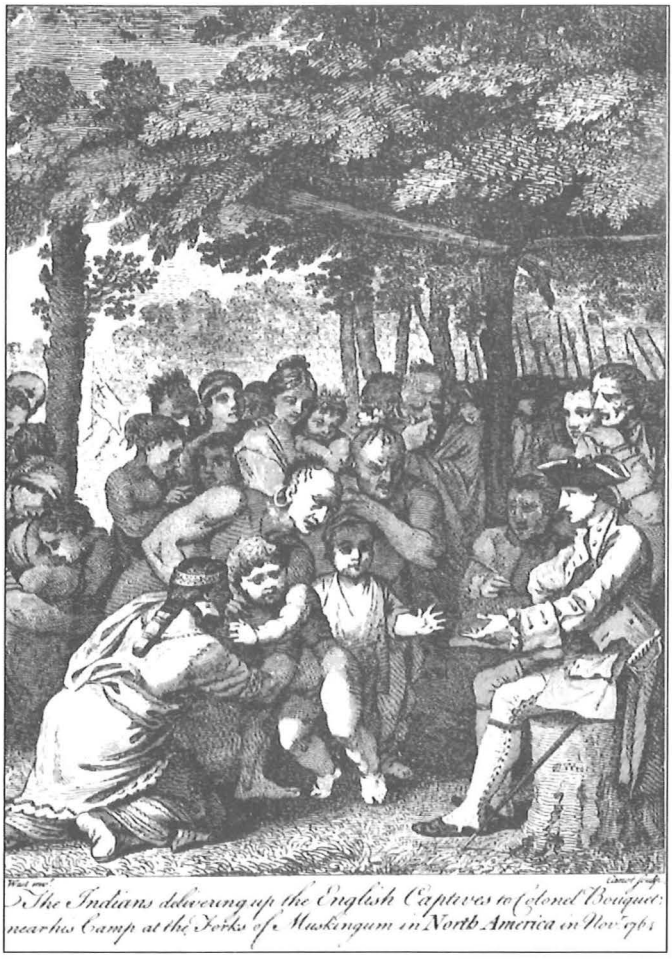
> "There is two-thirds of the Inhabitants of this Valley who hath already fled, leaving their Plantations...Last night I had a Family of upwards of a hundred of Women and Children who fled for Succor. You cannot form no just Idea of the Distressed and Distracted Condition of Our Inhabitants unless your Eyes seen and your Ears heard their Crys".[1]

Other accounts were more graphic. In February of 1756, Thomas Barton, the rector of St. James Church in Lancaster, described the following in a letter to Richard Peters, secretary of the Provincial Land Office, concerning an Indian attack in Cumberland County:

> "Within three miles...was found Adam Nicolson and his wife, dead and scalp'd, his two Sons & a Daughter are carried off...The same Day, one Sherridan, a Quaker, his wife, three Children & a Servant, were killed and scalp'd, together with one Wm. Hamilton, & his wife...within Ten Miles of Carlisle, a little beyond Stephen's Gap. It is dismal, Sir, to see the Distresses of the People...For God's Sake make our Condition known."[2]

These views of the raids, however, display only one facet of the story. Although many of the white settlers who were attacked in these violent encounters with the natives were indeed killed, a sizable number, mostly women and children, were instead taken captive, or "carried off", as Rev. Barton describes the Nicolson children. In accounts of the time, the lives of white people in Indian captivity were depicted as horror stories, with the eventual return of the captives to "civilization" seen as indisputably positive. However, a deeper reading of the historical record demonstrates that, although their encounters with the native culture were initially coerced, many of the captives came to wholeheartedly adopt the Native American style of life and discovered that they preferred it to that of their original culture. Having exchanged their white identities and social norms for those of the natives, many captives later resisted the opportunity to return to white society, a reluctance incomprehensible to European colonials, who regarded the natives as godless savages. The early history of Cumberland County is replete with dramatic illustrations of this phenomenon.

Native Americans did not regard captives taken in battle as merely spoils of war; instead they were often intended to replace a deceased member of the Native American tribal unit.[3] Sometimes, these replacements served to comfort a grieving family, but captives filled vacancies in the labor system as well. Usually, a combination of both "replacement" functions occurred, and a captive adopted into a Native American family not only took the place of the deceased member but assumed his or her duties as well.[4] Sometimes captives were even given the names of the dead they replaced. It was through this practice of adoption that deep, nearly unbreakable bonds between Native Americans and white prisoners were formed. Because few native cultures held the same rigid philosophies regarding racial purity as the Europeans, it seemed natural and acceptable to them to replace their dead with people of other races.[5] Native Americans focused on inculcating in their captives the learnable qualities of their culture, such as language and social behavior,[6] and ignored the immutable racial differences.



Engraving illustrating the return of captives.
Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, Robert Clarke Company, 1907.
CCHS Collections

Accepted unequivocally into native society, white captives often found themselves encountering a style of life and a type of freedom previously unimaginable. This was especially true in the case of young people, for whom assimilation into Native American culture often occurred quickly and relatively easily, in part because European colonial culture tended to be repressive toward children.[7]

An example of the tendency of a captive child to adapt and conform to the Native American culture is provided in a 1906 letter by James P. Matthews, a native of Cumberland County, to Ferdinand E. Peebles, in which he describes a chapter in his own family's history: the return from captivity of his great-grandfather's young sisters, who had been held from 1755 to 1767. He wrote:

"[My great-grandfather]...made a long trip through the wilderness and brought his sisters home, sorely against their will. One of them had been brought up...Catholic. The other sister had grown up among the Indians, and leaving out the fact of birth, was an Indian herself...She died comparatively young."[8]

The Matthews account not only demonstrates the ability of children to assimilate to native culture, but also the difficulty they had in readjusting to colonial civilization upon their returns and their desire to adhere to an Native American way of life.

Another example of the bond that developed between young captives and their abductors, as well as the difficulty of the captives' re-assimilation, is the story of David Boyd, a thirteen-year-old from the Pennsylvania frontier. Boyd was Scots-Irish and, as previously noted, it was the western expansion of this ethnic group in particular that provoked Pontiac and his followers. Boyd was captured by Lenape Indians in 1756 and adopted by a tribesman to replace his dead son. At seventeen, however, Boyd was suddenly and forcibly returned to his father in Shippensburg. Later, his grandchildren recalled the family account of his return to life among the whites:

"He had grown fond of the wild and free life of the forest and was greatly dissatisfied by his new surroundings. He determined to rejoin his Native American father and live and die among the people of his adoption. He had to be closely guarded for weeks before he relinquished his plan."[9]

The story of David Boyd specifically mentions the child's fondness of the "wild and free" life that he had enjoyed with the Indians, so different than that experienced in the average colonial home.

As Pontiac's War raged, the natives for a while gained the advantage, capturing interior posts and burning white settlements. Eventually, only Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit remained intact, and they were under steady attack. Colonel Henry Bouquet was then ordered to Fort Pitt with troops to aid the fight against the Indians. In the autumn of 1764, the Shawnee and the Lenape indicated their readiness to surrender, and a treaty was signed at the Forks of the Muskingum River in Ohio. A stipulation of the treaty was that the natives return all prisoners within twelve days. It was arranged that Bouquet and his troops would escort the returned white captives from Fort Pitt to Carlisle, where they could be reclaimed by their families. Bouquet made his expectations of the Native Americans clear:

"I give you Twelve days from this date to deliver in my hands... all the Prisoners in your Possession, and without any Exception all En-

glishmen, Frenchmen, white Women or Children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever."[10]

This demand, however, did not take into account the fact that many of these captives actually desired to stay with the Native Americans, and the "without exception" clause precluded them from having a say in the matter. Bouquet apparently realized that the transfer of the prisoners would not be a welcome idea to some of the captives themselves, as the following entry in his Orderly Book, dated October 29,1764, indicates:

> "As there will be many among them [the white prisoners] who are very much attached to the Savages by having lived with them from their Infancy, These if not narrowly watched may be apt to make their Escape after they are delivered up: The Guards and Centinels therefore on this duty must be particularly attentive to prevent such accidents happening."[11]

As Bouquet had feared, the surrendering of the white prisoners to his troops on this occasion did not go smoothly. A 1766 account by William Smith, the Provost of the College of Philadelphia who wrote the definitive contemporary account of Bouquet's expedition, described the return of the prisoners as follows:

> "The Indians...delivered up their beloved captives with utmost reluctance, shed torrents of tears over them...Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They...[accompanied] their former captives all the way to Fort-Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road.
>
> "Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relatives. Having been accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connexions they had, having been tenderly treated by them...they considered their new state in the light of a captivity, and parted from the savages with tears.
>
> "But it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who shewed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance."[12]

The evidence that children most easily assimilated into Native American culture and most adamantly resisted returning to the constraints and formality of the white world is further reinforced by several accounts of white captives who were returned by Colonel Bouquet at Carlisle's town square. One such narrative is that of John M'Cullogh, who was eight years old when he was captured by Lenape Indians near Fort Loudon, then part of Cumberland County, in July of 1756. John's white father, upon discovering his son's whereabouts among the Indians, tried twice to recover his son but failed both times. The following is an excerpt from John's written account of his captivity, detailing his father's futile – and unwanted – attempts to retrieve him from the Lenape:

> "The next morning my father and two others came to our camp...I wept bitterly, all to no purpose....They laid hold of me and set me on a horse, I threw myself off; they set me on again, and tied my legs under the horse's belly...my father took his garters and tied my arms behind my back; however, I had them loose before my father lay down....I ran off as fast as I could."[13]

John managed to avoid being reclaimed on these occasions, but soon after he was surrendered to Colonel Bouquet as part of the aforementioned treaty. The determination shown by John M'Cullough to resist return to white culture, even to his own father and brother, along with the fact that he was only returned due to the force of Bouquet's troops, serve as striking illustrations of the desire of white captives raised among Native Americans to remain with their adopted people.

Although familial bonds between captors and captives and a preference for Native American life were primary motives of white captives in resisting reassimilation, there were other reasons as well. Those who had been abducted as children often faced prejudice and racism upon reentering white culture. In addition to looking and sounding like Native Americans, many white captives had adopted native values, philosophies, ways of carrying their bodies, and scars or other markings that branded them as "white Indians" even to novice observers.[14] Some women were reluctant to return to white society because they had borne children fathered by Native American husbands and were thus the mothers of "half-breeds".[15] This sort of violation of white race-mixing taboos would lead to intense scrutiny by the white public upon return to colonial American culture. Thus former captives were set apart from white society, leaving them open for ridicule and placing them forever on the margins of American society.[16]

When the American colonials did encounter whites who had assimilated into Native culture, their reaction was usually one of disgust and incomprehension. Many accounts by outsiders who came in contact with "Indianized" whites are biased and critical, since the average white person was unfamiliar with – and disapproving of – most Native American cultural traits. An example of such a reaction is provided by Pennsylvanian Thomas Proctor, who in April of 1791 gave the following account in his journal of a meeting with an assimilated white male captive named Nicholas Deanhoat. Proctor attempted to persuade the man to collect money left to him by his deceased father and to rejoin white society. His account is as follows:

> "He was dressed in the Indian garb, and what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut around and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length... [H]is father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money. I urged him to go around with me on my tour, and on our arrival to Philadelphia, I would give him decent apparel and subsistence while going to his relatives, but he declined it, saying that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians."[17]

The confusion with which Proctor greets the captive's reluctance to return to white culture is typical. Deanhoat is rejecting the material goods so valued by the "civilized" world for a rustic life in the wild, completely going against the cultural imperative of white society to succeed materially.

The most famous Native American captivity narrative of Pennsylvania depicts an outcome that was far more satisfying to colonial sensibilities than those in which return was resisted and white Christian values implicitly rejected. According to legend, Regina Hartman, a Pennsylvania girl, was among those returned by Colonel Bouquet to the Carlisle town square after years of captivity that began in childhood. Her mother, who had come to Carlisle with the hope of finding her daughter, could not identify her among the prisoners. Taking pity on her, Bouquet advised Mrs. Hartman to try singing a song that would have been familiar to Regina, hoping to spark her memory. When Mrs. Hartman sang a verse of a hymn that her daughter had known as a child, Regina ran into her mother's arms. She then returned with her to Berks County, Pennsylvania, where she lived the rest of her life.[18] This touching description of a happy, even miraculous, return to white civilization would have reflected the beliefs that many whites held about the nature of a captive's abduction and return. The legend of Regina Hartman is typical of many of the romanticized, and often sensationalized, accounts that depicted the plight of young white women living among the so-called savages; situations that were inevitably assumed to be nothing

less than tragic.[19] These stories sometimes illustrated a happy ending attributed to a captive's Christian faith or an intervention by God. In Regina's tale, the Christian undertone can be seen in the hymn sung by her mother that draws her back into civilization and by the repeated references in many accounts of Regina's later life to her devoutness as a Christian.

1934 photograph showing re-enactment of the return of captives in Carlisle in 1763. Regina Hartman, her mother, and Colonel Bouquet are shown in front of First Presbyterian Church.
CCHS Collections

In reality, whites who had lived among the Native Americans had encountered and explored a foreign culture, albeit not voluntarily, sometimes to the point of exchanging their provincial European identities for a vastly different cultural outlook. At a time when the white colonists of the Americas were engaged in full-scale war with people they considered bloodthirsty savages, those whites who actually experienced life with the Native Americans were often surprised to find themselves, for a variety of reasons, unwilling to leave the native people and culture they had grown to love.

Endnotes

1 John Potter to Richard Peters, Esq., 3 Nov. 1755. *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Colonial Record)*, vol. 6 (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1851), 674.

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3 Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1964), 47.

4 Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 3.

5 Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, ed., *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), xvii.

6 Jennifer Dyar, "Fatal Attraction: The White Obsession with Indianness," *The Historian* 65 (4), 823.

7 Derounian-Stodola, *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, xvii.

8 James P. Matthews to Ferdinand E. Peebles, 9 Nov. 1906, Jeremiah Zeamer Papers, Hamilton Library, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pa.

9 J. Norman Heard, *White Into Red* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1973), 57-65.

10 William Smith, *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in 1764* (Philadelphia, 1765; repr., Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke, 1907), 47.

11 Edward G. Williams, ed., *The Orderly Book of Colonel Henry Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, 1764* (Pittsburgh: Mayer Press, 1960) 40.

12 Smith, *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition*, 63.

13 Heard, *White Into Red*, 72-73.

14 Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, 3.

15 Heard, *White Into Red*, 4.

16 Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, 3.

17 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, vol. 4 (Harrisburg: B. F. Meyers, State Printer, 1876), 571.

18 Robert B. Swift, *The Mid-Appalachian Frontier: A guide to the Historic Sites of the French and Indian War* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 2001), 46.

19 Derounian-Stodola, *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, xiii-xx.

Notable Library Acquisitions – 2005

Items and documents relating to the life and career of Judge Dale Shughart, given by the Shughart family.

Early land records, including 18th century land patents, relating to the Sproat, Tritt, Gracey, and Dunlap families of Cumberland County. Gift of Esther Dunlap.

Transcription of "Reminiscences of Nettie Jane Blair", August 1934. Donated by Ellen Moore.

Items and documents relating to Cumberland County Civil Defense preparations, including information about Auxiliary Police, fire fighters, and fallout shelters. Given by William Weaver.

Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages From A Visual History, edited by Janet Catherine Berlo. Donated by Ruth Leach.

Yearbooks, student newspapers, and other documents from Carlisle High School during the World War II years, given by Charles Maclay.

Transcription of information from Cumberland County cemeteries, from Betty Landis Carson.

Transfer of a variety of Cumberland County church and cemetery records onto compact disc, by Bob Highlands.

Contents of Joseph Totton lap desk given to the museum; archival contents included correspondence and receipts from Carlisle businesses, 1906–1907. Gift of Yvonne Karper.

Collection of Dickinson College yearbooks and items related to the libraries, clubs, schools, theaters, and other organizations of Carlisle and Cumberland County. Given by The Dickinson College Archives.

Collection of 19th and early 20th century Valentines collected by Mary Elizabeth Hellerman Boggs Crain. Donated by her daughter, Barbara Boggs Novak.

Early 19th century land records (deeds, drafts, surveys) for a variety of tracts in Mifflin Township; also, genealogical resource materials. Gift of Phyllis Chirgotis.

Assorted correspondence, receipts, legal documents, and other miscellaneous papers related to Cumberland County. Pierson K. Miller Acquisition Fund.

Items related to the activities of the Kitzmiller and Swarner families of Cumberland County. Includes 1947 scrapbook of 4-H member Nancy Lee Kitzmiller. Donated by Earl and Nancy Swarner.

C.C.C. Annual 1936, District No. 1 Third Corps Area, Civilian Conservation Corps. Includes information about CCC camps at Pine Grove and Big Pond. Pierson K. Miller Acquisition Fund.

Indentures, land drafts, deeds, receipts, wills, indemnity bonds, and other papers relating to Cumberland County, 1805–1915, given by Pat Vrabel.

Learning to write "Indian": the boarding-school experience and American Indian literature, by Amelia V. Katanski. Complimentary copy from University of Oklahoma Press, for use of CCHS photos.

Collection of items related to various historic uses of the Pine Grove/Michaux area, including the CCC Camp, iron furnace, POW Interrogation Center, and Michaux Church Camp. Pierson K. Miller Acquisition Fund.

Nine Carlisle Deposit Bank deposit slips dated 1863–1870, donated by Mary Pat Wentzel.

Maps, deeds, correspondence, and other papers related to the establishment of Ashland Cemetery in Carlisle; also, Penrose family correspondence. Donated by Merri Lou Schaumann and Ewing Brothers.

Barbara Houston
Library Cataloger

Publications In Print

THE COUNTY HERITAGE SERIES

The Bitter Fruits: The Civil War Comes to a Small Town in Pennsylvania. (1998).
David G. Colwell $10.00

In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County (1997).
Clarke Garrett $10.00

Past Receipts, Present Recipes (1996).
Members and Friends of the Cumberland County Historical Society. $10.00

The Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918 (2000 paperback edition).
Linda F. Witmer $24.95

"...Drive the Road and Bridge the Ford...". Highway Bridges of Nineteenth Century Cumberland County (1992). Paul E. Gill $24.95

Twentieth Century Thoughts. Carlisle: The Past Hundred Years (2001).
Ann Kramer Hoffer $29.95

Other Books

Atlas of Cumberland County (1858, reprint 1987) Paperback edition.
H.F. Bridgens $10.00

The New Way: Greeks Come to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. (2003).
Susan Eyster Meehan $22.95

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