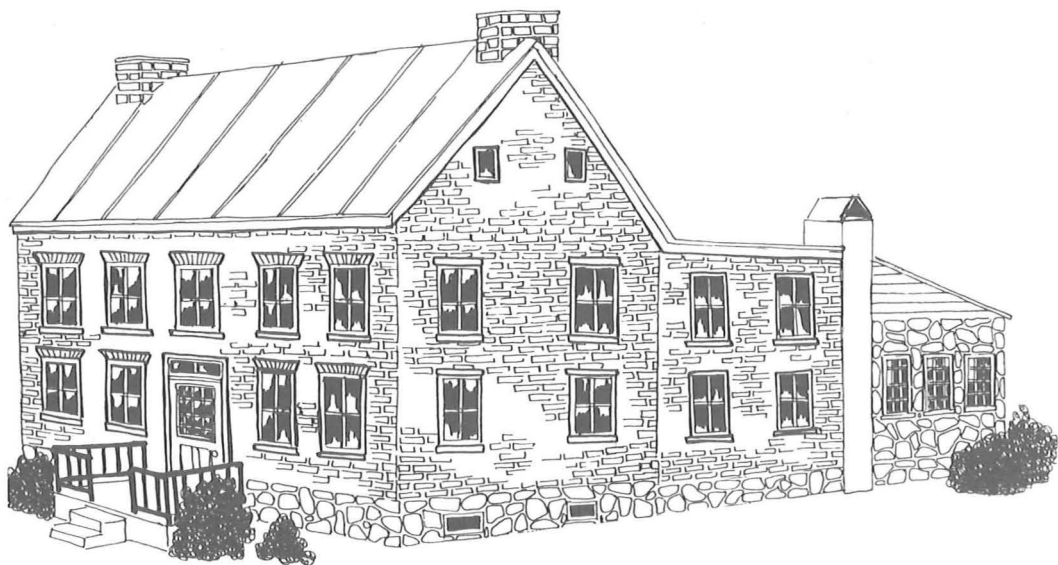


Cumberland County History



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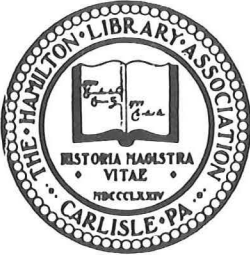
Contributions Solicited

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

Membership and Subscription

Cumberland County History is published semi-annually. All members of the Cumberland County Historical Society receive a copy of the journal as part of regular membership. The regular membership fee is \$25.00 annually. Members receive other benefits, including a quarterly newsletter, special invitations to programs and exhibits, and the satisfaction of joining with others to preserve county history. Correspondence regarding membership should be addressed to the Executive Director, Cumberland County Historical Society, 21 North Pitt Street, P.O. Box 626, Carlisle, PA 17013.

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COVER: The original sketches for this journal are by Eber Jacob Gordon. They show the two early nineteenth century hotels in Hickorytown. Both are now private residences.

Contributors

Dawn Flower, a native of Beaver County, was graduated from West Virginia University and holds a master's degree from St. Francis College, Loretto. She is the mother of Lenore and James D. Flower III.

John C. Fralish, Jr., the Society's executive assistant 1975-79, is now indexing the Hamilton Papers microfilm. Employed at the State Library, he holds an A.B. history from F&M and is state genealogist for the S.A.R.

Eber Jacob Gordon is an artist and designer. An alumnus of Carnegie-Mellon University and of the Ivy School of Art and Design, he is on the adjunct faculty of the Bradley Academy, York, Pennsylvania.

James A. Holechek, of Townson, Maryland headed his own public relations firm in Baltimore. The holder of B.A. and M.A. degrees in Fine Arts, he is a key fund-raiser for the Maryland Memorial monument proposed for Gettysburg.

Kevin G. Vanderlodge, of Dauphin, has studied at Harrisburg Area Community College and Millersville University. He is a genealogist by avocation.

We, the People Identified: Cumberland County, Pennsylvania and the First United States Census, 1790-1791

John Fralish

Two years ago occurred the 200th anniversary of the taking of the first United States census in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. This investigation into the history of that event and its circumstances is in observance of the county's participation in an event which was a necessary part of the founding of the United States Government. Also, as history is founded in the identity of people of whom records exist, so any understanding of early Cumberland County must begin with the study of those persons named in its first demographic sources. The earliest useful list of names is not the first United States census, taken in 1790-1791, but that census is the first record pretending to refer to every individual living in the county on one date.

That the 1787 Federal Constitution called for a census had to do with the necessity of raising government income equitably. The Revolutionary War had broken out before a central government could be formed. Earlier, when the Continental Congress in 1775 authorized the issuance of \$3 million in bills of credit, the new States pledged to redeem them in proportion to their respective populations and in ways they would determine individually.¹ Only two states actually took censuses.

There the matter stood in the six years that followed, as Congress fought a war and waited for all states to ratify the plan of government proposed under the Articles of Confederation. As the states stalled on ratification and on paying their assessments to the Congress, the national treasury emptied, and the Continental currency depreciated almost to the point of being worthless. To start to meet the financial crisis Edmund Randolph of Virginia on 21 November 1781 moved that each state enumerate its white inhabitants.² The motion failed; the growing financial crisis worsened.

When the Constitutional Convention met in 1787, a key question was the method by which the people would be represented in the national legislature. It was closely related to other matters for debate: how to levy taxes, directly or indirectly through the state governments and whether such levies should be based on wealth and/or population. Diametrically opposed views surfaced both at the national convention and at the Pennsylvania Ratification Convention. At the former Hugh Williamson, a Cumberland County native who had moved to North Carolina, and James Wilson, who had lived in Carlisle, offered opposing views. At the latter convention the county's Robert Whitehill and James Wilson differed in their views.³ From the attitudes of these three political leaders it might be inferred that the County residents were split on the plan for the government and thus toward the census as a tool for making it work. If there were any doubts about this, they can be dispelled by the fact of the violent riot in December 1787 in Carlisle between proponents and opponents of the Constitution.

Perhaps the opinion of the County was split evenly. The lines of division were not ethnic because the Scots-Irish still predominated in the population, and they were aligned generally along the divergent Wilson and Whitehill positions. National survival had not at all been guaranteed by the victory at Yorktown, and Cumberland County mirrored the American crisis to an alarming degree.

A miracle was needed and came to pass. George Washington, who had refused an American crown at his moment of greatest glory in 1783, waited five years and then presided over the creation of an impossible political office to which he then accepted nomination and election, becoming responsible for the nation to an extent never, except possibly in 1861, to be equalled. The hopeful people, living in a gaggle of semi-independent American states, yielding sovereignty only from necessity, waited to see whether Washington could save them again. The census was carried out in the same period as that when the first President of the United States bore out those hopes. For Cumberland County, his success was critical to the success of the census. Washington's actions and Congressional passage of a set of Constitutional amendments which became the Bill of Rights converted the county's anti-Constitutionalists. When the census takers went on their rounds in Cumberland County, they were able to complete a fairly accurate record in a comparatively short space of time.

Under the provisions of the new act, the marshals of the various federal judicial districts were responsible for carrying out the census. These officials in turn were to appoint assistants, to be paid at specified rates for carrying out the actual enumerating. The marshal for the district comprised of the entire state of Pennsylvania, Clement Biddle (1740-1814), was an individual of sufficient significance to merit an entry in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.⁴

William Hamilton	4	2	2	Alexander Sanderson	2	1	2
Eleanor Lunningham	1	2	6	Joseph Spruce	2	1	5
William Smith	1	1	2	William Timox	1	0	4
Joseph Stone	4	1	4	Bazel Smith	2		0
Robert M ^r Gahby	2	1	0	Robert Eliot	1	2	2
John Jones	4		4	Abigail Black	1	1	2
Samuel M ^r Gahby	2	1	4	Robert Field	1	1	2
George Robinson	3	1	4	John M ^r Elliott	1	1	4
William Bartley	1	2	0	John O'Brien	0	2	2
John Linn	2	1	0	William Michael	0	1	2
George Baxter	0	9	4	William Linn	4	2	2
William O'Neil	1	1	2	Andrew Kirkaldy	4	0	10
John Hamilton	2	4	2	William Duncker	1	1	5
Michael Cook	1	4	5	John Kennedy	2	2	5
Martin Barnhill	2	0	0	William M ^r Gillan	1	0	4
Richard Smith	1	0	0	Robert Johnson	4	4	5
John Dunlop	2	5	0	John M ^r Bruce	4	2	5
James Odare	1	5	0	Andrew Boylston	2	1	0
Robert Creigh	1	2	5	John Graham	2		0
William Smith	2	2	0	John Stuart	1		1
John Irvine	0	2	2	Isabel M ^r Kinsey	1	2	1
John Giddie	1	2	2	Isabel Stuart	2	1	4
Joshua Scott	1	4	0	Robert Dorman	2	4	4
Samuel White	1	4	1	Frederick Meek	2	1	2
Conrad A'guil	2	1	2	Robert Hager	1	1	4
William Crockett	1		0	Mary Gardner	1	1	1
Samuel David	1	1	2	Edward Anderson	0		2
James Davidson	1		2	John M ^r Whinna	1		1
Thomas Ford	0		2	Thomas M ^r Babbey	1		2
John Ford	2	1	2	William M ^r Linn	1	2	2
Francis Jordan	0		2	George Lusk	2	2	5
James Jordan	2	1	2	Moses Kelpatrick	2	2	5
James Black	1	2	0	William Valerian	1	1	1
Cornelius Cannon	1	0	2	Captain Gilmore	1	1	0
Mugie M ^r Gordon	1	1	2	Margaret Harper	1	1	0
				James Jones	2	4	2

OPENING SECTION of the 1790 census schedule for Cumberland County in the district (eastern) of Assistant Marshal James Whitehill. From the Society collection.

He was so close to the first President that he became the factor handling the products of Mount Vernon through the last two decades of the Eighteenth Century. Biddle's father, John, moved from West New Jersey in 1730 to establish a Philadelphia shipping and importing firm, which Clement probably part-owned as early as 1765. Late in that year he and his father placed a mercantile advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*⁵, and in fact he was a signer of the nonimportation document drawn up by most Philadelphia merchants of that day. The passing of the crisis over the Stamp Act, which generated that agreement, did not see a waning of Clement Biddle's activities in the patriotic cause; these were capped by the raising of a company of volunteers the year the Revolution broke out, putting him in timely position for high responsibilities should he wish to have them. A year had hardly elapsed before he sported the title of colonel by commission of the Continental Congress. In November 1776, he became General Nathaniel Greene's aide-de-camp. At Trenton Washington delegated to Biddle the receiving of the surrendering Hessian officers' swords. Greene appointed him commissary general for forage in 1777, but his correspondence and friendship with Washington were unbroken from 1776 forward. His post as marshal came by Washington's appointment in 1789, and he held it until 1793. If more of his papers had survived, he would be a far more familiar figure.

President Washington's care in the launching of the new national government is illustrated by his attention to the census effort. His Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, got the overall responsibility of completing this work, but Biddle received a letter from presidential secretary Tobias Lear dated 14 July 1791 ordering an extra statistical report, to "give the number of souls in each County and *Town* [emphasis in original] within your District . . . this particular return is merely to gratify the private curiosity of the President . . . ;" consequently, there was no deadline.⁶ There is no reason to believe the President was any more or less interested in Pennsylvania than in any other state, and the letter does not take effectively into account the fact that most Pennsylvania villages were not administratively separated from townships or even given boundaries. Letters like the one to Biddle must have gone to all the other marshals at the same level. Although most of the enumerating in the nation had been completed by the time this letter was sent; it illustrates satisfactorily, in the context of all Washington's other actions, that his interest in seeing the census to a successful result had been appreciated from the time he had signed the act.

Enumerations of a sort had occurred in the county on a regular basis prior to the first census. Every history of Cumberland County contains an extract from the 1750-1753 tax lists.⁷ Without the annual listing of taxables by elected county and township assessors, the people would have been unprepared to

cooperate with census enumerators no matter what the political environment was, and no matter how empowered the enumerators were. Those states, former colonies, which had held no census under the royal regime were expected to encounter difficulties and did so. The exception was Pennsylvania, as it happened. For those officials of the new United States Government responsible for carrying out the census provision, the reaction was relief, because Pennsylvania was second only to Virginia in population among the fourteen states and various territories.

The political situation within Cumberland County in 1787-1790 can best be understood after short review stretching back to the colonial period, when this district, the frontier, was underrepresented in the provincial assembly and resented the domination of Pennsylvania by Philadelphians. The politicians here took note of Benjamin Franklin's support of defense moves during the French and Indian War and his pressure to transfer the colony to the crown from the proprietors. Those Philadelphians who moved earliest for American independence, who were responsible for the radical 1776 state constitution, and who fought against the state's conservative tide of the following decade were successors of the Franklin group of outs and inherited the support of the Scots-Irish politicians west of the Susquehanna River.

While George Stevenson (1718-1783) was local political power, particularly after his turn around in favor of the independence cause, he did not have—perhaps he did not require, much less desire—external influence, and individuals not as much concerned by internal threats to security as by threats to persons' civil rights represented Cumberland County at the state level. Foremost among those leaders was Robert Whitehill (1735-1813), born in Lancaster County, who came to what is now Camp Hill half a dozen years before the Declaration of Independence, occupying a valuable full lot of the newly opened Lowther Manor.

Whitehill's political horse sense was great. Clement Biddle chose two assistants to enumerate Cumberland County. One was William Douglass, and the other was Whitehill's son, James. Having opposed the Constitution, Robert Whitehill had kept all his political pull intact by acceding to the Constitution after it was ratified and after Washington quickly built up the credibility of the new government. Douglass was connected to Whitehill, as his appearance in estate matters carried on by the latter shows.⁸ Biddle, therefore, was not the man deciding who would enumerate Cumberland County and be paid for the task. He merely acquiesced in the choices.

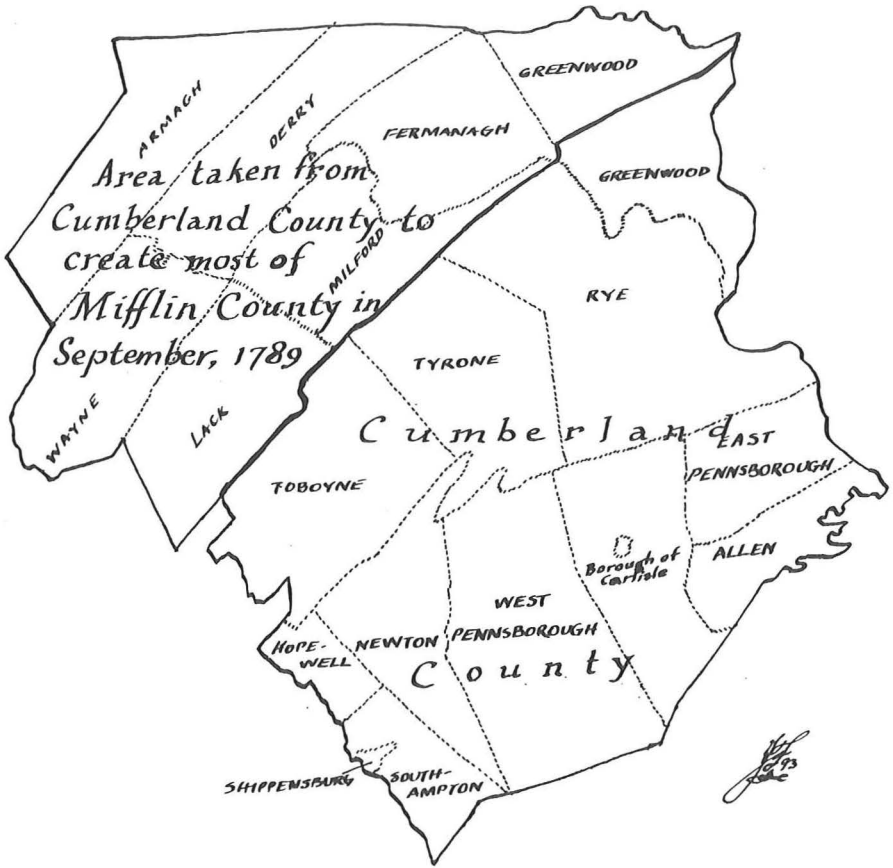
Perhaps there is no greater evidence of an individual's hidden or overt political power than that Whitehill continued to influence events without interruption, despite reversing his own basic stance. Scholarship has so far not displayed great interest in the political era between Stevenson's passing and

the end of the Eighteenth Century in Cumberland County; only the list of county officials rewards a first search of what is published. When it does so in the future, it must begin with Robert Whitehill. It is safe to say that when the national political scene changed with the creation of parties Whitehill aligned himself with that of Jefferson. When he died in 1813, he was the United States Congressman from the local district.

Of his son James (1766-1832), the census enumerator, less is known: he was evidently the eldest son because he inherited the Lowther Manor estate, there is no evidence he was ever married.⁹ Many of the later documents in the Robert Whitehill manuscript collection were prepared by James for Robert's disposition—from receipts to documents of only slightly greater significance. The younger man was evidently named in memory of either Robert's elder brother, who died in 1757 aged only about twenty-seven under circumstances which hint of violence, or the two men's father, James (1700-1765), who was in his last year when the boy was born.

The process of uncovering the identity of enumerator Douglass has had pitfalls to avoid. In 1790 a prominent individual named William Douglass resided in what shortly became Frankford Township, near the eastern end of the present Lower Frankford Township, but at the time of the census located in a West Pennsborough Township that extended from Mount Rock to the North Mountain. His death at the age of ninety-two was noted in the weekly single-sheet newspapers published in Carlisle on 15 December 1831; he was therefore fifty when the census was taken, twice James Whitehill's age.¹⁰ Two men; an uncle age fifty and his nephew age twenty-five, were named William Douglass. It is most likely that the nephew, who lived in the western section of Middleton, now North Middleton Township, was the census taker. He was in 1790 the same age as James Whitehill and presumably better prepared to carry out the arduous duty during wintertime.

Stories persist of the circumstances of early censuses in the colonies. Governor Robert Hunter of New York reported in 1712 to the Board of Trade and Plantations that he had encountered a roadblock of popular superstition in conducting a census. The previous time that a census was attempted there, in 1703, had been immediately followed by an outbreak of sickness; the populace connected the two events and exhibited a fear of any new attempt to count them. They remembered also that 70,000 had died following a census of the Jewish kingdom under David.¹¹ The notion of taking a census made good political and economic sense only in hindsight to most nations, for only one other, Sweden, had carried out a full census in what was considered the modern age (1749). All other precedents lay in the experience of long dead civilizations of the earlier periods. Census taking was a tardy element in the Renaissance application of classical era government philosophy to the ruling of modern nations. The great empire of the following century, Great Britain's, saw no census until America had taken six decennially.



CUMBERLAND COUNTY at the time of the taking of the 1790 census.
Map by the author.

Nonetheless, frequent censuses were taken in most of the colonies, some as early as the Seventeenth Century, usually in obedience to directives from the British Board of Trade. Local officials of many types carried out the work under supervision of the provincial governors. The mechanics of these censuses can easily be reconstructed, therefore: to find the habitations of as many subjects of the monarch as they could, county or town officers would use lists of taxables as compiled by the assessors and rely on each other's ordinary contacts to extend the information gleaned from those lists. If an official were reluctant to let such lists get away from the hands of his own subordinates for use in the census, or if the officials charged with carrying out the enumerations were recent arrivals or felt themselves otherwise unfamiliar with the district, pairs or groups of officials might be expected to have made the enumerating rounds together. Security, made more of a priority if unfriendly Indians or other hindrances could be expected, would also be adequate reason for traveling in groups. The only circumstance that comes to mind which would alter that picture would be the assessor's office allowing the census takers to create a manuscript copy of the list of taxables and confer with the staff on the locations of the taxpayers.

Was there time for such work, and was the assessor willing to allow creation of a duplicate of his putatively secret records? Only hints of answers to these questions exist. Privacy was not a matter of public concern in that era when it came to demographic records. Of greater concern were accuracy and inclusiveness of the records. Attached to the return for Dominick Cornyn's subdistrict, comprised of the Borough of Carlisle and South Middleton Township, for the 1820 census is this text on a small slip of paper:

Certificate to be signed by two respectable inhabitants of the Division and returned annexed to the Schedule Not by the Assistant of the Marshal

We hereby certify that a correct Copy of the above Schedule signed by the said Dominick Cornyn Has been set up and remained at two of the Most Public Places within the Division open to the inspection of all concerned

JACOB BISHOP
MICHAEL DIPPLE

This procedure followed thinking which is considered contralegal, not to say counterproductive to the success of census taking, by late Twentieth Century America. It illustrates how different the early republic was, with its invariably open court and election procedures and closed political nominating methods. It also helps to illuminate the environment and method of the taking of the first United States census.

Names of Heads of Families 15	1091	909	1776	34	37
Brought forward	1091	909	1776	34	37
Thomas Letherdale	1		5		
Thomas Johnston	1		5		
Joshua Martin	2	10	2		
Robt Donaldson	1	2	2		
John Haft	1	3	3		
John Clark	2		7		
John Sprout	10		3		
David Crookbank	2		3		
Jean Smith	-	-	3		
Andrew Donaldson	2	1	7		
Mrs Rowen	1	2	1		
Nathaniel Eccles	2	10	2		
Daniel Dunlop	1	1	4		
John Lemmon	1	1	7		
Thomas Adams	1	10	10		
Mary Mitchel	-	-	3		
Thomas Moore	1	3	2		
John Phipps	1	3	4		
George Potts	1	2	5		
Saml Madders	2	2	5		
John McCollom	1	3	4		
James Mullan	1	5	10		
Leonard Shanks	1	1	2		
D. O. O. W. O.	-	-	-		

TOP PORTION of a sheet of the 1790 census return for the district (western) of Assistant Marshal William Douglass. From the Society collection.

However, assessors' records have no history of being posted for public inspection, leaving an impression that those officials would not have wished to have extra duplicates created for the census which might have been used for other purposes later without the assessors' knowledge or control.

Ideally, assessments and similar activities were limited to the colder months in agricultural areas of the nation; Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, was no exception. Annual elections were similarly affected by farming seasons, because voting was secondary to ensuring a livelihood in the minds of these people affected. Throughout colonial Pennsylvania the elections for assemblymen and local officials occurred on the same day of the year, always in early autumn. Cumberland County has a rich collection of lists of taxables, most of them still surviving in their original manuscript form (mostly "fair copies," although some rougher records dating around 1805-1820 can be found in the boxes of court records currently in the custody of the Cumberland County Historical Society), dating back to the first year of the county government. Newly elected or re-elected assessors and their assistants began their work every year soon after these elections, and most of the certificates on the lists of taxables bear dates in the last two months of the calendar year, before the weather became extremely cold. Any assessor who was unable to complete field work during December would choose to go out on any less inclement day of deep winter that chanced to come and in any case would be done with his work before the muddy time preceding spring. James Whitehill's manuscript census schedule was received and endorsed by Colonel Biddle on 24 March 1791; that of William Douglass was completed on 31 March 1791, according to his own notation on the first sheet of the schedule.

Primary evidence for the beginning date of the work of the two enumerators is lacking, but methods exist for estimation. As Congress debated on how much time the census takers were to be allowed, using detailed plans drawn up by James Madison as a starting point, objections on particular points were so weak that his text was written into the final act almost unchanged, including the division of people into racial and age classes. His idea that some occupational data should be required was tossed out; the reason for that rejection has not been found, but Cumberland County has excellent documentation on occupations of taxables in that period in its 1789 county tax lists (compiled in November, 1788) and the septennial State enumeration of 1793. Madison was worried about the hazard of severely limiting the census takers' time for completing the schedules, opposing Representative Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts, who wanted as little as one month. Madison took into account the states' propensity for carrying out projects in vastly different ways because they faced different obstacles, such as the weakness or power of their various governments, their different agricultural and economic seasons, the varying densities of their populations, and the historic problems with cen-

sus taking. The House of Representatives passed the bill with six months allowed for the counting. The Senate stretched that provision to nine months and passed the measure 22 February 1790, with a section calling for work to start 2 August of that year. Washington signed the act on 1 March. Biddle's deadline was 1 May 1791.

It cannot be imagined with all that was being done to create an entire national government as well as a new state one in Pennsylvania that the political machinery cranked quickly to begin the census in Pennsylvania. Of the group of letters to and from Biddle which have been published, only the Lear letter to him about Washington's request concerns the census. There is no readily available evidence, either, that Biddle and Whitehill had any political ties or even acquaintance, and since Biddle was of the Philadelphia establishment at a time when the national government was moving back to that city from New York, it is easy to figure that he and Whitehill were on opposite political sides until Congress submitted the Bill of Rights to the states on 25 September 1789. This factor reinforces the difference between the two men, of whom one was the President's confidant and the other a political opponent on grounds of conscience. The go-between, one must conclude, was Jefferson, for whom Biddle was to carry out the census and who may have been acquainted with Whitehill as leader of an embryonic political party in which Whitehill had the best of credentials.

Months would have elapsed while Biddle organized his new office and before he discovered and acted on the need to acknowledge Whitehill as not only a convert but the appropriate connection for completing the Cumberland County portion of his census assignment. The assessors, holding the important documents which Douglass and Whitehill or his son would need to begin work, were not elected until that autumn. The current assessment records were a year out of date, and migration of residents was high in this period; a very large group of Scots-Irish Presbyterians from this county moved to the southern states during the 1780s. A logical decision would have been to wait for the assessors to correct the lists dated 1789 for the new taxable year (no fair record has survived which was designated for the years 1790, 1791, or 1792) for the use of the tax collectors; then the census takers would begin their work in December.

The experience of census takers in other parts of the United States guides a little. The single enumerator for the city of Boston and its environs finished his entire task on 2 August 1790, taking exactly seventeen working days to record households containing more than 18,000 people. Newspapers published totals for some states as the figures became available, and from these publications is gleaned a wide variety of completion dates, all within the specified nine-month period, most of them several months after the date work was authorized to begin. Parts of the New England states, with their more concentrated populations, were finished early (some of Rhode Island in October).

South Carolina's marshal was busy until 5 February 1792. Cumberland County was not a frontier district at this period, but it was heavily agricultural and contained 3,017 households scattered across an area of eleven hundred square miles full of wagon-rutted roads. Taking from December 1790, to late March 1791, to enumerate the county's people would not be an unreasonable use of time for two men or groups of men.

Strictures against Sunday labor existed. A lower number of daylight hours limited time. Because moving on the back roads was difficult, transportation was by horseback, so that using artificial light when natural light was dim or gone was not an option unless the households being visited could provide it; the nation was in a depression, so people did not have the means for such luxuries. The only township officers in those times were constables and road supervisors; the latter were younger men who had the physical duty of road upkeep as well as the maintenance of "index boards," which were distance and direction markers. With fair frequency, a Cumberland County township's supervisors were hauled into court to answer for the poor shape of the public roads.

Subtracting the amount of travel time needed to go to the current locality being enumerated every morning and to return in the evening, only about eight hours at maximum were available on the average working day. A period of three months and one week at most was available, yielding a net estimate of eighty-five days for activity regardless of the severity of the weather. The total number of hours comes to about 650; the two enumerators had at most 1300 hours together. The trip from one household to the next, the pleasantries of opening a conversation between strangers, the explanation of the purpose of the visit, the enumeration, a request for information about neighboring households either where no one was at home or which were hard to find, and the leave-taking would have occupied, altogether, about twenty-six minutes.

The legally prescribed pay was \$1.00 per three hundred enumerated. The total population of the county was determined by the 1790 census to be 18,208, so the census takers received two cents per household or four cents per hour; total compensation to the two men was about \$60, some \$30 apiece. No separate allowance covered the expense of hay to fuel the horse going the average distance between households, which was slightly more than one third of a mile, or for the long trips from the census takers' homes to the areas to be enumerated and back again for the day, or for the enumerators' meals. Perhaps they made meal plans with friends in advance. More likely, the people extended hospitality.

The region to be surveyed for population data, two districts comprised of what then was Cumberland County, was larger than the present county limits because it included the region later (1820) set off to form Perry County. The division of labor was made just about perpendicular to the middle of the Blue

Mountain line. Douglass got the rougher and less remunerative job of counting people in the western portion, and James Whitehill would appear to have enjoyed the easier task to the east. The Whitehills had remarkably similar handwriting, but a close examination of the manuscript census return leads to the conclusion that James did all the work. Douglass did not transmit his results as early as Whitehill, who had additional advantages of time and reporting channels. Douglass began in his most difficult region, a corner of Toboyne Township at the western end of present-day Perry County, with the household of Joseph Shields, whose name therefore appears first among the 3,019 names for the county. Following the Madison-inspired directions, Douglass noted that the first household contained two "free white males of sixteen years & upwards including heads of families," one person in the category of "free white males under Sixteen years," four "free white females including heads of families," none described as "all other free persons," and no "slaves." Indians who were taxed were supposed to be enumerated in 1790, and they were probably lumped with free blacks into the fourth category, but it is not likely that any person in Cumberland County met that description.

The Douglass schedule is headed "West Pennsborough, Hopewell, Newtown & Tyborn Townships;" the latter two are in fact Newton and Toboyne. The line between his district and Whitehill's (for which the return has no description of municipalities included) now runs down the eastern edge of the Madison Townships in Perry County and Lower Frankford, West Pennsborough, and Dickinson Townships in Cumberland County. However, part of Whitehill's district includes a piece of West Pennsborough Township identifiable through the 1800 census record as being in modern Dickinson Township. Douglass provided 1,282 entries (7,598 people), Whitehill 1,737 entries (10,645 people). Each district return contains one name behind which no figures appear: in Douglass's, the name Robert Kennedy (p. 23 as marked on the original manuscript before filming, and p. 79, middle column, in the U.S. Government Printing Office version); in Whitehill's, David Britt (p. 35, last name/p. 81, last column). Both appear to be transcription errors, dropping some people who existed; if that is true, the total number of households came to 3,019; if not, these entries may represent absentee landowners whose names were intended to be lined out before transcription. Occupations are limited to rare appearances of such abbreviations as "Rev'd." or "Widow" which seem to have been as apt appellations as given names in their particular cases, sometimes with and sometimes without the persons' given names provided in the entries. Douglass had assistance from someone not yet identified in transcribing his work; in two portions of his return the second hand left its evidence.

Douglass's last entry is a record of the household of Andrew Richardson of Southampton, Shippensburg, or Newton Township.¹² Comparing these schedules, containing such sparse data on the municipalities where the enumerated people lived, with the 1789 tax lists yields valuable information. Long stretches of the census schedules are now ascribed to particular townships and boroughs, making it possible to track the two assistant marshals on their rounds to some degree. The possibility that in transcription the pages of the original records were shuffled cannot be ruled out. Here are the townships and boroughs in order of visitation, with the number of households recorded in each visit to a continuously ascribed portion for that municipality.

by William Douglass		
Toboynne Township	163	
Newton Township (part 1 of 2 parts)	179	
West Pennsborough Township (see Whitehill)	306	
Newton Township (part 2 of 2 parts)	305	(total, 484)
not determined	2	
Hopewell Township	214	
Shippensburg Township (probably including Southampton Township)	113	
	1,282	
by James Whitehill		
Tyrone Township (part 1 of 4)	66	
not determined	3	
Middleton Township (part 1 of 7)	63	
Rye Township (part 1 of 5)	55	
East Pennsborough Township (part 1 of 5)	125	
not determined	6	
Rye Township (part 2 of 5)	98	
East Pennsborough Township (part 2 of 5)	67	
not determined	9	
Middleton Township (part 2 of 7)	27	
Rye Township (part 3 of 5)	5	
some of West Pennsborough Township	29	
Rye Township (part 4 of 5)	15	
Greenwood Township	133	
Tyrone Township (part 2 of 4; mixed with some Allen Township households, part 1 of 3)	123	
probably Tyrone Township (part 3 of 4)	1	
Carlisle (part 1 of 2)	100	
Middleton Township (part 3 of 7)	72	
Allen Township (part 2 of 3)	114	
Middleton Township (part 4 of 7)	125	
Carlisle (part 2 of 2)	198	(total, 298)
Middleton Township (part 5 of 7)	19	
not determined	22	
East Pennsborough Township (part 3 of 5; mixed with some Middleton Township households, part 6 of 7, and ending with Robert Whitehill's household)	60	
Middleton Township (part 7 of 7)	20	(total, 326+)
Tyrone Township (part 4 of 4)	38	(total, 105+)
Allen Township (part 3 of 3)	52	(total, 166+)

not determined (probably Rye Township, part 5 of 5,
and/or East Pennsborough Township, part 4 of 5)
East Pennsborough Township (part 5 of 5)

10
82 (total, 274+)

1,737

(total not determined, both districts, 42 plus 193 partly determined)
Total households in county: 3,109 including
2 with no entries but the heads' names

It is clear that Douglas was either more familiar with or more particular in considering the municipal boundaries. Pennsylvania's townships had weaker governmental status and less defined borders than their equivalents in other colonies or states, accounting (with the likely confusion of pages) for the lesser evident attention to them in the Whitehill record. If James Whitehill's pages were not rearranged, he began his work at the William Hamilton household in what was then Tyrone Township (central Perry County today) and concluded with that of John Mish in East Pennsborough Township as then bounded. As for Douglass, familiarity with the region is easy to understand, as he had close relatives residing in nearly every township in his district.

The 1790 census of Cumberland County is extant on forty-three pages of paper with the raw names and numbers and giving not much other evidence of any kind. These sheets at first glance, therefore, have little besides antiquarian and patriotic value. That they survived at all is remarkable, given their later handling. The returns were duly made to Marshall Biddle and included in the aggregate state information forwarded to Jefferson and Washington. The official results for the nation were printed in a small volume which became rare. The manuscripts were deposited by the marshalls with their respective district courts (failure to do so would have cost a stiff fine), but before doing so in Pennsylvania, Biddle leafed through the Philadelphia returns and either copied out or had a clerk transcribe all the names and occupations, which he then alphabetized and published in 1791 under his own name as a city directory. Historians realized long ago that the plan for a directory was the only reason the enumerators recorded occupations in Philadelphia and nowhere else in the state, not Madison's idea.

Responsibility for taking (and therefore retaining) census, like many other regular government tasks, was shifted among agencies. Records other than current held not a great deal of interest to most incumbent officeholders. In the Nineteenth Century disasters such as fires plagued the department offices of the federal government, and new bureaucrats repeatedly attacked perceived clutter. In the absence of a national archives agency, millions upon millions of pages of valuable historic papers of the early federal administrations disappeared forever. In 1814 the capital city was attacked and seized by foreign invaders who burned repositories of documents which would provide grist for the governing; the Madison Administration had short notice but carted part of the archives to safe refuge in advance of the British arrival.

The manuscripts remained in the district court offices until an act was signed May 28, 1830, requiring the clerks of district courts to transfer whatever schedules of the 1790, 1800, and 1820 censuses were in their custody to the Secretary of State. Nineteen years later, when the Department of the Interior was established, the 1790-1840 censuses were placed in the custody of the Secretary of the new agency, who placed them in a vault in the Patent Office. There they stayed for another fifty-five years, fraying as the curious and the family seekers rifled through them under minimal supervision. In June 1904, they were transferred to the Census Office and came to the attention of its highest officials immediately; they were rescued.

Included in the "sunday civil appropriation" enactment of Congress for the fiscal year 1907 was a measure to preserve the 1790 schedules which had been pressed by individuals and patriotic societies. It called for the publication of the text of the lists of heads of families with the data behind each name. First examination of the old records revealed that not all states' schedules had survived, but all of the ones for Pennsylvania were in existence.¹³ In 1908 the complete text of the Pennsylvania returns appeared in print with an index to every name. In subsequent years the manuscript schedules were turned over to the National Archives, an agency created in 1934, and they were microfilmed. Historical and genealogical researchers now have access to the information, just as the assistant marshals recorded it, without needing to travel to Washington or to handle and cause more decay to the original documents. A copy of the 1908 volume has been in the collection of the Cumberland County Historical Society longer than anyone now can remember.

ENDNOTES

¹ Much information in this article is drawn from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909). The Congressional action on credit is in Library Of Congress, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), II: 103, 207.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI: 1129-1130.

³ See John Bach McMaster and Frederick Stone eds., *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (Philadelphia: H.S.P., 1888), 283-289.

⁴ *DAB*, Vol. 1, pp. 239-240. R. S. Cotterill wrote the entry.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 12, 1765. Placing the advertisement was technically a defiance of the Stamp Act.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIII (1919), 198.

⁷ It has been pointed out since the publication of the Nineteenth-Century county histories that the lists they had drawn from had appeared in Carlisle newspapers in 1873 with what appears to be a printing error. The supposed error had not been made, however, when I. D. Rupp wrote his history

in 1846 and included the same material. The error was an apparent misreading of "1753" for "1758."

⁸ "An account of the sales of the personal Estate of Joseph Wilson deceased, made on the fourteenth day of May 1788" (flat ms. 7-1) and "Acct. of Mrs. [Catherine] Bear" (tentatively dated 1796; 2-15-1), Robert Whitehill Papers, Cumberland County Historical Society.

⁹ Telephone conversation with Dr. Robert Grant Crist, 12 February 1993.

¹⁰ See Willard R. Douglass, *The Douglass Family of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (c. 1904), ed., Jeanne Douglass Mead, 1980. Mead's contribution was to identify the younger Douglass as being born in 1765 to George Douglass, brother of the elder William. The nephew survived past 1820 in Perry County, having moved by 1797 to land in Tyrone Township.

¹¹ *2nd Samuel* 24.

¹² It is difficult to determine where Richardson lived. His name is not on the county tax lists of 1789 and 1793. The last portion of the Douglass record is full of Shippensburg names, but the next to last name adjacent to Richardson's, Ezekial Mitchell, appears in the Newton Township portion of the 1793 septennial state census for the county.

¹³ It is not known why one Dickinson Township return and one for Baffalo Township, both in the early 1800s, are incomplete.

From Carlisle and Fort Couch The War of Corporal John Cantilion

James A. Holechek

John Cantilion was a tall, handsome soldier when he stepped into Ordnance Sergeant Lewis Leffman's office at Fort Niagara. The old sergeant was somewhat of a legend in the Niagara area. He had fought with Wellington's Hanovian forces at Waterloo in 1815. Shortly after he joined the British army and shipped to Canada. His next assignment was to have been the disease-plagued islands in the south, so he arranged an early departure to Hancock Barracks, Sackets Harbor, New York, where he enlisted at twenty-seven in the United States Army, 30 August 1829. He was a tough disciplinarian. Among other achievements, he was reputed to be the best drill sergeant in the entire army.

Cantilion, in awe of Sergeant Leffman, was even more nervous than usual on that spring morning in 1862. He was about to ask Leffman for his only daughter's hand in marriage. Sarah Leffman was a lovely woman at age 37. Her Irish and German heritage had blended into a tall willowy person. In her youth, she had married John Ledget and had two daughters by him before he died.

John Cantilion held a strong appeal for Sarah. Except for fiery brown eyes and tall stature, he reminded her of her father. They were both attractive men and they both seemed to have the military in their blood. Maybe that was why Leffman embraced his future son-in-law, and now Sarah and the children would move out.

John was a private in the 4th Regiment of the United States Cavalry, dashing in his dark-blue uniform with its yellow trim and polished riding boots. His five-year enlistment was coming to an end. Sarah wanted him to get out of the

army and get a job in the area. In fact, there had been talk that the 1678 fort was about to get some much needed renovations and, with her father commanding the installation, John could look forward to a good construction job.

The marriage took place 22 May up the Niagara River in the tiny hamlet of Lewiston. Under the eye of the Reverend Mr. Page.

Even as they greeted friends in the bright sunshine outside St. Paul's Episcopal Church, there was an uneasiness in John's stomach. He loved his wife, but he was not sure of his built-in family. Young Sarah was four, and Hetty was just a baby. Almost suddenly he had responsibilities and he was not sure how that would compare with the derring-do of life in the cavalry should he remain. He had made some strong friends during his first enlistment, and there were signs the excitement of battle would soon be on them again. John had tasted the fury of combat during fifteen engagements with the Mexicans and Rebels over the years. He had "seen the elephant" and he liked the smell of black powder, sweaty horseflesh and the total confusion of battle. In the last fight, he had taken a Mini ball in his leg. It was a glancing shot, but his shinbone was still sore enough to cause a slight limp whenever he thought about it. John was not a complainer however, and he considered his wound just another experience expected of a career soldier.

Sent to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to muster out, Cantilion then took the train down to Baltimore. It was a wild place and fun for young men. Several of his friends joined him later. The bawdy houses beckoned and the music from the gin mills along Baltimore Street were a break from barrack life.

No one had imagined that the Civil War would have lasted as long as it had. John had just heard from his father that his brother had been killed fighting for the Union. John had said that no Rebel shot or shell had his name on it. Yet in the old boarding house where he and his friends had flopped for the night, he did consider his own mortality. And he considered the prospect of becoming a civilian and settling down in the village of Youngstown, just outside the gates of Fort Niagara. He thought of his wife and her two young daughters and her recent letter that informed him that they could expect their own baby in February.

There would be much to miss outside the army. John made his decision to re-enlist as he walked the harbor waterfront the next morning. He would sign on for another five years and spare himself by not telling Sarah until he had done so.

He found himself back at the Carlisle Barracks mustered in for another hitch. His buddies were happy to hear the news and kidded him about his late-in-life marriage.

John did not like the jokes and told them so, but the barrack humor continued until John personally put a stop to it physically.



CORPORAL John Cantilion
before the Civil War. From the
author's collection.

Sarah had wanted to visit him, and he thought it was the best of a bad time to show her off to his friends. It would also satisfy Sarah and what seemed to be a constant whining in her weekly letters.

He made arrangements to have her ship her luggage to the barracks where he could look after it. If he was to be stationed at Carlisle, she and the children could live in one of the rooming houses in town.

At that time, he wrote a concerned letter to his father:

Carlisle, June 19th 1863

My dear father

i half just set down to write a few lines to let you know that i am back in the land of the living. i am hoping that these few lines may find you and all the family injoying the Same blessing. i received a letter from you when i was in mexicow. i was a soldier and am still one. i half served five years and am on my second five. For the last five years i have seen some very hard times and some very hot times. i half rode for miles where there was nothing but a mass of dead boddes. i now belong to the general mounted Calvary. Father you may talk about your european wars but this war is one of the cruelest and worst wars that was ever since William drove James over the Boyne. McClellan and hooker rode thear horses as gay as William wrode his gray. Father you know my first reason for enlisting. When i received your letter in mexicow it grieved me very much to heare the death of my brother. You mentioned to me that Mary Ann Churchill was married to Albert [illegible] which pleased me very much for taking her off my hands. if he knew as much about her as i did he never would have married her. The third child that you wrote about i denigh knowing any thing about and for those lessons you can't blame me for doing what I half done.

When i herd that she was married i think that i was at Liberty to do the same and now i half got as fine a woman as [illegible] on the American ground. i buried too as pretty twin children last October as you ever see. i buried them at fort Niagara [illegible] a boy and a girl. at the same time i was a parole prisoner waiting too be exchanged. i am now writing this letter at the house at twelve oclock at night under Marching orders with foure hundred recruits to go too the field to join thear regiment. i half been a Littell of every thing in the army from a drum beater too a privat and could have had a comisheon a great many times only that my education wouldn't alow it. i have been in fifteen generell ingagements and never got a wound but one on my Shin bone. Jeff Davis seems to hurry and my opinion is that he whill soon half to come to terms for his army is in terrible condition for they are hungry and filthy. It will give me great pleasher to heare from my brothers and sisters and i hope father that you while not forget to answer this letter and let me know all particulars since i left home when you recieve another letter from me which whill be as soon as i get a proper Chance to give you my directions. If you don't recieve a letter from me hereafter you May consider that i half fallen a soldier on the field. i whill half to conclude by giving my best respects to all inquiring friends if we never meet in this world. i hope that we whill meet in the world to come. No more this time from your affectionate son John Cantilion good by.

It was mid-June and the Confederate troops of Robert E. Lee were on the move north after a brilliant victory at Chancellorsville, Virginia. Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell, the one-legged leader of II Corps, was rumored to be crossing the mountains separating the Shenandoah Valley in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile Major General Joseph Hooker was trying to explain himself to President Abraham Lincoln for the disaster at Chancellorsville for which he concluded "we lost no honor," but Hooker had lost his credibility. So much so that his senior corp commander, Major General Darius Nash Couch, resigned and was assigned to command the Department of the Susquehanna, a 250-man force with headquarters at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

On 19 June 1863, Ewell was being pushed by Lee toward Chambersburg with orders to capture Harrisburg if the "development of circumstances . . . comes within your means." Ewell's lead division under Major General Robert Rodes, on June 25, had split off two brigades under Major General Edward Johnson who was to drive through Carlisle east to Harrisburg. On June 27, Ewell raised the Confederate flag over the United States Army Cavalry Barracks where he had been stationed before the war.

In the meantime, John Cantilion was promoted to corporal and assigned to instructing the troops on firing the cavalry cannon. He felt as if he were finally being appreciated and that his destiny was being fulfilled. Just a few days earlier, most of the troops from the Carlisle Barracks had been hurried east to future Lemoyne to man three quickly constructed forts surrounding the



SARAH LEFFMAN Cantillon
from the author's collection.

bridgeheads to the capital. Still there was the perplexing problem of Sarah's determination to come to the area to live. This just was not the time, and he wrote to her from his muddy tent overlooking the bank of the Susquehanna River.

Fort Couch, Pa.
June 23, 1863

My dear Sarah

Your very kind and tender letter of yesterday I received this moment and I hasten without a delay to inform that I am happy to learn that you my dearest is well. But my dear Sarah how can I convey to you even the least idea of my suffering on your account. Oh! how heart rending to know that you my faithful & true wife are in such dilemma far from me and your parents are not having it in my power to help you. God knows this is true. I hope that ere you receive this that you will have the pleasure of receiving father's letter but if not write him again immediately & hide nothing from him. I hope that your letter from him has not as you fear it has been misled. I have seen your baggage several times generally when off duty for I call when Opportunity allows for I expect you daily. Your baggage is safe. You say that you were told that I did not get you letters. I got three which I answered at the receipt of each. I don't see why you have not received as many. There must be something wrong in regards to your letters. I am dear Sarah in good health but very unhappy and as I said above entirely on your account. We are still as you see by the heading On this letter at Fort Couch. A very pretty hill right across the river from Harrisburgh. I was appointed Corporal on our arrival here and I am artillery instructor. Our detachment drills at the Field Battery twice a day. We do not know how long we may remain here. there is no certainty.

all my ambition is to see you & to know that you are safely through this difficulty. Dearest Sarah answer this immediately. God grant that you may have good news.

I thank Etty for her kind remembrances & tell her that I enjoyed all the kisses and send in return many thousands.

Captain Fletcher wishes to be kindly remembered to you. he thanks kindly for your remembrance of him.

No more at present from your
Ever faithful husband
John Cantilon

Direct as follows
Corpl. John Cantilon
4th U. S. Cavalry
Camp Couch, Harrisburgh, Pa.

In care of Lieut. McDonald

Corporal Cantilon and his buddies had been put to work digging the earthworks and rifle pits of Fort Couch, one of three forts built in Bridgeport (Lemoyne) to repulse a Confederate attack on the capital.

Earlier on 16 June, beleaguered troops from Milroy's command which had retreated from defeat at Winchester, Virginia, reinforced the soldiers.

One 20 June, engineer Captain J. B. Wheeler was ordered by General Couch to inspect the breastwork forts. Besides the soldiers, a number of civilians had been employed to complete four block houses. They were the best that could be built but to a practiced eye insufficient to stop the Confederates from seizing Harrisburg.

Ewell sent a cavalry brigade under Brigadier General Albert Gallatin Jenkins to reconnoiter the approach to Harrisburg. On 28 June Jenkins camped just west of Camp Hill three miles from the Susquehanna River, opposite the Pennsylvania capital. He sent out troops who made contact and skirmished with Couch's pickets. The next day, there was a larger fight at Oyster's Point in Camp Hill and again at Sporting Hill on the Carlisle Pike.

The Confederates never reached the fortifications before they were recalled to Gettysburg. It was the farthest north that the invasion was carried.

It is doubtful that Cantilon ever left Fort Couch for the battlefield at Gettysburg. By the time the site had been chosen to fight that battle, there would have been little time to organize the relatively green troops for the thirty-mile march south.

Not long after the Confederates fled south, duty for Cantilon and his 4th U. S. Cavalry was over. In a few days, troops were herded onto a train and shipped to the western front at Nashville. Once the city had been won the 4th U. S. fought well in frays, at Franklin and Murfreesboro, and John Cantilon had done well in battle.



ORDNANCE SERGEANT Lewis Leffman wearing a New York Militia uniform in a photograph taken just after the Civil War. From the author's collection.

Nashville reminded John Cantilion of Baltimore, Maryland. He found much to do between missions. There was continuing training for all the horse soldiers. He spent many hours getting his men ready to ride and handle the Sharps rifle, sword and six-shot Colt pistol.

John had additional duties. As a corporal, he was sent to check on a private Frederic Schaefer. The soldier had been acting strangely and had tendencies to straggle. Upon reaching Schaeffer's tent, he was accosted by the young man who seemed crazier than Cantilion had been told.

Within seconds after Cantilion had seen the pistol, he was lying on his back struggling to get away from the deranged private and screaming that he had been shot!

The wound was nasty . . . in the fleshy part of his abdomen. He was rescued by other members of Company H, who subdued Schaefer and put him into chains.

Cantilion was bandaged, and, placed in a horse-drawn ambulance was taken to Cumberland Hospital outside the city. The bouncing ride was difficult for Cantilion, but he did not complain. He knew no Rebel "Mini" would ever take his life. Perhaps, on the other hand, he mused that this was neither a Mini nor a Rebel shot that put him down.

After making what the doctors had said was a fine recovery, suddenly Corporal John Cantilion died on 12 November 1863. According to the doctor's final report, he had contracted tetanus.

Four days earlier on a cold Sunday evening in Youngstown, New York, John's wife Sarah was writing a letter pleading for some information about the wound he had written about before his strength ebbed. Her letter was never delivered, but when it was received at the hospital, it was simply returned to the sender marked "Dead."

Her undelivered letter explains some of the further fears, pains and hopes of a soldier's wife waiting and waiting.

Fort Niagara, youngstown, N. y. November 8th 1863
Sunday evening

My deare husband

i thought as i felt very lonsom and i had nothing to occupy my mind and you was laing in the hospittall and you would like to hear how i was geting along i would write to you a few Lines. i sent you a Letter last Wednesday and since i sent it i read in the papers that the gureleus had captured two maile trains neare Nashville and i was afraid that you wouldnt get my letter. it is too bad that Little comfort is deprived from us if whe cant See each other that oure letters must be destroyed by them miserable wretches. i want you to write every week to me so that if one letter is Lost prehaps i whill be abbell get the other i will make it abusness every Sunday to write one so that you whill be shure to heare from one or the other. i feel very uneasy about you ever Since i herd you was in the hospittall wounded. You never menchend wether you was wounded bad or not. i am afraid that you are. Let me know if you are and what part of your body is and How long you whill remaine in the hospittall. dont you keep one thing from me for if you do you know what the result whill be if ever I lay eys on you. i am very anches to See you my deare. you may imagen my feelings many a time and espechily Since I herd that you was wounded. i know that you dont get things as you are ust to [illegible] and if i was close to you you Would get many a littell thing that would Nurish you. i often think of you and how you are geting along. you have Seen hard times My Deare and sence you left me i know nothing about it. i half read some very very hard accounts in the papers concernig the troops in Tenesee and you was amongst them. when you answer this Let me know how you half got along theare. Father would Like to get a Letter from you. Let me know what camp and the officers name and the Regiment you belong to how you Like your camp and officers. cant you draw rashings for me. i wish that you could and then i would go into a room by myself. i would be more comfortable. i dont feel very well satisfied the way that i am Living. it was all very well for the first too months after i come home but i am getting to be an old Story. you must naturally guess that i am not as well able to work now as i was when i first come home and that makes a great deale of difference. with me in the home that you know it makes me feell very bad to See how things is a going on. Sometimes i wish if you Could get me rashinggs that you would. Soon with what Mony you could send me i could get along untill spring and then if the god Spare me my health and Life i will be able to earn Something. Father is very sory that you inlisted that you didnt come home when you left Baltimore. He would half got you a chance to earn twelf chilings a day. the ingeeneere department is heare stationed and while be for five years. they half been working ever Since Lewis came home. next Spring there is to be three hundred men to work heare. they are building a double wall all around the fort and quarters. Father Says that i can Make money keeping borders. the Capt. Says that i may half the companyquarters and Bord as many as I like. I am not abbell at present to do so or i would go rightinto it. i am so sorry

my deare Can that you inlisted. We could be so Comfortable living here. Cant you [ineligible] your discharge. try. i wish that you could get a furlough to come home next Month. i shall miss you very much. But at that time if you can send me Some mony i wish you would. I dont want to be without. Then do try. i wish that i could Send you some tobaco in a packey. Let me know if it would be Safe and i whill Send you Some or anything els you want. there is nothing new here. it is the same as when you Left. it is Snowing Like fun while i am writing. Let me know if it is cold wheare you are. my health is as good as can be expected. Just now the children is well and often ask me when you are coming home. i cant tell them. i hope soon. You are often spoken off. dont fret my deare Can, i hope that god whill spure you to come home to me once more for i need you very much. it is hard to be parted this way and dont know wether we whill ever See each other again i hope that you whill send me your likness. you half got mign. i want you to try and do So as soon as you can. i Shall look for it. you Stay in the hospitill as long as you can. You whill miss some battels by so doing and when you do Leave Let me know the directions to you. you told me thear was never a ball made to hit you you cant tell what is ahead of you. i hope that if anything does happen to you theare whill be Some way for me to heare. Sarah whill soon be abbel to write you a letter. She improoves very fast. She is getting a large girl. hetty is a wild girl. She sends you twelf big kisses and wants you come home. She has lots to tell you when you come home. When you direct my letters direct them to Mrs. Meufary in the care of Father. i think they whill come safer. We dont think much [of] our post master. i half nothing more to write this time. the famely all Sends theare love to you and hops to Soon see you home. Answer this by return of maile. dont faile. Nothing more this time My dear Can from youre ever true and affectionate wife.

Sarah Cantilion

Send me directions to
your fathers. i sent
that letter and i think
it wasent directed.

i whill try again and Let
you know the result. Bony
is still living and well.

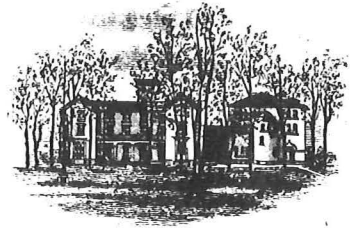
Farewell this time.

Corporal John Cantilion's burial site was not known to his family until August 1993, when it was discovered by his great, great grand son-in-law, the author. He had begun his search two years earlier. A ranger historian at Chickamauga, Georgia suggested a visit to the Nashville National Cemetery.

It took cemetery officials less than five minutes to locate a "Cpl. John Cantelion," 4th U. S. Cavalry in Section E, grave 109. In a week, all the documentation arrived with a color photograph of the gravestone.

Four generations of wondering had ended.

Sarah Cantilion had her baby, Mary Elizabeth, on January 16, 1864, in the "castle" at Fort Niagara. Two years after the death of her husband, she received an \$8 pension. She died on January 12, 1893, just six months after her aged mother. Both are buried in the "1812 Cemetery" outside the old fort. They lay next to Sergeant Leffman, who in 1991 was inducted into the Ordnance Hall of Fame at Aberdeen, Maryland, and in 1993 had a home park named after him at the installation.



**IRVING COLLEGE
AND MUSIC CONSERVATORY
MECHANICSBURG, PA.**



"IRVING GIRL"

1905 IRVING COLLEGE calendar featuring Mary Lenore Embick.
Courtesy of Alize Z. Flower.

Lenore Embick Flower

Dawn Flower

As a genealogist, Lenore Embick Flower was very much aware of her ancestry. It may be proper, therefore, to begin with a mention of her immediate ancestors: John Dunbar and Agnes Waugh Greason Dunbar. A tombstone marks their grave at Carlisle's First Presbyterian Church-Meeting House Springs Cemetery. On the reverse side of the headstone are the names of six of their children who died of diphtheria during the 1850s. The sole surviving child was Mary Elizabeth Dunbar, mother of Lenore Embick Flower.¹

After the death of John Dunbar in 1869, Mary, as she was called, and her mother moved to Carlisle where Mary met Milton Addison Embick who had been born and reared on a farm near Greencastle that the family called Rose Hill. His parents were John Embick and Sarah Catherine Fohl. Milton was their only son and the eighth child in a family of ten children.² In the late 1850s, he returned to his family's original homestead in Lebanon where he studied at the Lebanon Academy.³

During the Civil War, Milton A. Embick served in the Union Army as a private in the Third Division, Ninth Corps. Following the war, he returned to aid in the management of his father's farm. In the Fall of 1874 he became the first Democrat from Franklin County to be in the Pennsylvania legislature, serving until 1876. During this two-year term of office the Democrats were in the majority. Because of his familiarity with parliamentary procedures, he was often called upon to preside over the House.⁵ During the 1870s, eleven trains traveled each way daily across the Cumberland Valley to and from Harrisburg. Representative Embick, a family friend of the Dunbars, often stopped in Carlisle where he courted his future wife.⁶

On Christmas Eve, 1874, Mary Elizabeth Dunbar married Milton A. Embick in the parlor of a brick townhouse at 166 West Pomfret Street, Carlisle, the

present residence of Dr. Milton E. Flower. Somehow, one hundred guests crowded into the Dunbar home to witness the ceremony.⁷

“In 1880, Mr. Embick moved to Boiling Springs where he was for some years engaged in the mercantile business with his brother-in-law.”⁸ Mary and Milton Embick, known as Dunbar, attended Dickinson College and was graduated from the West Point Military Academy in 1899. Dunbar’s distinguished military career included being a “member of the American Section of the Supreme War Council (during WWI) and then a Member of the American Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918-1919.”⁹ He rose through the ranks of the military and became one of six generals raised in 1939 to the rank of Lieutenant General.¹⁰ He retired from the military in 1941 and was shortly thereafter recalled from retirement because of the imminence of World War II. His many assignments during WWII included the Chairmanship of the “Joint Strategic Survey Committee . . . (Which he) directed . . . in its preparation of the over-all strategic plans for the American participation in World War II.”¹¹

The second child was James Bayard Embick, who owned a railroad supply company based in Baltimore. The youngest of the three, born November 8, 1883, was then known as Mary Lenore Embick, and is the subject of this paper. She was doted upon by her entire family especially her Father.¹²

Mary Lenore Embick spent her youth in Boiling Springs. Unfortunately, little is known about her early years. Perhaps her first of many public appearances occurred when she was fifteen. Her father became well known in Grand Army of the Republic circles and was elected Secretary of his Division, the Ninth Corps, Army of the Potomac. General John Hartranft, later a Governor of Pennsylvania, was the division commander.¹³ The men of the Division organized a committee that included Milton Embick to commission a statue that would serve as a tribute to their Civil War leader. At the fifth reunion meeting of the Division, on May 11, 1899 the eve of the statue’s presentation, the following is recorded regarding Milton’s daughter: “At this meeting the action of the (equestrian statue) commission in selecting Miss Mary Lenore Embick to unveil the monument was approved, and by resolution duly passed, Miss Embick was selected as the daughter of the division.”¹⁴ On May 12, 1899, Lenore unveiled the life size statue of horse and rider during the dedication ceremony. This statue remains today, nearly a century later, in Capitol Park, Harrisburg as a memorial to General Hartranft.

Lenore Embick attended Irving College, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania from 1901 until her graduation in 1904. Irving Female College, was a Lutheran college that had a strong music and drama department. Known in college as Mary Lenore, she excelled particularly in writing. The history that she wrote in 1966

mentions the variety of drama and plays open to the public that the students presented, specifically: "One time in 1904, the Class Day "spoofed" its faculty, personifying each in turn in a three act play. Faculty appreciation of the venture was varied but to the delight of the class Dr. H. N. Fegley, Professor of Bible and German, volunteered the green baize bag in which he carried his books and his beloved spats for use in costuming. The girl who took his part delightedly used and wore the spats in exactly the way the old doctor did—with the buttons turned inside."¹⁵ An original copy of this program exists in the Mechanicsburg Library's Irving College Collection.

Mrs. Flower neglected to mention a few important facts about the aforementioned play in her history of the college. The 1904 Class Play, "A Farce in Three Acts," was not only written by her, but she also acted in it. Further inspection of the play program reveals that she was given the title of Class poet and wrote the following class song to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne:"

Class Song

*From Irving's halls there comes a class
Loyal and brave and true;
Untarnished waves her pennant still,
The dear old red and blue.*

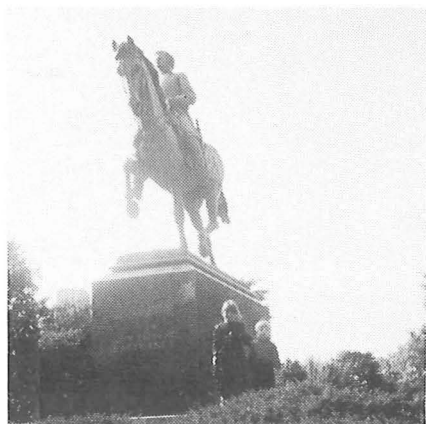
*Chorus-Then here's to thee nineteen four,
Both now and ever more;
We'll drink to thee a hearty toast,
"The class of nineteen four."*

*In school-days when we struggle with
Our burdens hard to bear;
Twas up to nineteen four just then
Her valor to declare.*

*United we have fought and won
All battles in the past,
And still united we shall win
All battles till the last.*

*While Irving lives-till time shall end
They'll speak of nineteen four;
They'll oft recount her glorious deeds,
In peace as well as war.¹⁶*

Later that same year, she was chosen by Irving College President Dr. E. E. Campbell, to be the Irving girl photographed for the 1905 school calendar.



LENORE RAMSEY Flower and James Dunbar Flower III pose in front of the Hartranft statue in Capitol Park, Harrisburg. Their great-grandmother unveiled the statue nearly a century ago. Photograph by the author.

Years later on a trip to Grindalwald, a remote part of Switzerland, Lenore was told that there were no other Americans in the vicinity. Much to her delight and surprise, a fellow alumna of Irving College, who was staying at the same hotel identified her as the 1905 Irving Calendar girl. The fellow American in the remote town in Switzerland was a Freshman the year Lenore was a Senior at Irving.¹⁷

Following her graduation from Irving College, Lenore Embick worked in the Harrisburg office of Dr. Samuel Dixon, Pennsylvania's Commissioner of Health who had known the Embicks in Franklin County. During this time she met her future husband Clarence Guiles Flower. The son of Benjamin George Flower and Mary Elizabeth Newman Flower, he graduated from Spring Grove High School and attended business school in Harrisburg. He worked for the Montgomery Coal Company until 1902 when he took a position with the Harrisburg Postal Service. He later became the assistant superintendent of the Allison Hill Branch of the Harrisburg Post Office, and from 1922 until his retirement in 1944 he served as the superintendent of the West End Branch of the Harrisburg Post Office.¹⁸

Mary Lenore Embick married Clarence Guiles Flower on 11 September 1907 at Saint Johns Lutheran Church in Boiling Springs. The wedding took place at 6:00 P.M. It is said that the bride-to-be carefully scheduled the time of the wedding so that when the vows were exchanged, the light from the setting sun shone through the stained glass window onto the altar.¹⁹ A description of the wedding appeared in the September 12, 1907 edition of the *Sentinel* under the heading "Flower-Embick, Fashionable Wedding at Boiling Springs Last

Evening.” The description of the wedding that followed is interesting not only for the facts it contains, but also for the old fashioned style of the article. It reads in part as follows:

One of the prettiest of the early Autumnal weddings, as well as one of the most fashionable, may be justly claimed by the popular little town of Boiling Springs. We refer to the Flower-Embick nuptials, which were solemnized in the beautiful Lutheran Church of that place last evening. The prominence of the parties was the occasion of the gathering of a large number of guests from this and adjoining counties, and even from some of the large cities . . . The bride wore an imported Brussel's lace gown over chiffon and over taffeta and a tulle veil held in place with orange blossoms fastened with a pearl crescent the gift of the groom. She carried a Lutheran Prayer book bound in white satin, through the pages of which was laid a bride's rose.²⁰

A young neighbor boy, Laverne Lafever, remembers the Chinese style lanterns illuminating the garden patio for the wedding reception. He was one of many children who stood across the street to watch the festivities. He recalled that the children were most fascinated with the black waiters serving the food at the catered buffet.²¹

The newlywed couple honeymooned at the Hotel Chamberlain in Hampton Roads, Virginia. This enabled the couple to visit Lenore's eldest brother, Dunbar who was stationed at nearby Fort Monroe. Nearly seventy-five years later, their only daughter, Elizabeth and her husband Dr. Benjamin James chose the Hotel Chamberlain as their honeymoon site as well.²²

After her marriage Mrs. Flower continued her work in the Department of Health office with Dr. Dixon, and lived with her husband in a house on State Street in Susquehanna Township, near Harrisburg. Guiles was always supportive of Lenore's community interests outside the home. Their first child Milton Embick Flower was born in 1910. With the arrival of one son and the anticipated arrival of the second child, the young wife and mother were bound to be kept very busy.²³

The Carlisle Indian School had developed a training program that was called the “Outing System.” Male students were permitted to live with farmers and learn to work with them on the land, or stayed with tradesmen such as printers and electricians to learn these trades. Female students were trained to be nursing assistants or to run a household. In all cases, the “outing system” applied to non-urban living.²⁴

Lenore's father knew the Indian School superintendents. Although the Flowers' address was Harrisburg, they lived in the less urban setting of Susquehanna Township. Lenore Flower arranged to have an Indian student come to live with her family and learn to run a household. For three years, an

Indian girl came each year to live with the family. The first Indian assistant was living with the Flower family when Elizabeth Dunbar Flower was born.²⁵

Every summer the family moved into the Embick house on Pomfret Street. Mary Elizabeth Dunbar Embick, Lenore Flower's mother, died in 1911. The feelings of her loved ones toward her are reflected on her tombstone in the Old Graveyard, Carlisle, which bears the simple line: "Her life was faultless." After her mother's death, a permanent move to Carlisle was contemplated.²⁶

Lenore and Guiles and their two children, Milton and Elizabeth moved to Carlisle in 1915 to be with Mr. Embick, (affectionately known as Colonel Embick), Lenore's father, at 166 West Pomfret Street.²⁷

During her childbearing years in the early 1900s, Lenore was active in the women's suffrage movement. She was an able public speaker, a talent that she attributed to her father. She frequently spoke for women's suffrage at county fairs, labor organizations and similar meetings. Dr. Milton Flower recalls being on his Father's shoulders at age four, as he watched his mother speak to the crowds at the York Fair. He surprised his mother by telling her of this early recollection. She replied that she was sure that at this young age he did not realize that several of the conservative German farmers' wives, listening attentively to Lenore's speech, were dragged away by their husbands lest they get any inappropriate ideas.²⁸

After her move to Carlisle in 1915, she continued to be active in the movement. Although she no longer had the assistance from the Indian School students to care for the children, her father's help allowed her to continue her outside interests. Guiles Flower, Jr., was born in Carlisle in the Spring of 1917, to be followed by James Dunbar Flower in 1920.²⁹

When the Nineteenth Amendment was finally approved in 1920, a group of friends approached Lenore to run for Carlisle School Board, and although she lost the election, she was the first woman to run for public office in Cumberland County.³⁰ Several years later, the *Sentinel* wrote the following about Lenore and her work in this area: "The League of Women Voters was formed in 1920 as a service to newly enfranchised women. This, too, was a local concern for Mrs. Flower. Still in her home is a dainty Bavarian china demi-tasse bearing the legend "votes for women" around the rim in gold. It was sometimes served at tea to men visitors in her home as a genteel reminder that their influence might be helpful to her political cause."³¹

In 1915 Lenore joined the Civic Club of Carlisle. During this era no social service organizations existed, and the Civic Club became active in establishing community causes. In March of 1918, Lenore became president of the Civic Club. One focus of the club was promoting playgrounds for Carlisle's

children. Two playgrounds, Linder (corner of Park and Louther Streets), and Mission (donated by John Hays in 1919 at a value of \$2,000) were well established and attended during the summer of 1919. A new playground, the Lincoln, on Franklin Street (utilizing apparatus formerly used by the Indian School and bought from the Government by the Civic Club) was founded by the Club. Summer programs were organized and conducted by members of the Civic Club of Carlisle at these sites as well.³²

As president, Mrs. Flower supervised all three playground programs during the summer. Two year old Guiles, Jr., could be seen over much of Carlisle that summer in his stroller as his Mother walked miles weekly to view the three playground programs and aid where necessary.³³

During Lenore's first year term as president of the Civic Club, the membership swelled from approximately 125 members to 200 members. This large number of dedicated women accomplished many goals. Lenore Flower had a knack for discovering worthy causes in Carlisle and suggested the Civic Club begin projects to meet some of these needs. She was known to be able gently and tactfully to persuade even reluctant individuals to work for worthy causes.³⁴

A group of women in the Civic Club in Carlisle identified the need for a "hostess house" to accommodate soldiers from World War I wishing to meet the town's eligible girls under careful supervision. The club's nest egg of \$2,000 was donated to the building fund as an 'initial subscription' to create a "hostess house."³⁵

The Civic Club of Carlisle continued to raise money in a variety of ways to support many war projects. Monies were raised through the collection of metal, tires, and steel by the Salvage Committee which made \$692 in 1919. It raised \$1,400 in 1920 through the combined efforts of two rummage and salvage sales, a food sale, a gift shop, and a home talent play. In 1919, the Civic Club realized its dream of a "hostess house"—that became the Carlisle YWCA.³⁶ Mrs. Flower was involved with the board of the YWCA for many years and served as its president in 1934-36.³⁷

Linked with the establishment of the YWCA on West High Street, was the purchase of an office for the Carlisle Chapter of the American Red Cross (established in 1917). The Board of the Carlisle Red Cross purchased a room from the YWCA for \$2,000. Mrs. Flower began a career of service to the Board of the Carlisle American Red Cross as publicity chairman in 1920 and continued in that capacity through the decade. She also served on the Japanese Relief Committee in 1923. She was elected treasurer in the 1930s and was elected to the Board of Trustees for the Carlisle Chapter in 1936.³⁸



James D. Flower and Lenore E. Flower (seated). Clarence Guiles Flower and Elizabeth Flower (standing).

Consistent with these concerns, the Civic Club also saw the need for a person to work with the girls to avoid “Trouble” (with a capital “T”). The Civic Club created a position known as “Protective Officer” who would educate and work with the young women to avoid pregnancy and the spread of venereal disease. The first protective officer was hired at the end of the war without unnecessary red tape as the result of the intervention of a distinguished close friend of Lenore Flower from her Irving College days, Jane Deeter, Class of 1902. Jane Deeter Rippon, a social worker, directed all social workers at large soldiers camps in World War I. She later became Director of the National Girl Scouts serving until her death as its magazine editor.³⁹ The salary of the protective officer was paid for by the government the first year and entirely covered by funds raised by the Civic Club the second year.⁴⁰ In later years the protective officer became the welfare officer and a member of the Board of The Welfare Association of Carlisle, one of the many names given to this progressive agency,⁴² which eventually developed into The Stevens Mental Health Center.⁴³

During Lenore Flower’s presidency the Civic Club paid for and planted a collection of seventeen elm trees, as a memorial to Carlisle soldiers lost during World War I.⁴⁴ Asked to make a speech and introduce the main speaker, Gifford Pinchot, the Pennsylvania State Commissioner of Forestry,⁴⁵ Mrs. Flower first declined because she was eight months pregnant with her fourth child but finally agreed. The dedication ceremony took place at the Lamberton High School Athletics field on 3 May 1920. (Lamberton School faced Graham Street and occupied most of the block between Walnut and Graham, near Mooreland Avenue.) Mrs. Flower stood behind a brick parapet to give her presentation, hiding her condition.⁴⁶ The World War I Elms dedicated in 1920 unfortunately no longer exist because of the demolition of the original Lamberton School and the infestation of Dutch Elm disease. The bronze plaque that marked the memorial trees was removed from the school

grounds before the demolition of the school in 1979. The plaque was subsequently erected in 1980 in what was later called "Veterans Memorial Courtyard" (1983) adjacent to the Old Courthouse, On the Square, Carlisle.⁴⁷

Following her presidency of the Civic Club, her father died in 1921. Not only was this a terrible emotional blow to her because she was so close to her father, but the support her father provided by assisting with the children was sorely missed. During these somewhat difficult economic times she decided that she wanted to employ someone to help with the household in order to free her to pursue her community interests. To secure the added income for her family to provide the assistance she desired, but at the same time remain close to home and her young family, Lenore's interests turned to writing. Her son James remembers that in her lifetime, "she did a lot of work with the idea that she could then afford to employ somebody to do the work in the kitchen and do the laundry. Mrs. Ryder of Hickorytown did the laundry for many years and became a friend as well as an employee, as did everyone who was hired to cook the meals and serve the dinner."⁴⁸

She began with a weekly Friday night series entitled "Harrisburg from the Beginning" for the Harrisburg *Evening News*. This originated as a result of a request from Vance McCormick (who was then the owner of *The Patriot* and *The Evening News*, as well as the Harrisburg Steel Company, now known as HARSCO). The column ran for a year, and was followed by another similar column titled the "Early History of the Cumberland Valley." The Cumberland County Historical Society has a scrapbook containing clippings of the later articles. The managing editor asked Lenore next to do a social column called "Social Chat of Cumberland County."⁴⁹ James Flower recalls that his "mother would be typing at her typewriter into the wee hours after everyone else had gone to bed, as late as midnight or one o'clock. She used the hunt and peck system of typing, two fingers, and went like a whiz."

In 1922, a Mr. Wallace, whose ancestors were from Carlisle, called on Mrs. Flower. He had learned of her historical work and asked her to do a genealogy of his family. His father was General Lew Wallace, author of *Ben Hur*. She hesitated, but a friend assured her that this would entail research at the county court house, review of church records and an examination of appropriate graveyards, none of which seemed too intimidating. After a successful completion of the Wallace genealogy, Lenore Flower began what became a much loved profession over forty years. James Flower recalls being placed on a wide windowsill in the deeds and records office of the old Courthouse with a box of animal crackers to placate him while his Mother conducted her research. She continued her genealogy research until late in life, traveling from county to county to do research for the many clients who consulted her to trace their families. She became the state genealogist for the Daughters of the American Revolution of Pennsylvania.⁵⁰

At her death in 1974, her genealogy file contained over 1,100 families, many containing five or six branches with the same name.⁵¹ The file, currently located at the Cumberland County Historical Society, has become a valuable tool to researchers. The files themselves contain many revealing idiosyncrasies. Her notations and copies of letters sent were often made on the blank reverse side of any used paper reflecting her frugality. She recycled minutes from Civic Club meetings, church bulletins and letters from friends. The Cumberland County Historical Society has found the information on clubs and other civic activities in addition to the genealogical information located in her files so valuable from a historical perspective that they have copied and catalogued both sides of the entire file onto acid free paper. Linda Franklin Witmer, executive director of the Cumberland County Historical Society, estimates that the work of Lenore Flower constitutes approximately 75% of the genealogical resources available at the Hamilton Library. Mrs. Flower many times noted that her genealogical business allowed her to work and did not take her away from her family.⁵²

The Flower family spent many summer vacations at Pine Grove Furnace. They took a train to their rented cottage. Lenore spent much of the week with the children while her husband joined them on weekends. Elizabeth (Betty) James remembers her mother calling to the closed door of the cabin one afternoon about the time her Father was expected to arrive, "Is that you dear?" Much to the surprise of the four children and their mother, the dear was not their expected Father, but a deer D-E-E-R approaching their wooded home. This became a family joke as each time Father heard a deer on the cabin porch he would call out, "Is that you Dear?"⁵³

Lenore pursued her historical interests on her Pine Grove Furnace vacations as well. During one of these vacations, James Flower recalls that his mother wanted to find out something about the Old Graveyard at Pine Grove Furnace. An old woman, Mrs. Wisser, knew where the graveyard was located and agreed to show Lenore its location. One evening, Mrs. Wisser, Lenore and young James went to visit the old graveyard. James recalls Mrs. Wisser as being "a very old woman, whose face was deeply lined with many wrinkles, and she struck him, a young boy, as being an old witch such as one might read of in fairy tales. The three of them went to the graveyard. The graves were much overgrown with tall grasses that needed to be parted to reveal the tombstones. Going through the graveyard, at dusk, with Mrs. Wisser, was a very spooky experience."⁵⁴

Also during these vacations at Pine Grove, Lenore Flower compiled an extensive history of Pine Grove Furnace and the nearby community, primarily through the oral histories of some of the older inhabitants and visits to the local graveyards. She presented a paper on Pine Grove Furnace, 27 June 1933 at the Cumberland County Historical Society's annual picnic. The *Evening*

Sentinel recorded that she read her paper to an audience of 145 members of the Cumberland, Perry and Juniata Historical Societies, as well as A. Boyd Hamilton, President of the State Federation of Historical Societies and Secretary of the State Senate.⁵⁵ Her publication *The History of Pine Grove Furnace* (1933) includes an extensive bibliography.⁵⁶ As most of the people she interviewed and the graveyards she visited no longer exist, her research may be the only record existing today of the history of this area.⁵⁷

Dinners at the Flower home were frequently interrupted by telephone calls for Lenore. Callers would ask historical questions or request that she speak or say a prayer at a local function. For example, she spoke at the dedication for the Governor Ritner Highway and the opening of the Carlisle Community Center on North Pitt and Penn Streets. She was occasionally asked to write a prayer and mail it to the presenter. "Despite the many interruptions, usually very brief, the Flower children would then have an enlightening discussion on whatever topic had been requested. It should be noted that although Lenore Flower was a cornerstone of knowledge for historical information about Carlisle, she was also asked to speak and write about current issues."⁵⁸

Although she loved history, Lenore Embick Flower was very much involved with the present. Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration asked industry to shorten working hours to 35-40 hours per week and establish a minimum wage. Companies agreeing to these terms were asked to sign a contract with the government to that effect, were permitted to display a Blue Eagle (symbol of the National Recovery Administration) poster stating "We do our part" and were placed on a Roll of Honor that was displayed in the Post Office.⁵⁹

Communities were asked to create a Volunteer National Recovery Army to canvass consumers, businesses, and individuals, and to serve as a watchdog to industry to ensure compliance with Blue Eagle contracts, and a check on unemployment to aid in the county's economic recovery. It became most patriotic to display and support companies with the Blue Eagle.⁶⁰

Carlisle's Volunteer National Recovery Army's General Chairman was George I. Chadwick, secretary of the Carlisle Chamber of Commerce. The *Sentinel* reported that: "Mrs. C. Guiles Flower, West Pomfret Street, who has been active in many phases of civic service was selected as lieutenant general and as such will have charge of the women's or housewives' division of the committee."⁶¹

Dr. Walter H. Hitchler, the Dean of Dickinson School of Law, was chosen to organize the men and in cooperation with Mrs. Flower's committee canvassed Carlisle homes and businesses to ensure the success of the Blue Eagle Campaign. Three hundred men and women were organized to complete this task.

Additionally this committee was responsible for keeping a check on contract compliance and to "make a survey of the unemployed in industry and to check up on the proper use of insignia."⁶²

In the late 1930s Lenore became an agent for Equitable of the United States Life Insurance Company, specializing in annuities, helping to provide college tuition for her children in the difficult environment of the depression.⁶³

Before World War II Mrs. Flower helped to write the play "Regina-The Indian Maiden" for the Clar Tree Major Players of New York City. Part of her understanding with them was that the play would be presented in Carlisle as well as New York City. Mary Lou Prescott Zeigler recalls that Mrs. Flower took her to New York City to see the play to help her prepare for the part of Regina for the Carlisle production.⁶⁴

During World War II Lenore served as Home Service Chairman for the American Red Cross (on whose local board she served from 1920 until 1966).⁶⁵ In this position, she was the liaison between the families of the soldiers and the Red Cross, and assisted families of soldiers when family emergencies arose, such as the death of a family member, or other occasions when the family perceived it necessary for a child in the service to return home. Many remember her performing her duties uniformed as Home Service Chairman, sitting absolutely erect as she rode her bicycle through town. Lenore Flower reported the following in 1945:

... Carlisle's contribution of Home Service in this war can not be measured in any term that is not of the spirit. Functioning in fullest degree from the beginning of the war, the Home Service Committee acted for most of the four years as a Corps and only completed actual corps certification in the last nine months of the conflict ending with V-J Day. The work was carried on at all times with a volunteer force that was alert and ready for every service asked of them. Night or day, in wet weather or snow, when ice blocked the country roads and it was sometimes necessary to walk two and a half miles on a trip, when roads were ice bound, the work went on. The contribution of the Home Service Committee and Corps has been an unselfish work and largely unsung. The confidential nature of its function makes the worker reticent about her cases, and only such persons who will regard the work as confidential have been entrusted with it. Again cases come so quickly that one human interest problem succeeds another in such rapid succession as to leave little room for speculation on the one new yesterday. Since the Corps was set up the Home Service Committee has acted as a policy making body.

One of the most interesting services arranged for families of prisoners of war was the "Next of Kin" meeting held in the Court House in January 1945. Mrs. Allan Goodrich Kirk, wife of Vice Admiral Kirk, was the speaker. She answered many questions and gave valued information. . . .⁶⁶

From 1940 through 1945, Mrs. Flower reported that the Home Service Committee provided support to 4,981 cases, provided \$9,016.81 in financial assistance and received \$5,073.84 in repayment of loans.⁶⁷

In August of 1945 Lenore's husband died from a cerebral hemorrhage. Letters to genealogical clients expressed her grief and her apologies for the delay of her work due to his sudden passing.⁶⁸ Her youngest son James was serving in the Army near the Philippines. Instead of arranging for him to come home for his Father's funeral, as she had done for so many others, she asked members of the family write about his Father and had these letters sent to him in the Pacific.⁶⁹

In 1944, Lenore collaborated with her eldest son Milton Flower on a history of Carlisle. Their vision for the book was that it would be sent to Carlisle's who were serving in the armed forces during World War II. 1,000 copies of *This is Carlisle* were printed, underwritten by the authors. Church groups and service organizations sold the book for a small profit. The first thousand copies sold quickly, and a second thousand were printed and sold equally well. It remains the definitive history of Carlisle.⁷⁰ Straightforward and easily understood, schoolchildren studying Carlisle's history often use it.

In the early 1950s the Lutheran Church placed World War II refugees with American families who could provide work and shelter. Mrs. Flower decided to hire a female refugee as a housekeeper, Lida Strautnieks from Riga, Latvia who had been a refugee from both WWI and WWII. She had been a textile designer, selected for her design skills, with a number of other valued employees, to leave in a large truck powered by burning wood, rather than gasoline, which drove across a bridge over the Riga River while bombs burst on either side.⁷¹

Lida was very close to the family, particularly the children. She had Latvian names for most of the grandchildren and often retold the story of Jim Flower, Jr.'s first step, onto a large stone in the yard of the West Pomfret Street house. Some of Jim Flower, Jr.'s first words and those of his siblings were in Latvian. This concerned the children's parents as they did not know what they were saying.⁷² (Tom Flower, Lenore Flower's grandson, named his first born child after this much loved family friend.) Lida Strautnieks passed away in October 1992, at the age of 84. She is buried in the family plot in Carlisle's Old Graveyard.

Mrs. Flower was always an active member and a leader at the First Evangelical Lutheran Church in Carlisle. She taught the Catherine Van Bora Sunday School Class for many years. Distributing live palm on Palm Sunday was one of the customs initiated by the class under her auspices.⁷³

In 1959 Lenore Embick Flower was honored by the Cumberland County Historical Society for her contributions to local history. The presentation took place at the Molly Pitcher Hotel. The program recognized that she had been the author of three papers which had then been published by the society, *George Washington's Visit to Carlisle*, *History of Pine Grove Furnace*, and *The Parker-Grubb Memorials*. She had also read numerous papers before the society, including "Mary Jane Myers, Carlisle Writer and Painter": "Robert Whitehill and the Harrisburg Convention"; and a "History of Slavery in Cumberland County." The program further notes: . . .

these are only a small fraction of her published work in the field of Carlisle, Cumberland County and Harrisburg history, in newspaper, magazine, and book form. She engaged in every activity which concerns the historical, whether in the presentation of pageants, the "Old Town Tours," or the presentation of our material heritage. She was widely recognized as a professional genealogist. For all these activities the Historical Association and its friends delight in honoring her tonight.⁷⁵

Mrs. Flower then presented her paper *Blunston Licenses and Their Background* that was later published by the Cumberland County Historical Society.

She was very close to her seven grandchildren. When her grandson Thomas Embick Flower was very sick at Carlisle Hospital, she learned that only immediate family (that is not grandmothers) were allowed to visit him. She donned her Red Cross Home Service uniform and strode confidently to his room for a visit, armed with books to read to the children of the pediatric ward lest anyone should question her right to be there. No one did.⁷⁶

On Saturday, 22 March 1969 Wilson College awarded Lenore Embick Flower a Wilson College Centennial Citation, specifically the Outstanding Woman Award for service to her community.

She died 29 January 1974 at the age of 90, and is appropriately buried in the historic "Old Graveyard" in Carlisle between her mother and her husband. The regard in which she was held by those who knew her is reflected in an anecdote. This author in 1989, pushing daughter Lenore not yet one in a stroller, met Susan Cavanaugh in Carlisle's square. Upon hearing her name, Susan observed that "with the name Lenore Flower, the angels have already reserved a place in heaven for her."

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What's in a Name: Hickorytown

Kevin Vanderlodge

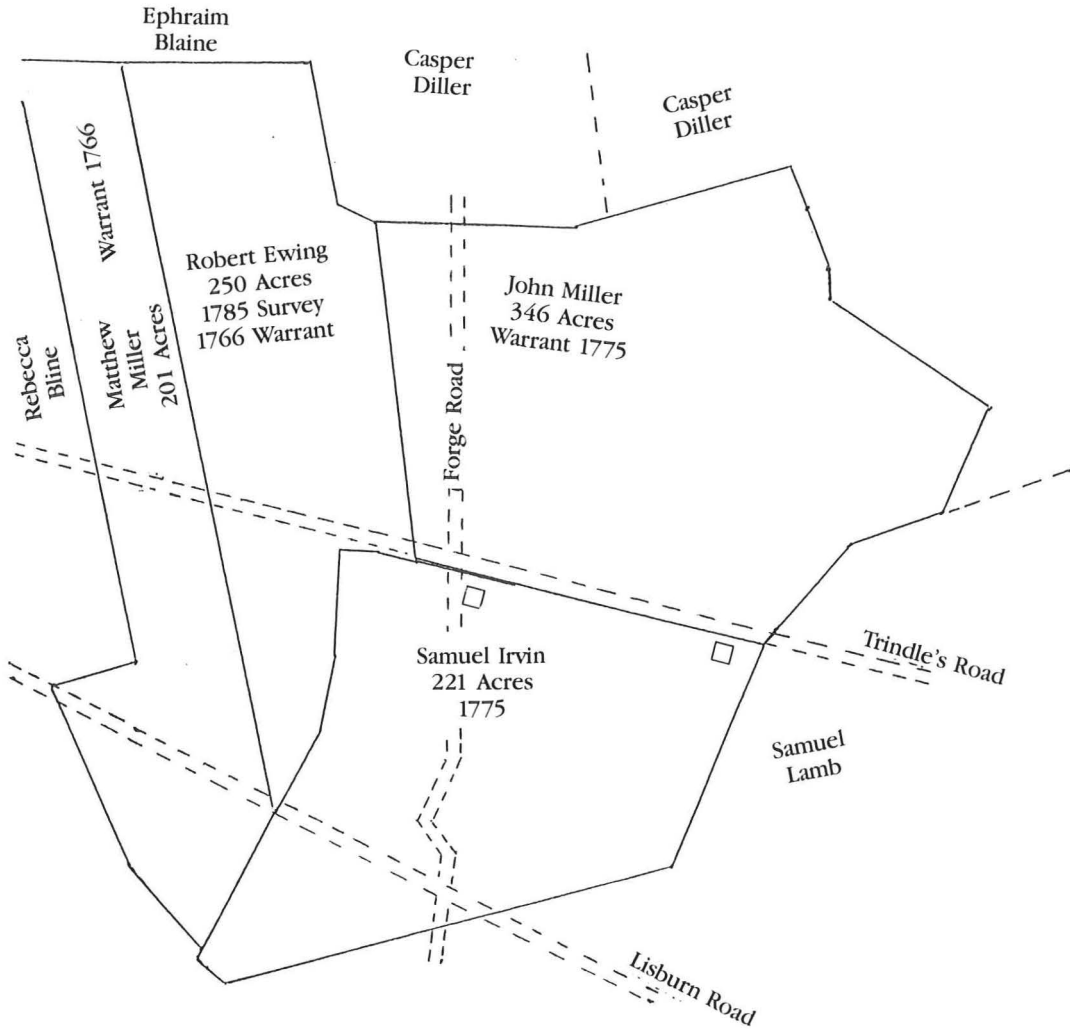
The name “Hickorytown” is actually a misnomer on the word “town.” What it refers to is a cluster of houses around two former taverns spread seven-tenths of a mile along Trindle Springs Road, three and a half miles east of Carlisle. It was this way in the 1840s, and little has changed over the years.

The name comes from the large number of hickory trees in the area when the first farmers settled the land. The early surveyors used these trees (as well as stones, stumps and other impermanent items) to mark the corners of the early surveys. Who named the village is not known, but the term was in use by the 1850s.

Trindle Springs Road was put through the area c. 1790. The land on which all of Hickorytown sits was part of two patents. North of the road was the John Miller patent of 346 acres granted in 1775. When Middleton Township was divided, this became North Middleton Township and then later Middlesex Township with Trindle Springs Road the southern boundary for the township. The south side of Trindle Springs Road, South Middleton Township, was the Sam Irvin (Erwin, Irwin, Irvine) patent. The order for a survey was granted in 1767 to John Reed and James Sharron, who sold their rights to Sam Irvin. He had the land first surveyed in 1775. The connected warrantee map that accompanies this article clarifies the matter.

Hickorytown got its start as a set of homes for the tenant farmers who worked for both John Miller and Sam Irvin. It has been difficult to date the first tenant houses, but they were in existence by 1820. Miller, who lived in the large brick house at the intersection of Middlesex Road and Trindle Springs Road, had a tenant house across the road. Irvin, at the eastern end of the village, built several houses near the intersection of Trindle Springs Road and modern Hollenbaugh Road.

Miller and Irvin were no country bumpkins or poor farmers; they were wealthy men who were closely connected to the elite in Carlisle, where they probably spent much of their time.



CONNECTED WARRANT map of the Hickorytown area

When Miller died in 1811 his home was the brick house at the western end of town. All of his land across the road, with the exception of twenty acres, went to his son Joseph. John carved out two ten-acre tracts, almost perfectly square, just across the road for his daughter Elizabeth. In 1820 Joseph sold the farm to his brother-in-law Thomas Lindsay for \$15,000. Lindsay was then living in Chambersburg and the farm was run by tenants. When Lindsay died in Chambersburg in 1838, his two daughters, Rebecca Gillespie and Ann Jones inherited the land. For two years they were absentee landowners, when they sold the farm to David Miller for \$17,000. At this time there were only two

known houses north of Trindle Springs Road in Hickorytown. One was across from the brick house on the Elizabeth Miller land, the other was somewhere between that and Hollenbaugh Road. It was David Miller who broke up the large farm and in the 1840s began selling lots along Trindle Springs Road. No attempt will be made in this article to detail them all, the research has been done and can be found in the files of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Only two houses will be noted further. The first is the tenant house opposite the brick house. This was land given to Elizabeth Miller Duncan by her father. She, too, moved to Chambersburg and in 1829 sold the house and ten acres to Melchior Brenneman. Brenneman owned the brick house (then a tavern) and for most of the century this tract was tied to the tavern tract. A blacksmith shop was built prior to 1841; for many years it was rented out to a succession of blacksmiths.

The only known store in early Hickorytown was at 1651 Trindle Springs Road. Part of a tract sold to Cyrus Ringwalt in 1842, in 1848 it was sold by the sheriff to Levi Hull. There was then a two story frame house with a kitchen, wagon maker shop, blacksmith shop and stable. It went through four owners in two years until finally Elias Light, a twenty-one year-old merchant, bought the two acre lot in 1850. Light tore down one of the buildings and ran a store in the other until 1859, when he sold out to James O'Hara. O'Hara kept the store going until he died in 1875, and his family lived there for another six years before selling it.

The southern side of town has the most interesting houses. There is some controversy as to the ownership of the Miller brick. Miller, in his will, states clearly that he lived in the large brick house at the intersection of Forge Road and Trindle Springs Road, but the survey for Miller puts all his land north of the road, while Irvin has his south of the road. The accompanying map is an attempt to reconcile these two surveys plus some done for Matthew Miller.

Without trying to resolve this conflict, the house was sold to Matthew Miller, who, at the time, owned a tavern just up the road toward Carlisle. Miller died in 1825, and his heirs sold it to Melchior Brenneman, an innkeeper, in 1829. He had been running the Miller tavern, but when he bought this house he moved the business there instead. In 1830 Melchior Webbert bought the five-acre tavern tract and ran it until 1838, when he sold it to Martin Fry of Cocalico Township, Lancaster County. John Ricker bought it in 1842, and he was an innkeeper until his death in 1871, when he died aged 82.

John experienced much tragedy while living here. His wife died, and for the rest of his life some of his daughters and grand-daughters lived there with him. Both Hannah (Hull) and Elizabeth (Correll) died young, leaving children to be cared for. His daughter Catherine never married, and another one, Levina, may have been handicapped, as John left a trust for her care.

Besides running an inn, Ricker was also a farmer, using tenants to do the actual work. He owned fifty-eight acres when he died, all at the western end of Hickorytown. The inn had seven beds, of which probably five were for the family. More details of this inn, and the next one to be discussed, will be found in Merri Lou Schaumann's upcoming book on Cumberland County taverns.

At the eastern end of town sits the earliest tavern to be built here. Irvin's land went from the Ricker tavern to Hollenbaugh Road. He also owned the mill at Big Spring. He died of a lingering illness in 1806, and his will gives a very good glimpse of his life. Besides operating with tenant farmers Irvin also had two bound boys in 1806. One was Jacob Alkeson, the other was Edward Philips. Philips was to be kept bound to Sam Irvin, Jr., and there was a notation that Philips's parents may have lied about the boy's age. Irvin had also owned a mulatto slave, Margaret. He had recently sold her to Mr. Harris, and Irvin gave her £15 to be paid to her when she was freed. Sam Irvin Jr., was then at Dickinson College and was to stay at school until he finished his Latin and Greek studies, longer if he wished. Irvin had loaned Philip Waggoner \$237. Waggoner had since run away to avoid paying the loan back, and the administrators tried to find him. Another interesting expense was the harvest of 1806. While it cost \$6.26 for the scyths and cradlers, the whiskey bill was \$13.50.

The family was allowed to stay on the farm for two years after his death before selling it. If they wished to live together longer, they could extend it another two years. This second option was used, and in 1810 the farm was sold to David Brenizer of Allen Township for \$9,197. The first payment was made on April 1, 1810 of \$2,666; \$2,133 was paid on May 1, 1811 and every May until 1820 when a payment of \$533 was made.

Brenizer immediately broke the farm into smaller pieces. He sold eighty-seven acres in 1810 to Henry Sheaffer, an innkeeper of Allen Township, and Leonard Kost, for \$3200. In 1814 Kost and Sheaffer dissolved their partnership, and Sheaffer got twenty-nine acres and that year built the first tavern in Hickorytown. That was also the first year that he applied for a license. This house, a two story log house with a stone barn, is still standing, although much altered, and is depicted on the cover of this issue. It sits at the corner of Trindle Springs Road and Hollenbaugh Road. Sheaffer sold this tavern, plus other lands, to Jonathan Kitzmiller, also an innkeeper, in 1820. Kitzmiller ran a tavern here until his death in 1836 aged forty-five. His mother died here in 1832 and a daughter after him in 1837. His estate indicates a fairly wealthy man. There were a lot of books listed, as well as a carriage, two clocks, sleigh, brewing tub, pistol, shot gun, powder keg, carpet, dominoes, bar and barroom furniture, stove room furniture and eight beds.

When he died he owned ninety-three acres in three separate tracts. Eventually the land was partitioned, and Isaac Wingard, a son-in-law, bought the

western eighty acres which lay near Fry's tavern. The tavern tract went unsold at the first public sale while the widow and her two daughters tried to find a renter. Cyrus Ringwalt, who styled himself as a speculator, bought the tavern tract at the second public sale, October 5, 1839, for \$21.50. In 1842 John Anthony, a tailor who had been renting in the township for many years, bought the house and two acres and the tavern went out of business. Anthony lived here until his death in 1894 after which it was sold by his heirs.

Hickorytown has been about twenty houses, give or take a few, over the years. During the 1800s the population stayed steady between 60-90. In 1850 eight of the houses were occupied by their owners, seven were rented. In 1860 eight were rented, and in 1870 ten out of twenty-one were rented. During these years most of the men were farm laborers, especially toward the end of the century. There were several shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, weavers and blacksmiths over the years, but they were a minority. Hickorytown's reason for being never varied from the beginning.

Not much has happened in Hickorytown in the way of noteworthy events, and the Civil War was no exception. Only an astute scholar can find little more than indirect references to what happened in Hickorytown during those days, when Mechanicsburg was being threatened and Carlisle was an occupied town.

On 27 June 1863 about 400 rebels entered Carlisle from the west, marched through town to the eastern edge where Trindle Springs road connected with the Dillsburg Road. This is about three miles from Hickorytown. They were almost all gone by Tuesday, but rebel pickets were all up and down Trindle Springs Road and some probably made it through Hickorytown. By Wednesday they were gone and headed to Gettysburg.

Confederate cavalry under Albert Jenkins after spending the night at Hickorytown entered Mechanicsburg on Sunday, June 28, and occupied the town for three days before leaving. Their way in and out was along Trindle Springs Road.

Today, if it were not for a road sign marking the place, drivers on Trindle Springs Road would never know they were passing through an old town. There are a number of small family owned businesses, and there is an attempt to develop more of the land into lots, but so far Hickorytown has retained its charm.

Many thanks must go to Merri Lou Schaumann, who opened up unknown avenues of primary sources within the Cumberland County Historical Society's library. Whatever errors are here are mine and not hers.

BOOK REVIEWS

by Richard H. Steinmetz, Sr.

OF THEE I SING by George L. Jackson. (65 p-illustr.-soft covers)

Interesting and generally unknown incidents and personalities involved in the history of Pennsylvania and the Nation are revealed in this professionally written booklet by George L. Jackson, a resident of Dillsburg.

The author, retired Chief of Nuclear Medicine at the Harrisburg Hospital, is now pursuing his long-time interest in historical research not only by writing, but by visiting the places involved in his various subjects. He supplements his text with descriptions of his various journeys.

Of particular interest to the older reader is the concluding chapter relating to the author's father, William, and his experience in the United States Army's first tank corps, during the first World War. The author also presents little known insights into the character of Matthew Stanley Quay, dedicated politician and Senator, personally acquainted with presidents and governors. Other chapters pertain to an early patriot, Tench Tilghman; the Christiana Riot, a prelude to the Civil War; Gov. John White Geary, and the little-known Penobscot Expedition.

An extensive bibliography of the subjects included in this work is also added to make "Of Thee I Sing" a most enjoyable and informative work.

LOWER ALLEN TOWNSHIP: a history by Robert G. Crist. (155 p - Illustr)

This most recent work of Robert G. Crist, Camp Hill, is an excellent word picture of the origin and development of an area of Cumberland County, commonly referred to as the West Shore. Not only should it be of particular interest to residents of Lower Allen and their neighbors but also to students of area schools as well. Indeed, it could be adopted as an assigned reading subject in local high schools.

The story of Lower Allen as a segment of local government reveals not only how it came to be a part of Central Pennsylvania, but it also names those courageous pioneers responsible. This, plus the addition of recent events, makes this bit of local history both informative and entertaining, thanks to the skill of the author.

Augmenting this excellent literary work is a carefully selected collection of illustrations including photographs, both old and new, maps and other art work, for which the author should be complimented.

In the opinion of this writer, author Crist has added another outstanding contribution to the field of local history.

R.H.S.

Did You Catch . . .

The information about Cumberland County at the time of the Revolution in *King and Congress: The Transfer of Political Legitimacy, 1774-1776*. Jerrilyn Greene Marston, a Philadelphia attorney and holder of a Ph.D. in Colonial History, has studied the first stirrings of a people bound for revolution.

She points out that 108 American towns held meetings in mid-1774 to protest the British legislation closing Boston Port in the aftermath of the famous "tea party" there. Among these sessions was that in the First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, on July 12, 1774. It was the 65th such meeting and the next to the last of the twelve held in Pennsylvania. The first in the colony was June 15 at Lancaster; the last was at Chester July 13.

Carlisle's leading citizens participated. Dr. Marston states that there were about 7,000 such participants in the thirteen colonies.

Out of the meeting grew an agreement not to import British goods, to export goods to England or to consume them. Further, the Carlislians like the 107 others called for a meeting of a congress, which convened in late summer in Philadelphia with representatives present from Carlisle among other places.

One result of the organization of the economic boycott was to reduce imports into Pennsylvania from L 645,625 in 1774, to L 1,366 a year later.

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