

**VIRGINIUS ISLAND: THE TRANSFORMATION OF A SMALL
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY, 1800-1936**

FINAL

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December 15, 1992

Revised
March 24, 1993

National Park Service/University of Maryland
Cooperative Agreement
HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this project would not have been possible without the assistance of several individuals. In particular, Mike Jenkins, assistant lead historian in the Historical Research Office, provided invaluable help in tracking down material in various places and manipulating the Park computer database for retrieval of some quantitative information. Lead historian Pat Chickering was diligent in editing drafts of this report. Special thanks is due landscape architect Maureen Joseph for her assistance in dating and interpreting historic photographs of Virginius Island.

Central to the preparation of this report has been the Park computer database. Begun in February 1989 under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland Department of History, this database contains a computerized index of information on the Harpers Ferry area found in various sources, primarily local newspapers, censuses, and property records.

ABSTRACT

"Virginus Island: The Transformation of a Small Industrial Community, 1800-1936," is intended to provide an introduction to the island's history, concentrating primarily on island inhabitants during three different periods between 1820 and 1936. The report consists of three main chapters devoted to discussion of these periods. The report also contains several appendices designed to assist future researchers interested in the island's history. These include an outline of property ownership, data on the wealth of island residents, biographical sketches of identified island heads-of-household, and biographical sketches of some non-residents who are important figures in the island's history.

During Virginus Island's first period of history, from about 1820 to the mid-1840s, a number of small locally-oriented mills were constructed on the island and the incorporated Town of Virginus existed. The island's population was socially diverse, ranging from slaves to locally prominent men who owned the island.

In the second period, from the mid-1840s until 1889, the larger Harpers Ferry community absorbed the Town of Virginus and the island developed into an "industrial village". The island's peak population was reached during the 1850s. Property ownership was consolidated into the hands of Abraham Herr by 1855, but the island's population remained socially diverse. After the Civil War, two industrialists, Jonathan Child and John McCreight, purchased the island and operated a large flour mill there. Towards the end of the second period Virginus Island evolved from a socially diverse community to one comprised primarily of working class tenants.

The flour mill's closing in 1889 signalled the end of industry on the

island and the beginning of the island's third period of inhabited history, during which it functioned as a laboring class neighborhood within the larger Harpers Ferry community. The Shenandoah Pulp Company purchased the entire island in 1893, and many island residents worked as pulp mill laborers. The social composition of island residents changed little between 1890 and 1920, and the population was characterized in part by many familial ties. The May 1924 flood accelerated the demise of the island neighborhood community, although two families remained until the March 1936 flood devastated the island, thus ending its inhabited history.

PREFACE

Virginus Island appears, on first impression, a desolate place devoid of any history of human activity; yet, closer observation of the landscape reveals the ruins and depressions which document a different past. With the Shenandoah River flowing past with a fall reported in 1880 as fourteen feet per mile, the island was an enticing site for industrial development in the nineteenth century, when water powered much of the nation's machinery.¹ For much of the century, the island held a flour mill. A sawmill, iron foundry, tannery, machine shop, cotton mill, cooperage, and carriage shop also operated on the island for varying lengths of time. Adding to this scene were the island residents, who numbered upwards of 180 in the mid-1800s during the height of Virginus Island's inhabited history, and who remained a visible element until the 1936 flood forced the last residents from the island.

Although the industrial remnants require further investigation, much work exists documenting the economic activities on the island. Former Park historian Charles W. Snell extensively covers the period up to 1870, particularly the period before 1850, in "A History of the Island of Virginus, 1751 to 1870." This report has served as the basis for historical data in many subsequent works on Virginus Island.² Two more recent studies which address both the early industrial era and the post-1870 period are Dave Gilbert's Where Industry Failed

¹Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States (1880), Products of Industry, Jefferson County, West Virginia, Special Schedules 7 & 8, Flour and Grist Mills - Cheese, Butter, and Condensed Milk Factories, Harpers Ferry schedule, West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Capitol Complex, Charleston, West Virginia. (hereafter Jefferson County, Virginia or West Virginia assumed for all census citations unless otherwise stated.)

²Charles W. Snell, "A History of the Island of Virginus, 1751 to 1870," (unpublished manuscript, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 4 December 1958), hereafter cited as "A History." Other park manuscripts on the economic history of Virginus Island include Charles W. Snell's abbreviated work "A Short History of the Island of Virginus, 1816-1870," (1 June, 1959), hereafter cited as "A Short History" and Frank B. Sarles, Jr., "Social and Economic History of Virginus Island," (20 June 1969).

and Jack Bergstresser's "Waterpower on Virginus Island."³ Since the mid-1960s, archeological assessments of the extant cultural resources have been conducted, but prior to 1992, they focused largely on industrial sites.⁴

While the industrial activity on Virginus Island has received much attention, little research has investigated the domestic side of life on the island. With the exception of Bergstresser's study, no earlier works have attempted to address the nature of the Virginus Island community, and much remains unanswered about the inhabitants of this village. That aspect of Virginus Island is the primary focus of this study.

This report has been divided into three chapters, each addressing a specific time period in the history of Virginus Island. The first period encompasses the early history of the island: the settlement and early industrial development of the island, the incorporation of Virginus, and the town's demise in the 1840s. The second period continues the island's history from the mid-1840s, when industry expanded on Virginus Island, until the end of the island's industrial era in 1889.⁵ No single theme characterizes this middle period; it was a period of transition and upheaval caused by the Civil War and periodic flooding. This second period differs from the first by the opening and brief operation of the cotton factories and the consolidation of ownership in the hands of a single individual for the first time since 1824. It differs from the third

³Dave Gilbert, Where Industry Failed: Water-Powered Mills at Harpers Ferry West Virginia (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1984); Jack Bergstresser, "Waterpower on Virginus Island," (unpublished manuscript, Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service, 1988). In Gilbert, see pages 30-32, 45, 48-52, 55-59, 65-67, 69-75, and 81.

⁴The nature of previous archeological work is discussed in Jill Y. Halchin, Paul A. Shackel, and Susan Winter Frye, "Task Directive, Virginus Island Archeology," (unpublished manuscript, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 6 May 1992), pp. 3-5.

⁵The year the flour mill suspended operations has not been determined. The year 1889 is used because it is the last year the Harpers Ferry Mill Company may have operated. A public sale of the mill company's property was held in November 1889 (Spirit of Jefferson, 26 November 1889, p. 3, col 1). Although a revival of industry was briefly considered, it never happened.

period through the existence of an island industry into the 1880s and the continued residency of an owner on the island for most of these years. The third period covers the opening of the Shenandoah Pulp Mill on Hall's Island in the late 1880s to the end of Virginus Island habitation in the wake of the 1936 flood.

These divisions are not arbitrary. While other criteria have been considered, they in part follow the periodization developed by Bergstresser, a fact which requires some discussion of the validity of applying the "industrial village" framework to Virginus Island. Utilizing concepts developed by Louis Hunter, Bergstresser provides the context for the creation, growth, apex, and decline of the island community as a model "industrial village" centered around its water-powered mills. Typically growing around flour and saw mills established to meet the needs of new settlements, "crossroads villages," with, according to Hunter, "a miscellany of mills, workshops and stores," developed.⁶ In time, if entrepreneurs shifted their attention from local to larger markets and to the production of commercial goods, "crossroads villages" became "industrial villages." As steam power supplanted water power in the latter half of the nineteenth century, those communities that continued to rely on traditional sources of power declined.⁷

When Bergstresser's designation of the island as a "crossroads village" prior to the late 1840s is evaluated within the context of the history of Harpers Ferry, the label seems inappropriate.⁸ Once the national armory was established

⁶Quoted in Bergstresser, p. 5.

⁷This information was summarized from Bergstresser's interpretation of Hunter (pp. 4-5). For a complete explanation of the industrial village framework, see Louis C. Hunter, A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1780-1930, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), Vol I.

⁸Bergstresser, pp. 10-13.

at the turn of the century, Harpers Ferry, although a small and poorly developed community for several more decades, hardly could be considered a "crossroads village." Virginius, inextricably tied to the history of its larger neighbor, probably was not strictly one either. An editorial in the Virginia Free Press in 1834 pointed out the suitability of the Island of Virginius for manufacturing due to its water power and facilities for transporting manufactured goods to market, suggesting an early interest in serving larger markets.⁹ Furthermore, the opening of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio and Winchester and Potomac railroads in the 1830s made the shipment of island products to more distant markets easier and, no doubt, encouraged a greater commercial orientation on the part of island entrepreneurs. Of course, the establishment in the 1840s of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, with its corporate organization and large-scale commercial focus, was an attempt at a different kind of industry on the island. Ironically, at the same time, Virginius was absorbed legally by Harpers Ferry, a fact which makes any consideration of the island as an "industrial village" in its own right problematic. Yet, these two events do make the mid-1840s a logical breaking point in the island's history.

The 1889 date separating Chapters Two and Three does not reflect the divisions of Bergstresser, who considered the 1870 flood as the end of the "industrial village," with the island community thereafter in a decline moderated by the development of the pulp making industry in Harpers Ferry.¹⁰ While the 1870 date might be questioned, given for example the impact of the Civil War on island industries, the demise of the "industrial village" as defined by

⁹Virginia Free Press, 9 October 1834, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁰Bergstresser, pp. 25-27.

Bergstresser is not central to the present study. Rather, the end of industry on the historic Virginius Island; the establishment of the pulp mill with ultimate decision-making authority resting beyond local control, an organizational structure alien to Virginius Island industries until the closing years of the flour mill; and the change in the make-up of the island community, all of which occurred in the 1880s, indicate the island after 1889 was very different from what it had been before that date.

Several components characterize the discussion of each time period. A historical overview of the economic development of the island summarizes previous documentation and discusses new information about the first two periods. A brief, general introduction is provided for the third period, when no industry existed on the island. The principal employer of island residents at that time was the Shenandoah Pulp Mill, which was situated contiguous to Virginius Island on property historically connected with the United States government rifle factory. The pulp mill was investigated in this report only with regard to its ownership of and impact on Virginius Island.

The overview and introduction section serves to establish the context for the discussion of the island's social history. Next is a presentation on the number and character of the dwellings on the island during each of the three time periods. Then follows the principal discussion on the actual island inhabitants. For each head-of-household known or suspected¹¹ to have lived on Virginius

¹¹Some of the individuals designated island residents in this report are counted as such because they are listed on the census in close proximity to known island residents. It can be argued that, while not without potential pitfalls, use of this method to determine residency in a certain geographic area is a valid means of identifying many Virginius Island residents. Census enumerations of other, larger communities for which street names and numbers are listed reveal a geographic pattern, albeit not an unbroken one, to the census taker's records. Furthermore, other studies have used this procedure to locate households. For example, Anthony F.C. Wallace determined the inhabitants of the individual hamlets in the Rockdale area in 1850 by noting their nearness on the census to persons about whom he had other information (Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1978; W.W. Norton & Co., 1980, p. 35 and Endnote 1, Chapter II, pp. 489-90). Even so, a word of caution is necessary. Although this report counts them in the statistical data and other discussions, it is possible a handful of the persons listed as Virginius Island inhabitants were not island residents at all. Such a possibility is believed to be very small,

Island, a "biography" has been prepared.¹² These biographies contain information on household members and focus primarily on the period of their residency on Virginus Island. These "biographies," in conjunction with compiled census data, the general history of the island, and broader historical themes, facilitate a description and interpretation of the Virginus Island community.¹³

Unfortunately, substantial gaps exist in what is known about most island inhabitants. This lack of information particularly regards women, who infrequently appear in many available records. What data exists on women residents has been incorporated into the biographies and utilized in the main text. This dearth of information, however, has created a picture of the island community shaped largely by its male inhabitants.

Property ownership is an important part of the history of the island, particularly with regard to owners who also resided there, but this report does not discuss every property conveyance. Instead, every identified deed, deed of trust, or other document relevant to ownership is listed in Appendix A. For clarity and consistency in both the appendix and the narrative, properties are identified by one of the four tract numbers Snell used in his report (See Map 1).¹⁴

This report utilizes information derived from newspapers, federal censuses, and property records indexed by the Historical Research Team as part of the

however, and there is a high degree of confidence in the determination of island residents.

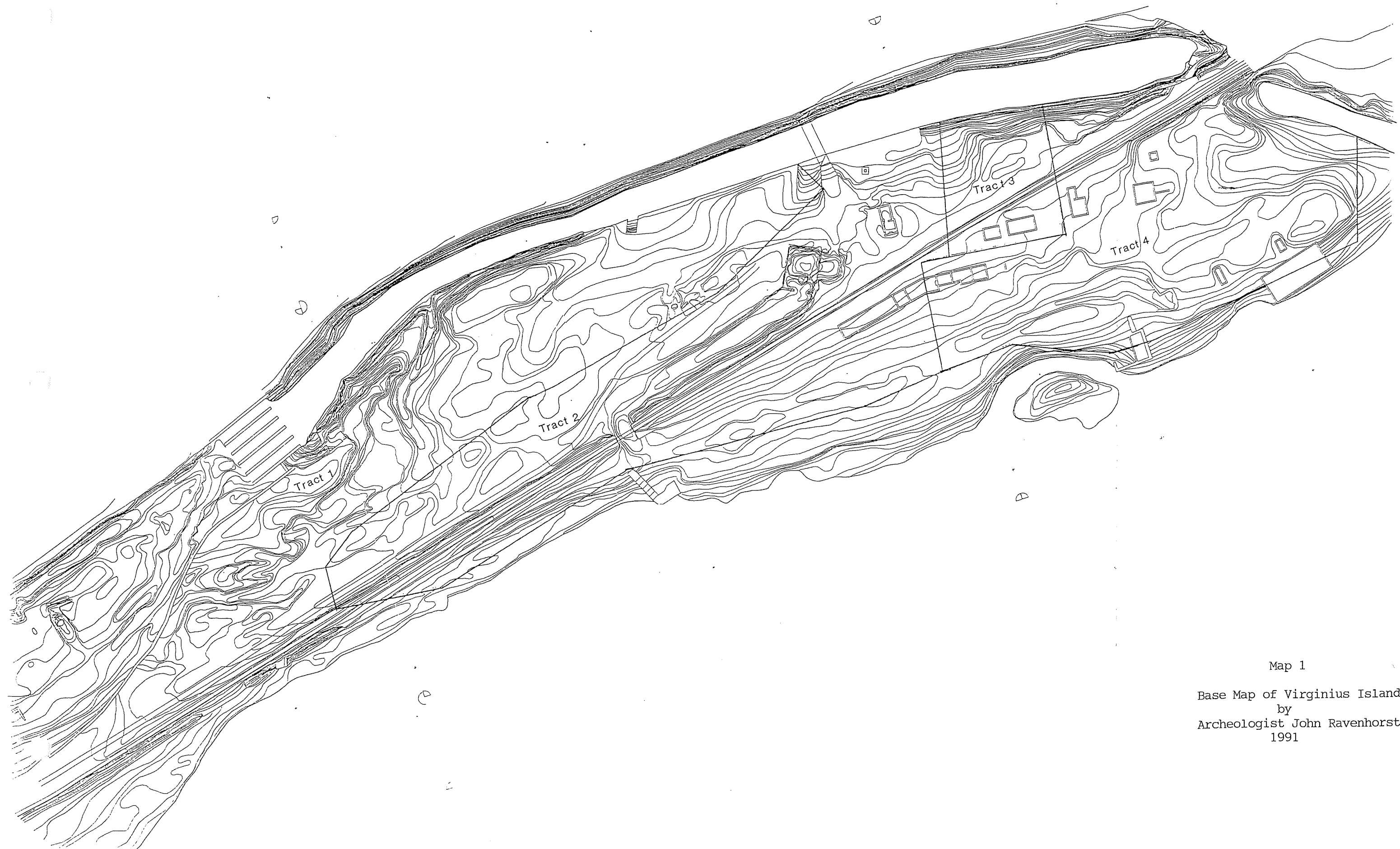
¹²The biographies are included in alphabetical order as Appendix D. To aid the reader in locating heads-of-household for specific time periods and seeing them in connection with the buildings on the island, the heads for a given census from 1830 to 1920 are listed on the best available map characterizing the dwellings on the island at that time. Additionally, a name index has been prepared for this appendix so that other island residents or persons connected to residents can be located.

¹³Although community can be defined in terms of kinship or friendship groups, class, or other combinations of people, it is used in this report primarily to mean Virginus Island as a town or as a neighborhood within the town of Harpers Ferry.

¹⁴Copies have been made of nearly all of the deeds mentioned in the appendix and are available at the Park.

development of a history database at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Other Jefferson County records, such as marriages, court cases, personal property tax records, and previous histories of Virginus Island and Harpers Ferry, have been utilized as well.

These records have yielded much useful information, but this report does not answer every conceivable question on the community. For example, while some comparisons between the island and the larger Harpers Ferry/Bolivar area have been drawn, time limitations have made it impossible to compile raw data on Harpers Ferry and Bolivar sufficiently complete for some quantitative analyses. Yet, it is believed this report makes a significant contribution toward understanding the once thriving community on Virginus Island.



Map 1
Base Map of Virginus Island
by
Archeologist John Ravenhorst,
1991

CHAPTER ONE

THE TOWN OF VIRGINIUS: SETTLEMENT TO MID-1840S

Settlement and Industrial Development

Although settlement of Harpers Ferry began in the mid-1700s, Virginius Island apparently remained unoccupied until the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the island may not have existed as such for most of these years. On the one hand, deposits of soil left by the Shenandoah River may not have accumulated sufficiently prior to 1800 to create a useable island, or several small islands. On the other hand, this area may have been an extension of the mainland.¹

Such a possibility was raised when Armory Superintendent Henry K. Craig requested an investigation in 1842 to ascertain whether the United States Government had a legal claim to Virginius Island as part of the property acquired in 1796/1797 from the heirs of early settler Robert Harper. According to one resulting report from Lt. Col. George Talcott in 1843, the 1751 patent whereby Harper had received title to 125 acres from Lord Fairfax made no mention of "the insignificant streams which now divides [*sic*] this Island from the Main." The report further states there were persons still living in 1843 who remembered when no separation existed between the island and the mainland.²

While uncertainty regarding the existence of Virginius Island in the eighteenth century led to subsequent questions about possible United States ownership, the island clearly existed by February 13, 1802, when a survey bearing that date documented its boundaries. The following year, based on this survey,

¹The ideas presented here are derived from "1750-1820 Settlement," p. 2, in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginius Island, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (working draft, National Park Service, [July, 1992]).

²Quoted in Snell, "A History," p. 5. See also pp. 1, 3, 6.

Daniel McPherson received a land grant from the Commonwealth of Virginia upon a treasury warrant issued on August 15, 1794. By this grant, McPherson received "the lowermost Island in Shenandoah river" containing over eleven acres.³

No documentation places McPherson on Virginius Island, but it apparently was occupied during part of his ownership. Talcott's 1843 report states that as late as 1816, the island was occupied by a man named Moreland, a government tenant. In 1887, Edmund H. Chambers recalled "several negroes had a cabin on [Virginius Island]" before McPherson sold the property to John Peacher in 1817.⁴

Prior to Peacher's purchase of the land, no known industry existed on the island, and the small Harpers Ferry settlement was served by a nearby gristmill and sawmill established by Robert Harper in the 1700s; nevertheless, transportation improvements were undertaken during these years which would prove important to island industries in later years. In 1806 and 1807, as part of a Patowmack Company initiative, a skirting canal was excavated around the Shenandoah "Staircase" falls; natural channels along the shoreline were deepened; and locks were built. In the next decade, the recently formed New Shenandoah Company undertook improvement of the Shenandoah River. The company entered into a contract to make the river navigable from Harpers Ferry to Port Republic and work was underway by late 1817. By making navigation on the Shenandoah River possible, these improvements facilitated river trade and commerce and stimulated the development of industries along the river.⁵

³Jefferson County Land Grant Book 1, p. 479, Land Grant from the Commonwealth of Virginia to Daniel McPherson, 25 June 1803, at West Virginia State Auditor, Land Office, W212, State Capitol Building, Charleston, West Virginia.

⁴Snell, "A History," p. 5; Testimony of Edmund H. Chambers, 14 May 1887, in "Harper's Ferry Mill Co. vs Thos. H. Savery, et al," 19 July 1887, p. 44; Jefferson County, West Virginia, Deed Book 10, p. 142, Daniel McPherson and wife Susannah to John Peacher, 18 May 1817 (hereafter Jefferson County, West Virginia assumed for all citations of courthouse documents unless otherwise noted).

⁵Farmers Repository, 17 September 1817, p. 3, col. 2; 26 November 1817, p. 3, col. 4; "1750-1820 Settlement," pp. 3-4 & 6, Cultural Landscape Report: Virginius Island; Gilbert, pp. 35-6.

Concurrent with the activities of the New Shenandoah Company and John Peacher's 1817 purchase of the Island of Virginus came the first signs of industrial activity on the island. Peacher informed farmers and millers in a January 1818 advertisement in the Farmers Repository that he had moved his boating operation from Old Furnace to the "island near Harper's Ferry, in the Shenandoah," and he solicited flour to boat to Georgetown and Alexandria.⁶ In their testimony in an 1887 circuit court case, several individuals claimed Peacher was responsible for the erection of the first island mill, "a very small affair, . . . a chopping mill . . . [which] did not make flour," about 1820. Edmund H. Chambers suggested Peacher built the mill on the site later occupied by Herr's mill within a two-year period about 1822, while William E. Anderson recalled Peacher's mill was built in 1822, 1823, or 1824.⁷

Despite Anderson's testimony sixty years after the fact, the mill certainly existed before 1824 and possibly before 1823. The August 1823 deed, in which Peacher conveyed the island's title to armory superintendent James Stubblefield, mentions a bridge, mills, mill house, and machinery, suggesting island development had already begun. The improvements Peacher made enabled him to sell the island for \$15,000, fifteen times the amount he paid for it six years earlier.⁸

During the six years of Peacher's ownership, the island apparently was inhabited, possibly by Peacher himself. John Peacher, a boatman, is listed in

⁶Farmers Repository, 28 January 1818, p. 3, col. 4.

⁷Testimony of William E. Anderson, 20 June 1887, John H. King, 11 July 1887, and Edmund H. Chambers, 14 May 1887, in "Harper's Ferry Mill Co. vs Thos. H. Savery, et al," pp. 17, 36, and 44.

⁸Deed Book 13, p. 28, John Peacher and wife Lydia to James Stubblefield, 30 August 1823; Deed Book 10, p. 142, Daniel McPherson and wife Susannah to John Peacher, 19 May 1817. See Merritt Roe Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991, orig. pub. 1977) for biographical information on James Stubblefield.

the Harpers Ferry portion of the 1820 census with two adult women and six children. His name appears on the census above Jonah Tompkins, a bricklayer who worked at the Rifle Factory in 1819 and who may have been the husband of Catherine Tompkins, a Virginius Island resident in 1830. Known residents of the "upper," or western, end of "Peacher island" about 1822 were Edmund Chambers and his brother-in-law, who worked as a boatman for Peacher.⁹

While some industrial and residential activity occurred during Peacher's ownership, major development of the site came after Stubblefield purchased the Island of Virginius in 1823. In an 1824 agreement between Stubblefield and agents of the New Shenandoah Company, Stubblefield received permission to erect a dam below the lower locks of the Shenandoah River above Virginius Island to channel water into a canal being constructed "through" his island. He also was permitted to build any dam "in the main channel of said River" to increase the water flow in the canal through the island. In return, Stubblefield was required to "make and keep a good and sufficient canal" from the first dam to the lower end of the island, where he was to build a "durable and sufficient lock" for boats to enter.¹⁰

When James Stubblefield sold the island in four sections in December 1824 to Fontaine Beckham, Townsend Beckham, Lewis Wernwag, and Edward Wager, industrial improvements, such as an "oil Mill race" and "Mill Dam," were in place. Also mentioned in these deeds was a street running through Tracts 2, 3, and 4, suggesting residential development had expanded beyond the upper end of the island where Edmund H. Chambers indicated he and his brother-in-law had

⁹Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 535; Testimony of Edmund H. Chambers, 14 May 1887, in "Harper's Ferry Mill Co. vs Thos. H. Savery, et al," p. 44. See biography of Catherine Tompkins.

¹⁰Deed Book 13, p. 259, Articles of Agreement, Charles A. Stuart and Wm. Bell agents for the Shenandoah Company and James Stubblefield, 31 August 1824.

lived.¹¹ The presence of dwellings on Virginus Island before December 1824 is further supported by a November 1824 deed of trust executed by island resident Michael Walsh, which mentions a house on "Mr. Stubblefield's Island," as well as by testimony of Edward Wager's wife Hannah and Fontaine Beckham in 1832 and 1833 that the larger dwelling on Tract 3 was erected prior to Wager's purchase of the property in 1824.¹²

While some uncertainty exists regarding the extent of residential and commercial development prior to Stubblefield's sale of the island, in December 1826, the "landholders and residents of an Island in the Shenandoah River near Harpers Ferry" petitioned the Virginia General Assembly for the establishment of a town to be known as "Virginus." The petitioners argued that they were subject to "the land tasc [*sic*] . . . , without being possessed of the right of suffrage" and that incorporation would further stimulate "other works of undoubted public utility." The General Assembly agreed, and on January 8, 1827, it passed an act establishing the town "so soon as the same [the island] shall be laid off into lots, with convenient streets and alleys," and appointing Lewis Wernwag, Fontaine Beckham, Townsend Beckham, John S. Gallagher, and John G. Unseld as its first trustees.¹³

According to the 1826 petition, the island then contained an "extensive Saw-Mill, Merchant Mill, Oil Mill, Tannery, and about twelve dwelling houses."

¹¹Deed Book 13, p. 344, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Townsend Beckham, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 13, p. 330, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Fontaine Beckham, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 13, p. 328, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Edward Wager, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 14, p. 41, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Lewis Wernwag, 28 December 1824.

¹²Deed Book 13, p. 165, Deed of Trust, Michael Walsh to John Jackson trustee for Philip Strider, 20 November 1824; Testimony of Hannah Wager, 7 March 1832, and Fontaine Beckham, 1 April 1833, in "Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al," Park Reel 11, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, original in Envelope 18, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

¹³Petition for the Incorporation of the Town of Virginus, 11 December 1826, Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia; Act Establishing the Town of Virginus, 8 January 1827, Virginia Acts, 1826-27, pp. 109-110, Virginia State Library.

The term "Merchant Mill" indicates a much more substantial mill had replaced the "small affair" John Peacher had operated. The merchant mill was located on Fontaine Beckham's Tract 2 property and, according to an 1832 advertisement, was a 60' x 40' stone structure with two water wheels and two pair of burrs and sufficient room for another pair. Advertisements in 1836 and 1838 of Rowland, Hefflebower & Co., one of several lessees during the 1830s and 1840s and later owner of the property, state the mill could produce up to 150 or 200 barrels of flour per day.¹⁴ This mill, insured for \$15,000, was destroyed by fire in February 1839 and was replaced the following year by a three-and-one-half-story stone building (Building M, 1844 Map). After changing hands several times in a six year period, Tract 2 was bought by Abraham and John Herr in 1844. A cooperage, operated by Sidney Pilcher in the 1830s and possibly earlier, also sat on this property.¹⁵

The oil mill and tannery stood on Townsend Beckham's Tract 1 property on the western end of Virginius Island, apart from the island's main residential area. The tannery held thirty-one vats and also included necessary shops and bark houses.¹⁶ An 1836 advertisement suggests the tannery was a lucrative enterprise for Beckham. It was "the only Tanning establishment at the place, or for many miles around." There was an "abundant supply of slaughtered hides afforded by Harpers-Ferry, and the vicinity, amounting to 1000 or upwards

¹⁴Petition for the Incorporation of the Town of Virginius, 11 December 1826; Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1832, p. 3, col. 5; 23 June 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 25 October 1838, p. 3, col. 3. See Snell, "A History," pp. 20-4, 50-1, and 55 for other lessees. The VFP was variously called Virginia Free Press and Virginia Free Press and Farmers Repository, but in this report it is always cited by the former name.

¹⁵Virginia Free Press, 14 February 1839, p. 2, col. 3; Gilbert, p. 32; Snell, "A History," pp. 23, 122. See the biography of Sidney Pilcher. See Appendix A for changes in ownership of Tract 2. See Ford & Snyder in Appendix C for more information on their period of ownership.

¹⁶Will Book 7, p. 281, Inventory and appraisement of the slaves & personal estate of Townsend Beckham dec'd, 20 July 1832; Virginia Free Press, 7 November 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

annually . . . with but little competition."¹⁷ The tannery also may have profited from Beckham's association with his brother-in-law, armory superintendent Stubblefield, who, according to an 1829 report of an inquiry into his conduct, had allowed trees on government property to be cut down "for no other purpose than to procure bark" for the tannery.¹⁸ The tannery ceased operation sometime in the 1830s and may have been dismantled.¹⁹

The oil mill, which existed in 1826, ceased operation several years prior to the 1836 advertisement due to a "scarcity of flaxseed."²⁰ About 1835, this mill was converted into an iron foundry by Hugh Gilleece, who leased the Tract 1 property for several years before buying it in December 1838.²¹ Gilleece offered a variety of castings at his foundry, such as advertised patterns for McCormick and Loudoun mouldboards, threshing machines, corn shellers, straw cutters, and wind mill irons. In addition, Gilleece frequently contracted work for the Harpers Ferry armory.²²

The sawmill (Building 18, 1844 Map), the other business mentioned in the 1826 petition, was on Lewis Wernwag's Tract 4 property encompassing the eastern and southeastern part of the island. Variousy described as 100' x 36' or 100' x 55', by the 1840s, it was a double sawmill "of Crosbey's Patent" with two carriages and circular saws. Aside from Wernwag, others with a known connection

¹⁷Virginia Free Press, 3 March 1836, p. 3, col. 5.

¹⁸Quoted in Merritt Roe Smith, p. 179.

¹⁹Snell, "A History," p. 50.

²⁰Virginia Free Press, 3 March 1836, p. 3, col. 5.

²¹Virginia Free Press, 12 November 1835, p. 3, col. 4; 1 February 1838, p. 3, col. 6; Deed Book 23, p. 367, Andrew Hunter, special commissioner, and Eliza Beckham, widow of Townsend Beckham, to Hugh Gilleece, 8 December 1838.

²²Snell, "A History," pp. 42, 48; Merritt Roe Smith, p. 285.

to the sawmill were Jesse Schofield and George Mauzy.²³ By the early 1830s, machine and smith shops (Buildings 21, 22, and 24, 1844 Map), operated by various persons including John Wernwag, Joseph Shannon, William Richards, and George Wissinger, had been constructed nearby. Among the products offered at these shops were turning lathes, screw plates, taps and dies, bench screws, and mill screws. Although numerous individuals operated the various Tract 4 businesses from the 1820s to the mid-1840s, the Wernwag family retained at least a partial interest in the property and businesses.²⁴

All the island industries were on Tracts 1, 2, and 4, leaving Tract 3 as strictly residential until 1835, when the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company purchased the property. A depot (Building 0, 1844 Map) was standing there by March 1836, when W&P rail service commenced, but was removed shortly before July 1847, when the company sold the property. In addition to crossing Tract 3, the W&P tracks traversed Tracts 2 and 4 as well as adjacent land in Harpers Ferry. One of several transportation improvements completed or underway in Harpers Ferry by the mid-1830s, the W&P Railroad would serve as a catalyst for the industrial expansion on the island and the larger Harpers Ferry area in the 1840s by improving the shipment of area agricultural and industrial products to eastern markets.²⁵

In addition to serving the railroad company and passengers, the depot also

²³Virginia Free Press, 2 December 1852, p. 3, col. 3; 3 September 1846, p. 3, col. 4; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Secretary of War, 16 April 1867, in Bill for the relief of the Estate of A.H. Herr, Record Group 46, Records of the U.S. Senate, 55th Congress, SEN55A-E1, Box 35, National Archives. See the biographies of Jesse Schofield and George Mauzy.

²⁴Snell, "A History," pp. 30, 61, 64, 65; Gilbert, p. 31. Details of the changes on Tract 4 in this period can be found in Snell on pages 25-33 and 60-72. See the biographies of William Richards, Joseph Shannon, John Wernwag, and George Wissinger.

²⁵Deed Book 20, p. 338, John B. Gildea to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, 13 May 1835; Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847; Virginia Free Press, 17 March 1836, p. 3, col. 1; Gilbert, pp. 38-41.

may have served as a store for an indeterminate period around 1840. Rowland, Hefflebower, & Co., lessee of Tract 2 from 1836 and owner from 1838 to 1840, owned the goods sold there until about May 1840, when George H. Griffin purchased the store goods. This store offered a variety of liquors, fish, flour and grains, salts, sugars, and spices; castings such as pots, ovens, and kettles; fresh oysters; coffee and tea; and butter, lard, and bacon. Islanders Hugh Maddox and Carter Williamson ran the store.²⁶

The Dwellings

The development of transportation and industrial facilities brought residential growth. As mentioned previously, about twelve dwellings stood on the island in 1826. Sixteen households are listed on the 1830 census and fifteen appear on the 1840 census, suggesting at least that many dwellings existed on the island. According to the 1835 map (See Map 2) showing the location of the W&P Railroad, thirty-three buildings stood on Virginius Island, from sixteen to twenty-one of which Charles Snell determined were dwellings. Of these, two were on Tract 1 (then owned by Townsend Beckham's heirs), four on Tract 2 (owned by Fontaine Beckham), two on Tract 3 (owned by John B. Gildea), and the remainder on Tract 4 (owned by John Wernwag, Joseph L. Smith, and James Hook).²⁷ The dwellings on Tracts 2, 3, and 4 were in close proximity to one another. This was particularly true of the Tract 3 and 4 dwellings, most of which stood along or near the island's main thoroughfare, thus creating a residential enclave

²⁶Virginia Free Press, 26 December 1839, p. 3, col. 3; Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 28 May 1840, p. 2, col. 5; Snell, "A History," pp. 50-1.

²⁷Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, pp. 174-75; Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, pp. 248-49; "Harpers Ferry Shewing the Location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad," drawn under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E., 1835, Map File, HFNHP (also Record Group 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, Fortification Map File, Part of Map Drawer 150, Sheet 82-2, National Archives); Snell, "A History," pp. 34, 37. See "Historic Base Map: 1820-1855" in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginius Island for a clear visual presentation of the changes in the number of dwellings and other structures on the island.

surrounded by the numerous industrial sites.

When James Brown, Jefferson County surveyor, prepared a map of the island in 1844 (See Map 3), he recorded only twenty-nine buildings. Snell indicates as many as seventeen were dwellings, but there may have been nineteen dwellings on Virginius Island at the time. Snell designates Buildings A and D (Tract 1) on the 1844 map as dwellings. In his discussion of the buildings on this map, Snell identifies Building E as a shop, but he subsequently identifies a building in the same location as a probable dwelling. The 1857 lithograph of Virginius Island and a photograph taken about 1865 show a two-story dwelling in the area where Building A stood (See Photographs 1 and 2). These sources also show a small building at Building D, and the 1857 lithograph reveals a similar building where Building E was located.²⁸ Whether or not Buildings D and E were dwellings remains unknown; however, Tract 1 contained "TWO COMMODIOUS DWELLING HOUSES, The [sic] yards and garden of one of them highly improved -- together with several out-buildings of different kinds" in 1833. Building A accounts for only one of these dwellings.²⁹

According to Snell, Buildings I and possibly G and H (Tract 2) were also dwellings. Assuming Building I is part of the same dwelling which appears on this location in later photographs and which is commonly called the Child House, it was a two-story building. (See Photographs 1 and 3).³⁰ No documentation supports Snell's designation of the other two buildings, but there were four

²⁸"Map of the Island of Virginius at Harper's Ferry, Va.," by James M. Brown, Surveyor of Jefferson County, Va., April 1844, Map File, HFNHP; Snell, "A History," pp. 75, 124; HF-119, dated 22 May 1865; "View of the Island Virginius, in the Shenandoah, at Harpers Ferry, Taken Near Jefferson's Rock, " HF-687, dated 1857, Photograph Collection, HFNHP (all photographs referenced are at HFNHP.) The original of the 1844 map is in Record Group 153, Military Reservation File, 1809-1942, Box 44, File 7 (Harpers Ferry), National Archives.

²⁹Virginia Free Press, 7 November 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

³⁰"View of the Island Virginius, in the Shenandoah, at Harpers Ferry, Taken Near Jefferson's Rock," HF-687, dated 1857; "Shenandoah Valley from Jefferson's Rock," HF-532, 1907 postcard.

dwellings on Tract 2 in 1832, when owner Fontaine Beckham advertised it for sale.³¹

Although some uncertainty exists as to the number and character of the dwellings on Tracts 1 and 2, those on Tract 3 are better defined. James Brown's 1844 map places Buildings K, N, and O on Tract 3, but the 1835 James Kearney map shows only two buildings, labeled K and N by Brown, on this tract.³² Building N was constructed prior to Edward Wager's purchase of the property in December 1824, while Building K was built between December 1824 and September 1826 at a cost of between \$600 and \$1,000. In the early 1830s, these dwellings rented for about \$140 a year.³³

An 1833 advertisement for the sale of Tract 3 describes the buildings on the property as "two comfortable stone stuccoed Dwellings - one of them large enough to accommodate two families - with gardens attached." Although Fontaine Beckham did not own Tract 3, an 1830 advertisement in the Virginia Free Press offering two dwellings for rent may refer to the Tract 3 dwellings since Beckham was acting as the rental agent for Edward Wager's widow. These dwellings were "excellent and commodious." One contained "6 or 8 excellent rooms, cellar, kitchen, and garret. . . [and] a good garden"; the other contained "4 good rooms, kitchen and cellar; and . . . a large garden."³⁴ Photographic evidence of a later date shows that both were two-story buildings and that Building N was the

³¹Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1832, p. 3, col. 5.

³²"Map of the Island of Virginus at Harper's Ferry, Va.," by James M. Brown, April 1844; "Harpers Ferry Shewing the Location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad," by James Kearney, 1835. Building O was the railroad depot.

³³Depositions of Hannah Wager, 7 March 1832, and Fontaine Beckham, 1 April 1833, in "Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth Wager et al," Park Reel 11.

³⁴Virginia Free Press, 22 August 1833, p. 3, col. 4; 20 January 1830, p. 3, col. 5; Deposition of Fountain Beckham, 1 April 1833, in "Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth Wager et al."

Table 1.1. James Brown's Description of Tract 4 Virginus Island Property Jointly Owned by Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag, 1844.

Building	Annual Rent
Figure 6, A small frame house, belonging to the estate, now for sale.	\$75.00
Figure 9, Small brick house.	\$75.00
Figure 10, Double brick house.	\$200.00
Figure 11, Single brick house.	\$100.00
Figure 13, Double frame house.	\$70.00
Figure 14, Frame House, brick filled & rough cast.	\$150.00
Figure 15, A Frame, one story brick filled & rough cast.	\$36.00
Figure 16, Frame house, brick filling, two stories.	\$175.00
Figure 17, Frame Carriage house.	\$36.00
Figure 18, Large double Saw Mill.	\$800.00
Figure 19, Small Frame Office.	\$20.00
Figure 20, Frame house.	\$25.00
Figure 21 & 22, 2 Large Smith shops.	\$75.00
Figure 23, New building, not occupied, 24 machine shops occupied by John Wernwag, and now in full operation.	\$400.00
	<u>\$2,237.00</u>

Source: "Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginious at Harper's Ferry, Virginia."

larger dwelling.³⁵ If Edward Wager lived on the property, there was also a smoke house connected with Tract 3 when an appraisal was made of his estate in 1826.³⁶

Documentation for Tract 4 is equally clear. In 1844, in an effort to sell the property, James Giddings had prepared a "Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginious at Harper's Ferry, Virginia." Printed in this document are brief descriptions of the Tract 4 buildings owned jointly by Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag and identified by numbers Brown used on his 1844 map. At least nine buildings are described as dwellings. (Brown's description of the

³⁵"View of the Island Virginus, in the Shenandoah, at Harpers Ferry, Taken Near Jefferson's Rock," HF-687, dated 1857; HF-119, dated 22 May 1865 (See Photograph 2).

³⁶Will Book 5, p. 242, Appraisalment of the slaves and personal property of Edward Wager, 22 November 1826. See "Historic Base Map: 1820-1855" in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginus Island for the location of known structures associated with the various island dwellings.

Schofield-Wernwag Tract 4 buildings is in Table 1.1.)³⁷ Building 12, another dwelling on Tract 4 not included in the aforementioned document and owned solely by Schofield, is described by an 1844 deed of trust as a two-story brick house with a lot enclosed by a fence.³⁸

Few residents have been linked to particular buildings. No documentation indicates who lived in Building A, but it possibly was the residence of first Townsend Beckham and later Hugh Gilleece, the two Tract 1 owners from 1824 through the 1840s. Fontaine Beckham may have lived in Building I on his Tract 2 property. Assuming he lived on Virginus Island, Edward Wager lived on Tract 3 and probably in Building N from 1824 to 1826. If the two dwellings advertised by Fontaine Beckham in 1830 were Tract 3 dwellings, then Lewis Wernwag was living in Building N in January 1830 and Joseph P. Shannon was living in Building K. No documentation has been found showing where Wernwag may have lived on his own Tract 4 property before and after his presumably short stay in Building N, even though Building 16 is widely assumed to have been his residence. In 1833, John Gildea, the owner of Buildings K and N from 1833 to 1835, lived in one of these two dwellings, while John Worley lived in the other. In 1847, and perhaps by 1840, Nancy Evans was running a boarding house in one of them. Two men with the last names of Fitzsimmons and Ritenour (or Ridenour) were living in the other

³⁷"Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginus at Harper's Ferry, Virginia," Record Group 153, Military Reservation File, 1809-1942, Box 44, Folder 7 (Harpers Ferry), National Archives. The land on which Building 6 stood was originally part of Tract 2. In 1830, two acres, three roods, and one pole of Tract 2 were sold by Fontaine Beckham to Tract 4 owner Lewis Wernwag and evidently were combined with subsequent Tract 4 conveyances until 1847, when the 1830 deed was proved invalid (Deed Book 16, p. 518, 23 March 1830).

³⁸Deed Book 27, p. 144, Deed of Trust, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann and John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to James Giddings, 16 May 1844. This dwelling, or at least this lot and a dwelling, had been sold to Schofield in 1835 and was not part of the property being advertised for sale in 1844. When the lot containing this dwelling was carved out of Tract 4 in 1835 and as late as 1847, it fronted forty or forty-five feet on the street (Deed Book 20, p. 340, Joseph L. Smith and John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to Jesse Schofield, 25 May 1835; Deed Book 30, p. 179, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann, John Wernwag and wife Margaret R., and James Giddings to Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, 24 August 1847). However, by 1855, this lot fronted sixty-seven and 1/2 feet on the street (Deed Book 35, p. 100, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary A. to Abraham H. Herr, 23 June 1855).

dwelling in 1847. Building 12 was the home of John Shackelford in 1835 and of Jesse Schofield from 1835 through the end of the first period. Joseph Shoemaker lived in Building 9, probably in the 1830s.³⁹

The Community

Growing from perhaps no more than a dozen people in 1820, the population of Virginius Island reached eighty-nine people in sixteen households by 1830. Of the eighty-nine, eighteen were slaves, twenty-seven were white females, and twenty-four were white children under age fifteen. While it is impossible to determine the names of all residents, or if the whites living in each household were related, the sex ratio and age ranges suggest these were family-oriented households rather than boarding or rooming houses.⁴⁰ Even the high ratio of adults in Lewis Wernwag's household, seen in the fact that eight of the eleven white members were at least age twenty, can be explained by the presence of Wernwag's grown children on the island.⁴¹

The population of Virginius continued to grow throughout the 1830s and reached 113 by 1840. This nearly 27 percent rise in the town's population, while important, is deceptive. Virginius' population was dwarfed by the nearby town of Harpers Ferry, which was nearly fifteen times larger at the time of both

³⁹See the biographies of Townsend and Fontaine Beckham, Evans, Gildea, Gilleece, Schofield, Shackelford, Shannon, Shoemaker, and Lewis Wernwag. The first names of Fitzsimmons and Ritenour have not been determined. Their last names are mentioned in two deeds (Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847 and Deed Book 29, p. 439, Jesse Schofield to Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, 28 August 1847).

⁴⁰Censuses before 1850 only give the name of the head-of-household and the number of other household members by sex and age ranges. There are six age categories on the 1820 census for white persons and four for slaves and free blacks. For both 1830 and 1840, there were thirteen categories for whites and six for free blacks and slaves. For the last two censuses, age were given as "of" a certain age and "under" some other stated age.

⁴¹Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, pp. 174-75. See the biography of Lewis Wernwag. The term "family oriented" is used in this report to mean a household composed largely of people related to each other by marriage or birth; in this case, the sex ratio and age ranges in the 1830 and 1840 censuses suggest the nuclear family, composed of man and wife, parent and child, or two parents and their children, or the extended family, composed of any of the aforementioned groupings plus grandparents, siblings, or other related persons.

Table 1.2. Statistical Data, Town of Virginius, 1830 & 1840.

Census Year	1830	% of Total	1840	% of Total
No. of Households	16		15	
Total Population	89		113	
Total White Males	43	48.3	66	58.4
Total White Females	27	30.3	42	37.1
White Children Under 15	24	26.9	31	27.4
Slaves	18	20.2	2	1.7
Free Blacks	1	1.1	3	2.6
Average Household Size	5.5		7.5*	

*5.5 if Nancy Evans and William Fisher households are eliminated.

Source: 1830 and 1840 Population Schedules.

censuses. Although it had been roughly one-third the size of Bolivar, its other neighbor, in 1830, Virginius was only a little more than one-fifth that town's size in 1840.

The island populace resided in only fifteen households, one less than the 1830 census. Of the heads-of-household listed on the 1830 census, only Jesse Schofield and his father-in-law Lewis Wernwag were still living in the town in 1840. Other individuals had died, moved from the island, or moved into another household.⁴² A sex ratio of thirty-five females to thirty-seven males, and thirty-one white children under age fifteen, suggest thirteen of the fifteen households were family oriented.⁴³

The remaining households, headed by Nancy Evans and William Fisher, present a different picture. They contained a total of forty-one people. Of the thirty-eight whites in these households, only seven were under age fifteen, and twenty-

⁴²Only two other heads-of-household, Sidney Pilcher and William Decker, could be found on the 1840 census in Harpers Ferry or Bolivar.

⁴³Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, pp. 174-75; Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, pp. 248-49.

nine were white males of at least age twenty. This evidence suggests two of the dwellings on the island were boarding houses. The location of Fisher's house is unknown, but the dwelling must have been large enough to hold the twenty-four people included in his household. Nancy Evans was living on Tract 3 in 1847, in either Building K or N (1844 map); she conceivably was living there in 1840 as well.⁴⁴

Limitations exist on what can be said about the nature of the island community in this time period because little is known about many residents of Virginus, including the unnamed adult males living with Nancy Evans, William Fisher, or other heads-of-household. Moreover, the necessary reliance on decennial glimpses of the community means an undetermined number of people who may have lived in Virginus between, but not at the time of, the censuses are largely unidentified. Yet, sufficient evidence suggests that Virginus, like American society in general, was a hierarchical society in which an individual's relationship to others was determined by factors such as race or ethnicity, occupation, wealth, family, and community leadership.⁴⁵

It is certain Virginus' black population, which accounted for 21 percent of the community in 1830 and 4 percent in 1840, ranked at the bottom of the social structure, given prevailing racial attitudes in nineteenth-century America, particularly in southern states. Of the nineteen blacks on the island in 1830, eighteen were slaves. Sixteen slaves belonged to Townsend Beckham, Fontaine Beckham, and Lewis Wernwag; the other two were in the John Dever

⁴⁴Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248. See biography of Nancy Evans.

⁴⁵Understanding the social order of nineteenth century communities has been an interest of many scholars. See for example, Edward Pessen, "AHR Forum: Social Structure and Politics in American History," American Historical Review, (December, 1982), 87: 1290-1341; Stuart Blumin, "Mobility and Change in Ante-Bellum Philadelphia," and Michael B. Katz, "Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario," in Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); Stephen Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

household. A free black female lived in the Joseph Shoemaker household. Only four of the nineteen blacks were adult males. Three of the four belonged to Townsend Beckham and possibly worked at his tannery, while the fourth belonged to Wernwag. The remainder were women and children who may have been house servants. The five blacks living in Virginius in 1840 consisted of two male slaves, two free females, and one free male, all under age twenty-four.⁴⁶

Slaves other than those enumerated by these two censuses surely lived on the island. Personal property tax records for Jefferson County show that several island residents, other than those listed as slaveholders on the censuses, were taxed for slaves from the 1820s to the 1840s (See Appendix B). In addition, an 1846 report of the drowning of a slave in the employ of foundry operator Hugh Gilleece reveals at least one industrial slave not owned by an island resident was in Virginius.⁴⁷

Although the body of islanders who were neither black nor the leading property owners was not an undifferentiated mass, it is difficult to describe or categorize them. A study of Roxborough, Pennsylvania, shows 40 percent of its residents as unskilled laborers in 1828. Another 40 percent were employed in the retail, building, and food processing crafts, while slightly less than 10 percent were mill owners and manufacturers, professionals, or workers in retail service. The remainder were farmers.⁴⁸

Virginius was smaller than Roxborough and had no agricultural component; therefore, the island community may have required fewer unskilled and non-manual

⁴⁶Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, pp. 174-75; Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, pp. 248-49.

⁴⁷Virginia Free Press, 3 September 1846, p. 2, col. 6. The slave was owned by a Mr. Hays, not a known island resident in 1846. Joseph G. Hays, a former island resident, did not live on the island at this time.

⁴⁸Cynthia Shelton, The Mills of Manayunk: Industrialization and Social Conflict in the Philadelphia Region, 1787-1837 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 83.

workers. Because Virginus had industries requiring skilled workers, and its close proximity to Hall's Rifle Factory and the armory town of Harpers Ferry likely attracted skilled labor, the island's population possibly contained a higher percentage of skilled workers than Roxborough.

Likely occupations for eleven of the fifteen male heads-of-household on the 1830 census and nine of the fourteen male heads on the 1840 census have been determined. Occupations also have been identified for others who do not appear on these censuses but who are known or suspected island residents from 1820 to the mid-1840s. Altogether, these men include two boatman; three masons; a laborer; a lock keeper who later operated a sawmill; a tanner; a bricklayer; two carpenters; a master cooper and perhaps four journeymen coopers; a miller; one or two master blacksmiths and possibly a journeyman blacksmith; two machinists; a founder; an armory employee; a druggist; two Virginus store managers; a Catholic priest; a doctor; two or three millwrights, one of whom was also a bridge builder; and two Harpers Ferry merchants, one of whom was also a tailor.⁴⁹ Almost none of these men were unskilled manual workers. However, the lack of occupational data on most island males, particularly boarders who likely were employed at jobs requiring less skill, makes it impossible to determine the proportion of occupational types for Virginus Island.

Regarding economic standing, documentation of the personal property of some islanders provides suggestive rather than conclusive evidence. Several residents

⁴⁹Virginia Free Press, 8 August 1833, p. 3, col. 4. See the biographies of Townsend Beckham, Edmund H. Chambers, William Decker, Nelson Faulkner, William Fisher, John Fitzsimmons, John B. Gildea, Joseph G. Hays, Thomas N. Heskitt, William Kemp, Henry Krout, Thomas McKinney, Hugh Maddox, George Mauzy, John Peacher, Sidney Pilcher, William Richards, Jesse Schofield, Joseph P. Shannon, Joseph Shoemaker, Thomas Stephens, William Stephens, Michael Walsh, John Wernwag, Lewis Wernwag, Carter Williamson, and George Wissinger in Appendix D. A caution must be made with regard to the occupations listed. While an occupation identified with a particular individual may have been what that person was doing at a given point in time, he may have only temporarily been so engaged. Additionally, records frequently do not differentiate between owners and employees. See Michael B. Katz in Thernstrom, p. 214 and "Occupational Classification in History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, (Summer, 1972), 3: 70-76.

appear in Jefferson County personal property tax records between 1820 and 1844. Their appearance is significant because an individual was listed during these years only if he or she owned certain types of property; only the owners of slaves, horses, or carriages were listed from 1823 to 1841. The majority of island residents, who fell between the slaves and the principal property owners, included several slaveholders. Owning slaves for at least one year during this time were Jacob Fouke, Joseph Shoemaker, Joseph Shannon, John Fitzsimmons, Sidney Pilcher, John Gildea, Carter Williamson, and William Stephens. Of these, Fouke, Fitzsimmons, Shannon, Shoemaker, and Williamson were taxed for slaves for two or more years. Fitzsimmons owned a two-wheel carriage valued at \$75, while Shannon was taxed in 1832 for a four-wheel barouche valued at \$100 and Gildea was taxed in 1834 for a two-wheel carriage also valued at \$100. Fouke, Shannon, Gildea, Fitzsimmons, Williamson, Thomas McKinney, Michael Welsh, Thomas Stephens, and Joseph Hays owned one or more horses. Taxable property was expanded in 1842 to include more commonly owned items such as watches and clocks, thereby increasing the number of island residents on the personal property tax rolls. Perhaps the most interesting addition to taxable property was the piano, which George Mauzy owned.⁵⁰

Several island residents executed deeds or deeds of trust to secure debts, and these documents also shed light on their assets. For example, although all his assets may not have been listed, an 1824 deed of trust executed by Thomas

⁵⁰See Appendix B for personal property tax information on Virginus Island residents. Land tax books for this period have not been located. Those located at the courthouse date primarily from the 1890s, although scattered books dating back to the 1870s are also there. With the exception of Carter Williamson, who had an interest in 1,250 acres of land in Tennessee (Deed Book 25, p. 280), George Mauzy, whose name appears along with those of several dozen other individuals on a deed for Lots 50 and 51 on Shenandoah Street (Deed Book 24, p. 324), is the only other non-island owning residents of Virginus who could be found in the Jefferson County deed indices during the period of residency on Virginus Island. Two qualifications to that statement must be made. First, not all deeds were recorded. Second, several individuals with the same name as a few island residents lived in the county. While an examination of located deeds led to a determination they involved non-Virginus persons, it is conceivable they did.

McKinney suggests he owned only a small amount of personal property. A deed of trust executed by Henry Krout in 1834, however, lists considerably more property. The same is true of a deed listing property belonging to Carter Williamson, which George H. Griffin bought in 1840.⁵¹

This type of information allows tentative distinctions between some of the island residents who were neither black nor island owners. These distinctions are not rigid assignments of particular individuals to one level or another. Nineteenth-century American society was sufficiently fluid for some individuals, despite obstacles, to acquire new skills, make or lose wealth, and gain or lose influence in short periods of time, thereby altering their position relative to other members of the community. Such is the case of Carter Williamson, who managed the store at the depot and owned a reasonable amount of personal property until 1840, when he sold it to George Griffin, and then ended up in the county jail in 1841 as "an insolvent debtor."⁵² Suggesting the likely social standing of individual islanders depicts the diversity within the island community and the general character of its social structure.

Without doubt, some island residents tended to fall toward the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Many of the thirty-eight adult white males who lived in Nancy Evans or William Fisher's boarding houses in 1840 were probably laborers or semi-skilled or skilled craftsmen. As boarding house residents, most probably had little or no property and ranked low in the economic order. The presence of only a few females in these boarding houses suggests boarders were predominately single men with few, if any, familial ties to the community. Such

⁵¹See the biographies of William Decker, Nancy Evans, John Fitzsimmons, Jacob Fouke, Henry Krout, Thomas McKinney, John Shackelford, Joseph Shoemaker, Michael Walsh, and Carter Williamson for complete information on the personal property listed in these documents.

⁵²Deed Book 25, p. 280, Carter Williamson to Sebastian Eaty, High Sheriff of Jefferson County, 13 November 1841. Also see Williamson's biography.

individuals were the town inhabitants most likely to be temporary residents without any real standing in the community.

Many of the white residents of Virginius probably constituted an amorphous middle level which included artisans and small proprietors with varying degrees of wealth and skill who do not appear as active members of the larger Harpers Ferry community. This category might include men like Thomas H. Stephens, a horse and slave owner and "a miller of capacity and experience" in charge of Fontaine Beckham's flour mill on Tract 2; Joseph Shoemaker, a mason who owned a slave and a small amount of other personal property; Hugh Maddox, a manager of the island grocery store; Henry Krout, a carpenter whose personal property suggests a degree of material comfort; and Sidney Pilcher, a master cooper whose establishment on Tract 2 was sufficiently profitable for him to advertise to hire four journeymen coopers in 1834.⁵³

A few island residents, aside from the island owners, were no doubt recognized as more prominent members of the community by reason of their occupations, wealth, family connections, or positions of leadership in the Harpers Ferry area. This group probably included druggist Joseph Hays; Harpers Ferry merchants John Fitzsimmons and William Stephens; Joseph Shannon, a machinist and partner in the island firms of Wernwag & Sons and Shannon & Wernwag; and George Mauzy, a lock keeper and later a partner in operating the Tract 4 sawmill business. It is worth noting Fitzsimmons, Shannon, and Stephens were taxed for one or more slaves for at least one year during this period. Fitzsimmons and Shannon each owned a carriage, and Mauzy owned a piano. Shannon derived some standing in the community from his connection to the Wernwag family,

⁵³See the biographies of Henry Krout, Hugh Maddox, Thomas McKinney, Sidney Pilcher, Joseph Shoemaker, and Thomas Stephens.

possibly as the son-in-law of original Tract 4 owner Lewis Wernwag.⁵⁴

Few island residents, other than the island owners, appear in the local newspapers in connection with Harpers Ferry or Jefferson County. Mauzy, Fitzsimmons, Stephens, Hays, and Shannon are the only names found in the newspapers as company officers or for involvement in political or temperance activities. Joseph G. Hays became vice-president of the newly formed Harpers Ferry Temperance Society in 1831 and was serving as its treasurer in 1836. During the 1830s, Hays, John Fitzsimmons, and George Mauzy were elected directors of the Harpers Ferry Savings Institution, and Hays also served as its treasurer. In June 1831, Joseph P. Shannon was a member of a committee calling a meeting to nominate a candidate to represent the "mechanics and working men's interest" in the Virginia legislature, and the following year he was appointed a commissioner to receive proposals for the drawing and management of a lottery for the construction of a bridge across the Shenandoah River at Harpers Ferry. William J. Stephens served as chief marshal in an 1841 temperance procession, and in November 1843, he and Mauzy were chosen delegates from Harpers Ferry to a Democratic convention in Winchester, Virginia. Also in 1843, Mauzy became a delegate of the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society to a county convention. Mauzy also served as secretary-treasurer of the Shenandoah Bridge Company in 1844 and 1845.⁵⁵

From 1824 into the 1830s Fontaine Beckham, Townsend Beckham, and Lewis Wernwag occupied the socio-economic pinnacle of the Virginus Island community while Edward Wager, whose residence in Virginus has not been established

⁵⁴See the biographies of John Fitzsimmons, Joseph Hays, George Mauzy, Joseph Shannon, and William Stephens.

⁵⁵Virginia Free Press, 21 January 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 7 July 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 30 November 1843, p. 2, col. 7; 11 April 1844, p. 3, col. 6; 10 July 1845, p. 3, col. 4. See the biographies of Fitzsimmons, Hays, Shannon, and Stephens.

positively, probably was influential in the island community until his death in 1826. These four men became owners of Virginus Island in 1824. As owners, they were also landlords to all tenants on the island. In addition, Fontaine and Townsend Beckham and Lewis Wernwag owned sixteen of the eighteen slaves enumerated on the 1830 census. Edward Wager owned three or four slaves during the brief period he was connected to the island.⁵⁶

When the town of Virginus was incorporated on January 8, 1827, the Beckham brothers and Wernwag were among its first trustees. They were empowered to lay off lots, streets, and alleys; to settle boundary disputes; and to make laws regarding regulation of the police and the building of houses as long as such laws were consistent with federal and state laws. An existing 1819 law required trustees to live within five miles of the town and provided for the filling of any vacancies in the office of trustee by the open vote of town freeholders.⁵⁷

The number of Virginus' residents who possessed the franchise under Virginia law is not known, but the Commonwealth's voting laws were then among the most restrictive in the country. Moreover, the act of incorporation specifically granted the privileges held by freeholders and inhabitants of unincorporated towns only to those purchasers of lots in Virginus who "shall erect a dwelling house thereon, equal to twelve feet square, with a brick or stone chimney," or persons who had already made such an improvement on the island.⁵⁸ If, as this statement suggests, only property owners who made specified improvements

⁵⁶See the biographies of Fontaine Beckham, Townsend Beckham, Edward Wager, and Lewis Wernwag for the sources of information on these men included in this and the following paragraphs.

⁵⁷Act Establishing the Town of Virginus, 8 January 1827, Virginia Acts 1826-27, pp. 109-10; Act to reduce into one act, all acts and parts of acts concerning the office of Trustees or Directors of the several Towns within this Commonwealth, and for supplying vacancies in the same, 2 March 1819, The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia, (Richmond: Thomas Ritchie, 1819), 2: 319-20.

⁵⁸Act Establishing the Town of Virginus, 8 January 1827.

possessed these privileges, an extremely limited number of Virginus residents may have held the franchise in 1827. Even after the state's constitution was revised in 1830, and until 1851, voting was limited to male freeholders or leaseholders of property with a certain value and taxpaying male heads-of-household in incorporated towns, thus disfranchising numerous male islanders and placing greater control over life in Virginus in fewer hands.⁵⁹

Moreover, the three tracts owned by Townsend and Fountain Beckham and Lewis Wernwag held all the industries on Virginus Island. Townsend Beckham operated the profitable tannery and oil mill on his Tract 1 property. Fontaine Beckham owned, and for an indeterminate number of years ran, the Tract 2 merchant flour mill. Lewis Wernwag owned and apparently operated the island's "extensive Saw-Mill" and perhaps the machine shop in association with his sons Lewis Jr., John, and William Wernwag and Joseph P. Shannon.⁶⁰ The cooperage sat on Fontaine Beckham's property, while the smith shops were on Wernwag's Tract 4 property. Although the occupations of most islanders remain unknown, some of these men were likely employed by the Beckham brothers or Wernwag.⁶¹

The power the Beckham brothers, Wager, and Lewis Wernwag derived from their positions was strengthened by connections to influential people beyond the

⁵⁹According to Merritt Roe Smith, after 1830, \$25 freeholders, \$20 leaseholders, and family heads paying taxing in incorporated towns could vote (p. 263.) Several others authors present contradictory information on suffrage requirements in Virginia. See Virginus Dabney, The New Dominion (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1971), pp. 213, 218; David Reed Goldfield, "The Triumph of Politics over Society: Virginia, 1851-1861" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1970), pp. 9-10, 68; A.A. Rogers, "Constitutional Democracy in Ante-Bellum Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series (July 1936), 16: 399-407; Chilton Williamson, American Suffrage: From Property to Democracy, 1760-1860 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 223-25, 233. Goldfield indicates the 1851 constitution gave 45 percent of Richmond males the vote for the first time; this percentage suggests perhaps half of Virginus' adult male residents could not vote.

⁶⁰Also see the biography of Joseph P. Shannon.

⁶¹While some of their occupations suggest a probable association, few of the island residents have been identified conclusively as employees of particular businesses; in fact, those persons whose occupations have been identified were almost exclusively the heads-of-household and tended to be the owners or managers of businesses, professionals, or merchants. The biographies of the island residents for the first period should be consulted for available information. The names of heads-of-household for this period can be found on Maps 2 and 3.

confines of Virginius Island. In his book on the Harpers Ferry Armory, Merritt Roe Smith argues that "a powerful family oligarchy . . . dominated every aspect of life at Harpers Ferry . . . between 1815 and 1829."⁶² This oligarchy or "Junto" consisted of the Beckham, Wager, Stubblefield, and Stephenson families, who were connected by marriage. Armory superintendent James Stubblefield's wife Mary was the sister of Townsend and Fontaine Beckham. Their niece Hannah was the wife of Edward Wager, half-brother of the late John Wager, Jr. and brother-in-law to powerful matriarch Catherine Wager. Fontaine married Ann Stephenson, the daughter of Major James Stephenson, a powerful political figure, in 1825.⁶³

These familial connections apparently led to some questionable but lucrative practices which benefited the Beckhams and Wager and increased their influence both in and beyond Virginius. For example, trees on government property were cut for bark for Townsend Beckham's tannery. Wager and Fontaine Beckham, partners in a mercantile business in Harpers Ferry in the late 1810s and early 1820s, apparently bought claims which armorers had filed on government dwellings for improvements to these dwellings. While the armorers were unable to obtain reimbursement from the government, one armorer claimed the money Wager and Beckham used to purchase these claims was the government money supposedly unavailable for reimbursement.⁶⁴

According to Smith, Lewis Wernwag also benefited as one of several local businessmen who identified their interests with the oligarchy. Wernwag contracted on numerous occasions in the 1820s and early 1830s to do work for the armory. Smith suggests Wernwag had an arrangement with superintendent

⁶²Merritt Roe Smith, p. 148.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 143-48. Although Smith identifies Edward Wager as Catherine's son, other records reveal he was, in fact, the son of John Wager, Sr. See the biography of Edward Wager.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 162, 179.

Stubblefield whereby he could secure such work. Furthermore, one armory employee charged that Stubblefield had eliminated a public sawmill in Harpers Ferry to benefit Wernwag, while another charged that workers on the public payroll performed work at Wernwag's and the Beckham brothers' businesses.⁶⁵

By the mid-1830s, Townsend Beckham had died and Fontaine apparently was no longer actively involved with Virginus, thus ending the island's familial connection to the most influential Harpers Ferrians. Despite selling his interest in Tract 4 in the early 1830s (in part to his son John), Lewis Wernwag retained his connection with the island until his death in 1843 and probably remained an influential figure in the town. The Virginia Free Press reported in July 1843 that part of the Fourth of July celebration was held "in a pleasant grove on the Island of Virginus, the use of which had been politely and kindly tendered to us for the occasion by our venerable and esteemed friend, Lewis Wernwag, Esq." Although by 1843 Wernwag no longer owned property on the island, he still behaved and was perceived by the community as an owner.⁶⁶

Joining Lewis Wernwag at the top of the Virginus community in the post-Beckham years were Hugh Gilleece and Jesse Schofield. No evidence proves either of them commanded the position held by the town's elite in the 1820s and early 1830s. In fact, both may have been seen by their contemporaries at a level equal to or only marginally above that occupied by William Stephens and George Mauzy. Gilleece operated the iron foundry on Tract 1 from late 1835 and owned this property from 1838 through the end of this first period. Jesse Schofield, who held some stature in the community as Wernwag's son-in-law since 1829, was the

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 148-49, 163, 164-65, 169.

⁶⁶Virginia Free Press, 13 July 1843, p. 2, col. 4. See the biographies of Townsend and Fontaine Beckham and Lewis Wernwag.

owner of Building 12 (1844 map) from 1835 and had arranged the purchase of a two-thirds interest in Tract 4 in 1837, although he did not obtain actual title until 1844. For several years, Schofield operated the sawmill.⁶⁷

Like Stephens, Mauzy, and other more prominent residents of Virginus, both Gilleece and Schofield began appearing in the newspaper during the late 1830s and early 1840s in connection with political and temperance activities. The identification with the latter is especially revealing. Although moral reformers of the nineteenth century were sincere in their obligation to save sinners and effect self-improvement, the reform movement in part aimed at creating more productive workers and supporting entrepreneurial competition. The involvement of these men in temperance reveals much about their position in society, both in Virginus and in the larger Harpers Ferry area.⁶⁸

From 1824 into the 1840s, first the Beckham brothers, Wager, and Lewis Wernwag and then Wernwag and, to a lesser extent, Gilleece and Schofield undoubtedly wielded considerable influence over life on the island. Each served in one or more of the following capacities: land owner, town trustee, operator of a principal industry and employer of workers, landlord to the operators of the smaller businesses and inhabitants of dwellings on Virginus Island, member or supporter of Harpers Ferry's elite in the early years, and participant in temperance and political activities in the latter years. Equally important, all of these men lived in the town of Virginus and could interact with other residents on a day-to-day basis during both work and leisure hours, thereby

⁶⁷See the biographies of Hugh Gilleece and Jesse Schofield. The following paragraph also draws from these biographies.

⁶⁸Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 148-49. See also Chapter 7 in Anthony Wallace's Rockdale for the particular use of religion as a measure of social control.

reinforcing an inherently unequal relationship.⁶⁹

Too much can be made, however, of the power held by these men. Only a portion of the residents worked directly for these men. Others may have had independent businesses on the island, worked for one of these independent businesses, or worked off the island. Additionally, without knowledge of a working town government or its actions, it is impossible to state what control the trustees had over the town.

Jonathan Prude notes in his study of Dudley and Oxford in Massachusetts that the consequences of inequality were mitigated since wealthy citizens in the early nineteenth century were likely to be debtors, occasionally even to their poorer neighbors. As a local example, Townsend Beckham, Fontaine Beckham, Lewis Wernwag, and Hugh Gilleece became "indebted" to various parties when they bought their Virginus Island properties.⁷⁰ In 1833, Lewis Wernwag executed a deed of trust, in part to secure a debt of \$1,029 due Virginus Island resident Joseph Shoemaker. Although part of the sum due Shoemaker was for his work, part of the debt was "for cash lent" by Shoemaker to Wernwag.⁷¹

With the exception of blacks, for whom opportunity was limited by slavery and prevailing racial attitudes, island residents could aspire to a higher socio-economic level in this pre-factory era. It was possible for a journeyman to establish himself as an independent master or for a master artisan to join the

⁶⁹The ideas expressed in this paragraph owe much to Cynthia Shelton's description of pre-factory Manayunk, pp. 100-101.

⁷⁰Jonathan Prude, The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860 (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 12-13; Deed Book 13, p. 332, Deed of Trust, Fontaine Beckham to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham, trustees, for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 13, p. 334, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag and wife to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham, trustees, for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 13, p. 345, Deed of Trust, Townsend Beckham and wife Eliza to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham, trustees, for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 23, p. 378, Deed of Trust, Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey to Henry Berry, trustee, for Andrew Hunter, special commissioner, 8 December 1838.

⁷¹Deed Book 19, p. 76, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag and wife Elizabeth to James Hook, trustee, for David Lewis, Jesse Schofield, and Joseph Shoemaker, 24 September 1833.

ranks of the elite. For example, William Richards, who operated a blacksmith shop on Virginus Island in the 1830s, and may have been an island resident, prospered sufficiently to earn the appellation "retired gentleman" by the time of the 1860 census.⁷²

In addition to this discussion of individuals, an aspect which cannot be overlooked is the town itself. For all the ties between Virginus and Harpers Ferry, Virginus was attempting to function independently of its much larger neighbor, if only in small and sporadically documented ways. Virginus was a legal entity from 1827 into the 1840s. Unfortunately, no known records indicate whether the town had a functioning town government or existed in name only.⁷³

Some evidence characteristic of a small town has surfaced. An 1828 issue of the Virginia Free Press carried an advertisement for a teacher in Virginus and indicated a school house had already been constructed, but it remains unknown whether a school actually opened at this time. A school definitely existed on the island before May 1847, when Henrietta Briscoe advertised the re-opening of her "infant School" on Virginus Island. When the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company constructed its line to Harpers Ferry in the mid-1830s, one of its first actions was the purchase of the Tract 3 property, where it operated a depot from 1836 until shortly before the company sold the land in 1847. Sometime before December 1839, a grocery store opened in Virginus, possibly at the depot, providing islanders with an alternative to shopping in Harpers Ferry.⁷⁴

This fledgling town did not retain its independent identity past the 1840s.

⁷²Wilentz, pp. 115-117; Shelton, p. 16; Prude, p. 107. See biography of Richards.

⁷³Act Establishing the Town of Virginus, 8 January 1827, Virginia Acts, 1826-27, pp. 109-10.

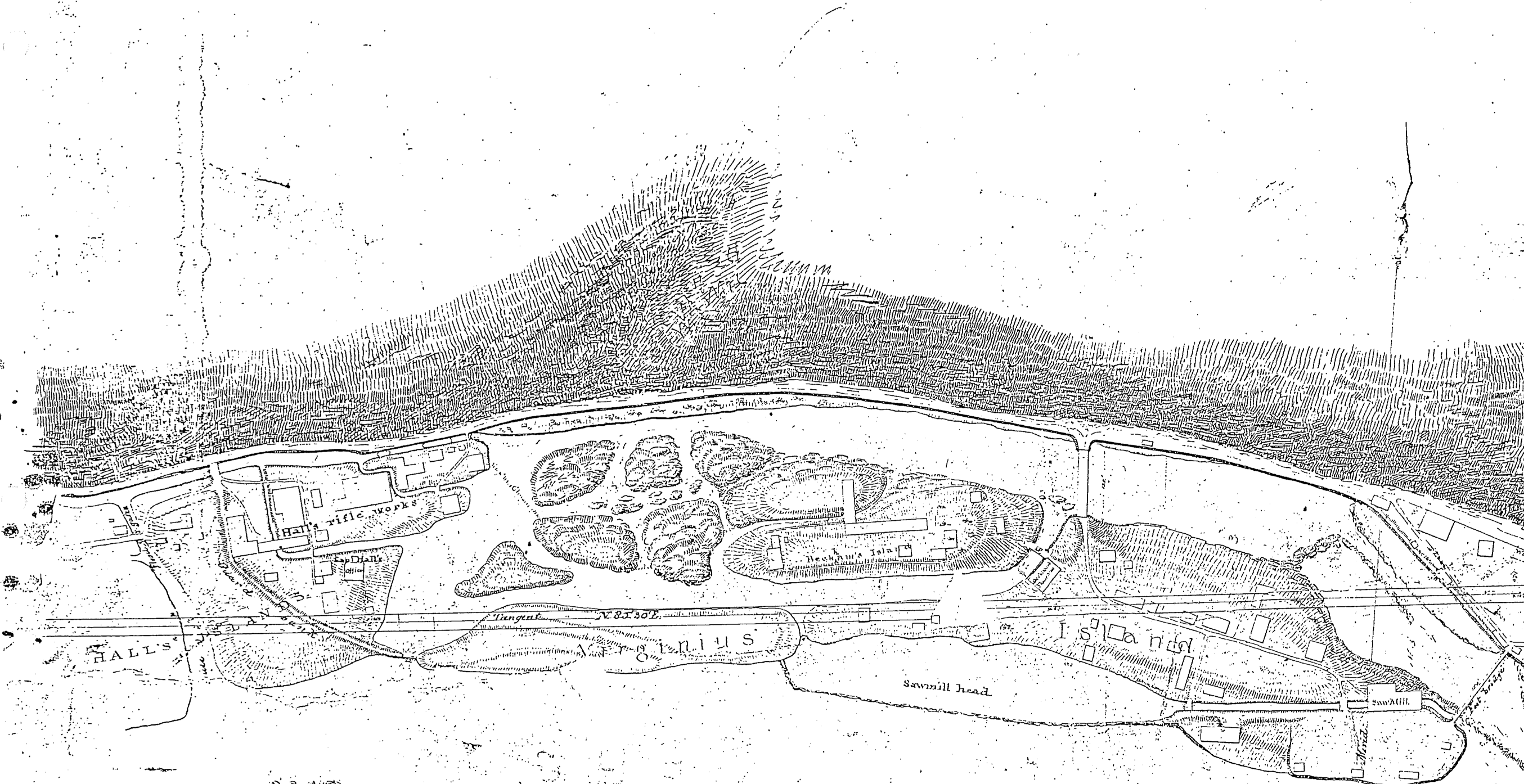
⁷⁴Virginia Free Press, 3 December 1828, p. 4, col. 3; 17 March 1836, p. 3, col. 1; 26 December 1839, p. 3, col. 3; Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 28 May 1840, p. 2, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 May 1847, p. 3, col. 3; Deed Book 20, p. 338, John B. Gildea to Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, 13 May 1835; Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847.

Virginus residents are listed separately on the 1840 census but appear as part of Harpers Ferry in 1850. Furthermore, the Island of Virginus was specifically included within the bounds of Harpers Ferry at the time of Harpers Ferry's incorporation in 1851.⁷⁵ The last known newspaper reference showing Virginus as an entity separate from Harpers Ferry is a March 13, 1846, advertisement for Joseph G. Hays of Harpers Ferry.⁷⁶

The reason for the demise of the town can only be stated as conjecture. With the original goals of the 1826 petitioners met and the 1843 death of Lewis Wernwag (the sole petitioner living on the island after the 1830s), perhaps no one with a vision to sustain the town remained in the community. Or perhaps Virginus, surrounded by Hall's Rifle Factory and the larger towns of Bolivar and Harpers Ferry, with no room to grow beyond the hamlet it essentially was, could not serve a community whose industrial and population base was expanding in the 1830s and 1840s.

⁷⁵Act incorporating the town of Harper's Ferry in the county of Jefferson, 24 March 1851, Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia passed at the Session of 1850-51 (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, public printer, 1851), p. 176.

⁷⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 5 June 1846, p. 4, col. 2.



1830 Census Heads*

- Beckham, Townshend
- Beckham, Fontaine
- Dever, John
- Decker, William
- Fouke, Jacob
- Harlen, John
- Krout, Henry
- McKinney, Thomas
- Pilcher, Sidney A.
- Stephen, Thomas H.
- Shoemaker, Joseph
- Shannon, Joseph P.
- Schofield, Jesse
- Schackelford, Colman
- Tompkins, Catherine
- Wernwag, Lewis

Other 1820s

- Chambers, Edmund H.
- Peacher, John
- Wager, Edward

Other 1830s

- Fitzsimmons, John
- Gildea, John B.
- Hays, Joseph G.
- Richards, William
- Walsh, Michael
- Worley, John W.

MAP
of
HARPER'S FERRY.
Shewing the Location of the
WINCHESTER AND POTOMAC RAIL ROAD.
Drawn by
Lieut White, Allen and Bismith US Army.
Under the direction of
JAMES KEARNEY LT COL AND T.E.
1835.

N^o 2.

* order on census

MAP OF THE ISLAND OF VIRGINIUS HARPERS FERRY VA.

James M. Brown, 1844

Map 3

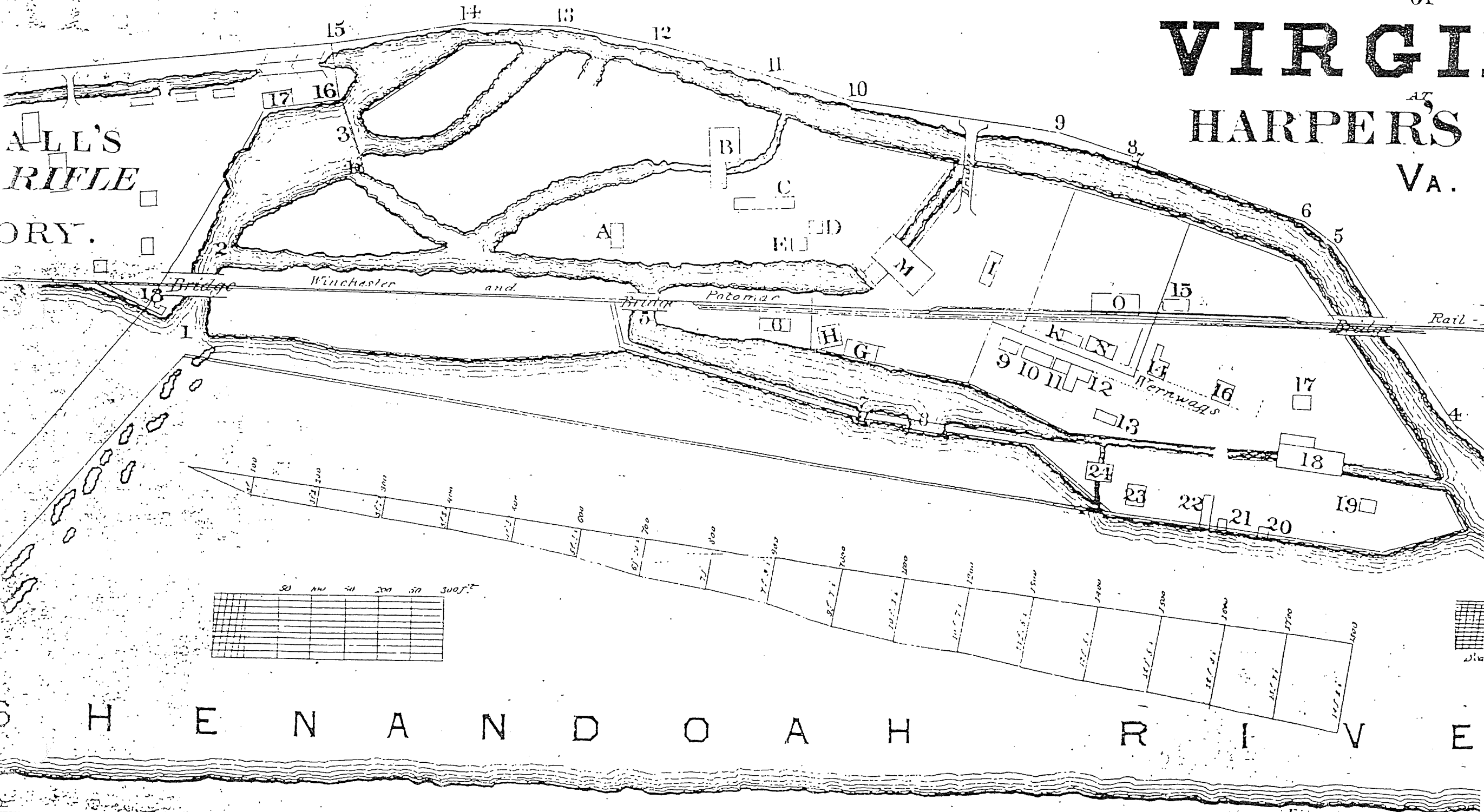
1840 Census Heads*

- Briscoe, Thomas
- Evans, Nancy
- Fisher, William
- Gallisee, Hugh
- Hete, James
- Kemp, William
- Maddox, H.
- Mauzy, George
- Pine, R.C.
- Riley, Joseph
- Scofield, Jessey
- Stephens, William
- Shickleford, John
- Williams, Carter
(Williamson)
- Wernwag, Lewis

Other

- Faulkner, Nelson
- Heskitt, Thomas N.
- Wissinger, George

* order on census



S H E N A N D O A H R I V E



TAKEN FROM NATURE BY TH. SACHEL.

DRUCKT VON E. SACHS IN HANNOVER.

VIEW OF THE ISLAND VIRGINIUS, IN THE SHENANDOAH, AT HARPERS FERRY.

TAKEN NEAR JEFFERSON'S ROCK.

Photograph 1. HF-687, View of the Island Virginius, 1857 lithograph.



Photograph 2. HF-119, Virginus Island, May 22, 1865.



SHENANDOAH VALLEY FROM JEFFERSON'S ROCK

Photograph 3. HF-532, 1907 Postcard showing part of Virginus Island.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPANSION AND DECLINE OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY: MID-1840S TO 1889

Industrial Background

The mid-1840s brought crucial changes to the Island of Virginus. Not only did the incorporated town of Virginus cease to exist, but a shift occurred in the island's industrial character, reflecting a heightened interest of local entrepreneurs in commercial endeavors for larger markets. Virginus Island never would reach the size of other, more well known industrial communities or sustain the economic prosperity envisioned at mid-century. Nevertheless, with the expansion of existing industries and the establishment of new enterprises, the manufacturing potential of the Island of Virginus was being fully exploited by mid-century.

With its greater commercial orientation, the Tract 2 flour mill is one island industry representing the industrial expansion on Virginus Island. Under the management of several individuals in the 1830s and early 1840s, the flour mill, known as the Island Mill, was acquired by Abraham Herr and his brother John in 1844. Abraham Herr acquired John's interest in 1848.¹ In 1850, Herr's mill, which employed five men, ground 90,000 bushels of wheat and produced over 20,000 barrels of flour and 300 tons of plaster worth \$100,000 annually.² Island residents likely in Herr's employ were millers Ferdinand Butler and Thomas Jones.³

¹Virginia Free Press, 18 July 1844, p. 3, col. 1. See biography of Abraham Herr.

²Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, 28th District, p. 10. Microfilm of the 1850 and 1860 census schedules for products of industry for Jefferson County is available at several repositories, including the National Archives and the Virginia State Archives.

³Seventh Census (1850), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, pp. 403B, 404.

Table 2.1. Virginus Island Industries, 1850.

Business	Capital Invested	Value Annual Product	Average No. Hands		Average Monthly Cost/Labor Per			
			Male	Female	Male	Person	Female	Person
Abraham Herr (miller)	\$90,000	\$100,000	5	-	\$136	\$27.20	-	-
Gilleece & Brown (foundry)	\$7,000	\$12,000	8	-	\$200	\$25.00	-	-
Chambers & Schofield (carpenter)	\$1,500	\$7,000	13	-	\$360	\$27.69	-	-
Joseph Manuel* (blacksmith)	\$25	\$700	2	-	\$36	\$18.00	-	-
Daniel Downing** (cooper)	\$450	\$1,000	3	-	\$50	\$16.66	-	-
HF & Shenandoah Manuf. Co. (cotton factory)	\$130,000	\$32,000	35	35	\$560	\$16.00	\$160	\$4.57
Stanbraugh & Holliday (manufacturer of yarn, warp, batting)	\$10,000	\$22,000	6	8	\$87	\$14.50	\$87	\$10.87

* It is not certain island resident Manuel's blacksmith shop was on Virginus Island, as it is known his shop was in the Shenandoah St/Hamilton St area after the Civil War.

** Cooperage. No Daniel Downing appears on population schedule. Could be cooper James Downing.

Source: 1850 Census, Products of Industry.

The flour mill operation on Virginus Island expanded over the next decade. Sometime in the late 1850s, possibly after Herr had acquired the other Virginus Island tracts, he joined in partnership with George W. Legg and James A. Welch. This firm was dissolved in July 1860; Herr and Welch continued the business until after the outbreak of civil war in 1861.⁴ This larger enterprise employed ten men, probably including islanders and millers William Edmunds, Thomas Boswell, Charles Barley, and John Corbin, and miller's clerk Josiah Deener. It ground 145,000 bushels of wheat and produced 32,000 barrels of flour annually worth \$233,400, nearly eighteen times the average annual value of flour produced in Jefferson County and about thirteen times the national average.⁵

Located near the flour mill was a cooper's shop. According to the 1850

⁴Virginia Free Press, 19 July 1860, p. 2, col. 7.

⁵Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, pp. 201, 203, 204; Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211; Bergstresser, p. 22.

Table 2.2. Virginus Island Industries, 1860.

Business	Capital Invested	Value Annual Product	Average No. Male Hands	Average Monthly Cost Labor	Average Per Person
Frederick Bremmerman (cooper)	\$3,000	\$11,250	14	\$25*	\$25
Rohr & Bro. (wagon maker)	\$1,200	\$1,400	3	\$60	\$20
(blacksmith)	\$600	\$1,500	3	\$60	\$20
Herr & Welch (flouring mill)	\$30,000	\$233,400	10	\$400	\$40
Herr & Snapp (iron foundry)	\$2,000	\$7,000	3	\$32*	\$32

* Amounts assumed to be per person, not total for all.

Source: 1860 Census, Products of Industry.

Products of Industry, Daniel Downing operated a small cooperage which employed three males; however, no Daniel Downing appears on the 1850 population schedule for Jefferson County.⁶ The correct name may be James Downing, who was a cooper and lived on Virginus Island in 1850. At any rate, coopers and island dwellers Thomas Dobson and James Downing probably worked on the island.⁷

A much larger cooperage operated on the island in 1860. This establishment, run by Frederick Bremmerman, produced 30,000 flour barrels annually worth \$11,250. It employed fourteen males at an average monthly wage of \$25. Among them were probably two of Bremmerman's relatives, both named John L. Bremmerman; George Hutslin; Haney Peters; John Piplin; John Furr and his sons John E. and Daniel; James McCabe; and George Norris and his son John W.⁸

⁶The printed version of the entire 1850 census for Jefferson County prepared by the Jefferson County Historical Society was consulted (Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society, December 1990).

⁷Seventh Census (1850), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 404; Products of Industry, 28th District, p. 10.

⁸Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, pp. 201-204; Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

In 1857, in Building 29 (1859 Historical Base Map) near Herr's mill, a two-story, 55' x 20' brick blacksmith and wheelwright shop was constructed for the new island business of brothers John W. and George Rohr. Rohr & Brother manufactured a variety of wagons, carriages, rockaways, and buggies, as well as making or repairing farm implements. Each department of the business employed three men. Those employed at the blacksmith establishment may have included George Conrad (who lived with George Rohr's family), Henry Truett, and Joseph Boswell. The wagon making department produced \$1,400 in wagons; the annual product of the blacksmith shop was worth \$1,500.⁹

In addition to these industries, Virginus Island still held the Tract 1 iron foundry, at least until the Civil War. In 1850, Hugh Gilleece's foundry employed eight males and produced \$12,000 in castings annually. F. Beckham & Son leased the foundry in 1854, but the following year, Gilleece and his partner Alexander Brown sold Tract 1 to Abraham Herr. Herr, with partner Francis Snapp, operated a foundry employing three males and producing \$7,000 in castings in 1860.¹⁰ This foundry may not have been located in the same building as Gilleece's foundry, but may have been located in a nearby building which does not appear on contemporary maps. Present documentation indicates the foundry in existence at the beginning of the Civil War was a 54' x 33' brick building.¹¹

⁹Snell, "A History," pp. 118-19; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867; Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, pp. 201, 202, 204; Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

¹⁰Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, 28th District, p. 10; Virginia Free Press, 28 September 1854, p. 2, col. 7; Deed Book 35, p. 49, Hugh Gilleece and Alexander Brown to Abraham H. Herr, 31 August 1855; Eighth Census (1860), Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211. While the 1850 products of industry lists wage amounts as the total for all employees, the 1860 schedule lists some amounts as wages per person and others as combined wages. The amount listed in 1860 for Herr & Snapp is clearly per person; this was verified by examining compiled statistics. (Manufacturers of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865, p. 618).

¹¹Halchin, Shackel, and Frye, p. 5; Report from D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867. This building was discovered by archeologists in 1986 and was interpreted by them as a new foundry, which they believed was constructed around 1860. See Figure 8 in Halchin, Shackel, and Frye.

Various Tract 4 businesses also remained in operation before the war. The sawmill was apparently rented to various individuals. For example, physician and islander A.S. Ruddock rented the sawmill in April 1850. A year later, however, this mill, which had two 45' x 60' rooms with circular and lathe saws and was capable of cutting lumber up to sixty feet long, was available for rent. Once Abraham Herr bought Tract 4 in 1854, he apparently continued to rent the sawmill.¹² The three-story, 50' x 30' stone machine shop was also leased, possibly by machinist and one-time property owner John Wernwag, who occupied the building in 1870.¹³

Daniel Chambers' and Jesse Schofield's carpenter business may have been located in one of the Tract 4 buildings previously used as a dwelling.¹⁴ Chambers and Schofield employed thirteen men, producing an annual product worth \$7,000 in 1850. Probably among their employees were islanders Gibson Johns and William Patterson. The carpenter business may have continued until 1855, when Schofield and possibly Chambers departed for the west.¹⁵

The blacksmith shop located on Tract 4 from at least the 1830s may have briefly remained in operation in this second historical period, although 1852 notices for the sale of the property, which included a list of the buildings on Tracts 3 and 4, do not mention it. According to the 1850 Products of Industry,

¹²Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1850, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 25 March 1851, p. 3, col. 2; Deed Book 38, p. 315, Robert Y. Conrad and Andrew Hunter, special commissioners, to Abraham H. Herr, 14 February 1859 by auction 25 July 1854; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April, 1867.

¹³Virginia Free Press, 8 June 1854, p. 3, col. 1. See biography of John Wernwag.

¹⁴According to the archaeologists, Schofield's shop may have been in Building 9 (1844 Map). In describing the part of Tract 3 north of the railroad tracks, an 1847 deed stated the south property line ran "from the east of the said lot now enclosed, direct to the front of the shop of said Schofield (being the front of the shop and not of the porch)" (Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847). While the description is sufficiently vague as to create uncertainty in identifying Schofield's shop, it is clear it occupied one of the buildings previously documented as a dwelling.

¹⁵Seventh Census (1850), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 404; Products of Industry, 28th District, p. 10. See the biographies of Jesse Schofield and Daniel Chambers.

Joseph Manuel, who has been identified as an island resident in 1850, operated a small blacksmith shop in Harpers Ferry. He paid an average monthly wage of \$18 apiece to two men, possibly Charles Beaver and Edward Lair, both of whom lived in the Manuel household. The annual product was worth \$700.¹⁶

Although short-lived, the establishment and operation of two cotton factories on the island is further evidence of the industrial expansion and commercial thrust of business activities on the island. In May 1844, Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag, then the owners of Tract 4, agreed to allow James Giddings to sell the property within a two-year period. Failing to sell the property, Giddings organized the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company in 1846 with the expectation the company would purchase the property. The company was incorporated in 1846 by the Virginia legislature "to manufacture cotton and wool, or either of them, and also iron, steel, leather, timber and lumber, at Virginius, . . . with a capital not less than \$50,000, nor more than \$300,000."¹⁷

Schofield and Wernwag agreed to sell Tract 4 to the company in May 1846, and a call for contractors to bid on construction of the first cotton factory was issued in July. The proposed building was to measure 100' x 45', with a sixteen foot high stone foundation, four feet thick at the base and three feet at the top, topped by four stories of brick. Begun by late 1846, this factory was in operation by March 1848, manufacturing sheeting and shirting.¹⁸

In its final form, it was a four-story brick building, 104' x 48', with a 14' x 34', one-story wing and a tin roof. Housed within this building were

¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1852, p. 3, col. 2; 2 December 1852, p. 3, col. 3; Seventh Census (1850), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B; Products of Industry, 28th District, p. 10.

¹⁷Quoted in Virginia Free Press, 2 April 1846, p. 2, col. 2; Snell, "A History," pp. 66-69, 85-86.

¹⁸Snell, "A History," pp. 87, 93.

carding, spinning, dressing, and weaving departments, and a repair shop. The machinery in the factory had been built by Charles Danforth of New Jersey and consisted of the following: a cotton opener and cleaner, two pickers, eighteen thirty-six inch carding engines, three drawing frames, six double roller beam speeders, eighteen spinning frames with 132 spindles each, four dressing frames, six cradle warpers, ninety-seven looms, a cloth press, a scraper and brush machine, a banding machine, a turning engine lathe, and a hand lathe. Two iron turbine wheels, 5' 10'' in diameter, made by E.C. Kilburn & Co. of Fall River, Massachusetts, powered the factory. Steam pipes heated the building. Attached to the factory were an office, store room, and waste house.¹⁹

The second factory was completed and in operation in July 1849 under lessees Ira Stanbraugh and Cornelius Johnson. This brick building with a tin roof and described variously in newspaper notices as "Two Stories" and "Four stories high, two stories leased" measured 57' x 48', much smaller than the other factory. The machinery, also made by Charles Danforth, included seven carders, four spinning frames, two reels, and a warping mill. According to Stanbraugh & Johnson's advertisement in 1849, the factory, known as the Valley Mills, could produce 400 pounds of cotton yarn, 100 pounds of batting, and fifty pounds of candlewick a day.²⁰ The firm of Stanbraugh & Johnson was dissolved in January 1850, and Ira Stanbraugh formed a partnership with John R. Holliday.²¹

In 1850, Stanbraugh & Holliday had \$10,000 invested in the Valley Mills, and the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company had a reported \$130,000 invested in its cotton factory. The former produced yarn, warps, and

¹⁹Snell, "A History," pp. 101-102; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867.

²⁰Snell, "A History," pp. 97, 100; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 August 1849, p. 2, col. 6 and p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1852, p. 3, col. 2; 5 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3.

²¹Virginia Free Press, 17 January 1850, p. 3, col. 4.

batting valued at \$22,000, while the latter produced 4/4 sheeting worth \$32,000 a year. Smaller than the average cotton factory in the United States, the larger factory employed seventy workers, half male and half female, in 1850. The Valley Mills employed six male and eight female workers.²²

On January 15, 1852, Stanbraugh and Holliday went into partnership with Mark A. Duke of Baltimore for the term of one year, from January 1, 1852 to January 1, 1853, to continue the manufacture and trade of cotton yarns, warps, batting, and candlewick. Each partner agreed to contribute \$5,000 to the business. This partnership was short-lived, however. In the fall of 1852, possibly on November 19, 1852, fire "destroyed" the Valley Mills. Subsequently, a sale of the property of Stanbraugh, Holliday & Duke found at the mill or otherwise belonging to the firm was held. This property, including warps, cotton waste, batting, and seventeen tons of iron (the latter found "at the old burnt mill, in the cellar, among the ashes after the fire" and believed to be machinery and castings), sold for \$2,727.04.²³

By this time, the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, having accumulated over \$50,000 in liabilities, had failed as well. An order was passed at the March 1852 stockholder's meeting to sell the company's real and personal property. Originally set to occur in May, the sale was rescheduled for August but not held at that time. Concurrent with the effort to sell the property, the company was named a defendant in at least three lawsuits, including one by creditor A.B. Davidson & Harris. Davidson & Harris charged the company's debts were "fully equal" to the value of its property and that "for a long time

²²Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, 28th District, pp. 11, 12; Bergstresser, p. 14.

²³Article of Copartnership of Ira Stanbraugh, John R. Holliday and M.A. Duke, 15 January 1852; Depositions of John R. Holliday, 4 October 1854 and 14 August 1855, and James W. Campbell, 11 October 1856; and Amount of Sale made by J.W. Campbell of the goods belonging to Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co., in A.F. and William R. Seevers vs James Giddings et al, Envelope 13, Reel 2, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU.

past, its works . . . has been idle and unproductive" and requested the court to direct the sale of the property, a request with which the defendant concurred. As a result, several notices of a court-ordered public sale of the company's Virginius Island property appeared in the newspapers between December 1852 and 1854.²⁴

On July 25, 1854, Abraham Herr purchased the property at a public auction for \$25,000. In 1856 and 1857, Cramer & Hawks advertised brown cottons manufactured at Harpers Ferry, undoubtedly at the island cotton factory, which apparently was operated under the supervision of Herr.²⁵ Although Dave Gilbert indicates this factory remained in production until 1861, it was not operating at the time of the 1860 census, and no advertisements after those of Cramer & Hawks have been discovered. Moreover, Charles Trail, an employee in Herr's flour mill prior to the Civil War, claimed the machinery had been taken out of the cotton factory and Herr was using it as a store house for grain before the war.²⁶

Whether or not the cotton factory was in operation in the late 1850s, the sounds of industrial activity in the various island businesses abruptly halted when the Civil War erupted, bringing soldiers to Harpers Ferry. In October 1861,

²⁴Snell, "A History," pp. 101, 114-16; Virginia Free Press, 5 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3; "Statement with Interest shewing the condition of the Harpers Ferry & Shenandoah Manufacturing Company to August the 12th inclusive 1852," complaint of Alexander B. Davidson and Benjamin G. Harris, November 1852, and answer of the company in A.B. Davidson and Harris vs The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, Park Reel 11, original in Envelope 14, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU. The company was also sued by its former president, in whose favor the court decided the case, in 1852 for \$4,110.28 (James Giddings vs The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, Reel 18, Envelope 6-11, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 6,). The following year, the company was plaintiff in a suit to collect \$1,343.25 (The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company vs John K. White and Daniel G. Hinkle as White & Hinkle and Ira Stanbraugh, John R. Holliday, and Mark A. Duke as Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co., Reel 19, Envelope 7-5, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 7)

²⁵Snell, "A History," pp. 115, 118; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1857, p. 3, col. 1; Snell, "A Short History," p. 36.

²⁶Gilbert, p. 52; Testimony of Charles H. Trail, 13 July 1887, in "Harper's Ferry Mill Co. vs Thos. H. Savery et al," p. 49. None of the occupations listed on the 1860 census, for either Harpers Ferry or Bolivar, can be connected with cotton mill work.

Herr's flour mill was torched by Confederates, apparently in retaliation for Herr allowing Union troops to remove flour from his mill.²⁷ According to an 1867 report submitted by Brevet Major General D.H. Rucker to Secretary of War E.M. Stanton, from February 1862 to February 1866 the island was occupied by Federal troops. During these years, the island was used "as barracks and stables, workshops, corrals; for hospital, storage, and other purposes." Apparently, the cotton factory, sawmill, and five dwellings were used for storage and quarters from April 29 to September 15, 1862. By December 23, 1862, all the buildings east of the flour mill, except the machine shops and three dwellings, were being used as hospital facilities.²⁸ The Factory Division Hospital, organized July 16, 1863, was located in the cotton factory until October 14, 1863 and again from November 23, 1864 to October 1865. Two dwellings were also used for hospital purposes at this time.²⁹

Following the departure of troops from the island, industry revived on the Island of Virginius, although without the pre-war diversity. In July 1867, Herr sold the property to Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight of Ohio, who converted the cotton factory into a flour mill. In operation by March 1869, the mill had a manufacturing capacity of 400 barrels of flour a day.³⁰ A railroad switch constructed to the mill door in 1869 by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad facilitated the transport of wheat and flour, the latter amounting to eighteen

²⁷Joseph Barry, The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry with Legends of the Surrounding Country (Martinsburg, WV: Thompson Bros., 1903; Reprint, Shepherdstown, WV: Woman's Club of Harpers Ferry District and Shepherdstown Register, Inc., 1974), p. 114; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867, in Bill for the relief of the Estate of A.H. Herr.

²⁸Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867, in Bill for the relief of the Estate of A.H. Herr.

²⁹Record Group 94, Index to Hospitals, WV #44 (Harpers Ferry), National Archives, also on Frame 19 of microfilm at HFNHP; Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867.

³⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 30 July 1867, p. 2, col. 3; 2 March 1869, p. 3, col. 2.

carloads a day.³¹

The 1870 Products of Industry indicates that \$200,000 was invested in Child, McCreight & Co. With its four turbines, having a total of 300 horsepower, and ten grinding stones, the mill could manufacture 500 barrels of flour daily. The largest of six flouring mills recorded on the Products of Industry in Jefferson County, the Virginius Island mill converted 400,000 bushels of wheat into 80,000 barrels of flour worth \$700,000. An average of twenty men worked in the mill, amongst whom were probably islanders John Taylor and James Smith. The island cooperage, run by George A. Hood, annually produced 40,000 flour barrels worth \$20,000. Sixteen men, probably including island residents Daniel Hood, George Hoffman, Harrison Hoffman (or Hooff), Edward Sweet, Abraham Longerbeam, Turner Freeman and his sons George and Minor, and Samuel Webb, worked for Hood.³²

In addition to the flour mill and cooperage, the Excelsior Planing Mills and Lumber Yard briefly operated on the island. This business, run by William B. Wernwag and Walter Taylor, was in existence by February 25, 1869. Wernwag and Taylor advertised the availability of building materials such as weather boarding, doors, sashes, newel posts, balusters, and mouldings at their establishment. Connected with the mill was the machine shop, where new and repair work was available. The planing mill had moved from the island by the

³¹Spirit of Jefferson, 7 December 1869, p. 3, col. 2. This news article clearly indicates the siding was already in place on December 7 as agreed to by both parties on November 8, although a former deed providing for its construction was not signed until December 29, 1869. Child, McCreight & Co. compensated the B&O in 1870 (Deed Book 4, p. 464, Contract, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily E., John A. McCreight and wife Celia E., Solomon V. Yantis and wife Josephine, Horatio R. Riddle and wife Sallie, and Elnathan Hathaway and wife Ada A. to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, 29 December 1869; Agreement between the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and Child, McCreight & Co., 8 November 1869, and Receipt, A.B. Wood, agent of B&O, to Child, McCreight & Co., 14 March 1870, Box 4, Folder 3, Thomas Savery Papers, A&M 1534, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware).

³²Ninth Census (1870), Population Schedule, Bolivar Township, pp. 15-17; Products of Industry, Bolivar Township, p. 1; Ninth Census (1870), Vol III, The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 741. The 1870 and 1880 products of industry for Jefferson County are available at the West Virginia State Archives.

Table 2.3. Virginius Island Industries, 1870 & 1880.

<u>Business</u>	<u>Capital Invested</u>	<u>Value Annual Product</u>	<u>Average No. Male Hands</u>	<u>Annual Cost Labor</u>	<u>Average Monthly Per Person</u>
1870					
Child, McCreight & Co. (manufacturer of flour)	\$200,000	\$700,000	20	\$4,000	\$16.00
George A. Hood (cooperage)	\$500	\$20,000	16	\$7,200	\$37.50
1880					
McCreight & Yantis (flouring mill)	\$150,000	\$214,324	36	\$10,700*	\$24.76

* Includes wages for as many as 40 workers.

Sources: 1870 & 1880 Census, Products of Industry.

fall of 1870.³³

The resurgence of industry on Virginius Island suffered a setback at the end of September 1870, when the waters of the Shenandoah River swept through the island, wreaking havoc on industrial and residential sites alike. The foundry and carriage shop, for neither of which evidence of post-war operations has been found, were carried off by the flood waters. Other industrial buildings destroyed were the sawmill, machine shop, and flour mill office. Damage to the flour mill was limited, but the head gates to the mill race were swept away, the race walls impaired, and sand poured into the race. After this devastating 1870 flood, the flour mill and its ancillary cooperage were the only remaining industries on the island. The race once again filled with sand during the flood in 1877, at which time the flour mill was half-submerged and the machinery

³³Deed Book 4, p. 11, Deed of Trust, William B. Wernwag to William H. Travers, trustee, for Horatio R. Riddle, 25 February 1869; Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1869, insert. According to the account of the 1870 flood, the planing mill was then located at Shenandoah City.

damaged.³⁴

The flour mill resumed operations, but had a significantly lower output in 1880 than a decade earlier. Only 131,000 bushels of wheat were ground, producing flour and feed worth \$214,324. A maximum of forty men, and an average of thirty-six men, were employed ten hours a day. Skilled workers were paid an average \$2.50 a day, while ordinary laborers received an average \$1.00 a day.³⁵ Despite the decline in operations, the value of the mill's products was ten times the national average for flouring and grist mills.³⁶

From 1868 to 1884, the island flour company experienced several changes in organization. McCreight and Child sold a one-third interest in Virginius Island to Solomon V. Yantis of Harpers Ferry and Horatio R. Riddle of Baltimore in 1868. In 1875, these four men, plus W.H. Travers, incorporated the Harpers Ferry Flour Mill and Manufacturing Company, although the flour mill apparently remained known as Child, McCreight & Co. With the retirement of Child and Riddle in 1880, the firm became known as McCreight & Yantis.³⁷ In 1882, the Harpers Ferry Mill Company was incorporated with McCreight, Yantis, Edward Tearney, M. Walsh, and W.H. Travers as incorporators. Two years later, however, the Harpers Ferry Mill Company was incorporated again, this time by Conrad F. Clothier, Samuel Fletcher, and John E. Frymier, all of Philadelphia, and McCreight and Yantis. Following

³⁴Letter from E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 9 October 1870, transcription, HFD-213, HFNHP; Virginia Free Press, 1 December 1877, p. 2, col. 3; 15 December 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

³⁵Tenth Census (1880), Products of Industry, Special Schedules Nos. 7 & 8, Flour and Grist Mills - Cheese, Butter, and Condensed Milk Factories, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia State Archives. Jonathan Child retired in April, 1880 (Virginia Free Press, 24 April 1880, p. 2, col. 4). See Appendix A for change in ownership and partnerships during the post-war years.

³⁶Compendium of the Tenth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 2: 1150-51.

³⁷Deed Book 5, p. 324, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily E. and John A. McCreight and wife Celia E. to Solomon V. Yantis and Horatio R. Riddle, 15 August 1868; Corporation Book 1, p. 11, Certificate of Incorporation, Harpers Ferry Flour Mill and Manufacturing Company, 1 October 1875; Virginia Free Press, 24 April 1880, p. 2, col. 4.

the 1884 incorporation, McCreight and Yantis sold Virginius Island to the Harpers Ferry Mill Company. Thereafter, with the company presidency residing with Fletcher in Philadelphia, McCreight (as manager) and Yantis (as secretary and treasurer) apparently held less power over company operations.³⁸

Under this new ownership, improvements were made to the mill in 1884-1885. The mill was changed from the burr to roller system, requiring a "large outlay of money." Part of the expense was for the machinery, which reportedly included twenty-four Stevens' improved rollers, six Smith's No. 1 purifiers, three Smith centrifugal reels, a double scalping chest, an aspirator, six Princess dust collectors, two bran separators, three bolting chests with six reels each, four improved flour packers, cleaners, separators, and smutters. The Noye Manufacturing Company of Buffalo was the contractor for the work.³⁹

Despite these changes suggesting a bright future for the island's flouring industry, it is clear the flour mill company struggled throughout much of the decade, becoming entangled in a series of law suits. In November 1882, McCreight and Yantis had obtained a restraining order preventing the sale of the property or collection on two bonds executed by McCreight and Child to Abraham Herr in 1867; this suit was still ongoing in 1884.⁴⁰ Subsequently, the company remained in court due to three other suits, including a dispute over riparian rights with Thomas Savery, who purchased Hall's Island in 1884 and began erecting a pulp mill, making changes to the flow of river water at that point. The flour mill,

³⁸Corporation Book 1, pp. 51 and 81, Certificate of Incorporation, Harpers Ferry Mill Company, 8 March 1882 and 25 July 1884; Deed Book N, p. 258, John A. McCreight and wife Celia E. and Solomon V. Yantis and wife Josephine to Harpers Ferry Mill Company, 9 October 1884; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2.

³⁹Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2.

⁴⁰S.V. Yantis and Jno.A. McCreight vs Wm.R. Percy and others, injunction bond, Classified Box 51, Folder 5, and special commissioner's bond, 14 May 1884, Classified Box 52, Folder 5, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU; Deed Book 2, p. 287, Deed of Trust, Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight to Andrew Hunter, trustee, for Abraham H. Herr, 24 July 1867; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 February 1883, p. 3, col. 2; 15 January 1884, p. 2, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 29 July 1882, p. 3, col. 1; 14 October 1882, p. 2, col. 5.

which had apparently shut down intermittently since 1875, was not in operation for fifteen months prior to July 1887. A court ruling in favor of Savery in June 1888, coupled with unfavorable rulings in the other two cases and a record flood in June 1889, brought an end to the island's industrial history.⁴¹

The Dwellings

A comparison of the 1844 James Brown map with one prepared in 1848 by S.Howell Brown (See Map 4) shows many of the dwellings on the former noted on the latter. Although these buildings are not numbered on the 1848 map, the shape and placement of fifteen of them suggests A, D, E, I, K, N, 6, 9⁴², 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 20 (1844 map numbers) were extant in 1848. Building 13, a double frame house on Tract 4, does not appear on the 1848 map. Neither do Buildings G and H (Tract 2). Snell hypothesizes a building just to the south and west of Building 9 was the westernmost building in what would become the row house, but that supposition is inaccurate.⁴³

Buildings 14 and 16, although described in the 1844 "Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginious, Harper's Ferry, Virginia" (See Table 1.1) as frame houses "brick filled and rough cast" and "brick filling" respectively, may have been two of the four dwelling houses (the other two being

⁴¹Spirit of Jefferson, 14 June 1887, p. 3, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 21 June 1888, p. 3, col. 5; 30 August 1888, p. 2, col. 4; 6 June 1889, p. 2, col. 3; 3 October 1889, p. 2, col. 4; Deposition of Charles H. Trail, 13 July 1887, in Harpers Ferry Mill Co. vs Thomas H. Savery et al, p. 49; The John T. Noye Manufacturing Co. vs Harpers Ferry Mill Co., fifa, 18 December 1887, and A.W. Lee vs Harpers Ferry Mill Co., fifa, 22 February 1887, Envelope 81, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU; Deed Book U, p. 464, George Baylor, W.H. Travers, S.W. Washington, and Joseph Trapnell, special commissioners, to The John T. Noye Manufacturing Company, 7 April 1890.

⁴²See Footnote 14 above.

⁴³"Map of the Island of Virginius at Harper's Ferry, Va.," by James M. Brown, April 1844; "Map of Harpers Ferry-Prepared in compliance with Letter to Major Symington, April 22, 1848," by S. Howell Brown, NM-HF 3000, Map File, HFNHP; Snell, "A History," pp. 106-109. Snell calls the building southwest of Building 9, Building 21 in the belief it is the same two story brick building he designated as 21 on the 1859 Historical Base Map. However, both buildings are visible in HF-119 (See Photograph 2), proving they were not the same building.

Buildings K and N) described in a December 2, 1852, notice of the sale of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company property (Tracts 3 and 4) as "two stories, stone and rough cast." The other dwellings on this property consisted of "Five BRICK TENEMENTS, two stories [Buildings 9, 10 (double house), 11, and 12]; and five WOODEN COTTAGES, one and a half stories [probably including Buildings 6, 15, and 20]."⁴⁴

When industry expanded on Virginius Island about 1850, the number of dwellings on Virginius Island increased. In March 1850, Abraham Herr requested permission to quarry stone from government land for the foundations of "four small tenement [*sic*]" he was planning to build on his Tract 2 property. During their excavations in the summer of 1992, archeologists discovered six foundations, probably representing three double houses, believed constructed at the same time. (The fourth building for which Herr requested stone may have been Building 32). At some point, these three double houses were connected to the Tract 4 dwellings immediately to the east by another dwelling, thus forming the row house on the south side of the street. Snell includes these dwellings in the four houses numbered 21, 33, 34, and 35 on the his 1859 Historical Base Map (See Map 5), a mid-twentieth-century map depicting Harpers Ferry a century earlier. When these "seven" dwellings are added to the five brick tenements on Tract 4, the total number of row houses becomes twelve, the number stated by Emily Child in her description of the 1870 flood.⁴⁵

In documenting his 1859 Historical Base Map, Snell identifies twenty-four

⁴⁴Virginia Free Press, 2 December 1852, p. 3, col. 3.

⁴⁵Quoted in Snell, "A History," p. 111; E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870, transcription, HFD-213; "Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859," by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021, Map File, HFNHP. Snell's base map, while flawed, is cited throughout this report because his numbers provide easy reference points. However, it should be used in conjunction with the more accurate "Historic Base Map: 1820-1855" and "Historic Base Map: 1855-1890" in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginius Island.

of the island buildings as dwellings. Five of these buildings were not mentioned in Chapter One or discussed above as part of the row house. Building 10 is described by Snell as probably a one-and-one-half-story frame dwelling. The other four buildings, all erected after 1848, are described by Snell as follows: Building 29, a two-story brick dwelling; Building 32, a two-story brick dwelling; Building 36, a two-story irregular-shaped brick dwelling; and Building 37, probably a one-story frame dwelling.⁴⁶ Subsequently, Building 29 has been identified as the blacksmith and wheelwright shop. Building 36, identified as a brick house in an 1869 deed, was apparently the company store of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company in the early 1850s. No documentation indicates whether Building 37, which may date to the Civil War period rather than earlier, was a dwelling.⁴⁷

Although not all the buildings Snell designates as dwellings were, in fact, dwellings and neither consultation of the documentation of the landscape architecture team nor independent examination of available photographic evidence has led to the identification of other dwellings, it is clear there were more than twenty-four dwellings on the island prior to the Civil War. According to Joseph Barry, Virginius Island contained "twenty-eight neat dwellings" before the war. The 1884 report of the Committee on War Claims, cited in Abraham Herr's post-Civil War claim for the government's wartime use of his island property,

⁴⁶Charles W. Snell, "The Town of Harpers Ferry in 1859, A Physical History: Documentation for the 1859 Historical Base Map, The Town of Harpers Ferry," pp. 17-19; "Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859," by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021, Map File, HFNHP. Although Snell does not cite his source for the information on these buildings, it is evident that he used the lithograph "View of the Island of Virginius, in the Shenandoah, at Harpers Ferry, Taken Near Jefferson's Rock," HF-687, dated 1857 (See Photograph 1). He probably also used HF-70 (See Photograph 4), HF-119 (See Photograph 2), and HF-29 (See Photograph 5).

⁴⁷Deed Book 4, p. 464, Jonathan C. Child et al to Winchester and Potomac Railroad, 29 December 1869; Virginia Free Press, 8 June 1854. See "Historic Base Map: 1820-1855" and "Historic Base Map: 1855-1890," Cultural Landscape Report: Virginius Island. The 1855-1890 map dates a building in the location of Building 37 to about 1865 based on photographic documentation. It does not appear in the 1857 lithograph of Virginius Island.

states the island contained thirty-two dwellings. An 1867 letter from Brevet Major General D.H. Rucker, however, mentions only twenty-five dwellings, consisting of twenty-four two-story brick or stone dwellings, "most of them with attics and kitchens attached, and averaging 8 rooms each," and a "mansion house."⁴⁸

During the war, the island dwellings were damaged, but according to Joseph Barry, after Jonathan Child and John McCreight bought the island from Abraham Herr in 1867, they had "nearly all" of the dwellings "put in repair." In 1870, the number of Virginius Island dwellings was reduced by the September/October flood. According to two letters written by Jonathan Child's wife Emily shortly after the flood, twelve buildings were destroyed, including the foundry, sawmill, carriage shop, machine shop, schoolhouse, and mill office. The stable and a brick house in the Child yard were also swept away, as was the outhouse and kitchen. The raging flood water's destructive forces levelled the dwellings on the western end of the island. The row houses, all of which lost kitchens and outhouses and some of which had "partition walls torn down, staircases shattered and floors torn up," suffered substantially. The front walls fell in two of them.⁴⁹ Another flood in 1877 again inflicted damage on the island dwellings, including John McCreight's house, from which the "kitchen and porches . . . were swept away."⁵⁰

An 1885 article in the Spirit of Jefferson states "some seventeen dwellings" were on the island, and a map prepared in May 1889 shortly before

⁴⁸Barry, p. 146; House Report No. 155, 48th Congress, 1st Session, and Report of D.H. Rucker to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Sec. of War, 16 April 1867, in Bill for the relief of the Estate of A.H. Herr.

⁴⁹Barry, p. 147; E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870 and 9 October, 1870, transcription of letters, HFD-213.

⁵⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 27 November 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

flood waters swept through the island again lists fifteen buildings as dwellings (See Map 6).⁵¹ A comparison of the dwellings on the 1889 map with those on Snell's 1859 Historical Base Map indicates the extant dwellings in 1889 were Buildings 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32, 33, 34, and 35. Building 36 was being used as an office.⁵²

Many of the island residents listed on the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses probably appear in an order consistent with the location of their respective dwellings, but an association with a particular dwelling exists for only a few island residents. Jesse Schofield lived in Building 17 until 1855. Abraham Herr probably lived in Building 22 until 1861, and Jonathan Child lived there from about 1867 until the 1889 flood. John McCreight, who lived on the island from 1867 until at least 1877 and possibly into the 1880s, lived, according to David Hannah, in Building 12. Warren Dutton lived in one of the row houses.⁵³

The Community

Although the town of Virginius did not exist after the mid-1840s and, therefore, census records do not specify which of Harpers Ferry's inhabitants were island residents, it is evident the population of Virginius Island reached its highest level in this second period. Charles Snell's work and additional research have revealed that in 1850 the island contained roughly twenty-eight

⁵¹Brown's map shows ten dwellings in the row house instead of eight (Buildings 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 34, 35 on 1859 Historical Base Map) or twelve. Building 32 is not designated as a second dwelling but is included with Building 22 as a single dwelling on Brown's map.

⁵²Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2; "Map of the Island of Virginius," by S. Howell Brown, 15 May 1889, Deed Book U, p. 464, George Baylor et al to John T. Noye Manufacturing Company, 7 April 1890; "Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859," by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

⁵³See biographies of Child, Dutton, Herr, McCreight, and Schofield. See also the section on dwellings in Chapter Three for a discussion of Building 12.

dwellings, holding thirty individually numbered families.⁵⁴ When the slave census schedule is added, as many as 182 persons, about one-tenth the population of Harpers Ferry, were island residents in 1850. This figure represents an increase in the island population of 60 percent over the 1840 population.⁵⁵

Numerically, the population of Virginius Island remained fairly stable over the next decade. By 1860, the island population was about 184, which represents nearly 14 percent of Harpers Ferry's declining population or a little over 7 percent of the combined population of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. This figure includes twenty-seven numbered families living in twenty-four dwellings, plus slaves living in three slave dwellings.⁵⁶ Based on the 184 figure, virtually no change in the overall number of island residents occurred between 1850 and 1860. However, the number of slaves doubled from five to ten while the white population actually declined from 177 to 174.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Census records from 1850 on use both a dwelling number and a family number. The latter did not imply that all unrelated persons were given a separate number, but rather than all groupings seen as individual households were numbered accordingly, whether or not they occupied the same building. Both numbers are provided in this report because, unfortunately, it has not been possible to determine with certainty if double houses, which account for one or more of the island dwellings, were considered as the same or separate buildings.

⁵⁵Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry. Snell concluded 186 persons lived in thirty-one dwellings on the island ("A History," p. 99). The use of thirty-one dwellings actually results in a total white population of 191, not 186. The page numbers he gives are 806-810. These correspond to pages 403B-405B as used in this report and the computer data base. The 182 figure in this report encompasses all persons listed on the census from Joseph Mosie on page 403B to William H. Symington on page 405B plus the five slaves belonging to A.H. Herr, Mary Hughes, W.J. Stephens, and Hiram Stephens (Slave Schedule, p. 999). It is not known if these slaves lived in the same houses as their masters or if they had separate quarters, but if the latter was the case for all the slaves, the total population may be overstated.

⁵⁶Snell, in his two reports on the island, variously states that 207 people lived on the island in thirty-one houses ("A History," p. 119) and that about 199 lived on the island ("A Short History," p. 35). The 184 figure used in this report includes all persons from Joseph Manuel on page 200 to George W. Mauzy of page 205 (Eighth Census, 1860, Harpers Ferry) plus the ten slaves listed on the slave schedule under the names of Abraham Herr, Joseph Claggett, Thomas L. Patterson, and Francis Snapp (Slave Schedule, p. 172). According to the slave schedule, the slaves of Herr, Claggett, and Patterson lived in slave dwellings.

⁵⁷Although all the statistics in this report are derived based on the 184 figure for 1860, it is possible the population was actually lower, perhaps being only 176. While Joseph Manuel, identified as a resident in 1850, may still have lived on Virginius Island in 1860, it is also possible he had moved. Snell's various reports make contradictory statements; "A History" places Manuel on the island (p. 119) while "The Town of Harpers Ferry in 1859, A Physical History" locates him on Lot 7, Block C (p. 38). The latter may be because Snell mistakenly assumed the Joseph Davis who owned that property was the same man living in the Manuel household. The former Davis, the father of Sarah Fleming, would have been an old man while the latter was only fifteen (Virginia Free Press, 21 March 1833, p. 3, col. 3; Deed Book 1, p. 219, James Watson and wife Eliza to Joseph Davis, 12 January 1853; Deed Book 1, p. 216, Solomon Fleming and wife Sarah Anne only heirs of Joseph Davis to Charles King, 2 April 1866). It is certain, however, Manuel did not live on the island in 1862 (See

Table 2.4. Statistical Data on Virginus Island.

Census Year	1850	% of Total	1860	% of Total	1870	% of Total
No. of Households	28		27*		21	
Total Population	182		184		103	
Total White Males	99	54.3	92	50.0	43	41.7
Total White Females	77	42.3	82	44.5	53	51.4
White Children < 18	69	37.9	83	45.1	45	43.6
Male Slaves	1	.5	4	2.1	-	
Female Slaves	4	2.2	6	3.2	-	
Slaves < 18	4	2.2	5	2.7	-	
Free Black Males	-		-		5	4.8
Free Black Females	1	.5	-		2	1.9
Blacks < 18	-		-		1	.9
Average Household Size	6.5		6.8		4.9	
Foreign Born	42	23.7**	1	.5**	2	1.9
England	27	15.2**	1	.5**	2	1.9
Ireland	4	2.2**	-		-	
Scotland	3	1.6**	-		-	
Germany	8	4.5**	-		-	

* Includes 3 slave households.

** Percentage of Free Population.

Sources: 1850, 1860 & 1870 Population and Slave Schedules.

This numerical stability masks an underlying transience which characterized the entire history of habitation on Virginus Island. Only two of the heads-of-household listed on the 1830 census appear on the 1840 census for Virginus. Less turnover occurred between 1840 and 1850. Of the fifteen heads-of-household listed in 1840, Jesse Schofield, William Stephens, George Mauzy, and perhaps William Kemp still resided on the island in 1850. Since the names of other household members on the 1840 census cannot be determined completely, it is not possible to quantify the persistence rate of habitation.⁵⁸

With the exception of slaves, however, it is possible to determine about how many people on Virginus Island in 1850 still lived there in 1860. Of the

his biography). If he was not an islander in 1860, then the island population actually was over 9 percent lower than that of 1850.

⁵⁸It is not certain the William Kemp on the 1840 census was the same William Kemp living on Virginus Island in 1850. See Kemp's biography.

177 white residents in the 1850 census, only eight at most, or 4.5 percent, were still living on the island ten years later. Another eighteen, who had moved from the island but still lived in Harpers Ferry or Bolivar, have been found on the 1860 census, suggesting about 85 percent of island residents had died or left the area within the decade.⁵⁹ This percentage is revealing when compared to statistics derived in a random sample of males in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar, which shows a persistence rate of 29 percent and 44 percent respectively.⁶⁰

Even the low 4.5 percent may overstate the stability of the island's population. Because this study relies heavily on census records to determine who lived on the island, many people may have come and gone between censuses without ever appearing in the historical record. For example, Abraham Roderick, a longtime Harpers Ferry resident living on Shenandoah Street in 1850, moved to the island in the 1850s and died there in 1855. Were it not for his obituary, which gives his residence as Virginius Island, Roderick would have passed through the island community as anonymously as others.⁶¹

Equally indicative of the impermanence of the Virginius Island population is the change in the foreign born. In 1850, forty-two persons from Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and England accounted for 23.7 percent of the island's population. Many of them had been drawn to the island by the opening of the cotton factory. At least eight of the fourteen immigrant males for whom

⁵⁹The eight people listed on both censuses are George Mauzy, Abraham Herr and his wife Narcissa, Joseph Manuel, his wife Sidney, and their daughter Sarah, and John Wernwag and his son Edward or Edwin. The accuracy of this figure should be qualified by the possibility of a female appearing on both censuses but under two different last names as well as the possibility the Manuel family no longer lived on the island (See Footnote 57 above). Slaves are not included in this figure for the obvious reason that their names are not known and no comparison of censuses is possible.

⁶⁰This random sample was done of every fifth male in each community regardless of age. While an attempt was made to account for name spelling and age variations, as well as inaccurate male/female designations, it is possible some individuals who appeared in consecutive censuses were not identified as persisters. Overall, the numbers derived from this sample are believed to represent fairly accurately the persistence rates in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar.

⁶¹See the biography of Abraham Roderick.

occupations are listed worked at one of the two cotton factories. With the factories' closure in the 1850s, most of them left the island and the larger Harpers Ferry community.⁶² Only one person of foreign birth, William Newton, appears on the 1860 census for Virginius Island; only two, Mary Rine and James Smith, appear on the 1870 census.⁶³ None of the three were living on Virginius Island in 1850 (See Table 2.4). The sharp change in foreign born was exclusively a Virginius Island phenomenon. The percentages for Harpers Ferry and Bolivar hovered between 7.6 and 9.6 for the three censuses.⁶⁴

While the low persistence rate of islanders is perhaps the most salient aspect of the island community in the mid-1800s, other characteristics also emerge in the historical record. For example, a characteristic of the earlier period which carried over into the middle period is the grouping of island residents into single family units, with a few noticeable exceptions.⁶⁵ One dwelling listed on the 1850 census contained the families of father and son Watts and James Watson and the James Taylor family, totaling seventeen people. A second dwelling, listed as a boarding house, housed twenty-three people, including fifteen males. The boarding house operator is not known, but the entire George H. Butler family lived there. The third dwelling deviating from a single family composition is that of William Kemp. Although not designated as

⁶²See the biographies of Jacob Barnhart, James Felter, Patrick Powers, John Watson, and Watts Watson. Ellen Powers is listed under William Brown; John Walters under William Kemp; and James Hughes, Agnes Crawford, Elizabeth Crawford, and Virginia Crawford under George H. Butler.

⁶³Newton and Rine are listed in the households of Joseph Young and Jonathan (Elnathan) Hathaway.

⁶⁴In 1850, Harpers Ferry's foreign born was 9.2 percent of the population. Bolivar's was 9.0. In 1860, the percentages were 7.8 and 9.6 respectively, and in 1870, when Harpers Ferry, Bolivar, and the surrounding rural area was counted together, the percentage was 7.6.

⁶⁵Many family oriented households contained one or two unrelated persons, but this was a common characteristic of households at the time.

a boarding house, it contained thirteen people, eleven of whom were adult males.⁶⁶

A similar pattern emerges in the 1860 census. The Grace Arvin, Nancy Boswell, and Sarah Gomph families, totaling sixteen people, all lived in one dwelling. The families of brothers John and George Rohr shared a dwelling, as did the Andrew Hobbs and McLaud Lewis families. Mary Claspy ran a boarding house in which seventeen people lived. Unlike in 1850, a second probable boarding house does not appear on the census; however, Joseph H. Trout had five unrelated people living in his household of fourteen. The other island households appear composed largely of related people.⁶⁷

Life on Virginus Island was disrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, and many or all of the people on the island in 1860 left when war erupted or shortly thereafter. For four years, the military utilized the island, and an untold number of soldiers passed through the island during these years. With the occupation revolving primarily around the hospital facilities, Virginus Island became the scene of much suffering. A cursory examination of hospital records suggests several thousand soldiers were treated for ailments ranging from fractured bones to typhoid fever in 1865 alone.⁶⁸

By 1870, a civilian population had returned to the island. Within twenty-one buildings, none of which were boarding houses, were 103 persons or 44 percent fewer than on the island before the Civil War. Of these 103, only John Wernwag, his son Edwin, and Joseph and Mary Young, had lived on the island in 1860. In

⁶⁶See biographies of George H. Butler, William Kemp, and Watts Watson.

⁶⁷See biographies of Grace Arvin, John Rohr, Andrew Hobbs, and Joseph H. Trout. Although Mary Claspy ran the boarding house, the first name in the household is Joseph Young and the household is listed under his name.

⁶⁸Record Group 94, Registers of Sick and Wounded, Harpers Ferry, Va., Island Hospital, Vol. 77-83, National Archives. Microfilm at HFNHP.

fact, only about 10 percent of the 1860 island population, compared to 17.9 percent and 24.5 percent of Harpers Ferry's and Bolivar's male population, were living in the Harpers Ferry area in 1870.⁶⁹

Shortly after the census was taken, the 1870 flood devastated the island, reducing the number of dwellings and residents, but Virginus Island remained inhabited through the end of this second period. Daniel Hood, a resident in 1870, still lived there in 1876; and owners John McCreight and Jonathan Child lived there when the 1877 flood swept through the island. A Spirit of Jefferson article indicates some coopers were living on the island in 1885, and the designation of one island building as a cooper shop on the 1889 map suggests coopers may still have lived there.⁷⁰

Unfortunately, it has been impossible to develop a list of island residents from the 1880 census. Although information provided by Jonathan Child's granddaughter Emily Greenland shows Child was living on the island at the time of the 1889 "Johnstown flood," his name does not appear on the 1880 census with other names potentially linked to Virginus Island (He may have been at the Shenandoah Street store he opened after retiring from the flour mill business earlier that year). Conceivably, coopers Daniel Hood or Samuel Webb were island residents in 1880, but some of the people listed between them on the census

⁶⁹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, pp. 456-458, pp. 14-17 of Harpers Ferry. The 103 figure includes all persons from John McCreight on page 14 to Tae Freeman on page 17. By comparing Joseph Barry's account of the 1870 flood with names preceding and following the part designated in this report as Virginus Island, it has been determined that none of these people were living on the island (See Barry, pp. 155-58). Although Barry places her on Virginus Island at the time of the 1870 flood, Nancy Evans is not included in the 103 figure because she is listed on page 53 of the census (See biography of Nancy Evans). It is not certain the Freeman family or Alexander Bowman lived on the island, but they have been included in the number. One of the twenty-one "dwellings" was the machine shop (Building 4 on 1859 Historical Base Map), where John Wernwag was living (Barry, p. 158).

⁷⁰E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870 and 9 October 1870, transcription of letters, HFD-213; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2; "Map of the Island of Virginus," by S. Howell Brown, 15 May 1889, Deed Book U, p. 464, George Baylor et al to John T. Noye Manufacturing Company, 7 April 1890. See the biographies of Hood, McCreight, and Child.

certainly were not island residents.⁷¹

Because historical records from the middle period provide more complete data, a clearer picture of the types of people on the island emerges in this period than in the earlier period. Occupational diversity evident in the town of Virginus is also apparent in mid-to-late-nineteenth-century Virginus Island. Since jobs are listed on the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses, the continued importance of some and the emergence or disappearance of other occupations can be seen with greater clarity. In 1850, fifty-eight men were employed in nineteen different occupations, ranging from laborer to physician. Nine were bricklayers, and at least twelve (20.7 percent) were male weavers or "manufacturers" employed at one of the two cotton factories. As the cotton factories ceased operations in the 1850s, no weavers or manufacturers appear on the 1860 census. In 1860, fifty men held twenty-five different occupations, including a carriage maker and wagon maker at the new establishment of John and George Rohr. At least eighteen males (36 percent) were connected to the flour milling business, primarily as coopers or millers. Reflecting the trend toward a single industry community in the post-war years, fifteen (53.6 percent) of the twenty-eight men with occupations in 1870 definitely can be connected to the flour mill. (See Table 2.5).

Examination of these various Virginus Island occupations as a percentage in the larger Harpers Ferry/Bolivar area is equally illuminating. The fifty-eight island males with occupations in 1850 accounted for only 9.2 percent of all working males in the Harpers Ferry/Bolivar area. The fifty working males were

⁷¹Letter from Emily Campbell Greenland to Ranger John T. Willett, 26 November 1954, HFD-205, HFNHP; Virginia Free Press, 24 April 1880, p, 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 1 April 1890, p. 2, col. 5. Child is listed in Dwelling 2 (order of visitation) on the 1880 census while McCreight is listed in Dwelling 148. Hood and Webb are listed in Dwellings 14 and 27 respectively. Some of the people listed between Hood and Webb clearly were not residents of Virginus Island (Tenth Census, 1880, Harpers Ferry, pp. 1, 2, and 8, pp. 1, 2, 3, and 16 of Harpers Ferry).

Table 2.5. Virginus Island, Male Occupations.

Occupation	1850	% of Total	1860	% of Total	1870	% of Total
Agent for River Company	-		1	2.0	-	
Armorer	4	6.9	6	12.0	-	
Blacksmith	3	5.2	4	8.0	-	
Blacksmith, apprentice to	-		1	2.0	-	
Bricklayer	9	15.5	-		-	
Carpenter	4	6.9	-		-	
Carpenter, apprentice to	-		-		2	7.1
Carriage Maker	-		1	2.0	-	
Civil Engineer	-		1	2.0	-	
Clergyman	-		-		1	3.6
Clerk	1	1.7	2	4.0	-	
Clerk for miller	-		1	2.0	-	
Cooper/Maker flour barrels	2	3.4	10	20.0	8	28.6
Cooper, apprentice to	-		1	2.0	2	7.1
Cooper, master	-		1	2.0	-	
Farmer	1	1.7	-		-	
Flour mill, works in	-		-		2	7.1
Laborer	4	6.9	1	2.0	-	
Machine Oiler	-		1	2.0	-	
Machinist/Builder machinery	1	1.7	5	10.0	1	3.6
Machinist, apprentice to	-		-		1	3.6
Manufacturer	9	15.5	-		-	
Merchant	3	5.2	1	2.0	-	
Merchant, retail dry goods	-		-		2	7.1
Merchant Miller	-		1	2.0	3	10.7
Merchant Tailor	1	1.7	-		-	
Miller	3	5.2	4	8.0	-	
Millwright	6	10.3	1	2.0	-	
Physician	1	1.7	-		-	
Physician/druggist	-		1	2.0	-	
Railroad, works on	-		-		3	10.7
Saddler	1	1.7	-		-	
Shoemaker	1	1.7	1	2.0	2	7.1
Shoemaker, apprentice to	-		1	2.0	-	
Stonecutter	-		1	2.0	-	
Telegraph Operator	-		1	2.0	-	
Wagon Maker	-		1	2.0	1	3.6
Wagoner	-		1	2.0	-	
Watchmaker	1	1.7	-		-	
Weaver	3	5.2	-		-	
Total	58		50		28	

Sources: 1850, 1860 & 1870 population schedules.

8.6 percent of all working males in 1860. In 1870, the twenty-eight working males accounted for 3.4 percent of the total for Bolivar Township, or 5.8 percent of the total if the large number of farmers and farm laborers in Bolivar Township

are not counted.⁷²

Table 2.6 makes it clear that certain occupations in the Harpers Ferry/Bolivar area were dominated by islanders, while other occupations were poorly represented on the Island of Virginus.⁷³ For example, in 1850, all the millers and millwrights lived on the island, as did the only machinist, merchant tailor, and saddler. In 1860, the area's only merchant miller, millwright, wagon maker, and carriage maker lived on Virginus Island; and in 1870, all three merchant millers and eight coopers were island residents. On the other hand, only 1.4 percent of armorers, who accounted for 44 percent of all male workers in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar in 1850, lived on the island. By 1860, when about 40 percent of all working males could be connected specifically to the armory, only 3.5 percent of those designated as "armorer," and none of those with other identifiable armory jobs, were island residents. Hence, the various island industries drew a large number of their employees from among the people who lived on Virginus Island, and the rising or declining fortunes of these industries had a profound influence on the island community.

As in the first period, occupation alone does not tell the whole story about the residents of the Island of Virginus but rather should be considered along with other factors such as economic standing. Fortunately, some clues to the relative wealth of residents from the mid-1840s to 1870 are found in personal property tax records up to 1850 and for 1857, 1859, and 1860. Also, deeds of trust listing specific personal property exist for a handful of individuals, and

⁷²In 1870, Harpers Ferry, Bolivar, and the surrounding rural area were combined as Bolivar Township on the census. No distinction of the urban areas was made; however, by eliminating farmers and farm laborers, who accounted for over 40 percent of the total, a more representative picture of the occupational composition of the two towns is possible. The percentage of 5.8 is an estimate, not an absolute figure.

⁷³The numbers for 1850 and 1860 include only the towns of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar even though the 1860 census lists a couple of pages of non-town residents under Harpers Ferry Post Office.

Table 2.6. Virginus Island Occupations as Percentage of Harpers Ferry/Bolivar Area, 1850-1870.

Occupation	1850	% of Same in HF/Bolivar	1860	% of Same in HF/Bolivar	1870	% of Same in HF/Bolivar
Agent for River Company	-		1	100.0	-	
Armorer	4	1.4	6	3.5	-	
Blacksmith	3	42.8	4	25.0	-	
Blacksmith, apprentice to	-		1	100.0	-	
Bricklayer	9	64.3	-		-	
Carpenter	4	12.1	-		-	
Carpenter, apprentice to	-		-		2	28.6
Carriage Maker	-		1	100.0	-	
Civil Engineer	-		1	50.0	-	
Clergyman	-		-		1	10.0
Clerk	1	6.6	2	10.0	-	
Clerk for miller	-		1	100.0	-	
Cooper/Maker flour barrels	2	33.3	10	62.5	8	100.0
Cooper, apprentice to	-		1	100.0	2	100.0
Cooper, master	-		1	100.0	-	
Farmer	1	25.0	-		-	
Flour mill, works in	-		-		2	16.7
Laborer	4	4.0	1	1.7	-	
Machine Oiler	-		1	100.0	-	
Machinist/Builder machinery	1	100.0	5	18.5	1	100.0
Machinist, apprentice to	-		-		1	100.0
Manufacturer	9	56.2	-		-	
Merchant	3	12.0	1	6.2	-	
Merchant, retail dry goods	-		-		2	14.3
Merchant Miller	-		1	100.0	3	100.0
Merchant Tailor	1	100.0	-		-	
Miller	3	100.0	4	57.1	-	
Millwright	6	100.0	1	100.0	-	
Physician	1	12.5	-		-	
Physician/druggist	-		1	14.3	-	
Railroad, works on	-		-		3	2.8
Saddler	1	100.0	-		-	
Shoemaker	1	4.2	1	10.0	2	16.7
Shoemaker, apprentice to	-		1	50.0	-	
Stonecutter	-		1	14.3	-	
Telegraph Operator	-		1	25.0	-	
Wagon Maker	-		1	100.0	1	33.3
Wagoner	-		1	50.0	-	
Watchmaker	1	33.3	-		-	
Weaver	3	60.0	-		-	
Total	58		50		28	

Source: 1850, 1860, & 1870 Population Schedule

newspaper references shed light on the standing of other island dwellers.⁷⁴

⁷⁴See the biographies of Charles Barley, William B. Brown, Nancy Evans, Gibson Johns, and Thomas Percival for lists of personal property placed in trust.

Although less authoritative, as listed amounts were based on the opinions of property owners and not objective criteria, the 1860 and 1870 censuses give some indication of the total value of both real and personal property owned by individual island residents.⁷⁵

Whereas tax records for much of the period covering the town of Virginus list only those persons who owned slaves, horses, or carriages, more information can be gleaned from records created in the 1840s and 1850s, including ownership of watches, clocks, pianos, dogs, and for 1859, values for such items as gold and silver plate and/or jewelry, money and bonds, and household and kitchen furniture. In particular, white males over the age of sixteen are listed after 1845 even if they owned no taxable personal property. Thus, it is possible to learn that about twenty-five islanders are listed at least once as having no taxable property. Among the twenty-five are heads-of-household Thomas Dobson, William Forsythe, Watts Watson, John Furr, and Joseph Young.

Most of the listed island residents owned a watch and/or clock. Hugh Gilleece, John Wernwag, Abraham Herr, William J. Stephens, Joseph Clagett, and Thomas L. Patterson were taxed for one or more slaves for at least one year during the fifteen year period preceding the Civil War. Nine men were taxed at some point for a horse, while eight men and Mary Claspy were taxed for a dog. Herr, Patterson, George Mauzy, and Philetus Littlejohn each owned a piano. By 1848, Herr owned a two-wheel carriage, which he evidently replaced with a four-wheel carriage in 1850. Other documents suggest Jesse Schofield possessed some wealth, at least on paper, as the owner of over \$11,000 in stock in the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company in 1848, and as the creditor of the

⁷⁵See Appendix B for the data in tax and census records used in the following paragraphs.

company for over \$3,000 in cash.⁷⁶ Both Herr's and Schofield's taxes in 1850 exceeded the median tax of 25 cents charged island residents, as did those of Littlejohn, Ferdinand Boteler (or Butler), Daniel Chambers, Mauzy and his son Joseph, Stephens, and Wernwag.

The 1859 tax record is clearly the most informative of the available pre-war records. According to this document, Herr, Mauzy, and Stephens, who by then was not a resident of Virginus Island, owned gold and silver jewelry and/or plate. Herr held \$6,000 in money, bonds, or securities, while Mauzy and a John Mason, presumably the same John Mason who was living on the island, held \$300 and \$100 respectively. At \$900, Herr's household and kitchen furniture was worth \$300 more than that of William Stephens and \$700 more than that of any current island resident listed in the 1859 tax record.

Although the census cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of wealth, it does allow for comparisons of island residents based on the total value of their property, taxable or otherwise, for 1860 and 1870. In 1860, thirty island residents had a listed property value. Twenty-nine had a personal property value and seven had a real property value. The median value for both personal property and the two categories combined was \$150. For Harpers Ferry, the median values were \$150 and \$400 respectively, and for Bolivar, they were \$100 and \$400 (See Table 2.7).

Clearly, some parity existed between the median personal wealth of island dwellers and residents of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar, but the lower median for real and personal property combined is indicative of the lack of real property ownership among most islanders. Whereas 41.7 percent of those with listed property values in Harpers Ferry and 57.6 percent of those in Bolivar owned real

⁷⁶See the biography of Schofield.

Table 2.7. Property Values, 1860 Census.

	Virginus Island	Harpers Ferry	Bolivar
Total No. with Listed Amount	30	225	224
Family Heads with Listed Amount	27	207	215
% of Family Heads on Census	100.0	95.8	99.0
Median Value (personal)*	\$150	\$150	\$100
Mean	\$1,553.45	\$1,041.64	\$219.51
Range	\$50-	\$10-	\$10-
	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$4,000
Median Value (real & personal)	\$150	\$400	\$400
Mean	\$8,465.00	\$2,652.97	\$952.58
Range	\$50-	\$10-	\$10-
	\$230,000	\$230,000	\$40,040

* Only 29 Virginus Island, 222 Harpers Ferry, and 218 Bolivar residents had listed personal property.

Source: 1860 Population Schedule.

estate, only 23.3 percent of Virginus Island residents with listed property values owned real estate. Abraham Herr, the wealthiest man on the island and in Harpers Ferry, had real property valued at \$200,000. Frederick Bremmerman, George Mauzy, and George Augure owned \$500 or less in real estate, while Joseph Clagett, Thomas L. Patterson, and Herr's mother-in-law Narcissa Hoffman owned from \$1,200 to \$4,000 in real property. Neither Josiah (or Joseph) Deener nor William Newton, who appear on the property tax records as the owners of real estate, have listed values on the census.

In 1860, the heads of all twenty-seven individually numbered families had listed amounts for personal property, and two others in the boarding house also had listed amounts. The values given range from \$50 for cooper George Norris and shoemaker Joseph Young to \$30,000 for Abraham Herr. Eleven individuals owned less than the \$150 median, including the four female family heads Grace Arvin, Nancy Boswell, Sarah Gomph, and Margaret Decker. Twenty-three of the twenty-nine owned \$500 or less, including boardinghouse keeper Mary Claspy. George Rohr and

George Mauzy owned \$550 and \$900 in personal property respectively. Owing personal property reportedly worth from \$1,200 and \$5,500 were Frederick Bremmerman, Joseph Clagett, and Thomas Patterson.⁷⁷

While personal property tax and census records suggest some island residents possessed a certain amount of wealth, other records suggest a marginal existence among a few inhabitants in 1850 and 1860. For example, in 1852, to satisfy debts owed F.J. Conrad, William Kemp granted Conrad the power of attorney to collect Kemp's armory wages from November 1852 to June 1853. Abraham Roderick, or his son Abraham, did the same from October 1852 to September 1853 to satisfy debts owed John G. Ridenour, as did John P. Fouke from May 1853 to December 1854 for debts due Philip Coons. George Augure made similar provisions at least three times between 1849 and 1858. Probable recipients of county assistance from the Overseers of the Poor include island residents Margaret Maddox between 1850 and 1852, Mrs. Forsythe and her three children between 1850 and 1853, Mrs. Watson and her children between 1852 and 1857, Mrs. Decker and her four children between 1848 and 1857, Mrs. Claspy and her four children between 1854 and 1857, and Mrs. Boswell between 1853 and 1857.⁷⁸

Evidence of assistance to the poor, provisions for payment of debts, and property tax records have not been uncovered for the post-war years; the census is the only examined record documenting wealth for 1870. Unfortunately, a smaller percentage of households had listed property amounts than the 1860 census. For Bolivar Township, which included the towns of Harpers Ferry and

⁷⁷Nancy Boswell and Sarah Gomph had separate family numbers but were listed in the dwelling of Grace Arvin. The two non-family heads were Mary Claspy and John Wernwag, both of whom appear under the name of Joseph Young although both had children and Claspy evidently ran the boarding house in which they all lived.

⁷⁸See biographies of Grace Arvin, George Augure, Mary Claspy under Joseph Young, Margaret Decker, William Forsythe, John P. Fouke, William Kemp, Margaret Maddox, and Abraham Roderick. Mrs. Watson could have been the wife of John Watson or of a non-island resident.

Bolivar and the surrounding rural area, only 55.2 percent of households had property values. For Virginus Island, twelve of the twenty-one households (57.1 percent) had listed property values (See Table 2.8). Therefore, any comparisons based on this data should be considered suggestive.

Listed personal property values for Virginus Island residents range from \$150 for black cooper Turner Freeman and flour mill employee John Taylor to \$30,000 for one of the island owners, merchant miller Elnathan Hathaway, who had the highest personal property valuation in all of Bolivar Township. Other inhabitants of Virginus Island with personal property valuations higher than the \$900 median were John McCreight (\$5,000), Jonathan Child (\$2,000), dry goods merchants Charles and James Hopwood (\$2,500 each), and John Wernwag (\$1,000).

With respect to real property, only 28.6 percent of island heads-of-household had a recorded value, compared to 38.2 percent for Bolivar Township. McCreight, who owned one-half of Virginus Island, had a real property value of \$75,000. Fellow island owners and residents Child and Hathaway each had a listed value of \$25,000. George Hood, shoemaker Joseph Young, and Charles and James Hopwood, the only other island residents for whom such information is listed, reported values ranging from \$237 to \$3,500.⁷⁹

The previous discussion on wealth makes it clear considerable differences existed among inhabitants of Virginus Island from the 1840s to the 1880s. These differences appear more sharply defined than in the earlier history of the town of Virginus. Wealth and power had become more concentrated in the hands of the upper echelons of Virginus Island society.

An important factor producing this discrepancy in wealth and power was the

⁷⁹An examination of deed records in the Jefferson County courthouse uncovered no other islanders as recorded land owners during the period of their residency on Virginus Island.

Table 2.8. Property Values, 1870 Census.

	Virginus Island	Bolivar Township
Total No. with Listed Amount	13	345
Family Heads with Listed Amount	12	309
% of Family Heads on Census	57.1	55.2
Median Value (personal)*	\$900	\$300
Mean	\$3,523.07	\$1,020.81
Range	\$150-	\$100-
	\$30,000	\$30,000
Median Value (real & personal)	\$1,000	\$1,000
Mean	\$13,478.77	\$3,575.27
Range	\$150-	\$50-
	\$80,000	\$80,000

* Only 279 persons had listed personal property for Bolivar Township.

Source: 1870 Population Schedule.

establishment of two cotton factories on the island in 1848 and 1849. Although the life of these cotton factories was short, their opening introduced the factory system to Virginus Island. In addition to the transition to a commercial orientation by the industrial owners, the cotton factories represent a trend underway nationally by mid-century toward a diminution of skill among workers and the widening economic division between the working and capitalist classes. As the 1850 census reveals, the cotton mills brought three weavers and nine "manufacturers"⁸⁰ to the island.⁸¹ These factories likely were similar to other textile factories utilizing technological advances in machinery to

⁸⁰The term "manufacturer" apparently had more than one meaning with regard to textile mills. It referred to the entrepreneurs who owned and operated the mills. According to Cynthia Shelton, it also referred to machine operatives who labored in the mills (pp. 85, 107). On the other hand, Anthony Wallace indicates the mule spinner, the highest skilled employee who was "treated as a subcontractor," was referred to as a "cotton manufacturer" in census returns as late as 1850 (p. 177). The term may have been used on the 1850 census for all. Manufacturer Cornelius Post may have been the manager of the cotton factory, and non-island residents Ira Stanbraugh and John Holliday operated the Valley Mills. Many or all of the others listed as manufacturers were probably operatives or spinners.

⁸¹The three weavers were Watts Watson, Jr. and Joseph and Abraham Taylor (see biography of Watts Watson). The nine manufacturers were James Hughes (see George Butler), James Felter, William and Richard Forsythe, John Timberlin (see William Kemp), Cornelius Post, John Watson, James Taylor (see Watts Watson), and Frederick Barnhart (see Jacob Barnhart).

supplant the most highly skilled male workers and employing semi-skilled workers for lower, sometimes subsistence wages. Whereas the traditional craftsman could aspire to become an independent master, the unskilled and semi-skilled had less opportunity for advancement. While unskilled and semi-skilled workers always had lived on Virginius Island, their numbers no doubt increased during the years the cotton factories operated.⁸²

By using data in the 1850 Products of Industry to compute an average wage per person from the total monthly wages paid, comparisons can be made between male cotton factory workers and male workers at other island industries. Male workers at the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company were paid an average wage of \$16 a month, while males working at the smaller cotton factory under lease to Stanbraugh & Holliday were paid an average \$14.50 a month. These wages are approximately 4 percent to 47 percent lower than the average wage paid by other island businesses. An unknown number of the factory employees were male children, a fact which may account for some of the discrepancy in wage rates, but it is probable some of the adult males also were paid low wages (See Table 2.1).

In addition to reducing skilled male workers, the factory system brought new workers into the job market. In 1850, the two factories on Virginius Island employed eighty-four people: forty-three females and forty-one males. The 1850 population schedule does not include data on the occupations of women and children; thus, it is impossible to determine which island residents, other than some of the men, worked at the cotton factories. Some of the island women and children likely worked at the mills, as a number of them lived in the fourteen

⁸²The ideas presented in this and the following paragraph owe much to Prude and Shelton. In particular, see Shelton, pp. 63, 71, 92. Anthony F.C. Wallace has a discussion of the effects of technological advances on skilled workers in Chapter 5 of Rockdale.

dwellings owned by the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company.⁸³

Historically, male children usually worked alongside their fathers or were apprenticed in some trade, while women and female children performed unpaid work in their homes. The use of child and female labor in a factory setting represents a different kind of labor. While no information presently exists on the exact jobs women and children held in the two cotton factories, such work in other cotton factories generally was unskilled or semi-skilled, low paying work in an environment increasingly driven by machines.⁸⁴

Wage data from the 1850 Products of Industry shows women and female children were poorly paid at the two cotton factories. The thirty-five female employees of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company were paid a total of \$160 a month or an average of \$4.57 each, 71.4 percent less than the average \$16 paid male workers at the factory. The disparity in wages was less at the factory of Stanbraugh & Holliday, where the eight female employees each received an average monthly wage of \$10.87, only 25 percent less than the average male wage of \$14.50 (See Table 2.1). With such low wages, it is realistic to conclude the wage of a given factory employee supplemented that of the primary family bread winner, employed elsewhere, or the energies of multiple family members were marshalled as factory employees to secure sufficient income for the family.

The cotton factories remained in operation on Virginus Island for less than a decade and had no long-term impact in bringing female and child wage labor to the island. The few island women recorded with occupations in the 1860 and

⁸³Bergstresser, pp. 14-15; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 April 1852, p. 3, col. 5; Shelton, pp. 61-2.

⁸⁴See Wallace, pp. 137-51 for information on the types of work existing in various departments of cotton mills.

1870 censuses were employed in the traditional female jobs of boardinghouse keeper and domestic.⁸⁵ Yet the failure of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company in the early 1850s facilitated the completion of a consolidation in property ownership which had begun in the 1840s. This change in the structure of the island community widened the gulf between the high socio-economic standing of the few and the majority of island residents.

At the beginning of 1847, the island was divided into four principal tracts and a small lot. These were owned separately by Hugh Gilleece (Tract 1), Abraham Herr (Tract 2), the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company (Tract 3), Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag (Tract 4), and Jesse Schofield (small lot). By the end of 1847, the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company had become owner of both Tracts 3 & 4, thus beginning a decade of consolidation.⁸⁶

Abraham Herr completed the process of consolidation. Herr added to his island property, purchased in the mid-1840s, by buying the manufacturing company's property at auction in 1854. A year later, he acquired title to Tract 1 and Jesse Schofield's house. Gilleece's reasons for selling Tract 1 are not known, but Schofield's departure from the island may be due to the failure of the island manufacturing company in which he held a considerable financial interest. After 1855, Virginus Island was owned as a single piece of property, first by Herr, and after the Civil War by Child, McCreight, and their partners.⁸⁷

These land owners were very active in the community, thus increasing the influence and power they derived from their control of Virginus Island as an

⁸⁵See Mary Claspy under Joseph Young, Margaret Staubs under Joseph H. Trout, Sarah Clemens under Andrew J. Hobbs, Mary Webber under Charles Barley, Mary Painter under John McCreight, Betty Hardy under Jonathan Child, Mary Rine under Elnathan Hathaway, Mary Harding under George A. Hood, and Hannah Reed under Warren B. Dutton.

⁸⁶See property transactions in Appendix A and the biographies of Gilleece, Schofield, and Wernwag.

⁸⁷See biographies of Herr, Schofield, Child, and McCreight.

industrial and residential neighborhood. Hugh Gilleece, the owner of Tract 1 until 1855 but apparently not a resident in 1850, was active in temperance activities and was elected a Harpers Ferry councilman twice in the early 1850s. Jesse Schofield, a land owner and resident until 1855, also served on the town council and was frequently a superintendent of school commission elections for the district which included Virginus Island.⁸⁸

As in the first period, a few of Virginus Island residents who did not own part of the island, including longtime islanders William J. Stephens and George Mauzy, emerge in the historical record as prominent members of not only the island community, but also the town of Harpers Ferry. Merchant tailor Stephens had a certain stature in the community. The combined value of his real and personal property in 1860 was higher than all but two Harpers Ferry residents, and his civic prominence, as a commissioner of elections and participant in Democratic Party activities, is frequently noted in newspapers during the late 1840s and the 1850s.⁸⁹ Mauzy, whose wealth was less than Stephens but still higher than the median, also frequently served as a commissioner of elections and participated in Democratic Party events.⁹⁰ In addition, he served variously as an Overseer of the Poor, county surveyor, and town councilman.⁹¹ Furthermore, his wife Mary Mauzy's use of the familiar "Narcissa" and "old Jess" (for Narcissa Herr and Jesse Schofield) in letters to her step-daughter Genie, and her references to correspondence between members of the Mauzy and Schofield or Herr

⁸⁸See the biographies of Gilleece and Schofield.

⁸⁹See the biography of Stephens.

⁹⁰See for example Virginia Free Press, 25 March 1847, p. 3, col. 4; 22 January 1848, p. 2, col. 6; 2 October 1851, p. 2, col. 6; 2 March 1854, p. 3, col. 4; 6 March 1856, p. 2, col. 7; 7 April 1859, p. 2, col. 7.

⁹¹Virginia Free Press, 19 March 1846, p. 2, col. 4; 22 June 1848, p. 4, col. 2; 18 January 1855, p. 4, col. 2; 7 May 1857, p. 2, col. 2.

families suggests the Mauzy's moved in the same social circle as the island owners.⁹²

It is Abraham Herr, the sole owner of Virginius Island after 1855, who emerges as the dominant figure in the pre-war Virginius Island community. In both tax and census records, Herr appears as considerably more wealthy than his fellow island residents. In addition, he was very active in Harpers Ferry and Jefferson County. For example, Herr was a member of the town council, an Overseer of the Poor, a superintendent of school commission elections, a member of the Board of Directors of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, Chairman of the stockholders of the Hillsborough and Harpers Ferry Turnpike, and was involved in raising subscriptions for capital stock for the Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad.⁹³

In the post-war years, the island-owning McCreight and Child families were active members of the community. Both John McCreight and Jonathan Child served on a committee on resolutions in 1880 calling for the erection of a guard wall on the Shenandoah River as a flood control measure; Child also was chosen a member of the executive committee. Child served as an officer of the Episcopal Church, and his wife Emily and daughters Emily and Anna also appear periodically in newspapers accounts of church functions.⁹⁴ McCreight was an active member of the Presbyterian Church, serving as a ruling elder and Sunday School superintendent, and a participant in local politics as a commissioner of

⁹²Mary E. Mauzy to Genie [Burton], 8 November 1859 and 16 February 1860, transcription of letters, HFD-388, HFNHP. Three other island residents at this time who appear as active members of the Harpers Ferry community are Daniel Chambers, Joseph Clagett, and Philetus Littlejohn.

⁹³See tax and property value information on Herr in Appendix B. Also see Herr's biography.

⁹⁴Virginia Free Press, 6 January 1877, p. 3, col. 2; 6 December 1879, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 17 September 1878, p. 3, col. 2; 4 November 1879, p. 3, col. 1; 3 February 1880, p. 2, col. 1; 23 November 1886, p. 3, col. 4; 24 December 1889, p. 1, col. 6.

elections and member of the town council. His wife Celia and daughter Elizabeth also were involved in the church.⁹⁵

It cannot be assumed the resident owners exercised the power derived from their wealth and political influence in a coercive and self-serving manner. More information must be gathered before such a determination can be made. Details of town council actions and the votes of these men on particular matters would be useful. Similarly, before anything concrete can be made of the McCreight family's influence in the Presbyterian Church and the Child family's involvement in the Episcopal Church, it is necessary to know the members of these churches and their relationship with Child and McCreight during the 1870s and 1880s.

Even if the resident owners used their power in a coercive manner, the effects of such coercion were limited by the mobility of the islanders. Persistence rates show less than 5 percent of both the island's 1850 and 1860 population were still on Virginus Island a decade later. Motives for moving cannot be determined precisely. While transience may be due to an oppressive atmosphere in the island community, the more likely explanations are changes in island industries, the Civil War, and the tendency in nineteenth-century America for those lacking firm economic stakes in a community or sensing greater opportunity elsewhere to be mobile. For example, the departure of the Watson and Heim families, both having one or more members employed at one of the cotton factories, was likely connected to the destruction of the small factory in 1852 or the financial difficulties of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, as well as to the economic opportunity elsewhere of which both clearly took advantage.⁹⁶ Thus, no long-term relationship developed between the island

⁹⁵See the biography of McCreight.

⁹⁶See the biographies of Watts Watson and Jacob Heim.

owners and those who lived and worked there.

Familial connections among island residents may have limited the influence of owners upon some islanders. The families of English born Watts Watson and James Watson, who were apparently father and son, both lived on Virginus Island in 1850. John Watson, also a native of England, might also have been a son of Watts Watson. Other island dwellers identified with possible familial connections are Catherine Butler and Sidney Manuel, both of whom were Clouds before their marriages to Ferdinand Butler and Joseph Manuel respectively; and the Frederick Bremmerman and Joseph Trout families, in which Malinda Bremmerman was the former Malinda Trout and Amelia Trout was the former Amelia Bremmerman.⁹⁷

An examination of the available historical record has, with the exception of James and Watts Watson, failed to clarify suspected family connections. If other families were related, however, kinship networks existed on Virginus Island which possibly lessened the influence of the most prominent members of the island community on the daily lives of residents. Such networks, if they existed, apparently encompassed only a few of the families in this second period of the island's history. They were more extensive and more important in shaping life in the island community after 1889.

The era of the resident owner and the industrial village ended in the 1880s. McCreight and Child were living on Virginus Island in 1877, but McCreight had probably moved by 1880. Child, who sold his interest in the island to McCreight and Solomon Yantis in 1880, apparently moved temporarily from the island but returned and was living there until 1889. Fire, war, and particularly

⁹⁷Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1847, p. 3, col. 4; 5 January 1848, p. 3, col. 2. See the biographies of Frederick Bremmerman, Joseph Manuel, Joseph Trout, and John and Watts Watson.

floods, which had destroyed or damaged some island industries and dwellings and disrupted life on the island at various times since the early 1850s, had taken their toll. The diversion of water for the Shenandoah Pulp Mill and the subsequent legal battle over riparian rights hastened the decline of the island flour mill. The death knell came in June 1889, when flood waters damaged the flour mill, thus forestalling its continued operation. By this time, Virginus Island was already entering a new and final phase in its inhabited history.

Map of Harpers Ferry-Prepared in compliance with Letter of Major Symington, April 22, 1848, by S. Howell Brown, NM-HF 3000.

Map 4

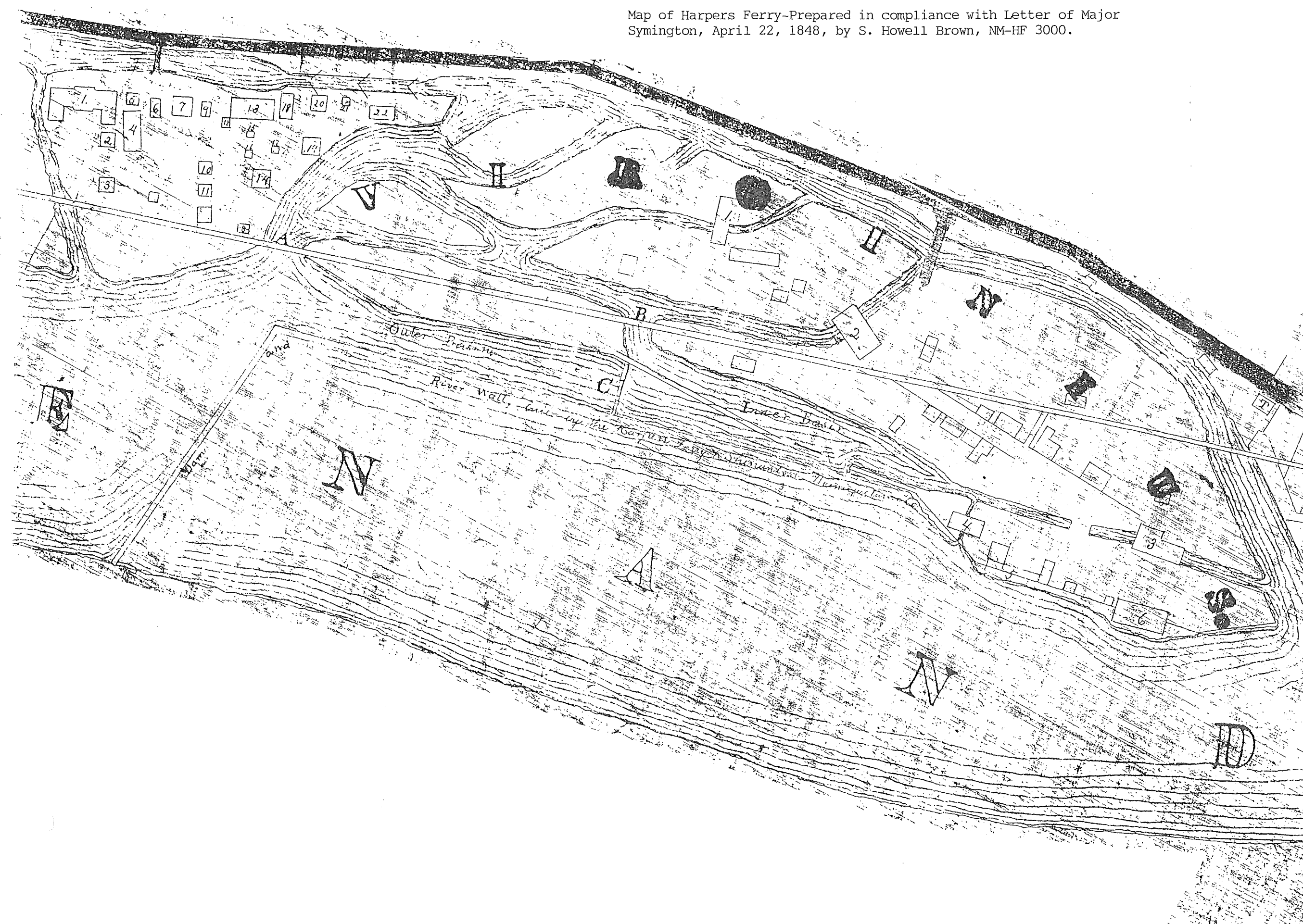
1850 Census Heads*

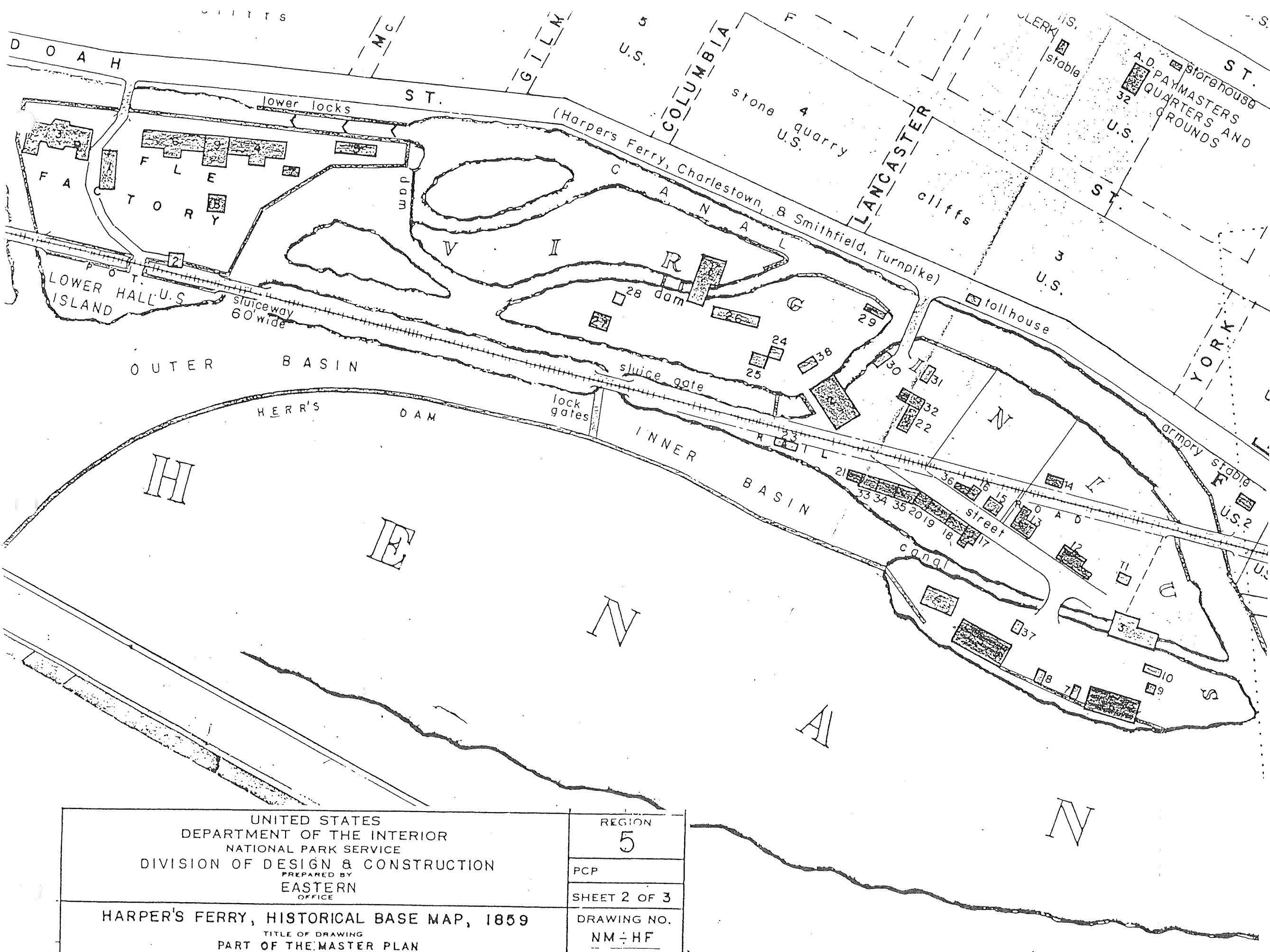
- Mosie, Joseph
(see Geo.Mauzy)
- Herr, Abraham H.
- Butler, Ferdinand R.
- Powers, Patrick
- Chambers, Daniel
- Brown, William
- Doll, Elizabeth
- Sapp, Absolam
- Kemp, William
- Johns, Gibson
- Patterson, William
- Hughes, Mary
- Dobson, Thomas
- Downig, James
- Manuel, Joseph
- Littlejohn, P.O.
- Barnhart, Jacob
- Stephens, William J.
- Hiams, Jacob B.
- Post, Cornelius B.
- Schofield, Jesse
- Butler, George H.
- Forsyth, William O.
- Watson, Watts
- Felter, James
- Watson, John
- Kirby, William
- Maddox, Margaret

Other

- Roderick, Abraham
- Evans, Nancy
- Simpson, William

* order on census





Map 5

1860 Census Heads*

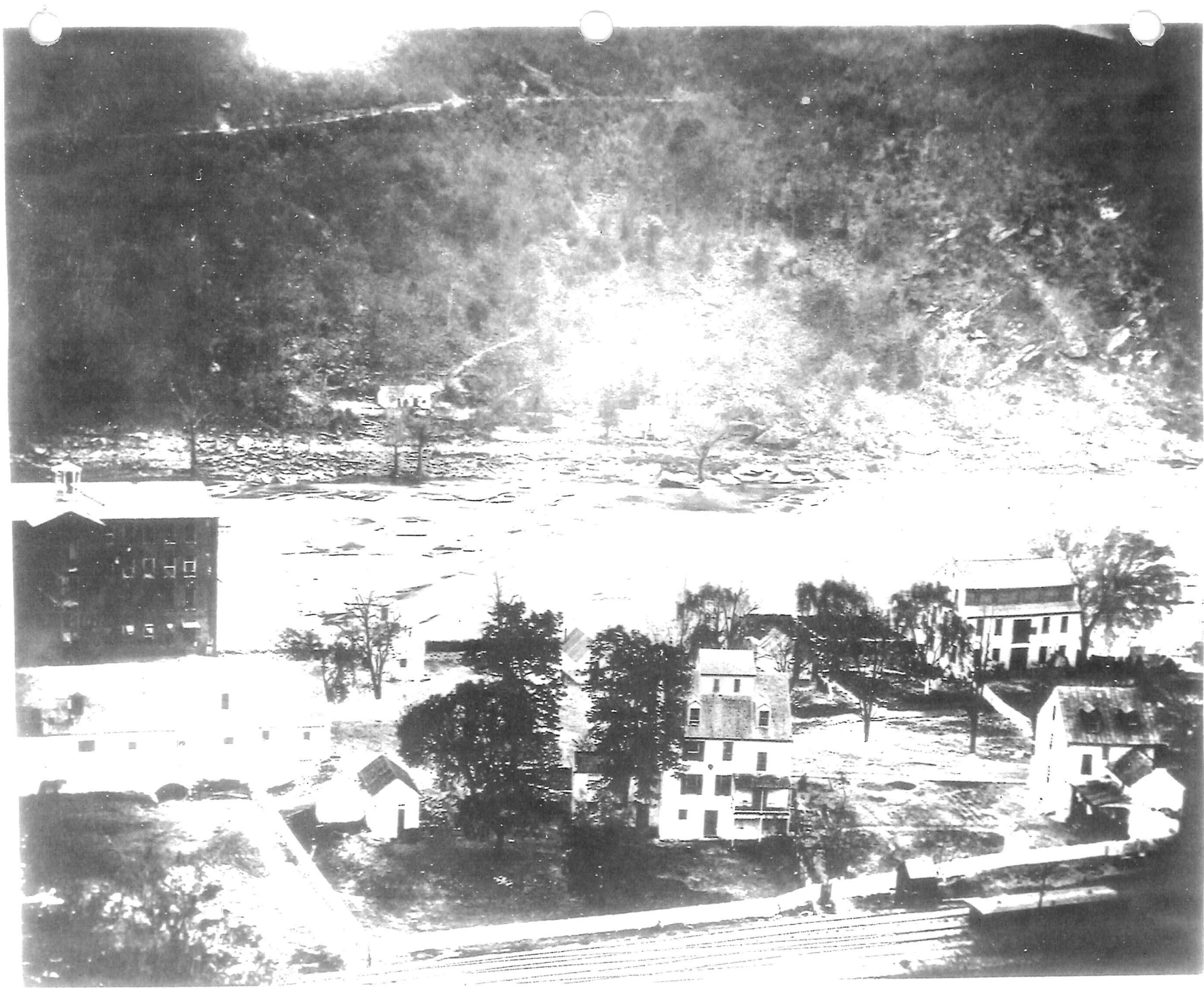
- Manuel, Joseph
- Young, Joseph A.
- Corbin, John
- Bremmerman, Frederick
- Bremmerman, John L.
- Percival, Thomas H.
- Trout, Joseph H.
- Rohr, John
- Herr, Abraham H.
- Clagget, Joseph E.
- Hobbs, Andrew J.
- Deener, Josiah W.
- Patterson, Thomas L.
- Barley, Charles
- Lewis, John
- Augure, George L.
- Furr, John
- Arvin, Grace
- Norris, George
- Decker, Margaret
- Snapp, Francis
- Mason, John A.
- Fouke, John P.
- Mauzy, George

1870 Census Heads*

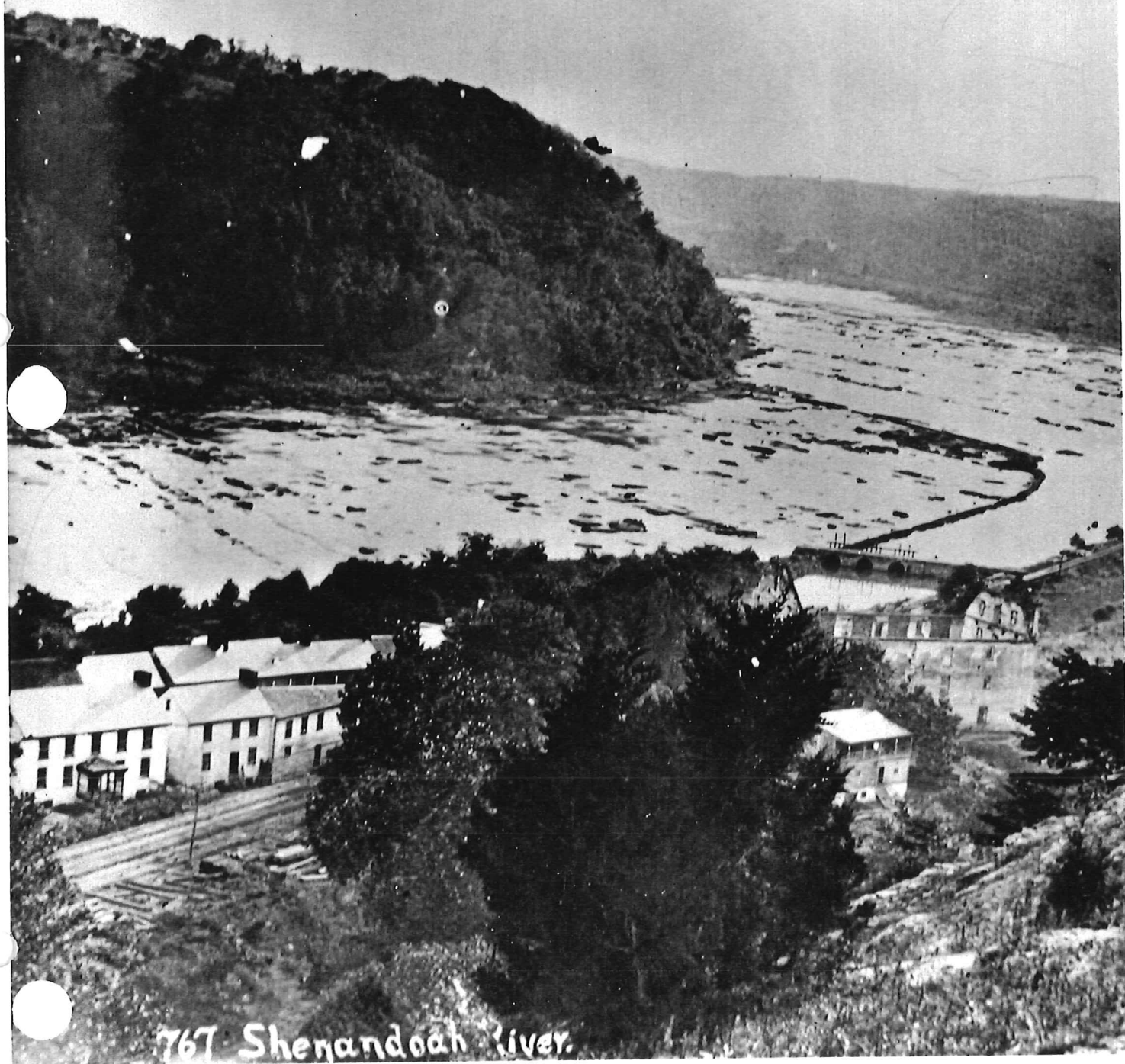
- McCreight, John H.
- Childs, Jonathan C.
- Wernwag, John
- Hathaway, Jonathan
- Hood, George A.
- Dutton, Warren B.
- Webb, Samuel
- Hopwood, Charles
- Cox, William
- Smith, James D.
- Sweet, Edward P.
- Hoffman, George F.
- Patterson, Edward
- Richardson, George
- Hoffman, Harrison
- Taylor, John
- Longerbeam, Abraham
- Hood, Daniel
- Young, Joseph
- Bowman, Alexander
- Freeman, Turner

* order on census

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DIVISION OF DESIGN & CONSTRUCTION <small>PREPARED BY</small> EASTERN <small>OFFICE</small>		REGION 5
		PCP
		SHEET 2 OF 3
HARPER'S FERRY, HISTORICAL BASE MAP, 1859 <small>TITLE OF DRAWING</small> PART OF THE MASTER PLAN <small>LOCATION WITHIN AREA</small> HARPER'S FERRY NATIONAL MONUMENT <small>NAME OF AREA</small>		DRAWING NO. NM-HF 3021
		DATE 10-6-1959



Photograph 4. HF-70, Virginus Island, showing part of Tract 4, May 22, 1865.



767 Shenandoah River.

Photograph 5. HF-29, Virginus Island, date unknown.

CHAPTER THREE

LABORING CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD: 1889-1936

Virginus Island's second period ended with the closing of the flour mill in 1889, marking the end of industry on the island.¹ With the coming of Thomas Savery's pulp mill, Virginus Island embarked on its third and final period of inhabited history, when the island was used primarily for residential purposes.² Savery, an inventor and entrepreneur from Wilmington, Delaware, purchased the old rifle factory site on adjacent Hall's Island in 1884. Within three years he organized the Shenandoah Pulp Company and began erecting a large pulp mill on the site of the lower locks of the old Shenandoah Canal. The mill was completed and in operation in 1888 after the Shenandoah Pulp Company overcame legal challenges to water rights from the Harpers Ferry Mill Company.³

By the late 1880s, Virginus Island's inhabitants were at the end of a long period of socio-economic transition. The Shenandoah Pulp Company's purchase of the entire island in May 1893 was a harbinger for the remainder of the island's history.⁴ The island was now owned by an absentee landlord who employed many of the island's inhabitants as laborers at the pulp mill. In addition to the pulp mill laborers, almost all other working island residents were of the laboring or unskilled occupational class. Although a few skilled workers did

¹The mill property on Virginus Island was purchased in 1890 by S.W. Lightner, who sold the property to the Shenandoah Pulp Company in 1893. Deed Book U, p. 279, John T. Noye Manufacturing Co. to S.W. Lightner, 18 April 1890; Deed Book 74, pp. 279, 280, S.W. Lightner to Shenandoah Pulp Company, 4 May 1893.

²Although the name "Virginus Island" is more contemporary to the antebellum period, that designation will be used here for purposes of clarity; the island was commonly referred to as "Herr's Island" after the Civil War and continuing until the 1930s.

³Gilbert, pp. 69, 71, 72. Also see Bergstresser, p. 28-33, for a discussion of the physical construction of the Shenandoah Pulp mill.

⁴Gilbert, p. 69; Deed Book 74, p. 279, S.W. Lightner to Shenandoah Pulp Company, 4 May 1893.

live on Virginus Island after 1889, the island was essentially a Harpers Ferry laboring class neighborhood.

The Dwellings

The number of dwellings on Virginus Island in 1889 are based on a map drawn by S. Howell Brown in May 1889.⁵ According to Brown's map, fifteen dwellings existed on Virginus Island before the June 1889 flood. The map shows ten units within the row house instead of the eight on Charles Snell's 1859 Historical Base Map: Buildings 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 34, and 35.⁶ One of the eight, Building 19, was a double house with room for two households.⁷ Another structure appearing on Brown's map, Building 36, is labeled an office. This structure was previously a dwelling and later converted back to a dwelling.⁸

The June 1889 flood seriously damaged the row house, and one of the dwellings within the structure was destroyed. The dwelling identified as Building 18 appears in a photograph of the 1889 flood, but is missing in a photograph dated 1890.⁹ According to a deposition given to archeologist David Hannah in 1968 by Ward Kellison, a former Virginus Island resident, the western most unit of the row house, Building 21, also was washed away in the 1889

⁵"Map of the Island of Virginus" by S. Howell Brown, 15 May 1889, contained in Deed Book U, pp. 464, 465, George Baylor Special Commissioner, et. al. to The John T. Noye Manufacturing Company, 7 April 1890.

⁶"Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859," compiled by Charles W. Snell, 6 October 1959, Map Collection HFNHP. For the purposes of identification structures in this section are often referred to by the Building number given to them by Charles Snell on his 1859 Historical Base Map for Harpers Ferry.

⁷"Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginous, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia" by James Gidding, 16 May 1844.

⁸Map contained in Deed Book 4, pp. 468, 469, Contract between Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and J.C. Child, J.A. McCreight, et al., 29 December 1869; Farmers Advocate, 2 June 1923, p. 1, col. 3.

⁹HF-611 (1889) and HF-621 (1890), HFNHP.

flood.¹⁰ Kellison is mistaken; the cultural landscape study of the island used photographic evidence in determining the row house, except Building 18, remained intact following the 1889 flood.¹¹

Another dwelling, Building 12, was destroyed or dismantled sometime shortly after the turn of the century and a two-story frame structure soon was erected on its site.¹² The Frank Drew family occupied this house until early 1924, and it was torn down by December of that year. Building 13, also a dwelling, was in ruins by 1913.¹³

Building 12 is identified by David Hannah as the McCreight House. If Hannah is correct, that structure was still standing in July 1904 when Virginus Island resident Sidney Murphy drowned. Murphy's obituary, appearing in the Spirit of Jefferson, states his residence was the "old McCreight house."¹⁴ Hannah may be wrong in placing McCreight in Building 12. If McCreight resided elsewhere and Sidney Murphy's newspaper obituary is accurate, Building 12 may have been destroyed or dismantled before 1904. A flood in February 1902 which crested at twenty-seven feet may have damaged and caused the destruction of Building 12. This theory is supported by a photograph dated to very early 1900s showing the two-story frame structure.¹⁵ It appears, then, there were about

¹⁰Copy of draft of deposition by Mr. Ward Kellison to David Hannah taken 8 April 1968, p. 1, HFD-321, HFNHP.

¹¹Historic Base Map, 1855-1890, in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginus Island; HF-1289, HFNHP.

¹²HAFE-8762 (Postcard Collection) also contained under HF-1102, HF-897. Although HF-897 cannot be dated precisely, the Landscape Architecture Team believes the photograph was taken during the first years of the 20th Century; "Plan Showing Right of Way, Buildings and Tracks Harpers Ferry, W.Va." B. & O. Railroad, Office of District Engineer, Baltimore, Md., 19 February 1913, Map Collection, HFNHP.

¹³General Manager's Report, 7 February 1924 and 5 December 1924, Folder 4, Box 2, Thomas Savery Papers, HFNHP; "Plan Showing Right of Way, Buildings and Tracks Harpers Ferry, W.Va." B. & O. Railroad, Office of District Engineer, Baltimore, Md., 19 February 1913.

¹⁴David Hannah, Archeological Excavations on Virginus Island, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 1966-1968 (Harpers Ferry: Harpers Ferry Job Corps Civilian Conservation Center, March 1969), pp. 124, 147; Spirit of Jefferson, 19 July 1904, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁵HF-897, HFNHP, Landscape Architect Maureen Joseph dates this photograph to circa 1900.

fifteen dwelling units on Virginus Island in 1900 and thirteen or fourteen in 1910. These numbers would have accommodated the island's fourteen households of 1900 and nine households of 1910.

In July 1913, two adjoining brick structures--probably part of the row house--burned. The structures were occupied by the families of John Cooper and Charles Rockenbaugh. According to the Farmers Advocate, ". . . Pulp mill properties tenanted by Mr. Cooper and Chas. Rockenbaugh were destroyed with their contents, and the roof was burned off of the house occupied by Mr. Shirley Rockenbaugh."¹⁶ Ten years later, in June 1923, two other dwellings, believed to be Buildings 36 and 16, also burned. A newspaper account of that fire describes the buildings as "old unoccupied dwellings, one of brick and one of stone." The fire extensively damaged the structures and they were not inhabited again.¹⁷

In 1920, there were eleven or twelve dwellings on the island, more than needed to house the island's eight households. The Clary Brashears family resided in the two most western units of the row house. By early 1920, Frank Drew and his sister, Lee Drew, lived in the wooden structure built upon the foundation of Building 12, and the Cooper family lived in Building 15. The Roop family lived in Building 16 until at least July 1922. The Longerbeam family resided in Building 22.¹⁸

In the April 1968 deposition to archeologist David Hannah, Mr. Kellison

¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 17 July 1913, p. 3, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3.

¹⁷Farmers Advocate, 2 June 1923, p. 1, col. 3; HF-883 (mid-to-late 1920s or early 1930s), HF-1311 (1924), HFNHP.

¹⁸The number of island dwellings in 1920 is based on the number for 1910 minus the two dwellings destroyed by fire in 1913. The dwelling locations for the different families come in part from notes taken during an interview with former Virginus Island resident Edna Brashears Farmer, 2 September 1992 and from a sketch drawn by Mrs. Farmer indicating where some families were living; William Roop was still living on Virginus Island when his daughter Ann married in 1922. (Farmers Advocate, 22 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1.)

describes the use as having been "blown up" while he worked for the power company. This probably occurred shortly after the 1924 flood. A financial statement prepared for the Shenandoah Pulp Company for the year ending December 31, 1924, shows the company spent \$136.25 for the razing of houses. Although the document does not state the razed houses were located on Virginus Island, it is likely the row house was included.¹⁹

By 1930 it is believed only two structures on the island remained intact. These were the Cooper and Longerbeam dwellings, Buildings 15 and 22. The March 1936 flood devastated Virginus Island and left in ruins the pulp mill, which had closed permanently the previous August.²⁰

The Community

Several factors contributed to Virginus Island residents' low socio-economic position after the mid-1880s. The island's flour milling and cotton manufacturing industries of the antebellum period, and the flour milling and wood pulp industries of the post-war period reflected the industrialization of the mid-to-late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century America. This industrialization produced new technology and the subsequent steady decline in the need for skilled workers. Hence, by the 1880s, significant change had occurred in the social composition of Virginus Island's inhabitants.

In the first period, and through much of the second period, the island's population comprised members of different socio-economic classes. The population during the third period comprised members from a single socio-economic class.

¹⁹Deposition by Kellison to Hannah, p. 1, HFD-321; HF-542 (Aerial photograph taken 5 April 1930); HF-883 (mid-to-late 1920s or early 1930s), HFNHP; Report on the Shenandoah Pulp Company, 30 August 1927, Folder 6, Box 2, Thomas Savery Papers, HFNHP.

²⁰Gilbert, p. 75.

The implications regarding social contact in Harpers Ferry brought about by this situation were not as pronounced as they were in more urban, industrialized settings. Historian Herbert Gutman contends, ". . . the social distance between the various classes found in urban areas came much more slowly to smaller towns as noneconomic considerations and values affected the nature of social contact between the classes."²¹ Nevertheless, by 1890 Harpers Ferry was becoming more socially stratified, and the effects on Virginus Island residents were more evident as landlord and tenant, employer and employee, no longer lived within the island's close confines. No longer were residents forced to deal with each other on a personal, human basis, across social class lines.

The socio-economic position of Virginus Island's inhabitants during the post-1890 period can be inferred from existing qualitative and quantitative evidence. No island resident owned his or her home after 1880. Jonathan Child, the last island resident to own his home, sold his interest in the island in 1880, although he and his family continued living there until the end of the 1880s.²² Following the Shenandoah Pulp Company's purchase of the island in 1893, many island residents were employed by their landlord. Although tenancy arrangements between residents and the company are not known, and the island did not function as a company town, a high percentage of island households were economically dependent on the pulp mill.

Wages at the local pulp mill, however, fell significantly below the \$1.82 national average daily rate for workers in paper and paper products industries

²¹Herbert Gutman, "The Workers Search for Power," The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal, Ed. H. Wayne Morgan, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963) p. 43. Gutman offers a discussion of social contact between different classes in small industrial towns and how it differed from large urban centers.

²²See biography of Jonathan Child; Child's partner, John A. McCreight, is believed to have moved from Virginus Island before the 1880. Although the 1880 census is indiscernible as far as precisely identifying the island residents is concerned, McCreight's name appears in a location not at all consistent with names of persons who potentially lived on the island.

Table 3.1. Virginus Island Population.

	1900	1910	1920
Total Population	67	46	41
Males aged <1 - 17	15	7	6
" " 18 - 54	19	9	8
" " 55+	4	3	4
Total Males	38	19	18
Females aged <1 - 17	13	13	9
" " 18 - 54	12	8	12
" " 55+	4	2	2
Total Females	29	27	23
Number of Households	14	9	8

Source: 1900, 1910, & 1920 Census Population Schedules.

in 1912. During January 1912, Shenandoah Pulp Company workers averaged 20.5 days of work and most earned between \$1.25 and \$1.50 per day.²³ By April 1917, the pulp company laborers' wages reportedly had increased to only \$1.60 per day (between a 7 percent and 28 percent increase). In early May 1917, about seventy pulp mill workers went on strike for higher wages necessitated by rising living costs. This occurred even after mill workers received a ten cents per day raise the month before. The neighborhood "public works" paid between \$2.00 and \$2.25 per day at that time.²⁴ A workers' strike in the fall of 1918 ended when the pulp company management decided to pay workers \$4.00 per day.²⁵ The high wage rate was likely attributable to the United States's involvement in the First

²³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 173; Monthly payroll, January 1912, Shenandoah Pulp Company, Folder - Shenandoah Pulp Co., 1900-1924, Box 7, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum. Shenandoah Pulp Company employees numbered fifty-one in January 1912; in February 1912 forty-eight men worked an average of 19.3 days at the mill. (Monthly payroll, February 1912)

²⁴Farmers Advocate, 12 May 1917, p. 2, c. 3. Exactly what the newspaper means by the "public works" is not clear.

²⁵Farmers Advocate, 9 November 1918, p. 2, col. 2.

World War which increased workers' wages nationally.

The recollections of a former Virginus Island resident cast more light on the social position of island inhabitants after the turn of the century. Edna Brashears Farmer, an island resident until 1924 when she was about ten years old, recalled her mother and sisters working as servants for "well off" families in the Camp Hill section of Harpers Ferry. Her father, Clary Brashears, was not a laborer in the pulp mill, but a carpenter who offered his services to people around town and often performed odd jobs. Mrs. Farmer further recounted her family was too poor to take a newspaper and that almost all of the family's money was used for purchasing food.²⁶

During the third period the island community also was characterized by many familial ties among island households. In 1895, island resident Albert F. Buzzard married another island resident, Mary (Mollie) Moberly, the daughter of George C. Moberly. Two of Albert's brothers, John and Thomas, also married daughters of George Moberly.²⁷ The father of the Buzzard brothers, Albert Sr., also lived on the island, and he and Albert F. both headed households in 1900. Brothers Shirley and Charles Rockenbaugh headed separate houses on the island. In 1912, Charles Rockenbaugh married island resident Addie Brashears, daughter of Clary Brashears.²⁸ Another of Brashears' daughters, Estelle, married Edward Tattersall, son of Virginus Island resident Mary Tattersall.²⁹ Luther Bond, who appears on the 1900 census as living on the island, likely was related to John M. Bond and Albert Bond, both of whom lived on the island in 1900.

²⁶Notes taken during interview with Edna Brashears Farmer, 2 September 1992.

²⁷Jefferson County Marriage Register 3, p. 21; Also see Biographies for Albert F. Buzzard and George C. Moberly; Farmers Advocate, 22 September 1917, p. 2, col. 4.

²⁸Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 July 1912, p. 3, col. 2.

²⁹See biographies for Clary Brashears and Mary Tattersall.

Furthermore, Luther Bond's wife, Bertie M., was a daughter of James and Susan Lay, also island residents in 1900.³⁰

The island's extensive kinship networks were not coincidental. Tamara Hareven, in her study of working class families in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Manchester, New Hampshire, contends kinship networks served to enable workers to secure employment for relatives at the local factory, and the interdependence of kin in the factory was part of a larger role kin fulfilled as a source of security and assistance for all family members, both on a routine basis and in times of stress.³¹ Kinship networks may have served a similar purpose for the families living on Virginus Island. In 1900, three island families had two or more members employed as pulp mill laborers. These included Abraham Longerbeam and his three sons, as well as Albert Buzzard Sr. and son Albert F., and brothers Harry and George Kellison. By 1910, Abraham Longerbeam had been joined at the pulp mill by his son-in-law, William Kauffman. In January 1912, fourteen Shenandoah Pulp Company workers lived on Virginus Island or had direct family ties to island residents, including two instances where three members of the same immediate family worked at the mill. At the time Albert Buzzard Sr. died, September 1915, sons Albert F. and John were employed at the Shenandoah mill, the latter serving as the mill's "boss".³²

Original manuscript schedules of the United States census reveal the most information about those inhabiting the island between 1900 and 1920. According to the 1900 census, the population of Harpers Ferry Town was 896. Based on

³⁰See Biographies for Luther Bond, Albert Bond, John Bond, and James Lay.

³¹Tamara K. Hareven, Family Time & Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) p. 85, 101.

³²Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 75B, 76; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, pp. 191, 191B; Monthly payroll, January 1912, Shenandoah Pulp Company, Thomas Savery Family Papers, Hagley Museum; Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

information from that census, sixty-seven people lived among fourteen households on Virginius Island.³³ Of the 896 people who lived in Harpers Ferry, 334 are listed with occupations. The twenty-five residents on Virginius Island showing occupations accounted for about 8 percent of the total number of those with occupations in Harpers Ferry Town. Of the sixty-eight people listed as "laborer" on the 1900 census, twenty-two, or 32 percent, lived on the island. Fifteen of the island's laborers (60 percent of those on the island who had a listed occupation) were pulp mill laborers, eight of whom were heads-of-household. Three other heads-of-household were laborers. One of the remaining three households was headed by a tinsmith; another by a dressmaker--thirty-five year old Mary J. Mobeley, the island's only female with a listed occupation. Emily Kellison, who does not have a listed occupation, headed the other household.³⁴

Turn-of-the-century occupation was but one variable which determined social and economic position. Others included money and property. For lower classes these variables and occupation often were inextricable. Personal and real property tax records provide some information about how much money or property people held. An examination of personal property records for the town's working residents in 1900 allows for comparison between those who lived on Virginius Island and those who lived elsewhere in Harpers Ferry Town. Examinations of real property holdings were not attempted because no island residents owned any real estate while living on the island. Any comparison of real property records would only show wider discrepancies between the property holdings of island residents

³³The households appearing on the census population schedules that were determined to have resided on Virginius Island are as follows: for 1900 it has been determined that the households beginning with Emily Kellison on p. 75B, and continuing through the Sidney Murphy household on p. 76, were residing on the island; for 1910 it has been determined that the households beginning with Clary W. Brasheor on p. 191 and continuing through Shirley Rockenbaugh on p. 191B, excepting the Magnus Cockrell household, were residing on the island; for 1920 beginning with Charles Kellison on p. 190B through Frank Drew on 191A.

³⁴Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 73A-81B.

and those living elsewhere in the community.

Taxable personal property value reveals something about a person's socioeconomic position, but if examined alone, this information may prove misleading. Factors such as a person's age, race, sex, or relationship with others in the household weigh into the significance of taxable personal property value. The same holds true in evaluating occupations. These factors were accounted for when examining the 1900 Harpers Ferry Town census for occupations and 1900 personal property tax records for those town residents who had occupations. Not all names on the 1900 census with occupations appeared in the personal property book, and only names listed on both were used. The occupations for residents listed on the 1900 census have been divided into five categories: merchants and proprietors, professional, non-manual, skilled, and semi-skilled/unskilled.³⁵ The aggregate personal property tax value for each occupational category was compiled and the mean calculated for comparative purposes. Of the names used, 79 percent were twenty-five years old or older, and 69 percent were head-of-household.

Twenty-three individuals are categorized as merchants or proprietors and the mean value of their personal property was \$916. The mean personal property value of the fifteen classified as professional was \$425. For the forty-eight who held non-manual occupations, the mean personal property value was \$291. For the thirty-seven skilled workers the mean was \$77; and the mean personal property value of the forty-five semi-skilled/unskilled inhabitants of Harpers Ferry was only \$27. The mean taxable personal property value for all Harpers Ferry residents showing occupation and appearing in the 1900 tax book was \$272. (See Table 3.2)

³⁵A listing of the 1900 census Harpers Ferry Town occupations by categories is included at the end of this chapter.

When compared with the larger Harpers Ferry community, occupations and personal property of Virginus Island residents suggest lower socio-economic position. Of the twenty-five Virginus Island residents showing occupation for 1900, twenty-three are categorized as semi-skilled/unskilled, and the remaining two are skilled. In 1900 Sidney Murphy, a pulp mill laborer whose total personal property was valued at \$60, had the highest recorded personal property value of island residents. The average for island residents with listed occupations was \$21--six dollars below the mean taxable personal property value for the semi-skilled/unskilled category--and drastically lower than the mean average of \$272 for the whole of Harpers Ferry Town's working residents.³⁶

Virginus Island's semi-skilled/unskilled workers accounted for only 6 percent of those showing occupation on the 1900 Harpers Ferry Town census and for 16 percent of the total number of semi-skilled/unskilled workers on that census. In all, occupations classified as semi-skilled/unskilled comprised 41 percent of the occupations on the 1900 Town census.

A comparison of the Virginus Island community with Washington Street in Harpers Ferry reveals that all twenty-two of the Virginus Island residents listing occupation in 1900 were semi-skilled/unskilled or skilled, but the occupations for those living on Washington Street represented all five categories. On Washington Street, twenty-four had semi-skilled/unskilled or skilled occupations -- only 46 percent of the total fifty-two names listing occupations. Likewise, the mean taxable personal property value for those living on Washington Street (\$223) was considerably higher than for island residents

³⁶Personal Property Book (1900). The name John M. Bond appears twice for Harpers Ferry in the tax book. It is believed that one of these was John H. Bond, a fifty-four year old drayman whose taxable personal property is shown to be \$60, and who did not live on Virginus Island. John M. Bond, a twenty-eight year old day laborer, is believed to have been the other.

Table 3.2. Mean Personal Property Value for Occupational Categories, 1900.

	<u>Mean Value</u>	<u># Used in Sample</u>	<u>Total # on Census</u>
All Categories	\$272	170	333
Merchant Category	\$916	23	31
Professional Category	\$425	15	31
Non-Manual Category	\$291	50	73
Skilled Category	\$77	37	61
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Category	\$27	45	137
Virginus Island Inhabitants	\$21	13	25

Source: 1900 Census Population Schedule; Personal Property Book (1900), Jefferson County, West Virginia.

(\$21).³⁷ Since Washington Street was home to a diverse cross section of the Harpers Ferry community, this comparison supports the argument that Virginus Island in 1900 was a concentrated lower social position neighborhood.

The island community's socio-economic composition changed little during the first two decades of the twentieth century. While the island's population decreased by 39 percent between the censuses of 1900 and 1920, the island remained a laboring class neighborhood. The 1910 census indicates forty-six people lived among nine households on the island, accounting for 6 percent of the Town population, down slightly from 7.5 percent for 1900. Only three people living on Virginus Island at the time of the 1900 census, Abraham and Cora Longerbeam (Kauffman) and her daughter Mary, still resided there in 1910. Fifteen island residents, including three females, listed occupations in 1910. That number accounts for only 4 percent of those with listed occupations on the

³⁷Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 73A-74B, 75B, 76A; Personal Property Book (1900).

1910 Harpers Ferry Town census, but the island's nine laborers account for nearly one quarter (24 percent) of those listed as laborers. Eight people--again more than one-half of the island residents who had occupations--were pulp mill laborers, five of whom were head-of-household. The four remaining households were headed by a notions salesman, a slater, a carpenter, and by a female with no listed occupation. The three females with listed occupations were servants for private families, and all three were Clary Brasheor's (Brashears) daughters.³⁸ A railroad laborer is also listed as living on the island.³⁹

The 1920 census shows eight families totalling forty-one people living on Virginius Island, or 6 percent of the total Harpers Ferry Town population, the same percentage as for the 1910 census. Of the eight families, each a separate household, two were headed by pulp mill laborers. Of the fifteen with listed occupations, six were laborers (five at the pulp mill), and the other at the limestone quarry. The remaining island residents were a carpenter, toll bridge keeper, limestone quarry cut driver, and, for the island's three working females, a laundress and two housekeepers. Those who lived on Virginius Island with occupations for the 1920 census comprise 5 percent of the total number of people with listed occupations on that census. Of the forty-six Virginius Island residents in 1910, fourteen still lived on the island at the time of the 1920 census. The only island heads-of-household to appear on both the 1910 and 1920 censuses were Clary Brasheor (Brashears) and John Cooper.⁴⁰

While the island remained inhabited until the mid-1930s, the substantial loss of population during 1920s affected the nature of the island community, and

³⁸The three Brashears daughters listed as "servant" on the census worked for families who lived on Camp Hill. (Notes taken during interview with Edna Brashears Farmer, 2 September 1992)

³⁹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry District, pp. 185, 193.

⁴⁰Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry District, pp. 190B, 191A.

Table 3.3. Laborers Living on Virginus Island.

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>
Total Virginus Island Population	67	46	41
Total Number of Virginus Island Residents who have Occupation Listed on Census	25	15	15
Total Number who have Listed as Occupation some type of Labor	22	9	6
Total Number of Pulp Mill Laborers on Virginus Island	15	8	5
Total Number of Households on Virginus Island	14	9	8
Number of Heads of Household Employed at Pulp Mill	8	5	2

Source: 1900, 1910, & 1920 Census Population Schedules.

its function as a neighborhood within the larger Harpers Ferry Town context was largely lost. Early in 1924 the Drew family was "moved out of the dangerous frame house in which they have lived for many years on the Island of Virginus." Following the May 1924 flood, all of the dwellings, with the exception of those of John Cooper and Cora Longerbeam, were vacated and probably never occupied again.⁴¹ It is believed by the end of 1924 only the Cooper and Longerbeam families continued living on Virginus Island. Although the number of summer tourists and Baltimore & Ohio Railroad excursions to Harpers Ferry declined during the 1910s and 1920s (due in large part to the popularity of the automobile) Virginus Island experienced an increase in recreational use by Harpers Ferry residents and visitors alike.⁴²

⁴¹General Manager's Report, Shenandoah Pulp Company, 7 February 1924, Folder 4, Box 2, Thomas Savery Papers, HFNHP; General Manager's Report, Shenandoah Pulp Company, 6 June 1924, Folder-Reports to Directors, 1924-1929, Box 5, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

⁴²"1890-1944, The Shenandoah Pulp Company," p. 3, in Cultural Landscape Report: Virginus Island.

The 1924 flood accelerated the demise of the island community, but the island's transition from a laboring class neighborhood to an uninhabited land mass along the Shenandoah River already had begun. In 1924, the Harpers Ferry Light and Power Company and the Shenandoah Pulp Company were consolidated under the Harpers Ferry Paper Company.⁴³ This company struggled financially after 1924. The Harpers Ferry Paper Company mill on the Potomac River, which had experienced growing losses, was destroyed by fire in 1925. Meanwhile, the Shenandoah Pulp Company lost over \$72,000 between 1924 and 1927, and the pulp mill was idle for almost all of 1928.⁴⁴ The company, however, did not entirely neglect the remaining tenant houses on the island, spending \$39.70 in 1926 and \$7.25 during the first six months of 1927 for repairs.⁴⁵ The pulp mill was again idle for a period in 1930, and by 1931 the pulp mill apparently was not making money and run only in order to provide employment for the residents of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. The pulp company finally succumbed to financial problems and closed permanently in 1935.⁴⁶

Virginus Island's inhabited history ended with the 1936 flood, at which time it is believed the Longerbeam and Cooper families were still residing on the island.⁴⁷ John Cooper was living on the island in 1929 when he committed suicide after battling cancer for several months. At the time of Cooper's death,

⁴³Report and Appraisal, Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company, 12 January 1928, p. 3, Folder-Report of Company, 1928, Box 7, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

⁴⁴Gilbert, p. 75; Spirit of Jefferson, 29 November 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

⁴⁵Report on the Shenandoah Pulp Company, 30 August 1927, Folder 6, Box 2, Thomas Savery Papers, HFNHP.

⁴⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 19 June 1930, p. 3, col. 5; "Exchange of Properties Between The Potomac Edison Company and Seaboard Public Service Company," p. 27 of Harpers Ferry Electric Light & Power Company, 20 October 1931. Potomac Edison Historical Records Collection - Seaboard Public Service Company, Downsville Pike, Hagerstown, MD; Gilbert, p. 79.

⁴⁷Hannah, p. 125; The Baltimore Sun, 8 March 1936, Newspaper clipping on file in Henry T. McDonald Papers, HFNHP.

six others lived in his Virginius Island residence, believed to have been Building 15 on Snell's map.⁴⁸ The Longerbeams resided in what today is referred to as the "Child House", or Building 22 on Snell's Historical Base Map.

Virginius Island community's decline parallels that of Harpers Ferry. Both owed their existence to geographical features enabling industry to harness the water-power of rivers and allowing for the transportation of goods via canals and railroads. Both the town and the island experienced their heyday during the 1850s, the height of the water-powered industry era. Harpers Ferry enjoyed a measure of economic stability during the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, but the type of industry and modes of transportation on which Harpers Ferry and Virginius Island depended gradually gave way to non water-powered industry and the automobile. Frequent flooding also created hardships for a community trapped between two rivers. The surrounding rugged terrain and the rivers once giving the town life served to prevent further investment and economic development.

⁴⁸Spirit of Jefferson, 12 December 1929, p. 1, col. 2.

1900 Harpers Ferry Town Census Occupation Classifications

<u>MERCHANTS & PROPRIETORS</u>		SALESMAN	3
BARBER ¹	1	SALES LADY	9
CIGAR MANUFACTURER	2	TELEGRAPH OPERATOR	6
CLOTHIER	1	TELEGRAPH APPRENTICE	2
COAL DEALER	1	TOLL GATE KEEPER	1
CONTRACTOR	1		
DRUGGIST	1	<u>SKILLED</u>	
GROCERY MERCHANT	1	BARBER	4
HOTEL PROPRIETOR	3	BLACKSMITH	2
ICE DEALER	1	BREWERY APPRENTICE	1
LIVERY MAN	2	BREWERY ENGINEER	1
MERCHANT	8	BREWERY SECOND MAN	1
PHOTOGRAPHER	2	BREWMASTER	1
RESTAURANT PROPRIETOR	1	BRICK LAYER	1
SALOON KEEPER	4	BUTCHER	1
UNDERTAKER	2	CARAVEL DRIVER	1
		CARPENTER	7
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>		CARPET WEAVER	2
DENTIST	2	ELECTRICIAN	3
LAWYER	1	FIREMAN LOCOMOTIVE	2
PHYSICIAN/DOCTOR	4	HARNESS MAKER	1
PRINCIPAL	1	HOSTLER	1
TEACHER	23	MILLINER	2
		MUSICIAN	3
<u>NON-MANUAL</u>		PAINTER	7
BANK CASHIER	1	PULP MILL FOREMAN	1
BARTENDER	3	RAILROAD FOREMAN	3
BOARDING HOUSE MISTRESS	1	RAILROAD PLUMBER	1
BOOKKEEPER	3	RAILROAD BRAKEMAN	5
CLERK	16	RAILROAD PUMPER	2
EXPRESS AGENT	1	SHOEMAKER	1
FARMER	1	STONE CUTTER	1
GOVERNMENT STORE KEEPER	1	STONE MASON	1
INSURANCE AGENT	1	TINSMITH	4
LAND LORD	1	WATCH REPAIR	1
LAUNDRY AGENT	1		
MANAGER (GROCERY)	1	<u>UNSKILLED & SEMI-SKILLED</u>	
MANAGER STORER COLLEGE	1	BAGGAGE MASTER	2
MEDICINE AGENT	1	BELLBOY	2
NEWS AGENT	1	BELLMAN	1
POLICEMAN	2	BREWERY BOTTLER	4
POSTMASTER	1	BREWERY LABORER	1
PREACHER	9	CEMETERY KEEPER	1
PULP MILL MANAGER	1	CHAMBERMAID	4
RAILROAD AGENT	1	COAL MINER	1
RAILROAD CONDUCTOR	2	COOK	11
RAILROAD WATCHMAN	2	DAY LABORER	21

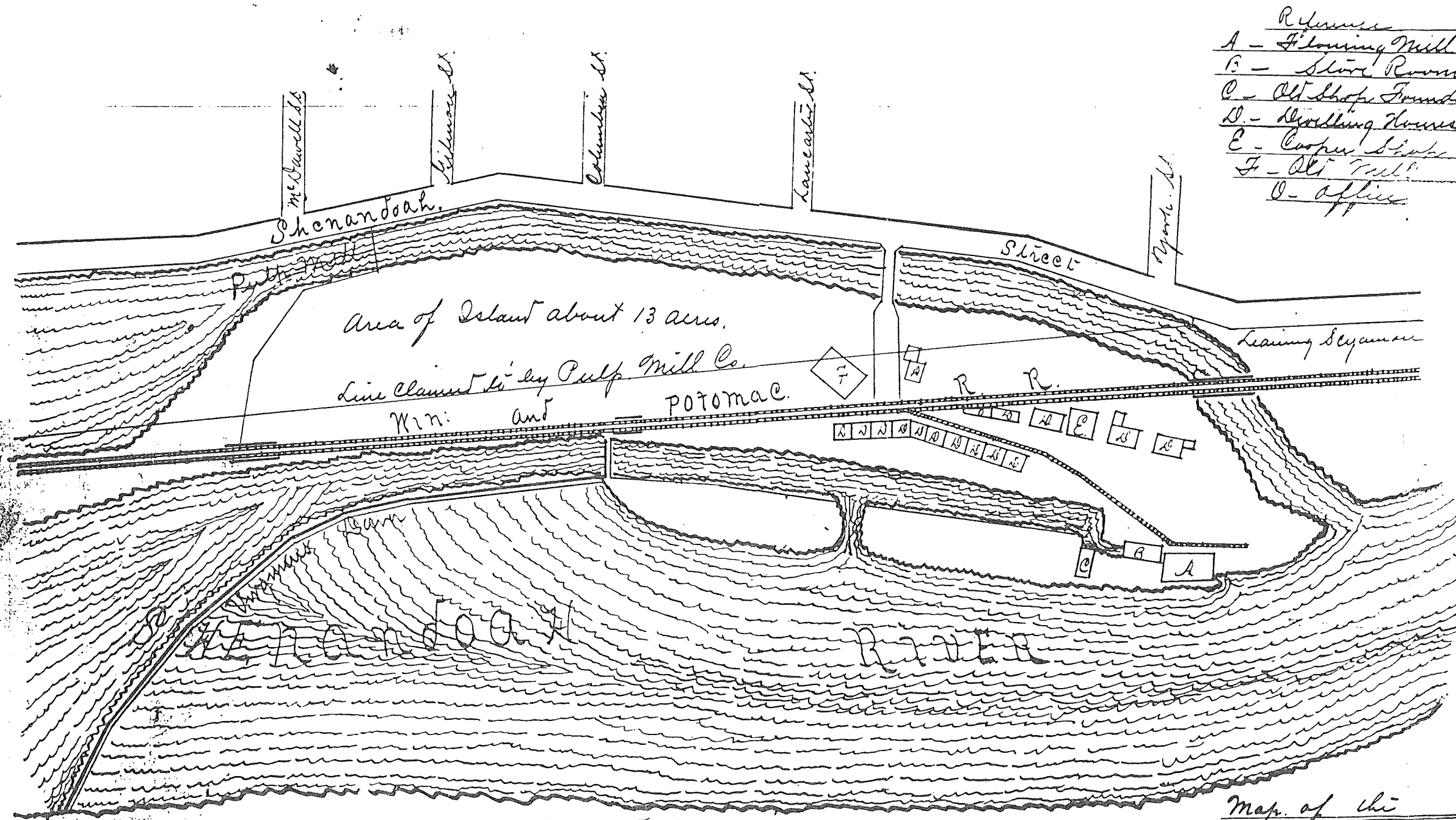
DRAYMAN	2
DRESSMAKER/SEWING	7
FARM LABORER	2
GARDENER LABORER	1
GARDENER	1
GENERAL HOUSEWORK	16
GENERAL WORK	3
HOTEL LABORER	3
HOUSE KEEPER	1
LABORER LIME KILN	1
LAUNDRYMAN	1
LIVERY LABORER	5
PULP MILL LABORER	23
RAILROAD LABORER	7
NURSE	2
PAPER MILL LABORER	1
WAITER	4
WASHWOMAN	9

NOT - INCLUDED²

CAPITALIST	1
ERRAND BOY	1
OFFICE BOY	1
CUSTOM HOUSE NY	1
MAYOR	1

¹In this instance "Barber" is the given occupation of James Brunswick, who owned a barber shop and whose personal property value according to 1900 tax book was \$385.

²These occupations appeared on the 1900 census but were not classified nor used because of insufficient knowledge of their nature.



- Reference
- A - Flouring Mill
 - B - Store Room
 - C - Old Shop Foundation
 - D - Dwelling House
 - E - Cooper Shop
 - F - Old Mill
 - G - Office

1900 Census Heads*

- Kellison, Emily C.
- Bond, John M.
- Metz, James H.
- Longerbeam, Abraham
- Bond, Albert
- Lay, James M
- Mobeley, Mary J.
- Bagent, Daniel
- Bond, Luther H.
- Buzzard, Albert
- Buzzard, Albert F.
- Mobeley, George C.
- Drew, Frank W.
- Murphy, Sidney B.

May 15th - 1889

Fee \$50.

Map of the
Island of Virginia

S. Howell Brown, S.J.C. 465

* order on census

B. & O. R. R.
 MAIN LINE DISTRICT
 Shenandoah Division Main Line
 PLAN SHOWING RIGHT OF WAY
 BUILDINGS AND TRACKS
 HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.
 Office of Dist. Engr. M. of W. Baltimore, Md.
 Scale 1"=50' February 19, 1913.
 Note Books C-31&35
 1-7-5

1910 Census Heads*

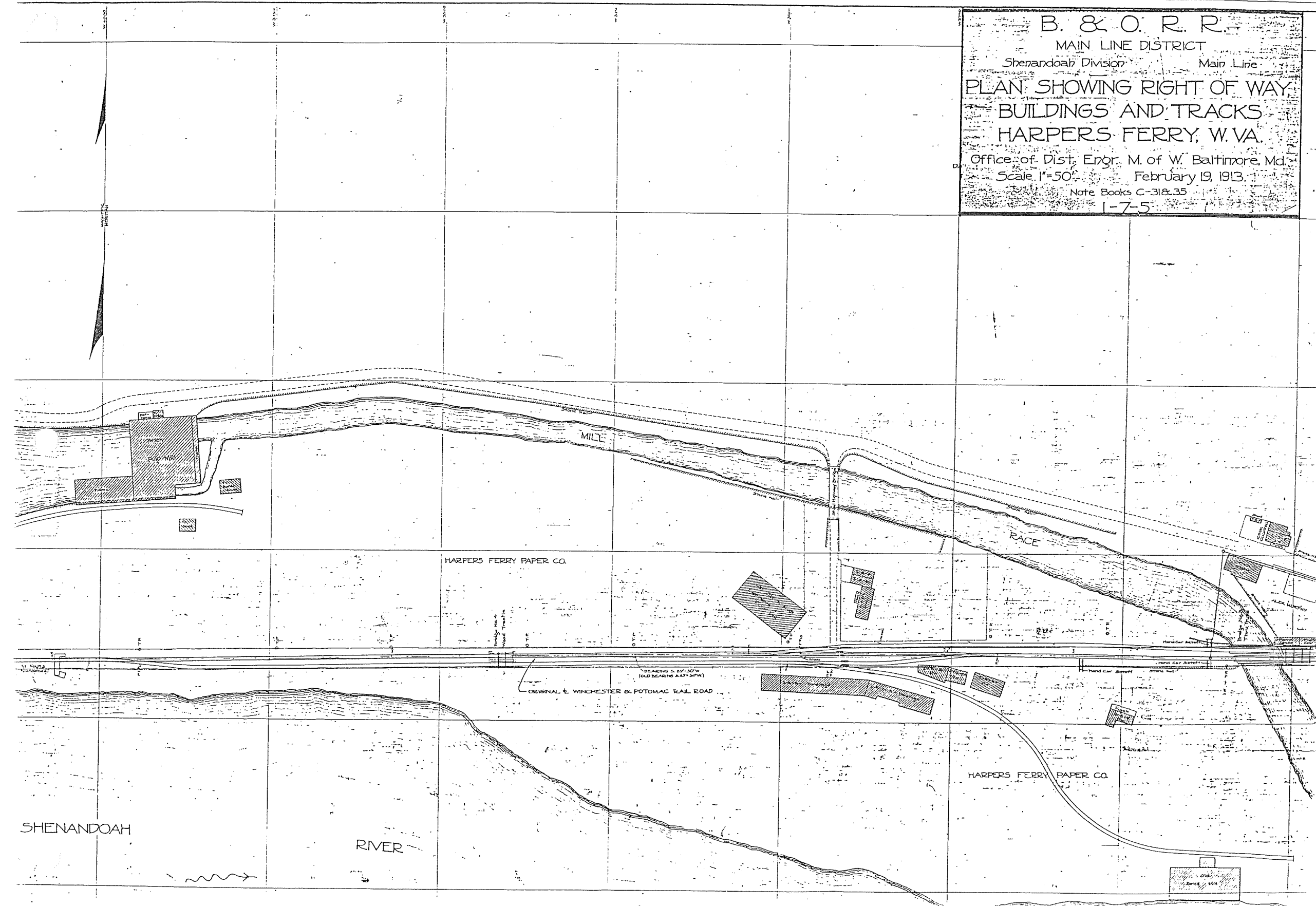
- Brasheor, Clary W.
- Tacey, Hillary S.
- Bell, Charles W.
- Cooper, John
- Kauffman, William
- Fine, Moses
- Tattersall, Mary
- Painter, Walter **
- Rockenbaugh, Shirley R.

1920 Census Heads*

- Kellison, Charles
- Rockenbaugh, Charles
- Longerbeam, Cora
(see A. Longerbeam)
- Brashears, C.W.
- Cooper, John
- Roop, William
(see Tattersall)
- Kidwell, Jane E.
- Drew, Frank

*order on census

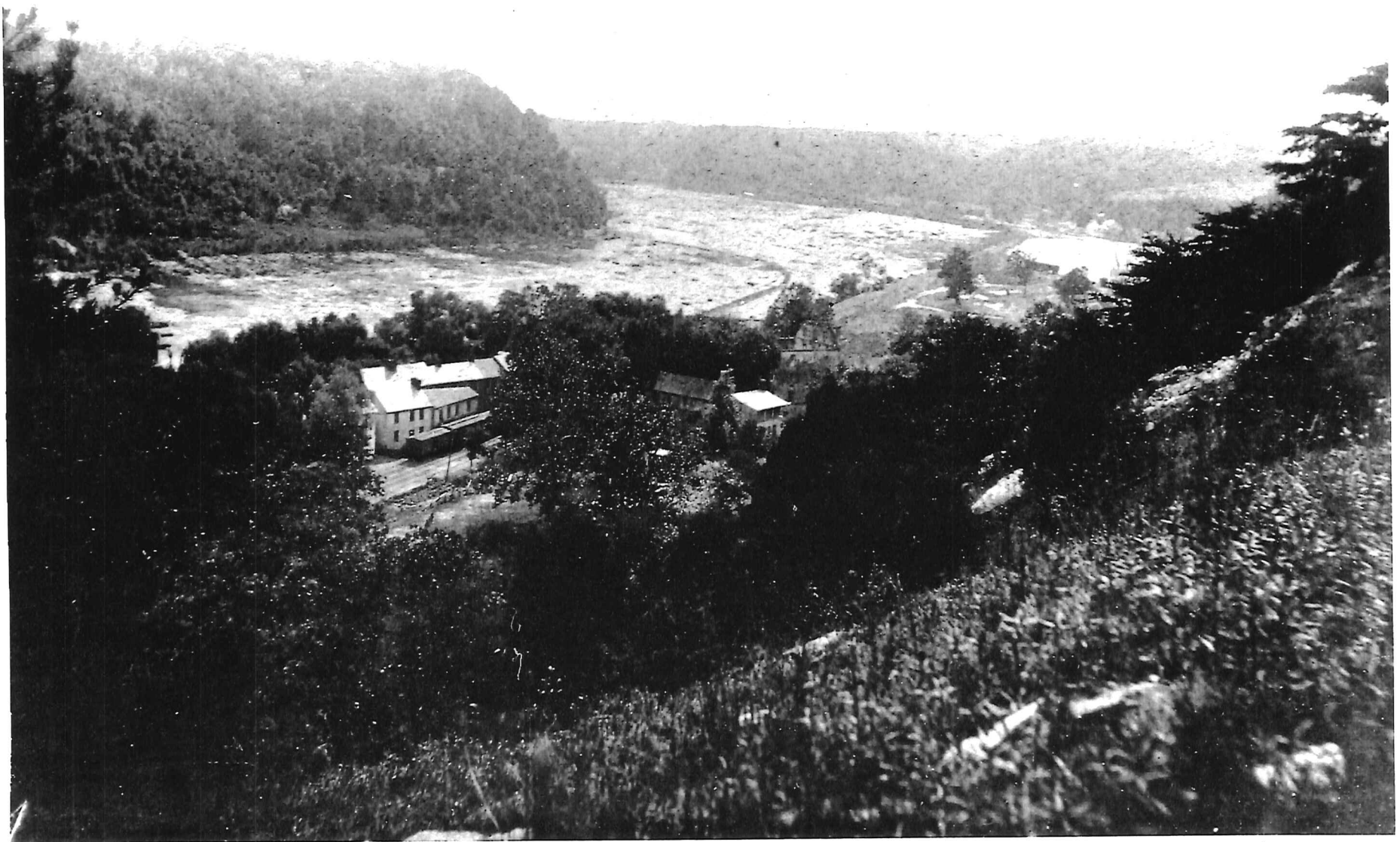
**follows non-island resident Magnus Cockrell





Photograph 6. HF-611, Virginia Island, showing row house during 1889 Flood.

Photograph 7. HF-621, Virginius Island, 1890, showing row house.





Photograph 8. HF-1289, Virginus Island between 1889 and circa 1900.



Photograph 9. HF-897, Virginian Island, showing 2-story frame structure at left, probably taken after 1902.



Photograph 10. Enlarged portion of HF-542, showing Virginius Island, April 5, 1930.



Photograph 11. HF-883, Virginius Island, mid-to-late 1920s or 1930s.



Photograph 12. HF-1311, View along the tracks looking west during 1924 flood.



Photograph 13. Edna Brashears, far left, with brother-in-law, center, and his daughter in front of row house on Virginus Island, circa 1915.

APPENDIX A

OUTLINE OF PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

OWNERSHIP

Elon Miller, assignee of George Emory
Treasury Warrant No. 626 (6026?)
August 15, 1794
(from Title Abstract for Island of
Virginus, Box 4, Folder 3, Thomas
Savery Family Papers, A&M 1534, Hagley
Museum & Library)

Daniel McPherson, assignee of Elon Miller
Land Grant from Commonwealth of Virginia
From Treasury Warrant 6026
June 25, 1803
Described as the lowermost island in
the Shenandoah River, containing
11 acres, 1 rood, and 34 poles.
(Jefferson County Land Grant Book 1,
p. 479, West Virginia State
Auditor, Land Office, W212, State
Capitol Building, Charleston, WV)

John Peacher from Daniel McPherson and
wife Susannah
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 18, 1817
Deed Book 10, p. 142

James Stubblefield from John Peacher
and wife Lydia
Deed of Bargain and Sale
August 30, 1823
Described as 30 perches of the most
northern corner of the lowermost
island in the Shenandoah River.
Deed Book 13, p. 27

James Stubblefield from John Peacher
and wife Lydia
Deed of Bargain and Sale
August 30, 1823
Described as the whole of the lower-
most island in the Shenandoah
River (except 36 perches),
containing 12 acres, 1 rood, and
15 perches.
Deed Book 13, p. 28

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Charles H. Stuart and
Wm. Bell, agents for
New Shenandoah Co.,
and James Stubblefield
Articles of Agreement
August 31, 1824
Agreement on water rights
etc.
Deed Book 13, p. 259

TRACT 1
(as designated by Charles Snell)

OWNERSHIP

Townsend Beckham
from James Stubblefield and Mary
Deed of Bargain and Sale
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, p. 344

Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey
from Andrew Hunter (special comm)
and Eliza Beckham widow of
Townsend Beckham
Deed of Bargain and Sale
December 8, 1838
Deed Book 23, p. 376

Hugh Gilleece
from Henry Berry
Deed of Bargain and Sale
October 12, 1839, by public sale
Deed Book 24, p. 181

Alexander Brown
from Hugh Gilleece
Deed of Bargain and Sale
April 28, 1840
An undivided 1/3 interest
Deed Book 24, p. 291

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Townsend Beckham and Eliza
to Armistead Beckham and
Edward Wager
Deed of Trust
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, 345

Hugh Gilleece and William
Apsey to Henry Berry
for Andrew Hunter
Deed of Trust
December 8, 1838
Deed Book 23, p. 378

Hugh Gilleece
to Samuel D. Baker,
for Henry Berry and
Andrew Hunter
Deed of Trust
October 12, 1839
Deed Book 24, p. 181

Hugh Gilleece to
John Moler for
Abraham H. Herr
Deed of Trust
June 19, 1848
Deed Book 30, p. 38

Henry Berry
to Hugh Gilleece
Release of Deed of Trust
April 19, 1852
Deed Book 33, p. 32

Hugh Gilleece to
John Moler and
Isaac Fouke for
Abraham H. Herr
Deed of Trust
September 16, 1854
Deed Book 34, p. 229

(Tract 1 con't)

OWNERSHIP

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Abraham H. Herr

from Hugh Gilleece and

Alexander Brown

Deed of Bargain and Sale

August 31, 1855

Deed Book 35, p. 49

(see after Tract 4 for continuation of ownership)

TRACT 2
(as designated by Charles Snell)

OWNERSHIP

Fontaine Beckham
from James Stubblefield and Mary
Deed of Bargain and Sale
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, p. 330

Lewis Wernwag
from Fontaine Beckham, wife Ann R.
and James Stubblefield
Deed of Bargain and Sale
March 23, 1830
A part of Tract 2, containing 2 acres,
3 roods, and 1 pole
Deed Book 16, p. 518
This part of Tract 2 was evidently
included in Tract 4 conveyances
until 1847 when it was resold
because this deed was proved
invalid.

Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson and
Samuel Hefflebower from Joseph T.
Daugherty, Province McCormick, and
Andrew Hunter in case of Jacob
Albert, assignee of James Stubblefield,
and James Baker vs Fontaine Beckham,
Ann A.R. Beckham, John S. Gallaher
and Carter Williamson
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 1, 1838
Deed Book 24, p. 513

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Fontaine Beckham
to Edward Wager and
Armistead Beckham
Deed of Trust
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, p. 332

Fontaine Beckham
to John S. Gallaher
for Ann Amelia Reed
Stephenson
Deed of Trust (Marriage
Settlement)
September 3, 1825
Deed Book 14, p. 43

Ann Amelia Reed Beckham
Deed of Release
October 17, 1825
Deed Book 14, p. 61

Fontaine Beckham, Ann A.R.
Beckham, and John S.
Gallaher to
Lee Griggs and
Richard Duffield for
George Hagely
Deed of Trust
August 22, 1831
Deed Book 17, p. 115

Henry Rowland, Carter
Williamson, and Samuel
Hefflebower to Joseph T.
Daugherty, Province
McCormick, and Andrew
Hunter
Deed of Trust
May 1, 1838
Deed Book 24, p. 167

(Tract 2 con't)

OWNERSHIP

Lysander D. Childs
from Carter Williamson
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 31, 1838
An undivided 1/3 interest
Mentioned in
Memorandum of Agreement of Lease,
May 31, 1838, in court case of
Carter Williamson vs L.D. Childs,
(Jefferson County Court Records,
Unclassified Box 3, Microfilm
Reel 74, Envelope 3-1, A&M 382, West
Virginia and Regional History
Collection, West Virginia University)
Also mentioned in Deed Book 25, p. 152
as dated May 1, 1838.

Luther J. Cox
from Henry Rowland and Elizabeth,
Samuel Hefflebower and Elizabeth,
Carter Williamson and Ann, and
Lysander D. Childs
Deed of Bargain and Sale
July 1, 1840
Deed Book 25, p. 152

Daniel Snyder and Benjamin Ford
from Luther J. Cox
Deed of Bargain and Sale
January 1, 1841
An undivided 2/3 interest
Deed Book 25, p. 156

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Luther J. Cox to
Andrew Hunter for
Henry Rowland, Samuel
Hefflebower, and
Lysander D. Childs
Deed of Trust
July 1, 1840
Deed Book 25, p 155

Daniel Snyder and Benjamin
Ford to Andrew Hunter
for Luther J. Cox
Deed of Trust
January 1, 1841
An undivided 2/3 interest
Deed Book 25, p. 158

Benjamin Ford and Daniel
Snyder to William C.
Worthington and Richard
Henderson for various
persons
Deed of Trust
January 3, 1841
3 properties including island
parcel
Deed Book 25, p. 328

(Tract 2 con't)

OWNERSHIP

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing
Co. from Andrew Hunter (special comm)
in case of Hunter as guardian of
infant children of Ann A.R. Beckham vs
infant children and Harpers Ferry and
Shenandoah Manufacturing Co.

Deed of Bargain and Sale

January 24, 1847

A part of Tract 2, containing 2 acres,
3 roods, and 1 pole, being the same
conveyed by Fontaine Beckham to
Lewis Wernwag by deed proved invalid

Deed Book 32, p. 432

John Herr and Abraham Herr

from Province McCormick and
Andrew Hunter (special comm)
in case of Jacob Albert vs
Fontaine Beckham and others
(and according to VFP June 15, 1843
p. 3, col. 2 by deed of trust from
Rowland, Williamson and Hefflebower)

Deed of Bargain and Sale

September 2, 1846, by auction March 2, 1844

Deed Book 28, p. 292

Abraham H. Herr

from John Herr and Elizabeth

Deed of Bargain and Sale

January 24, 1848

An undivided moiety

Deed Book 29, p. 320

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Benjamin Ford and Daniel
Snyder to Andrew Hunter
for Adam Moler

Deed of Trust

August 12, 1842

Authority to rent 3 properties
out from July 1, 1843
to July 1, 1844

Deed Book 26, p. 55

(Tract 2 con't)

OWNERSHIP

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Abraham H. Herr

from Robert Y. Conrad and Andrew Hunter
(special comm) in case of A.B. Davidson
vs Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co.

Deed of Bargain and Sale

February 14, 1859, by auction July 25, 1854

All real and personal property of company on
island

Deed Book 38, p. 315

(see after Tract 4 for continuation of ownership)

TRACT 3
(as designated by Charles Snell)

OWNERSHIP

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Edward Wager

from James Stubblefield and Mary
Deed of Bargain and Sale
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, p. 328

John B. Gildea

from Andrew Hunter (special comm)
and Hannah Wager widow of Edward Wager
Deed of Bargain and Sale
September 28, 1833
Deed Book 19, p. 97

John B. Gildea

to Fontaine Beckham
for Andrew Hunter
Deed of Trust
September 28, 1833
Deed Book 19, p. 102

Winchester and Potomac Railroad Co.

from John B. Gildea
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 13, 1835
Deed Book 20, p. 338

Jesse Schofield

from Winchester and Potomac Railroad Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
July 1, 1847
Reserving enough land so as not to interfere
with railroad tracks and to leave room
for the levers of the turnaround
Deed Book 29, p. 112

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Co.

from Jesse Schofield and Mary Ann
Deed of Bargain and Sale
August 28, 1847
Deed Book 29, p. 439

Abraham H. Herr

from Robert Y. Conrad and Andrew Hunter
(special comm) in case of A.B. Davidson
vs Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
February 14, 1859, by auction July 25, 1854
All real or personal property of company on
island
Deed Book 38, p. 315
(see after Tract 4 for continuation of ownership)

TRACT 4
(as designated by Charles Snell)

OWNERSHIP

Lewis Wernwag
from James Stubblefield and Mary
Deed of Bargain and Sale
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 14, p. 41

Joseph L. Smith and James Hook
from Lewis Wernwag and Elizabeth
Deed of Bargain and Sale
July 2, 1832
An undivided 1/2 interest
Deed Book 17, p. 424

John Wernwag
from Lewis Wernwag and Elizabeth
Deed of Bargain and Sale
July 31, 1833
An undivided 1/3 interest, the other 2/3
having been conveyed to Joseph L.
Smith and James Hook
Deed Book 19, p. 75

George Stubblefield
Land Grant from Commonwealth of Virginia
From Treasury Warrant 6113
November 22, 1834
40 acres including part of the
Shenandoah River and some island
rocks.
Jefferson County Land Grant Book 1,
p. 517, West Virginia State
Auditor, Land Office, W212, State
Capitol Building, Charleston,
West Virginia. Copy at HFNHP.

Joseph L. Smith and John Wernwag
from George Stubblefield and Ellen
Deed of Bargain and Sale
April 19, 1835
Tract of land around Island of Virginus
granted to Stubblefield by the
Commonwealth of Virginia November
22, 1834
Deed Book 20, p. 531

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Lewis Wernwag and wife
to Edward Wager and
Armistead Beckham
Deed of Trust
December 28, 1824
Deed Book 13, p. 334

Lewis Wernwag and wife
to John Fitzsimmons
for Joseph L. Russell
Deed of Trust
August 29, 1832
An undivided 1/2 interest
Deed Book 18, p. 42

(Tract 4 con't)

OWNERSHIP

Jesse Schofield

from John Wernwag and Margaret R.
and Joseph L. Smith

May 25, 1835

Lot, fronting 40' on street and containing
tenement occupied by John Shackelford

Deed Book 20, p. 340

(designated Tract 5 by Charles Snell)

John Packett, High Sheriff

from Joseph L. Smith, insolvent
debtor

Deed

September 5, 1836

An undivided 2/3 interest

Deed Book 21, p. 232

Jesse Schofield

from Andrew Hunter (special comm)
Sarah Ann Price, sole devisee and
legatee of Benjamin Price, and
John McPherson

Deed of Bargain and Sale

July 3, 1844 by sale of Price to
Schofield November 23, 1837

An undivided 2/3 interest

Deed Book 28, p. 172

Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag

from Joseph P. Shannon and
Elizabeth, Isaac Wernwag and Emma,
Lewis V. Wernwag and Margaret,
Thomas D. Wernwag and Hannah

Deed of Bargain and Sale

September 1, 1846

All right, title, interest and estate

Deed Book 28, p. 293

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Joseph L. Smith to

Benjamin Price

for John McPherson

Deed of Trust

July 16, 1835

An undivided 2/3 interest

Smith having bought

interest of James Hook

Deed Book 20, p. 409

John Wernwag and Margaret R.

to Josias Pennington

Mortgage

January 20, 1840

An undivided 1/3 interest

Deed Book 24, p. 108

Jos. P. Shannon and Eliza

to Gerard B. Wager for
Jesse Schofield

Deed of Trust

August 25, 1843

Any interest descended from

Lewis Wernwag dec'd, and

all machinery and tools

in the machine shop

Deed Book 26, p. 435

Jesse Schofield and Mary Ann

and John Wernwag and

Margaret R. to James

Giddings

Deed of Trust

May 16, 1844

Except Schofield house

(No. 12 on Brown map)

Deed Book 27, p. 144

(Tract 4 con't)

OWNERSHIP

Jesse Schofield
from William C. Worthington (comm)
in case of George W. Sappington
vs. James B. Wilkins
Deed of Bargain and Sale
October 15, 1851, by auction August 30, 1845
Lot 95' X 51 1/2' mentioned in
December 12, 1837 agreement
between Schofield, John Wernwag,
and James B. Wilkins (agreement not
located)
Deed Book 32, p. 75

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co. from Jesse
Schofield and Mary Ann and
John Wernwag and Margaret R.
and James Giddings
Deed of Bargain and Sale
August 24, 1847
Except Schofield house
Deed Book 30, p. 178

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Jesse Schofield and Mary Ann
and John Wernwag and
Margaret to James
Giddings
Deed of Trust
May 15, 1846
Except Schofield house
(No. 12 on Brown map)
Deed Book 28, p 122

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co. to
William T. Daugherty for
Abraham H. Herr
Deed of Trust
November 9, 1849
Deed Book 30, p. 617

Cornelius Johnson to William
T. Daugherty for
Isabella Johnson
Deed of Trust
January 4, 1850
Half interest in machinery
in Valley Factory on
Island of Virginus
Deed Book 31, p. 4

(Tract 4 con't)

OWNERSHIP

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Ira Stanbraugh and Cornelius
Johnson to James
Giddings, William T.
Daugherty, and Isaac
Fouke for B.L.Loney,
William D. Townsend, and
William A. Loney, John
H. Haskell, Charles
Danforth, John Wernwag,
Jesse Schofield

Deed of Trust
January 5, 1850
All machinery, etc, in
Valley Factory on
Island of Virginus
Deed Book 31, p. 4

Ira Stanbaugh and John R.
Holliday to William T.
Daugherty for James
Giddings

Deed of Trust
March 31, 1851
All machinery, etc in
Valley Factory
Deed Book 31, p. 447

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co. to
George B. Beall

Deed of Trust
September 4, 1851
Deed Book 32, p. 50

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co. to
E. Louis Lowe

Deed of Trust
September 4, 1851
Deed Book 32, p. 51

(Tract 4 con't)

OWNERSHIP

Abraham H. Herr
from Jesse Schofield and Mary A.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
June 23, 1855
Brick house excepted from sale to
Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co.
Deed Book 35, p. 100
(designated as Tract 5 by Charles Snell)

Abraham H. Herr
from Robert Y. Conrad and Andrew Hunter
(special comm) in case of A.B. Davidson
vs. Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
February 14, 1859, by auction July 25, 1854
All real or personal property of company on
island
Deed Book 38, p. 315

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Ira Stanbraugh, John R.
Holliday and M.A. Duke
to William T. Daugherty
for Roxy R. Goodspeed
Deed of Trust
March 25, 1852
Unrecorded (included in court
case of A.F. and W.R.
Seevers vs James Giddings
et al, Reel 2, Envelope 13
Jefferson County Court
Records, A&M 382, WVU)

Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah
Manufacturing Co. to
George B. Beall
Deed of Trust
August 14, 1852
Deed Book 32, p. 426

ISLAND OF VIRGINIUS
(ownership after Herr)

OWNERSHIP

Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight
from Abraham H. Herr
Deed of Bargain and Sale
July 24, 1867
Deed Book 2, p. 285

Solomon V. Yantis and Horatio R.
Riddle from Jonathan C. Child and
Emily E. and John A. McCreight and
Celia E.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
August 15, 1868
An undivided 1/3 interest
Deed Book 5, p. 324

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Jonathan C. Child and John
A. McCreight to
Andrew Hunter for
Abraham H. Herr
Deed of Trust
July 24, 1867
Deed Book 2, p. 287

William B. Wernwag to
William H. Travers.
Deed of Trust
February 25, 1869
Machinery in Planing Mill
on island
Deed Book 4, p. 11

Jonathan C. Child and
Emily E., John A.
McCreight and Celia E.
Solomon V. Yantis and
Josephine, Horatio R.
Riddle and Sallie,
and Elnathan Hathaway
and Ada A. to
Baltimore & Ohio RR Co.
Compensation/contract
December 29, 1869
Right-of-way and new siding
Deed Book 4, p. 464

Jonathan C. Child and
Emily E., John A.
McCreight and Celia M.
Solomon V. Yantis and
Josephine, Horatio R.
Riddle and Sallie R.
to William H. Travers
Deed of Trust
December 1, 1870
Deed Book 5, p. 390

OWNERSHIP

John A. McCreight
from Elnathan Hathaway and Ada A.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
June 14, 1879
Undivided 1/6 interest conveyed from
Jonathan C. Child about April 30, 1869
Deed Book N, p. 9

John A. McCreight and Solomon V. Yantis
from Horatio R. Riddle and Sarah H.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
March 25, 1880
Undivided 1/6 interest
Deed Book N, p. 166

John A. McCreight and Solomon V. Yantis
from Jonathan C. Child and Emily E.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
April 24, 1880
Undivided 1/6 interest
Deed Book N, p. 167

Harpers Ferry Mill Company
from John A. McCreight and Celia E.
and Solomon V. Yantis and Josephine
Deed of Bargain and Sale
October 9, 1884
Deed Book N, p. 258

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Henry Rowland and William
H. Travers to
Jonathan C. Child and
Emily E., John A.
McCreight and Celia M.
Solomon V. Yantis and
Josephine, and Horatio
R. Riddle and Sallie R.
Release
May 6, 1872
Release Book 1, p. 198

William H. Travers to
William B. Wernwag
Release
March 4, 1875
Release Book 1, p. 319

W. B. Wernwag to C. W.
Littlejohn
Deed of Bargain and Sale
June 5, 1876
Items used for planing
floors, etc.
Deed Book D, p. 301

John A. McCreight and
Celia, and Solomon V.
Yantis and Josephine
to Charles Davies for
Robert S. Holt
Deed of Trust
July 30, 1880
Deed Book H, p. 564

Robert S. Holt
to Samuel Fletcher
Assignment of Trust
July 10, 1884
Deed Book N, p. 270

OWNERSHIP

John T. Noye Manufacturing Co.
from George Baylor, W.H. Travers,
S.W. Washington, and Joseph
Trapnell (special comm) in case of
A.W. Lee vs Harpers Ferry Mill Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
April 7, 1890
Deed Book U, p. 464

S.W. Lightner
from John T. Noye Manufacturing Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
April 18, 1890
Deed Book U, p. 496

Shenandoah Pulp Company
from S.W. Lightner
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 4, 1893
Deed Book 74, p. 279

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Samuel Fletcher to
John A. McCreight and
Celia and Solomon V.
Yantis and Josephine
Release
December 12, 1884
Release Book 2, p. 110

Harpers Ferry Mill Co.
to William H. Travers
Power of Attorney
September 13, 1887
Deed Book R, p. 10

Shenandoah Pulp Co.
to N.C. Brackett
for S.W. Lightner
Deed of Trust
May 4, 1893
Deed Book 74, p. 275

S.W. Lightner to Shenandoah
Pulp Co.
Release
August 27, 1900
Release Book 6, p. 189

Shenandoah Pulp Company
to Security Trust and
Safe Deposit Company
Mortgage or Deed of Trust
June 1, 1908
Deed Book 101, p. 72
Ten pieces of property of
company including
Virginus Island

OWNERSHIP

Harpers Ferry Paper Company
from Shenandoah Pulp Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
June 7, 1924
Deed Book 124, p. 351

Potomac Light and Power Company
from Harpers Ferry Paper Co.
Deed of Bargain and Sale
May 1, 1944
Deed Book 160, p. 352

OTHER DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX B

DATA ON WEALTH

Contained in this appendix is data on the wealth of Virginus Island residents between 1802 and 1920. Specifically, records were examined for 1802 to 1850, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1870, 1900, 1910, and 1920. The data has been compiled from several different sources.

Information on the years 1802 to 1850 comes from microfilm reels of Jefferson County personal property tax records at the Virginia State Archives in Richmond, Virginia. With the exception of the years 1813 and 1814, there is no separate section for Harpers Ferry. Names for the entire county are listed together and alphabetized by the first letter of the last name. Data was extracted, when available, for roughly a ten year period before and/or after the time a person had a known connection to Virginus Island.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park owns a reel of microfilm of the 1859 Jefferson County personal property tax record (Park Reel 50) and photocopies of two tax ledgers for Harpers Ferry Corporation. The 1859 record was filmed at the Virginia State Archives; and it is believed records of personal property tax for the rest of the 1850s are at that facility, although not microfilmed. Of the other two documents, one is George Koonce's ledger as collector of the Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax in 1857 (no HFD number yet). The other is a similar ledger called "Harpers Ferry Book, 1860" (HFD-198). Both were obtained from Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

A few federal censuses also provide data on wealth. The 1850 census lists real property values, but this information is not included in the appendix since only two island residents had listed amounts. Data from the 1860 and 1870

censuses, which list values for both personal and real property, is included. Although the listed values are subject to the opinions of various owners, they provide information which supplements tax data or fills the gap where no tax data is available. This is particularly true of the 1860 census, for which over 95 percent of individually numbered families in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar had a listed value.

Finally, as far as it is known, all extant post-war tax records are in the Jefferson County courthouse. The completeness of these records has not been determined, but it is believed only scattered records of real property tax records are available for the late 1800s. Personal and real property tax records seem complete for the 1900s. For the examined years of 1900, 1910, and 1920, personal property tax records are divided by district.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1802-1812.

YEAR	NAME	WHITES >16	BLACKS >16	HORSES MARES	CHAIRS*	TOTAL TAX
1802	McPherson, Daniel Pitcher, John	2 1		10	1	.20
1803	McPherson, Daniel McKinney, Thomas Ficher, John	1 1 1	1	13	2	
1804	McPherson, Daniel Peacher, John	1 1	2	14	2	.56
1805	McPherson, Daniel Peacher, John	1 1	2	11	2	.20
1806	McPherson, Daniel Peacher, John	1 1	3 1	10 0	2	.52 .44
1807	McPherson, Daniel Ficher, John	1 1	3 1	14		3.00 4.42
1809	McPherson, Daniel Pitcher, John	2 1	2	12		
1810	Beckham, Townshend McPherson, Daniel Thompson, Jonah	1 1 1	3	15		
1811	Beckham, Townshend McPherson, Daniel McKinny, Thomas Thompkins, Jona	1 1 1 1	5	13		
1812	Beckum, Townsand McPherson, Daniel McKinny, Thomas Tompkins, M. Jona	1 1 1 1	1 4	14 1		

* After 1804, this category was described as two-wheel carriages.

Other tax categories for which no data was recorded on the above listed individuals were blacks from 12 to 16, ordinary license, stud horses, rates for stud horses for the season, coaches, and stages.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1813-1814.

YEAR	NAME	WHITES >16	BLACKS 12-16	BLACKS >16	HORSES MARES	STUD HORSES	PRICE STUD FOR SEASON
1813	McPherson, Daniel	1		4	12	1	4
HF*	Tompkins, Jona M.	1			1		
HF	Beckam, Townsend	1					
1814	Wager, Edward	1					
HF	Tompkins, Jona	1				1	
HF	Beckum, Townshend	1					
HF	Beckum, Fountain	1					
	McPherson, Daniel	1		5	14		
	Peacher, John	1	1		2		

* HF means person was included in Harpers Ferry portion of tax record.

Dog ownership was another category for these two years.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1815.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	HORSES MULES COLTS	WATCHES
Beckham, Townsend	1	1	1 gold single case
Beckum, Fountain	1		1 gilt
Wager, Edward	1		

Other categories in 1815 were slaves 9 to 12, 12 to 16, and over 16; cattle; and bureaus, secretaries, book cases, and chest of drawers of wood other than mahogany.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1816-1818.

YEAR	NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	SLAVES > 12	HORSES	TAX	MERCHANT LICENSES
1816	Beckum, Townsend	1		1	.18	
	Tompkins, Jonah M.	1				
	Wager, Edward	1				
	McPherson, Daniel	1	6	13	6.54	
1817	Picker, John	1				\$20
	Edward Wager & Co.					
1818	Beckham, Townsend	1		1		
	Beckam, Fountain	1				
	McPherson, Daniel	2	8	15		
	Peacher, John	1				
	Tompkins, Jonah	1				
	Wager, Edward	2	1	1		\$20

Other categories were stud horses, two-wheel riding carriages, stages and wagons, and coaches.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1819-1822.

YEAR	NAME	WHITE MALES	SLAVES > 12	SLAVES > 16	HORSES	STUD HORSES	MERCHANT LICENSE	TAX
1819	Beckam, Townsend	1			1			.18
	McPherson, Daniel	3		7	17	1		19.96
	Peacher, John	1						
	Tompkins, Jonah M.	1						
	Wager, Edward	1					\$20	
1820	Beckham, Townsend	1			1			.18
	Beckham, Fountain	1						
	McPherson, Daniel	2		6	19	1		19.62
	McKeney, Thomas	1						
	Peacher, John	1						
	Pilcher, Sidney	1						
	Tompkins, Jonah M.	1						
	Wager, Edward	1						
Wager & Beckham						\$20		
1821	Beckham, Fountain		2					1.06
	Beckham, Townsend				1			.13½
	McPherson, Daniel		6		20			5.88
	Peacher, John				1			.13½
	Wager, Edward		3					1.59
	Wager & Beckham						\$20	
1822	Beckham, Fountain	2	1					.53
	Wager, Edward	1	2					1.06
	Wager & Beckham						\$20	

Other categories were coaches, two-wheel riding carriages, and stage wagons.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1823-1832.

YEAR	NAME	SLAVES >12	HORSES	CARRIAGES	TAX
1823	Beckham, Fountain	1	1		.59
	Wager, Edward	2	1		.94
1824	Beckham, Fountin	2	1		1.06
	Beckham, Townsend	6			2.82
	Wager, Edward	3			1.41
1825	Beckham, Townsend	2			.94
	Beckham, Fontain	2			.94
	Folk, Jacob	1	6		1.09
	Peacher, John	1			.47
	Wager, Edward	3			1.41
1826	Beckham, Fountain	3	1		1.53
	Beckham, Townsend	3	1		1.53
	Folk, Jacob	1	7		1.31
	McKinney, Thomas		1		.12
	Wager, Edward	4			1.88
	Wernwag, Lewis	3	3	\$75 carryall	2.77
1827	Beckham, Fontaine	4			1.88
	Beckham, Townsend	3	1		1.53
	Folk, Jacob	1	8		1.43
	McKinney, Thomas		1		.12
	Wernwag, Lewis	3	2		1.18
1828	Beckham, Fontaine	2	1		1.06
	Beckham, Townsend	3	1		1.53
	Fulk, Jacob	1	8		1.43
	Wernwag, Lewis	4	6		2.60
	Walsh, Michael		1		.12
1829	Beckham, Townsend	4			1.60
	Beckham, Fontaine	1		\$140 2-wheel	1.80
	Folk, Jacob	1	6		1.00
	Stephens, Thomas H.		1		.10
	Wernwag, Lewis	4	5	\$80 carryall	3.10
1830	Beckham, Fontaine	1			.35
	Beckham, Townsend	4			1.40
	Fulk, Jacob	1	8		.99
	Stephens, Thomas		1		.08
	Wernwag, Lewis	3	5		1.45
1831	Beckham, Townsend	4			1.00
	Beckham, Fontaine	2	1		.56
	Fulk, Jacob	1	8		.73
	Stephens, Thomas		1		.06
	Shoemaker, Joseph	1			.25
	Shannon, Joseph P.	1	1		.31
1832	Beckham, Fontaine	5	2		1.37
	Beckham, Townsend	4			1.00
	Fulk, Jacob	2	7		.92
	Fitzsimmons, John	1			.25
	Hayes, Joseph J.		1		.06
	Pilcher, Sidney A.	1			.25
	Stephen, Thomas	1	1		.31
	Shoemaker, Joseph	1			.25
	Shannon, Joseph P.	1	8	\$100 4-wheel barouche	2.73

In 1823, Fountain Beckham paid \$20 merchant license.
Other category was stud horses.

Personal Property Tax Books, 1833-1841.

YEAR	NAME	SLAVES > 12	HORSES	CARRIAGES	TAX
1833	Beckham, Fontaine	5	1		1.31
	Fouke, Jacob	1	3		.43
	Fitzsimmons, John	2	1	\$75 2-wheel	1.31
	Gildea, John B.	1	2		.37
	Hayes, Joseph G.		1		.06
	Shoemaker, Joseph	1			.25
	Stephens, Thomas	1	2		.37
	Wernwag, Lewis	1	2	\$50 carryall	1.37
1834	Beckham, Fontaine	9	2	\$500 4-wheel \$125 barouch	9.37
	Folk, Jacob	1	6		.61
	Fitzsimmons, John	3	1	\$50 2-wheel	1.31
	Gildea, John B.		1	\$100 2-wheel	1.00
	Hiett, James		1		.06
	Hays, Joseph G.		1		.06
	Shoemaker, Joseph	1			.25
	Wernwag, Lewis	3	3	\$50 carryall	1.93
1835	Beckham, Fontaine	3	1	\$450 4-wheel	5.31
	Folk, Jacob	1	8		.73
	Fitzsimmons, John	3		\$75 2-wheel	1.50
	Hiett, James		1		.06
	Hayes, Joseph G.		1		.06
	Schofield, James(Jesse?)		1		.06
	Wernwag, Lewis	1			.25
1836	Beckham, Fontaine	2			.50
	Folk, Jacob	1	8		.73
	Fitzsimmons, John	4	1	\$75 2-wheel	1.81
	Hayes, Joseph G.		1		.06
	Wernwag, Lewis	1	1		.31
1837	Beckham, Fontaine	2			.50
	Fitzsimmons, John	5	1	\$75 2-wheel	2.06
	Williamson, Carter	1	3		.43
	Wernwag, Lewis		1		.06
1838	Beckham, Fontaine	2			.60
	Fitzsimmons, John	3		\$25 2-wheel	1.40
	Hays, Joseph G.	1	1		.38
	Schofield, Jesse		1		.08
	Wernwag, Lewis	1			.30
	Williamson, Wm(Carter?)	1	3		.54
1839	Beckham, Fontaine	1			.30
	Williamson, Carter	1	2		.46
1840	Beckham, Fontain	1			.30
	Briscoe, J.T.		1		.08
	Schofield, Jesse		2		.16
	Williamson, Carter	1	1		.38
	Wernwag, Lewis		1		.08
1841	Beckham, Fontaine	1			.40
	Littlejohn, P.O.		1		.12½
	Schofield, Jesse		2		.25
	Williamson, Carter		1		.12½

Other category was stud horses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1842.

NAME	HORSES MARES MULES	PIANOS	PIANO TAX	CLOCKS	WATCHES	TAX
Fisher, William Gilleece, Hugh Hyatt, James Littlejohn, P.O.	1	1	2.00		1 silver 1 silver	.25 .12½ .25 2.12½
Mauzy, George Richards, William Schofield, Jesse Shannon, Joseph P.	3 1	1	1.00	1	1 silver 1 silver 1 silver 1 silver	1.25 .25 1.12½ .37½
Stephens, William J. Wernwag, Lewis Wernwag, Isaac				1	1 silver 1 silver 1 silver	.25 .75 .25

Personal Property Tax Book, 1843.

NAME	HORSES MARES MULES	PIANOS	PIANO TAX	CLOCKS	WATCHES	TAX
Evans, Nancy Gilleece, Hugh Hyatt, James Kirby, William	1			1 wooden 1 wooden 1 wooden 1 metallic		.25 .39 .25 .50
Littlejohn, P.O. Maddox, Huriiah Mauzy, George		1 1	2.00 1.00	1 metallic 1 wooden 1 wooden	1 silver(.25) 1 silver(.50)	2.00 .25 1.75
Richards, William				1 wooden	1 silver(.50)	.75
Schofield, Jesse Stephens, W.J. & J.G. Wernwag, John Wernwag, Lewis Wernwag, Isaac	2			1 metallic 1 wooden 1 metallic	1 silver(.25) 1 silver(.25) 1 silver(.25)	.78 .25 .50 .75 .25

Other categories for both years were slaves of age 12, four-wheel carriages, two-wheel carriages, carryalls, and silver plate.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1844.

NAME	SLAVES OF 12	HORSES MARES MULES	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANOS	DEEDS PROBATES LEVIES/ ADMIN.	TAX
Evans, Nancy Gilleece, Hugh Kirby, William Kemp, William Littlejohn, P.O.	1	1		1 (.25) 1 (.25) 1 (.50)	\$150		.25 .37½ .50 .40 2.00
Mauzy, George Maddox, Huriah Pilcher, Sidney Roderick, Abraham Richards, William			1 silver	1 (.25) 1 (.25) 1 (.25) 1 (.25) 1 (.25)	\$75	1 1 1	3.80 .75 .25 .25 .75
Schofield, Jesse Stephens, Wm. J. Wernwag, Isaac Wernwag, John	1	2	1 silver 1 silver 1 other	1 (.50) 1 (.50) 1 (.50)		2	1.75 1.40 .50 .75

Other categories were four-wheel carriages, stages, carryalls, two-wheel carriages, gold and silver plate, attorney tax, physician tax, dentist tax, interest on loaned money, salaried income over \$400, and newspaper printing presses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1845.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	SLAVES > 16	HORSES MARES MULES	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANOS	TAX
Chambers, Daniel Decker, William Dobson, Thomas Forsythe, Wm. O.	1 1 1 1				1		.12½
Faulkner, Nelson Gilleece, Hugh Herr, A.H. Hyatt, James	1 3 1 1	1	1 1	1 other 1 gold 1 gold 1 other	1 1 1		.37½ 1.54½ 1.10 .37½
Heskett, Thomas N. Kemp, William Kirby, William Littlejohn, P.O.	1 1 1 1		1	1 other	1 metallic	\$150	.35 .25 2.00
Mauzy, George Maddox, Huriah Richards, William Roderick, Abraham	2 1 1 1			1 silver 1 other	1 1 1	\$75	1.62½ .37½ .12½
Schofield, Jesse Wernwag, Isaac W&P Railroad Wernwag, John	1 1 2	 1	2	1 other 1 silver 1 other	1 metallic 1 metallic 1 1 metallic		.70 .75 .12½ .82

Other categories were slaves over 12, four-wheel carriages, stages, carryalls, two-wheel carriages, plate over \$50, attorney tax, physician tax, dentist tax, interest on loaned money, salaried income over \$400, bridge rent, ferry rent, and newspaper printing presses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1846.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	SLAVES > 16	HORSES MARES MULES	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANOS	TAX
Chambers, Daniel	1				1		.12½
Faulkner, Nelson	1				1		.12½
Forsythe, Wm. O.	1			1 other			.25
Gilleece, Hugh	3	2	2	1 gold	1		1.96½
Hughes, James	1				1		.12½
Herr, A.H.	1		1	1 gold	1		1.22½
Hyatt, James	1			1 other	1		.37½
Kirby, William	1				1 metallic		.25
Kemp, William	1				1		.12½
Littlejohn, P.O.	1					\$150	2.25
Mauzy, George	2			1 silver	1	\$65	1.60
Roderick, Abraham	1				1		.12½
Schofield, Jesse	1				1 metallic		.25
Stephens, Wm. J.	1			1 silver	1 metallic		.75
Wernwag, John	2			1 other	1 metallic		.50
Wernwag, Isaac	1			1 silver	1 metallic		.75
W&P Railroad					1		.12½

Personal Property Tax Book, 1847.

NAME	WHITE MALE > 16	SLAVES > 16	SLAVES > 12	HORSES MARES MULES	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANO	TAX
Butler, Ferdinand R.	1					1		.12½
Chambers, Daniel	1					1 metallic		.25
Decker, William	1					1 metallic		.25
Faulkner, Nelson	1					1		.12½
Forsythe, Wm. O.	1				1 other			.25
Gilleece, Hugh & Alexander Brown	2		1	1	1 gold	1		1.54½
Herr, A.H.	1			1	1 gold	1		1.22½
Hyatt, James	1				1 other	1		.37½
Hughes, James	1					1		.12½
Kirby, William	1					1 metallic		.25
Kirby, William	1					1		.12½
Kemp, William	1					1		.12½
Littlejohn, P.O.	1						\$150	2.25
Mauzy, George	1			1	1 gold	1		1.22½
Mauzy, Joseph	1				1 silver			.50
Roderick, Abraham	1					1		.12½
Stephens, Wm. J.	1				1 silver	1 metallic		.75
Schofield, Jesse	1					1 metallic		.25
Welsing, George	1					1		.12½
Wernwag, John	1	1			1 other	1 metallic		.82

Other categories for both years were four-wheel carriages, stages, carryall, two-wheel carriages, plate over \$50, attorney tax, physician tax, interest on loaned money, salaried income over \$400, bridge rent, ferry rent, and newspaper printing presses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1848.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	HORSES MARES MULES	TWO- WHEEL CARRIAGE	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANOS	TAX
Butler, George	1				1 metallic		.25
Boteler, Ferd. R.	1				1 metallic		.25
Barnhart, Jacob	3				1 metallic		.25
Brown, William B.	1				1		.12½
Chambers, Daniel	1				1 metallic		.25
Faulkner, Nelson	1				1		.12½
Gilleece, Hugh & Alexander Brown	2	1		1 gold	1		1.67½
Herr, A.H.	1	1	\$30	1 gold	1		6.43½
Hughes, James	1				1		.12½
Hyatt, James	1			1 other	1		.37½
Kirby, William	1				1 metallic		.25
Kirby, William	1				1		.12½
Littlejohn, P.O.	1					\$150	2.25
Mauzy, George & son	2	1		1 gold	1		1.22½
Mauzy, Joseph	1			1 silver			.50
Manuel, Joseph	1				1		.12½
Post, Capt C.V.W.	1				1 metallic		.25
Roderick, Abraham	3				1		.12½
Schofield, Jesse	2			1 gold	1 metallic		1.25
Stephens, Wm. J.	2			1 silver	1 metallic		.75
Weisinger, George	1				1		.12½
Wernwag, John	2			1 other	1 metallic		.50
W&P Railroad					1		.12½

Other categories were slaves over 16, slaves over 12, four-wheel carriages, stages, carryall, plate over \$50, attorney tax, physician tax, dentist tax, interest on loaned money, salaried income over \$400, bridge rent, ferry rent, and newspaper printing presses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1849.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	SLAVES > 12	HORSES MARES MULES	TWO- WHEEL CAR'GE	WATCH	CLOCK	PIANO	INT. LOAND MONEY	TAX
Butler, George	1					1metallic			.25
Brown, Wm. B.	1					1			.12½
Boteler, Ferd. R.	1				1other	1metallic			.50
Barnhart, Jacob	3					1metallic			.25
Chambers, Daniel	1				1other	1metallic			.50
Faulkner, Nelson	1					1			.12½
Forsythe, Wm. O.	1				1other				.25
Gilleece, Hugh & Alexander Brown	2		1		1 gold	1metallic			1.35
Herr, A.H.	1	1	2	\$25	1 gold	1		\$330	6.97
Johns, Gibson	1					1metallic			.25
Kirby, William	2					1metallic			.25
Kirby, William	1					1metallic			.25
Kemp, William	1					1			.12½
Littlejohn, P.O.	1						\$150		2.25
Mauzy, Joseph L.	1				1silvr				.50
Manuel, Joseph	1				1other				.25
Mauzy, George	2		1		1 gold				1.10
Post, Capt. C.V.W.	1					1metallic			.25
Roderick, Abraham	3					1			.12½
Stephens, Wm. J.	2	1			1silvr	1metallic			1.07
Wernwag, John	2				1other	1metallic			.50

Other categories were slaves over 16, four-wheel carriages, stages, carryall, plate over \$50, attorney tax, physician tax, dentist tax, salaried income over \$400, bridge rent, ferry rent, newspaper printing presses.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1850.

NAME	WHITE MALES > 16	SLAVE > 12	HORSES MARES MULES	FOUR- WHEEL CAR'G	WATCH	CLOCKS	PIANO	INT. LOAND MONEY	TAX
Brown, Wm. B.	1					1			.12½
Butler, Geo. H.	1					1metallic			.25
Boteler, Ferd.R.	1				1 other	1metallic			.50
Barnhart, Jacob	2					1metallic			.25
Barnhart, Fred'k	1								
Catesdaffer, Sam	1								
Chambers, Daniel	1				1 other	1metallic			.50
Forsythe, Wm. O.	1				1 other				.25
Gilleece, Hugh & Alexander Brown	2		1		1 gold	1metallic			1.35
Hyatt, James W.	1								
Hyatt, James	1				1 other				.25
Hughes, James	1					1			.12½
Herr, A.H.	1	1	1	\$190	1 gold	1		\$400	10.39½
Himes, Jacob B.	1					1metallic			.25
Johns, Gibson	1					1metallic			.25
Kemp, William	1					1			.12½
Kirby, Wm. (HF)	1				1 other	1metallic			.50
Kirby, Wm. (factory)	1					1metallic			.25
Kemp, Wm. (HF)	1								
Littlejohn, P.O.	2		1		1 other		\$125		2.22½
Mauzy, George	1		1		1 gold				1.10
Mauzy, Joseph L.	1				1silver				.75
Manuel, Joseph	1					1			.12½
Post, Capt. C.V.W.	1					1metallic			.25
Patterson, Wm.	1					1metallic			.25
Roderick, Abraham	2					1			.12½
Stephens, Wm. J.	1	1			1silver	1metallic			1.07
Schofield, Jesse	2				1 gold	2metallic			1.50
Watson, Holland	1								
Watson, Watts	3								
Wernwag, John	1				1 other	1metallic			.50

Other categories were slaves over 16, stages, carryall, two-wheel carriage, plate over \$50, attorney tax, physician tax, dentist tax, salaried income over \$400, bridge rent, ferry rent, and newspaper printing presses.

George Koonce Tax Ledger of Harpers Ferry Corporation, 1857.

PAGE	NAME	LEVY	WATCH	CLOCK	PIANO	SLAVE	CARRIAGE	HORSE	DOG	REAL ESTATE	TAXES	BACK TAXES	TOTAL	PAID
1	Mauzy, George	.75	2 silver/.25	1/.12½	1/.37						1.50½		1.50½	1.50½
1	Mauzy, Joseph	.75		1/.12½							.87½	(54-56) 1.62½	2.50	1.00
2	Clagett, Joseph	.75	1 gold/.25			2/1.00		1/.12			2.12½	(1856) 2.37½	4.50	4.50
3	Rohr, George	.75		1/.12½							.87½		.87½	
3	Rohr, John	.75		1/.12½							.87½		.87½	1.00
3	Decker, Patalia	.75									.75		.75	.75
4	Barley, Charles	.75		1/.12½							.87½		.87½	.87½
5	Claspy, Mary			1/.12½					1/.50		.67½	(55-56) .75	1.37½	
9	Kirby, William	.75		2/.25							1.00	(53-56) 3.75	4.75	
13	Stephens, William J.	.75	1 silver & 1 gold/.37	1/.12½	1/.37	2/1.00				\$5,000/\$10	12.62½		12.62½	12.62½
14	Mason, John	.75		1/.12½							.87½	(1856) .87½	1.75	1.75
15	Manuel, Joseph	.75		1/.12½							.87½	(55-56) 2.25	3.12½	3.12½
20, 68	Deener, Jos. W.	.75		1/.12½						\$100/.20	1.07½	(54-56) 2.82	3.89½	
26	Powers, Patrick	.75		1/.12½					1/.50		1.37½		1.37½	
28	Collis, Alfred	.75									.75		.75	
38	Boteler, Reese	.75	1 gold/.25								1.00	(1856) 1.25	2.25	2.25
38	Boteler, Mrs. T.			1/.12½							.12½		.12½	
57	Wernwag, John	.75	1 gold/.25	1/.12½							1.12½	(54-56) 3.37½	4.50	4.50
58	Fouke, John	.75		1/.12½							.87½	(52-56) 4.87½	5.75	
70	Herr, A.H.	.75	1 gold/.25		1/.37	2/1.00	1/.25			\$65,000/\$130	132.62½		132.62½	132.62½
85	Hobbs, A.J.	.75		1/.12½							.87½	(1856) amount not listed	1.00	1.00

NOTE: Categories with /. First number is quantity owned; second is tax assessed.

Personal Property Tax Book, 1859 (Park Reel 50).

NAME	FREE MALES > 16	SLAVES OF 16	WHITE MALES OF 21	SLAVES OF 12	HORSES, MULES, ASS JENNIES	CATTLE, SHEEP, HOG	CARRIAGE WAGONS, ETC	WATCHES	CLOCKS	PIANOS, HARPS	GOLD SILVER JEWELRY	HOUSE/ KITCHEN FURNITURE	MONEY BONDS ETC ¹	AGGREGATE OF VALUES	AMOUNT OF INCOME	AMOUNT OF TAX
Arvin, John W.	1		1						1/\$5			\$175		\$180		1.32
Augure, George L.	1		1									\$30		\$30		.92
Arvin, Thomas	1															
Butler, Reese H.	1		1													.80
Barley, Charles	1		1						1/\$5			\$150		\$155		1.42
Boswell, Joseph	1		1													.80
Corbin, John R.	1		1									\$50		\$50		1.00
Clagett, Jos. E.	1	2	1	2	1/\$80			1/\$10				\$100		\$190		3.96
Claspy, John W.	1		1													.80
Deener, J.W.	1		1						1/\$2			\$200		\$202		1.61
Dobson, Thomas	1		1									\$50		\$50		1.00
Edmonds, William?	1															
Fouke, John P.	1		1						1/\$5			\$50		\$55		1.02
Furr, John & son	2		1						1/\$3			\$50		\$78		1.12
Gomph, Mancellor	1		1													.80
Gomph, Oscar	1		1													.80
Herr, A.H.	1	2	1	2		2/\$50	1/\$75		2/\$4	1/\$150	\$100	\$900	\$6,000	\$7,279		32.32
Hobbs, Andrew J.	1		1						1/\$5			\$160		\$165		1.46
Johns, Gibson	1		1					1/\$16	1/\$5			\$50		\$55		1.02
Kirby, William	1		1						1/\$5			\$120		\$141		1.37
Lewis, John W.	1		1									\$50		\$50		1.00
Manuel, Joseph	1		1						1/\$5			\$75		\$80		1.12
Mauzy, George	1		1					1/\$15	1/\$10	1/\$200	\$10	\$100	\$300	\$635	\$200	4.34
Mason, John	1		1									\$100	\$100	\$100		1.20
Mauzy, Joseph L.	1		1						1/\$5		\$5	\$105		\$115		1.26
Newton, William?	1		1		2/\$100	9/\$8								\$108		1.24
Rohr, George	1		1						1/\$2			\$100		\$102		1.21
Rohr, John W.	1		1													.80
Snapp, Francis R.	1		1					1/\$10	1/\$5			\$200		\$215		1.66
Stephens, Wm. J.	1	2	1	2				2/\$75		1/\$200	\$50	\$600		\$925		6.90
Wernwag, John	1		1					1/\$15						\$15		.86
Walters, John W.?	1		1			2/\$28						\$50		\$78		1.12

?= not sure if person is Virginus Island resident of same name.

/\$. First number is quantity; second number is value.

¹Aggregate amount of all moneys, solvent bonds, securities and liquidated claims.

Harpers Ferry Book, 1860 (HFD-198).

PAGE	NAME	LEVY	WATCH	CLOCK	PIANO	SLAVE	CARRIAGE	HORSE	DOG	REAL ESTATE	TAXES	PAID
1	Mauzy, George	.75	1 silver/.12	1/.12½	1/.37						1.37½	1.37½
1	Mauzy, Joseph P.	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
2	Herr, A.H.	.75		2/.25	1/.37	1/.50	1/.37			\$65,000/\$130	132.25	
2	Snapp, Francis	.75		1/.12½					1/.50		1.37½	1.37½
3	Decker, Pal	.75									.75	
3	Norris, George	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
3	Gomph, Oscar	.75		1/.12½							.87½	.25
4	Augor, George	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
4	Arvin, Thomas	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
4	Furr, John Sr. & son	1.50									1.50	
5	Furr, John Jr.	.75									.75	
5	Deener, Joseph W.	.75		1/.12½						\$100/.20	1.07½	
5	Edmonds, William	.75									.75	
6	Hobbs, A.J.	.75		2/.25							1.00	
6	Lewis, McLeod D.	.75									.75	
6	Boswell, Joseph	.75									.75	
7	Boswell, Thomas	.75									.75	
7	Claggett, Joseph	.75	2 gold/.25			2/1.00		1/.37	1/.12		2.75	
7	Percival, Thomas	.75	1 gold/.25	1/.12½							1.12½	
8	Trout, Joseph H.	.75	1 silver/.12	2/.25				1/.12			1.25	
8	Peters, Harvey	.75									.75	
9	Rohr, John	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
9	Rohr, George	.75		1/.12½					1/.50		1.37½	
9	Conrad, George	.75									.75	
11	Brimmerman, Fred'k	1.50	2 silver/.25	3/.37				2/.25	1/.50		2.87½	
12	Brimmerman, John L. Jr	.75									.75	
12	Brimmerman, Jacob	.75									.75	
12	Brimmerman, John L. Sr	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
13	Barley, Charles	.75		1/.12½					1/.50		1.37½	
13	Patterson, -----	.75	1 gold/.12		1/.37	1/.50			1/.50		2.25	
13	Corbin, John	.75									.75	
14	Claspy, John *	.75		1/.12½							.87½	
14	Wernwag, John	1.50									1.50	
14	Fryer, William	.75	1/.12								.87½	
15	Newton, William	.75						1/.12		\$1,000/\$2	2.87½	
15	Young, Joseph	.75									.75	
47	Manuel, Joseph	.75		1/.12½					1/.50		1.37½	
68	Mason, John	.75	1 silver/.12	1/.12½							1.00	

* There is another John Claspy listed on page 84.

NOTE: Categories with /. First number is quantity owned; second is tax assessed.

Property Values, Eighth Census (1860).

PAGE	NAME	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE	VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE
200	Manuel, Joseph		\$100
201	Young, Joseph A.		\$50
201	Claspy, Mary		\$350
201	Wernwag, John		\$25
201	Corbin, John		\$100
201	Bremmerman, Frederick W.	\$300	\$1,200
201	Bremmerman, John L.		\$200
202	Percival, Thomas H.		\$200
202	Trout, Joseph H.		\$100
202	Rohr, John		\$500
202	Rohr, George		\$550
202	Herr, Abraham H.	\$200,000	\$30,000
202	Hoffman, Narcissa	\$1,200	
202	Clagett, Joseph E.	\$2,500	\$5,500
203	Hobbs, Andrew J.		\$150
203	Deener, Josiah W.		\$400
203	Patterson, Thomas L.	\$4,000	\$3,000
203	Barly, Charles		\$150
203	Lewis, John		\$200
203	Augure, George L.	\$500	\$150
203	Furr, John		\$150
204	Arvin, Grace		\$100
204	Boswell, Nancy		\$75
204	Gomph, Sarah		\$75
204	Norris, George		\$50
204	Decker, Margaret		\$75
204	Snapp, Francis		\$500
205	Mason, John A.		\$100
205	Fouke, John P.		\$100
205	Mauzy, George	\$400	\$900

Property Values, Ninth Census (1870).

PAGE	NAME	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE	VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE
14	McCreight, John H.	\$75,000	\$5,000
14	Childs, Jonathan C.	\$25,000	\$2,000
14	Wernwag, John		\$1,000
14	Hathaway, Jonathan*	\$25,000	\$30,000
15	Hood, George H.	\$3,500	\$400
15	Dutton, Warren B.		\$800
15	Hopwood, Charles	\$237	\$2,500
15	Hopwood, James	\$237	\$2,500
15	Cox, William		\$900
15	Sweet, Edward P.		\$200
16	Taylor, John		\$150
16	Young, Joseph	\$450	\$200
16	Freeman, Turner		\$150

1900 Taxable Personal Property for Virginus Island.

Name	Horses, Mules, Etc.	Hogs	Carriage, Wagon, Etc.	Clocks, and Watches.	Value of Household & Kitchen Furniture	Total Personal Property Value
George Kellison	-	-	-	-	\$25	\$25
John M. Bond	1/\$10	-	1/\$10	-	\$40	\$60
Albert Buzzard	-	-	-	-	\$50	\$50
Albert F. Buzzard	-	1/\$5	-	-	\$10	\$15
Daniel Badgent	-	-	-	-	\$10	\$10
Frank W. Drew	-	-	-	1/\$15	\$15	\$30
James M. Lay	-	-	-	-	\$25	\$25
James H. Metz	-	-	-	-	\$50	\$50
C.F.J. Mobley	-	-	-	-	-	-
George C. Moberly	-	2/\$5	-	-	\$25	\$30
Sidney B. Murphy	-	-	-	2/\$10	\$50	\$60

Note: Only those personal property tax categories pertaining to persons who lived on Virginus Island are used in the table. There are a total of twenty-five categories contained in the 1900 Personal Property Tax Book.

Source: Personal Property Book (1900), Jefferson County, West Virginia.

1910 Taxable Personal Property for persons on Virginus Island.

Name	Carriage, Wagon, Etc.	Value of Household & Kitchen Furniture	Total Personal Property Value
C.W. Brashears	-	-	-
Charles Bell	1/\$20	-	\$20
John Cooper	-	\$25	\$200
Moses Fine	-	\$100	\$100
Mary Tatersall	-	\$50	\$50
R.S. Rockenbaugh	-	\$50	\$225
Charles Rockenbaugh	-	-	-
Wesley Kidwell	-	-	-

Note: Only those personal property tax categories pertaining to persons who lived on Virginus Island are used in the table. Brashears is spelled "Bershers" and Tatersall is spelled "Tatisal" in the Tax Book. The reason why John Cooper and R.S. Rockenbaugh have higher total personal property values than the sum of the amount listed for each category is not known.

Source: Personal Property Book (1910), Jefferson County, West Virginia.

1920 Taxable Personal Property for Persons on Virginus Island.

Name	Cow	Value of Household and Kitchen Furniture	Total Personal Property Value
John Cooper	-	\$15	\$15
C.W. Brashears	-	\$25	\$25
Abraham Longerbeam	1/\$25	\$25	\$50
F.W. Drew	-	\$100	\$100
C.J.F. Rockenbaugh	-	\$25	\$25
R.S. Rockenbaugh	-	\$25	\$25

Source: Personal Property Book (1920), Jefferson County, West Virginia.

APPENDIX C

SELECT NON-RESIDENTS OF VIRGINIUS ISLAND

Included in this appendix are biographies of select individuals who did not live on Virginius Island but who had some impact on the island. These biographies are generally less detailed than those of island residents. Some individuals who were connected to the island, such as Luther Cox and George Griffin, are not included for the simple reason nothing is known about them beyond their connections to the island, connections discussed elsewhere in this report or in other studies of Virginius Island.

Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder

The firm of Ford & Snyder, consisting of Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder, was associated with Virginius Island for a short time, although Daniel Snyder may have had a previous connection to the island. In 1831, a newspaper advertisement indicated Snyder had taken an interest in Fountain Beckham's Tract 2 flour mill.¹

The firm of Ford & Snyder was apparently in existence by 1831, when the two men conveyed the 12 acre Bloomery mill property, where they had a flour mill, to Andrew Hunter in trust to secure an obligation to Matilda Downey.² At the time of the 1840 census, Benjamin Ford, a man of age 40 and under 50, was living in Charlestown. Living with him were a female of age 30 and under 40, probably his wife Rebecca, five children, and two slaves.³ Daniel Snyder's name does not

¹Virginia Free Press, 18 August 1831, p. 3, col. 4.

²Deed Book 25, p. 405, Release, Andrew Hunter to Daniel Snyder and Benjamin Ford, 8 March 1842.

³Sixth Census (1840), Charlestown, p. 250.

appear on the 1840 census for Jefferson County, although he and his wife Mary were described as residents of the county in an 1838 deed in which Ford and Snyder sold a ten acre tract of property with a merchant mill on it.⁴

On January 1, 1841, the two men purchased Tract 2 from Luther J. Cox and briefly operated the flour mill. On January 3, 1842, Ford & Snyder, "apprehensive of embarrassment and difficulties in the further prosecution of their business as millers and partners," executed a deed of trust to William C. Worthington and Richard Henderson securing liabilities in excess of \$50,000. According to this document, Ford & Snyder operated mills in three separate locations. One was the Virginus Island property. Another was on a 95 acre piece along the Shenandoah River which held two merchant mills known as the Millville Mills, and the third was on a 10 or 12 acre parcel with a mill known as the Ark Mill. Worthington and Henderson were to conduct the milling business and settle the debts of the firm until July 1, after which date Ford & Snyder were to retain possession without charge or rent unless or until sale of the property became necessary. In such case, Worthington and Henderson were authorized to sell the properties after June 1, 1844, with the Virginus Island property to be sold last.⁵

To secure another obligation, Ford & Snyder executed another deed of trust in August of 1842, conveying interest in the Ark Mill, Millville Mills, and "Harpers Ferry Mills" to Andrew Hunter from July 1, 1843 to July 1, 1844. Hunter was to rent the mills out, the first two for the best possible price. It was stipulated, however, that the Harpers Ferry Mills (the island mill) might be

⁴Deed Book 22, p. 324, Benjamin Ford and wife Rebecca and Daniel Snyder and wife Mary to Jonsey Easton, 20 January 1838.

⁵Deed Book 25, p. 156, Luther J. Cox to Daniel Snyder and Benjamin Ford, 1 January 1841; Snell, "A History," pp. 54-5; Deed Book 25, p. 328, Deed of Trust, Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder to William C. Worthington and Richard Henderson, 3 January 1842.

rented by Ford & Snyder for \$1,500, payable quarterly, if they so desired. Furthermore, if the properties were sold under previously executed deeds of trust, Ford & Snyder surrendered any right to share in the proceeds.⁶

Subsequently, Ford and Snyder became parties in several court suits, at least one of which was not finally settled for over a decade.⁷ Daniel Snyder was certified a bankrupt by the United States District Court February 28, 1843. By that time, or within a short time thereafter, Snyder had left Jefferson County.⁸ The Millville Mill was sold July 15, 1844 for \$9,000.⁹

James Giddings

Although important to the history of Virginius Island, James Giddings was not a resident of the island. A native of England, Giddings was living in Frederick County, Maryland, by 1833, when he married Louisa C. Johnson, daughter of Richard Johnson, and became a citizen of the United States.¹⁰

⁶Deed Book 26, p. 55, Deed of Trust, Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder to Andrew Hunter for Adam Moler, 12 August 1842. The other deeds of trust referred to probably were those to Worthington and Henderson in 1842 and one to Andrew Hunter as trustee for Luther J. Cox (Deed Book 25, p. 158, 1 January 1841). Additionally, this document specifically mentions a deed of trust for the benefit of George Hagely on the Harpers Ferry Mills. This deed of trust apparently was never recorded, as it could not be found in the Deed Index.

⁷Deed of Trust, Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder to William C. Worthington and Richard Henderson, 5 January 1842, in William C. Worthington and Richard Henderson, trustees for Ford & Snyder, vs Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder, Reel 7, Envelope 31, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU. See also Samuel Ridenour administrator of William C. Worthington vs Samuel S. Moore and William Moore, Reel 24, Envelope 10-4; W.C. Worthington and Richard Henderson, trustees for Ford & Snyder vs Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder, Reel 14, Envelope 3-15; Catherine Schofield vs Daniel Snyder and Samuel Wilson, Reel 14, Envelope 3-15; Benjamin Ford, survivor of Daniel Snyder, late partners as Ford & Snyder, vs Joseph Abell, Reel 21, Envelope 9-3.

⁸Samuel Ridenour administrator of William Worthington deceased, assignee of Daniel Snyder vs Samuel Moore administrator of William Moore, deceased, Reel 24, Envelope 10-4, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 10, A&M 382, WVU; Statement of Wm. C. Worthington and Richard Henderson, trustees, undated but between 6 April 1842 and 1 July 1844, in William C. Worthington and Richard Henderson trustees for Ford & Snyder vs Benjamin Ford and Daniel Snyder, Reel 7, Envelope 31.

⁹Statement of Sale of Millville Mills by R.Y. Conrad and W.C. Worthington, 15 July 1844, in Catherine Schofield vs Daniel Snyder and Samuel Wilson, Reel 14, Envelope 3-15, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 3, A&M 382, WVU.

¹⁰Margaret E. Myers, Marriage Licenses of Frederick County, 1811-1840 (Silver Spring MD: Family Line Publications, 1987), p. 89; "Marriages All Saints Church, Frederick," Western Maryland Genealogy (October, 1990), 6: 166; Raymond B. Clark, Jr., "Frederick County Maryland Naturalizations, 1799-1850," (Raymond B. Clark, Jr. copyright, 1974), p. 17. Myers gives the date of Giddings marriage license as January 17, 1833, but apparently he and Louisa were not married until June. Giddings was naturalized August 22, 1833.

Giddings' association with Virginius Island began in 1844, when he was appointed by Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag to act as agent to sell Tract 4. Two years later, the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company was organized to purchase the property, and Giddings received \$8,000 in stock in the company. He became the company president, a position he held until 1851. In 1852, he served as a company director. During this time, the manufacturing company became indebted to Giddings to the sum of \$4,110.28 for which he filed suit in 1852. By that time, the company was already in financial trouble. In the 1850s, the company failed, and Giddings' connection to Virginius Island ended.¹¹

According to the 1850 census, James Gittings (49) was a farmer in the Petersville District of Frederick County. He owned \$26,000 in real estate and six slaves. His family included wife Louisa C. and five children.¹²

Giddings was still living in the Petersville District in 1860. At the time of that census, Giddings (62) had \$16,000 in real property and \$5,834 in personal property. His household included Mrs. Giddings, two daughters, and two other persons. Giddings died March 6, 1872 and was buried in the St. Marks Episcopal Cemetery in Petersville.¹³

¹¹Deposition of James Giddings, 16 May 1855, in A.B. Davidson et al vs The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, Park Reel 11; James Giddings vs The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Co., Reel 18, Envelope 6-11, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU; Virginia Free Press, 12 February 1852, p. 3, col. 2. Giddings is mentioned as company president in various newspaper notices from 1846 to 1850. See for example, Virginia Free Press, 6 August 1846, p. 3, col. 3; 8 July 1847, p. 2, col. 4; and 9 May 1850, p. 2, col. 3; and Spirit of Jefferson, 25 March 1851, p. 3, col. 2.

¹²Mary Fitzhugh Hitzelberger and John Philip Dern, Bridge in Time: The Complete 1850 Census of Frederick County, Maryland (Redwood City, CA: Monocacy Book Co., 1978), pp. 388, 477.

¹³Eighth Census (1860), Frederick County, Maryland, Petersville District, p. 388, p. 30 of Petersville District; Jacob Mahrling Holdcraft, Names in Stone: 75,000 Cemetery Inscriptions from Frederick County Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985), p. 465.

James Hook and Joseph L. Smith

On July 2, 1832, James Hook and Joseph L. Smith, both of Frederick County, Maryland, bought a one-half interest in Tract 4 from Lewis and Elizabeth Wernwag. With this purchase of an interest in the island, the sawmill business was to be conducted by the firm of Joseph L. Smith & Co. Smith was the sole agent authorized to transact the business of the firm.¹⁴

In 1833, both Hook and Smith were members of the newly incorporated Harpers Ferry Savings Institution. They also were directors of a company incorporated to build a toll bridge across the Shenandoah River.¹⁵ That same year, Smith purchased Hook's interest in Virginus Island.¹⁶ Hook died sometime before 1839.¹⁷

In April 1835, Joseph Smith, then a resident of Jefferson County, purchased, along with John Wernwag, land around Virginus Island granted to George Stubblefield by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Three months later, he signed a deed of trust to secure a debt of \$10,000 owed a Col. John McPherson of Maryland. The following year, Smith, "an insolvent debtor," was forced to relinquish any claim to Virginus Island and several other properties in Maryland.¹⁸

¹⁴Deed Book 17, p. 424, Lewis Wernwag and wife Elizabeth to Joseph L. Smith and James Hook, 2 July 1832; Virginia Free Press, 5 July 1832, p. 3, col. 2; 4 October 1832, p. 3, col. 3.

¹⁵Virginia Free Press, 14 March 1833, p. 2, col. 5; 28 March 1833, p. 2, col. 1.

¹⁶Deed Book 20, p. 409, Deed of Trust, Joseph L. Smith to Benjamin Price, trustee for Col. John McPherson, 16 July 1835.

¹⁷Virginia Free Press, 14 February 1839, p. 3, col. 5.

¹⁸Deed Book 20, p. 409, Deed of Trust, Joseph L. Smith to Benjamin Price, trustee for Col. John McPherson, 16 July 1835; Deed Book 20, p. 531, George Stubblefield and wife Ellen to Joseph L. Smith and John Wernwag, 19 April 1835; Deed Book 21, p. 232, Joseph L. Smith to John Packett, high sheriff of Jefferson County, 5 September 1836.

Daniel McPherson

Although not a resident of Virginius Island, Daniel McPherson was connected to the island from the time he received a land grant from the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1803 for "the lowermost Island in Shenandoah river" until he sold the property to John Peacher in 1817.¹⁹ There is no evidence he made any use of the island while he owned it.

Daniel McPherson was living in Jefferson County when it was carved out of Berkeley County in 1801; he appears on the first available personal property tax records for the county in 1802 as the owner of ten horses and one carriage. Personal property tax records up to 1820, the latest year for which information on McPherson was examined, reveal that McPherson owned as many as eight slaves and twenty horses during these years. More detailed records for 1814 list seventeen head of cattle, a silver watch, a clock, curtains, and a chest of drawers not made of mahogany, in addition to four slaves and twelve horses and indicate McPherson operated a gristmill valued at \$700.²⁰

The 1820 census shows twenty-eight people in the McPherson household. Daniel McPherson's occupation is given as farmer. There were two white males over 45, one between 16 and 26 and another between 10 and 16, and two under 10. In addition, five white females - one between 26 and 45, two between 16 and 26, one between 10 and 16, and one under 10 - lived in house. Nine male and eight female slaves were also enumerated in his household.²¹

Daniel McPherson died about 1843. His will, probated July 17, 1843,

¹⁹Jefferson County Land Grant Book 1, p. 479, Land Grant from the Commonwealth of Virginia to Daniel McPherson, 25 June 1803; Deed Book 10, p. 142, Daniel McPherson and wife Susannah to John Peacher, 18 May 1817.

²⁰Personal Property Tax Books (1802-1820).

²¹Fourth Census (1820), Jefferson County, p. 97.

mentions daughters Rebecca W. Willenay, Jane Cromwell, Mary Ann Nicholas, and Susan McPherson; sons William and Lewis; and grandson Lee G., son of John A. McPherson. His estate, which included thirteen "servants," was appraised at \$9,505.27½.²²

John F. Quigley

John F. Quigley served as vice-president and general manager of the company owning pulp and paper mills at Harpers Ferry, and, along with the company's principal owner Thomas Savery, was a stock holder. He also was the designer and constructor Shenandoah Pulp mill and the impoundment lake created behind the mill, and it was he for whom Lake Quigley was named.²³ Quigley was not a resident of Harpers Ferry as he was noted as "visiting" the town in March 1887.²⁴

Henry Rowland and Samuel Hefflebower

The firm of Rowland, Hefflebower & Co. leased the flour mill on Virginus Island about June 1836 and advertised they were repairing the mill to make 200 barrels of flour a day.²⁵ On May 1, 1838, Henry Rowland, Samuel Hefflebower, and Carter Williamson purchased the Tract 2 property on which the mill was located. Williamson immediately sold his interest, but Rowland and Hefflebower retained their interest in Virginus Island until July 1, 1840, when they sold

²²Will Book 10, p. 307, Will of Daniel McPherson, 17 July 1843; Will Book 10, p. 325, Appraisement of the estate of Daniel McPherson, 15 August 1843.

²³Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 24 September 1887, p. 4, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 November 1886, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 27 March 1888, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁵Snell, "A History," pp. 50-1.

the property to Luther J. Cox.²⁶ The sale occurred a little over a year after the February 1839 fire had destroyed the flour mill on Virginius Island. A mill the firm owned near Winchester had also burned within the previous two years.²⁷

According to the 1840 census, Henry Rowland was a man of 50 and under 60. His wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Daniel Hefflebower and sister of Samuel Hefflebower, is listed in the same age category. Also enumerated with Rowland were four other males, possibly four of his five sons Daniel, John, David, Henry E. and Benjamin F., and five other females, all ranging in age from of 5 and under 10 to of 20 and under 30. A free black male and two male slaves also lived in the Rowland household. He had also been living in the county in 1830, but his name does not appear on the 1850 census. Rowland did not live in town but on a 271 acre farm, apparently near Bullskin Run. This land was sold at public auction October 23, 1846.²⁸

Samuel Hefflebower's name does not appear on the 1840 census, although he might have been enumerated in someone else's household. He was, however, a resident of the county in 1832, when Daniel Hefflebower conveyed to him a piece of property touching that of Henry Rowland and when he sold the property in 1834.²⁹ In 1842, Hefflebower, "an insolvent debtor" who surrendered himself in the same suit of "John Strider vs Carter Williamson and Samuel Heflebower" which

²⁶Deed Book 24, p. 513, Joseph T. Daugherty, Province McCormick, and Andrew Hunter to Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson, and Samuel Hefflebower, 1 May 1838; Deed Book 25, p. 152, Henry Rowland and wife Elizabeth, Samuel Hefflebower and wife Elizabeth, Carter Williamson and wife Ann, and Lysander D. Childs to Luther J. Cox, 1 July 1840.

²⁷Snell, "A History," p. 52.

²⁸Sixth Census (1840), Jefferson County, p. 288; Fifth Census (1830), Jefferson County, p. 137; Deed Book 24, p. 212, Henry Rowland to Daniel Rowland, John Rowland, David Rowland, Henry E. Rowland and Benjamin F. Rowland, 28 April 1840; Deed Book 28, p. 285, Colin C. Porter and John Rowland to Daniel Heflebower, 17 December 1846; Deed Book 28, p. 287, Report of sale of Henry Rowland's land by Collin C. Porter and John Rowland, 22 December 1846; Will Book 8, p. 82, Will of Daniel Hefflebower, probated 17 March 1835.

²⁹Deed Book 17, p. 360, Daniel Hefflebower, Sr. to Samuel Hefflebower, 16 May 1832; Deed Book 19, p. 228, Samuel Hefflebower to Dolphin Drew, 12 March 1834.

had led to Williamson's detention in the county jail, granted all interest he had in property in Frederick County, Virginia, and Franklin County, Tennessee, to Richard Duffield, high sheriff of Jefferson County. In October of that year, Heflebower filed a petition in Frederick County court seeking to be declared bankrupt, which petition was granted November 15, 1842.³⁰

Thomas Savery

Although Thomas Savery never lived on Virginus Island or in Harpers Ferry, he is, nevertheless, a major figure in the island's history. Savery, an entrepreneur and inventor who lived in Wilmington, Delaware, purchased the old rifle factory site on Hall's Island directly adjacent to Virginus Island in 1884. Within three years he organized the Shenandoah Pulp Company and began erecting a large pulp mill on the site of the lower locks of the old Shenandoah Canal. The mill was completed and began operation in 1888 after the Company overcame legal challenges to water rights from the Harpers Ferry Mill Company.³¹ Savery and associates incorporated the Harpers Ferry Paper Company in 1889 and the company's mill was constructed upon the foundations of the armory's rolling mill on the Potomac River. The Shenandoah Pulp Company purchased Virginus Island in May 1893.³²

In 1893 John Livers formed the Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company. The company obtained power under lease from a water wheel located in

³⁰Deed Book 25, p. 482, Samuel Heflebower to Richard Duffield, 28 April 1842; Deed Book 25, p. 280, Carter Williamson to Sebastian Eaty, 13 November 1841; Copy of Decree of proceedings of District Court of the United States for the Western District of Virginia in the matter of Samuel Heflebower in the County of Frederick in Bankruptcy, 1 December 1845, in Carter Williamson vs L.D. Childs, Reel 74, Envelope 3-1, Jefferson County Court Records, Unclassified Box 3, A&M 382, WVU.

³¹Gilbert, pp. 69, 71, 72. Also see Bergstresser, p. 28-33, for a discussion of the physical construction of the Shenandoah Pulp mill.

³²Deed Book 74, S.W. Lightner to Shenandoah Pulp Company, 4 May 1893.

the Harpers Ferry Paper Company mill. Thomas Savery and associates bought Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company in 1898.³³

Savery's interests extended beyond the mills he owned at Harpers Ferry. He served as president of the Pusey & Jones Company, which manufactured iron vessels, steam engines, boilers, and machinery for paper and sugar mills, he held patents for many of his original ideas for paper making machinery, and was referred to by his many friends as the paper industry's leader in that respect. Savery died 10 April 1910.³⁴

In 1924 the Shenandoah Pulp Company and the Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company and the Harpers Ferry Paper Company were consolidated when the Harpers Ferry Paper Company purchased the common stocks of the two other companies.³⁵

Ira Stanbraugh, Cornelius Johnson and John R. Holliday

About August 1849, Ira Stanbraugh and his partner Cornelius Johnson began operating in the Valley Factory, the smaller of the two cotton factories on Virginus Island. Their concern was capable of manufacturing 100 pounds of cotton yard, 100 pounds of batting, and fifty pounds of candle wick per day. In January 1850, the firm of Stanbraugh and Johnson was dissolved.³⁶

By that time, Stanbraugh and Johnson had jointly or separately acquired

³³William E. Vogelback, "Report & Appraisal, Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia" January 1928, p. 3, Thomas Savery Family Papers, Box 7, Folder-Report of Co. 1928, Hagley Museum & Library.

³⁴Wilmington Star, 10 April 1910, Newspaper clipping contained on Microfilm, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 399, Hagley Museum.

³⁵Vogelback, p. 4.

³⁶Virginia Free Press, 2 August 1849, p. 2, col. 3; 17 January 1850, p. 3, col. 4.

several monetary obligations. On January 4, Johnson executed a deed of trust for his one-half interest in the machinery in the Valley Factory on the Island of Virginius to secure a \$1,500 debt to Isabella Johnson of Frederick County, Maryland. The following day, he and Ira Stanbraugh executed a second deed of trust for the Valley Factory machinery, water wheel, and other property of Stanbraugh & Johnson. This deed secured debts totalling over \$8,000 to several men, including Charles Danforth, who was owed over \$6,000 for machinery he had provided for the factory, and John Wernwag and Jesse Schofield.³⁷

Both men had other obligations as well. On January 10, 1850, Ira Stanbraugh conveyed the following property in trust to secure a \$70 debt to Arnold S. Stephens:

one Bureau, two Lounges, Sisc Carpets, five Trunks, five beds & bedding, two tables, one clock, two Looking glasses, one parlor Stand, two Wash stands, one stove & apparatus, two sets of chairs, one rocking chair, three Lamps, two washstands, two sets of Dishes, four Bed steads & two wash Tubs.³⁸

The following day, Cornelius Johnson secured a debt in excess of \$200 to several men with the listed personal property:

40 yards carpeting ingrained, 40 yards of ingrained carpeting (making 80 yards) 25 yards stair carpeting, four (4) Bedsteads, 2 Bureaus, 3 mirrors, 1 Coal stove, Beds & bedding, 2 wash stands &c, 1 Clock, 1 sideboard, 1 dozen chairs, 2 Rocking chairs, 2 tables, 1 Cooking stove & fixtures, kitchen furniture, China ware and crockery, 1 Lounge, 1 coal grate, 2 Pair Venitian blinds, and in fact every article of household and kitchen furniture now in use by and belonging to the said Cornelius Johnson.³⁹

Following the dissolution of the partnership of Stanbraugh & Johnson, Ira

³⁷Deed Book 31, p. 4, Deed of Trust, Cornelius Johnson to William T. Daugherty for Isabella Johnson, 4 January 1850; Deed Book 31, p. 4, Deed of Trust, Ira Stanbraugh and Cornelius Johnson to James Giddings, William T. Daugherty and Isaac Fouke for various men, 5 January 1850.

³⁸Deed Book 31, p. 6, Deed of Trust, Ira Stanbraugh to Isaac Fouke for Arnold S. Stephens, 10 January 1850.

³⁹Deed Book 31, p. 7, Deed of Trust, Cornelius Johnson to William T. Daugherty for William J. Stevens, Messrs Robinson and Holland, Robert Russell, John R. Zimmerman, John C. Unseld, A.S. Stevens, Abraham Fleming, Philip Coons, and Augustus M. Cridler, 11 January 1850.

Stanbraugh and John R. Holliday purchased the property of the factory, executed promissory notes to James Giddings totalling over \$6,000 and executed a deed of trust for said purchase, and proceeded to operate the Valley Factory.⁴⁰ At the time of the 1850 census, both men were living in Harpers Ferry. Manufacturer Ira Stanbraugh (40) was a native of Connecticut. Living with him were his wife Eliza (35), son Joshua (17), also a manufacturer, and daughters Julia (12) and Wandanah (6), all natives of New York.⁴¹ Manufacturer John R. Holliday (39), a native of Maryland, was living in the household of Righter Levering.⁴²

According to a January 1852 deed, Holliday had a wife, Amelia M. Holliday. By this document, he placed the following property purchased by Amelia with monies other than that belonging to John Holliday in trust for her benefit with his mother-in-law Roxy Goodspeed.

7 carpets, 1 oil cloth, 5 Bedsteads, 7 matrasses, 3 Bureaus, 4 Wash stands, 1 Wardrobe 2 Towel Racks, 4 Toilets setts, sheets, Blankets Comfortable Quilts, Table Cloths, Towels, Napkins, Pillows Bolsters Covers, 1 Sofa, 2 Ottomans, 4 Pictures, Lolar? Lamps, 3 Small Tables 1 Extension Dining Table, 2 Kitchen Tables, 3 Doz Chairs, 2 Looking Glasses 1 clock 4 pr Lamps, 1 Cooking Stove & fixtures, 1 Portable Hot air furnace, French china Dining sett, French Tea Sett, cut Glass goblets, wine Glasses, celery Glasses, Glass Tumblers, Presence dishes, & jars - 12 Silver forks, 3 Ladles 21 spoons, Cake Basket, Castors, sete Waiters Cooking utensels, 3 Doz Knives & forks and table covers -⁴³

Late in 1852, the firm of Stanbraugh & Holliday, which had been reconstituted as Stanbraugh, Holliday & Duke by the addition of Mark A. Duke of Baltimore as a partner in January 1852, was forced to cease operations on

⁴⁰Deed Book 31, p. 447, Deed of Trust, Ira Stanbraugh and John R. Holliday to William T. Daugherty, 31 March 1851.

⁴¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, pp. 220B-221.

⁴²Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 416.

⁴³Deed Book 32, p. 245, John R. Holliday to Roxy Goodspeed, 15 January 1852; Statement of William R. Seevers, 20 December 1852 in A.F. & W.R. Seevers vs James Giddings et al, Envelope 13, Reel 2, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU.

Virginus Island. In the fall of 1852, possibly on November 19, 1852, the Valley Factory, the smaller factory, was "destroyed" by fire. Subsequently, a sale of the property of Stanbraugh, Holliday & Duke found at the mill or otherwise belonging to the firm was held. This property, which included warps, cotton waste, batting, and seventeen tons of iron (the latter found "at the old burnt mill, in the cellar, among the ashes after the fire" and believed to be machinery and castings), sold for \$2,727.04.⁴⁴

As a result of the burning of the Valley Factory, Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co. were unable to pay their obligations. On December 3, 1852, Ira Stanbraugh and John Holliday acknowledged in the county court the 1851 deed of trust for James Giddings as well as an apparently unrecorded deed of trust dated March 25, 1852 for Holliday's mother-in-law Roxy Goodspeed for \$2,430. This action was an effort to give Giddings and Goodspeed priority in the payment of their debts. Immediately, A.F. and W.R. Seevers, who had co-signed a note of Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co. to William Woodward Company of Baltimore for over \$1,500 owed on cotton purchased by Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co., filed suit. They charged Stanbraugh and Holliday's action was some underhanded scheme designed to aid Giddings and Goodspeed in improperly receiving money from the aforementioned sale of goods of the firm at the expense of other, more deserving, creditors. This case continued for several years until 1859, when the court ruled Giddings and Goodspeed had a right to the proceeds.⁴⁵

In 1853, Stanbraugh contracted with citizens of Charlestown to erect a cotton factory, but he was evidently not a resident of the state of Virginia by

⁴⁴Depositions of John R. Holliday, 4 October 1854 and 14 August 1855, and James W. Campbell, 11 October 1856, and Amount of Sale made by J.W. Campbell of the goods belonging to Stanbraugh, Holliday & Co., in A.F. and William R. Seevers vs James Giddings et al.

⁴⁵Statements of William R. Seevers, 20 December 1852, and John R. Holliday, 15 May 1854, and court order, 2 June 1859 in A.F. and Wm. R. Seevers vs James Giddings et al.

the end of the year. He may have been living in Alleghany County, Maryland, in May 1854, when he made a statement in the pending court case. By 1853, Holliday was engaged as the agent for the Shenandoah City Water Power and Manufacturing Company which manufactured flour.⁴⁶

James S. Welch and George W. Legg

At some point in the 1850s, James S. Welch and George W. Legg went in to partnership with Abraham Herr in running the flour mill on Virginius Island. Welch and Legg may have been connected before they came to Harpers Ferry. According to a newspaper article in the May 24, 1856 issue of the Spirit of Jefferson, and originally printed in the Winchester Republican, a dwelling in Winchester occupied by a James S. Welsh (possibly the James S. Welch who later lived in Harpers Ferry) and owned by Welsh & Legg, was sold. About the same time, Welsh & Legg bought a mill in Clarke County, Virginia, on the Shenandoah River.⁴⁷

George W. Legg was in Harpers Ferry by October 1857, when he advertised the stock of goods available at his store. Welch was living in Harpers Ferry by March 1858, when he gave a testimonial for the washing machines of Rohr and Davis of Charlestown. In June of that year, Welch's daughter Maggie married George Stephenson of Harpers Ferry. The two men can first be connected with Herr's mill in July 1860, when the firm of Welch, Legg & Co. was dissolved and it was announced the milling business would be continued by Herr & Welch. This is also

⁴⁶Virginia Free Press, 17 March 1853, p. 2, col. 1; 30 June 1853, p. 3, col. 1; Statements of Andrew Hunter, 23 December 1852, and Ira Stanbraugh, 15 May 1854, in A.F. and Wm. R. Seevers vs James Giddings et al.

⁴⁷Spirit of Jefferson, 24 May 1856, p. 2, col. 7.

the last time Legg's name appears in the available Harpers Ferry record.⁴⁸

Welch was living in Harpers Ferry at the time of the 1860 census. Welch (47) and his son Edward P. (22) were both millers. Also living in James Welch's household were his wife Harriet and children James H., Prince, Rosia, Gertrude, Laura, Fannie, Harriet, Clarence, and Albert. Seventy-four year old Edward Welch, possibly James Welch's father, was also living in the house. James Welch owned \$30,000 in personal property and owned four male and four female slaves.⁴⁹

After the Civil War began, Welch moved to the Georgetown area along with Abraham Herr. From 1866 to about 1876, he was in partnership with Herr in owning the Bomford Mill.⁵⁰ Welch died August 15, 1889.⁵¹

William B. Wernwag and Walter Taylor

William Wernwag and Walter Taylor briefly operated the Excelsior Planing Mill on Virginus Island after the Civil War. This establishment was in operation by February 25, 1869, when Wernwag executed a deed of trust to secure two bonds in favor of Horatio Riddle. It was still in operation on the island in June but evidently had been moved prior to the 1870 flood.⁵² Taylor and Wernwag evidently also operated some kind of grocery on Shenandoah Street between

⁴⁸Virginia Free Press, 25 March 1858, p. 2, col. 7; 24 June 1858, p. 2, col. 7; 19 July 1860, p. 2, col. 7.

⁴⁹Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 220; Slave Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 172B.

⁵⁰"Georgetown Architecture-The Waterfront, Northwest Washington, District of Columbia," Historic American Buildings Survey Selections #4, (Commission of Fine Arts and The Historic American Building Survey, U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 1968), p. 8.

⁵¹Spirit of Jefferson, 20 August 1889, p. 2, col. 2.

⁵²Deed Book 4, p. 11, Deed of Trust, William B. Wernwag to William H. Travers, 25 February 1869; Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1869, insert; 8 October 1870, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

Market Street and Bridge Street in 1869.⁵³

William B. Wernwag, a native of Indianapolis, Indiana, was living in Harpers Ferry at the time of the 1860 census. Wernwag (28) was an armorer and lived with his wife Anna, the former Annie Yantis whom he had married in 1858, and Clifton Littlejohn. During the Civil War, he worked in the ordnance shop in Richmond and Georgia.⁵⁴ In 1870, he was living in Harpers Ferry in the household of relative Julia Johnson.⁵⁵ By 1880, he was a resident of Missouri, but he was living in Roanoke, Virginia, when he died in 1913. Although his connection to the Wernwags who lived on Virginius Island is not clear, he evidently was related.⁵⁶

In 1870, Walter Taylor (30), a native of the District of Columbia, was living in the household of Singleton Chambers with his wife Ellen, the former Ellen Wager, and son Alfred. Walter Taylor died in San Diego, California, in 1918.⁵⁷

James B. Wilkins

James B. Wilkins was living in the town of Harpers Ferry at the time of the 1830 census. He was a man of 20 and under 30. Living with him were a female of 15 and under 20, presumably his wife Mary Ann, and a male child under the age of

⁵³Spirit of Jefferson, 6 July 1869, p. 3, col. 6.

⁵⁴Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; Virginia Free Press, 13 May 1858, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 8 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁵Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 469, p. 40 of Harpers Ferry.

⁵⁶Virginia Free Press, 6 November 1880, p. 3, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 8 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁷Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 471, p. 44 of Harpers Ferry; Virginia Free Press, 30 July 1868, p. 2, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 26 March 1918, p. 2, col. 1.

5.⁵⁸ Wilkins may have moved to Bolivar within the following two years, because his name appears the Virginia Free Press in 1832, 1833, and 1836 as a trustee of the town of Bolivar.⁵⁹ Wilkins evidently worked for the armory, as he is listed as one of the armorers at an 1839 meeting on the firing of Whig armorers by Superintendent Edward Lucas.⁶⁰

On December 12, 1837, James Wilkins signed an agreement with Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag regarding Building 9 (1844 map) on Virginius Island. The nature of this agreement is not known. However, in connection with this agreement and a court case involving Wilkins, this house and its lot were offered for sale in 1841 and again in 1845. As a result of the latter sale, Jesse Schofield acquired title to the property.⁶¹

Solomon Yantis

Solomon Yantis, the son of Isaac and Rebecca Yantis, first appears in the available historical record in the January 5, 1848 issue of the Virginia Free Press, which reported his marriage to Josephine Jones of Washington County, Maryland, the previous month.⁶² According to the 1850 census, Yantis (23) was an armorer. Josephine was 21. By 1860, Yantis was a tobacconist. He and Josephine had three children: Shaulter V., Arnold S., and Eleanora.⁶³ During these years, he had already begun to emerge as a prominent citizen of Harpers

⁵⁸Fifth Census (1830), Harpers Ferry, p. 171; Virginia Free Press, 29 June 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁹Virginia Free Press, 5 July 1832, p. 3, col. 1; 18 July 1833, p. 3, col. 2; 21 July 1836, p. 2, col. 6.

⁶⁰Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 8 May 1839, p. 2, col. 1.

⁶¹Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1841, p. 3, col. 4; 7 August 1845, p. 3, col. 2; Deed Book 32, p. 75, William C. Worthington, commissioner, to Jesse Schofield, 15 October 1851.

⁶²Virginia Free Press, 5 January 1848, p. 3, col. 2; 21 December 1878, p. 2, col. 3.

⁶³Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 406B; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 217-18.

Ferry, being elected mayor of the town several times in the 1850s, and he remained active in politics after the Civil War.⁶⁴

In 1868, Solomon Yantis acquired a one-sixth interest in Virginus Island. According to the 1870 census, Yantis was a retail merchant. He had \$31,000 in real property, and \$1,500 in personal property.⁶⁵

In 1875, when the Harpers Ferry Mill Company was incorporated, Yantis was one of the incorporators.⁶⁶ In 1880, after the retirement of Jonathan Child from the milling business and the purchase of Riddle's and Child's interest by McCreight and Yantis, the flour mill on Virginus Island was operated by the firm of McCreight & Yantis.⁶⁷

In 1884, McCreight and Yantis sold the Virginus Island property to the Harpers Ferry Mill Company. Both, however, remained connected with the running of the flour mill. Yantis was serving as secretary/treasurer of the Harpers Ferry Mill Company in 1885.⁶⁸ He died in 1894.⁶⁹

Aside from politics, Yantis participated in other community activities during the years he was connected to the Virginus Island flour mill. In 1870, he was one of the incorporators of the Harpers Ferry Building Association. That year, he also served as president of the Shenandoah Bridge Company; he later was

⁶⁴See for example, Spirit of Jefferson, 10 May 1853, p. 2, col. 1; 7 November 1865, p. 2, col. 3; 11 June 1867, p. 2, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 11 May 1854, p. 2, col. 1; 7 May 1857, p. 2, col. 2; 21 January 1875, p. 3, col. 1; 10 January 1884, p. 2, col. 2.

⁶⁵Deed Book 5, p. 324, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily E. and John A. McCreight and wife Celia E. to Solomon V. Yantis and Horatio R. Riddle, 15 August 1868; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 455, p. 12 of Harpers Ferry.

⁶⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 26 October 1875, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁷Deed Book N, p. 166, Horatio R. Riddle and wife Sarah H. to John A. McCreight and Solomon V. Yantis, 25 March 1880; Deed Book N, p. 167, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily E. to John A. McCreight and Solomon V. Yantis, 24 April 1880; Virginia Free Press, 24 April 1880, p. 2, col. 4.

⁶⁸Deed Book N, p. 258, John A. McCreight and wife Celia E. and Solomon V. Yantis and wife Josephine to Harpers Ferry Mill Company, 9 October 1884; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2.

⁶⁹Virginia Free Press, 3 January 1894, p. 3, col. 4.

a director. Yantis was also the superintendent of Methodist Protestant Sunday School.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 22 February 1870, p. 3, col. 1; 10 June 1873, p. 3, col. 1; Virginia Free Press, 28 March 1870, p. 2, col. 5; 12 August 1871, p. 3, col. 1.

APPENDIX D

VIRGINIUS ISLAND HOUSEHOLDS

In the following pages, biographical data is presented on the known or suspected residents of Virginius Island. With few exceptions, the information is organized under the name of the head-of-household as given on the federal censuses or the name of the first person listed for each dwelling. These "biographies" deal primarily with the time the individuals lived on Virginius Island. For many island residents, varying amounts of information also are given for the periods before or after their association with the island.

Grace Arvin

The 1860 census lists three families in a single dwelling on Virginius Island. One was the family of Grace Arvin (48), a native of Maryland, who had been living in Harpers Ferry in 1850.¹ Living with her in 1860 were Mary E. (26), John W. (24), an employee of the Armory, Emma J. (21), and Thomas (19), all natives of Virginia, and John Hutsler (14) and Charlotte Atwell (2), also of Virginia. Grace Arvin's personal estate was worth an estimated \$100. Thomas Arvin was charged 12½ cents in tax on a clock in 1860 as well. The previous year, John W. Arvin had been taxed for one clock and \$175 in household and kitchen furniture.² With the exception of Thomas E. Arvin (43), who married Mary E. Wingate (23) the daughter of Theodore Wingate in 1882 in Harpers Ferry, the Arvins do not appear in any subsequent records until 1889 when the Virginia

¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 418.

²Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204; Harpers Ferry Book, 1860, p. 4, HFD-198, HFNHP; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50, HFNHP.

Free Press reported Grace Arvin's death in Martinsburg.³

The next family was that of Nancy Boswell, which consisted of Nancy (54), miller Thomas W. (23), blacksmith Joseph W. (20), and Henrietta (19), all of Virginia. Also living with them was Pennsylvania native James M. McCabe (19), a cooper. Nancy reported a personal estate worth \$75. A Mrs. Boswell and two children are included in the list of Jefferson County paupers between 1853 and 1857. The only tax charged to Joseph Boswell in 1859 and Joseph and Thomas Boswell in 1860 was the levy for free males above the age of sixteen.⁴

The Sarah Gomph family, which had been living in Harpers Ferry in 1850, was the third family in the dwelling.⁵ Sarah Gomph, the former Sarah Bond, had married Harpers Ferry resident Michael Gomph, who died in 1850, in 1832. In 1860, this family consisted of Sarah (64), armory employee Oscher (or Oscar) (24), machinist Manteller (22), and Samuel (16), all of Virginia. Sarah's personal property was worth \$75.⁶

That year, Oscar Gomph was charged 12½ cents in tax on a clock. In 1861, Oscar married Mary V. Decker, the daughter of Margaret Decker. After the Civil War began, he went to Richmond to help produce guns for the Confederacy, but he returned to Harpers Ferry after the war. Oscar and Mary were living in Bolivar until at least 1910.⁷

³Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 14; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 2, p. 3 of Harpers Ferry; Virginia Free Press, 28 March 1889, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204; Virginia Free Press, 14 July 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 3 August 1854, p. 3, col. 1; 9 July 1857, p. 3, col. 1, 2, & 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 24 July 1855, p. 3, col. 2; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, pp. 6-7.

⁵Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 418B.

⁶Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 202; Virginia Free Press, 9 August 1850, p. 3, col. 3; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204.

⁷Harpers Ferry Book 1860, p. 3, HFD-198; Thirteen Census (1910), Bolivar, p. 180; Farmers Advocate, 23 July 1910, p. 2, col. 4; 1 April 1911, p. 1, col. 4. The marriage records (Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 202) gives Mary Gomph's maiden name as Gomph, but it is clear this is the same marriage referred to in subsequent accounts.

George Lafayette Augure

A native of New Haven, Connecticut, George Augure evidently removed to the Harpers Ferry area between his 1847 marriage to Jane Chambers, daughter of William Chambers, and December 1849, when he gave Philip P.W. Stephenson power of attorney to collect his wages at the Harpers Ferry armory between then and April 1850. According to the 1850 census, Augure had no occupation; however, he was employed at the United States Armory in 1855 when he gave his father-in-law power of attorney to collect "all moneys" due him from the Armory. Augure gave his residence as Bolivar.⁸

When in 1858 Augure gave John Spangler his power of attorney to collect money due from the Armory for the next three years, Augure was living in Harpers Ferry. According to the 1860 census, at which time the Augure family was living on Virginus Island, Augure (36) was a machinist. His wife Jane (35) and sons William C. (10) and George E. C. (7), all native Virginians, were living with him. While the 1859 personal property tax record indicates his taxable property consisted of \$30 in household and kitchen furniture and he was taxed for a clock in 1860, the census indicates Augure owned \$500 in real property and \$150 in personal property.⁹

Sometime after the 1860 census, the Augures moved to Whitneyville, Connecticut. Jane died there in 1890.¹⁰

⁸Virginia Free Press, 6 October 1847, p. 2, col. 7; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 419B; Deed Book 30, p. 616, Power of Attorney, George Lafayette Augure to Philip P.W. Stephenson, 17 December 1849; Deed Book 34, p. 448, Power of Attorney, George L. Augure to Wm. Chambers, 13 January 1855.

⁹Deed Book 38, p. 33, Power of Attorney, George L. Augure to John Spangler, 29 March 1858; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 203; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, p. 4, HFD-198.

¹⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 30 September 1890, p. 2, col. 5.

Daniel Bagent

Daniel Bagent's name first appears in the available historical record in April 1892. The Virginia Free Press reported that Bagent, a resident of Loudoun, had three fingers chopped off while working at a barking machine in the Potomac Pulp Mill. According to a suit filed in the circuit court of Jefferson County against the Harpers Ferry Paper Company, Bagent had three fingers sawed off on December 3, 1892 by a circular saw. The suit sought compensation of \$5,000 and in October 1894, the court confirmed a conditional judgement against the paper company.¹¹

Bagent may have moved to Harpers Ferry before 1897, when his name was included in a list of delinquent taxpayers, and he was probably living on Virginius Island by the time of the 1900 census which lists Bagent (40) as a laborer at the pulp mill. Living with him were his wife Virgie V. (23) and children James E. (8), Emma S. (3), and Maggie H. (1). All of them were native Virginians.¹² At this time, Bagent owned household and kitchen furniture valued at \$10.¹³

The Bagent family evidently moved to Bolivar between 1900 and 1910. The 1910 census shows Nellie A. (7), George W. (4), and William L. (11 months) had been born since the previous census. Daniel Bagent was then a laborer at the quarry.¹⁴ Margaret H. Bagent married Cotta Natho, a native of Italy and

¹¹Virginia Free Press, 13 April 1892, p. 2, col. 4; Daniel Bagent vs Harpers Ferry Paper Company, declaration in white rectangular box labelled Nov 1894-Feb 1895 Feb. + Nov 1895 1891-1895, Circuit Court Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse, Charles Town, West Virginia.

¹²Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76.

¹³Personal Property Tax Book (1900), 2nd Assessment District.

¹⁴Thirteenth Census (1910), Bolivar, p. 179.

resident of Millville, in 1920.¹⁵

Charles Barley

The 1860 census shows a household headed by Charles Barley on Virginius Island. Four individuals appear in that household: Charles (51), Mary Webber (16), Mark Barley (42), and Anna Barley (14). Charles Barley's occupation is listed as miller.¹⁶ It is not known when the Barleys arrived on or left the Island. Their names do not appear on any other Harpers Ferry census.

Apparently Barley was living on Virginius Island by September 1857. On September 23, 1857 Barley executed a deed of trust to Abraham Herr, trustee, for Welsh & Legg including the following personal property:

1 side board, 2 bureaus, 3 Feather beds, bedsteads and bedding, 1½ doz. chairs, about 40 yds carpeting, 1 parlour stove, 1 ten plate Do., 1 brass clock 2 tables, a lot of Books, 1 silver watch, 2 looking Glasses, knives & forks, plates, Dishes, cups & saucers, and in fact all the personal property owned by and now in the possession of the said Charles Barley.¹⁷

Jacob Barnhart

The 1850 census lists the Jacob Barnhart family on Virginius Island. Jacob Barnhart (51), a native of Germany, a laborer, headed a household of ten persons. Included were his wife Margaret (45), sons Frederick (22), Jacob (20), and John (7), and daughters Elizabeth (18), Catherine (16), Margaret (14), and Christiana (10). Also living in the Barnhart household was Christiana Hicks (74).¹⁸ The

¹⁵Marriage Register 7, p. 105.

¹⁶Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 203.

¹⁷Jefferson County, West Virginia, Deed Book 37, p. 287, Deed of Trust, Charles Barley to Abraham Herr trustee for Welsh V. Legg, 23 September 1857.

¹⁸Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404B.

census indicates that Jacob Barnhart and some of his family, including Christiana Hicks, emigrated to the United States from Germany sometime between 1832 and 1834. They had lived in Maryland before moving to Virginius Island.¹⁹

The 1850 census is the first known record of the Barnhart family's residence in the Harpers Ferry area. How long they were in the area is not known, but Jacob and Margaret, and presumably some of his younger children, were still living on Virginius Island in February 1853. At that time George F. Barnhart, believed to be the Frederick Barnhart appearing on the 1850 census, died from injuries sustained while helping to build a house in Shenandoah City. The newspaper reports that he died at his parents' residence on Herr's Island.²⁰ (Virginius Island was commonly known as Herr's Island during the mid-nineteenth century)

Little else is known about the Barnhart family except that Catherine Barnhart married John D. Bateman of Harpers Ferry in January 1853.²¹

Fontaine Beckham

Fontaine Beckham was perhaps the most prosperous of the prominent Beckham family of Harpers Ferry. A native of Culpeper County, Virginia, Fontaine was the brother of Mary Beckham Stubblefield, Camp Beckham, Townsend Beckham, and former Harpers Ferry master armorer Armistead Beckham.²²

Fontaine's first known interest in what became known as Virginius Island was his purchase of a parcel of land from brother-in-law James Stubblefield

¹⁹The 1850 census indicates that Jacob's older children including 16 year old daughter Catherine were born in Germany and that his younger children were born in Maryland.

²⁰Virginia Free Press, 10 February 1853, p. 2, col. 3.

²¹Virginia Free Press, 6 January 1853, p. 3, col.1.

²²Merrit Roe Smith, pp. 143, 146; Barry, p. 85.

secured in a deed of trust in December 1824.²³ (This parcel was later designated Tract 2 by historian Charles W. Snell). His purchase included an existing gristmill to which it is believed he later made improvements.²⁴ The mill is referred to as a "merchant mill" in an 1825 deed by which Fontaine Beckham conveyed in trust to his soon-to-be wife, Ann R. Stephenson, all of his property and estate including:

the following negroe slaves, Thorton, Polly and her infant child a female about three months of age, also one gig with the harness, and two horses, one gold patent lever watch, one musical clock, one side board, two mahogany tables, one secretary and book case, one bed and bedding, one settee, twelve chairs, fifty head of hogs ²⁵

In December 1826 Jefferson County residents including Fontaine Beckham petitioned the Virginia State Legislature for the incorporation of the Town of Virginus. The petition identifies Fontaine as one of four individuals owning land on the island in the Shenandoah River that would be encompassed within the boundaries of the new town.²⁶ Based on the fact that Beckham purchased property on the island in 1824, made improvements to the property soon afterwards, and that he signed the petition for the incorporation of the Town of Virginus in 1826, it can be reasonably concluded that Fontaine Beckham was living on the island by the mid-1820s. In any case, Beckham is shown living on Virginus Island in the 1830 census.²⁷

In January 1830 Fontaine Beckham advertised that he had two houses on

²³Deed Book 13, p. 330, James Stubblefield and wife Mary Stubblefield to Fontaine Beckham, 28 December 1824; Deed Book 13, p. 332, Deed of Trust, Fontaine Beckham to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham trustees for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824.

²⁴Deed Book 13, p. 259, Articles of Agreement Charles Stuart & William Bell agents for the Shenandoah Company and James Stubblefield, 31 August 1824; Bergstresser, pp. 22, 23.

²⁵Deed Book 14, p. 43, Fontaine Beckham to Ann R. Stephenson, 3 September 1825.

²⁶Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276, Virginia State Archives.

²⁷Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 174.

Virginus Island for rent. One of the houses was occupied by Lewis Wernwag and was described as having six or eight excellent rooms, a cellar, a kitchen, and a garret; the other, occupied by J.P. Shannon, contained four good rooms, a kitchen, a cellar, and had a large garden.²⁸ In March of 1830 Mr. Beckham sold to Lewis Wernwag a parcel of land consisting of, "two acres, three roods [*sic*] and one pole of land" from his tract of land on Virginus Island.²⁹

The house Lewis Wernwag was renting from Beckham in January 1830 was probably not located on the parcel of land sold to Wernwag in March of that year. An 1835 map titled "Harper's Ferry Shewing [*sic*] the location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad," drawn by Lieutenants White, Allen, and Smith, U.S. Army, under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E. indicates five structures in addition to the mill located on Beckham's tract of Virginus Island. When Beckham attempted to sell his property on Virginus Island in 1832 he advertised, "One of the most valuable Milling establishments in Virginia . . . Connected with this property, are four dwelling houses and a cooper shop."³⁰ It is believed Beckham lived in the dwelling designated Building 22 on the 1859 Historical Base Map.

The mill situated on Beckham's property had become known as the "Island Mill" by 1830 and was used primarily for the production of flour. While Beckham's direct involvement in the day to day functioning of the mill during the early 1830s is not fully understood, he found it necessary to assure local farmers that he had not disposed of any interest in the mill in September 1831

²⁸Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1830, p. 3, col. 5.

²⁹Deed Book 16, pp. 518-519, Fontaine Beckham, Ann R. Beckham, and James Stubblefield to Lewis Wernwag, 23 March 1830.

³⁰National Archives, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, Fortification Map File, Part of Map Drawer 150, Sheet 82-2; Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1832, p. 3, col. 5.

after Daniel Snyder had taken an interest with Beckham in the mill.³¹ By August 1832 Beckham was renting the mill to Mr. George Hagely, and advertising it for sale. Apparently the mill was not sold then as Beckham subsequently rented it to John H. King in 1833 and to Jacob Staub beginning in mid-1834.³²

Fontaine Beckham held his Island tract until 1838 when mounting financial difficulties forced its sale. The property was purchased by Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson, and Samuel Hefflebower who had been occupying the mill property as Rowland, Hefflebower & Co. since mid-1836.³³

The 1830 census indicates there were a total of 10 persons living in the Fontaine Beckham household. In addition to Beckham and his wife, the former Ann Amelia Stephenson, daughter of James Stephenson, were 2 males listed as being under the age of 5, one of whom was probably James Beckham, 1 female between the ages of 10 and 15, 1 male slave between the ages of 5 and 20, 2 female slaves under the age of 10, and 2 female slaves between the ages of 10 and 24.³⁴

The household grew during the 1830s. A slave by the name of Billy was acquired by Fontaine in 1832 from the estate of his brother, the late Townsend Beckham.³⁵ Another daughter, Ann Amelia, was born about 1833. Ann Amelia, who shared her mother's name, later married James L. Hooff and lived into the

³¹Virginia Free Press, 28 July 1830, p. 3, col. 4; 22 September 1831, p. 3 col. 4; 18 August 1831, p. 3, col. 4.

³²Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1832, p. 3, col. 5; 14 March 1833, p. 3, col. 2; 7 July 1834, p. 3, col. 6.

³³Deed Book 24, p. 513-516, Joseph T. Daugherty, Province McCormick, and Andrew Hunter Trustees to Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson, and Samuel Hefflebower, 1 May 1838; See also Snell, "A Short History," pp. 3, 9; Virginia Free Press, 31 August 1837, p. 3, col. 3.; 23 June 1836, p. 3, col. 4.

³⁴Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 174; Virginia Free Press, 22 January 1846, p. 3, col. 3, (This news item states that James A. Beckham and Phillip S. Beckham are children of Fontaine Beckham); Virginia Free Press, 21 September 1848, p. 3, col. 2, (This is an advertisement for Jas. A. Beckham as an agent for coal and he therefore likely was born before or no later than 1830).

³⁵Will Book 8, p. 136, Sale of Personal Property of Townsend Beckham by John Frame Administrator, 9 August 1832.

twentieth century. The Beckhams also had at least 2 other sons born before Fontaine was forced to sell his island property, one who lived only 4 months during 1835 and another infant son who died shortly after his birth in mid-1837.³⁶ Another son, Phillip, was born about 1838.³⁷

No evidence precisely documenting when Beckham moved from the island has been found. His apparent increasingly distant relationship with the mill in the 1830s, seen in the fact that a succession of individuals or firms rented it until 1838, and his subsequent attempt to sell all the property bought in 1824, including the mill, suggest his interest in the island was declining. This decline, coupled with the fact that Beckham and his mother-in-law Ann Stephenson opened a hotel and mail stage office at Harpers Ferry in July 1834, might support the conclusion that Beckham moved his family from the island during the early to mid-1830s.³⁸

Townsend Beckham

One of the most prominent residents of Virginius Island in the first historical period was Townsend Beckham. Beckham, brother of Fontaine Beckham and Harpers Ferry master armorer Armistead Beckham and son of James Beckham, was probably, like his brothers, a native of Culpeper County, Virginia.³⁹ Although no records connect him with Harpers Ferry at this early date, Townsend Beckham first appears on the Jefferson County personal property tax records in 1810 as

³⁶Virginia Free Press, 18 April 1851, p. 2, col. 7; 28 September 1915, p. 5, col. 4; 22 April 1835, p. 3, col. 3; 27 July 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

³⁷Virginia Free Press, 22 January 1846, p. 3, col. 3; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 114.

³⁸Virginia Free Press, 24 July 1834, p. 1, col. 2.

³⁹Merritt Roe Smith, pp. 143, 146; Barry, p. 85; James Madison Beckham, Genealogy of the Beckham Family in Virginia and the Branches thereof in Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and West Virginia with Family Sketches (Richmond, 1910), p. 73.

a white male over the age of sixteen. The 1813 and 1814 tax records show that he was living in Harpers Ferry. In the latter year, and for several years thereafter, he paid taxes on one horse.⁴⁰

On December 28, 1824, Townsend Beckham purchased Tract 1 of Virginus Island from his brother-in-law James Stubblefield for \$7,500. According to the deed, Beckham was then a resident of Harpers Ferry.⁴¹ On the same date, Beckham executed a deed of trust appointing Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham trustees to secure the sum of \$11,800 Beckham owed Stubblefield.⁴²

On December 11, 1826, Beckham joined with Fontaine Beckham, Lewis Wernwag, and the heirs of Edward Wager, as "landholders and residents of an Island in the Shenandoah River, near Harpers Ferry" in petitioning the General Assembly of Virginia for the incorporation of the town of Virginus.⁴³ The Assembly passed an act of incorporation January 8, 1827. Townsend Beckham, along with Fontaine Beckham, Lewis Wernwag, John S. Gallagher and John G. Unseld, was appointed one of the town's first trustees.⁴⁴

Among the improvements to Virginus Island mentioned in the 1826 petition to the General Assembly were an oil mill and a tannery. The tannery, with its vats, shops, and bark houses; the oil mill; and two "commodious" dwelling houses, "the yards and garden of one of them highly improved," with several outbuildings, were located on Beckham's property.⁴⁵

⁴⁰Personal Property Tax Books (1810-1821), microfilm available at the Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia. Harpers Ferry is listed separately from the rest of the county only in 1813 and 1814.

⁴¹Deed Book 13, p. 344, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Townsend Beckham, 28 December 1824.

⁴²Deed Book 13, p. 345, Deed of Trust, Townsend Beckham and wife Eliza to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham, trustees for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824.

⁴³Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276, Virginia State Archives.

⁴⁴Act Establishing the Town of Virginus, 8 January 1827, Virginia Acts 1826-27, pp. 109-10.

⁴⁵Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276; Virginia Free Press, 7 November 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

If an 1836 advertisement is any indication, the tanning establishment was a lucrative enterprise for Townsend Beckham. According to this advertisement, Beckham's tannery was "the only Tanning establishment at the place, or for many miles around," and there was an "abundant supply of slaughtered hides afforded by Harpers-Ferry, and the vicinity, amounting to 1000 or upwards annually . . . with but little competition." Beckham's tannery held thirty-one vats.⁴⁶

No evidence has surfaced yet to indicate which house on the island was Beckham's. However, Snell suggests the two "commodious" dwellings were Nos. 24, probably a one-and-one-half-story frame dwelling, and 27, probably a two-story brick dwelling, on the 1859 Historical Base Map. The 1857 lithograph of Virginius Island and a photograph taken about 1865 show a two-story dwelling in the area where Building 27 is located. According to Snell, these two buildings were probably standing in 1834, when survey work was done preparatory to placement of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad. The map prepared at that time shows two buildings on those spots.⁴⁷ The Beckham family probably lived in No. 27, the larger of the two dwellings.

The 1830 census lists twelve people in the Townsend Beckham household on Virginius Island. There were four whites: one female, probably Eliza (or Elizabeth, née Frame) Beckham, between the ages of 30 and 40; two adult males, one between the ages of 40 and 50 and the other, probably Townsend, between 50 and 60 (possibly 54); and one male child under the age of 5. Indicative of his higher socio-economic standing, Beckham had eight slaves. Three were adult

⁴⁶*Virginia Free Press*, 3 March 1836, p. 3, col. 5; Will Book 7, p. 281, Inventory and appraisalment of the slaves & personal estate of Townsend Beckham dec'd, 20 July 1832.

⁴⁷Snell, "A History," pp. 34, 37, 124; HF-119, dated 22 May 1865; "View of the Island Virginius, in the Shenandoah, at Harpers Ferry, Taken Near Jefferson's Rock," HF-687, dated 1857; "Harpers Ferry Shewing the Location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad," map drawn by Lieut. White, Allen and R.S. Smith, U.S. Army, under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E., 1835.

males, one a male child, one or two (the second was between the ages of 10 and 24) adult females, and the remainder (2 or 3) female children.⁴⁸

Although only one child of Townsend and Eliza Beckham is listed on the census, it is known that they had three children altogether. The March 30, 1837 issue of the Virginia Free Press lists Mary Jane, Townsend, and John as the infant heirs of Townsend Beckham, then deceased. Either Mary Jane and one of her brothers was born after the 1830 census or the record of the Beckham household is incorrect.⁴⁹

Beckham's connection to Virginius Island lasted only two years beyond 1830. The May 24, 1832 issue of the Virginia Free Press reported that Townsend Beckham, about age 50, of Virginius had died the previous Thursday (May 17, 1832).⁵⁰ On July 20, 1832, David Howell, Philip Hoffman, Merriwether Thompson and Henry Ward, appraisers of Townsend Beckham's estate, submitted an inventory and appraisal of his slave and personal property (See Attachment). The bulk of listed items were tanned or partially tanned leather goods and materials used in the tanning process. Beckham's estate also included the following household items: several beds, cradle, one pair mahogany tables, mahogany sideboard, eighteen Windsor chairs, mahogany bureau, walnut table, two large and five tea silver spoons, tumblers, wine glasses, pitchers, coffee pot, cups and saucers, dressing glass, several carpets, and a writing desk. At the time of his death, Beckham also owned five slaves named Billy, Evelina, Bill, Jane, and Rosanah. The total value

⁴⁸Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 174. The age of Townsend and maiden name of Eliza come from Beckham, p. 73.

⁴⁹Virginia Free Press, 30 March 1837, p. 3, col. 6.

⁵⁰Virginia Free Press, 24 May 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

of his personal estate was \$4,449.14.⁵¹

From shortly after Beckham's death until December 1838, there were attempts to sell Townsend Beckham's Virginus Island property, the property "being unsuited to the occupation and management of a widow and young children."⁵² It is not clear if Eliza Beckham and her children continued to live on the property during this time. An 1836 advertisement of the property refers to it as "being left in the occupancy" of Mrs. Beckham and her children. However, according to the list of the sale of Townsend Beckham's personal property August 9, 1832, the only property kept by his wife were a carpet, bedstead and bedding, trunk, clothes press, and the slave Jane. The fact that Eliza Beckham apparently retained none of the other furniture or kitchen ware suggests she may have resided with other people, possibly family, after her husband's death.⁵³ At any rate, on December 8, 1838, the property was sold to Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey and the Beckham connection with Tract 1 apparently ended.⁵⁴

The Townsend Beckham family does not appear on the 1840 census, and no information has been found about them after the sale of Tract 1 with the exception of the marriage of Townsend Beckham's daughter. In Winchester, Virginia, on October 20, 1847, Mary Jane K. Beckham married George Price.⁵⁵

⁵¹Will Book 7, p. 281, Inventory and appraisal of the slaves & personal estate of Townsend Beckham dec'd, 20 July 1832.

⁵²Virginia Free Press, 7 November 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

⁵³Virginia Free Press, 3 March 1836, p. 3, col. 5; Will Book 8, p. 136, Sale of the personal property of Townsend Beckham dec'd by John Frame admr Augt 9th 1832.

⁵⁴Deed Book 23, p. 376, Andrew Hunter, Special Commissioner, and Eliza Beckham to Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey, 8 December 1838.

⁵⁵Virginia Free Press, 27 October 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA WILL BOOK 7, PP. 281-85.

Townsend Beckham Jefferson County, ct
Appraisement

June Court, 1832

Ordered, That David Howell, Sam'l Ridenour, Philip Hoffman, Merriwether Thompson & Hy. Ward or any three of them, being first sworn, do appraise in current money, the slaves, if any, and personal estate of Townsend Beckham dec'd and make report thereof to the Court.

A Copy — Teste

S.J. Cramer

Jefferson County to wit

I hereby certify that the within named appraisers were sworn before me for the purpose within mentioned July 20th 1832.

James B. Wager

Inventory and appraisement of the slaves & personal estate of Townsend Beckham dec'd made the 20th day of July 1832.

Vat. No. 4	containing	24	hides of upper leather in the first layer	84.00	
			at \$03.50		
" "	7	"	19 " " skirting " " "	\$5.50	104.50
" "	8	"	19 " " " " " "	"	104.50
" "	12	"	28 " " upper " " "	\$3.50	98.00
" "	16	"	19 " " " " " "	"	66.50
" "	"	"	4 Kip	2.00	8.00
" "	"	"	4 Horse hides	2.00	8.00
" "	"	"	29 sheep "	"	5.00
Vat No. 19	containing	12	hides country sole taned	\$8 -	96.00
" "	20	"	20 " 2nd layer	6.50	130.00
" "	21	"	20 " " "	"	130.00
" "	22	"	21 " 3 "	7.00	147.00
" "	17	"	19 " country sole taned	8.00	152.00
" "	23	"	20 " " 3rd layer	7.00	140.00
" "	24	"	20 " spanish " 2 "	"	140.00
" "	25	"	20 " " 4 "	7.50	150.00
" "	26	"	21 " " " "	"	157.50
" "	27	"	20 " " 3 "	7.00	140.00
" "	28	"	20 " " " "	"	140.00
" "	29	"	20 " Country " 2 "	6.50	130.00
" "	30	"	20 " " " "	"	130.00
" "	31	"	20 " " 1st "	6.00	120.00
" "	13	8 1/3	dozen calf skins in the handler	12.00	100.00
" "	5	5 1/2	" " " " " "	"	<u>61.00</u>
					2542.00
			Amot brought forward		2542.00
Vat No. 5	3	hides of leather	@3.33 1/3	10.00	
" "	2	5 " upper, 5 horse, 12 calf, 20 sheep, 7 hogs			
		3 deg, & 2 hides with hair			53.50
" "	"	13 1/2 sides sole taned	@ \$3.50	47.25	
" "	"	3 1/2 dozn calf skins finishd	18.00	63.00	
" "	"	5 sides upper	2.75	13.75	
" "	1	6 doz. calf in stuff	18.00	108.00	

" " 2 5 " " " "	14.00	70.00
" " " 16 Kip " "	2.75	44.00
20 sides upper " "	2.50	50.00
1 " blackbridle finishd		2.75
1 skin with hair on		.50
2 doz. skins		1.00
60 Raw spanish hides 1595 lbs	@16½	263.17½
1/3 Barrel of oil		5.00
6 empty Barrels	@25¢	1.50
1 Keg white lead, in oil		2.50
114 lb Wool	@25¢	28.50
Workers & fleshers		7.00
Hooks, Jets & Barrels		3.00
1 Grind stone		5.00
1 Stove & pipe		10.00
1 Lott of curryers tools		20.00
2 Beam faces & beams		5.00
1 pr steelyards		1.00
1 Stove		12.00
Lamp black & spanish brown		1.00
2 Bark knives		1.50
120 Bushels of Hair	@12½	15.00
		<u>3386.92</u>
Amot brought forward		3386.92
3 Rubbing stones		5.00
Skinners, forks, &c		3.00
2 wheel barrows		5.00
1 Grass scythe		1.50
1 stove		12.00
Bedstead & beding		5.00
1 stone pitcher		.60
1 Large crow bar		2.00
Empty barrels, cradle, swo [?] &c		4.00
Stove pipe		1.50
1 Cow		10.00
1 Rifle gun		15.00
1 Shot "		3.00
1 pr mahogany tables		25.00
1 " side board		30.00
1 dozn Windsor chairs		15.00
3 1/3 " Calf skins	\$18.00	60.00
24 sides upper leather	2.50	36.00
2 large & 5 tea silver spoons		8.00
Tumblers, wine glasses, pitchers, coffeepot, cups & saucers & knives & forks		6.00
Plates, dishes & bowls		2.50
2 Waiters		.75
Wash basin & ewer		1.00
Decanters &c		1.00
1 Settee		1.50
6 windsor chairs		2.50
1 Tin safe		<u>5.00</u>
		3648.77
Amot brought forward		3648.77

1 Walnut table	3.00
Waiter, candlesticks, &c	1.50
Kitchen furniture	11.00
1 Mahogany bureau	8.00
1 Dressing glass	1.25
1 large carpet	20.00
1 small "	10.00
1 Rag "	2.00
1 Bed, bedstead & bedding	25.00
1 " " "	12.00
3 pair cotton & 1½ pr linen sheets	2.25
3 counterpins & 1 comfort	4.00
4 Blankets	2.50
5 Table cloths	3.00
11 Pillow cases	1.00
5 Towels	.50
3 Tea cloths	.12½
1 small trunk	.50
1 Cradle	.50
1 Breakfast table	2.50
1 old bed, bedstead & pillows	8.00
1 Clothes press	5.00
1 old trunk	.25
1 Negro man Billy (old)	37.50
1 " woman Evelina	200.00
1 " boy Bill	200.00
1 " girl Jane	125.00
1 " " Rosanah	<u>100.00</u>
	4435.14
Amount brought forward	4435.14
1 Hoe, rake & spade	1.50
2 chopping benches, box, barrels &c	4.00
1 Grindstone, 2 half bushels, buckets, tubs &c	5.00
2 Locks & 1 bolt	1.00
1 Writing desk	<u>2.50</u>
	\$4449.14

Jefferson County to wit

Pursuant to an order of the County Court of Jefferson hereto annexed we have examined and appraised the slaves & personal estate of Townsend Beckham decd agreeably to the preceeding statement.

Given under our hands this 20th day of July 1832.

David Howell
Philip Hoffman
M. Thompson
Henry Ward

Jefferson County, ct

At a Court held for said County, on the 17th day of June 1833, This appraisement of the personal estate of Townsend Beckham decd was returned & ordered to be recorded.

Teste

Saml J. Cramer c.c

Charles W. Bell

Charles Bell of Page County, Virginia, first appears in the available historical record in 1907, when he married Liza Whittington, a native of Berkeley County and probably the daughter of Rosalie and Charles R. Whittington.⁵⁶ He next appears on a 1909 list of delinquent taxpayers. According to the 1910 census, Charles W. Bell (34), a native of Virginia, was a laborer at the pulp mill. Living with him were his wife Eliza (25) and children Annie V. (6), John H. (2), and Virgie R. (3 months), all of West Virginia. Bell is listed before John Cooper, a known resident of Virginus Island.⁵⁷ The personal property tax records for 1910 indicate Bell owned a carriage or wagon valued at \$20.⁵⁸ Sometime between 1910 and 1919, the Bell family, or at least Mrs. Bell, moved to Martinsburg, where she was living at the time of her mother's death. Her mother's obituary indicates Mrs. Charles Bell had a sister Mrs. Charles Kellison, possibly the same Mrs. Kellison who lived on Virginus Island, in Harpers Ferry.⁵⁹

Albert Bond

Albert Bond's name first appears in the available historical record in 1900, when he married Nancy Agnes Gray in Harpers Ferry. According to the 1900 census, Bond (19) was a laborer at the pulp mill and had been unemployed seven of the previous twelve months. Living with him was his wife Agnes (17). Both were native West Virginians. Bond's name appears in 1903 and 1905 on the list

⁵⁶Marriage Register 4, p. 293.

⁵⁷Spirit of Jefferson, 23 August 1910, p. 2, col. 3; Thirteen Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191.

⁵⁸Personal Property Tax Book (1910).

⁵⁹Farmers Advocate, 19 July 1919, p. 3, col. 4.

of delinquent taxpayers.⁶⁰

John M. Bond

John Bond first appears on the 1880 census as the nine year old son of John and Sarah Bond. His next appearance in the available historical record is the 1892 voters registration, which shows 21 year old John M. Bond was a native of Jefferson County and had lived in the Harpers Ferry district all his life.⁶¹

John M. Bond was living on Virginus Island when the 1900 census was taken and is listed immediately after the Emily Kellison family on Virginus Island. Bond (28) was a day laborer who had been unemployed for six months during the previous year. Living with him were his wife Addie M. (22) and sons William M. (7), Roy M. (5), and Aldridge B. (2). The entire Bond family are listed as native West Virginians.⁶²

The Bond family may have resided on Virginus Island only a brief time. In 1903, John N. Bond and Addie May Bond purchased Block E, Lot 1 on Shenandoah Street.⁶³ Bond's name appears in the delinquent tax lists between 1902 and 1910 and he was sued for debts in 1907.⁶⁴

⁶⁰Marriage Register 3, p. 223; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; Farmers Advocate, 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4.

⁶¹Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 12, p. 24 of Harpers Ferry; 1892 Voters Registration, Harpers Ferry District. John M. Bond's name was connected again with those of John and Sarah Bond in a 1903 deed of trust (Deed Book 93, p. 305, 20 June 1903) and a 1926 deed (Deed Book 126, p. 499, 9 May 1926).

⁶²Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

⁶³Deed Book 93, p. 304, Gerard D. Moore and S.W. Washington trustees of J.G. Hurst to Jno. N. Bond and Addie May, 26 May 1903.

⁶⁴Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1902, p. 1, col. 3; 15 June 1907, p. 2, col. 1; 9 November 1907, p. 3, col. 5; 25 July 1908, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; 16 July 1907, p. 4, col. 2; 23 August 1910, p. 2, col. 3.

Luther H. Bond

Luther Bond's name first appears in the available historical record in 1897, when he, listed as Herman L. Bond, married Birtie A. Leigh, the daughter of James and Susan Leigh (or Lay). According to the 1900 census, Luther H. Bond (23) was a native of West Virginia and a laborer at the pulp mill. His wife Bertie M. (23) was a native of Virginia. Children Franklin A. (4) and Lottie M. (1) were born in West Virginia.⁶⁵

Little more is known about Luther Bond. His name appears on the list of delinquent taxpayers in 1903 and 1905. By the 1910 census, the family consisted of Lute H. (34), his wife Bertie A. (34), and children Franklin N. (15), Lottie M. (11), Margie I. (7), Herman F. (6), Arbutus M. (4), Oswald F. (3), and Frederick A. (11 months). Luther worked as a laborer doing odd jobs. The family was probably not living on Virginius Island in 1910.⁶⁶

There is reason to believe that Luther Bond was related to John M. Bond and Albert Bond, both of whom were living on Virginius Island in 1900. In 1926, Luther, John M., and Albert L. Bond were among the grantors of Block E, Lot 4 on Shenandoah Street, being the same property purchased by Sarah E. Bond in 1901.⁶⁷

Alexander Bowman

The only information on Alexander Bowman comes from the 1870 census. Bowman (55), a black man, was employed as a shoemaker. He is listed on the census immediately after the Joseph Young family and probably lived on Virginius

⁶⁵Marriage Register 3, p. 123; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76; Farmers Advocate, 9 May 1908, p. 2, col. 4; 6 November 1909, p. 2, col. 2.

⁶⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 9 June 1903, p. 2, col 7; Farmers Advocate, 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 190.

⁶⁷Deed Book 126, p. 499, Wm.N. Bond et al to J.L. Eackles, 9 May 1926; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

Island.⁶⁸

Clary W. Brashears (Brasheor)

The Clary Brashears household appears on the 1910 and 1920 Harpers Ferry censuses as being on Virginus Island. Clary is listed as a 36 year old carpenter with a 33 year old wife, Bessie V. The Brashears had six daughters living in their household in 1910: Addie (15), Stella (14), Mary (11), Olivia (6), Mannie (4), Francis (<1). The 1920 census lists Clary Brashear as being a 46 year old carpenter. Listed in his household that year are his wife, Bessie (43), and daughters Francis (10) and Edna Lee (5), and son Melvin (8).⁶⁹ According to Edna Brashears Farmer (Edna Lee), the family resided in the two most western units of the row house until 1924.⁷⁰

Jefferson County personal property tax records indicate Clary Brashear's total personal property was valued at \$25 in 1920.⁷¹ His name appears in the 1910 Personal Property Book, but there is no information regarding his property listed.

Addie Brashears, who appears on the 1910 census, was married to Charles Rockenbaugh during June 1912.⁷² The couple apparently resided on Virginus Island. A fire destroyed Rockenbaugh's residence on the Island in 1913, and

⁶⁸Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

⁶⁹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191 B. Note that Brashears is spelled Brasheor on the 1910 census.

⁷⁰Notes taken during interview with Edna Brashears Farmer, 2 September 1992.

⁷¹Personal Property Book (1900).

⁷²Farmer's Advocate, 29 June 1912, p. 2, col. 3.

Charles and Addie appear on the 1920 census as living on the Island.⁷³ Addie Rockenbaugh died in January 1923, at which time she was living in a home on Camp Hill.

Another daughter, Stella, or Estelle, was married to Edward Grant Tattersall and lived on Shenandoah Street at the time of his death in 1946.⁷⁴ Tattersall's mother was Mary Tattersall, who is believed to have lived on Virginus Island at the time of the 1910 census.⁷⁵

Frederick Bremmerman

The 1860 census lists a family by the name of Bremmerman on Virginus Island. The family members lived among two households, one headed by Frederick Bremmerman (46), whose occupation is listed as master cooper, and the other by John L. Bremmerman (27), also a cooper.⁷⁶ Living in the Frederick Bremmerman household were his wife Malinda (44), another John L. (24), Jacob A. (22), Anna E. (20), Charles E. (17), Charlotte A. (15), Thomas H. (13), Laban G. (10), James H. (8), and Malinda (5). Also living in the Frederick Bremmerman household was Henry Wartham (25) whose occupation is listed as wagoner.⁷⁷

The Bremmerman family appears on the 1850 census for Frederick County,

⁷³Spirit of Jefferson, 15 July 1923, p. 2, col. 3; Farmer's Advocate, 12 July 1923, p. 2, col. 3; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191 B.

⁷⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 3 July 1946, p. 2, col. 3.

⁷⁵See biography of Mary Tattersall.

⁷⁶See biography for John L. Bremmerman.

⁷⁷Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201, 202.

Maryland; Frederick's occupation listed as merchant.⁷⁸ In 1860 the Bremmerness may have been new residents of the Island. The census indicates that all of the children living in both households were born in Maryland, including John L. Bremmerman's son, Melvin F. Bremmerman, who was only one year old in 1860. Furthermore, Henry Bremmerman, a son of Frederick, was buried in a Frederick County, Maryland cemetery in March 1859.⁷⁹ The census also shows Frederick Bremmerman as having \$3,000 invested in his business and an average of 14 hands employed.⁸⁰ It is not known when the family left the Island, possibly at the outbreak of the Civil War, but the family may have returned to Frederick County where Frederick was buried in November 1890.⁸¹

John L. Bremmerman

The 1860 census lists a family by the name of Bremmerman on Virginus Island. The family members lived among two households, one headed by Frederick Bremmerman (46), whose occupation is listed as master cooper, and the other by John L. Bremmerman (27), also a cooper.⁸² In the John L. Bremmerman household are his wife Eliza J. (27) and their children Gramille M. (3), and Melvin F. (1).⁸³

The Bremmerman family appears on the 1850 census for Frederick County, Maryland and John L. is listed under Frederick's household as a 17 year old

⁷⁸Seventh Census (1850), Frederick County, Maryland, p. 261, p. 498 of New Market District.

⁷⁹Holdcraft, p. 184.

⁸⁰Eighth Census (1860), Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

⁸¹Holdcraft, p. 184.

⁸²See biography for Frederick Bremmerman.

⁸³Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201, 202.

laborer.⁸⁴ In 1860 the Bremmerman's may have been new residents of the Island. The census indicates that all of the children living in both households were born in Maryland Melvin F. Bremmerman who was only one year old in 1860. Furthermore, Henry Bremmerman, a son of Frederick, was buried in a Frederick County, Maryland cemetery in March 1859.⁸⁵ It is not known when the family left the Island, possibly at the outbreak of the Civil War, but the family may have returned to Frederick County where Frederick was buried in November 1890.⁸⁶

Thomas Briscoe

There may have been more than one person by the name of Thomas Briscoe; therefore, the following information is presented with the caution that all of it may not relate to the Thomas Briscoe who lived on Virginius Island. The earliest available reference to Thomas Briscoe is an 1831 account in the Virginia Free Press of a meeting in Charlestown concerning improvement to navigation of the Shenandoah River. In 1838, Thomas Briscoe signed a notice warning people against trespassing on lands which "nearly occupy the space between Charlestown and Harpers Ferry," and in 1839, a J.T. Briscoe was among those attending a meeting of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Whigs.⁸⁷

According to the 1840 census, Thomas Briscoe lived in the town of Virginius. He was a man of 20 and under 30. Living with him was one female, also of 20 and under 30, and another of 15 and under 20.⁸⁸

⁸⁴Seventh Census (1850), Frederick County, Maryland, p. 261, p. 498 of New Market District.

⁸⁵Holdcraft, p. 184.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Virginia Free Press, 3 February 1831, p. 1, cols. 1-6 and p. 2, col. 1; 13 September 1838, p. 3, col. 4; 16 May 1839, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

⁸⁸Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 248.

It is possible Thomas Briscoe was John Thomas Briscoe, who would have been 27 in 1840. John Thomas Briscoe was the husband of Henrietta Briscoe, the former Henrietta Little and probably the daughter of Mary and George Little of Bolivar. In 1847, she advertised the re-opening of her "infant school" on Virginius Island in the Spirit of Jefferson. Henrietta Briscoe's name appears on an April 1850 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry post office but not on the 1850 census. Conceivably, Henrietta Little Briscoe remarried. A Henrietta E. Bragg, wife of William Bragg, was a party in an 1861 law suit involving the estate of George Little.⁸⁹

According to an 1896 newspaper account, John Thomas Briscoe deserted his family about 1848 and went west, where he acquired a fortune and married an Indiana woman. He died in Kansas in 1895. His son Alexander M. Briscoe by his wife Henrietta had known nothing of his father's whereabouts for over 47 years.⁹⁰

William B. Brown

Little is known about William B. Brown. He first appears in Jefferson County on the 1848 personal property tax records, at which time his only taxable property was a clock. It is not possible to place this William Brown in the Harpers Ferry area before June 1849, when a deed of trust he executed to secure a \$100 debt owed John Whaley designated Harpers Ferry as his place of residence. Part of this debt had been incurred June 25, 1847, suggesting Brown may have been living in the area at that time. Conveyed in trust were the following items:

⁸⁹Spirit of Jefferson, 28 May 1847, p. 3, col. 3; 29 March 1861, p. 3, col. 4; 4 February 1896, p. 2, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 8 December 1836, p. 3, col. 3; 21 August 1845, p. 3, col. 2; 4 April 1850, p. 3, col. 3.

⁹⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 4 February 1896, p. 2, col. 3.

three hogs, three beds, bedsteads and bedding, fifteen chairs, two mahogany and two common tables, one large looking glass, one safe, one bureau, one clock, one ten plate stove, three dozen plates, cups and saucers, knives and forks, and three carpets⁹¹

By 1850, Brown was living on Virginus Island; his family was the fourth family listed after Abraham Herr. According to the census, Brown (31), a saddler; his wife Mary J. (25); and children Charles (6), John H. (1) and Mary E. (4) were all born in Virginia. Also enumerated in this house was Ellen Power (3) of Ireland.⁹²

The Brown family was still living on Virginus Island in December 1851, when Mary Jane Brown died.⁹³ William Brown's name does not appear in subsequent records; however, John H. Brown (33), a resident of Baltimore, married Mary B. Smallwood in Bolivar in 1880.⁹⁴

Ferdinand R. Butler (or Boteler)

Ferdinand R. Butler (or Boteler as he is listed) first appears in available Jefferson County records in the personal property tax records of 1847. At that time, he owned a clock on which he was taxed 12½ cents. By 1849, his taxable property consisted of a metallic clock and a watch. He was taxed 50 cents.⁹⁵

Since personal property tax records do not list individuals by the town in which they lived it is not possible to state with absolute certainty that Butler was living in the Harpers Ferry area, but in June 1847, he married Catherine

⁹¹Personal Property Tax Book (1848); Deed Book 30, p. 475, Deed of Trust, William B. Brown to W.T. Daugherty trustee for John Thomas Whaley, 16 June 1849.

⁹²Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, pp. 403B-404.

⁹³Virginia Free Press, 11 March 1852, p. 2, col. 7.

⁹⁴Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 64; Spirit of Jefferson, 11 May 1880, p. 2, col. 4.

⁹⁵Personal Property Tax Books (1847-1850).

Cloud of Harpers Ferry.⁹⁶ Butler was definitely living in Harpers Ferry, and more specifically on Virginius Island, at the time of the 1850 census; he is listed immediately following Abraham Herr. Butler (39), a miller, was born in the District of Columbia. Also listed in his household are his wife Catherine (33) of Virginia; children Daniel M. (15), Joseph M. (13), John T. (11), Ferdinand R. (9), and Jeremiah C. (7), all born in Virginia; and Samuel H. Catesindafer (24) of Maryland and his wife Mary L. (19) of Delaware, who had been married less than a year. Catesindafer is listed on the 1850 personal property tax record but owned no taxable property at that time.⁹⁷

Catherine Butler must have died within a short time of the 1850 census. In 1852, Ferdinand R. Butler married Sarah Ann Janney.⁹⁸ Neither Butler nor any other member of his household appear in any presently uncovered records after 1852.

George H. Butler

A boarding house appears immediately after the Jesse Schofield family on the 1850 census. There is no indication who was running the boarding house, but it may have been the George H. Butler family. Armorer George H. (59) and his wife Tasner J. (51) were natives of Pennsylvania. Laborer George H. (26), Caroline B. (19), Ann M. (18), and Reese H. (16) had been born in Virginia, while the two youngest children, Hannah F. (12) and Elmira (11) had been born in Pennsylvania.⁹⁹

⁹⁶Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1847, p. 3, col. 4.

⁹⁷Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403B; Personal Property Tax Book (1850).

⁹⁸Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 76.

⁹⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, pp. 404B-405.

Butler had been living in Harpers Ferry in 1830 but apparently returned to Pennsylvania for an undetermined period before moving to Virginius Island. He does not appear on Jefferson County personal property tax records until 1848, at which time his taxable personal property consisted of a metallic clock. George apparently died between 1850 and 1857, and his wife removed to another part of Harpers Ferry where she was running a boarding house in 1860.¹⁰⁰ Daughter Ann Margaret married Jacob Frederick Sponcler in 1853, but apparently left him in less than a year and was living with her mother in 1860.¹⁰¹

After the 1860 census, some of the Butler family evidently moved to Middleway. In 1861, Hannah Frances Butler, daughter of George H. and Tamar Jane and then a resident of Middleway, married millwright Charles Richard Clowe, son of Charles and Hanah Clowe and resident of Fayetteville, North Carolina. Her sister Elmira married armorer James H. Claspy, son of John and Mary and also a resident of Fayetteville, that same year.¹⁰²

Fifteen other persons lived in the boarding house on Virginius Island in 1850. Mathew Herd (21), John Hurley (19), Robert Collens (18), Harry Hurley (16), William Rabbet (18), Alfred Collins (37), William Osburn (45), Thomas W. Mahoney (39), all of the District of Columbia, and John Hurl (20) of Virginia were all bricklayers. James Hughes (73), a manufacturer, was a native of England, while Agnes Crawford (35), Elizabeth Crawford (10), and Virginia Crawford (10) were from Scotland. It was in this boarding house that John Wernwag and his son Edward were living in 1850 (See John Wernwag's biography).

¹⁰⁰Fifth Census (1830), Harpers Ferry, p. 163; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 192; Personal Property Tax Book (1848); George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 38, L-6533, Special Collections, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

¹⁰¹Spirit of Jefferson, 19 April 1853, p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 12 January 1854, p. 3, col. 2. Sponcler's name is given as Sponder in the marriage records (Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 76).

¹⁰²Marriages, 1801-1890, pp. 95, 100.

With the exception of the Wernwags, James Hughes and Alfred Collins are the only other residents of this boarding house who appear in subsequent records. Hughes may be the James Hughes listed on personal property tax records between 1846 and 1850 as the owner of a clock. Alfred Collins may be the Alfred Collis charged with the adult male levy for Harpers Ferry in 1857.¹⁰³

Albert Buzzard

Albert Buzzard was living in the Harpers Ferry area and working as a farm laborer as early as 1870.¹⁰⁴ By 1900 Albert, then a fifty-five year old pulp mill employee, and his family were living on Virginus Island. His family in 1900 included his wife Ann C. (55) and their daughter, Sarah C. (20). Albert Buzzard's son, Albert F. Buzzard (30), headed a separate household which was also located on Virginus Island. The 1900 census records the household of Albert F. Buzzard, also a pulp mill laborer, immediately after that of his father. Included in the younger Buzzard's household were his wife Mollie E. (20) and their children, Agnes M. (4) and George G. (Gilbert)(1).¹⁰⁵

The 1900 census indicates that both Albert Buzzards were employed by the pulp mill in that year. The younger Albert was commonly known by the name "Font" or Fontaine in order to distinguish him from his father. Albert Sr. and Font both appear on a 1912 Shenandoah Pulp Company payroll. Albert Sr. died at age seventy-one while working at the Shenandoah Pulp Company on September 30, 1915. Albert Sr. was residing on Union Street in Bolivar when he died. Font and

¹⁰³Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405; Personal Property Tax Books (1846-1850); George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 28, L-6533, Duke University.

¹⁰⁴Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 450, p. 2 of Harpers Ferry.

¹⁰⁵Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76; Tenth Census (1880), p. 12, p. 24 of Harpers Ferry District. The 1880 population schedule indicates that Albert Buzzard had a son by the name of Albert Buzzard living in his household.

another son, John, were employed at the pulp mill at the time of their father's death.¹⁰⁶

Newspapers report that an Albert Buzzard was employed in the McGraw Beer Bottling plant in mid-1890.¹⁰⁷ Mollie E. Buzzard, the wife of the younger Albert Buzzard, was the former Mary Moberly, daughter of George C. Moberly (Moberly).¹⁰⁸ The 1900 Personal Property Book for Jefferson County indicates Albert Buzzard's total personal property was valued at \$50, comprised of household and kitchen furniture.¹⁰⁹

Albert F. Buzzard

Albert F. Buzzard (30), son of Albert Buzzard, headed a household located on Viriginus Island. The 1900 census records the household of Albert F. Buzzard, a pulp mill laborer, immediately after that of his father, also a Viriginus Island head of household employed as a pulp mill laborer. Included in the younger Buzzard's household were his wife Mollie E. (20) and their children, Agnes M. (4) and George G. (Gilbert)(1).¹¹⁰ In 1900 Albert F. owned 1 hog valued at \$5 and household and kitchen furniture valued at \$10.¹¹¹

The younger Albert was commonly known by the name "Font" or Fontaine in

¹⁰⁶ Monthly Payroll, Shenandoah Pulp Company, February 1912, Box 7, Folder-Shenandoah Pulp Co. 1900-1924, A&M 915, Hagley Museum & Library; Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

¹⁰⁷Virginia Free Press, 16 July 1890, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁰⁸Tenth Census (1880), p. 13, p. 25 of Harpers Ferry District; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76.

¹⁰⁹Personal Property Book (1900).

¹¹⁰Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76; Tenth Census (1880), p. 12, p. 24 of Harpers Ferry District. The 1880 population schedule indicates that Albert Buzzard had a son by the name of Albert Buzzard living in his household.

¹¹¹Personal Property Book (1900).

order to distinguish him from his father. His wife, Mollie E. Buzzard, was the former Mary (Mollie) Moberly, daughter of George C. Moberly (Moberly).¹¹²

It is not known exactly when Albert F. Buzzard moved to Virginius Island, but he apparently lived in the Harpers Ferry area for almost all of his life, if not his entire life, as his father, Albert Buzzard worked as a farm laborer in the area as early as 1870.¹¹³ The newspapers report an Albert Buzzard was employed in the McGraw Beer Bottling plant in mid-1890.¹¹⁴ When Albert F. and his family left the Island is not known. Albert F. and Albert Sr. were still employed at the Shenandoah Pulp Company when Albert Sr. died in September 1915, but Albert Sr. lived on Union Street in Bolivar at that time.¹¹⁵

Daniel Chambers

Daniel Chambers was perhaps in the Harpers Ferry area by April 1841 when his name appears in the newspaper listing of persons having letters at the post office.¹¹⁶ The 1850 Census lists a Daniel Chamburg as head of a household of five living on Virginius Island.¹¹⁷ It is suspected that the census taker erred in the spelling of Chambers. The census indicates that living in the household were Daniel (29), Elizabeth (31), Cornelia (6), Marshal (4), Daniel (2), and Charles Cox (20). The census lists Daniel's occupation as carpenter.

¹¹²Tenth Census (1880), p. 13, p. 25 of Harpers Ferry District; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76.

¹¹³Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 450, p. 2 of Harpers Ferry.

¹¹⁴Virginia Free Press, 16 July 1890, p. 3, col. 2.

¹¹⁵Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

¹¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1841, p. 3, col. 4.

¹¹⁷Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403B.

Although the 1850 census shows Daniel Chambers as a carpenter, newspapers from the early 1850s suggest that he was much involved in the leadership of his community. He was a member of Lodge #1 Independent Order of Odd Fellows, he was involved in local Whig politics, and he served on the Harpers Ferry town council.¹¹⁸

It is not known exactly when or why Chambers decided to leave Harpers Ferry. What is known is that in 1855 a group of 27 Harpers Ferry citizens left for the west.¹¹⁹ It is possible that Chambers and his family were among the group. There is no evidence to suggest that Chambers moved off Virginus Island prior to his departure from Harpers Ferry.

Edmund H. Chambers

Born in 1806, Edmund H. Chambers first came to Harpers Ferry in 1814. According to testimony he gave in 1887, Chambers lived on Virginus Island for about two years around 1822. At that time, he was living with his brother-in-law (unnamed), "who was boating for John Peacher," then owner of the island. They lived on "the upper end" of the island.¹²⁰

Chambers does not appear in census records until 1830. Living with him at

¹¹⁸Spirit of Jefferson, 11 May 1852, p. 3, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 21 April 1853, p. 2, col. 3; 10 May 1853, p. 2, col. 1.

¹¹⁹Virginia Free Press, 25 October 1855, p. 2, col. 1; 15 February 1899, p. 3, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 18 February 1899, p. 3, col. 4. The last two citations are obituaries for J.D. Chambers of Kansas City, Missouri and formerly of Harpers Ferry. Both papers indicate that J.D. Chambers left Harpers Ferry during the 1850s. Of more significance is the fact that both papers give Chambers age at time of death as 79. The 1850 census indicates that Daniel Chamburg was 29 at the time the census was taken. Therefore, it is believed that Daniel Chamburg appearing on the 1850 census, Daniel Chambers who was active in the community during the early 1850s, but whose name is not reported in the local papers after December 1854, and the J.D. Chambers who died in Missouri in 1899, were all the same person.

¹²⁰Deposition of Edmund H. Chambers, 14 May 1887, in Harpers Ferry Mill Co. vs Thomas H. Savery et al, 19 July 1887, p. 44.

that time was a female of 20 and under 30, probably his wife Eliza; a male under 5; and a female under 5, probably his daughter Elizabeth. Eliza Chambers (35) died in 1838, and the following year Edmund Chambers married Mary Miller, daughter of Peter Miller of Washington County, Maryland. Elizabeth Chambers married Charles E. Young in 1848.¹²¹

Edmund Chambers became one of the more prominent members of the Harpers Ferry community. He was town mayor for several terms and also served on the county court. He also was a supporter of the temperance movement. Chambers died in 1890.¹²²

Jonathan C. Child

On July 24, 1867 Abraham H. Herr sold his entire interest in Virginius Island to Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight, both of Springfield, Ohio, for \$75,000.¹²³ Child and McCreight purchased the property intending to convert the old cotton factory into a flour mill.¹²⁴ In August 1868 Child and McCreight sold to Solomon V. Yantis and Horatio R. Riddle an undivided third interest in the Island property for \$15,000.¹²⁵

The 1870 census shows Jonathan Child was living on Virginius Island; he was the head of a household of six. In addition to Jonathan, a 53 year old Vermont

¹²¹Fifth Census (1830), Harpers Ferry, p. 165; Virginia Free Press, 21 June 1838, p. 3, col. 4; 28 April 1848, p. 2, col. 7; Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 5 June 1839, p. 3, col. 6.

¹²²Virginia Free Press, 15 January 1890, p. 2, col. 2.

¹²³Deed Book 2, p. 285, Abraham H. Herr to Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight, 24 July 1867.

¹²⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 30 July 1867, p. 2, col. 3.

¹²⁵Deed Book 5, p. 324, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily and John A. McCreight and wife Celia to Solomon V. Yantis and Horatio R. Riddle, 15 August 1868.

native, were his wife Emily (43), son George Child (15), daughters Annie (13), and Emily E. (11), and a domestic servant named Betty Hardy.¹²⁶ The Child family lived in the house believed previously occupied by Fontaine Beckham and Abraham Herr. Historian Charles Snell designated this structure as building No. 22 on the 1859 Historical Base Map.¹²⁷ An October 1970 letter from Emily E. Child to her sister-in-law describing flood damage places the Child family in this structure.¹²⁸

Following the flood of November 1877 the Virginia Free Press reported that Mr. Child's residence was damaged by high water.¹²⁹ Child, McCreight, & Co. remained in business until the firm dissolved when Jonathan Child retired and sold his interest in Virginus Island in 1880. From that time McCreight and Solomon Yantis continued the milling firm under the name of McCreight & Yantis until that company sold its interest on Virginus Island to the Harpers Ferry Mill Company in December 1884.¹³⁰ Although Child sold his interest in the island, he and his family continued living on the island until at least May 1889.¹³¹ It is known that in March 1888 Jonathan Child purchased a large brick house on Shenandoah Street known as the "Quinn House". In June 1889 Child

¹²⁶Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 456, p. 14 of Harpers Ferry.

¹²⁷Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021, Map File, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

¹²⁸E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Lucy Child], 7 October 1870, Transcription, HFD-213, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

¹²⁹Virginia Free Press, 1 December 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

¹³⁰Virginia Free Press, 24 April 1880, p. 2, col. 4; 11 December 1884, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 December 1884, p. 2, col. 4; Deed Book N, p. 167, Jonathan C. Child and wife Emily to John A. McCreight and Solomon V. Yantis, 24 April 1880.

¹³¹Notes made by Historian Ingersoll following visit with Mrs. Emily Greenland, granddaughter of Jonathan Child, June 17, 1963, HFD-205, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Mrs. Greenland recalled the family home on Virginus Island and cleaning up after the 1889 flood.

purchased a home on Camp Hill in which he died in March 1890.¹³²

¹³²Virginia Free Press, 8 March 1888, p. 3, col. 1; 20 June 1889, p. 3, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 1 April 1890, p. 2, col. 5.

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA FIDUCIARY ACCOUNT BOOK A, pp. 407-12.

Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Jonathan C. Child deceased.

State of West Virginia, Jefferson County, Sct.

In the Clerk's Office of the County Court May 17th, 1890.

Ordered that George McGlincey, Patrick Winston, John W. Doll and T.W. Beale or any three of them being first duly sworn appraise the personal estate of Jonathan C. Child, deceased, and make report thereof according to law.

Teste

Gerard D. Moore Clerk of said Court
A Copy Teste.

Gerard D. Moore
Clerk of said Court

Personally appeared before me a notary Public George McGlincey, Patrick Winston, John W. Doll and T.W. Beale and made oath according to Law to appraise the personal Estate of Jonathan C. Child deceased to the best of their Judgment. Given under my hand this 25th day of June 1890.

John Koonce N.P.

Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Jonathan C. Child deceased.

692 Yds. Calico	@4	27.68
743 " Bn & Blea Cotton	6	44.58
338 " Cambric	4	13.52
1356 " Ging	6	81.36
75 " Outing Cloth	6	4.50
244 " Sattun	8	19.52
370 " Brocales	8	29.60
163 " Dress Goods	7	11.41
390 " Cashmere	15	58.50
65 " Sheeting	20	13.00
232 " Ticking	9	20.88
212 " Shirting	6	12.72
112 " Demins	8	8.96
90 " Crash	4	3.60
105 " Cashmeres	15	15.75
86 " Pigne	6	5.16
117 " Jean	10	11.70
134 " Flannel	8	10.72
14 " Table Linen	15	2.10
170 " Scheen	6	10.20
6 " Spreads	75	4.50
123 " Shirts & Drawers	25	30.75
50 Prs. Gloves	40	20.00
38 " Corsets	35	13.30
6 Doz Knitting Cotton	40	2.40
88 Prs. Suspenders	12½	8.50
658 " Stockings & ½ Hose	5	32.90
67 " Underwear	25	16.95
57 " Gloves	15	8.55

1 Lot	Stays		.50
110 Yds.	Dull	@5	5.50
18 Gro.	Buttons	25	4.50
80½ Doz.	Spool Cotton	30	24.15
8 "	Silk & twist	30	2.40
5 "	Braid	25	1.25
1 Lot	Sundries		2.50
12 lbs	Cotton Bats	8½	1.00
15 "	Carpet Chain	10	1.50
180	Towels	7	12.60
32	Napkins	6	1.92
13	Shawls	25	3.25
78	Scrub Brushes	5	3.90
125	Lamp Globes	4	5.00
		Amt brought up	<u>\$613.08</u>
			613.08
19	Lamp & Lanterns	@20	3.80
7	Tea Sets	2.50	17.50
63 1/3	Sets Plates	25	15.84
104	Bowls & Pitchers	10	10.40
6	Sets C & Saucers	30	1.80
9	Tea Pots	20	1.80
4	Castors & Curts [?]	25	1.00
2	Bowls & Pitchers	75	1.50
24	Chambers.	20	4.80
535 lbs.	Roasted Coffee	24	128.40
115 "	Green Coffee	20	23.00
5½ "	pratther "	1.00	5.50
5 Doz.	"	30	1.50
1 Gro.	"		.75
1392	Soap	2½	34.80
13 Doz	Glasses	30	3.90
2 "	Pepper & Salts	50	1.00
2 "	Butter Plates	20	[?].40
5 Gro	Box Snuff	5	25.00
46 Bottles	"	20	9.20
16 Doz	Potash	75	12.00
25 "	G.Pow	25	6.25
6½ "	Blue	20	1.30
16 Gro.	C.Ess.	20	3.20
74	Pants Coveralls & Jackets	60	44.40
10	Pulp Basias	20	2.00
1 Lot	Tin Ware		4.00
390 Prs.	Shoes & Slippers	1.--	390.00
2	Coffee Mills	25	.50
100 lbs.	Shot	4	4.00
4 Doz.	Gun Caps	50	2.00
10 lbs.	Powder	20	2.00
1 Lot	Knives Forks & Spoons		8.50
12 Doz	Tacks	35	4.20

1 Lot	Lamp Burners		1.50
1 "	" Wicks		1.00
1 "	Shoe Laces		2.00
6 Doz	Store Polish	25	1.50
5 "	Shoe "	30	1.50
3 Bottles	Butter Color	15	.45
3 Doz Bxs	Salt	60	1.80
40 Bottles	Pickles & Catsup	8	3.20
68 Packs.	Starch	5	3.40
176	H. & S. Powder	6½	11.00
11 Doz.	Flooring Ex	50	5.50
			<u>1422.17</u>
		Amt. brought up	1422.17
134 lbs	Spice	20	26.80
40 "	Starch	3	1.20
7 Doz	Extracts	25	1.75
55 Packs	Pre Cement	8 1/3	4.58
475	Cigars	02	9.50
27 Glasses	Mustard & Jelley	6	1.62
57 Cans	Salmon & Oysters	10	5.70
94	Sardines	6	5.64
10 Cans	Corned Beef	10	1.00
20 "	Baked Beans	10	2.00
27 "	Peas	10	2.70
6 Doz	Tomato	75	4.50
6 "	Corn	60	3.60
60 lbs	Candy	10	6.00
230	Cracks & Cakes	7	16.10
Contents of Show Case	except Candy	1.50	
200 lbs	Tea	35	70.00
1 Box	Clothes Pins		.25
20 lbs	Candles	10	2.00
35 "	D. Peaches	03	1.05
20 "	Citron	15	3.00
1 Lot	Pipes		1.50
5 Doz	Toilet Soap	30	1.50
80	Baking Soda	3	2.40
50	Wash "	1½	.75
2 Bu.	Navy Beans	2.00	4.00
200	Green Sugar	7	14.00
150	Coffee	6½	9.75
675	Brown "	5	33.75
1 Bbl.	Roats		5.75
50	Cut & Row, Sugar	7	3.50
300	Chewing & Smoking Tobacco	25	75.00
25	Rice	5	1.25
2 Bu.	Garden Seed	2	4.00
31	W.W. Bushes	22	6.82
2 Doz	" "	75	1.50
11	Butter Pints	20	2.20

16	Buckets	18	2.88
100	Hdkfs	3	3.00
9	Gloves	15	1.35
1 Rf	Verling [?]		1.00
1 Doz	Scarfs		.75
1 Box	Reiching [?]		.50
3	Show Cases		5.00
1	Fire Proof Safe		<u>40.00</u>
			<u>1815.56</u>
		Amt brought up	1815.56
	Store fixtures		25.00
14	Slate	5	.70
2 Doz	Tin Shovels	25	.50
10 Bbl	Flour	4.50	45.00
8 Bu.	Meat	40	3.20
1 Lot	Fruit Jars		6.00
4 Sacks	Salt	1.--	4.00
1 Lot	Wash Tubs & Boards		5.00
40	" Boards	15	6.00
1	Bread Sives [?]		.75
1	Churn		1.75
2	Wringers	1.50	3.00
30 lbs	Cheese	10	3.00
1	Water Set		1.00
32	Shovels Forks & Rakes	20	6.40
45 lbs	Sale feather	20	9.00
2 Sacks	Flour	60	1.20
30	Pine Apples		1.00
11 Doz	Brooms	1.75	19.25
5 Bxs	Fire Crackers	1.--	5.00
32	Buckets	6	1.92
6	Forks	35	2.10
14 Doz	Cans	25	3.50
2 "	Chairs	3.--	6.00
7 "	Rocking Chairs	60	4.20
120 "	Flannel	10	12.00
54 prs	Boots	1.25	67.50
56 yds	Rhou [?]	15	8.40
8	Composts	75	6.00
20	Blankets	1.50	30.00
35 yds	Blue Flan.	15	5.25
15 "	Dress Goods	15	2.25
12	Shirts	25	3.00
60 yds	Flan.	25	15.00
20 lbs.	Nuts	10	2.00
152 Prs	Rubbers	30	45.60
1½ Bbls	B.Wheat	4.--	6.00
8	Rockers	1.--	8.00
11	Childs Chairs	25	2.75
1½ Doz	Chairs	2.--	3.00

5	Tables	3.00	15.00
2	Safes	2.00	4.00
2 lbs	Stands	2.00	<u>4.00</u>
		Amt brought up	2219.78
9 Prs	Bed Steads	2.50	22.50
3	Cradles	75	2.25
5	Cloths Racks	50	2.50
8	Mattresses	1.75	14.00
12	B.Springs	2.50	30.00
6	Spring Cots	1.25	7.50
10	Pillows & Bol	25	2.50
60	Table Cloth	20	12.00
3 Doz	Blinds	4.00	12.00
15 Yds	Holland	9	1.35
1 Lot	Paper Blind		3.50
100	Femp Carpet	12½	12.50
275	Jug "	20	55.00
60	Rag "	30	18.00
20	Floor O.Cloth	20	4.00
4	Ottomans	50	2.00
2	Matts	50	1.00
10	Candle Wick	15	1.50
18	Curtain Poles	25	4.50
1	Table		1.50
700	Matting	10	70.00
15	Rucks	75	11.25
1	Stand		1.00
6	Looking Glasses	25	1.50
127 Gals	Coal Oil	8 1/3	11.11
3 Bbls	Molasses		37.50
1 "	Vinegar		5.00
1 "	Mac. Oil		9.95
2 volbs	Meat		12.00
60	Ham		6.60
110 lbs	B.Meat		3.30
120 "	S.Meat	6	7.20
100 "	" Lard	9	7.00
	Salt Fish		1.00
1 Lot	Stone Ware		75.00
5 Cans	Maple Syrup	70	3.50
11	Kettles		5.50
1	Copper "		8.00
10 Bbls	Flour	5.75	<u>57.50</u>
			2763.67
Open Store a/c			2071.71
Cash			293.78
Household and Kitchen Furniture			<u>200.00</u>
			\$5329.18

George McGlincey

John W. Hall
Thos. W. Beale Appraisers
Patrick Winston

State of West Virginia, Jefferson County Sct.

In the Clerk's Office of the County Court

On the 30th day of June 1890, the foregoing Appraisement of the personal Estate of Jonathan C. Child, deceased, was received in said Office and admitted to record.

Teste
Gerard D. Moore
Clerk of said Court

Joseph E. Clagett

Physician and druggist Joseph Clagett graduated from the Winchester Medical College in 1850 and may have moved to the Harpers Ferry area as early as 1852.¹³³ According to Charles Snell, by January 1856, Clagett was running a drugstore located in the same building as the United States Hotel. He operated this store until the beginning of the Civil War.¹³⁴

It is not known if the Clagett family lived on Virginus Island from the time of their arrival in Harpers Ferry, but it is clear they were living there at the time of John Brown's raid in October 1859. In writing of the raid on Harpers Ferry to their daughter Eugenie Burton, fellow island residents Mary and George Mauzy recounted that Sidney Clagett, wife of Joseph, had seen a man shot. "Mrs. Claggett got on a regular jerry on the strength of all [ale?]. She was running around on the Island as drunk as a Sailor. . . . - it is such a pity for the Dr. he is such a gentleman."¹³⁵ Evidently, the Clagetts were not temperance advocates, a fact further supported by Joseph Clagett's purchase of whiskey, champagne, and other alcoholic beverages from Norris, Calwell & Co. in 1861, either for personal or professional use.¹³⁶

On the 1860 census, Clagett's name appears after Abraham Herr. According to the census, Clagett (30), a native of Maryland, owned \$2,500 worth of real estate. This property might have been Wager Lot 55, which Clagett, Charles

¹³³Spirit of Jefferson, 28 May 1850, p. 2, col. 7; 19 October 1897, p. 3, col. 4.

¹³⁴Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey Report for Wager Lots No. 6, 7, and Part of 8, 'The Wager House or United States Hotel'," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 7 August 1958), pp. 25-26; Virginia Free Press, 10 January 1856, p. 2, col. 7.

¹³⁵Mary and George Mauzy to Genie [Burton], 8 November 1859, typescript, HFD-388, HFNHP.

¹³⁶William B. Norris, John K. Calwell, and Jacob Norris vs Joseph E. Clagett, Reel 37, Envelope 18-6, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 18, A&M 382, WVU.

Johnson and George Koonce purchased in 1857. He also owned \$5,500 worth of personal property. Living in his household were his wife Sidney (28) and daughter Rose (5), both of Virginia. Also listed with Clagett are Maryland natives Joseph Ganit (16), a clerk, and Nanney Ault (12). Clagett owned two slaves, a male (24) and a female (19) who lived in a slave dwelling. His other assets included two gold watches, a carriage, and a horse.¹³⁷

Joseph Clagett was apparently an active member of the community during his years in Harpers Ferry. His names appears on the list of persons planning two balls in 1856 and 1860.¹³⁸ Clagett was also involved in political affairs, serving as a delegate to a political convention in Richmond in 1860 and as a town councilman in 1859 and 1860.¹³⁹

After leaving Harpers Ferry in 1861, Joseph Clagett served with the medical staff of the Confederate army. In 1867, he was appointed a professor of medicine at Washington University in Baltimore, where Joseph and Sidney died in 1908 and 1902 respectively.¹⁴⁰

John Cooper

John Cooper (21) first appears in the available historical record in 1893, when he married Lizzie Kidwell (21), daughter of Richard Kidwell, in Harpers

¹³⁷Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, pp. 202-203; Slave Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 172; Deed Book 37, p. 324, Joseph L. Duckwall to Joseph E. Clagett, Charles Johnson, and George Koonce, 18 July 1857; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, p. 7.

¹³⁸Virginia Free Press, 14 February 1856, p. 3, col. 1; 16 February 1860, p. 3, col. 1.

¹³⁹Virginia Free Press, 5 May 1859, p. 2, col. 5; 17 May 1860, p. 2, col. 6; Independent Democrat, 31 January 1860, p. 2, col. 7.

¹⁴⁰Virginia Free Press, 21 March 1867, p. 2, col. 7; Spirit of Jefferson, 4 March 1902, p. 3, col. 2; 7 April 1908, p. 2, col. 1.

Ferry. Cooper was a native of Loudoun County, Virginia. Lizzie had been born in Jefferson County.¹⁴¹

Although John Cooper appears on the 1900 census in the Harpers Ferry District, it is doubtful he was living on Virginus Island then. According to that census, John Cooper (29) was a day laborer. He and his wife Lizzie (24) were natives of Virginia. Their daughters Birdie C. (5), Catherine (3), and Addie (6 months) had been born in West Virginia.¹⁴²

By 1910, however, the John Cooper family was residing on Virginus Island. Cooper (41) was a laborer at the pulp mill. Living with him were his wife Mary J.E. (37) and children Bettie (16), Addie B. (10), Mary Elizabeth (9), Maude E. (7), Rosie May (5), John Henry W. (4), and Cassie J. (2).¹⁴³ Cooper's personal property was valued at \$200 that year.¹⁴⁴

John Cooper was still employed at the Shenandoah Pulp Mill in January 1912. That month, Cooper worked fifteen days. He was paid \$1.50 a day or a total of \$22.50 for the month. Unfortunately, the only other payroll available is for the following month; it does not list Cooper's name.¹⁴⁵ Throughout these years, Cooper's name appeared several times in the list of delinquent taxpayers.¹⁴⁶

The Cooper family may briefly have left the Harpers Ferry area in 1917 and

¹⁴¹Marriage Register 2, p. 151; Farmers Advocate, 21 September 1918, p. 2, col. 4.

¹⁴²Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry District, p. 71B.

¹⁴³Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, pp. 191-191B.

¹⁴⁴Personal Property Tax Book (1910).

¹⁴⁵Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Shenandoah Pulp Company 1900-1924, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

¹⁴⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; 16 July 1907, p. 4, col. 2; 23 August 1910, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 19 August 1915, p. 1, col. 4.

certainly left the island for an indeterminate time. According to an item in the Farmers Advocate of August 11, 1917, the family had moved to Alberton, near Baltimore, to work. John Cooper, however, remained in Harpers Ferry. Two months later, the same newspaper reported the Cooper family had returned from Ellicott City, Maryland, where they had gone to work in a knitting factory. Where the family lived upon returning to Harpers Ferry is not known, but it was not until July 1918, that the Cooper family moved back to Virginus Island.¹⁴⁷

The Cooper family still lived on Virginus Island in 1920. The family consisted of John (51), a laborer at the pulp mill; his wife Mary E. (45), a laundress; daughters Bertha (25) and Addie (20), both engaged in housework, Mary (19), Maude (16), Rosie (15), and Cassie (13); and sons John Jr. (14), Charles (6), Haywood (4), and Clarence (2). Although tax records list Cooper with \$200 in personal property in 1910, by 1920 his personal property was valued at only \$15.¹⁴⁸

That same year, Mary Elizabeth Cooper married William F. Cole, a native of Keep Tryst. In 1921, daughter Rosa May was killed in an automobile accident, and in 1928, Maude Cooper, who is listed as divorced, married Baughman Gorman Chew of Brunswick. In June 1929, son Clarence died from burns received when his clothing caught on fire. Interestingly, South Bolivar was given as the Cooper family residence at that time.¹⁴⁹

It is clear, however, that the family remained in residence on Virginus

¹⁴⁷Farmers Advocate, 11 August 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 20 October 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 20 July 1918, p. 2, col. 4.

¹⁴⁸Fourteen Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; Personal Property Tax Book (1920), Harpers Ferry Corporation.

¹⁴⁹Marriage Register 7, pp. 132, 466; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 June 1929, p. 1, col. 6; 18 October 1951, p. B5, col. 2.

Island at that time. Six months after the death of Clarence, John W. Cooper shot himself after suffering for months with stomach cancer. He was interred in the Lutheran Cemetery in Bolivar. According to his obituary, his residence was Herr's Island.¹⁵⁰

During their early years on Virginius Island, the Cooper family occupied one of the brick row houses. In July 1913, they were living in one of "two adjoining brick dwellings situated on Herra Island" which were destroyed by fire.¹⁵¹ Subsequently, the family probably moved to Building 15 (1859 Historical Base Map) because it and Building 22/32, the residence of the Longerbeam family, are the only two dwellings visible in HF-883.¹⁵²

John Corbin

The 1860 census lists John Corbin (38), a miller, as the head of a household of five people. Included are his wife Emma (27), and their children James W. (8), Charles W. (6), and John M. (5).¹⁵³ It is not known when the Corbins left the Harpers Ferry area. The only known appearance of Corbin's name in local newspapers is in an 1855 list of names for letters at the Harpers Ferry post office.¹⁵⁴ He is not listed on the 1870 census. In all likelihood the family left the area during the Civil War.

¹⁵⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 12 December 1929, p. 1, col. 2.

¹⁵¹Spirit of Jefferson, 15 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3;

¹⁵²This photograph is erroneously dated 1921, but must have been taken at a later date, no earlier than 1924.

¹⁵³Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201.

¹⁵⁴Spirit of Jefferson 14 August 1855, p. 3, col. 2.

William Cox

William Cox and his wife Sarah were living in the Harpers Ferry area by 1855.¹⁵⁵ The Cox family first appears on the Harpers Ferry census in 1860.¹⁵⁶ They appear again the 1870 census and that census indicates the family was living on Virginus Island. Included in the 1870 household were William (46), who worked on the railroad, Sarah A. (35), and their children, Emma F. (14), Minnie (5), and John W. (5).¹⁵⁷ How long the Cox family remained on Virginus Island is not known, but it is believed they had moved to Bolivar by 1873.¹⁵⁸ The family appears on the 1880 census living in Bolivar.¹⁵⁹

Margaret Decker

Margaret Decker and her family were living in Bolivar in 1850. This family consisted of Margaret (36), Palestine (13), Sarah (12), Jane (10), and Lewis (7).¹⁶⁰ While Palestine is listed as a female on the 1850 census, the 1860 census shows Palatiah (23) as a male and an armory employee. The latter census lists Margaret (47), Sarah (21), Mary V. (18), Levi (17), a laborer, and Willie (7 months) and shows Margaret with an estimated \$75 in personal property. By the time of the 1860 census, the Decker family was living on Virginus

¹⁵⁵Virginia Free Press, 27 September 1855, p. 2, col. 7. This item is an obituary for Mary Virginia Cox (17 mos.), daughter of William and Sarah Cox.

¹⁵⁶Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 197.

¹⁵⁷Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

¹⁵⁸Register of Deaths (1866-1880), p. 93. Listed here is the name of Martin Cox, the one year old son of William and Sarah A. Cox. Bolivar is given as the place of death.

¹⁵⁹Tenth Census (1880), p. 21, p. 16 of Bolivar Town.

¹⁶⁰Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 402.

Island.¹⁶¹ There is no proof, but the Deckers may have been the family of William Decker who died in 1848 (See William Decker's biography).

Mrs. Decker and her four children are included in the list of paupers from 1848 into the 1850s.¹⁶² In 1861, Mary V. Decker married Oscar Gomph, a neighbor on the 1860 census.¹⁶³

Some or all of the other Deckers apparently left the area following the outbreak of war. Levi Decker and Palatiah Decker joined the Confederate army. Following the war Levi returned to the Harpers Ferry area, where he lived with his family until his death in 1917.¹⁶⁴

William Decker

William Decker first appears in the available historical record in the 1830 census where he, listed as of age 20 and under 30, and a female, probably a wife, age of 15 and under 20, are listed in the town of Virginus.¹⁶⁵ The next year, Decker, who gave his residence as Harpers Ferry, received \$45 from Timothy Herrington for placing in trust the following items:

one feather bed and bedding, a straw bed and bedding, a pair of acorn bedsteds, a pair of low bedsteds, a bureau, half a dozen chairs, a rocking chair, a corner cupboard, a dining table, a breakfast table, a pine chest two looking glasses, a kitchen tables, half a dosen cups and saucers, a dosen plates a dosen knives and

¹⁶¹Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204; Snell, "A History," p. 119.

¹⁶²Virginia Free Press, 13 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1; 14 July 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 3 August 1854, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 27 June 1848, p. 4, col. 2; 31 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3; 24 July 1855, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁶³See Oscar Gomph in biography of Grace Arvin.

¹⁶⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 26 June 1917, p. 2, col. 3; Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 17, p. 8 of Bolivar; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 74A.

¹⁶⁵Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175.

forks, bread basket, a knife box, a coffee pot, four glass tumblers, a copper tea kettle, a wooden bucket, a tin bucket, an iron pot, an iron shovel, an iron rake, a whitewash brush two candlesticks, two stone jugs, half a dozen tea spoons a cradle, a coffee mill and a pint decanter¹⁶⁶

No one by the name of Decker appears on the 1840 census; however, a William Dicker is listed in Harpers Ferry. Dicker was of 30 and under 40. Enumerated with him were three males: one of 20 and under 30, one of 10 and under 15, and one under 5. Also living in his household were two females of 20 and under 30, one of 15 and under 20, one of 5 and under 10, and two under 5.¹⁶⁷

It is not clear whether or not William Decker was an employee of the U.S. armory while he lived on Virginius Island. However, two deeds executed by Decker assigning his wages from July 1845 to December 1846 to Robert Russell Jr. reveal that he was an employee of the armory at that time. Personal property tax records show that while Decker owned no taxable property in 1845, he was taxed 25 cents on a metallic clock in 1847. William H. Decker, about 40, died January 2, 1848.¹⁶⁸

Josiah (Joseph) W. Deener

Josiah Deener's name first appears in the available historical record in 1847 when he advertised merchandise at his store on Shenandoah Street in the

¹⁶⁶Deed Book 16, p. 507, Deed of Trust, William Decker to Timothy Herrington, 20 April 1831.

¹⁶⁷Sixth Census (1840), Harpers Ferry, p. 238.

¹⁶⁸Deed Book 27, p. 381, William H. Decker to Robert Russell Jr, 11 August 1845; Deed Book 27, p. 463, William H. Decker to Robert Russell Jr., 27 January 1846; Personal Property Tax Books (1845, 1847); Virginia Free Press, 12 January 1848, p. 3, col. 2.

Virginia Free Press.¹⁶⁹ Deener was apparently active in politics in the 1850s, serving as recorder of Harpers Ferry in 1853 and 1854 and as secretary of at least two meetings of the American Party in 1856 and 1857.¹⁷⁰

In 1852, a Joseph W. Deener, probably Josiah, purchased Block W, Lot 1 on Camp Hill and in 1857, he paid taxes on real estate valued at \$100; however, the 1860 census does not indicate that he owned any real estate at that time. In 1860, Deener was living on Virginius Island. Maryland native Josiah W. Deener (36) is listed as a miller's clerk. His wife Mary E. (33) and children William (12), Alice L. (9), and Edward E. (2) were natives of Virginia. Also living in this house were Catherine E. Deener (25), possibly Josiah's sister, and miller William W. Edmunds (19), both of Maryland.¹⁷¹

Deener owned an estimated \$400 in personal property at that time. This property included one clock valued at \$2 and household and kitchen furniture valued at \$200.¹⁷² Josiah (or Joseph) Deener's name does not appear in available records again until 1878, when he died in Georgetown, District of Columbia, at the age of fifty-three.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹Virginia Free Press, 6 October 1847, p. 3, col. 2; *Ibid.*, 10 November 1847, p. 3, col. 3. For an account with Deener's store see *Armstead Buffington vs Joseph W. Deener*, Reel 18, Envelope 6-9, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 6, A&M 382, WVU.

¹⁷⁰Virginia Free Press, 12 May 1853, p. 2, col. 3; 11 May 1854, p. 2, col. 1; 24 April 1856, p. 2, col. 5; 2 April 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

¹⁷¹Deed Book 33, p. 299, Jacob Sponsler to Joseph W. Deener, 14 September 1852; George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 20, L-6533, Duke University; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 203.

¹⁷²Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 203; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, p. 5.

¹⁷³Virginia Free Press, 30 March 1878, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 April 1878, p. 3, col. 1. The former newspaper gives his name as Josiah W. Deener while the latter gives it Joseph W. Deener.

John Dever

The only information on John Dever comes from the 1830 census. Dever, a man of age 30 and under 40, was living in the town of Virginus. Living with him was a female of age 20 and under 30, probably his wife, and a male child under age 5. There were also two slaves in his household: one female of 24 and under 36 and one male of 10 and under 24.¹⁷⁴

Thomas Dobson

Living on Virginus Island in 1850 were Thomas Dobson (27) and his wife Sarah (28), both born in Virginia. According to the census, they had been married within the year. Dobson was a cooper. Sometime after the census, the Dobsons moved to Charlestown, where they were living when the 1860 census was taken. Thomas Dobson (37) was still working as a cooper. He had \$450 in real property and \$100 in personal property. Also living in his house were wife Sarah C. (37) and children Mary V. (9), Thomas I. (7), William R. (4), and Franklin A. (1).¹⁷⁵

Elizabeth Doll

The only information on this household comes from the 1850 census. Elizabeth Doll was a 45 year old native of Virginia. Living with her was Mary E. Earnst (18), also a native of Virginia. No occupation is given for either of

¹⁷⁴Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 174.

¹⁷⁵Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404; Eighth Census (1860), Charlestown, p. 798, p. 168 of Charlestown.

them.¹⁷⁶

It is possible Mary Earnst is the Mary Elizabeth Earnest who married Alexander Barron in 1852, and that he is the Samuel A. Barron who appears on the 1860 census. At that time Barron (35) was an employee at the rifle works. Also living in the household were Mary (25), Emma (7), George W. (2), and John W. (1).¹⁷⁷

James Downig (Downing)

Enumerated on the 1850 census after Thomas Dobson is James Downig (25) and his wife Sarah A. (20), both of Virginia. Like Dobson, Downig was a cooper and had been married within the year.¹⁷⁸ In May 1850, James W. and Sarah A. Downing had lost their one month old son John Winfield Downing. The last appearance of Downing's name in the available historical record is an April 1851 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.¹⁷⁹

Frank Drew

Frank Drew appears on the 1900 census as a forty-four year old pulp mill laborer living on Virginius Island. Living in his household are two sisters, Annie C. (58) and Virginia L. (35), and his brother Robert W. (40), a laborer/gardener.¹⁸⁰ Drew appears on the 1910 census with his brother and

¹⁷⁶Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

¹⁷⁷Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 155; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 213.

¹⁷⁸Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

¹⁷⁹Virginia Free Press, 24 May 1850, p. 2, col. 7; 4 April 1851, p. 2, col. 7.

¹⁸⁰Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76.

sister Virginia Lee, Annie having died in 1903, but it is believed they were not living on the Island.¹⁸¹ Frank Drew and his sister moved back to Virginus Island in the summer of 1917, and Frank resumed his position at the Shenandoah Pulp Company. Drew had been briefly employed at a munitions factory in New Jersey and at Kearny's Point, Delaware during the first half of 1917.¹⁸² Drew was also collector of tolls for the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Bridge Company for an undetermined period of time beginning in February 1919. Frank and Virginia Lee continued to live on Virginus Island until 1924.¹⁸³ The Drews lived in the two-story frame dwelling appearing on the 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map until vacating that house in February 1924.¹⁸⁴

Drew's personal property was valued at \$30 in 1900 including \$15 for some type of watch or clock. In 1920 his total personal property was valued at \$100.¹⁸⁵

It is not known exactly when Frank Drew, his brother and two sisters originally moved to Virginus Island. The Drews were of the large Frances Drew family of Harpers Ferry appearing on the 1880 census.¹⁸⁶ Frank Drew and those who lived in his household probably did not move to Virginus Island until the mid-1880s. Frank's name is on the 1892 Jefferson County voter registration roll,

¹⁸¹Virginia Free Press, 14 July 1903, p. 2, col. 2; The 1910 census shows several households not believed to have been on Virginus Island appearing between the cluster of households believed to be on Virginus Island and the Drew household.

¹⁸²Spirit of Jefferson, 5 December 1916, p. 2, c. 3; Farmers Advocate, 23 June 1917, p. 2, c. 4.; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191 A.

¹⁸³Farmers Advocate, 8 February 1919, p. 3, col. 2; 2 February 1924, p. 1, col. 1.

¹⁸⁴General Manager's Report, Shenandoah Pulp Company, 7 February 1924, Box 2, Folder-4, Thomas Savery Papers, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; "Plan Showing Right of Way, Buildings and Tracks Harpers Ferry, W.Va." B. & O. Railroad Office of District Engineer, Baltimore, Md., 19 February 1913, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Map Collection.

¹⁸⁵Personal Property Book (1900); Personal Property Book (1920).

¹⁸⁶Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 17.

he is listed as being a 36 year old clerk.¹⁸⁷

Warren B. Dutton

Although Connecticut native and clergyman Warren B. Dutton had a periodic connection to the Presbyterian Church at Harpers Ferry from 1845, he appears on neither the 1850 nor 1860 census for the Harpers Ferry area and was living in Charlestown in 1863 when he executed a will.¹⁸⁸ In 1867, Dutton was appointed pastor of the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, which, having been damaged during the Civil War, was not opened for worship after the war until 1868.¹⁸⁹

At this time, Dutton may have been living on Virginus Island; he was certainly living there in 1870. Dutton (67) and his wife Mary Francis (47), of Virginia, who had been Mary Francis Atkinson before their marriage in 1847, were living in one of the brick row houses owned by John McCreight and Jonathan Child. Dutton owned personal property valued at \$800. Also living in the house were Hannah Reed (60), a black domestic servant born in West Virginia, Eliza W. Perry (28) of Virginia, and Eliza's son Van Lears (2) of West Virginia.¹⁹⁰

As the former Eliza Atkinson, daughter of W.M. and R.B. Atkinson, of Winchester, Mrs. Perry was conceivably related to Mrs. Dutton. Eliza was the wife of Dr. Van Lears Perry, a physician who moved to Harpers Ferry in March 1868 and left later in the year for Navasso, West Indies, where he died in 1869.

¹⁸⁷1892 Voter Registration, Harpers Ferry District.

¹⁸⁸Virginia Free Press, 6 March 1845, p. 3, col. 3; 15 July 1852, p. 3, col. 1; Will Book A, p. 68, Will of Warren B. Dutton, 17 November 1863, admitted for probate 18 September 1874.

¹⁸⁹Spirit of Jefferson, 18 August 1868, p. 3, col. 1; Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey Report History of Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, and Jefferson's Lot, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1868," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 11 February 1959), pp. 17-8.

¹⁹⁰Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry; Farmers Advocate, 8 March 1919, p. 1, col. 6; E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870, typescript, HFD-213.

Sometime after the 1870 census, Eliza Perry moved to Charlestown, where she died in 1913.¹⁹¹

Dutton was still living on the island on October 1, 1870, when he was injured in the flood. According to Joseph Barry, a brick fell from a wall in the house and hit Warren Dutton in the head. Through the efforts of Mary Dutton and a neighbor, Dutton was pulled to safety by rope across the flood waters. He was taken to the Presbyterian parsonage in Charlestown. Dutton apparently never recovered from his injuries and died in 1874.¹⁹²

Nancy Evans

Nancy Evans was a longtime resident of the Harpers Ferry area, but the length of her connection with Virginus Island is not clear. A resident of Harpers Ferry by 1820, she first appears in the town of Virginus with the 1840 census. At that time, she was, in all probability, running a boarding establishment as the census taker listed seventeen people in her household. According to this document, Nancy was of age 50 and under 60 (about 45 or 51 based on later censuses). A white female of 20 and under 30, possibly her daughter Louisa Evans (about 15 or 20), and two male slaves, one under 10 and the other of 10 and under 24, were living with her. Also living in the house were thirteen men: eleven of age 20 and under 30, one of age 30 and under 40, and one of 40 and under 50. Eleven residents of this household were engaged in manufacturing and trade.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 446; Virginia Free Press, 19 March 1868, p. 1, col. 1; 11 November 1869, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 10 November 1868, p. 3, col. 1; 21 October 1913, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁹²Barry, p. 163; Spirit of Jefferson, 4 October 1870, p. 3, col. 1; 8 September 1874, p. 3, col. 1.

¹⁹³Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 539; *Ibid.*, Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248. Louisa's name and the ages of her and Nancy Evans come from the 1860 and 1870 censuses (Eighth Census 1860, Harpers Ferry, p. 191 and Ninth Census 1870, Bolivar Township, p. 476, p. 53 of Harpers Ferry).

Although no information has been uncovered to indicate where on Virginius Island Nancy Evans ran this boarding house, there is documentation proving she was living on Tract 3 at a later date. According to the July 1, 1847 deed, in which Jesse Schofield bought this property from the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, Evans was then living in one of the two houses on the property.¹⁹⁴ This fact means she was living in one of the two stone stuccoed dwelling, designated K and N on the 1844 map by James Brown and 16 and 15 on the 1859 Historical Base Map.¹⁹⁵ Evidently, Nancy Evans had moved from this house by August 28, 1847. A deed of sale executed on that date indicates she had "lately occupied" one of the two houses.¹⁹⁶

Nancy Evans may be the Ann Evans listed on the 1850 census with Louisa. She is definitely on the 1860 census with Louisa, at which time she was evidently running a boarding house in Harpers Ferry.¹⁹⁷ For neither census is Nancy Evans listed in the part of the census determined to be Virginius Island; and in 1850, when she advertised to cleanse, renovate, and re-color clothing, Louisa Evans was living in Dr. Marmion's house opposite the Market House. However, Nancy Evans evidently moved back to the island for an indeterminate period of time in the 1850s. According to an February 1854 announcement in the Spirit of Jefferson, a ball in celebration of George Washington's birthday was to be held at "Mrs. A. Evans's, Island of Virginius."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847.

¹⁹⁵Map of the Island of Virginius at Harper's Ferry, Va., by James M. Brown, April 1844; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

¹⁹⁶Deed Book 29, p. 439, Jesse Schofield to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, August 28, 1847.

¹⁹⁷Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 417B; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 191.

¹⁹⁸Virginia Free Press, 9 May 1850, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 14 February 1854, p. 3, col. 2.

The 1870 census places her, along with her daughter Louisa, Margaret Carroll, and Mary Koontz on page 53 of Harpers Ferry, while the part of the census presently determined to have encompassed Virginius Island is on pages 14 to 17. According to Joseph Barry, however, during the 1870 flood, Margaret Carroll drowned "at the boarding house of Mrs. Nancy Evans on Virginius Island."¹⁹⁹ Nancy Evans (listed as Ivans) (89) was living in Bolivar with her daughter Louisa (55) by the time of the 1880 census. Nancy died in 1886 at the age of 95.²⁰⁰

Two documents have been found which reveal some information on Nancy and Louisa Evans during or near to the first two time periods when they are known to have been associated with Virginius Island. The first is an 1838 deed of gift whereby Nancy Evans gave her daughter Louisa the following property:

1 set china ware, 3 feather beds, 5 bedsteads & bedding, 1 clock, 20 chairs, 18 knives & forks, 31 plates, 1 Lot of carpeting, 5 candlesticks, 4 tables, 2 oil cloth Table covers 2 Tubs, 3 smoothing Irons, 1 pr Shovel & tongs, 1 Cow, 1 Looking Glass, 1 Bureau, 1 Candlestand, 1 safe, 3 large Dishes, 2 Buckets, 2 stoves, 4 Pots, 3 ovens, 1 tea kettle, 1 skillet & 1 frying pan²⁰¹

The second document is an 1851 deed of trust in which Nancy and Louisa Evans conveyed property to William J. Stephens to secure a debt of \$270. It lists the following property:

1 side board - 3 tables - 18 cane seat chairs ½ doz windsor chairs - 1 bureau - 1 Candlestand - 2 Mahogany frame looking glasses - 1 eight day clock - 1 Safe - 1 Cook stove (Kitchen companion) 36 yds figd Carpeting - 18[?] Do Striped Carpeting (13 yrds figd do - 15 yds figd do old) 1 parlor coal stove - 2 setts Castors - 6 Liverpool meat dishes - 11 liverpool small dining plates - 12 do breakfast plates - 5 Tumblers - 3 liverpool pitchers - ½ doz small plates - 2 vegetable dishes - lid for do - 1 sett china not complete - 5

¹⁹⁹Barry, pp. 164-65.

²⁰⁰Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 21, p. 16 of Bolivar Town; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 April 1886, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁰¹Deed Book 22, p. 36, Deed of Gift, Nancy Evans to Louisa Evans, 3 February 1838.

bedsteads - 3 feather bedstead, 4 feather beds - 5 straw beds, bedding, 3 pitchers - 1 map U.S. - 1 wash machine patent - 2 small waiters - 1 tea kettle - 2 dutch ovens - 1 shovel - 1 pair Andirons - 1 pair tongs - 1 Coffee mill - 2 oil cloth table covers (old) 9 teaspoons german silver, 2 glass dishes, 4 white curtains - 2 calico do - 2 Washing tubs, 2 water buckets - 2 lamps -²⁰²

Both of these documents support the belief that Nancy Evans was operating a boarding house. This is particularly important with regard to the 1838 deed of trust, since aside from the number of adults living in the Evans' household on Virginus Island at the time the 1840 census was taken, no other documentation has been uncovered to indicate that Nancy Evans was running a boarding house this early.

Nelson Faulkner

It is not known if Nelson Faulkner lived on Virginus Island. His name does not appear on any of the census records for Harpers Ferry, Bolivar, or Virginus. Faulkner's name first appears in the available historical record in an 1840 deed of trust for Wager Lot 14, on which Adam Young was living.²⁰³ He may well have been living in the area, since his name is included in an 1841 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.²⁰⁴ In December 1842, Faulkner married Ann Near. Both of them were residents of Harpers Ferry at the time.²⁰⁵

The only documentation of Faulkner's connection to Virginus Island is an 1845 advertisement in the Virginia Free Press. According to this advertisement, Faulkner was planning to close his business and was going to sell the stock of

²⁰²Deed Book 32, p. 20, Deed of Trust, Nancy Evans and Louisa Evans to Wm. J. Stephens, 31 July 1851.

²⁰³Deed Book 24, p. 298, Deed of Trust, 50 individuals including Nelson Faulkner to Isaac Fouke trustee for Philip Coons, 1 May 1840.

²⁰⁴Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1841, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁰⁵Virginia Free Press, 5 January 1843, p. 3, col. 2.

new furniture, as well as his turning lathe and work benches, at his shop on Virginius Island.²⁰⁶ If Nelson Faulkner lived on Virginius Island, he probably had moved by 1847, when he purchased a house and lot in Bolivar.²⁰⁷

James Felter

Living on Virginius Island when the 1850 census was taken was the James Felter family from England. James Felter (53) is listed as a manufacturer. His wife Mary (51), and children Sarah (20), Mary (14), James (14), and Luke (11) are also listed.²⁰⁸

Moses Fine

Moses Fine appears in the 1910 census as living on Virginius Island. That census lists his birthplace as Jerusalem and gives his age as 66.²⁰⁹ His total personal property value was assessed at \$100 in that year.²¹⁰ Moses also appears on the 1900 census, but his name's location on that census suggests that he was not living on Virginius Island at that time.²¹¹ Since the 1890 census for West Virginia does not exist due to its loss in a fire, it is not known whether Moses appeared on that census. It is interesting to note that Moses suffered personal property damage in the 1889 flood.²¹² How long Moses

²⁰⁶Virginia Free Press, 5 June 1845, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁰⁷Deed Book 30, p. 8, William Hewett and wife Anne to Nelson Faulkner, 13 February 1847.

²⁰⁸Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405B.

²⁰⁹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry District, p. 191B.

²¹⁰Personal Property Book (1900).

²¹¹Twelfth Census (1900), Bolivar Town, p. 86B.

²¹²Spirit of Jefferson, 4 June 1889, p. 2, col. 2.

remained living on the island is not known. Moses Fine died in Harpers Ferry in 1923 after being hit by taxi cab traveling at an excessive speed down Washington Street.²¹³

William Fisher

The household listed in the 1840 census under the name William Fisher was apparently a boarding establishment in the town of Virginius. There were twenty-four people living in this house, seven of whom were female. Of these, one was a free black of 10 and under 24, one was a white female of 30 and under 40, and five were children under 15. The remaining seventeen residents of the house were adult males: one of 15 and under 20, four of 20 and under 30, eleven of 30 and under 40, and one of 50 and under 60. Eleven members of the household were employed in manufacturing and trades.²¹⁴

William Fisher's name appears only three other times in the available historical record. An 1836 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office includes his name. The 1842 personal property tax record indicates he owned a silver watch on which he was taxed 25 cents. The 1850 census is more informative. At that time, Fisher (45), a bricklayer and a native of Maryland, was living in Bolivar in the house of John Lambaugh.²¹⁵

John Fitzsimmons

John Fitzsimmons first appears in the available historical record in 1828,

²¹³Farmers Advocate, 25 August 1923, p. 1, col. 3.

²¹⁴Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 248.

²¹⁵Virginia Free Press, 7 January 1836, p. 3, col. 5; Personal Property Tax Book (1842); Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, pp. 396-396B.

when he executed a deed of trust appointing Isaac Russell trustee for a \$350 debt owed Frederick Schultz. This documents lists the following personal property of Fitzsimmons:

one side board, one Brussels Carpet - one Bed and Bedding two large looking Glasses - one negro woman Mary and her two children Elizabeth and Jack.²¹⁶

In 1831, Fitzsimmons formed a partnership with Joseph L. Russell for the purpose of carrying on a staple and fancy goods business at Market Square in Harpers Ferry. This partnership was dissolved in December 1831, and Fitzsimmons subsequently operated a public house and tavern in 1832 before entering into partnership with Russell again in 1833.²¹⁷

In 1833, Fitzsimmons was chosen as a director of the recently incorporated Harpers Ferry Savings Institution, a position he was still holding in 1835.²¹⁸ In October 1833, he married Mary Emily Jamison of Frederick County, Maryland. Fitzsimmons died late in July of 1838 at the age of about 35.²¹⁹

Only in death was Fitzsimmons' name connected with Virginius Island (except for his role as trustee to Lewis Wernwag).²²⁰ On August 30, 1838, Nicholas Marmion, the administrator of Fitzsimmons' estate, ran an advertisement in the Virginia Free Press. According to this advertisement, the personal property of Fitzsimmons would be sold September 8, 1838 at Fitzsimmons' residence

²¹⁶Deed Book 16, p. 37, Deed of Trust, John Fitzsimmons to Isaac Russell trustee for Frederick Schultz, 15 August 1829.

²¹⁷Virginia Free Press, 19 January 1831, p. 3, col. 5; 8 December 1831, p. 3, col. 3; 5 April 1832, p. 3, col. 1; 21 March 1833, p. 3, col. 3.

²¹⁸Virginia Free Press, 14 March 1833, p. 2, col. 5; 16 May 1833, p. 2, col. 6; 22 May 1834, p. 3, col. 1; 7 May 1835, p. 2, col. 6.

²¹⁹Virginia Free Press, 14 November 1833, p. 2, col. 6; 2 August 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

²²⁰Deed Book 18, p. 42, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag and wife to John Fitzsimmons for Joseph L. Russell, 29 August 1832.

on "Wernwag's Island."²²¹ When Fitzsimmons had moved to Virginus Island is unknown, although it was probably after the 1830 census.

Between 1832 and 1838, Fitzsimmons' name was listed in the personal property tax records for Jefferson County. During these years, an individual's name only appeared in the records if he owned horses, slaves, or carriages, the latter two certainly indicative of greater than average wealth. In 1832, Fitzsimmons' taxable personal property consisted of one slave over the age of twelve. The following year, he was taxed for two slaves, one horse, and a two-wheel carriage valued at \$75. By 1837, Fitzsimmons owned these taxable properties plus three more slaves, but the year he died, his taxable property consisted of the aforementioned carriage and three slaves.²²²

William O. Forsyth

William O. Forsyth's name first appears in the available historical record on the 1845 personal property tax records for Jefferson County. He owned no taxable property at that time; however, the following year, he was taxed 25 cents for a watch, an article he still owned in 1850.²²³

That year, the William Forsyth family was living on Virginus Island. Manufacturer William O. Forsyth (26) lived with Holda F. (50), farmer Thomas T. (23), manufacturer Richard N. (17), and William H. (11). They were all natives of Virginia.²²⁴

Neither William O. nor Thomas T. appear on any subsequent records;

²²¹Virginia Free Press, 30 August 1838, p. 3, col. 6.

²²²Personal Property Tax Books (1832-1838).

²²³Personal Property Tax Books (1845-1850).

²²⁴Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405.

however, the other family members remained in the area. A Mrs. Forsyth's name is on the poor list in 1850, 1852, and 1853.²²⁵ Huldah (62); moulder of iron Henry A. (20), possibly the William H. listed on the 1850 census; and Mary Forsyth (6) appear on the 1860 census. Huldah owned \$25 in personal property. Listed immediately after the Huldah Forsyth household is the Richard N. Forsyth household. Richard (26), an armorer owning \$75 in personal property, lived with Bevetta Forsyth (18), and Mary A. Forsyth (8 months). The Forsyths were not living on Virginus Island at the time of the 1860 census, and they do not appear on any subsequent records.²²⁶

Jacob Fouke

Jacob Fouke, the son of Charles and Elizabeth Fouke, was probably living with his parents in Harpers Ferry at the time the 1820 census was taken. Twenty individuals are listed in carpenter Charles Fouke's household, including six slaves and one free black.²²⁷ By 1830, Jacob Fouke, now a grown man of age 20 and under 30, was living in the town of Virginus. Listed with him is a female, presumably his wife, of age 15 and under 20.²²⁸

It is not known if Fouke had any connection to the economic life on Virginus Island. An advertisement in the January 5, 1831 issue of the Virginia Free Press indicates that a Jacob Fouke was connected to the flour business at Keyes Ferry. However, subsequent references connect him with horse racing, an

²²⁵Virginia Free Press, 19 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1; 6 January 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 14 July 1853, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 31 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3.

²²⁶Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 216.

²²⁷Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 535; Virginia Free Press, 22 January 1835, p. 3, col. 3; 14 September 1837, p. 3, col. 4.

²²⁸Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175.

endeavor consistent with his being taxed for between six and eight horses every year from 1825 to 1836 with the exception of 1833. Fouke also variously owned one or two slaves during these years.²²⁹ In 1835, Fouke secured debts he owed Joseph L. Russell by a deed of trust on four horses, his share in the estate of his deceased mother Elizabeth, and any other property in which he held an interest.²³⁰

John P. Fouke

John P. Fouke first appears in the available historical record with the 1850 census. John P. (30) was an armorer. Living with him were his wife Augusta (21) and children James (2) and Jacob (7 months). The Fouke family was living in Bolivar. All were native Virginians. John and Augusta's son James Logie Fouke died July 9, 1851 at the age of two years and seven months.²³¹

Fouke may be the same John Fouke who was indebted to Harpers Ferry merchant Philip Coons for \$60.56 and on June 4, 1853 gave Coons power of attorney at receive all monies due Fouke as an employee of the United States from May 1853 to December 1854. In return, Coons was to furnish Fouke with groceries, dry goods, medicines, and other items needed for support of his family. These goods were to cost no more than an average of \$35 a month.²³²

By 1860, the Fouke family evidently had moved to Virginus Island. John P. (44) was still employed at the armory. His household included his wife

²²⁹Virginia Free Press, 5 January 1831, p. 3, col. 4; 2 August 1832, p. 3, col. 4; 13 September 1832, p. 3, col. 4; 6 February 1834, p. 3, col. 4; 13 February 1834, p. 3, col. 2; Personal Property Tax Books (1825-1836).

²³⁰Deed Book 20, p. 347, Deed of Trust, Jacob Fouke to Andrew Hunter trustee for Joseph L. Russell, 29 May 1835.

²³¹Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 392B; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 September 1851, p. 3, col. 2.

²³²Deed Book 33, p. 237, Power of Attorney, John Fouke to Philip Coons, 4 June 1853.

Augusta (28) and children John J. (9), probably Jacob; Alice A. (7); and Lillian (4). Fouke's personal property was worth \$100; in 1859, he had paid taxes on one clock valued at \$5 and household and kitchen furniture valued at \$50.²³³ The Fouke family was not living on Virginus Island in 1870; in fact, the family does not appear on the 1870 census at all.

Turner Freeman

It is not certain that Turner Freeman ever lived on Virginus Island; however, his name appears on the 1870 census in the second household after the Joseph Young family and third after the Daniel Hood family, both of whom are known to have resided on the island. Turner (51), a black man, was a cooper. His sons George (19) and Minor (18) were his apprentices. Also living in the house were Sarah (50), Jane (33) and Tae (14). The Freemans gave their place of birth as West Virginia. Turner claimed personal property worth \$150.²³⁴

In November 1870, the Freemans probably moved to the "Green-house" on High Street. Turner and his wife Sallie may have been living there in 1880.²³⁵

John Furr

The 1860 Census indicates a household headed by John Furr lived on Virginus Island. In addition to John Furr (45) were his wife Nancy (37), John E. (20), Daniel L. (18), Margaret F. (15), Emily A. (9), Martha E. (7), and James F. (5). The Census also indicates that John Furr, John E. Furr, and Daniel Furr

²³³Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 205; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50.

²³⁴Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, pp. 457-458, pp. 16-17 of Harpers Ferry.

²³⁵Deed Book C, p. 86, Deed of Trust, Turner Freeman to John G. Cockrell, 22 February 1871; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 3, p. 5 of Harpers Ferry.

were all coopers.²³⁶ Exactly when the Furrs came to Virginus Island and when they left is not known.

John B. Gildea

Although John Gildea's name appears on a January 1830 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office, it is unlikely he was living in Harpers Ferry or on Virginus Island at that time. An 1832 notice in the Virginia Free Press indicates he was a pastor in both Harpers Ferry and Martinsburg and was apparently living on a farm near Smithfield.²³⁷ He clearly had moved to the town of Virginus before September 28, 1833, when he purchased Tract 3. According to the deed conveying the property, Gildea was living in one of the "two stone stuccoed dwelling houses" on the property (either Building 15 or 16 on the 1859 Historical Base Map).²³⁸

John B. Gildea appears in the Jefferson County personal property tax records for 1833 and 1834. In the former year, he was taxed 37 cents for two horses and one slave, while in the latter year he was taxed \$1 for a horse and a two-wheel carriage valued at \$100.²³⁹

Gildea was a Catholic priest, and it was to him that the Wager family on May 10, 1831 deeded property in Harpers Ferry for the use of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁴⁰ St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church was erected during Gildea's

²³⁶Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204.

²³⁷Virginia Free Press, 6 January 1830, p. 3, col. 4; 24 May 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

²³⁸Deed Book 19, p. 97, Andrew Hunter special commissioner and Hannah Wager to John B. Gildea, 28 September 1833.

²³⁹Personal Property Tax Books (1833-1834).

²⁴⁰Deed Book 17, p. 6, James B. Wager, G.B. Wager, and S.A. Wager to John B. Gildea, 10 May 1831.

pastorate.²⁴¹ He evidently lived on Virginius Island only a short time; on May 13, 1835, when Gildea sold Tract 3 to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, he was a resident of Baltimore, Maryland.²⁴²

Hugh Gilleece

Hugh Gilleece may well have been on Virginius Island by November 1835. According to an advertisement in the Virginia Free Press, the iron foundry of Hugh Gilleece & Co. would be in operation on November 20, 1835 "on the island at Harpers-Ferry."²⁴³ At any rate, Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey purchased Tract 1 on December 8, 1838. After Gilleece and Apsey were unable to meet the obligation of a deed of trust executed on the same day, Henry Berry sold the property at a public auction on October 12, 1839. Hugh Gilleece was the highest bidder.²⁴⁴

Gilleece was living in the town of Virginius at the time of the 1840 census. The Gilleece household contained six individuals: a female of age 40 and under 50, one male of 30 and under 40, three males of 20 and under 30, and one male of 5 and under 10.²⁴⁵ Aside from Gilleece (about 30), the identity of the other residents is not known. However, one of them may be Alexander Brown (about 25), who was intended to be a party to the deed of October 12, 1839 and to whom Gilleece deeded a one-third interest in April 1840. Both Gilleece and

²⁴¹Philip R. Smith, Jr., "History of the St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church 1830-1868," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 23 October 1958, revised 11 March 1959), pp. 6-9.

²⁴²Deed Book 20, p. 338, John B. Gildea to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, 13 May 1835.

²⁴³Virginia Free Press, 12 November 1835, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁴⁴Deed Book 23, p. 376, Andrew Hunter special commissioner and Eliza Beckham to Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey, 8 December 1838; Deed Book 23, p. 378, Deed of Trust, Hugh Gilleece and William Apsey to Henry Berry for Andrew Hunter, 8 December 1838; Deed Book 24, p. 181, Henry Berry to Hugh Gilleece, 12 October 1839.

²⁴⁵Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 248.

Brown were natives of Connecticut.²⁴⁶

No evidence has been found to suggest in which residence Gilleece was living; however, he may have taken over the dwelling previously occupied by Townsend Beckham, the former owner of Tract 1. According to Charles Snell, Tract 1 contained two dwellings: a one-and-one-half-story frame dwelling (No. 24 on the 1859 Historical Base Map) and a two-story brick (No. 27). Gilleece may have been living in No. 27.²⁴⁷

During the 1840s, Gilleece seems to have been acquiring some material goods. He first appears on the personal property tax records in 1842, at which time he was taxed 12½ cents for a horse or mule. The following year, his taxable property also included a wooden clock. By 1846, the taxable property charged to his name consisted of two slaves over sixteen, two horses or mules, one gold watch, and a clock. The fact that three white males over sixteen are listed under his name forestalls a conclusion that Gilleece owned all of this taxable property, a caution which is all the more important because the following year, when Gilleece and Alexander Brown were the only white males in the household, no slaves and only one horse are listed. By 1848, Gilleece's wooden clock had been replaced by a metallic one.²⁴⁸

The slaves listed under Gilleece's name on the personal property tax records may have been industrial slaves working in his foundry. It is known Gilleece utilized slave labor since an 1846 newspaper article mentions the drowning of a black man "belonging to Mr. Hays" and indicates he had been "in the

²⁴⁶Deed Book 24, p. 291, Hugh Gilleece to Alexander Brown, 28 April 1840. The ages and place of birth for Gilleece and Brown come from the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 421).

²⁴⁷Snell, "A History," pp. 34, 37, 124; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

²⁴⁸Personal Property Tax Books (1842-1850).

employ of Mr. Gilleece."²⁴⁹

During these years, Hugh Gilleece was a party in numerous court cases. Unfortunately, arguments or supporting documents in these cases have, with one exception, not been found. However, in every instance, Gilleece was the defendant, frequently with partner Alexander Brown as co-defendant, and in several cases, the record indicates Gilleece had to pay the sums for which he was sued.²⁵⁰

It is not clear how long Gilleece lived on Virginius Island. The 1850 census taker placed both Gilleece and Brown in Carrell's Hotel in Harpers Ferry. Snell suggests that Gilleece was "either living or having a drink at the Carrell Hotel when the census taker found him"; as will be obvious from the following paragraph, the latter activity is highly unlikely.²⁵¹

Aside from his prominence as the owner and operator of the iron foundry and subsidiary chopping and plaster mills, Gilleece emerges in the historical record as a prominent figure in the Harpers Ferry area in other ways.²⁵² His name appears in Virginia Free Press reports of temperance activities from 1841 to 1853.²⁵³ Gilleece was evidently also active in the Methodist Episcopal Church; he served on the committee preparing for a camp meeting in August 1848. Obviously having an economic interest in internal improvements, Gilleece served

²⁴⁹Virginia Free Press, 3 September 1846, p. 2, col. 6.

²⁵⁰Execution Book 3 (1841-1844), pp. 3, 35, 76, 90, 92, 95, 118, 123, 318, 331, and 338, Reel 102, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU; Michael Cookus and Elizabeth Cookus vs Hugh Gilleece, Reel 14, Envelope 3-15, Jefferson County Court Records, WVU.

²⁵¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 421; Snell, "A History," pp. 81-2.

²⁵²The chopping and plaster mills are mentioned in several advertisements between 1839 and 1842 (Virginia Free Press, 14 March 1839, p. 3, col. 2; 11 June 1840, p. 3, col. 3; 11 February 1841, p. 3, col. 5; 17 February 1842, p. 3, col. 5).

²⁵³Virginia Free Press, 4 November 1841, p. 1, col. 7; 18 November 1841, p. 2, col. 6; 20 January 1842, p. 2, col. 7; 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 11 January 1844, p. 3, col. 1; 30 June 1853, p. 2, col. 3.

as vice-president at an 1849 meeting of Harpers Ferry citizens supporting government and private aid to construction work on locks, dams, and canals on the Shenandoah River.²⁵⁴

Gilleece also participated in more political and public service activities. On several occasions, his name was included in the newspapers in connection with Democratic Party meetings.²⁵⁵ From 1843 to 1845, Gilleece served as one of the Overseers of the Poor for Jefferson County.²⁵⁶ He was elected a councilman for Harper Ferry in 1851 and 1852.²⁵⁷

Shortly thereafter, Gilleece moved from the Harpers Ferry area. An advertisement in the September 28, 1854 issue of the Virginia Free Press indicates that Gilleece's iron foundry had been leased by F. Beckham & Son. A year later, the Winchester Republican reported that Gilleece had purchased the Portsmouth Furnace property in Shenandoah which he had been in possession of for over a year. On August 31, 1855, Gilleece and Brown sold the Virginus Island property to Abraham Herr.²⁵⁸

John Harlen

The name of John Harlen appears thus far only in the 1830 census. Harlen was then a man of age 40 and under 50 living in the town of Virginus. Also in this household was a female of 40 and under 50. One of them was an unnaturalized

²⁵⁴Virginia Free Press, 27 July 1848, p. 3, col. 2, 15 February 1849, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁵⁵Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 1 May 1839, p. p. 3, col. 6 & 7; 29 May 1839, p. 3, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 30 November 1843, p. 2, col. 7; 21 December 1843, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁵⁶Virginia Free Press, 23 March 1843, p. 2, col. 2; 13 June 1844, p. 3, col. 4; 19 June 1845, p. 3, col. 4 & 5.

²⁵⁷Virginia Free Press, 9 May 1851, p. 2, col. 2; 13 May 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

²⁵⁸Virginia Free Press, 28 September 1854, p. 2, col. 7; 4 October 1855, p. 2, col. 6; Deed Book 35, p. 49, Hugh Gilleece and Alexander Brown to Abraham H. Herr, 31 August 1855.

foreigner; it was probably John since citizenship for women was irrelevant at the time.²⁵⁹

Elnathan Hathaway

While Elnathan Hathaway's connection to Virginus Island lasted ten years, he only briefly lived on the island. Although no deed was recorded, Hathaway apparently purchased a one-sixth interest in Virginus Island from Jonathan C. Child about April 30, 1869. That year, Hathaway and his family moved from Pennsylvania to the island.²⁶⁰

According to the 1870 census, Elnathan Hathaway (or Jonathan as he is listed) was a thirty-two year old merchant miller born in Ohio. His wife Ada (30) and eldest child Charles L. (8) had also been born in Ohio. Daughter Flora M. (3) was born in Pennsylvania, while son Clarence E. (8 months) was born in West Virginia. The Hathaways had a domestic servant Mary Rine (25), a native of England, living with them. Hathaway's real property was worth an estimated \$25,000 and his personal property was worth \$30,000.²⁶¹

Hathaway remained on Virginus Island until the October 1870 flood. Within a few weeks, he moved back to Pennsylvania. Hathaway remained an owner of Virginus Island until 1879, when he sold his one-sixth interest to John A. McCreight.²⁶²

²⁵⁹Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175.

²⁶⁰E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 9 October 1870, typescript of letter, HFD-213. Hathaway's purchase of an interest in Virginus Island is mentioned in another deed (Deed Book N, p. 9, Elnathan Hathaway and wife Ada A. to John A. McCreight, 14 June 1879).

²⁶¹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 456, p. 14 of Harpers Ferry.

²⁶²E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 9 October 1870; Deed Book N, p. 9, Elnathan Hathaway and wife Ada A. to John A. McCreight, 14 June 1879.

Joseph G. Hays

Joseph G. Hays' connection to Virginius Island was short. He is not listed on the 1830 census but evidently moved to the Harpers Ferry area from Frederick County, Maryland, by September 1831. According to Charles Snell, that month Hays opened an apothecary shop in Harpers Ferry in the southeast portion of a building on Wager Lot 12. Moreover, his name appears in the Virginia Free Press as the vice-president of the newly formed Harpers Ferry Temperance Society.²⁶³

According to the June 7, 1832 issue of the Virginia Free Press, Hays was living in the town of Virginius. Doctor Daniel Lawrence, who had opened his practice in Hays' store, was staying at Hays' Virginius Island residence at that time. Also probably living with Hays were his second wife Harriet, the former Harriet D. Higgins, whom he had married in 1828; and daughters Ellen Sophia, Mary, Susan, Elizabeth, and Maria. By April 24, 1834, however, the Hays family was living above his drug store in Harpers Ferry.²⁶⁴

During the 1830s, in addition to serving as vice-president and later treasurer of the temperance society, Hays was repeatedly elected a director and treasurer of the Harpers Ferry Savings Institution.²⁶⁵ At the time of the 1840 census, Hays was living in the New Market district of Frederick County, Maryland, but he was living in Harpers Ferry at the time the 1850 census was taken. The

²⁶³Virginia Free Press, 1 September 1831, p. 3, col. 3 & 4; Charles W. Snell, "An Historical Study of Wager Lot No. 12, 1830-1848 (Historic Structures Report, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 24 September 1958), pp. 17-8.

²⁶⁴Virginia Free Press, 7 June 1832, p. 3, col. 2; 24 April 1834, p. 3, col. 4; Margaret E. Myers, Marriage Licenses of Frederick County, 1811-1840 (Silver Spring, MD: Family Line Publications, 1987), p.107. Hays' first wife was Matilda Baker, whom he married in 1818 (Myers, p. 107). The names of other family members comes from the 1850 census (Harpers Ferry, p. 416).

²⁶⁵Virginia Free Press, 16 May 1833, p. 2, col. 6; 22 May 1834, p. 3, col. 1; 16 April 1835, p. 3, col. 3; 21 January 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 12 May 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 13 April 1837, p. 3, col. 3; 3 May 1838, p. 2, col. 4.

household included physician Joseph G. Hays (50), Harriet (45), Ellen Sophia (19), Mary (27), Susan (25), Elizabeth (19), and Maria (30), all natives of Maryland.²⁶⁶ Hays died in August 1850 of cholera; his obituary gives his age as fifty-three. Daughter Ellen Sophia died in September.²⁶⁷

Although his only taxable property for the years he lived in Virginius was a horse, Joseph Hays had acquired a slave by 1838, the last year he appears on the personal property tax records for Jefferson County until 1846. That year, his taxable personal property consisted of three slaves, a horse, a watch, and a clock.²⁶⁸

Jacob B. Heim

On the 1850 census, the Heim family (or Hiams) is listed after the William J. Stephens family on Virginius Island. Jacob B. Heim (30), a native of Maryland, was employed as a clerk. Living with him were his wife Anna C. (27), son Charles G. (3), and Lydia Hoffman (20), all of Maryland.²⁶⁹

Jacob B. Heim was appointed the secretary and treasurer of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company in 1850. According to the 1850 personal property tax record of Jefferson County, Heim's (or Himes') only taxable property was a metallic clock on which he paid 25 cents.²⁷⁰

Sometime between the 1850 census and April 1853, Heim moved to Baltimore. He was in business with Jeremiah Nicodemus and George Thomas as Heim, Nicodemus

²⁶⁶Sixth Census (1840), New Market, Frederick County, Maryland, p. 234; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 416.

²⁶⁷Virginia Free Press, 9 August 1850, p. 3, col. 3; 27 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁶⁸Personal Property Tax Books (1832-1850).

²⁶⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404B.

²⁷⁰Virginia Free Press, 17 May 1850, p. 2, col. 2; Personal Property Tax Book (1850).

& Co. by the latter date as importers and dealers in foreign and domestic liquors. Their business was located on Baltimore Street in Baltimore. Heim & Nicodemus, with only Jacob Heim and Jeremiah Nicodemus as partners, was still in existence in 1866, when his son Charles became a clerk for the firm. Jacob B. Heim died before March 29, 1875, the date Charles, who gave his residence as Baltimore, gave a deposition in a suit against James J. Marmaduke and Thomas Osborn.²⁷¹

Abraham H. Herr

Abraham Herr, a native of Pennsylvania, first obtained an interest in Virginus Island in 1844 when, at a public auction, he and his brother John purchased a piece of property that included the Island Mill and that had been seized by the court in 1844.²⁷² This property constituted Tract 2. Abraham acquired his brother's interest in the property in 1848.²⁷³ At an auction in 1854 he bought all the real and personal property belonging to the Harper's Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company.²⁷⁴ This purchase included all of Tract 3, all of Tract 4 except for one brick house which had been excepted from the earlier sale of the tract from Jesse Schofield to Harper's Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Co., and a relatively small strip of land that was contained in the original Fontaine Beckham purchase and was sold to Lewis Wernwag in 1830. In

²⁷¹Spirit of Jefferson, 3 May 1853, p. 4, col. 5; Jacob B. Heim and Jeremiah Nicodemus vs James J. Marmaduke and Thomas Osborn, Reel 42, Envelope 21-5, Jefferson County Court Records, Box 21, A&M 382, WVU.

²⁷²Barry, p. 104; Deed Book 28, p. 292, Province McCormick and Andrew Hunter (special commissioners) to John Herr and Abraham Herr, 2 September 1846 by auction of 2 March 1844; Virginia Free Press, 18 July 1844, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁷³Deed Book 29, p. 320, John Herr and wife Elizabeth Herr to Abraham H. Herr, 24 January 1848.

²⁷⁴Deed Book 38, p. 315, Robert Y. Conrad and Andrew Hunter (special commissioners) to Abraham H. Herr, 14 February 1859, by auction of 25 July 1854; Virginia Free Press, 27 July 1854, p. 2, col. 1.

June 1855 Herr purchased the excepted brick house from Jesse Schofield.²⁷⁵ A few months later Herr bought the original Townsend Beckham tract, Tract 1, from Hugh Gilleece and Alexander Brown.²⁷⁶ With this last purchase Abraham H. Herr had acquired all of the property on Virginus Island. The Island in fact became known to many during this period as "Herr's Island".

Abraham Herr (35) and his wife Narcissa (21) first appear on the Harpers Ferry census in 1850.²⁷⁷ At that time Herr was the owner of two slaves, a sixteen year old male and a seventeen year old female.²⁷⁸ The Herrs were probably living on Tract 2 which he had purchased in 1844. Although no evidence directly links Herr to the dwelling known today as the Child House, that house would have been the most likely for Herr to have resided in if it is suspected he chose the best dwelling structure on that tract for his residence. Newspaper notices appearing in 1852 and 1854 also place Abraham Herr as living on Virginus Island.²⁷⁹

The 1860 census indicates 9 persons living in the Abraham Herr household: Abraham (45), wife Narcisa (Narcissa)(31), 5 children - Austin (8), Warren (6), Charles (4), Fannie (2), Henry (1 mos.), and two other adults, Narcissa Hoffman (68) and Susan Hoffman (43). Narcissa Hoffman was likely the mother of Narcisa Herr and Susan was likely the sister of Narcisa Herr. The 1860 census also shows that Herr owned 4 slaves, two males in their mid-40s and two females in their

²⁷⁵Deed Book 35, p. 100, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary to Abraham H. Herr, 23 June 1855.

²⁷⁶Deed Book 35, p. 49, Hugh Gilleece and Alexander Brown to Abraham H. Herr, 31 August 1855.

²⁷⁷Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403B.

²⁷⁸Seventh Census (1850), Slave Schedule, Harpers Ferry-Bolivar, p. 999.

²⁷⁹Virginia Free Press, 2 December 1852, p. 3, col. 3; 8 June 1854, p. 3, col. 1.

teens.²⁸⁰ Abraham and Narcissa had another child, Mary, born in 1854 but who died in 1855. Herr also owned two slave children, Lewis (5) and Virginia (1), both of whom also died in 1855.²⁸¹ No evidence has surfaced that suggests Herr lived anywhere other than on Virginus Island until at least the outbreak of the Civil War.

Abraham Herr was arguably the most prominent businessman ever to live on Virginus Island. He was the first since James Stubblefield to gain complete ownership of the Island. Herr's business interests were diverse, and he was in many ways a classic example of the nineteenth-century enterprising businessman. Involved in the milling business during the mid-1840s, it is likely that Herr maintained that interest throughout the 1840s and 1850s.²⁸² It is believed that he maintained some interest in the milling firm partnership of Welch, Legg & Co. which used the flour mill on the Island owned by Herr. Welch, Legg & Co. was dissolved in 1860 when George Legg withdrew from the firm. A new milling partnership by the name of Herr & Welch was founded at that time.²⁸³

In addition to Herr's interests associated with the flour mill, he was involved in other business ventures. His involvement in the Harper's Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company is not completely understood, but he was elected to its Board of Directors in 1850 and was the Board's Secretary by 1851.²⁸⁴ Herr also was active in the financial promotion of internal improvements that made Harpers Ferry and Virginus Island more accessible to distant markets. Herr

²⁸⁰Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 202.

²⁸¹Register of Deaths (1853-1872), p. 11.

²⁸²Virginia Free Press, 12 March 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

²⁸³Virginia Free Press, 19 July 1860, p. 2, col. 2.

²⁸⁴Virginia Free Press, 9 May 1850, p. 2, col. 3; 21 August 1851, p. 3, col. 1.

was chairman of the stockholders of the Hillsborough & Harper's Ferry Turnpike, involved in the raising of capital stock for the Alexandria & Harper's Ferry Railroad Company (Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire Railroad), and was president of the stockholders of the Shenandoah Bridge Company.²⁸⁵ In 1857 Herr was renting facilities to Rohr & Bros. for their wagonmaking and blacksmith business.²⁸⁶

The influence and impact Abraham Herr had on the local economy was not limited to his private business interests. He also was active in public service. Herr was elected several times to serve on the Harpers Ferry Town Council and was active in Whig politics on the local level. He also served on the Overseers of the Poor board and was superintendent of school commission elections.²⁸⁷

Abraham Herr's diverse private interests, his personal wealth, his participation in public service, and his being the sole landowner on Virginus Island from 1855 until 1867, all combined to make his impact and influence on the socio-economic climate of Virginus Island most significant during the mid-nineteenth century.²⁸⁸ The nature of community change that occurred during the Herr era and the extent to which significant community change can be attributed to Herr remain to be investigated.

It is not known exactly when Abraham Herr left Virginus Island. Apparently he was still living on the island during the fall of 1861. Joseph Barry writes that at the outbreak of the Civil War Herr, a Union sympathizer, was

²⁸⁵Virginia Free Press, 7 March 1851, p. 3, col. 2; 17 February 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 28 February 1867, p. 4, col. 6.

²⁸⁶Virginia Free Press, 11 June 1857, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁸⁷See Virginia Free Press, 9 May 1851, p. 2, col. 2; 18 September 1851, p. 2, col. 3; 21 April 1853, p. 2, col. 3; 13 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁸⁸Herr sold all 12 acres of Virginus Island to J.C. Child and J.A. McCreight in July of 1867 (Deed Book 2, p. 285, Abraham H. Herr to J.C. Child and J.A. McCreight, 24 July 1867).

arrested, taken to Richmond, and subsequently paroled. In October 1861 Herr, whose mill was partially destroyed by federal troops under orders from Lieutenant Colonel Andrews in order to prevent confederates from using it, provided a large quantity of wheat to federal troops who transported it into Maryland. Confederate Colonel Turner Ashby attempted to stop the removal of the wheat, but he and his troops were met with resistance as they approached Harpers Ferry from Charlestown. A few days after this episode confederate cavalry entered Harpers Ferry and did irreparable damage to the Virginus Island flour mill by setting fire to it. It is interesting to note that James Welch, Herr's business partner, personally set the fire that destroyed the mill after being forced to do so by confederate troops.²⁸⁹ While it is not known for sure when Herr left Virginus Island it is known that he was living in Georgetown in the District of Columbia by August 1867.²⁹⁰

Thomas N. Heskitt

Little is known about Thomas N. Heskitt. According to his testimony in 1887 in the case of Harpers Ferry Mill Company vs Thomas H. Savery, he first came to Harpers Ferry in 1840. He worked as a millwright in rebuilding the Virginus Island flour mill which had burned down the previous year. At that time, and for "a great many years," Heskitt lived on the island, but he does not appear on any of the censuses for Harpers Ferry or Bolivar.²⁹¹

Despite his absence from censuses, Heskitt clearly lived in the area for

²⁸⁹Barry, pp. 114-116; Virginia Free Press, 22 August 1889, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 August 1889, p. 2, col. 2.

²⁹⁰Virginia Free Press, 15 August 1867, p. 2, col. 5.

²⁹¹Deposition of Thomas N. Heskitt, 2 July 1887, in Harpers Ferry Mill Co. vs Thomas H. Savery, p. 37.

a number of years. At the time of the 1870 flood, he was a supervisor of bridges for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, a company for which he worked for twenty-five years. When his wife Mary A. Heskitt died in Toledo, Ohio, in 1895 at age 75, the newspaper reported she had lived with her husband in Harpers Ferry while he worked for the railroad.²⁹²

Andrew Jackson Hobbs

Harpers Ferry native Andrew Hobbs, the son of longtime Harpers Ferry residents Samuel and Sarah Hobbs, is probably the armorer Jackson Hobbs (25) who appears on the 1850 census in the household of Sarah Hobbs. Hobbs was probably already married, since an Emily Hobbs (25) of Virginia is listed immediately after him on the census.²⁹³

His name does not appear again in the available historical record until 1857, when George Koonce, Harpers Ferry tax collector, charged Hobbs with 87½ cents in tax for the free male levy and a clock and noted Hobbs owed back taxes for 1856.²⁹⁴ Hobbs may have been living on Virginus Island then; he certainly was living there in 1860. According to the census, Andrew Hobbs (35) was a native of Virginia and an employee of the armory. The stated value of his personal property was \$150. His wife Emily J. (34) was a native of Maryland. The Hobbs had two daughters, Mary E. (6) and Anna (1), both born in Virginia. Also living with the Hobbs family were McLaud Lewis (25), a telegraph operator and native of New York, his wife Frances (19) of Maryland, and domestic Sarah

²⁹²Deposition of Thomas N. Heskitt, p. 37; Virginia Free Press, 10 July 1895, p. 2, col. 3.

²⁹³Fifth Census (1830), Harpers Ferry, p. 167; Sixth Census (1840), Harpers Ferry, p. 239; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 417B; Death Register 2 (1866-1880), p. 116, line 52.

²⁹⁴George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 85, L-6533, Duke University.

Clemens (8) of Virginia.²⁹⁵

Hobbs evidently left Virginius Island between 1860 and 1870. Although he was still living in Harpers Ferry in 1870, Hobbs was no longer living on the island. Hobbs was a retail grocer. His family included wife Martha A. (29), the former Martha A. Kellison, daughter of George and Martha Kellison, whom he had married in 1869, son Charles A. (9), and daughters Mary E. (15), Annie (10), and Helen (6 months). Andrew Hobbs died in 1875.²⁹⁶

In 1880, Mary E. Hobbs married William W. Derry, a native of Loudoun County; her sister Anna D. had married George N. Angel, of Frederick County, Maryland, the previous year. The Derrys evidently lived in Loudoun County where Elizabeth Derry, daughter of "Jack Hobbs" died in 1929 at the age of seventy-five. The Angels must have lived in Harpers Ferry. According to a 1903 newspaper account, the family had moved to West Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, from Harpers Ferry the previous year. A son Garland Ranson Angel had died, and the unnamed youngest daughter was also ill.²⁹⁷

George F. Hoffman

The George F. Hoffman family first appears on the 1870 census. Hoffman (30), a cooper, and his wife Georgett E. (28) were natives of Maryland. Their children Olive (5) and David B. (2) had been born in West Virginia.²⁹⁸ None of the Hoffmans appear in any other available records until 1900, when Ollie E.

²⁹⁵Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 203.

²⁹⁶Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 451, p. 3 of Harpers Ferry; Spirit of Jefferson, 12 January 1869, p. 2, col. 6; Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 250; Death Register 2 (1866-1880), p. 116, line 52.

²⁹⁷Marriages, 1801-1890, pp. 11, 138; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 June 1929, p. 1, col. 6; Farmers Advocate, 7 February 1903, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁹⁸Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

Hoffman (34) married Benjamin F. Hoffman in Charlestown.²⁹⁹

Harrison Hoffman (Hoff or Hooff)

Harrison Hoffman was living on Virginus Island at the time of the 1870 census. Harrison (23) was a cooper. Also living in his house were his wife Sarah (21) and daughter Annie E. (11 months). The Hoffmans gave their place of birth as West Virginia.³⁰⁰

The name of this family in all likelihood was Hoff or Hooff rather than Hoffman. On June 20, 1869, an Annie E. Hoff had been born to Harrison and Sarah C. Hoff of Bolivar. Harrison Hoff was a cooper.³⁰¹

At the time of the 1880 census, Henry Hooff (37) was living in the Osburn District of Jefferson County. Living in his household were his wife Sarah (32) and children Ann L. (11), Henry (9), Joseph (6), and Sarah (2). In 1886, Annie Elizabeth Hoff married James W. Hough of Loudoun County, and in 1888, a Harrison Hoff married Melissa May Hedges in Harpers Ferry.³⁰²

Harrison Hoff, Sr. (49) and Harrison Hoff, Jr. (21) are listed on the 1892 voter registration as coopers. This document indicates the elder Hoff had been a resident of the state for only a year and a half, while the younger Hoff, a native of Jefferson County, had only lived in the Harpers Ferry district one year.³⁰³

Harrison Hoff, Sr. was living in the Harpers Ferry district at the time

²⁹⁹Marriage Register 3, p. 232.

³⁰⁰Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

³⁰¹Register of Deaths and Births (1866-1880), p. 41.

³⁰²Tenth Census (1880), Osburn District, Enumeration District 6, Sheet 13, line 1; Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 261; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 November 1888, p. 2, col. 5.

³⁰³Voter Registration, Harpers Ferry District, 1892.

of the 1900 census. At that time, Hoff (56), a native of Virginia, was a mason. Living with him were his wife Elizabeth (43), a native of Maryland; son George W. (17), born in West Virginia; and daughter Bessie E. (15), born in Ohio. Harrison and Elizabeth had been married eight years.³⁰⁴

Son Harry Hoff was living in Bolivar at that time. Hoff (29) was a stone mason. His wife Nettie E. (23) had been born in Maryland, as had son Harry E. (1). Son Lloyd (4 months) had been born in Pennsylvania. Harry and Nettie had been married three years.³⁰⁵

Daniel Hood

Daniel Hood's name first appears in the available historical record with the 1870 census. He had evidently moved to the area within the previous two years since his youngest son had been born in Maryland. Hood (44) was a cooper. Also living in his household were his wife Annie E. (35) and children Mary E. (18), William A. (14), and Winford E. (2). All of them had been born in Maryland.³⁰⁶ The Hood family was still living on Virginus Island in 1876, when a Mollie Avey was injured at the Hood residence on "Herr's Island."³⁰⁷

According to the 1880 census, Daniel Hood (57) was still a cooper, and his son William (28) was one as well. Also living with Hood were his wife Anne E. (42), son Winnie (11), and the family of his daughter Mary E. Shewbridge. The latter family consisted of Mary E. (27), her husband James L. Shewbridge (31), a carpenter, and children Clarence (7), Albert (5), Pearl C. (3), and Howard L.

³⁰⁴Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry District, p. 64B.

³⁰⁵Twelfth Census (1900), Bolivar, p. 83B.

³⁰⁶Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

³⁰⁷Spirit of Jefferson, 18 July 1876, p. 3, col. 1.

(1).³⁰⁸ It is unclear whether or not the Hoods were still living on Virginus Island when the 1880 census was taken, although they evidently continued to live where flood water from the Shenandoah could reach them. In the 1889 flood, Daniel Hood lost \$5,000 worth of property. Hood died in 1891.³⁰⁹

George A. Hood

The 1870 Census shows George A. Hood living on Virginus Island. Hood (49), whose occupation is given as maker of flour barrels, headed a household that consisted of seven members of his family and a domestic servant. Those family members were his wife Mary J. (43), Sallie E. (15), Marian (11), George A. Jr. (8), Ella D. (7), and Fanny T. (3); the domestic servant was a female named Mary Harding (17).³¹⁰

Since on the 1870 census the Hood household appears immediately before that of Warren B. Dutton, a minister known to have lived in the brick row house, it is suspected the Hood household occupied some portion of the row house.³¹¹ Hood was the proprietor of a cooperage, probably located on Virginus Island, in which he had \$500 capital invested. The 1870 census indicates Hood employed an average of sixteen hands, and paid \$7,200 in wages during the past year.³¹² It is not known when George Hood moved off Virginus Island. Local newspapers

³⁰⁸Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 1, p. 2 of Harpers Ferry.

³⁰⁹Virginia Free Press, 13 June 1889, p. 3, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 19 May 1891, p. 2, col. 5.

³¹⁰Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

³¹¹E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870, Transcription, HFD-213, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. This letter indicates that the row of 12 brick houses were all occupied by tenants with the exception of one family, that of Dr. Dutton.

³¹²Ninth Census (1870), Products of Industry, Bolivar Township, p. 1.

indicate a George A. Hood was still living in the Harpers Ferry area in 1883.³¹³

Charles Hopwood

Charles Hopwood (27) is listed on the 1870 census as the head of a household totalling six that included his wife Lottie (Charlotte) (23), Christina (28), Mary C. (2), Harry (2), and James (20). The census indicates that Charles and James were proprietors of a dry goods store.³¹⁴ Hopwood had arrived in the Harpers Ferry area in 1867, the year he married the former Lottie R. Copeland.³¹⁵

The 1870 census indicates they may have lived on Virginius Island. Their name appears on the 1870 census in a location consistent with other families believed to have been living on the Island. This fact, though, might be misleading because a newspaper account of the 1870 flood reports, "The principle damage by the deluge in the Shenandoah at Harper's Ferry may be summed up as follows: Houses entirely ruined - . . . Mrs. Cornelius Stipes, (fine dwelling,) Mr. Charles L. Hopwood's store, . . ."³¹⁶ On the 1880 census the Hopwood family appears immediately after the residents of Cornelia Stipes' boarding house.³¹⁷ Cornelia Stipes boarding house may have been located in the low lying area south of Shenandoah Street and adjacent to Virginius Island. The sequential reporting of Hopwood and Stipes in both the 1870 newspaper flood

³¹³Spirit of Jefferson, 7 August 1883, p. 2, col. 5.

³¹⁴Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

³¹⁵Virginia Free Press, 19 March 1867, p. 3, col. 1.

³¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 8 October 1870, p. 2, col. 3.

³¹⁷Ninth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 3, p. 6 of Harpers Ferry.

damage report and on the 1880 census might suggest they were living next to each other in 1870 and 1880. If this was the case, Charles Hopwood may have been living along Shenandoah Street in the same structure in which his store was situated. It is known that Hopwood still occupied this store in February 1876.³¹⁸ It must be remembered that the population schedule of the 1880 census is largely indiscernible as far as locating residents to particular streets or areas is concerned.

In 1874 Hopwood purchased a house and lot on Potomac Street in Harpers Ferry.³¹⁹ This property was sold in 1876 to Charles Davies.³²⁰

³¹⁸Virginia Free Press, 19 February 1876, p. 2, col. 5.

³¹⁹Deed Book B, p. 153, John J. Kern and wife Mary, Matilda E. Roeder, James R. Roeder, et al. to Charles L. Hopwood, 12 May 1874.

³²⁰Deed Book D, p. 68, Charles L. Hopwood to Charles Davies, 14 January 1876.

TRANSCRIPTION

JAS.GETTY & SON VS C.L. HOPWOOD, BOX 48, FOLDER 2, JEFFERSON COUNTY COURT RECORDS, A&M 382, WVU

The following is a list by seperate Items of all the personal estate owned or claimed by said Charles L. Hopwood including money Bonds bills notes claims & demands

3 Three Safes	7.50
2 Two Stoves	16.00
4 Four Beds & Bedding	48.00
2 Two Bureaus	18.00
3 Three Wash Stands	6.00
2 Two Tables	4.00
3 Three Pictures	12.00
Carpeting & Matting	10.00
Crockery & Tin Ware	3.00
Knives forks & Spoons	3.00
Chairs	10.00
Wash Tubs & Buckets	2.50
2 Lounges	3.50
1 Heater	10.00
1 Sugar Grinder	1.00
Pans Tray & Pots	2.00
3 Baskets	1.00
Glass Ware	1.00
Books	1.00
3 Wash Bowls & Pitchers	2.00
1 Clock	<u>2.50</u>
	over \$164.00
2 Trunks	6.00
2 Saws 1.00 Small Bureau 3.00	4.00
Amt brot over	164.00
1 Spade 2 Shovels & Hatchet	1.50
2 Table Covers	1.00
3 Lamps	<u>.80</u>
	177.30

I C.L. Hopwood do solemnly swear that the annexed list by me subscribed contains a true and perfect list of all the personal estate of every kind claimed by me and the price quoted is as much if not more than it would if put up at auction

Cha.L. Hopwood

Signed & Sworn to before
me this 1st day of February
1879

Basil Avis J.P.

I claim all of the above named articles under the provision of the exemption act of the State of West Va.

C.L. Hopwood

Mary Hughes

Mary Hughes appears on the 1850 census as the head of a household of nine persons including herself. The location of the Hughes household on the census is consistent with other households known to have been on Virginus Island. Mary Hughes' household consists of three males, Elihu (14), Josiah (7), and Jacob Poesel (22), and six females, Mary (52), Mary A. (29), Matilda (26), Sarah (19), Eliza (16), and Tabitha (12).³²¹ Mary Hughes also owned a 26 year old female slave in 1850.³²²

No occupation is listed for Mary Hughes on the census. Newspapers report that there was a woman by the name of Mrs. Hughes along with her children that were receiving public assistance from the Overseers of the Poor.³²³

James W. Hyatt (or Hete)

There being more than one James Hyatt, it is possible to present only a very limited amount of information about the one who lived on Virginus Island. In 1837, James W. Hyatt married Jane Brown. According to the Virginia Free Press, they were both residents of Harpers Ferry.³²⁴

According to the 1840 census, Hyatt (or Hete as he is listed on that census) was living in the town of Virginus. Both he and Jane were of age 20 and under 30. Also living in the Hyatt household were a male of 5 and under 10 and a female under 5. Hyatt worked in manufacturing and trade.³²⁵

³²¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

³²²Seventh Census (1850), Slave Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 999.

³²³Virginia Free Press, 13 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1.

³²⁴Virginia Free Press, 30 November 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

³²⁵Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248.

Jane Hyatt (or Hiatt) died August 10, 1847 on Virginus Island at the age of 29. Ten years later, James W. Hyatt married Ellen Higgens of Philadelphia.³²⁶ James W. Hyatt does not appear on either the 1850 or 1860 census, although he does appear on the 1850 personal property tax record as having no taxable property.³²⁷

Gibson Johns

Gibson Johns first appears in the available historical record on the 1849 personal property tax record for Jefferson County. According to that document, Johns owned a metallic clock, for which he was taxed 25 cents.³²⁸

Carpenter Gibson Johns (27) and his family are listed on the 1850 census immediately after the Virginus Island boarding house in which William Kemp lived. Johns, his wife Ellen (23), and daughter Sarah C. (Kate) (1) are all listed as natives of Pennsylvania, probably of the Gettysburg area. Post-war censuses, however, indicate Ellen, the daughter of Peter and Sarah Hoffman, was a native of West Virginia.³²⁹ Born after the 1850 census was daughter Mary E. (born June 1853).³³⁰

³²⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 10 September 1847, p. 2, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 10 December 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

³²⁷Personal Property Tax Book (1850). A James Hyatt appears on the personal property tax records from 1842 to 1850, but only for 1850, when two James Hyatts are listed, one as James W. Hyatt, is it possible to connect positively any information with the man who lived on Virginus Island. Personal property tax information on Virginus Island residents for the years up to 1850, 1857, 1859, and 1860 and included in Appendix B.

³²⁸Personal Property Tax Book (1849).

³²⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 78B; Spirit of Jefferson, 26 July 1944, clipping in McDonald Papers; Death Register 6 (1899-1906), p. 72, line 18. According to Mariana Ross, Katie Johns, whose age is given on the 1880 census (p. 5, p. 9 of Harpers Ferry) as 8, was born on Virginus Island in 1849. The 1900 census indicates Sarah C. was born in June, 1850. Assuming the year of birth is correct, Kate S. & Sarah C. were the same person (Mrs. E.E. Ross, "Old Schools of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar," p. 2, paper read at Harpers Ferry Woman's Club, 1947, HFD-224, also published The Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society, December 1964).

³³⁰Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 78B.

It is not known if Gibson Johns continued to live on Virginus Island after 1850, but he was living in the Harpers Ferry area through the 1850s. When Johns executed a deed of trust to Archibald M. Kitzmiller in 1853, he gave his residence as Harpers Ferry. In this deed of trust is listed the following personal property:

one feather bed Bedstead & bedding & furniture for the same complete, one Trundle bedstead -feather bed and bedding in the same - one Brass eight day clock four waiters - one copper tea Kettle Three iron dripping pans - 2 doz plates ½ doz cups & saucers - 1 Doz Knives & forks 3 looking Glass, Three window blind 1 wood saw -1 doz pieces Tin ware - one doz iron pots ½ doz stone jars ½ doz chairs - 1 Table 1 bake pan - one coffee pot & Boiler. 18 yds carpet rag³³¹

Although the Johns family is not listed on the 1860 census, Johns' name does appear on the 1859 personal property tax record for Jefferson County. At that time, his taxable property consisted of a \$5 clock and \$50 in house and kitchen furniture. They were apparently still living in Harpers Ferry, since a 1944 article on daughter Kate Myers reported that she had witnessed John Brown's raid and that the family had removed to the Gettysburg home of Gibson John's parents after the Civil War began.³³²

Johns was not associated with Virginus Island when he returned to Harpers Ferry after the war. Johns was first elected councilman in 1866 and was regularly elected to this position as late as 1889. Gibson Johns died in 1898, and Ellen Johns died in 1901.³³³

Kate Johns married F.B. Myers in 1870, and Mary E. Johns married G.R. Marquette in 1875. They were still living in Harpers Ferry at the time of the

³³¹Deed Book 33, p. 183, Deed of Trust, Gibson Johns to Archibald M. Kitzmiller, 2 April 1853.

³³²Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50; Spirit of Jefferson, 26 July 1944, clipping in McDonald Papers.

³³³Spirit of Jefferson, 4 September 1866, p. 3, col. 2; 8 January 1889, p. 2, col. 1; 4 January 1898, p. 2, col. 2; Death Register 6 (1899-1906), p. 72, line 18.

1910 census.³³⁴

William Kauffman

There apparently being two William Kauffmans who worked at the pulp mill, the only information on the William Kauffman believed to have been living on Virginus Island comes from the 1910 census. William Kauffman (40), a laborer at the mill, is listed immediately after the John Cooper family. The other members of the Kauffman household were his wife Cora L. (39), children Robert (20), John W. (18), Mary E. (14), and father-in-law Abraham Longerbeam (64). Robert, John, and Abraham were also laborers at the pulp mill. All were natives of what is now West Virginia.³³⁵

There is some confusion with regard to the Kauffman family. Despite the fact that Cora is listed on the 1900 census in her father's household as Cora Longerbeam, the 1910 census indicates she and William Kauffman had been married twenty-two years. However, in 1933, a Charles Robert Longerbeam (43), son of a Cora Longerbeam, died. He was the same age Robert Kauffman would have been in that year, raising the possibility that Cora and her children may have used her maiden name. If this is what happened, Cora Longerbeam Kauffman may be the Cora Longerbeam who reportedly lived in Building 22/32 (1859 Historical Base Map) until the 1936 flood (See Abraham Longerbeam's biography).³³⁶

³³⁴Marriages, 1801-1890, pp. 355, 410; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 188.

³³⁵Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191. See page 189 for the other William Kauffman.

³³⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 8 March 1933, p. 1, col. 1; Hannah, p. 123. Hannah does not specifically state which dwelling Cora Longerbeam lived in; however, he indicates the dwelling was built at two different times, a fact consistent with what is known of Building 22/32.

Charles Kellison

Charles Kellison's parents, George W. Kellison and Emily C. Kellison, were living in the Harpers Ferry area and possibly on Virginus Island by 1877. In any case, the 1880 census indicates the 16 year old Charles lived with his family in Bolivar.³³⁷ The Kellisons apparently moved to Virginus Island during the 1880s. Charles' brother, Ward Kellison (born in 1880), recalled playing on the island when he was 7 or 8 years old. He also recalled the westernmost unit of the row house was washed away in the 1889 flood.³³⁸

Charles appears the 1900 census as being 36 years old whose occupation is listed as "butcher". He is listed in his mother's Virginus Island household, his father having died in 1882.³³⁹

Although it is not possible to pinpoint precisely where on the island the Kellison family lived, it is apparent that they lived in one of the dwellings in the brick row house. According to the information he gave David Hannah in 1968, Ward Kellison lived in the "No. 3 apartment" in the row houses. Since Hannah characterizes the westernmost dwelling as the "first" unit in the row houses, the Kellison family may have lived in Building 34 (1859 Historical Base Map) or one of the dwellings on either side of it.³⁴⁰

Charles Kellison is listed as the head of household on the 1910 census, but the location of his name on the census is not consistent with those believed to have been living on the Island. Kellison at that time was recently married to the former Sallie E. Betts, and also living in his household was a step-son,

³³⁷See biography of Emily C. Kellison; Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 19, p. 12 of Bolivar.

³³⁸"Draft of a Deposition by Mr Kellison to David Hannah on April 8, 1968," HFD-321.

³³⁹Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

³⁴⁰"Draft of a Deposition by Mr. Kellison to David Hannah on April 8, 1968," HFD-321; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

Charles W. Bell.³⁴¹

The 1920 census indicates Kellison, his wife, and their 4 year old daughter, Murtha (Martha ?), had moved back to Virginius Island.³⁴² Charles' name appears in newspapers on several occasions for being delinquent on tax payments. The first such instance being in 1894, followed by at least four others during the following eleven years.³⁴³

Emily Catherine Kellison

The Kellison family first appears in the available historical record in 1860, when George Kellison married Catherine Kirk. They were evidently living in the Harpers Ferry area, and possibly on Virginius Island, by 1877, when they were "driven from [their] home" by the November flood. The 1880 census lists the Kellison family in Bolivar. George W. Kellison (63) was a butcher. His wife Kate E. (Emily) was forty-four. Their children were Charles F. (16), George L. (14), Harry C. (9), Claud V. (2), and Ordell (3 months). In 1882, when George W. Kellison died, he was living "near" Harpers Ferry.³⁴⁴

Although it is not known when the Kellison family moved to Virginius Island, they were evidently living there in the 1880s. Ward Kellison (born in 1880) recalled playing on the island when he was about 7 or 8 years old. While his memory was apparently faulty, he also recalled that the westernmost building

³⁴¹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 192.

³⁴²Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191 A.

³⁴³Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1894, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 27 June 1899, p. 2, col. 7; Farmer's Advocate, 12 July 1902, p. 1, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4.

³⁴⁴Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 303; Virginia Free Press, 1 December 1877, p. 3, col. 2; Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 19, p. 12 of Bolivar; Spirit of Jefferson, 5 September 1882, p. 3, col. 1.

of the brick row houses was washed away in the 1889 flood.³⁴⁵

The Kellison family was living on Virginus Island at the time the 1900 census was taken. Emily C. (60) was the head of house. Living with her were her sons Charles F. (36), a butcher; George W. (34) and Harry L. (27), both laborers at the pulp mill; and Claud V. (21) and Ward L. (20), both day laborers. Charles, Claud, and Ward had been unemployed four months during the previous year, while Harry had been unemployed two months. Also living in this house were Emily's daughter-in-law Minnie B. (27), the former Minnie Moberly, and grandchildren George E. (5), Beulah (5), and Annie (2).³⁴⁶

Either the Kellison family were prone to not paying their taxes or they were in financial difficulties. George Kellison appears on a list of delinquent tax payers in 1883, and Charles appears in 1894. Each of the Kellison brothers' names appear on the delinquent taxpayers list one or more times between 1899 and 1905.³⁴⁷

After 1900, some or all of Emily Kellison's family moved out of her Virginus Island home. Son George moved prior to February 1908. Emily C. (or Catherine) Kellison was, however, still living on the island when she died in 1908 at age seventy-three.³⁴⁸

Although it is not possible to pinpoint precisely where on the island the Kellison family lived, it is apparent that they lived in one of the dwellings in the brick row house. According to the information he gave David Hannah in 1968,

³⁴⁵"Draft of a Deposition by Mr. Kellison to David Hannah on April 8, 1968," HFD-321.

³⁴⁶Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B; Marriage Register 2, p. 15.

³⁴⁷Spirit of Jefferson, 7 August 1883, p. 2, col. 5; 26 June 1899, p. 2, col. 7; 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1894, p. 3, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1902, p. 1, col. 3; 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4.

³⁴⁸Farmers Advocate, 15 February 1908, p. 2, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 February 1908, p. 3, col. 3.

Ward Kellison lived in the "No. 3 apartment" in the row houses. Since Hannah characterizes the westernmost dwelling as the "first" unit in the row houses, the Kellison family may have lived in Building 34 (1859 Historical Base Map) or one of the dwellings on either side of it.³⁴⁹

William Kemp

A William Kemp was a resident of the town of Virginus in 1840. According to the census, he was of age 30 and under 40 and was engaged in manufacturing and trade. Living with him were five females: one under 5, two of 5 and under 10, one of 20 and under 30, and one of 30 and under 40.³⁵⁰

There was also a William Kemp living on Virginus Island in 1850. He was a millwright born in Maryland. The age given is 25. Either there is an error in the information on the 1840 or 1850 census or this William Kemp is not the same William Kemp living in the town of Virginus in 1840. Only one William Kemp appears on Jefferson County personal property tax records from 1844 until 1850, when two, both with an "HF," presumably Harpers Ferry, after their names, are listed. One had no taxable property, while the other owned a clock.³⁵¹

On October 26, 1850, William Kemp was married on Virginus Island to Elizabeth Dove.³⁵² According to a power of attorney signed by Kemp in 1852, he was then employed at the United States Armory as a millwright and carpenter. By this document, Kemp gave F. J. Conrad the authority to collect his wages from November 1852 to June 1853 to satisfy his debts. Whether or not Kemp was working

³⁴⁹"Draft of a Deposition by Mr. Kellison to David Hannah on April 8, 1968," HFD-321; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

³⁵⁰Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248.

³⁵¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404; Personal Property Tax Books (1844-1850).

³⁵²Virginia Free Press, 1 November 1850, p. 3, col. 1.

at the armory at the time of the 1850 census is unknown.³⁵³

Twelve other people are listed in this household on the 1850 census. It is not known whether or not Amanda Kemp (15), a native of New York, was any relation to William Kemp. Also living in this building were millwrights Corbin Morrison (17) of Maryland, Jacob Byers (25) of Pennsylvania, and Daniel Walter (19) of Maryland; miller Thomas Jones (22) of Virginia; merchant John Walter (24) of Germany; physician Asa Rudick (52) of Massachusetts; Notly Baltzell (19) of Maryland; Jacob Sharff (22) and manufacturer John Timberlin (21), both of Virginia; and Sidney J. (30) and Charlotte Timberlin (35) of New Jersey.³⁵⁴

Little or nothing else is known about these latter residents. John Walter was probably affiliated with R. Walter & Bro., also referred to occasionally as John Walter & Bro., a clothing store which opened in Harpers Ferry in 1847 and continued until 1859.³⁵⁵ In addition to being a doctor, Asa Rudick also rented the sawmill on Virginus Island in 1850. His name does not appear in the available historical record after 1851, when his name was included on a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.³⁵⁶

Jane E. Kidwell

The family of Richard and Jane Kidwell appear on both the 1900 and 1910 censuses. In 1910, the family consisted of Richard (63), Jane (65), and their sons James W. (28), Robert (19), Clarence (17), and Wade Hampton (27). There is no evidence to suggest they were living on Virginus Island at the time;

³⁵³Deed Book 33, p. 61, Power of Attorney, William Kemp to F.J. Conrad, 27 November 1852.

³⁵⁴Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

³⁵⁵For example, see advertisements in Virginia Free Press, 27 October 1847, p. 3, col. 2; 14 September 1848, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 February 1849, p. 4, col. 7; 5 March 1859, p. 3, col. 6.

³⁵⁶Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1850, p. 3, col. 1; 4 April 1851, p. 2, col. 7.

according to the 1910 census, Richard Kidwell owned his own home.³⁵⁷

By January 1912, J.W. and Robert Kidwell were working for the Shenandoah Pulp Co. J.W.'s name appears twice on the January payroll: once as the recipient of \$15 for 10 days of work and again as the recipient of \$8.85 for 6.8 days of work. Robert received \$36.05 for 25 3/4 days of work. In February, J.W. Kidwell was paid \$32.25 for 21 1/2 days of work, while Robert received \$25.20 for 18 days of work.³⁵⁸

The Kidwell family may have been living on Virginius Island by this time; if not, they certainly were living there subsequently. James Wesley Kidwell died at "his home on Herr's Island" August 23, 1915. In all probability the other members of the Kidwell family also were living on the island when James died, since all of them, except for Richard Kidwell, who died in 1918, were living on the island in 1920. According to the census, head-of-household Jane E. Kidwell (69) lived with sons Hamp (43) and Robert (23), both employed as laborers at the pulp mill, and Clarence (21). They were all natives of Virginia.³⁵⁹

William Kirby

Because there were two William Kirbys living in the Harpers Ferry area, the only certain information on the one living on Virginius Island comes from the 1850 census. That William Kirby (38) was a machinist. Living with him were Catherine (22), George A. (4), and Caleb (2). All of them were born in Maryland

³⁵⁷Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 72A; Thirteen Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 175.

³⁵⁸Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Folder Shen. Pulp Co. 1900-24, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

³⁵⁹Spirit of Jefferson, 31 August 1915, p. 4, col. 5; 24 September 1918, p. 3, col. 2; Fourteen Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191. The ages given on the census for Clarence and Robert are probably very inaccurate. The 1900 census indicated Robert was born in 1886 and Clarence in 1893, meaning they would have been 34 and 27 respectively in 1920.

and may have moved to the area within the previous two years.³⁶⁰

Jefferson County personal property tax records reveal that one William Kirby was living in the county from at least 1843, while two William Kirbys are listed between 1847 and 1850. In 1850, one has an "HF," presumably meaning Harpers Ferry, after his name, and the other, presumably the one who lived on Virginus Island, has "factory" after his name. Both owned metallic clocks; the Harpers Ferry William Kirby also owned a watch. Only one William Kirby appears on available tax records for 1857 and 1859.³⁶¹ The Kirby family does not appear on the 1860 census.

Henry Krout

Henry Krout may have been living in the Harpers Ferry area by July 1829, when his name was included in a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.³⁶² In 1830, Krout was living in the town of Virginus. According to the census, he was of age 20 and under 30 (about 30). Also living in the household were a female of 20 and under 30, probably his wife Catherine (about 28), a female under 5, probably daughter Mary (about 2), and a male under 5, probably son Jacob Daniel (about 1).³⁶³

In 1834, Henry Krout executed a deed of trust to secure an \$85 debt owed to James Andrews. The following personal property is listed in this deed of trust:

³⁶⁰Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405B.

³⁶¹Personal Property Tax Books (1843-1850, 1859); George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 9, L-6533, Duke University.

³⁶²Virginia Free Press, 15 July 1829, p. 4, col. 4.

³⁶³Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175; Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 391B; Virginia Free Press, 6 July 1848, p. 3, col. 2; 28 July 1831, p. 3, col. 3.

one walnut beureau, 1 Do table, 18 yards domestic carpeting 6 windsor chairs, 3 common, 3 small & 1 rocking chairs, 1 acorn bedstead, 1 trundle bedstead, 1 feather bed & 2 straw beds, 1 boulster & 2 pillows, 1 cradle & bedding, Do 4 quilts & 1 counterpin and all other bed clothing, 1 toilet table, 1 walnut candle stand, 1 tea board & 2 waiters, 6 hanging pictures, 1 pair window blinds, 1 silver liverpool watch, 2 hair trunks, 1 pair shovel & tongs, 1 tin & 1 wood bucket, 2 tin pans, 1 tea kettle, 2 coffee pots, 1 pair smoothing irons, 1 dripping pan, 1 stove boiler, 2 knickets, 1 lot 10 books, 2 glass, 2 small & 1 earthen pitchers, 3 glass & 2 britania tumblers, 1 sett knives & forks 1 sett table spoons, 1 sett tea cups & saucers, 2 tea potts, 1 sugar bowl, 1 cream pot, 6 breakfast plates, 3 dishes, 1 decanter, 1 pine table, 3 iron potts, 3 wash tubs, 1 skillet, 6 earthen jars, 2 stone jars, 1 washboard, 1 bbl soap, 3 iron ladles, 1 coffee mill, and one chest of carpenter's tools containing 5 augers, 2 sett bench plains, 8 moulding & beed plains, 2 hatchets, 12 chisels, 3 saws, 1 iron square, 1 foot adds, 1 oil stone, 3 steel blade squares, 1 sett tonged & groved plains, 3 hand hammers besides various other tools, 1 yarn reel, 500 lb bacon, 200 lb beaf ½ Bbl. flour, 1 wood ax, 1 small work bench and all other personal property belonging to me

The reference to carpenter's tools suggests Krout was probably working as a carpenter in the 1830s and perhaps while he was living on Virginus Island.³⁶⁴

The date of Henry Krout's departure from Virginus Island is unclear, but he had moved from the island to Harpers Ferry by 1840.³⁶⁵ Between 1830 and 1840, a number of children were born to the Krouts. Sarah was born about 1832, Samuel Henry about 1834, Ann about 1836, Abraham Henry about 1838, John Henry about 1839, and Emma about 1840. Samuel died in 1835, and John and Abraham died in 1840. Jacob Daniel, who was alive in 1830, died in 1831.³⁶⁶

Henry's wife Catherine (43) died in 1848. The Krout family was living in Bolivar in 1850.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴Deed Book 19, p. 204, Deed of Trust Henry Krout to Fountain Beckham trustee for James Andrews, 18 February 1834. The probability of Krout's being a carpenter is supported by the fact that the 1850 census gives his occupation as carpenter (Seventh Census 1850, Bolivar, p. 391B).

³⁶⁵Sixth Census (1840), Harpers Ferry, p. 240.

³⁶⁶Virginia Free Press, 28 July 1831, p. 3, col. 3; 19 November 1835, p. 3, col. 4; 16 April 1840, p. 3, col. 2; 23 April 1840, p. 3, col. 1; Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 391B.

³⁶⁷Virginia Free Press, 6 July 1848, p. 3, col. 2; Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 391B.

James M. Lay (Leigh)

Although James M. Lay does not appear on the 1870 or 1880 census for the Harpers Ferry area, and the 1900 census indicates daughters Sithia Peacher and Bertie M. Bond were born in Virginia in 1871 and 1876 respectively, Lay may have moved to Jefferson County as early as 1865. According to the 1892 voter's registration list of Harpers Ferry, Kentucky native Lay had been a resident of the Harpers Ferry district for twenty-seven years.³⁶⁸ At any rate, daughter Clara M. Allen was born in West Virginia in 1878, and the Lay family was living in the county when daughter Sitha married Elmer Peacher March 31, 1889.³⁶⁹

The 1900 census taker located James M. Lay in a small section labeled Shenandoah Street which included residents of Virginius Island. Lay (65) was a laborer at the brewery and had been unemployed for ten months in the previous year. Living with him was his wife Susan H. (58), a native of Virginia.³⁷⁰ Lay's household and kitchen furniture, which accounted for his total personal property, was valued at \$25.³⁷¹

Lay's name appears regularly in the name of delinquent taxpayers between 1897 and 1908. Sometime between 1900 and 1908, Lay moved to the home of his daughter Mrs. James Allen, where he died in 1908 of tuberculosis. According to his obituary, James Lay had once worked as a stonemason. His wife Susan died the following year.³⁷²

³⁶⁸Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 76 and 83B; 1892 Voter's Registration, Harpers Ferry District.

³⁶⁹Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76B; Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1889, p. 3, col. 5.

³⁷⁰Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

³⁷¹Personal Property Tax Book (1900), 2nd Assessment District.

³⁷²Farmers Advocate 19 June 1897, p. 1, col. 5; 12 July 1902, p. 1, col. 3; 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4; 25 July 1908, p. 2, col. 4; 6 November 1909, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 27 June 1899, p. 2, col. 7; 9 June 1903, p. 2, col. 7; 16 July 1907, p. 4, col. 2. The names of James Lay's children are listed in his obituary. They are Mrs. James Allen, Mrs. May Cleveland, Mrs. Louise Edwards, Mrs. Elmer Peacher, Mrs. Luther Bond, and Mrs. Charles E. Whetzel.

John Lewis

A native of Connecticut, John Lewis had evidently lived in Pennsylvania before removing to Harpers Ferry just a year or two before the 1860 census was taken. Lewis (39), a machinist, was probably living on Virginius Island in 1860. His family consisted of his wife Margaret (28) of Maryland and children Florence (8), Jane (6), Julia (4), Brettia (3), and Josephine (1). All of the children except Josephine, who was born in Virginia, had been born in Pennsylvania. Lewis owned an estimated \$200 in personal property which, according to the 1859 personal property tax record, included \$50 in household and kitchen furniture.³⁷³

Philetus Orville Littlejohn

A native of New York, Philetus Orville Littlejohn had evidently moved to the Harpers Ferry area by 1833, when his name appeared in a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.³⁷⁴ In December 1844, after his first wife, the sister of Israel and Joseph L. Russell, died, Littlejohn married Ellen Kirby, the daughter of Meshach Kirby.³⁷⁵ Charles Snell indicates that in 1844 and 1845, Littlejohn operated a dry goods and grocery store in Building 38 on Wager Lot 50. He moved his business to Wager Lot 11 in 1845 or 1846, where it remained until 1848.³⁷⁶

³⁷³Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 203; Personal Property Tax Book (1859), Park Reel 50.

³⁷⁴Virginia Free Press, 3 October 1833, p. 3, col. 3; 9 January 1834, p. 3, col. 1. Littlejohn's place of birth is given on the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B) while his full name is given in a law suit by Lewis Wernwag against John Littlejohn and Philetus Orville Littlejohn (Execution Book 3, p. 23, Reel 102, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU).

³⁷⁵Virginia Free Press, 2 January 1845, p. 3, col. 2; 24 January 1889, p. 3, col. 3.

³⁷⁶Charles W. Snell, "An Historical Study of Wager Lot No. 11," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 23 September 1958), p. 16.

Littlejohn's name appears on the personal property tax records throughout the 1840s. He paid 12½ cents tax on a horse in 1841, and according to the 1842 record, the first year in which this item was taxed, Littlejohn owned a piano. This piano was valued at \$150 between 1845 and 1849 and at \$125 in 1850.³⁷⁷

The 1850 census taker enumerated the Littlejohn family after the Joseph Manuel family on Virginus Island. Living in this household were P.O. Littlejohn (40), a merchant, his wife Ellen (24), children John J. (4) and Delia (2), and Mary Kennedy (20), a black woman.³⁷⁸

Littlejohn was an active member of the community. In 1843, he served as a delegate of the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society. On several occasions, his name appears in connection with Democratic Party activities.³⁷⁹ At some point after 1852, the Littlejohn family left Harpers Ferry and moved to Allegan, Michigan, where Ellen Littlejohn died in 1884.³⁸⁰

Abraham Longerbeam

Clarke County, Virginia, native Abraham Longerbeam first appears in the historical record with the 1870 census, at which time the family apparently was living on Virginus Island. Longerbeam (28), a cooper, and his wife Nancy (25) were native Virginians. Their three children Cora L. (2), Annie (5) and John (3 months) had been born in West Virginia.³⁸¹

³⁷⁷Personal Property Tax Books (1841-1850).

³⁷⁸Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404B.

³⁷⁹Virginia Free Press, 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 19 February 1852, p. 2, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 November 1848, p. 4, col. 3; 26 October 1852, p. 2, col. 4.

³⁸⁰Ellen Littlejohn died in Allegan, Michigan in 1884 (Spirit of Jefferson, 18 March 1884, p. 3, col. 2) and Philetus Littlejohn died there in 1889 (Spirit of Jefferson, 29 January 1889, p. 3, col. 3).

³⁸¹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry; 1892 Voter Registration, Harpers Ferry District.

By 1880, the Longerbeam family had removed to Bolivar. Longerbeam (39) was still working as a cooper. The household consisted of Nancy (39) and children Anna (16), Cora Lee (12), George (10), Fannie (8), Charles (6), and John (4). The Longerbeams were still living in or near Bolivar in 1890, when Fannie died.³⁸²

The Longerbeams moved back to Virginius Island before the 1900 census. Longerbeam (52) was a laborer at the pulp mill. Living with him were his daughter Cora (27) and sons Charley (25), Thomas (18), and Lewis (16), all three laborers at the pulp mill. Also living with Longerbeam were his grandchildren John (7), Mary (4), and Raleigh (12).³⁸³

Thomas Longerbeam was stabbed to death on Shenandoah Street in 1901 by Thomas Roderick, probably the brother of Bessie Brashears and son of Thomas Washington Roderick and Elvira Katherine Roderick.³⁸⁴ That same year, Charles married Bessie Painter, the daughter of Barney and Jane Painter. In 1909, Lewis Longerbeam married Mary E. Murphy, the widow of Sidney Murphy.³⁸⁵

It is unclear if Abraham Longerbeam remained in continuous residence on Virginius Island. In 1902, an A. Longerbeam was deeded a lot in South Bolivar on Shenandoah Street containing a frame house. However, Abraham Longerbeam (64), a laborer at the pulp mill, is listed on the 1910 census as living with his daughter Cora and son-in-law William Kauffman on Virginius Island (See Kauffman's

³⁸²Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 25, p. 23 of Bolivar District; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 January 1891, p. 2, col. 5.

³⁸³Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

³⁸⁴Farmers Advocate, 16 March 1901, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 19 March 1901, p. 2, col. 2; 14 January 1925, p. 1, col. 3.

³⁸⁵Marriage Register 3, p. 283; Marriage Register 5, p. 105; Twelfth Census (1900), Bolivar, p. 86A.

biography).³⁸⁶ He was still employed at the pulp mill in 1912, earning \$36.75 in January for 24 1/2 days of work and \$31.50 in February for 21 days of work.³⁸⁷ An Abe Longerbeam purchased another parcel of property on Shenandoah Street in 1913. Both were sold as part of Abe Longerbeam's estate in 1926.³⁸⁸

Despite this contradictory evidence, it is clear the Longerbeams were residents of Virginius Island in 1915. The October 2, 1915 issue of the Farmers Advocate gives an account of a tramp's appearance on the island. This individual appeared at "the window where Miss Mary Longerbeam was busily engaged sewing on the Machine at her home on Herr's Island." He "entered the house through the open hall," and after she fled he took clothes belonging to Abe Longerbeam and "his" son John. The intruder was caught "below the house hiding in the old flour mill."³⁸⁹

The 1920 census shows the Longerbeam family was still living on Virginius Island. The family included Cora (44); her son John (26), a brakeman for the railroad; daughter Mary (24); and father Abram (73), a laborer at the pulp mill. According to a report of the pulp company, the Longerbeam family still lived on the island in 1924. David Hannah indicates Cora Longerbeam lived in Building 22/32 (1859 Historical Base Map) until the 1936 flood.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶Deed Book 97, p. 275, George W. Trail, Forrest W. Brown and J. Garland Hurst and wife Elizabeth T. to A. Longerbeam, 30 June 1902; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B.

³⁸⁷Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

³⁸⁸Deed Book 113, p. 166, John J. Brannon to Abe Longerbeam, 18 November 1913; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 July 1926, p. 3, col. 2.

³⁸⁹Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

³⁹⁰Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; General Manager's Report, Shenandoah Pulp Company, 6 June 1924, Box 5, Reports to Director 1924-29, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum; Hannah, p. 123.

Hugh Maddox

H. Maddox appears on the 1840 census as a resident of Virginius with a total of 6 persons living in the Maddox household: 2 males between the ages of 30 and 40, 1 male between the age of 50 and 60, 1 female under the age of 5, 1 between the ages of 10 and 15, and 1 between the ages of 30 and 40.³⁹¹ Jefferson County newspapers identify Huriah Maddox and Hugh Maddox as being involved in the grocery business at Virginius during the late 1830s and early 1840s. It is likely Hugh and Huriah was the same person. Huriah Maddox advertised in 1839 to sell grocery items at Virginius. Hugh Maddox was managing a grocery store along with Carter Williamson at Virginius when the store merchandise was purchased by George Griffin from Rowland, Hefflebower, & Co. in 1840.³⁹²

Huriah Maddox's name appears on the 1825 petition to incorporate the town of Bolivar.³⁹³ His name also appears in Virginia Free Press in 1836. Hugh Maddox died in 1845; he was about 45 years of age.³⁹⁴

Margarett Maddox

Listed on the 1850 census in the part believed to have been Virginius Island is the Margarett Maddox family. Margarett (45) was a native of Maryland. Elizabeth (19) was born in the District of Columbia, while Susana (12) and Adeline (7) were born in Virginia. Also living in this household was William H.

³⁹¹Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 249.

³⁹²Virginia Free Press, 26 December 1839, p. 3, col. 3; Harper's Ferry Constitutionalist, 28 May 1840, p. 2, col. 5.

³⁹³Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B271, Virginia State Archives.

³⁹⁴Virginia Free Press, 6 October 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 24 April 1845, p. 3, col. 1.

Symington (28), a laborer who was born in the District of Columbia.³⁹⁵

A Mrs. Maddox appears in the lists of the 1850 and 1852 list of recipients of aid for the poor. The last available reference to Margaret Maddox is an 1853 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.³⁹⁶

While there is no documentation to prove the Margaret Maddox family was connected to the Hugh Maddox family, that possibility should be considered. Hugh Maddox's wife was of age 30 and under 40 in 1840 and there were two female children, one under 5 and one of age 10 and under 15. With the exception of the latter, these ages are consistent with those of Margaret, Susana, and Elizabeth respectively.³⁹⁷

Joseph Manuel

Joseph H. Manuel probably moved to Virginus Island from Loudoun County, Virginia in late 1847, about the time he married the former Sidney Cloud of Harpers Ferry.³⁹⁸ The 1850 census shows Joseph Manuel (27) living on Virginus Island; his household totalled six including his wife Sidney (20), their daughter Sarah E. (1), Charles L. Beaver (21), Milton Chew (38), and Edward Lair (35). Beaver and Lair were blacksmiths, as was Joseph Manuel, and Milton Chew was a shoemaker.³⁹⁹ According to the 1850 and 1860 products of industry census

³⁹⁵Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405B.

³⁹⁶Virginia Free Press, 13 September 1850, p. 3, col. 1; 6 January 1853, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 31 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3.

³⁹⁷Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248.

³⁹⁸Virginia Free Press, 5 January 1848, p. 3, col. 2.

³⁹⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

schedules, Joseph Manuel had \$500 invested in his blacksmith business.⁴⁰⁰

Manuel may still have been living on the Island at the time of the 1860 census. At that time there were eight people in his household. Besides himself there were: Sarah E. (11), George W. (9), William H. (7), James T. (4), and Mary A. (1). Also living in the Manuel household was a 15 year old blacksmith apprentice named Joseph Davis.⁴⁰¹ In 1862 Joseph Manuel lived on the north side of Shenandoah Street in dwelling no. 5 (Armory Dwelling 5) as designated by Daniel J. Young in a compiled listing of dwelling owned by the Ordnance Department at Harpers Ferry.⁴⁰² That structure is still standing and today is known as HAFE Building 48.

Joseph Manuel purchased a house in 1865 located between Shenandoah Street and Hamilton Street in Harpers Ferry.⁴⁰³ He may have moved his family to that house at that time. Joseph's son George died in 1889 at his Shenandoah Street residence.⁴⁰⁴ Joseph Manuel died in 1872 after being run over by a train.⁴⁰⁵

John A. Mason

John Mason's name first appears in the available historical record in 1856, when he purchased Lot 7, Block D from the United States. If Mason lived on that property, it was not for long because a year later, he and his wife

⁴⁰⁰Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, District 28, p. 10; Eighth Census (1860), Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

⁴⁰¹Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, pp. 200, 201.

⁴⁰²Daniel J. Young to Colonel H.K. Craig, 1 October 1862, Letters Received, Entry 121, Records of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Record Group 156, National Archives.

⁴⁰³Deed Book 1, p. 240, William S. Snook and Frances Snook to Joseph Manuel, 31 July 1865.

⁴⁰⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 2 April 1889, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴⁰⁵Spirit of Jefferson, 3 September 1872, p. 2, col. 5.

Rebecca sold the property to Samuel M. Williams.⁴⁰⁶

By the time of the 1860 census, the Masons evidently were living on Virginus Island; they are listed immediately following Francis Snapp. John A. (38), a native of Virginia, worked as a machine oiler. He had a personal estate, which included a silver watch and a clock, worth \$100. His wife Rebecca (40), the daughter of J. and R. Perdam, was a native of Maryland.⁴⁰⁷

The Masons do not appear on the 1870 census but were living in Harpers Ferry, evidently on Camp Hill, in 1880. John A. (56) worked as a farm laborer. Also living in this house were Rebecca (62) and Eliza Martin (60), a nurse. Rebecca died at her Camp Hill home in August 1880, and John Mason died in September 1881.⁴⁰⁸

George Mauzy

George Mauzy was evidently living in the Harpers Ferry area as early as August 1833. He appears on the 1840 census for Virginus Island as the head of a six person household including one male between the ages of 10 and 15, one male between the ages of 15 and 20 (probably Joseph), one male between the ages of 30 and 40, one female under 5, one female between the ages of 10 and 15 (probably Cornelia Frances), and one female between the ages of 30 and 40 (probably Mary).⁴⁰⁹ It appears that Mauzy was living on Virginus Island by at least

⁴⁰⁶Deed Book 37, p. 475, United States to John Mason, 12 December 1856; Deed Book 37, p. 477, John Mason and wife Rebecca to Samuel M. Williams, 23 December 1857.

⁴⁰⁷Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 205; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, p. 68; Death Register 2 (1866-1880), p. 240, line 39.

⁴⁰⁸Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 7, p. 13 of Harpers Ferry; Virginia Free Press, 28 August 1880, p. 3, col. 3; 22 October 1881, p. 3, col. 2.

⁴⁰⁹Virginia Free Press, 8 August 1833, p. 3, col. 4; Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248; Virginia Free Press, 9 August 1850, p. 3, col. 3.

March 1839 because at that time Mauzy, along with Jesse Schofield, rented the sawmill on Virginius Island that had recently been occupied by Lewis Wernwag. By mid-1840 Mauzy was advertising that he had lumber for sale.⁴¹⁰

George Mauzy appears on the 1850 census, but that census has his name spelled Mosie, not Mauzy. The mistake is probably the error of the census taker. It appears the Mauzys were living on Virginius Island at the time of that census. Also, according to the 1850 census information, George Mauzy, who was fifty years old, was living in his son Joseph's household and was not currently working. Also living in twenty-six year old Joseph's household were his wife Catherine (26), sons Louis (3) and George (9 mos.), and a female name Sarah Fair (13).⁴¹¹ George Mauzy's first wife, Mary, died in June 1849 at the age of 49.⁴¹² In 1852 he married Mary C. Young of Harpers Ferry.⁴¹³

Mauzy also appears on the 1860 census for Virginius Island. He is listed as a sixty year old river company agent. In his household were Mary E. (30), Fannie (7), and George (5 mos.). He is shown to have owned \$400 worth of real estate and \$900 worth of personal property.⁴¹⁴

Mauzy was evidently active in the business and political affairs of his community; he was elected a director of the Harpers Ferry Savings Institution sometime during the 1830s and in 1843, Mauzy, along with William J. Stephens, was chosen as a delegate for Harpers Ferry to attend a Democratic Convention in

⁴¹⁰Virginia Free Press, 21 March 1839, p. 3, col. 4; Harper's Ferry Constitutionalist, 18 June 1840, p. 2, col. 5.

⁴¹¹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403 B.

⁴¹²Virginia Free Press, 28 June 1849, p. 3, col. 2.

⁴¹³Virginia Free Press, 19 February 1852, p. 2, col. 7.

⁴¹⁴Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 205.

Winchester, Virginia.⁴¹⁵ George Mauzy was chosen as a delegate of the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society to attend a county convention. He also served as secretary-treasurer of the Shenandoah Bridge Company in 1844 and 1845.⁴¹⁶ Mauzy frequently served as a commissioner of elections and participated in Democratic Party events.⁴¹⁷ He also served variously as an overseer of the poor, county surveyor, and town councilman.⁴¹⁸ Additionally, his wife Mary Mauzy's use of the familiar "Narcissa" and "old Jess" for Narcissa Herr and Jesse Schofield in letters to her step-daughter Genie and references to correspondence between members of the Mauzy and Schofield or Herr families suggests the Mauzys were friends of and moved in the same social circle as the island owners.⁴¹⁹

George Mauzy had left the Harpers Ferry area by 1866 and was working at the Endor Iron Works in Chatham County, North Carolina.⁴²⁰

John A. McCreight

John McCreight's association with Virginius Island began when he and his partner Jonathan C. Child, both then of Springfield, Ohio, purchased the island from Abraham Herr on July 24, 1867, for \$75,000.⁴²¹ Child and McCreight

⁴¹⁵Virginia Free Press, 21 January 1836, p. 3, col. 4; 30 November 1843, p. 2, col. 7.

⁴¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 11 April 1844, p. 3, col. 6; 11 April 1844, p. 3, col. 6; 10 July 1845, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴¹⁷See for example Virginia Free Press, 25 March 1847, p. 3, col. 4; 22 January 1848, p. 2, col. 6; 2 October 1851, p. 2, col. 6; 2 March 1854, p. 3, col. 4; 6 March 1856, p. 2, col. 7; 7 April 1859, p. 2, col. 7.

⁴¹⁸Virginia Free Press, 19 March 1846, p. 2, col. 4; 22 June 1848, p. 4, col. 2, 18 January 1855, p. 4, col. 2; 7 May 1857, p. 2, col. 2.

⁴¹⁹Mary E. Mauzy to Genie [Burton], 8 November 1859 and 16 February 1860, Transcription, HFD-388.

⁴²⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 16 August 1866, p. 3, col. 1.

⁴²¹Deed Book 2, p. 285, Abraham H. Herr to Jonathan C. Child and John A. McCreight, 24 July 1867; Barry, p. 146.

planned to convert the old cotton factory building into a Merchant flour mill.⁴²²

After purchasing the property, McCreight and his family moved to Virginus Island, where they were living at the time the 1870 census was taken. According to that census, merchant miller McCreight (35) was a native of Pennsylvania. He had real property worth \$75,000 and personal property worth \$5,000. Also living in his house were his wife Celia E. (26), daughters Elizabeth (8) and Celia (6), all natives of Ohio, and Mary Painter (20), the domestic servant.⁴²³

Soon thereafter, the 1870 flood devastated Virginus Island, destroying twelve buildings and severely damaging the others. Among the buildings which survived the flood was that of the McCreights. Due to the damage and dampness of the house, however, Celia McCreight and the children traveled to Springfield, Ohio, to spend the winter with her sister.⁴²⁴

The McCreights subsequently returned to their Virginus Island home and were living there in November 1877, when another flood brought destruction to the island. By April 1878, McCreight had engaged J.C. Holmes to repair his "commodious dwelling" on Virginus Island.⁴²⁵ Presumably, McCreight returned to this house after these repairs were made.

In 1880, McCreight (45) and his wife Celia (39) are listed on the census with a black domestic servant Cassie Rhodes (26). Although it has not been possible to develop a list of Virginus Island residents for that census, their

⁴²²Spirit of Jefferson, 30 July 1867, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴²³Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 456, p. 14 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴²⁴E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 7 October 1870 and 9 October 1870, typescript, HFD-213.

⁴²⁵Spirit of Jefferson, 27 November 1877, p. 3, col. 2; 30 April 1878, p. 3, col. 1; Virginia Free Press, 6 April 1878, p. 3, col. 1.

appearance on page 16 of Harpers Ferry suggests they may not have been living on Virginus Island.⁴²⁶

While they lived on Virginus Island, the McCreight family may have resided in Building 12 on the 1859 Historical Base Map. According to David Hannah, the house was "reputed to have belonged to one of the owners of the flour mill." A map Hannah includes labels this building as the McCreight House. Where this information was obtained is not known (See Chapter 3 for discussion of the possible error in Hannah's determination).⁴²⁷

The historical record shows that the McCreights were active members of the Harpers Ferry community throughout their residency on Virginus Island. Obviously, since the condition of the river affected his business interests, one of McCreight's interests was the improvement of the Shenandoah River. In 1874, he was elected a director of the Shenandoah River Navigation Company, which was then awarding contracts for the improvement of the river.⁴²⁸

McCreight was particularly active in the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church. John McCreight was appointed one the trustees of the church in 1869 and was elected a ruling elder in 1871 and served for several years.⁴²⁹ During the 1870s, McCreight presided over the Presbyterian Sunday School as superintendant.⁴³⁰ Also appearing in newspaper accounts of Presbyterian Church activities are the names of Mrs. McCreight and Elizabeth (or Lizzie), the latter

⁴²⁶Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 8, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴²⁷Hannah, pp. 124, 147.

⁴²⁸Virginia Free Press, 18 July 1874, p. 2, col. 1.

⁴²⁹Virginia Free Press, 29 April 1869, p. 3, col. 3; 23 December 1871, p. 3, col. 1; 25 April 1874, p. 3, col. 2.

⁴³⁰Spirit of Jefferson, 5 January 1875, p. 3, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 19 May 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

as organist.⁴³¹

In addition to his involvement in local religious affairs, John McCreight was also very active in local politics. He served as a commissioner of elections three times in the 1870s and was a delegate to the state Republican convention in 1876.⁴³² In addition, McCreight was a member of the Harpers Ferry town council, to which he was first elected in 1872 and on which he sat for many of the next fourteen years.⁴³³

McCreight and his partner Solomon Yantis deeded their interest in Virginius Island to the Harpers Ferry Mill Company in October 1884. McCreight, however, remained connected with the flour mill. According to the April 28, 1885 issue of the Spirit of Jefferson, McCreight was the general manager for the mill company. In December 1887, McCreight moved to Philadelphia, where he died two years later.⁴³⁴

Thomas McKinney

Little is known about Thomas McKinney. A Thomas McKinney appears sporadically in personal property tax records from 1803 to 1827. The records for 1812, 1826 and 1827 reveal that this Thomas McKinney owned a horse.⁴³⁵

According to the 1820 census, Thomas McKinney lived in Harpers Ferry. He

⁴³¹Virginia Free Press, 24 June 1869, p. 3, col. 1; 21 December 1878, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴³²Virginia Free Press, 5 September 1874, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 11 July 1876, p. 3, col. 1; 24 July 1877, p. 2, col. 6; 18 June 1878, p. 2, col. 4.

⁴³³Virginia Free Press, 6 June 1872, p. 3, col. 1; 4 January 1873, p. 3, col. 2; 12 January 1878, p. 3, col. 2; 21 January 1886, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 11 January 1876, p. 3, col. 2; 17 January 1882, p. 3, col. 1;

⁴³⁴Deed Book N, p. 258, John A. McCreight and wife Celia E. and Solomon V. Yantis and wife Josephine to the Harpers Ferry Mill Company, 9 October 1884; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 April 1885, p. 2, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 8 December 1887, p. 3, col. 2; 25 December 1889, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴³⁵Personal Property Tax Books (1803, 1811, 1812, 1820, 1826, and 1827).

was a laborer over the age of 45. Also living in his household were one female over 45, one female under 10, and one male between 10 and 16.⁴³⁶ Charles Snell indicates that same year McKinney was paid \$20 by the United States for quarrying stone for a bridge over the Shenandoah Canal to Lower Hall's Island.⁴³⁷

In 1824, McKinney executed a deed of trust to secure a debt of \$53 to Godfrey Weise. Mentioned in this document was a lot of land in Harpers Ferry with a house in which McKinney was apparently living at the time. His personal property consisted of the following:

five beds, bedding and bedsteads, one corner cupboard, one ten plate stove, four iron pots and pot hooks, ten augers and boring tools, one butter churn, seven pots, one reel & spinning wheel, four barrels, one large pot twelve plates.

McKinney signed with his mark.⁴³⁸

Between 1820 and 1830, and probably after the 1824 deed of trust, McKinney moved to Virginius Island, where he was living at the time the 1830 census was taken. According to that census, he was a man of 50 and under 60. Living with him was a female of 15 and under 20, possibly the same young girl living in his household in 1820.⁴³⁹ McKinney died in 1831.⁴⁴⁰

James H. Metz

The only available information on James H. Metz comes from the 1900

⁴³⁶Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 537.

⁴³⁷Charles W. Snell, "History of the Lower Hall Island and of Captain John H. Hall's Rifle Factory, 1751-1841," Physical History, Vol. I (Historic Structures Report, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, April 1981), p. 16.

⁴³⁸Deed Book 13, p. 89, Deed of Trust, Thomas McKinney to P.C. McCabe trustee for Godfrey Weise, 19 July 1824.

⁴³⁹Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175.

⁴⁴⁰Virginia Free Press, 10 February 1831, p. 3, col. 5.

census, on which he is listed immediately after the John Bond family and before the Abraham Longerbeam family. Maryland native Metz (36) was a tinsmith who had been unemployed for six out of the previous twelve months. Living with him was his wife Mary R. (38), a native of Virginia.⁴⁴¹

George C. Mobeley (or Mobberly)

George Mobberly first appears in the available historical record on the 1870 census in the household of Kate Mobberly, but he had no known connection to Virginus Island at this time.⁴⁴² In 1874, George C. Mobberly married Sarah E. Lancaster. The Mobberlys evidently lived with his mother Elizabeth, where he was living at the time the 1880 census was taken.⁴⁴³ Mobberly's (or Mobeley) name appears several times in the list of delinquent taxpayers between 1883 and 1918.⁴⁴⁴

Mobeley moved to Virginus Island at some point. On the 1900 census, he is listed in the Shenandoah Street part of the census which included Virginus Island. His name comes after the Albert F. Buzzard family, which included Mobeley's daughter Mollie Buzzard, and before the Frank W. Drew family. Mobeley (49), a day laborer, was listed as a native of Virginia; his place of birth was given as Jefferson County when he married in 1874. His wife Sarah E. (38) was a native of West Virginia.⁴⁴⁵ At that time, Mobeley owned two hogs valued at

⁴⁴¹Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75B.

⁴⁴²Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 477, p. 55 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴⁴³Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 391; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 13, p. 26 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴⁴⁴Spirit of Jefferson, 7 August 1883, p. 2, col. 5; 16 July 1907, p. 4, col. 2; 23 August 1910, p. 2, col. 3; 18 June 1918, p. 1, col. 6; Virginia Free Press, 22 January 1885, p. 4, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 4.

⁴⁴⁵Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76.

\$5 and household and kitchen furniture valued at \$25.⁴⁴⁶

Mobeley was not living on Virginius Island by 1910. At the time, Mobeley (57) was a laborer doing odd jobs. His wife Sarah (52) was running a boarding house. Living with the Mobeleys were daughter Mollie Buzzard (30), who had married Albert F. Buzzard in 1895; Mollie's children Agnes M. (14) and Gilbert W. (11); and grandson Christopher Buzzard (19), the son of Thomas and daughter Rosa Buzzard. The two boarders living in this house were Alonzo C. Murphy (age not given), a barkeeper at a saloon, and Raymond Murphy (35), a laborer at the pulp mill. They were the sons of Sidney Murphy.⁴⁴⁷ Ray Murphy was still working at the pulp mill in 1912, when he was paid \$41.25 in January for 27 1/2 days of work and \$42 in February for 28 days.⁴⁴⁸

George C. Mobeley died in September 1917. Surviving were his widow and three daughters: Mrs Mollie Buzzard of Martinsburg, the former wife (divorced) of Albert F. Buzzard; Mrs. John Buzzard of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, probably the wife of Albert's brother John; and Mrs. Thomas Buzzard (Rosa Buzzard) of Hagerstown, Maryland, the wife of another brother.⁴⁴⁹

Mary J. Mobeley

In 1896, widow Mary Idella Butts (32) married George W. Moberley (26) at Harpers Ferry.⁴⁵⁰ Mary Moberley (or Mobeley) appears on the 1900 census

⁴⁴⁶Personal Property Tax Book (1900), 2nd Assessment District.

⁴⁴⁷Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B; Marriage Register 3, p. 21.

⁴⁴⁸Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagely Museum.

⁴⁴⁹Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5; 22 September 1917, p. 2, col. 4. Albert F. Buzzard was divorced when he married Ella Virginia Painter in 1916 (Marriage Register 6, p. 134).

⁴⁵⁰Marriage Register 3, p. 62.

immediately after the James M. Lay family. Mary J. (35) was a native of Virginia and working as a dressmaker. Living in the household with her were her children Georgia E. Mobeley (1) and Arthur G. (17) and Lillie E. Butts (15), all of West Virginia; Benjamin H. Butts (11) of Virginia; Charles J. (7) of Maryland; and Josephine (6), and Elsie F. Butts (5), both of West Virginia. Boarder Charles J. Mobeley (43), a native of Virginia and probably the brother of George C. Mobeley, was also enumerated in her house.⁴⁵¹

According to the 1910 census, Mary Mobeley, probably no longer a resident of Virginius Island, was then Mary Cleveland (44), a seamstress. Children Harry B. (21), James C. (18), and Elsie F. Butts (15) and Georgia M. Mobeley (11) were living with her.⁴⁵² A Josephine Butts (possibly the daughter of Mary Mobeley although her age then was 19) had married Robert House of Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1907. Harry married Christian Amey Hanes in 1910.⁴⁵³

Although there is no definitive proof, it is possible that Mary Mobeley was the daughter of James Lay. At the time of his death in 1908, James Lay had a daughter May Cleveland. Although Lay reported he was born in Tennessee, his daughters Bertie Bond and Clara Allen reported to the 1900 census taker that their father had been born in Kentucky, and the 1892 Voter's Registration list also gives his birth place as Kentucky. Mary Mobeley also indicated her father had been born in Kentucky.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76. Charles J. Moberly is listed on the 1870 census with George C. Moberly (Ninth Census 1870, Bolivar Township, p. 477, p. 55 of Harpers Ferry.)

⁴⁵²Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 192.

⁴⁵³Marriage Register 5, pp. 24, 165.

⁴⁵⁴Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 76 and 83; 1892 Voter's Registration, Harpers Ferry District; Farmers Advocate, 9 May 1908, p. 2, col. 4.

Sidney B. Murphy

Sidney Murphy's name first appears in the available historical record in 1858, when he married Ann H. Allison, the daughter of Nathaniel and Catherine Allison.⁴⁵⁵ He next appears with the 1870 census, which indicated that he was employed at the flour mill. Murphy was not, however, a resident of Virginus Island; Joseph Barry indicates that Murphy was living on Overton's Island across from the foot of Union Street (probably Thropp's Island) at the time of the 1870 flood. The 1880 census places Sid Murphy, listed as a miller, in Harpers Ferry, possibly in the Shenandoah Street area. Living with him were Annie H. (36); laborers William H. (20), Charles (14), and Edward (12); Clara M. (10), Raymond (6), and Alonza (4).⁴⁵⁶

In all probability, Sidney Murphy subsequently moved to Virginia, only to return to Harpers Ferry shortly before the 1900 census. At that time he was living on Virginus Island. According to the census, Virginia native Murphy (64) was working as a laborer at the pulp mill. Sons Alonzo (24) and Raymond (29), both born in West Virginia to Sidney's first wife Ann, were also working as laborers at the pulp mill. All three had been unemployed three months out of the previous twelve. Sidney's current wife was Mary (39), the former Mary E. Kenney, whom Sidney had married in 1892. She and Mattie L. (11), Carrol W. (6), and Mollie (1), the other children in the house, had been born in Virginia.⁴⁵⁷ Sidney Murphy's total personal property was valued at \$60.⁴⁵⁸

Sidney Murphy (72) drowned in July 1904. His obituary gave his residence

⁴⁵⁵Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 408; Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 401B.

⁴⁵⁶Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 476, p. 54 of Harpers Ferry; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 2, p. 3 of Harpers Ferry; Barry, pp. 152-53.

⁴⁵⁷Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76; Marriage Register 2, p. 93.

⁴⁵⁸Personal Property Tax Book (1900), 2nd Assessment District.

as "the old McCreight house on the Island of Virginus." A map included in David Hannah's Archeological Excavations on Virginus Island lists Building 12 as the McCreight House. According to Hannah, this building was "reputed to have belonged to one of the owner's of the flour mill." Hannah may be in error (See discussion in Chapter 3).⁴⁵⁹

George Norris

The 1860 census indicates a household on Virginus Island headed by George Norris, a forty-two year old cooper born in Maryland. Included in Norris' household were his wife Mary E. (32) and their seven children, John W. (16), Lucinda (15), Benjamin (13), Mary J. (11), Thomas P. (9), Emma (4), George W. (1). John W. Norris is listed as being a cooper apprentice.⁴⁶⁰

Walter Painter

Walter Painter appears on the 1910 Census as a twenty-six year old pulp mill laborer who headed a household that consisted of himself, his wife Flora-Belle (22), and their children Clara E. (3) and Ernest (5 mos.).⁴⁶¹ Painter appears in a July 1913 newspaper notice as being delinquent on his taxes.⁴⁶² The Farmers Advocate reported in April 1912 that Mr. Painter and family moved from the Krepps Home to the Butts property. It is not certain whether this Mr. Painter was Walter.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹Spirit of Jefferson, 19 July 1904, p. 3, col. 3; Hannah, pp. 124, 147.

⁴⁶⁰Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 204.

⁴⁶¹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 191B.

⁴⁶²Spirit of Jefferson, 29 July 1913, p. 2, col. 5.

⁴⁶³Farmers Advocate, 6 April 1912, p. 2, col. 3.

Edward Patterson

Edward Patterson first appears in the available historical record in 1867, when Patterson (47), a laborer, married widow Mary Cook (42), a native of Loudoun County, Virginia, and the daughter of David and Matilda Foreman. The only other information comes from the 1870 census. Patterson (40) was an employee of the railroad company. Also living in his household were his wife Mary (40), her daughters Jane Cook (19) and Sarah A. Cook (14), and Sarah Spangler (2). All of them gave their place of birth as West Virginia.⁴⁶⁴

Thomas Leiper Patterson

Thomas Leiper Patterson first appears in the available historical record in 1852; at that time he had just been appointed the chief engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and was living in Cumberland. He moved to Harpers Ferry in the late 1850s and was the engineer in charge of building a new dam on the Potomac River between 1859 and 1861.⁴⁶⁵ In August 1860, Patterson was living in the Morrell House but when the 1860 census was taken he was living on Virginius Island. According to that document, Patterson (43) was a civil engineer from Pennsylvania. He owned \$4,000 worth of real estate and \$3,000 worth of personal property, which probably included a gold watch, a piano, and a dog. Enumerated with him were his wife Louisa A. (33), Mary L. (9), Helen (4), Floyd (1), and Martha Miller (22), all of Maryland. Three slaves appear on the slave schedule: a female (71), a male (12), and a female (4). Patterson was dismissed from his job in January 1861 and presumably left the area about that

⁴⁶⁴Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴⁶⁵Spirit of Jefferson, 19 October 1852, p. 4, col. 1; Charles W. Snell, "A Physical History of the U.S. Musket Factory Plant, 1794 to 1885, U.S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia," Vol. II, 1842-1885 (Historic Structures Report, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, July 1981), pp. 273, 276.

time.⁴⁶⁶ He may be the Harpers Ferry resident "T.S. Patterson" who advertised in the Spirit of Jefferson in March 1861, trying to sell a seven and a quarter octave piano forte in a rosewood case made by A.H. Gale & Co. of New York.⁴⁶⁷

William Patterson

William Patterson may have been living in the Harpers Ferry area by January 1850, when his name was included on a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.⁴⁶⁸ According to the 1850 census, Patterson (27) was a carpenter. Living with him were his wife Harriet (23) and daughters Virginia (3) and Julia (5 months). All were born in Pennsylvania.⁴⁶⁹ The Pattersons were living on Virginus Island. The 1850 personal property tax book indicates Patterson owned a metallic clock. The last reference to Patterson is an 1852 list of letters at the post office.⁴⁷⁰

John Peacher

The earliest personal property tax book for Jefferson County, dated 1802, lists a John Pitcher as a white male over the age of 16. His name appears sporadically in the tax records over the next two decades, usually with no indication of taxable personal property, but occasionally with a notation of a

⁴⁶⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 16 November 1861, p. 3, col. 3; Philip R. Smith, Jr., "Research Report History of Paymaster's Clerk's Quarters, Camp Hill ('Morrell' House, Storer College) Harpers Ferry, 1857-1867" (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 26 March 1959), p. 4; Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 203; Slave Schedule, p. 172; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, p. 13. No first name is given for the Patterson listed in the 1860 tax record, but it probably was Thomas Patterson since the pages 1-15 appear to be Virginus Island residents.

⁴⁶⁷Spirit of Jefferson, 29 March p. 3, col. 5.

⁴⁶⁸Virginia Free Press, 3 January 1850, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴⁶⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

⁴⁷⁰Personal Property Tax Book (1850); Virginia Free Press, 8 July 1852, p. 2, col. 7.

slave or horse.⁴⁷¹

What occupation Peacher was engaged in at this time is not known, but by February 1, 1816 he had entered the boating business. On that date, Peacher advertised he had gone into boating and solicited to transport the flour of millers and farmers. He had a warehouse on the Potomac River one-half mile above Old Furnace.⁴⁷²

On May 18, 1817, John Peacher bought Virginus Island from Daniel and Susannah McPherson. Shortly thereafter, he advertised the removal of his boating business to the island, from which he was prepared to boat flour to Georgetown and Alexandria. About two years later, Peacher acquired title to a 221 acre tract known as the Keep Tryst furnace property, which he still owned in 1840, when he and his wife Lydia sold part of it.⁴⁷³

According to the 1820 census, John and Lydia Peacher were living in Harpers Ferry, probably on Virginus Island. Peacher, who worked as a boatman, and his wife were between the ages of 26 and 45. Also living in his household was another female between 26 and 45, and two male and four female children, all under the age of 10.⁴⁷⁴

Around 1820, Peacher built a mill, "a very small affair, . . . a chopping mill; . . . [which] did not make flour," on the island. This mill stood about

⁴⁷¹Personal Property Tax Books (1801-1825).

⁴⁷²Farmers Repository, 1 February 1816, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴⁷³Deed Book 10, p. 142, Daniel McPherson and wife Susannah to John Peacher, 18 May 1817; Deed Book 23, p. 178, Hon. John C. Calhoun, Sec. of War, to John Peacher, 21 September 1819; Deed Book 24, p. 240, John Peacher and wife Lydia to John Engle and Philip Engle, 21 April 1840; Farmers Repository, 28 January 1818, p. 3, col. 4.

⁴⁷⁴Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 537.

where Herr's flour mill later stood.⁴⁷⁵ Peacher held the property until 1823, when he and his wife Lydia sold it to James Stubblefield for \$15,000, fifteen times the price he paid for it in 1817.⁴⁷⁶

In 1830, the Peacher household consisted of eleven people. John Peacher was a man of 40 and under 50, and his wife Lydia was a woman of 30 and under 40. Also enumerated in the household were two females and one male of 15 and under 20, two females and one male of 10 and under 15, one female of 5 and under 10, and one female and one male under 5. The Peachers were living in Jefferson County, but not in any of the towns.⁴⁷⁷

Thomas H. Percival

Thomas H. Percival (38) appears on the 1860 census as head of a household of three people living on Virginus Island. In addition to Thomas Percival, who lists his occupation as millwright, are his wife Mary A. (24) and her sister Sarah Bilson (18).⁴⁷⁸ It is possible that Percival was living on Virginus Island as early as 1852 when he married the former Mary Ann Bilson. The Virginia Free Press indicates that Percival was living in Harpers Ferry when he married.⁴⁷⁹

Percival still lived at Harpers Ferry in February 1861 and was a co-partner in an iron foundry doing business as Chambers & Percival. He executed

⁴⁷⁵Deposition of John H. King, 11 July 1887, deposition of Edmund H. Chambers, 14 May 1887, and deposition of William E. Anderson, 20 June 1887, in Harpers Ferry Mill Co. vs Thomas H. Savery et al, 19 July 1887, pp. 17, 35, 44.

⁴⁷⁶Deed Book 13, pp. 27, 28, John Peacher and wife Lydia to James Stubblefield, 30 August 1823.

⁴⁷⁷Fifth Census (1830), Jefferson County, p. 136.

⁴⁷⁸Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 202; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 420. Mary Billson and Sarah Billson appear to be sisters in the same household in the 1850 Census.

⁴⁷⁹Virginia Free Press, 29 January 1852, p. 3, col. 2.

a deed of trust to trustee William Billson in February 1861; his property included:

one half of all the implements and tools in said foundery, and the Iron, coal, and lumber on the outside of said foundery, and now held by said firm, one chest of carpenter's tools, one half of \$103 now due and standing against the canal company, all my household and kitchen furniture consisting of two matrasses, bedsteads & bedding, 1 clock, 16 chairs, 1 parlour stove, one cooking stove, 2 dining tables, six carpets, 1 safe, cups, saucers, dishes, plates, knives and forks, 2 parlor tables, 1 book case, and all the balance of household and kitchen furniture of every kind and description⁴⁸⁰

Percival remained in Harpers Ferry after the Civil War. He was elected Harpers Ferry Justice of the Peace in 1867, and in July 1868 was a Harpers Ferry delegate to the State Conservative Convention in Grafton.⁴⁸¹ It is not known when Percival moved off Virginus Island, but the 1870 Census indicates that Thomas Percival was not living on the Island.⁴⁸²

Sidney A. Pilcher

Sidney Pilcher first appears in the historical record in 1819, when he married Susana Robinson. At the time of the 1820 census, Pilcher, a cooper of between age 16 and 26, was living in Shepherdstown. Enumerated with him were two yfemales: one of under 10 and the other, presumably Susana, of between ages 16 and 26.⁴⁸³

He next appears in the historical record in April 1830, when his name was on a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.⁴⁸⁴ He may have been

⁴⁸⁰Deed Book 39, p.432, Deed of Trust, Thomas Percival to William Billson, 2 February 1861.

⁴⁸¹Virginia Free Press, 13 June 1867, p. 3, col. 1; 9 July 1868, p. 3, col. 3.

⁴⁸²Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 468, p. 37 of Harpers Ferry.

⁴⁸³Marriage Book 1801-1890, p. 450; Fourth Census (1820), Shepherdstown, p. 88.

⁴⁸⁴Virginia Free Press, 7 April 1830, p. 3, col. 6.

living in Virginus at that time since Pilcher is listed on the 1830 census as a resident of that town. There were five people living in the Pilcher household. Pilcher was of 30 and under 40 (about 33 or 35). A female, probably his wife Susan, was of 20 and under 30 (about 28). Two male children were under the age of 5, and another was of 5 and under 10. Two of the latter were probably sons John (about 12) and George (about 6). Between 1830 and 1840, at least three children were born to Sidney and Susan Pilcher: James Pilcher about 1831, Ann S. about 1834, and Joseph about 1839.⁴⁸⁵

Pilcher worked as a cooper on Virginus Island. In 1834, he advertised, seeking to employ four journeymen coopers "of steady and industrious habits." Pilcher promised to pay wages of 12 cents a barrel "from the smooth" and 17 cents "from the rough" every Saturday night.⁴⁸⁶

Although it cannot be ascertained with certainty where on Virginus Island Pilcher was living, an 1832 advertisement by Fontaine Beckham for the sale of Tract 2 indicates that the property contained, in addition to the mill, "four dwelling houses and a cooper shop."⁴⁸⁷ Park historian Charles Snell suggests that the cooper shop may have been rented by Pilcher.⁴⁸⁸ If so, then perhaps Pilcher also rented one of the dwelling houses.

By 1840, Pilcher was no longer living on Virginus Island. According to that census, he was living in Bolivar. In 1846, son John W. Pilcher ran an advertisement in the Virginia Free Press indicating that he was continuing the

⁴⁸⁵Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175. The names and ages of individuals in the Pilcher household come from the 1850 and 1860 censuses (Seventh Census 1850, Bolivar, p. 399; Eighth Census 1860, Harpers Ferry, p. 197 and Bolivar, p. 222). Charles, another son, was born about 1842, after the Pilchers had left Virginus Island.

⁴⁸⁶Virginia Free Press, 25 September 1834, p. 3, col. 5.

⁴⁸⁷Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1832, p. 3, col. 5.

⁴⁸⁸Snell, "A History," p. 24.

coopering business in South Bolivar and had engaged his father Sidney Pilcher to conduct the business.⁴⁸⁹

Pilcher continued to live in Bolivar. In 1850, the Pilcher household consisted of Sidney (55), Susan (48), George (26), James (19), Ann S. (16), Joseph (11), and Charles (7). In 1860, Sidney (63) was living with Joseph H. (20), Charles B. (18), and Ann S. (26).⁴⁹⁰

R.C. Pine

The only information available on R.C. Pine comes from the 1840 census which lists five people living in the Pine household in the town of Virginus. One was a male of 20 and under 30, one a male of 10 and under 15, and one a male under five. Two females, of 15 and under 20, were also living in this house.⁴⁹¹

Cornelius B. Post

Little is known about the Cornelius Post family. Capt. C.V.W. Post first appears in Jefferson County records in 1848, when he was assessed 25 cents in taxes for a metallic clock. He may have been living on Virginus Island, where he was living at the time of the 1850 census. A native of New Jersey, Cornelius Post (35) was a manufacturer. Also living in his household were his wife Elizabeth (35), a native of New York, and his son Martin (14), born in New Jersey. Post may have been the father of Edwin Post, a 9 year old boy who drowned in the mill race in October 1848. According to Edwin's obituary, his

⁴⁸⁹Sixth Census (1840), Bolivar, p. 247; Virginia Free Press, 24 September 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

⁴⁹⁰Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 399; Eighth Census (1860), Bolivar, p. 222.

⁴⁹¹Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248.

father was the manager of the cotton factory. This factory would have been the larger one owned by the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company.⁴⁹²

Patrick Powers

Little is known about Patrick Powers. He is listed immediately after Ferdinand Butler on the 1850 census. Patrick (35), a laborer, his wife Ellen (38) and daughter Bridget (8) were born in Ireland.⁴⁹³

Patrick Powers was still living in Harpers Ferry in 1857 when tax collector George Koonce assessed him with \$1.37½ in taxes. In addition to the free male levy, Powers was taxed for a clock and a dog. In October of that same year, Bridget Powers married Charles Hagan. Charles (28), an armorer, and Bridget A. Hagan (18) appear on the 1860 census, but none of the Powers family appear in any other available records.⁴⁹⁴

William Richards

It is not known if William Richards lived on Virginus Island. Richards' name first appears in the available historical record in an 1834 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office. The only time his name appears in connection with the island is an 1835 advertisement indicating he had taken over the smith shops on Tract 4. In November 1837, Richards married Sarah Shoemaker, the daughter of Joseph Shoemaker.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹²Personal Property Tax Books (1848-1850); Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404B; Virginia Free Press, 26 October 1848, p. 2, col. 5.

⁴⁹³Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403B.

⁴⁹⁴George Koonce Tax Ledger, 1857, p. 26, L-6533, Duke University; Marriage Book (1801-1890), p. 455; Eighth Census (1860), Bolivar, p. 235.

⁴⁹⁵Virginia Free Press, 3 April 1834, p. 3, col. 2; 30 April 1835, p. 3, col. 3; 7 December 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

Richards' name does not appear on the 1840 census; however, by 1848, he was living on Upper Hall's Island, in Armory Dwelling 156 (No. 6 on the 1859 Historical Base Map), a two-story brick house. According to the 1850 census, only Richards (41), a native of Ohio and employee of the armory, and his wife Sarah (31), a native of Pennsylvania, were living in the house. They were still living there in 1852.⁴⁹⁶

During these years, Richards had already begun to emerge as one of the more prominent members of the Harpers Ferry community. In 1839 and 1840, he was elected as one of the directors of the Harpers Ferry Savings Institution. In 1851, after Harpers Ferry was incorporated, William Richards was elected councilman.⁴⁹⁷

Richards purchased Wager Lot 49 in 1850, and in 1855, he purchased Wager Lot 46. William and Sarah Richards were living in Harpers Ferry at the time the 1860 census was taken. Richards, with real property worth \$7675 and personal property worth \$700, was designated a "retired gentleman." Subsequently, the Richards removed to Augusta, Georgia, where they were living at the time of Sarah's death in 1866. William Richards died in Atlanta in 1877.⁴⁹⁸

George Richardson

The only available information on George Richardson comes from the 1870 census. Richardson (25) was a wagon maker. He was living with his wife Letitia

⁴⁹⁶Philip R. Smith, "History of the Upper Hall Island, Harpers Ferry 1796-1884" (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 19 February 1959), p. 1; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 403B.

⁴⁹⁷Virginia Free Press, 2 May 1839, p. 2, col. 4; 23 January 1840, p. 3, col. 1; 30 April 1840, p. 2, col. 7; 9 May 1851, p. 2, col. 2.

⁴⁹⁸Deed Book 31, p. 109, William Chambers and Amelia to William Richards, 15 February 1850; Deed Book 35, p. 9, Philip Coons and wife Anne C. to William Richards, 17 July 1855; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 197; Virginia Free Press, 10 May 1866, p. 2, col. 5; 12 December 1877, p. 3, col. 1.

(26) and ten month old son Lewis F. on Virginius Island. The Richardsons gave their place of birth as West Virginia.⁴⁹⁹

Joseph Riley

The only information on Joseph Riley comes from the 1840 census. That year, Riley, of age 50 and under 60, was living in the town of Virginius. Living with him were six other people: two males of 10 and under 15, one female under 5, one female of 5 and under 10, one female of 10 and under 15, and one female of 30 and under 40. Riley was employed in manufacturing and trade.⁵⁰⁰

Charles Rockenbaugh

Charles F. Rockenbaugh (23), the son of Thomas S. and Mary E. Rockenbaugh and the brother of Shirley, appears on the 1880 census as a farm laborer. Jefferson County native Charles J.F. Rockenbaugh (35) is also listed as a laborer on the 1892 voter registration, but no Charles Rockenbaugh appears on the 1900 or 1910 censuses. However, in 1912, when Charles J. Rockenbaugh married Addie Brashears, the daughter of Clary W. Brashears, both of them were living in Harpers Ferry.⁵⁰¹

Charles Rockenbaugh is listed on company payrolls as an employee of the Shenandoah Pulp Company in 1912. In January, he was paid \$37.15 for 24 3/4 days of work, while in February, he was paid \$29.65 for 19 3/4 days of work.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

⁵⁰⁰Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 248.

⁵⁰¹Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar District, p. 26; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; 1892 Voter Registration, Harpers Ferry District; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 July 1912, p. 3, col. 2.

⁵⁰²Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Folder Shenandoah Pulp Co 1900-24, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagley Museum.

The Charles Rockenbaugh who worked at the pulp mill is probably the same Charles Rockenbaugh who was living on Virginius Island in 1913. According to the July 15, 1913 issue of the Spirit of Jefferson, Rockenbaugh lived beside John Cooper in one of "two adjoining brick dwellings" on "Herrs Island." The Farmers Advocate reported both dwellings were destroyed by fire that month.⁵⁰³

According to the January 24, 1914 issue of the Farmers Advocate, Charles Rockenbaugh, presumably the same man, moved with his family to Church Street; however, Charles Rockenbaugh appears in the part of the 1920 census determined to be Virginius Island. According to the census, Charles Rockenbaugh (63) was still a laborer at the pulp mill. Living with him was his wife Addie (25), who worked as a seamstress. Rockenbaugh's personal property was worth \$25. Subsequently, the Rockenbaughs moved to High Street or Camp Hill, where Addie Rockenbaugh died in 1923.⁵⁰⁴ In her will, Addie left everything to her husband except for her organ and sewing machine, which she left to her sister Frances Brashears.⁵⁰⁵

Reason Shirley Rockenbaugh

Shirley Rockenbaugh first appears in the available historical record in the 1880 census of the Bolivar District as 15 year old farm laborer Reason S., the son of Thomas S. and Mary E. Rockenbaugh.⁵⁰⁶ In 1894, Rockenbaugh married Laura Virginia Renner, daughter of one-time miller Joseph H. Renner. In 1896,

⁵⁰³Spirit of Jefferson, 15 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁰⁴Fourteen Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 190 B; Personal Property Tax Book (1920), Harpers Ferry Corporation; Farmers Advocate, 24 January 1914, p. 2, col. 2; 13 January 1923, p. 1, col. 3; 20 January 1923, p. 1, col. 5.

⁵⁰⁵Will Book E, p. 105, Will of Addie E. Rockenbaugh, 15 January 1923.

⁵⁰⁶Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar District, p. 26.

Renner deeded his daughter a portion of Wager Lot 54, which she held until 1909. However, the Rockenbaughs rented a house on Fillmore Street, where R.S. (35) and Laura V. (38) were living in 1900 with their children Cora A. (5), James C. (2), and Joseph S. (2 months) and Laura's father Joseph H. Renner (62). Rockenbaugh was employed as the grounds keeper of the Harpers Ferry Cemetery.⁵⁰⁷ The Rockenbaughs were still living on Camp Hill in 1908, and Shirley was still working as the caretaker of the cemetery in 1909 when the Spirit of Jefferson reported the Rockenbaughs were planning to move to the west.⁵⁰⁸

The Rockenbaughs either did not move west or did not stay there long since they were living in Harpers Ferry, possibly on Virginus Island, at the time of the 1910 census. This document lists Shirley R. Rockenbaugh (42) as a laborer at the pulp mill. Also in the household were his wife Laura (45) and children Cora A. (14), Briscoe C. (10), Eugene (8), and Gerard W. (6).⁵⁰⁹ Rockenbaugh had personal property worth \$225.⁵¹⁰

If Rockenbaugh was not living on Virginus Island at the time of the 1910 census, he was living there in 1913. Although he purchased Government Lot 7 in Block D on Shenandoah Street in 1912, Rockenbaugh was living on Virginus Island in July 1913, when "two adjoining brick dwellings" on "Herrs Island," in which John Cooper and Charles Rockenbaugh lived, burned. According to the Farmers Advocate, the roof of Shirley Rockenbaugh's house was burned as well, proving Shirley Rockenbaugh lived near Cooper and Charles Rockenbaugh. Shirley

⁵⁰⁷Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 4, p. 8 of Harpers Ferry; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 75A; Marriage Register 2, p. 273; Deed Book 81, p. 395, Joseph H. Renner to Laura V. Rockenbaugh, 22 June 1896; Deed Book 117, p. 519, Laura V. Rockenbaugh and R.S. Rockenbaugh to Margaret D. Shugart, 9 January 1909; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 December 1902, p. 2, col. 2.

⁵⁰⁸Spirit of Jefferson, 8 September 1908, p. 2, col. 2; 13 April 1909, p. 2, col. 2.

⁵⁰⁹Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B.

⁵¹⁰Personal Property Tax Book (1910).

Rockenbaugh was probably living in one of the row houses. Furthermore, Mary Newcomer Moore recalls the Rockenbaughs lived on island.⁵¹¹

R.S. Rockenbaugh remained an employee of the Shenandoah Pulp Mill during these years. In January 1912, he was paid \$36 for 24 days of work, and in February, he was paid \$31.50 for 21 days of work.⁵¹²

The Rockenbaughs apparently briefly left Virginius Island in 1914. According to the May 16, 1914 issue of the Farmers Advocate, Mrs. Shirley Rockenbaugh and her daughter had left for Peru, Indiana, where the family was to reside. Shirley and their sons were to follow later. The length of their stay in Indiana is uncertain; however, the family returned to Virginius Island. In 1917, Shirley Rockenbaugh purchased Lot 2, Block A on Camp Hill, and the family moved "from the Island" to Camp Hill late in May 1918.⁵¹³

Shirley Rockenbaugh was elected mayor of Harpers Ferry in 1925 and 1926. He died in 1929, at which time his family may have been living in Washington, D.C. Cora A. Rockenbaugh was a resident of Washington when she married Frederick Joseph Icenhower in 1920.⁵¹⁴

Abraham Roderick

Although his connection to Harpers Ferry lasted over three decades, Abraham Roderick lived on Virginius Island less than a decade. He first appears

⁵¹¹Spirit of Jefferson, 15 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 17 July 1913, p. 3, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 12 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; Interview with Mary Newcomer Moore, 10 October 1991.

⁵¹²Monthly Pay Roll, Shenandoah Pulp Co., January and February 1912, Box 7, Folder Shenandoah Pulp Co 1900-24, Thomas Savery Family Papers, A&M 915, Hagely Museum.

⁵¹³Farmers Advocate, 29 July 1911, p. 3, col. 3; 16 May 1914, p. 2, col. 3; 18 August 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 25 May 1918, p. 2, col. 2.

⁵¹⁴Interview with Mary Louise Moore, October 1991; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 January 1926, p. 1, col. 2; 4 April 1929, p. 1, col. 5; Marriage Register 7, p. 122.

in the available historical record on the 1820 census on which he is listed as a lock filer of age 16 and under 26. In 1828, Roderick married Elizabeth Callison. He remained in the Harpers Ferry, appearing on subsequent censuses from 1830 to 1850.⁵¹⁵

According to the last mentioned census, Roderick (55), listed as Abel Roderick, had no occupation, and according to this document, he and his wife Elizabeth (43) were unable to read or write. Also members of this household were armorer Abraham (25), laborer Lewis (23), Martha (18), Olive (16), Eliza J. (14), Susan (12), Isaac (11), Louissa (10), Jacob (8), Rebecca (6), and Charles (2). The entire Roderick family were native Virginians.⁵¹⁶ At that time, the Roderick family did not live on Virginius Island; rather, they lived in Armory Dwelling 22 as designated on the 1850 list of Harpers Ferry dwellings owned by the United States government.⁵¹⁷

In 1852, Roderick, or his son Abraham, gave his power of attorney to merchant John G. Ridenour to satisfy a \$56.48 debt he owed. By this document, Ridenour had the right to collect all Roderick's wages earned as an armorer from October 1852 to September 1853. In return, Ridenour agreed to furnish the Roderick family with groceries and other necessary goods not valued at more than \$20 a month.⁵¹⁸

Sometime in the early 1850s, the Rodericks moved to Virginius Island, where Abraham Roderick died at the age of 60 in 1855. By 1860, although

⁵¹⁵Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 539; Fifth Census (1830), Harpers Ferry, p. 169; Sixth Census (1840), Harpers Ferry, p. 242; Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 485.

⁵¹⁶Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 418B.

⁵¹⁷"List of Dwelling Houses belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry, December 31, 1850," Park Reel 26, Vol 9, pp. 844-49, HFNHP.

⁵¹⁸Deed Book 33, p. 57, Deed of Trust, Abraham Roderick to John G. Ridenour, 22 November 1852.

Elizabeth, Lewis, Susan, Isaac, Frances R. (Rebecca), Jacob, and Charles Roderick were still living in Harpers Ferry, they had moved from the island.⁵¹⁹ Charles T. Roderick, a laborer, married Mary C. Hitaffer in 1871.⁵²⁰

John and George Rohr

The first appearance in the available historical record of either John or George Rohr is an 1847 advertisement in the Virginia Free Press by George Rohr, then living in Charlestown, offering a wagon for sale in Harpers Ferry and directing interested parties to his brother Edward Rohr.⁵²¹ There is no indication that John W. Rohr was living in Harpers Ferry in 1854, when he married Martha Crawford at his brother Edward's Harpers Ferry residence.⁵²² The two Rohr brothers had clearly moved to Harpers Ferry, and in particular Virginus Island, by June 1857, when they formed a partnership to conduct the wagon making and blacksmithing business.⁵²³

Although they were sharing a dwelling in 1860, the John and George Rohr families are enumerated as distinct families. Wagon maker John Rohr (28), a native of Maryland, was living with his wife Martha (27) and sons Millard G. (4) and Warren L. (1), all of Virginia. George Rohr (30), a carriage maker, was living with his wife Margaret (25), a native of Pennsylvania, and Virginia native George Conrad (35), a blacksmith. John Rohr owned \$500 in personal property

⁵¹⁹Virginia Free Press, 7 June 1855, p. 2, col. 6; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 197.

⁵²⁰Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 485.

⁵²¹Virginia Free Press, 15 April 1847, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵²²Virginia Free Press, 20 July 1854, p. 2, col. 6.

⁵²³Virginia Free Press, 11 June 1857, p. 3, col. 1.

while his brother George owned \$550 in personal property.⁵²⁴

The Rohr brothers operated a combined wagon making and blacksmith shop on Virginius Island. The wagon making facility was valued at \$1,200 while the blacksmith shop was valued at \$600. Each establishment employed three males.⁵²⁵

The Rohr brothers appear on available personal property tax records between 1857 and 1860. Each was assessed a tax for owning a clock; George's clock was valued at \$2 in 1859. George also was assessed a tax in 1859 for \$100 worth of house and kitchen furniture and in 1860 for a dog.⁵²⁶

Except for Margaret Rohr, none of the Rohrs appear in post-war records. In 1866, widow Maggie Rohr married J.G. Briscoe. Her marriage record indicates she was a native of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and that her parents were Jacob and Ida Julewalder.⁵²⁷ Margaret Briscoe (44) appears on the 1870 census with James Briscoe (18) but does not appear in subsequent records.⁵²⁸

Absolam Sapp

Little is known about Absolam Sapp. He first appears in the historical record with the 1850 census. According to the census, Sapp (45) was a millwright and a native of Maryland. Living with him was millwright Blair Sapp (16), born in Ohio. The Sapps were living on Virginius Island.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁴Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 202.

⁵²⁵Eighth Census (1860), Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

⁵²⁶George Koonce Tax Ledger, 1857, p. 3, L-6533, Duke University; Personal Property Tax (1859), Park Reel 50; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, p. 9.

⁵²⁷Marriages, Jefferson County, Va-WV, 1801-1890, p. 58.

⁵²⁸Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 470, p. 41 of Harpers Ferry.

⁵²⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404.

An Absolam Sapp, aged 42, died at Shenandoah City in 1851, leaving a wife and children. He had evidently been a member of the Masons and the Sons of Temperance, since members of those groups attended his funeral.⁵³⁰

Colman Schackelford

Little is known about Colman Schackelford. He was living on Virginius Island at the time of the 1830 census. There were six people in the household. One was a female of 50 and under 60. Schackelford was of 20 and under 30. Also living in this household were two males of 15 and under 20, one of 10 and under 15, and one of 5 and under 10.⁵³¹ It is not known if Schackelford was still living on Virginius Island in January 1835, when a published list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office included one for him.⁵³²

Jesse Schofield

Jesse Schofield, a native of Pennsylvania, was apparently living in the Harpers Ferry area by April 12, 1829, when he married Mary Ann Wernwag Cunningham, the daughter of Lewis and Elizabeth Wernwag.⁵³³ Jesse and Mary Ann, both of age 20 and under 30, were living with a male child under the age of 5, probably son John (an infant), in Virginius at the time the 1830 census was taken.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰Virginia Free Press, 14 February 1851, p. 3, col. 1.

⁵³¹Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175.

⁵³²Virginia Free Press, 8 January 1835, p. 3, col. 5.

⁵³³Virginia Free Press, 25 February 1858, p. 2, col. 5. Schofield's place of birth comes from the 1850 census (Seventh Census, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B).

⁵³⁴Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175. In 1850, John Schofield's age was given as 21 (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B).

By 1840, the household included eight individuals. There were two males under 5, one of them probably son George (about 1), one male of 5 and under 10, probably son John, one male of 15 and under 20, one male of 20 and under 30, and Jesse Schofield, of 30 and under 40. Additionally, there were two females of 30 and under 40, one of them Mary Ann. Another son, Thomas William, had died in 1836 at the age of 2.⁵³⁵

Jesse Schofield was still living on Virginus Island in 1850 when that census lists him as a 50 year old carpenter. Mary Ann was 49, and sons John L., a medical student, and George were 21 and 11 respectively. Also living in the household was the Schofield daughter Mary R. (8); Virginia Wernwag (17), a native of Indiana and probably a relative of Mary Ann's; and Mary Ann's mother Elizabeth Wernwag (80).⁵³⁶

It is not known where on Virginus Island the Schofield family lived in the early years, but the dwelling in which the family lived from sometime after May 1835 until 1855 has been identified. On May 25, 1835, Jesse Schofield purchased a piece of Tract 4 from John Wernwag and Joseph L. Smith. This piece fronted forty-five feet on the south side of the "main street" of Virginus Island and ran back to the mill race. On it was a "tenement," then occupied by John Shackelford. According to an 1844 deed of trust, this dwelling, then occupied by Schofield, was a two-story brick house enclosed by a fence and numbered Building 12 (No. 17 on the 1859 Historical Base Map) on the 1844 map prepared by county surveyor James M. Brown. Schofield was still living in this

⁵³⁵Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 248; Virginia Free Press, 5 May 1836, p. 3, col. 3. George Schofield's age is based upon the age given on the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B).

⁵³⁶Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 404B.

house in June 1855, when he and Mary Ann sold it to Abraham Herr for \$2,000.⁵³⁷

Schofield also owned other parts of Virginus Island. In July 1847, Schofield purchased Tract 3, excepting the part used by the railroad, from the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company for \$1,500. A decade earlier, in 1837, Benjamin Price, then owner of a two-thirds interest in Tract 4 by virtue of a 1835 deed of trust from Joseph L. Smith, agreed to sell his interest to Jesse Schofield for \$8,000. Having paid the sum agreed upon, Schofield received a deed to the property on July 3, 1844.⁵³⁸ Interestingly, Schofield and John Wernwag, the owner of the other one-third interest in Tract 4, had already signed a deed of trust in May 1844 which gave James Giddings the authority to sell the property. This authority was renewed two years later.⁵³⁹ In August 1847, Schofield conveyed Tract 3 and he and Wernwag conveyed Tract 4, except for the house in which Schofield was living, to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company. Three-fourths of the amount due Schofield and Wernwag was to be paid in stock in the company.⁵⁴⁰ A subsequent agreement stipulated that Schofield was to receive \$3,496.60 in cash and \$11,250 in stock of the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company.⁵⁴¹

Although Jesse Schofield was clearly associated with Virginus Island by

⁵³⁷Deed Book 20, p. 340, John Wernwag and wife Margaret and Joseph L. Smith to Jesse Schofield, 25 May 1835; Deed Book 27, p. 144, Deed of Trust, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann and John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to James Giddings, 16 May 1844; Deed Book 35, p. 100, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary A. to Abraham H. Herr, 23 June 1855.

⁵³⁸Deed Book 29, p. 112, Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to Jesse Schofield, 1 July 1847; Deed Book 28, p. 172, Andrew Hunter special commissioner, Sarah Ann Price legatee of Benjamin Price and John McPherson to Jesse Schofield, 3 July 1844.

⁵³⁹Deed Book 27, p. 144, Deed of Trust, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann and John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to James Giddings, 16 May 1844; Deed Book 28, p. 122, 15 May 1846.

⁵⁴⁰Deed Book 29, p. 439, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, 28 August 1847; Deed Book 30, p. 178, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann, John Wernwag and wife Margaret and James Giddings to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, 24 August 1847.

⁵⁴¹Agreement between James Giddings, Jesse Schofield, and John Wernwag, 22 November 1848, in A.B. Davidson and Harris vs The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Co., Park Reel 11, Vol. 3, pp. 275-78.

1830, was a property owner from 1835, and is known from the 1850 census to have been a carpenter, no other information has yet been uncovered about his activities prior to 1839. That year, Schofield and George Mauzy rented Wernwag's sawmill. This firm was still in existence in September 1846, when Schofield and Mauzy advertised the sale of several pieces of equipment.⁵⁴²

At the same time, Schofield also had other partnerships. According to the December 10, 1840 issue of the Virginia Free Press, the firm of Shannon and Schofield, consisting of Joseph P. Shannon and Jesse Schofield, had been dissolved. At some point prior to January 1845, probably by 1843, Schofield had formed a partnership with John Wernwag to operate the sawmill. This firm lasted until May 1845, when it was dissolved and Schofield went into the sawmill business with Isaac Wernwag.⁵⁴³

The historical record reveals that, aside from his economic activities, Jesse Schofield was a prominent member of the community. His name appears in a list of delegates of the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society in 1843.⁵⁴⁴ Schofield was also an active participant in local politics, his name appearing several times between 1839 and 1853 in connection with Whig meetings.⁵⁴⁵ In the late 1840s and early 1850s, Schofield served as a superintendent of school commission elections.⁵⁴⁶ He was also elected a couple of times in the 1850s

⁵⁴²Virginia Free Press, 21 March 1839, p. 3, col. 4; 3 September 1846, p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁴³Virginia Free Press, 10 December 1840, p. 3, col. 5; 2 January 1845, p. 3, col. 1; 15 May 1845, p. 3, col. 1. In 1843, Schofield and Wernwag were partners in the firm of John Wernwag & Co. (Execution Book 3, p. 305, Reel 102, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU).

⁵⁴⁴Virginia Free Press, 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1.

⁵⁴⁵Virginia Free Press, 22 August 1839, p. 2, col. 2; 18 September 1851, p. 3, col. 2; 25 March 1852, p. 2, col. 4; 21 April 1853, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁴⁶Virginia Free Press, 4 March 1848, p. 3, col. 7; 8 March 1849, p. 3, col. 1; 14 March 1850, p. 4, col. 3; 7 March 1851, p. 3, col. 2; 11 March 1852, p. 3, col. 3; 24 February 24 1853, p. 3, col. 2.

as a councilman in Harpers Ferry.⁵⁴⁷ Jesse Schofield and his family left Virginus Island in October 1855 to move west to Missouri, where Mary Ann died in 1858.⁵⁴⁸ Schofield apparently soon remarried.⁵⁴⁹

John Shackelford (or Shickleford)

Little is known about John Shackelford. His name does not appear on the 1830 census; however, a John Shackelford may have been living in the Harpers Ferry area from at least 1828, when his name was included on a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.⁵⁵⁰ In 1835, John Shackelford signed a deed of trust to secure debts of \$17.37½ and \$19.12½ owed to Geo. B. Stephenson and Nicholas Marmion respectively. The following personal property was entrusted to John Duke:

two cherry tables, half dozen chairs, one stand, one poplar table, one bureau, one safe, one clock, one stove & pipe, two trundle beadsteads, one high post beadstead, two barrels, two bread trays, two bread baskets, three earthen crocks, two iron pots, one tea kettles, one water bucket, one coffee mill, three small milk crocks, three washing tubs, one looking glass, half doz. plates, half doz. cups & saucers, two tin cups, one crout tub, one meat tub, one dutch oven, one skillet, three jugs, one stone pitcher, one shovel, one spade, one rake, one small garden hoe, one decanter & one pitcher, one dip net & one set net & one shot gun.

Shackleford signed with his mark.⁵⁵¹

Two documents connect John Shackelford with Virginus Island. First, the deed conveying a lot on Virginus Island with tenement (Building 17 on the 1859

⁵⁴⁷Virginia Free Press, 9 May 1851, p. 2, col. 2; 13 May 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

⁵⁴⁸Virginia Free Press, 25 October 1855, p. 2, col. 1; 25 February 1858, p. 2, col. 5.

⁵⁴⁹Mary E. Mauzy to Genie [Burton], 16 February 1860, typescript, HFD-388.

⁵⁵⁰Virginia Free Press, 16 January 1828, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵⁵¹Deed Book 20, p. 360, Deed of Trust, John Shackleford to John Duke trustee for Geo. B. Stephenson and Nicholas Marmion, 28 May 1835.

Historical Base Map) to Jesse Schofield in 1835 indicates that Shackelford was living in that dwelling at the time.⁵⁵² Second, the 1840 census lists him in the town of Virginus. Shackelford (listed as Shickleford) was of 30 and under 40. Another male was of 15 and under 20. Also living in this household were one female of 50 and under 60, one of 20 and under 30, one of 5 and under 10, and one under 5. Shackelford was engaged in manufacturing and trade.⁵⁵³ Although Shackelford was clearly still living on the island, it is not known if he was still living in Building 17. He was definitely not living there, and was perhaps not even on Virginus Island, by 1844, when a deed of trust executed by Jesse Schofield placed Schofield in Building 17.⁵⁵⁴

Joseph P. Shannon

Based on the place of birth of his children given on the 1850 census and a July 1829 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office, Joseph P. Shannon and his family moved from his native Pennsylvania to the Harpers Ferry area between 1826 and July 1829.⁵⁵⁵ By the latter date, he may have been living on Virginus Island. A January 20, 1830, advertisement in the Virginia Free Press indicates that he was living in the town of Virginus, in one of "Two excellent and commodious Houses" offered for rent by Fontaine Beckham. His house had "4 good rooms, kitchen and cellar" and "a large garden." Since Beckham was acting

⁵⁵²Deed Book 20, p. 340, John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. and Joseph L. Smith to Jesse Schofield, 25 May 1835.

⁵⁵³Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 249.

⁵⁵⁴Deed Book 27, p. 144, Deed of Trust, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann and John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to James Giddings, 16 May 1844.

⁵⁵⁵Seventh Census (1850), 4th Ward, City of Baltimore, Maryland, p. 10; Virginia Free Press, 15 July 1829, p. 4, col. 4. According to the 1850 census, son Theodore (24) was born in Pennsylvania while daughter Mary E. (21) was born in Virginia.

as an agent to rent the Tract 3 dwellings for Hannah Wager at that time, it is conceivable Shannon was living in Building K. Shannon may have left by April 1, 1830, when the house was to be available for other occupants.⁵⁵⁶

If Shannon moved from Wager's house, he evidently continued to live on the island, as the 1830 census lists him in the town of Virginius.⁵⁵⁷ Shannon was of age 30 and under 40 (about age 40). The Shannon household also included a male of 10 and under 15, probably son Dennis (about 11); one of 5 and under 10; and one under 5, probably son Theodore (about 4); and three females: one of 70 and under 80; one of 30 and under 40, probably his wife Eliza (or Elizabeth); and one under 5, probably daughter Mary E. (about 1).⁵⁵⁸

Shannon's name appears in the Jefferson County personal property tax records for 1831 and 1832. In the former year, he was assessed a tax on a slave and a horse. By 1832, Shannon had a slave, eight horses and a four-wheel barouch valued at \$100.⁵⁵⁹

Joseph Shannon had a business connection to Lewis Wernwag. On January 1, 1832, the firm of Wernwag & Sons was dissolved. According to the dissolution notice, the firm consisted of Lewis Wernwag, Sr., John Wernwag, Joseph P. Shannon, Lewis Wernwag, Jr., and William Wernwag, "but more recently of the three first named." Joseph Shannon was authorized to handle the closing of "both the late firms."⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1830, p. 3, col. 5; Deposition of Fontaine Beckham, 1 April 1833, in Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al, Park Reel 11.

⁵⁵⁷Although it is not certain when the census was taken, the official, alphabetized schedule was prepared in November 1830. See p. 178 of census.

⁵⁵⁸Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175. Eliza is mentioned as his wife in a deed of trust from Shannon to Gerard B. Wager trustee for Jesse Schofield (Deed Book 26, p. 435, 25 August 1843) and on the 1850 census (4th Ward, City of Baltimore, p. 10). The names and ages of the three children also come from the 1850 census.

⁵⁵⁹Personal Property Tax Books (1831 & 1832).

⁵⁶⁰Virginia Free Press, 16 February 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

Clearly, Shannon had been associated with Lewis Wernwag long enough to have participated in two incarnations of the firm of Wernwag & Sons, and his connection to Wernwag conceivably extended into the business of bridge building. The 1850 census lists Shannon's occupation as bridge builder, an occupation through which Wernwag had achieved some prominence.⁵⁶¹

In fact, Shannon had a more personal connection to Wernwag. According to an 1874 letter written by John Wernwag, Shannon was a member of "our [Wernwag] family." Furthermore, in an 1843 deed of trust to Gerard Wager, one of the items Shannon and his wife Eliza conveyed was any right "which descended to them from Lewis Wernwag dec'd" in the Virginus Island property. Although it is possible Shannon was himself related to the Wernwags, it seems more likely his wife Eliza provided the connection, perhaps as a daughter of Lewis Wernwag.⁵⁶²

With the exception of an execution book of Jefferson County Court cases, in which he is listed several times in the early 1830s as a plaintiff or defendant, Joseph Shannon's name rarely appears in the available historical record.⁵⁶³ Two notices in the Virginia Free Press are revealing, however. The June 16, 1831 issue lists Shannon as a member of a committee appointed to call a meeting for the purpose of nominating a candidate to represent the "mechanics and working men's interest" in the next legislature of Virginia.⁵⁶⁴ In the March 29, 1832 issue, Shannon's name appears as one of the commissioners appointed to receive proposals for the drawing and management of a lottery for

⁵⁶¹Seventh Census (1850), 4th Ward, City of Baltimore, Maryland, p. 10. See the biography of Lewis Wernwag for information on his activities.

⁵⁶²"Lewis Wernwag, the Bridge Builder," American Contract Journal, 15 August 1885, p. 99, HFD-238, HFNHP; Deed Book 26, p. 435, Deed of Trust Jos. P. Shannon and wife Eliza to Gerard B. Wager trustee for Jesse Schofield, 25 August 1843.

⁵⁶³Execution Book 1 (1830-1834), pp. 6 and 10 (1830), 7, 13, 21, 25, 32, 36, 60, 75, Reel 102, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU.

⁵⁶⁴Virginia Free Press, 16 June 1831, p. 3, col. 4.

the construction of a bridge across the Shenandoah River at Harpers Ferry and making a road, as specified in an act of the General Assembly of Virginia.⁵⁶⁵

Although Shannon apparently moved to Baltimore, Maryland, between 1833 and 1835 and is listed on both the 1840 and 1850 censuses for that city, he still retained a connection to Virginus Island. At some point after the dissolution of the firm of Wernwag & Sons, Joseph Shannon went into partnership with Wernwag's son-in-law Jesse Schofield. This partnership was dissolved in late 1840, and those indebted to the firm were notified they could call on Shannon in Harpers Ferry.⁵⁶⁶

Subsequently, Shannon went into partnership with John Wernwag, evidently running the machine shop on Virginus Island. This machine shop was still occupied by Shannon & Wernwag on August 25, 1843, when Shannon executed the deed of trust to Gerard Wager. Deeded in trust were his interest in the shop and all tools, machinery, planing machines, turning lathes and other property belonging to the firm.⁵⁶⁷

Shannon evidently returned briefly to Jefferson County, probably Virginus Island, during this time; his name appears on the 1842 personal property tax record. That year, he was assessed 37½ cents in tax for a horse and a silver watch. His name does not appear in subsequent years.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵Virginia Free Press, 29 March 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁶⁶Sixth Census (1840), 5th Ward, City of Baltimore, Maryland, p. 208; Seventh Census (1850), 4th Ward, City of Baltimore, p. 10; Virginia Free Press, 10 December 1840, p. 3, col. 5. The period of 1833 to 1835 as the departure date from Virginus is based on the 1850 census listing of son Augustus (17) as a native of Virginia and daughter Margaret R. (15) as a native of Maryland.

⁵⁶⁷Deed Book 26, p. 435, Deed of Trust, Jos. P. Shannon and wife Eliza to Gerard B. Wager trustee for Jesse Schofield, 25 August 1843.

⁵⁶⁸Personal Property Tax Book (1842).

Joseph Shoemaker

Joseph Shoemaker, or at least his family, was living in Pennsylvania about 1819, when his daughter Sarah was born.⁵⁶⁹ He may have moved to the Harpers Ferry area by January 1828, as that month a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office included one for him.⁵⁷⁰

According to the 1830 census, Shoemaker was a man of 40 and under 50 living in Virginus in a household of seven people. His household included a white female of 30 and under 40 and four white children: one male of 15 and under 20, one of 5 and under 10, and two females of 10 and under 15. One of the females was probably Shoemaker's daughter Sarah (about 11). A free black female of 10 and under 24 was also living in the house. Within a few months of the census, Shoemaker's wife died.⁵⁷¹

Shoemaker's name appears on the personal property tax records from 1831 to 1834. Each year, he was assessed a 25 cent tax for one slave over the age of 12.⁵⁷²

Joseph Shoemaker may have been associated in some manner with Lewis Wernwag's business on Virginus Island. In 1833, Wernwag executed a deed of trust to secure debts owed to Jesse Schofield, David Lewis, and Joseph Shoemaker. He owed Shoemaker \$1,029 "for cash lent and for work and labor done as per settlement."⁵⁷³ Shoemaker was apparently a mason; in 1836, he received \$126.24

⁵⁶⁹According to the 1850 census, Sarah Richards (née Shoemaker) was born in Pennsylvania. Her age was given as 31, meaning she would have been born about 1819 (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 403B).

⁵⁷⁰Virginia Free Press, 16 January 1828, p. 4, col. 1.

⁵⁷¹Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175. Sarah's age was determined from that on the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 403B). She was then Sarah Richards; Virginia Free Press, 13 October 1830, p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁷²Personal Property Tax Books (1831-1834).

⁵⁷³Deed Book 19, p. 76, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag to James Hook trustee for David Lewis, Jesse Schofield, and Joseph Shoemaker creditors, and Elizabeth Wernwag, 24 September 1833.

for work on the boring mill at the musket factory.⁵⁷⁴

In 1835, Shoemaker executed a deed of trust to secure a \$1,100.10 debt owed Thomas Hughes. This deed placed the following property in trust:

three feather beds, bedsteads and bedding, a walnut bureau and table, a ten plate stove, a settee, a large writing chair, a silver watch, a large and small brass kettle, two chests, two trunks, two coffee pots, a teapot, a sugar bowl, half dozen plates, half dozen knives & forks, a coffee mill, two meat tubs, a wash tub, two buckets, a tea kettle, and all his claim & interest in a deed of trust now of record in the clerks office of Jefferson County from Lewis Wernwag to James Hook.

Shoemaker's deed of trust was released in 1838, at which time he was still a resident of Jefferson County.⁵⁷⁵

Shoemaker has been connected to Building 9 (1844 James Brown map). In 1851, a house and lot on Virginus Island was sold to Jesse Schofield as the result of a court decree in the case of George W. Sappington versus James B. Wilkins. According to the quote from the papers and proceedings of the suit, the property being conveyed was:

a certain house and lot now (then) occupied and in the possession of Joseph Shumaker on the Island of Virginus and bounded on the west by the line of Roland Heflebower & Co and running back about ninety five feet and fronting on the street about fifty one & half feet, that is from the upper or cross line to four feet below said Shumaker house and thence running back parallel with the upper line the same distance to the bank of the saw mill race.⁵⁷⁶

This quote dates from between December 12, 1837, when Jesse Schofield, John Wernwag, and James B. Wilkins signed some sort of agreement which later became part of the suit proceedings, and the August 30, 1845 sale of the property pursuant to a June 4, 1845 court order. Since Shoemaker's name does not appear

⁵⁷⁴Snell, "A Physical History of the U.S. Musket Factory Plant," Vol I, 1794 to 1841. p. 164.

⁵⁷⁵Deed Book 20, p 475, Deed of Trust, Joseph Shoemaker to P.C. McCabe trustee for Thomas Hughes, 22 September 1835; Deed Book 22, p. 376, Release, Patrick C. McCabe to Joseph Shoemaker, 28 February 1838.

⁵⁷⁶Deed Book 32, p. 75, William C. Worthington Commissioner to Jesse Schofield, 15 October 1851.

on the 1840 census, the quote probably pre-dates 1840. Jesse Schofield bought the property at the 1845 sale, but a deed was not executed until 1851.⁵⁷⁷

The quote from the deed also reveals Joseph Shoemaker was living in the westernmost dwelling of Tract 4 (owned by John Wernwag and Jesse Schofield) on the south side of the street. Therefore, Joseph Shoemaker was probably in Building 9 as designated on the 1844 map prepared by James M. Brown. In all likelihood, this is Building 20 in the middle of the brick row houses on the 1859 Historical Base Map.⁵⁷⁸

William Simpson

The only available information both concerning William Simpson and connecting him to Virginus Island is his obituary. William Simpson died on the Island of Virginus in August 1850 of cholera at the age of 46. He had a daughter (3) who also died of cholera.⁵⁷⁹

This William Simpson is not the same William Simpson who appears on the 1850 census. That William Simpson was enumerated by the census taker in October 1850, two months after the Virginus Island William Simpson had died.⁵⁸⁰

James (or John) Smith

James Smith first appears on the 1870 census on Virginus Island. James

⁵⁷⁷Deed Book 32, p. 75, William C. Worthington Commissioner to Jesse Schofield, 15 October 1851.

⁵⁷⁸Map of the Island of Virginus at Harper's Ferry, Va, by James M. Brown, April 1844; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021. Snell indicates this building in Building 21 on the 1859 Historical Base Map, but since the quoted passage probably pre-dates 1840 and Building 21 does not appear on any maps until the 1848 map, it is unlikely that Snell is correct. See Snell, "A History," pp. 109-10.

⁵⁷⁹Virginia Free Press, 23 August 1850, p. 3, col. 2.

⁵⁸⁰Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 415.

D. Smith (44), a native of England, was working in the flour mill. Also living with him were his wife Annie V. (41), born in Virginia, and son George (9), born in the District of Columbia.⁵⁸¹ John B. Smith (54) of England, living with wife Ann V. (51), is listed as a miller on the 1880 census. It is not known if they were still living on Virginus Island at that time.⁵⁸²

Francis Snapp

Francis Snapp may have been the F.R. Snapp who bought out the proprietor of a Shenandoah City foundry late in 1856. According to an item in a 1922 issue of the Spirit of Jefferson, however, Abraham Herr and Francis F. Snapp "had a foundry" on "Herr's Island" before the Civil War. The 1860 Products of Industry census schedule indicates that "Herr & Snap" had an iron foundry.⁵⁸³

Snapp was probably living on Virginus Island in 1860. Francis (30) was a machinist with a \$500 personal estate. Living with him were his wife Theodocia (26) and children Florence A. (6), Edgar (4), and Alexas (4 months). They had all been born in Virginia. Snapp had a female slave (9).⁵⁸⁴

Thomas H. Stephens

According to the 1830 census, Thomas Stephens, a man of 40 and under 50, was living in Virginus. Living with him was a male of 20 and under 30, one of 15 and under 20, and one of 5 and under 10. One female in his household was of

⁵⁸¹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

⁵⁸²Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 2, p. 4 of Harpers Ferry.

⁵⁸³Virginia Free Press, 1 January 1857, p. 2, col. 7; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 June 1922, p. 2, col. 3; Eighth Census (1860), Products of Industry, Charlestown, p. 211.

⁵⁸⁴Eighth Census (1860), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 205; Slave Schedule, p. 172.

40 and under 50; the other was of 10 and under 15.⁵⁸⁵ That same year, the Virginia Free Press reported that his daughter Ann, age 17, had died.⁵⁸⁶ Whether she was the younger female is not known.

Thomas Stephens was connected with Fontaine Beckham's flour mill. In August 1831, an advertisement reporting Daniel Snyder's interest in Beckham's mill indicated Stephens, "the former miller," would receive grain. A month later, in denying any interest of Snyder in his mill, Fontaine Beckham stated Stephens, "a miller of capacity and experience," was in charge of the mill.⁵⁸⁷

Stephens' name appears in the personal property tax records between 1829 and 1833. He was assessed a 10 cent tax for a horse between 1829 and 1831. In 1832, he was taxed for a horse and a slave, and in 1833, he was taxed 37 cents for two horses and a slave.⁵⁸⁸

How long Stephens remained on Virginius Island is unclear. However, since Beckham had apparently rented his mill by July 1834, Stephens may have departed by then.⁵⁸⁹ He does not appear in the available historical record after October 1834, when his name was included among those having letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.⁵⁹⁰

William J. Stephens

William J. Stephens, son of Arnold S. Stephens, may have been living in

⁵⁸⁵Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175.

⁵⁸⁶Virginia Free Press, 21 July 1830, p. 3, col. 2.

⁵⁸⁷Virginia Free Press, 18 August 1831, p. 3, col. 4; 22 September 1831, p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁸⁸Personal Property Tax Books (1829-1833).

⁵⁸⁹Virginia Free Press, 10 July 1834, p. 3, col. 6.

⁵⁹⁰Virginia Free Press, 2 October 1834, p. 3, col. 5.

the Harpers Ferry area as early as July 1833, when a list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office included a Wm. Stephens. William J. Stephens was definitely living in the area by January 1838, when he participated in the first anniversary celebration of the independent McIvor clan.⁵⁹¹ At this time, Stephens was in the clothing business, evidently as a tailor, first with John Wilcoxon and after September 1838, by himself.⁵⁹²

According to the 1840 census, William Stephens, of age 20 and under 30, was living in Virginius. In the household were another male of 20 and under 30, a female of 30 and under 40; a female of 20 and under 30, probably Stephens' wife Elizabeth; a female child under the age of 5, probably Stephens' daughter; and a free black female of age 10 and under 24.⁵⁹³ Stephens' daughter died in 1840.⁵⁹⁴

According to Charles Snell, in 1842 William Stephens purchased a leasehold for the building on Wager Lot 5 and moved his tailoring business into the building in October. Stephens' business operated here until 1862.⁵⁹⁵

Also in 1842, Stephens' name appears for the first time in the personal property records. At that time, he was taxed 25 cents for a silver watch. By 1844, in addition to the watch, Stephens was taxed for a slave and a metallic clock.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹Virginia Free Press, 4 July 1833, p. 3, col. 3 & 4; 18 January 1838, p. 3, col. 2; 28 September 1865, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵⁹²Virginia Free Press, 27 September 1838, p. 3, col. 3; Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 8 January 1840, p. 3, col. 7.

⁵⁹³Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 249.

⁵⁹⁴Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 4 June 1840, p. 3, col. 5.

⁵⁹⁵Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey Report for 'The William J. Stephens' Building, Wager Lot No. 5," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 6 August 1958), pp. 5-6, 20, 22.

⁵⁹⁶Personal Property Tax Books (1842-1850).

William J. Stephens may have still been living on Virginius Island in 1850. According to the 1850 census, Stephens (37) and his wife Elizabeth (32) were natives of Maryland. Their children Martha A. (9), Eugenia (6), William M. (4) and Charles H. (2) had been born in Virginia, and in all likelihood on Virginius Island. Also living in the house were Hiram S. Stephens (39) and his wife Laura E. (23), natives of Maryland who had been married within the year, and Mary Martin (13) of Virginia. William Stephens was still a merchant tailor and evidently prosperous, as the census indicates he owned \$5,000 worth of property. The slave schedule indicates both William and Hiram owned female slaves of age fifteen.⁵⁹⁷

During these years, William Stephens was a prominent member of the community. In 1841, he was the Chief Marshal in a procession of the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society through the town.⁵⁹⁸ Stephens' name also appears in the newspapers on several occasions in connection with Democratic Party activities and as a superintendent for the election of school commissioners for District 22 from 1848 to 1853.⁵⁹⁹ In 1854, his name appears as a superintendent for District 24, so either the boundaries of the districts were changed after the 1853 election or Stephens had moved.⁶⁰⁰

During the 1850s, either before or after he moved from Virginius Island, Stephens' wealth continued to grow. By 1857, he owned two slaves, both a gold and a silver watch, a clock, a piano, and \$5,000 in real estate. More

⁵⁹⁷Seventh Census (1850), Population Schedule, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B; Slave Schedule, p. 999.

⁵⁹⁸Virginia Free Press, 11 November 1841, p. 2, col. 2.

⁵⁹⁹Virginia Free Press, 30 November 1843, p. 2, col. 7; 4 March 1848, p. 3, col. 7; 8 March 1849, p. 3, col. 1; 14 March 1850, p. 4, col. 3; 7 March 1851, p. 3, col. 2; 18 September 1851, p. 2, col. 7; 19 February 1852, p. 2, col. 5; 11 March 1852, p. 3, col. 3; 24 February 1853, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 November 1848, p. 4, col. 3. District 22 elections were held at the "factory" or Herr's mill, clearly on Virginius Island.

⁶⁰⁰Virginia Free Press, 2 March 1854, p. 3, col. 4. District 24 elections were held at Carrell's Hotel. District 22 were still being held at Herr's Mill.

informative is the 1859 tax record. This shows that, in addition to two slaves and two watches valued at \$75, Stephens owned a piano worth \$200, \$50 in gold and silver jewelry, and \$600 in house and kitchen furniture. Stephens was still living in Harpers Ferry, but not Virginus Island, at the time of the 1860 census. At that time, his total listed property value was \$24,400.⁶⁰¹ Elizabeth Ann Stephens, daughter of Andrew and Jane Michael, had died in 1858, and William Stephens had married Lizzie C. Thompson of Frederick County, Maryland, in 1859.⁶⁰²

Edward P. Sweet

The only information on the Edward P. Sweet family comes from the 1870 census. Connecticut native Edward P. (30) was a cooper. His wife Sophia E. (28) and son Charles D. (1) had been born in Maryland. Sweet owned an estimated \$200 in personal property. The family resided on Virginus Island.⁶⁰³

Hillary T. Tacy

Hillary T. Tacy appears on the 1910 census as the single member of a household believed to have been on Virginus Island. Tacy is listed as a 65 year old slater who was born in Virginia.⁶⁰⁴

Hillerey St. G. Tacey appears on the Harpers Ferry Town census for 1900, but is not believed to have then lived on Virginus Island. He is listed as

⁶⁰¹George Koonce Tax Ledger, 1857, as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, p. 13; Personal Property Tax Book (1859). Stephens is listed on page 190 of the 1860 census, while the part of the census including Virginus Island has been determined to be pages 200 to 204.

⁶⁰²Death Register 1 (1853-1872), p. 19, line 20; Virginia Free Press, 6 October 1859, p. 2, col. 7.

⁶⁰³Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

⁶⁰⁴Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry District, p. 191.

being 55 years old in 1900 and his occupation is listed as painter and slater.⁶⁰⁵ Tacey appears to have been in the Harpers Ferry area since the mid-1890s. Hillary Tacey's name appears on delinquent tax lists in newspapers three times, the first appearing in 1894, the second in 1905, and the third in 1907.⁶⁰⁶ While there are various spellings of "Hillary Tacy," it is believed the above names are all the same person.

Mary Tattersall

Mary Tattersall (52), a native of Maryland and the former Mary Donner, probably lived on Virginus Island at the time of the 1910 census. She was the widow of Edward Tattersall who had died in 1905, and she owned household and kitchen furniture worth \$50. Living with her were her son-in-law John W. Roop (32), a railroad laborer who had been unemployed 24 weeks in the previous year; daughter Emma V. (27), whom Roop had married in 1904; and grandchildren Mary (8), William E. (4), and Annie (2). The Roops gave their place of birth as West Virginia.⁶⁰⁷

Roop's name appears on the list of delinquent taxpayers in 1915 and 1918, and the family was living on Virginus Island in 1920. According to the census, John W. Roop, listed as William Roop (41), was a laborer at the limestone quarry. The Roop household also included William's wife Emma (41); daughters Anne (10), Bertha (10), and Agnes (1); sons Joseph (6) and Raymond (3); and daughter Mary Allen (19) and her husband William (19), a native of Washington County, Maryland,

⁶⁰⁵Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry Town, p. 81 A.

⁶⁰⁶Virginia Free Press, 25 April 1894, p. 3, col. 1; Farmer's Advocate, 17 June 1905, p. 4, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 July 1907, p. 4, col. 2.

⁶⁰⁷Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B; Personal Property Tax Book (1910); Farmers Advocate, 25 February 1905, p. 3, col. 3; Marriage Register 4, p. 159.

who worked as a cut driver at the limestone quarry.⁶⁰⁸ Neither son William E. nor daughter Mary Roop are listed on the census.

Roop was still living on Virginius Island (or Herr's Island as it was called) in 1922 when his daughter Anna married Frank Evert of Frederick.⁶⁰⁹ In July 1924, William E. Roop married Alice Elizabeth Painter (16). Bertha May Roop married Harvey Alonzo Brashears (27) in 1926.⁶¹⁰

John Taylor

Little is known about the John Taylor family. They were living on Virginius Island when the 1870 census was taken. John Taylor (37) worked in the flour mill. He owned \$150 in personal property. The other members of the family were his wife Barbara A. (34), the former Barbara Ann Crider, whom Taylor had married in 1856; and children Fanny (13), Laura (10), George (8), Edward (6), and Dora (3). The Taylors gave their place of birth as West Virginia. Also living in their house was Susan McCrider (23), a native of Maryland.⁶¹¹

The Taylor family was still living on the island when the flood occurred later in the year. According to Emily Child, after the flood, "Mr. Taylor's family consisting of eight" had to move in temporarily with the Child family.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁸Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; Virginia Free Press, 19 August 1915, p. 1, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 June 1918, p. 1, col. 6; Marriage Register 7, p. 61.

⁶⁰⁹Farmers Advocate, 22 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1.

⁶¹⁰Marriage Register 7, pp. 315, 378.

⁶¹¹Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry; Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 564.

⁶¹²E.E. Child to [Mrs. Sallie B. Child and Miss Lucy Child], 9 October 1870, typescript, HFD-213.

Catherine Tompkins

Little is known about Catherine Tompkins. Although her name does not appear on the 1820 census, Jonah Tompkins, a bricklayer between the ages of 26 and 45, is listed. Living with him were a female in the same age group, a female under 10, and a male under 10. Interestingly, Jonah's name immediately follows that of John Peacher, the owner of Virginius Island in 1820.⁶¹³

Jonah Tompkins may have lived in Jefferson County as early as 1810, when a Jonah Tompson appeared on the personal property tax list. He definitely was living in the county a year later, and appears in the list for Harpers Ferry in 1813 and 1814. In 1819, Jonah Tompkins was paid for building chimneys on smith shops at the Rifle Factory; in 1820, he was paid for laying stone for a bridge over the Shenandoah Canal.⁶¹⁴ While there is no proof that Catherine was the wife of Jonah Tompkins, such possibility should be considered.

The 1830 census lists Catherine Tompkins, a woman of age 30 and under 40, in the town of Virginius. Also living in her household was a girl of 10 and under 15. The ages given are consistent with those of the two females living with Jonah Tompkins in 1820.⁶¹⁵ How long Catherine remained on Virginius Island is not known. According to the Virginia Free Press, however, she was a resident of Harpers Ferry when she married Henry Kline in 1832.⁶¹⁶ Henry Kline is not listed on the 1840 census, but the name of a Henry Klime (probably Kline) is included in an April 1841 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 537.

⁶¹⁴Personal Property Tax Books (1810-1820); Snell, "History of the Lower Hall Island," Vol. I, pp. 14, 16.

⁶¹⁵Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175.

⁶¹⁶Virginia Free Press, 13 September 1832, p. 3, col. 3.

⁶¹⁷Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1841, p. 3, col. 4.

Joseph H. Trout

The Joseph H. Trout family lived on Virginus Island at the time of the 1860 census. No occupation is listed for Trout (45), whose household consisted of his wife Amelia (45) and children Margaret V. (13), Franklin W. (12), Charles Snively (8), Malinda A. (6), Anna S. (4), Sarah P. (3), and Charlotte R. (1), all of whom except Margaret were born in Maryland. Trout had personal property worth an estimated \$100.

Also living in the Trout household were five other people. George Hutslin (42), Haney Peters (30), and John Piplin (25), all coopers, and Henry Hohnes (17), a stone cutter, were natives of Virginia. Margaret Staub (15), a native of Maryland, was working as a domestic.⁶¹⁸

Clearly, Trout had not moved to Virginus Island until sometime after Charlotte's birth a year before the census was taken. In fact, Trout probably moved to the island at the same time as Frederick Bremmerman, who, from the place of birth of his children, had moved from Maryland within a year of the census. Trout's wife was the former Amelia E. Bremmerman, whom Trout had married in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1846. Malinda Bremmerman was the former Malinda Trout and had married Frederick Bremmerman in 1834, also in Frederick County. The maiden names of Amelia and Malinda suggests the Trout and Bremmerman families were related.⁶¹⁹

The Trout family does not appear in any other available documents after the 1860 census.

⁶¹⁸Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 202.

⁶¹⁹Margaret E. Myers, Marriage Licenses of Frederick County, 1811-1840 (Silver Spring, MD: Family Line Publications, 1987), p. 26; Myers, Marriage Licenses of Frederick County, 1841-1865 (pub., 1988), p. 28. See biography of Frederick Bremmerman.

Edward Wager

Edward Wager was the son of John Wager, Sr. and Mersey, the sister of Edward Lucas, whom John married after the death of his wife Sarah Harper Wager. Edward may have been born in Berkeley County, where his father was living in 1796 when he sold most of the Harpers Ferry property to the United States government, probably in the part of the county from which Jefferson County was later formed.⁶²⁰ Edward Wager's name first appears in the available historical record in the 1806 division of John Wager's Berryhill tract in Jefferson County.⁶²¹

By 1817, personal property tax records indicate Edward Wager had formed Edward Wager & Co., a mercantile establishment. From 1820 to 1822, the business was known as Wager & Beckham, the Beckham evidently being Fontaine Beckham, who alone received a merchant license in 1823.⁶²²

According to the 1820 census, Wager was a clerk between 16 and 26. Living in his household were two females between 26 and 45, another male and a female between 16 and 26, a male between 16 and 18, and a male and a female under 10, probably Charles H. and Elizabeth (about 1). Also listed in his household were two female slaves: one under 14 and the other between 26 and 45. The white female between 16 and 26 may have been Edward's wife Hannah, daughter of James and Elizabeth Beckham of Culpeper County, Virginia, and niece of Townsend and

⁶²⁰Typescript of deed of John Wager, Sr. and wife Mercy, John Wager, Jr., Margaret Wager, and Mary Wager to George Washington, President of the United States, 15 June 1796, in James P. Noffsinger, "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions towards a Physical History," (National Park Service, 1958), pp. 70-75. Edward Wager is listed as a son of the John Wager, Sr. who was married to Mersey Wager and was the father of the Harpers Ferry John Wager, Jr. in a chancery case notice (Virginia Free Press, 15 January 1835, p. 3, col. 5). Mersey Wager's will mentions the children of her son Edward (Will Book 7, p. 470).

⁶²¹Will Book 1, p. 253, Division of real estate of John Wager, 14 January 1806. The property is not referred to as the Berryhill tract in this document, but when Edward Wager sold his share in 1819 to James Stubblefield, it was so designated (Deed Book 11, p. 132, 7 April 1819).

⁶²²Personal Property Tax Books (1817-1823).

Fontaine Beckham. Following the 1820 census, Edward and Hannah had two other children, James P. and Edward L., the latter born about 1826.⁶²³

Although Wager appears on tax records from 1814, he had no personal taxable property until 1818, when a slave and a horse were listed under his name. He subsequently had no listed taxable personal property until 1821, at which time he had three slaves. Between 1821 and 1826, he was assessed a tax for from two to four slaves, and in 1823, he was also assessed for a horse.⁶²⁴

In December 1824, Edward Wager purchased Tract 3 of Virginus Island from James Stubblefield and his wife Mary, the aunt of Hannah Wager. It is not known whether Edward Wager lived on Virginus Island, but his island property was apparently the only real estate he owned. While the larger stone stuccoed dwelling was built prior to the Wager purchase, the smaller dwelling was built within two years after Wager bought the property.⁶²⁵

Edward Wager died in September 1826, leaving a personal estate appraised at \$1,393.34. His property consisted mostly of household and kitchen furniture. In addition, Wager had over twenty books and two slaves, Nancy and Robert (See attachment). Hannah and the children went to Culpeper County to live with her father. Edward apparently left considerable debts, as Hannah testified debts had consumed much if not all of Wager's personal estate and nearly forced her to sell "the few servants" she owned. The only real estate Wager possessed was the Virginus Island property, which was used as rental property for several years

⁶²³Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 535; James Madison Beckham, p. 69. The names of the Wager children and the ages of Elizabeth M. and Edward L. come from the testimony of Hannah Wager, 7 March 1832, in Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al, Park Reel 11.

⁶²⁴Personal Property Tax Books (1814-1826).

⁶²⁵Deed Book 13, p. 328, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Edward Wager, 28 December 1824; Testimony of Hannah Wager, 7 March 1832, in Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al.

before it was sold to John B. Gildea in 1833.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁶Testimony of Hannah Wager, 7 March 1832, in Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al; Deed Book 19, p. 97, Andrew Hunter special commissioner and Hannah Wager to John B. Gildea, 28 September 1833.

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA WILL BOOK 5, pp. 239-43.

In pursuance of the above order we the undersigned have this day appraised the Slaves and personal property belonging to the Estate of Edward Wager deceased and make the following Report.

(Nancy	275.00
2 Slaves (Robert	300.00
1 Mahogany Side board	65.00
1 Set Mahogy Dining Tables 3 in number	65.00
1 Cherry Breakfast Do	4.00
1½ Doz Chairs	18.00
1 Pr. Brass Andirons	6.00
1 Shovel & Tongs	5.00
2 Brass Side Hooks	1.00
2 Crickets	1.50
1 Gilt Frame Looking Glass	4.00
3 large Waiters	3.25
8 Small Do	1.75
4 Gilt Frames & Pictures	6.00
9 Cut Glass Tumblers	1.50
1 Doz jelley Glasses	2.25
1 " Wine Do	1.50
3 Glass Dishes	.62
1 " Pitcher	1.00
3 Plain Tumblers	.37
1 Lustred Teapot Sugar & Cream	1.50
1 Caster	3.00
1 Gravy Dish & Stand	1.00
6 Pitchers	1.50
1 Tea Canister	.37
2 China Jars	.75]
Lot Crockery in Parlour Cupbard	1.00
4 Stone Jugs	1.50
1 Doz Blk Bottles	.75
4 Earthen Jugs	<u>.50</u>
	Amt Carried Up
	\$774.61
	Amt brot forward
	\$774.61
1 Cake Bees Wasc	.62
1 Fly Brush	.50
6 Silver Table Spoons 1 Doz Tea Do. 1 Sugar Tongs	30.00
1 Pr Cut Glass Decanters	2.75
½ Doz Furniture Mats	.20
2 Mahogany Beaureaus	36.00
1 Dressing Glass	1.50
1 Do Do	1.00
1 Pr Andiron (Iron)	2.00
1 " Do "	1.50
1 Arm Chair	1.00
1 Sycamore High Post Bedstead, Bed & Bedding	44.00
1 Poplar High Do. Matress Bed & Bedding	45.00

1 Acorn post Do Bed & Bedding	29.00
1 Gedstead in garrett	2.00
1 Trundle Bedstead Bed & Bedding	17.00
1 Cradle & Bedding	3.50
1 Safe	4.00
1 Round Table	10.00
2 Wash Stands	3.50
1 " Bowl & Ewer	.87
1 Candl Stand	2.00
4 Trunks	8.00
1 Barrell Salt	<u>3.50</u>

Carried over	\$1024.05
Amt brot for'd	1024.05

2 Emplly Blls	2.50
1 Lot Lumber in Garret	3.00
1 Travelling Bag	1.--
7 Blankets	10.--
2 Merseills Counterpanes	25.--
2 Common Do	8.--
4 Quilts	20.--
2 Coverlets	8.--
2 Bed spreads	3.--
2 Table Covers	1.--
1 Stuffed Quilt	3.50
8 Linnen Sheets	9.--
7 Cotton Do	8.--
6 yds Cotton @20	1.20
14 " Do 16 2/3	2.33
1 Shovel & Tongs	1.00
1 Carpet about 30 yds	30.--
1 Do " 12	9.--
1 Lot Rugs	2.50
1 " Fringe	2.00
5 Willow Baskets	1.75
1 Rocking Chair and 1 Small Do	.75
1 pr Medical Scales & Weights	1.62
3 Green Window Curtains	1.50
1 lot Phials	1.--
3 Dimesty Window Curtains	1.50
3 Common White Do & Paper Blinds	7.00
1 Dusting pan	.25
29 Towels	3.50
12 Table Cloths	25.--
4 Brass Candlesticks	4.50
2 pr Snuffers	<u>.63</u>

Carried for's	\$1245.58
Amt brot for's	1245.58

1 Brass Lamp	.25
9 Dishes	3.--
42 Plates	3.--
1 Lot Tin ware	1.25
1 R Scales & Weights	2.50

1 Knife Bosc	.50	
1 Lot Knives & Forks	2.00	
1 Marble Mortar	1.00	
1 Hatchet	.75	
1 Large Iron pot	3.--	
5 Small Do	4.--	
4 ovins	3.25	
2 Skillets & 1 Griddle	1.--	
1 Frying Pan	.62	
1 Tea Kettle	1.75	
4 Sad Irons	1.50	
1 Tin Bucket	.12½	
2 Wooden Do	1.--	
1 " Tray	.12½	
2 Bowls	.25	
1 Brass Mortar & Pestle	2.00	
1 Set Laddles & Skimmers	1.50	
1 Candle mould	1.25	
1 Sausage Stuffer	.37	
1 Lot wine in Kitchen Cupboard	1.--	
1 Gridiron	.75	
1 Pr. Clothers Bierns	1.--	
6 Tubs	3.--	
1 Sifter	.75	
2 Kitchen Tables	2.--	
24 Stone Jars & Pitchers	6.75	
8 Crocks	.40	
1 Pail & Strainer	.25	
2 Kegs	1.00	
1 Water Pot & Lantern	.50	
	Carried for'd	\$1298.97
	Amt brot for'd	\$1298.97
2 Benches	.50	
1 Hogshead	1.00	
1 Tin Kettle	.25	
1 Hay Fork	.50	
1 Iron Rake	.50	
1 Garden Hoe	.50	
1 Spade	.50	
1 Lot Barrells &c in Smoke House	2.--	
1 Chicken Coop	6.--	
1 Leach	2.50	
1 Cow	13.--	
1 Pig	6.--	
15 Pillow Cases	4.00	
<u>Book</u>		
1 Large Bible	8.--	
French Revolution 4 Vol	8.--	
1 Walkers Dictionary	2.--	
1 Large Murry's Grammer	2.--	
Che's Switzerland 2 Vols	2.--	
Dobson's Petrarch	1.50	

Watches Appeals	1.25
Popes Works 9 vols	4.--
Modern Chivalry 2	1.25
Masonick Chait	1.75
Prestleys Lectures 2 Vols	1.50
Elegant Esctracts	.75
Life of P. Henry	1.50
Lorenzo Davis Works	.75
Life of Gen. Jackson	.75
Johnsons Journey	.50
Fletchers Posthumous Works	.75
Chateaubreans Recollections	1.--
Pilgrims Journal	<u>.50</u>
	Carried for'd \$1375.97
	Amt brot for'd \$1375.97
Harris Discoveries	1.25
Mavers Plutarch	.50
Prayer Book	.37
1 Lot Books	2.50
1 " Pamphlets	.25
1 Melleshes Maps	5.00
1 Toilet Glass & Cover	2.00
1 Bell <u>Mettle</u> Kettle	3.50
3 Coffee Mills	1.25
Kitchen Tongs & Andirons	<u>.75</u>
	\$1393.34

Oct 26th 1826

Robert Duke
O. Dudley
Henry Miller

October Court 1826

Jefferson County, to wit

Ordered, that Robert Duke, Henry Miller, Otis Dudley, & Merewether Thompson or any three of them, being first sworn, do appraise in current money, the Slaves, if any and personal Estate of Edward Wager dec'd, and make reprot thereof to the Court.

A copy

Teste

S.J. Cramer cfc

Jefferson County, To wit

This day Robert Duke, Henry Miller, & Otis Dudley personally appeared before me, a justice of the peace, & were duly qualified according to law. given under my hand this 26th day of October 1826

Jno. J. Gallager

Jefferson County, To wit

At a court continued & held for Jefferson County the 22d day of November in the year 1826. This appraisement of the Estate of Edward Wager dec'd, was returned and ordered to be recorded.

By the court

Teste

S.J. Cramer cfc.

Michael Walsh

The earliest known reference to Michael Walsh is an 1823 payment by the United States government to Walsh for quarrying, hauling, and laying stone for a river wall on the Shenandoah River. In 1825, Walsh was paid for laying stone at Hall's Rifle Factory.⁶²⁷

Michael Walsh was probably living on Virginius Island before James Stubblefield sold it in four tracts in December 1824. Walsh executed a deed of trust November 20, 1824 to secure a debt of approximately \$98 owed to Philip Strider. By this deed of trust, Walsh conveyed the following property:

one Sorrell horse, one cart and geers one red cow 4 Beds & Bedding one table 6 winsor chairs Two chests & all the household & kitchen furniture also five hogs and all my interest in and to a house on Mr. Stubblefields Island.⁶²⁸

In 1828, Walsh executed a second deed of trust, this time to secure a \$600 debt owed Thomas Walsh of Lower Canada. According to this document, Michael Walsh's residence was "Virginias," presumably meaning the town of Virginius. At this time, Walsh had the following personal property:

four feather beds and bedding, three bedsteds, a dozen chairs, six pots, two cupboards, two tables, a safe, a looking glass, a stove, two dozen dishes, a dozen knives and forks, two cows, a horse, cart & geers, three candle sticks, two foot stools, two boilers, two chests, together with all his household and kitchen furniture.⁶²⁹

Evidently, Walsh was unable to meet his obligation. The March 10, 1830 issue of the Virginia Free Press carried a notice that Walsh's personal property would be sold April 24, 1830 at his home in the town of Virginius. The sale was

⁶²⁷Snell, "History of the Lower Hall Island," Vol. I, pp. 23, 41.

⁶²⁸Deed Book 13, p. 165, Deed of Trust, Michael Walsh to John Jackson Trustee for Philip Strider, 20 November 1824.

⁶²⁹Deed Book 15, p. 195, Deed of Trust, Michael Walsh to Samuel Gibson Trustee for Thomas Walsh, 3 July 1828.

not held at this time, and a notice appeared in November 1831 that the sale would be held December 24, 1831 at Walsh's home in Bolivar.⁶³⁰

Michael Walsh evidently moved from Virginius to Bolivar sometime between March 1830 and the time the 1830 census was taken. According to that census, Walsh was an elderly man of 60 and under 70. Living with him in Bolivar were two females: one of 50 and under 60 and the other of 15 and under 20. The former may have been his wife, who died in 1832.⁶³¹

John Watson

The John Watson family was living on Virginius Island in 1850. John (32), a manufacturer, Eliza (age given as 49), and Margrett (5) were born in England. John W. Watson (6 months) was born in Virginia.⁶³² John Watson may have died sometime between the 1850 and 1860 censuses. It is possible Eliza Watson is the Mrs. Watson who is listed as a recipient of county assistance in 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1857.⁶³³

According to the 1860 census, Eliza Watson (46) and Margaret (14) were living in the household of Watts Watson somewhere in the vicinity of Charlestown and next to the James Watson family. Also living in this house was Walter (4), possibly a son of Eliza. John and Eliza's son Squire (17), who for some unknown reason is not listed with them on the 1850 census, was a carder living in woolen manufacturer James Watson's house.⁶³⁴

⁶³⁰Virginia Free Press, 10 March 1830, p. 3, col. 4; 17 November 1831, p. 3, col. 5.

⁶³¹Fifth Census (1830), Bolivar, p. 174; Virginia Free Press, 1 November 1832, p. 2, col. 6.

⁶³²Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405B.

⁶³³Virginia Free Press, 14 July 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 3 August 1854, p. 3, col. 1; 9 July 1857, p. 3, col. 1, 2, & 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 31 August 1852, p. 3, col. 3.

⁶³⁴Eighth Census (1860), Charlestown Post Office, pp. 143-44.

In 1870, Eliza Watson (57) was living in Bolivar Township in the household of her son Squire (27), who worked on the railroad. Also living in this household were his wife Eliza (23) and their son George W. (1). The elder Eliza Watson died in July 1870, and George Watson died the following year.⁶³⁵ The younger Eliza died sometime later, and Squire, then a stone mason, was living in Bolivar in 1880 with his new wife Victoria and their family.⁶³⁶

Watts Watson

Natives of England, and possibly the Manchester area, the Watts Watson, James Watson, and James Taylor families first appear on the 1850 census.⁶³⁷ All three families were living in the same dwelling, but each was enumerated separately.

In 1850, the Watts Watson family consisted of Watts Watson (58), a watchmaker, his wife Elizabeth (58), armorer Holland (19), weaver Watts (15), and Samuel (11).⁶³⁸ In 1857, the son Watts Watson married Mrs. Sarah Strider; they were living in Bolivar in 1860 and were still living in the area in 1880.⁶³⁹ The elder Watts Watson (80) was living in the Charlestown area in 1860 next to the James Watson family, where Samuel was living. Living in Watts' household

⁶³⁵Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 478, p. 58 of Harpers Ferry; Virginia Free Press, 11 February 1871, p. 3, col. 3; Death Register 2 (1866-1880), p. 60, line 9.

⁶³⁶Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 19, p. 12 of Bolivar.

⁶³⁷According to an advertisement for the Valley Cotton Factory in the Virginia Free Press August 12, 1849 (p. 2, col. 3), some of the employees of the cotton factory were from factories in Manchester, England. The Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company apparently began operations before March 1848 (Virginia Free Press, 11 March 1848, p. 3, col. 3).

⁶³⁸Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405.

⁶³⁹Virginia Free Press, 15 January 1857, p. 2, col. 6; Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Bolivar, Jefferson County, Virginia, p. 239; Ninth Census of the United States (1870), Bolivar Township, Jefferson County, West Virginia, p. 475, p. 52 of Harpers Ferry; Tenth Census of the United States (1880), Bolivar, Jefferson County, West Virginia, p. 18, p. 9 of Bolivar.

were Eliza (46), who may have been the widow of John Watson; Margaret (14), presumably the daughter of Eliza and John; and Walter Watson (4).⁶⁴⁰

After the Civil War erupted, Samuel Watson enlisted in the Confederate army and served in Stonewall Jackson's brigade. After the war, he returned to Jefferson County, and in 1867 manufacturer Samuel Watson (28) married Cornelia A. Orem, daughter of Armstead and Mary Orem. Sometime later, he moved to Martinsburg where he died in 1916, leaving daughters Mrs John M. Burke and Annie Twirley and son J.W. Watson. His obituary states he was the brother of James Watson.⁶⁴¹

The 1850 census lists James Watson (31) as an armorer. Living with him were Eliza (27), William (8), and Anna (5).⁶⁴² Subsequently, Watson evidently left the island to live in one of the armory dwellings. In 1853, James Watson acquired title to Lot 7, Block C from the United States government, but he sold it the same year to Joseph Davis.⁶⁴³ Watson may be the James Watson who in November 1853 purchased the house on United States Street in Bolivar belonging to Richard Cruzen.⁶⁴⁴

By 1860, the James Watson family had moved to the Charlestown area and prospered. James (40), a woolen manufacturer, owned \$600 in real estate and \$2,000 in personal property. James, his wife Eliza (38), son William (17), and daughter Hannah (13), were all natives of England. Sons James H. (9), George S. (4), and Charles J. (2), were all of Virginia. Also in his household were weaver

⁶⁴⁰Eighth Census (1860), Charlestown District, p. 995.

⁶⁴¹Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 606; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 May 1916, p. 3, col. 4.

⁶⁴²Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405.

⁶⁴³Deed Book 1, p. 217, United States to James Watson, 5 October 1853; Deed Book 1, p. 219, James Watson and wife Eliza to Joseph Davis, 12 January 1853.

⁶⁴⁴Deed Book 34, p. 372, Richard R. Cruzen and wife Arelia W. to James Watson, 10 November 1853.

Samuel Watson (22), probably James' brother and the son of Watts Watson; carder Squire Watson (17), the son of John and Eliza Watson; and woolen manufacturer James Tonge (28), all of England; and spinner Samuel Wilson (22) of Virginia.⁶⁴⁵

According to a deed of trust executed in January 1861, Watson's woolen manufacturing business was located at the Millville Mills. By that document, he conveyed in trust a breaker, a condenser, a spinning machine, 196 spindles, a roll machine, a picker, a twister, three power looms, and all other machinery in the factory. The following year, Watson purchased an eighteen acre tract on the Shenandoah River and a two-and-one-half acre island in Little's Falls on which sat the Hopewell Mill.⁶⁴⁶

In 1864, manufacturer William Watson (21), the son of James and Eliza, married Mary Jane Orem, the daughter of Armstead and Mary Orem. When James and Eliza's daughter Hannah, who married James Tonge sometime after 1860, died in 1869, her father James Watson was living in Bolivar.⁶⁴⁷

According to the 1870 census, woolen manufacturer Watson (50) owned \$20,500 in real and personal property. In part, his property probably consisted of the former flour mill, Hopewell Mills, six miles from Harpers Ferry on the Shenandoah River which, according to an article in the Virginia Free Press, Watson converted into a woolen factory in 1866.⁶⁴⁸

Very little is known about the James Taylor family, the third family living

⁶⁴⁵Eighth Census (1860), Charlestown District, p. 996; Death Register 2, p. 60.

⁶⁴⁶Deed Book 39, p. 476, Deed of Trust, James Watson to Lawson Botts, 1 January 1861; Deed Book 1, p. 92, Thomas H. Willis and wife Elizabeth F. to James Watson, 23 December 1862.

⁶⁴⁷Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 607; Spirit of Jefferson, 17 August 1869, p. 2, col. 5.

⁶⁴⁸Ninth Census (1870), Grant Township, p. 513, p. 3 of Grant Township; Virginia Free Press, 7 June 1866, p. 2, col. 6; 12 July 1866, p. 2, col. 6.

in one dwelling on Virginus Island in 1850. This family consisted of manufacturer James Taylor (40), Caroline (40), weavers Joseph (19) and Abraham (17), Frances (13), Mary A. (6), James (9), and Samuel (4).⁶⁴⁹ Joseph and Abraham were probably working for one of the two cotton factories. None of the Taylors appear in other available records.

Samuel Webb

Samuel Webb does not appear in the available historical record until the 1870 census and, considering the place of birth given by two of his children at the time of their marriages, may have been living in Loudoun County, Virginia, until shortly before that year (See below). The census lists Webb (43) as a cooper. Enumerated with him was his sizable family consisting of his wife Sarah (39) and children Elijah (21) and George F. (16), both apprentices to a carpenter; Mollie (14), Emma J. (12), Alice (9), Samuel Jr. (7), Joseph (4) and James (2). The Webbs gave their place of birth as West Virginia.⁶⁵⁰

It is conceivable that Samuel Webb was affiliated with the flour mill. In 1873, a growth was removed from the son of a "Mr. Webb, of the Island Mill, Harper's Ferry."⁶⁵¹ Although the family remained in the Harpers Ferry area, it has not been possible to determine if they were living on Virginus Island at the time the 1880 census was taken. In that year, the family consisted of Samuel D. (53), Sarah A. (49), Mary A. (24), Emma (21), Alice (19), cooper Samuel (17), laborers Joseph (14) and James (12), Minnie (7), and Robert (4).⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405.

⁶⁵⁰Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 15 of Harpers Ferry.

⁶⁵¹Spirit of Jefferson, 6 May 1873, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁵²Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 2, p. 3 of Harpers Ferry.

Marriage records for four of the Webb children have been found. In 1883, Alice Webb (22) married William Manuel, while Emma J. Webb (27), a native of Loudoun County, Virginia, married Lewis W. Angell in 1886. James L. Webb (22), a native of Loudoun County, Virginia, married Rhenbecker or Rebecca Montgomery in 1889. That same year, Joseph E. Webb (22) married Louise R. or Laura Heafer, the daughter of Richard and Mary J. Heafer.⁶⁵³

John Wernwag

Although no mention of John Wernwag appears in the historical record until 1832, it is likely that he came from his native Pennsylvania with his father Lewis Wernwag about 1824 and settled on Virginius Island.⁶⁵⁴ John Wernwag does not appear on the 1830 census, but he was possibly one of the five adult males enumerated in the Lewis Wernwag household.

By 1840, John Wernwag was living in Baltimore, Maryland, in the same city ward as Joseph P. Shannon. According to that document, the Wernwag household contained one male under age 5, four males between 20 and 30, one male between 30 and 40, and another between 40 and 50, the latter possibly being Wernwag. Also listed are a female between 5 and 10, one between 10 and 15, one between 30 and 40, and another female between 40 and 50. A male slave also lived in the Wernwag household.⁶⁵⁵ Wernwag may have been living in Baltimore as early as

⁶⁵³Marriages, 1801-1890, pp. 11, 353, 609; Virginia Free Press, 29 August 1889, p. 3, col. 4; 25 April 1889, p. 3, col. 2; Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 20, p. 13 of Bolivar.

⁶⁵⁴His place of birth comes from the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 405). Lewis Wernwag was living in Harpers Ferry when he purchased Tract 4 of Virginius Island in 1824 (Deed Book 14, p. 41, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Lewis Wernwag, 28 December 1824).

⁶⁵⁵Fifth Census (1830), Virginius, p. 175; Sixth Census (1840), 5th Ward, City of Baltimore, Maryland, p. 208; Deed Book 24, p. 108, Mortgage, John Wernwag and wife Margaret R. to Josias Pennington, 20 January 1840.

1835, when he married Margaret Rebecca Massey in Baltimore.⁶⁵⁶

Despite this temporary move to Baltimore, John Wernwag had a real interest in the economic life of Virginus Island. According to a February 16, 1832 notice of the dissolution of the partnership of Wernwag & Sons, that firm originally consisted of Lewis Wernwag Sr., John Wernwag, Joseph P. Shannon, Lewis Wernwag Jr., and William Wernwag and at the time of dissolution consisted of the first three.⁶⁵⁷ In 1833, Lewis Wernwag sold John a one-third interest in Tract 4, having previously sold the other two-thirds interest to Joseph L. Smith and James Hook.⁶⁵⁸ At an undetermined date prior to August 25, 1843, John Wernwag formed a partnership with Joseph P. Shannon, evidently to run the machine shop on Tract 4.⁶⁵⁹ Subsequently and until May 15, 1845, Wernwag was in partnership with his brother-in-law Jesse Schofield in running the sawmill.⁶⁶⁰

In May 1844, John Wernwag and Jesse Schofield entered into a deed of trust with James Giddings, whereby Giddings had the authority to sell Tract 4. At that time, Wernwag's business was occupying the machine shop (Building 24 on the 1844 Brown map). This agreement was renewed two years later. On August 24, 1847, Wernwag and Schofield sold Tract 4 to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company. Three-fourths of the amount due Schofield and Wernwag was to be paid in stock in the company.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁶Virginia Free Press, 7 May 1835, p. 3, col. 3.

⁶⁵⁷Virginia Free Press, 16 February 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

⁶⁵⁸Deed Book 19, p. 75, Lewis Wernwag and wife Elizabeth to John Wernwag, 31 July 1833.

⁶⁵⁹Deed Book 26, p. 435, Deed of Trust, Jos. P. Shannon and wife Eliza to Gerard B. Wager trustee for Jesse Schofield, 25 August 1843.

⁶⁶⁰Virginia Free Press, 15 May 1845, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁶¹Deed Book 27, p. 144, Deed of Trust, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann and John Wernwag and wife Margaret to James Giddings, 16 May 1844; Deed Book 28, p. 122, 15 May 1846; Deed Book 30, p. 178, Jesse Schofield and wife Mary Ann, John Wernwag and wife Margaret R., and James Giddings to the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, 24 August 1847; "Plan and Report with a Descriptive View of the Island of Virginus,

Subsequently, Wernwag was forced to forfeit his share in the company. About 1848, Josias Pennington, who had an 1840 mortgage from Wernwag, demanded payment of the \$6,000 due him. Through a November 22, 1848, agreement signed by James Giddings, Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag, the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company agreed to pay this debt. In return, John Wernwag lost his right to the purchase money for the sale of Tract 4 and ended up owing the company \$149.47½.⁶⁶²

Despite this apparently serious financial setback, John Wernwag remained on Virginus Island. On the census of 1850, Wernwag (53) is listed as a merchant. While the census does not provide a separate listing for Virginus Island, Wernwag was living on the island in a dwelling listed as a boarding house. With him was son Edward Wernwag (8).⁶⁶³ Wernwag and his son (listed as Edwin or Erwin) were still on Virginus Island at the time the 1860 and 1870 censuses were taken. Wernwag was a machinist, and his son was his apprentice in 1870. According to the 1860 census, his personal property was worth \$25; by 1870, it was listed as worth \$1,000.⁶⁶⁴

John Wernwag's association with Virginus Island apparently ended on October 1, 1870, when flood waters from the Shenandoah River swept through the island, leaving a path of destruction in their wake. According to the account of Joseph Barry, the building used by Wernwag as a dwelling and a machine shop (probably the same machine shop shown as No. 24 on the 1844 map and No. 4 on the

at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, 1844.

⁶⁶²A.B. Davidson and Harris vs the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Co., Park Reel 11, vol. 3, pp. 275-276.

⁶⁶³Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 405.

⁶⁶⁴Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201; Ibid., Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 456, p. 14 of Harpers Ferry.

1859 Historical Base Map) collapsed and Wernwag was carried downstream.⁶⁶⁵ Wernwag survived this ordeal and evidently removed to the Harpers Ferry home of his niece Julia A. Johnson, where he died August 29, 1876. His obituary reported he was 80 at the time of his death.⁶⁶⁶ His personal property consisted of only \$61.52 worth of tools, a testament in all probability to the devastation of the 1870 flood.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁵Barry, pp. 158-60; Map of the Island of Virginius at Harper's Ferry, Va., by James M. Brown, April 1844; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

⁶⁶⁶Spirit of Jefferson, 5 September 1876, p. 2, col. 4. According to the September 24, 1910 issue of the Farmers Advocate, Julia Johnson was a descendent of the Lewis Wernwag family. Her father was William Wernwag (p. 2, col. 3).

⁶⁶⁷Accounts of Fiduciaries Book C, p. 170, Appraisement of the Personal Estate of John Wernwag dec'd, 14 December 1876.

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA FIDUCIARY ACCOUNT BOOK C, p. 170.

Appraisement

State of West Virginia
Jefferson County, Sct

Clerks Office of the County Court
Dec 14th, 1876.

Ordered that Emanuel Spangler, E.H. Chambers, John Koonce and Basil Avis or any three of them being first sworn appraise the personal Estate of John Wernwag deceased and make report thereof according to Law.

a Copy tests T.A. Moore Clerk.

Dec'r 18th, 1876 We E.H. Chambers, Emanuel Spangler & John Koonce being duly sworn to appraise the Property of John Wernwag Dec'd offer the following as said Appraisement.

10	Saws	3.50	Amt Brot up	36.07
7	Augurs	2.00	2 Strait Edges	.75
Lot	Fixtures	.25	Square & Bevel	.50
2 pr	Tonges	.20	2 Oil Stones Rule & f	1.25
12 pai	Dividers	3.00	Hand Lathe	2.00
86	Bits & 2 Braes	8.00	2 Water Wheel Modles	10.00
2	Drill Bows & Drills	1.00	Mod Pin Cutter	3.00
1 Lot	Taps	.50	" Sawing <u>Macheon</u>	5.00
40	Files	.80	" Sundries	.50
44	Chissels & Gauges 8½	3.52	thir [?] Wood & Iron	1.00
Plumb.	Monkey Rench & vice	2.00	Oil Stone	.50
Lot	Sundres	.50	Saw Clamp & c	<u>1.00</u>
Plains	Mallits & Guages	3.50		\$61.52
Handles & Taps		.50		
4	Screw plates	2.50	E. Spangler	
4	Hammers	.25	John Koonce	
2	Saw Sets & Clamps	1.00	E.H. Chambers	
Spoke	Shave & Chain Knife &ct	1.00	C.W. Littlejohn adm'r	
4	squares @50	<u>2.00</u>		
		36.07		

State of West Virginia

Jefferson County Sct In the County Ccourt January Term 1877

At a Term of Said Court Continued and held for Said County the 17th day of January 1877 the pray[?] appraisement of John Wernwags Estate was returned by C.W. Littlejohn administrator thereof & ordered to be recorded.

Teste- T.A. Moore Clerk

Lewis Wernwag

An important figure in the early history of Virginius Island was Lewis Wernwag. Born in Reutlingen, Württemberg (now Germany), in December 1769, Johann Ludwig Werenwag came to America about 1786 and settled in Frankford, Pennsylvania. Werenwag, now known as Lewis Wernwag, worked as a millwright and, from 1810 to 1836, as a bridge builder, most notably of bridges such as the "Colossus" (or Fairmount Bridge) in Philadelphia.⁶⁶⁸

Wernwag's removal to Harpers Ferry was precipitated by his construction of the 750 foot long Wager Bridge over the Potomac River in 1824, but within a short time of his arrival in Harpers Ferry, he had become associated with Virginius Island. On December 28, 1824, he purchased Tract 4 of the island from James Stubblefield for \$8,000.⁶⁶⁹ To secure a debt of \$12,330 owed Stubblefield, Wernwag executed a deed of trust on the same date whereby Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham were appointed trustees of the property.⁶⁷⁰

Two years later, on December 11, 1826, Wernwag joined with Townsend Beckham, Fontaine Beckham, and the heirs of Edward Wager, as "landholders and residents of an Island in the Shenandoah River, near Harpers Ferry," in petitioning the General Assembly of Virginia for the incorporation of the town of Virginius.⁶⁷¹ The Assembly passed an act of incorporation January 8, 1827. Lewis Wernwag was appointed one of the town's first trustees.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁸Lee H. Nelson, The Colossus of 1812: An American Engineering Superlative (American Society of Civil Engineers, 1990), pp. 57, 59; "Lewis Wernwag, the Bridge Builder," American Contract Journal, 15 August 1885, p. 99, HFD-238.

⁶⁶⁹Deed Book 14, p. 41, James Stubblefield and wife Mary to Lewis Wernwag, 28 December 1824.

⁶⁷⁰Nelson, p. 59; Deed Book 13, p. 334, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag and wife to Edward Wager and Armistead Beckham trustees for James Stubblefield, 28 December 1824.

⁶⁷¹Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276, Virginia State Archives.

⁶⁷²Act Establishing the Town of Virginius, 8 January 1827, Virginia Acts, 1826-27, pp. 109-10.

Personal property tax records suggest that during these years Wernwag possessed a certain amount of wealth. Between 1826 and 1830, he was assessed a tax on from three to four slaves and two to six horses. Additionally, in 1826 and 1829, Wernwag was taxed for a carryall valued at \$75 to \$80.⁶⁷³

The Lewis Wernwag household was fairly large at this time; the 1830 federal census lists fourteen people in his household on Virginus Island. Eleven of these individuals were white, and all or nearly all of them were adults. Of the males, one was of age 10 and under 15, one was of 15 and under 20, three were of 20 and under 30, one was of 30 and under 40, and one was of 50 and under 60. There was one female of 15 and under 20, two females of 20 and under 30, and one female of 50 and under 60. The eldest of each sex were probably Lewis Wernwag and his wife Elizabeth (both about 60).⁶⁷⁴ In all probability, among the others were his sons John (about 33), Abraham D. (about 17), Lewis V. (about 26), William (about 25), Isaac, and Thomas D.⁶⁷⁵ Also enumerated in the Wernwag household were three slaves. The male slave, possibly either Alfred or Bill (or William), and one of the female slaves, possibly Matilda, were of 24 and under 36; the other female slave was of 10 and under 24.⁶⁷⁶

Within three years of this census, Lewis Wernwag had disposed of his interest in Virginus Island. On July 2, 1832, he and Elizabeth sold an

⁶⁷³Personal Property Tax Books (1826-1830).

⁶⁷⁴Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175. Elizabeth's age was determined by her age as listed on the 1850 census (Seventh Census 1850, Harpers Ferry, p. 404B).

⁶⁷⁵Virginia Free Press, 13 June 1839, p. 3, col. 2; 3 September 1840, p. 3, col. 2; 2 September 1876, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 November 1875, p. 3, col. 3; Deed Book 28, p. 293, Joseph P. Shannon and wife Elizabeth, Isaac Wernwag and wife Emma, Lewis V. Wernwag and wife Margaret, Thomas D. Wernwag and wife Hannah to Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag, 1 September 1846. The ages given are based on the ages given in obituaries of the various individuals.

⁶⁷⁶Fifth Census (1830), Virginus, p. 175. The possible names of two of the slaves was determined from a mortgage Lewis Wernwag took out on them (Deed Book 14, p. 416, Mortgage, Lewis Wernwag to John G. Wilson, 30 December 1826). An 1833 deed of trust gives Matilda's age as 28 or 30, meaning she would have been 25 or 27 in 1830 (Deed Book 19, p. 76, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag to James Hook, 24 September 1833).

undivided one-half interest in their Virginius Island property to Joseph L. Smith and James Hook of Frederick County, Maryland, for \$10,000.⁶⁷⁷ Sometime before July 1833, the Wernwags sold Smith and Hook an additional one-sixth interest. Wernwag sold his remaining one-third interest in Virginius Island to son John Wernwag for \$6,666 and two-thirds dollars on July 31, 1833.⁶⁷⁸

Despite this change in ownership, the 1840 census shows Wernwag remained a resident of Virginius Island. In 1840, only five people were enumerated in the Lewis Wernwag household. There were three white males: one of 10 and under 15, one of 20 and under 30, and one of 60 and under 70, probably Lewis Wernwag. There was also a white female of 15 and under 20 and one of 60 and under 70, the latter probably Elizabeth Wernwag.⁶⁷⁹

Apparently no longer living in the Wernwag household were several of the sons who presumably were living there in 1830. William Wernwag had died in May 1839 of consumption at the age of 36. Abraham, who died August 24, 1840 at age 27, may still have been living with his parents at the time the census was taken. John was living in Baltimore.⁶⁸⁰ The whereabouts of Lewis, Isaac, and Thomas are unclear.⁶⁸¹

No slaves are listed with Wernwag. When, and under what circumstances, Bill, Alfred, and the second unnamed female listed on the 1830 census ceased to be a part of his household are unknown. According to personal property tax

⁶⁷⁷Deed Book 17, p. 424, Lewis Wernwag and wife Elizabeth to Joseph L. Smith and James Hook, 2 July 1832.

⁶⁷⁸Deed Book 19, p. 75, Lewis Wernwag and wife Elizabeth to John Wernwag, 31 July 1833.

⁶⁷⁹Sixth Census (1840), Virginius, p. 249.

⁶⁸⁰Virginia Free Press, 13 June 1839, p. 3, col. 2; 3 September 1840, p. 3, col. 2; Sixth Census (1840), 5th Ward, City of Baltimore, Maryland, p. 208.

⁶⁸¹By 1846, Isaac was living in Baltimore; Lewis V. was living in Lafayette County, Missouri; and Thomas D. was living in Ray County, Missouri (Deed Book 28, p. 293, Joseph P. Shannon and wife Elizabeth, Isaac Wernwag and wife Emma, Lewis V. Wernwag and wife Margaret, and Thomas D. Wernwag and wife Hannah to Jesse Schofield and John Wernwag, 1 September 1846).

records, Wernwag owned only one slave in 1833, but three in 1834. From 1835 on, however, Wernwag was taxed for no more than one slave. This slave was probably Matilda, who remained a slave of the Wernwags until September 17, 1838, when she was emancipated by Elizabeth Wernwag.⁶⁸²

Unfortunately, no information has surfaced to prove where on Virginus Island Lewis Wernwag lived. According to Charles Snell's interpretation of the 1835 map, there were eighteen buildings on Tract 4, as many as thirteen of them dwelling houses. Presently, it is impossible to determine in which of these buildings, if any, Wernwag lived from his acquisition of Tract 4 in 1824 until his death in 1843.⁶⁸³

Interestingly, in January 1830, Fontaine Beckham, the owner of Tract 2, advertised two "excellent and commodious Houses, In the town of Virginus" for rent. One of them, containing "6 or 8 excellent rooms, cellar, kitchen, and garret" was then occupied by Lewis Wernwag. The two houses were to be available for possession April 1, 1830.⁶⁸⁴ While Lewis Wernwag might have been living on property owned by Fontaine Beckham in 1830, it is more likely that the property referred to in the advertisement was on Tract 3, for which Beckham was then acting as rental agent. If such is the case, Wernwag was living in Building N in January 1830.⁶⁸⁵

The evidence suggests that Lewis Wernwag was both a prominent and influential member of the community. In the 1820s, Wernwag was involved with the construction of several structures in the Harpers Ferry area, including the

⁶⁸²Deed Book 23, p. 121, Emancipation, Elizabeth Wernwag and Lewis Wernwag to Matilda, 17 September 1838.

⁶⁸³Snell, "A History," p. 37; Nelson, p. 60.

⁶⁸⁴Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1830, p. 3, col. 5.

⁶⁸⁵Deposition of Fontaine Beckham, 1 April 1833, in Hannah Wager vs Elizabeth M. Wager et al, Park Reel 11.

Methodist Episcopal Church and the Free Church. He also continued to work on the construction of bridges well into the 1830s, and he did work on the Shenandoah and Potomac dams and various buildings at the Rifle and Musket factories in the 1820s and 1830s.⁶⁸⁶ According to a bill before the Virginia General Assembly in 1833 providing for the incorporation of the Harpers Ferry Saving Institution, Wernwag was one of the institution's members. An 1833 bill to amend the 1829 incorporation of a company to construct a toll bridge across the Shenandoah River lists Wernwag, along with Fontaine Beckham, as one of the company's directors.⁶⁸⁷

With regard to Virginius Island, Wernwag was, in addition to being one of the first trustees of the town of Virginius, prominent in the economic life of the island. He was the owner of the island's "extensive Saw-Mill," which was probably a lucrative business. According to Merritt Roe Smith, armory superintendant James Stubblefield eliminated a public sawmill in Harpers Ferry after selling Tract 4 to Wernwag, thus removing Wernwag's competition. Furthermore, Smith indicates Wernwag had an understanding with Stubblefield whereby Wernwag could secure contracts for armory work.⁶⁸⁸ At some point, Wernwag erected a machine shop and smith shops on the sawmill premises.⁶⁸⁹ Some or all of these businesses were conducted by the firm of Wernwag & Sons, which originally consisted of Lewis Wernwag Sr., John Wernwag, Joseph P. Shannon, Lewis Wernwag Jr., and William Wernwag and later of the first three, until

⁶⁸⁶Nelson, p. 59; Snell, "History of the Lower Hall Island," Vol. I, pp. 27-8, 31-2, 35, 47, 56, 79-80; Snell, "A Physical History of the U.S. Musket Factory Plant," pp. 86-90, 101, 116.

⁶⁸⁷Virginia Free Press, 14 March 1833, p. 2, col 5; 28 March 1833, p. 2, col. 1.

⁶⁸⁸Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B276, Virginia State Archives; Merritt Roe Smith, pp. 163-65.

⁶⁸⁹Virginia Free Press, 30 April 1835, p. 3, col. 3; 22 September 1842, p. 3, col. 4.

January 1, 1832.⁶⁹⁰

Although there is no definitive proof, one document exists which suggests Wernwag may also have made furniture on the island. In September 1833, Wernwag executed a deed of trust to secure debts owed to David Lewis, Jesse Schofield, and Joseph Shoemaker totaling \$2,664. Listed in this deed is Wernwag's personal property. Among the furniture listed are ten feather beds, eight bedsteads, thirty-six chairs, six dining tables, and three bureaus. The presence of this quantity of furniture is inconsistent with ordinary home use. Additionally, the list of Wernwag's personal property includes "One setu of cabinet makers tools."⁶⁹¹

This deed of trust also reveals other information about the Wernwag household on Virginus Island. In addition to various tools and the aforementioned furniture, Wernwag's property included four looking glasses, a clock, a set of mathematical instruments, one woolen and one rag carpet, three horses, two cows, fifty volumes of books in German and English, and the slave Matilda, about age 28 or 30. Reserved for the use of Elizabeth Wernwag were Matilda, "at the price of three hundred dollars," and as much of the other scheduled property as Elizabeth desired to a total value, including Matilda, of \$1,000.⁶⁹² (See Attachment I).

Lewis Wernwag died August 12, 1843. According to the appraisal made of his personal property, he owned numerous items related to his sawmill business, such as lumber and various tools. In addition, his estate included over twenty-five chairs, a desk, a secretary, several looking glasses, a brass

⁶⁹⁰Virginia Free Press, 16 February 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

⁶⁹¹Deed Book 19, p. 76, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag to James Hook, 24 September 1833.

⁶⁹²Deed Book 19, p. 76, Deed of Trust, Lewis Wernwag to James Hook, 24 September 1833.

8-day clock, and numerous books. Several of the books are listed separately and suggest that Wernwag had a particular interest in travel and history books. The total value of his personal property was \$983.83.⁶⁹³ (See Attachment II). Elizabeth Wernwag took \$80.25 worth of this property.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹³Nelson, p. 60; Will Book 13, p. 168, Appraisal of the Estate of Lewis Wernwag, 31 August 1843. The fact that in the various deeds to which Elizabeth Wernwag was a party, she signed only with her mark indicates that these books were not read by her.

⁶⁹⁴Will Book 13, p. 144, Account of Estate of Lewis Wernwag dec'd, 20 October 1851.

ATTACHMENT I

TRANSCRIPTION OF PART OF A DEED OF TRUST FROM LEWIS WERNWAG TO JAMES HOOK
SEPTEMBER 24, 1833.

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA DEED BOOK 19, PP. 76-79.

Also the following personal property to wit -

Three horses, two cows, three carts -
Three setts of cart gears, two new cart wheels (unfinished)
One new rope, 500 feet of lumber -
Seven wheel barrows, one sett of quarry tools -
Ten shovels, long and short handles -
Seven crow bars, sledges and cutters -
Two stone , eight picks & mattox -
One cutting box, one grind stone, one saddle & bridle -
One sett of rough carpenters tools, broad axes &c
One sett of planes chisels, screw augers, squares -
Chalk lines, foot adjes, mallet, oil stones and hand screws -
Two cross cut saws, one sett of caulkers tools -
One sett of cabinet makers tools -
One hand vice, one large vice and two work benches -
One sett of Blacksmith tools, including anvil vice, bellows,
hammers, sledges &c
One sett of mathematical instruments -
One box with balances &c
One Dearborn wagon, thirteen unfinished ax handles -
One spinning wheel, six blocks with
Ten feather beds, two hair mattresses, straw beds &c
Eight Bedsteads, thirty-six chairs, one arm chair -
Six dining tables, two kitchen tables -
One dough tray, two stands -
One cradle, one toilet table -
One unfinished washstand -
Four looking glasses, three bureaus
One sideboard, one settee -
One clock, one ten plate stove -
One small stove, one cooking stove -
One large bookcase, one pair brass andirons
Two pair of shovels and tongs -
A complete sett of Rees cyclopaedia
Two large scows, fifty volumes of books german and english on
various subjects -
A full complements of cups, saucers, plates, dishes, tumblers,
bottles &c being all of such articles now in possession
of L. Wernwag -
One woolen carpet, one rag carpet -
One large waiter, 2 brass candlesticks -
One picture view of Fairview bridge -
Three leather trunks, four pitchers -
Six buckets, two brass kettles -
Four iron pots, three dutch ovens, with pans, pot hooks,
earthen and tin and crockery ware, making up a full sett
of kitchen utensils, being all the kitchen furniture now
in the possession of P. Lewis Wernwag -
Five hundred pounds of Iron -
The runnings gears of a two horse wagon -
Also a negro girl slave named Matilda aged about twenty eight
or thirty -

ATTACHMENT II

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA WILL BOOK 13, PP. 168-172.

Appraisalment Bill of the personal Property of Lewis Wernwag decd August 31st 1843.

1 Fly press		\$50.00
2500 ft Lumber of various Kinds	@\$1.00	25.00
4400 Shingles	@\$3.00	13.20
1 Coil Cable Rope		10.00
Bolsters & hounds		.50
1 Capstan	@25¢	1.00
8 Axletries	@25¢	2.00
2 Head Blocks	@\$1.00	2.00
100 ft. Lumber		1.00
200 " Shingling Lashes	@39½	.75
700 " Walnut plank	@1.00	7.00
350 " Wild Cherry Do	@1.00	3.50
1700 " pine weatherboarding	@62½	10.63
500 " Poplar plank	@1.00	5.00
500 " [?] Lumber	@25	1.25
2800 " old R.Road Timber	@25	7.00
1 pair of boat sides & old Lumber		2.00
1200 ft White pine Joice	@1.50	18.00
75 Logs of various Kinds		75.00
1 Six Wheel R.Road Car		25.00
6 Cast Iron Car Wheels	@1.00	6.00
1 Stone Truck		5.00
3 Ladders		<u>3.00</u>
		\$273.83
3 Cutting Boxes	@5¢	15.00
1 Carryall		25.00
2 Barrells & Tar		1.00
1 Hill side Plough		2.00
1 Wheel barrow		2.00
2 Grind Stones & Frames		4.00
2 Tons old Castings		33.00
1 Log Wagon		25.00
Black smith Tools		60.00
1 Wheel barrow		2.00
1 Lot Log chains		10.00
Stone hammers, picks & axes		2.50
Picks, crow bars, shovels & Drill		7.50
1 Clevis Bar		1.00
1 Lot scrap Iron		4.50
2 Picks, crow bars & mattocks		2.00
1 Lot old screw bolts & nail rods		2.00
8 Blocks & Shiefs[?]		20.00

1 Large Jack Screw		10.00
1 Small " Do		2.00
1 set Sledges & Hammers		1.50
1 Log Jack		1.50
1 Box rafting Hooks		2.00
1 Box spikes		1.00
2 Wheel barrow wheels		<u>.75</u>
		\$513.08
2 pair Stocks		1.50
1 Large crow bar		2.00
160 Nails	@4¢	6.40
1 Horse Knife & apple pairer		.25
2 pair Bed steads		1.50
1 Valeece. Bed Blankets & quilt		6.00
1 desk 1 Box 1 spinning wheel & Crout Knife		2.50
3 chests \$3.00 Bed stead Bed & Bedding \$7.00		10.00
1 Warming pan .75¢ Demijohns & Contents 50¢		1.25
Trunk & Carpet Bag 3.00 spikes 60		3.60
1 Bed stead & Bedding \$7.00 7 sheets 50¢		7.50
1 Rifle \$10 1 Bureau \$2.50		12.50
1 Tin case & drawing paper		.50
1 Bed stead Bed & Bedding		10.00
1 Bureau \$2.50 2 Stands & Looking glass 1.50		4.00
5 Red chairs		1.00
2 Small Leather Trunks		.75
1 Stand looking Glass and andIrons		1.25
6 Black Chairs		1.50
1 Coal Stove		8.00
1 Bed Stead & Bedding		12.00
1 Feather Bed 1.50 2 Leather Trunks 8.00		9.50
2 car boys. looking Glass. bowl & Pitcher stand		2.50
1 Cherry Table \$6.00 1 Settee 1.		7.00
8 Red Chairs \$2.00 1 writing do \$1.00		<u>3.00</u>
		\$629.08
1 Large rocking chair \$10. 1 side board \$2.		12.00
1 Stand \$1.50 6 yellow chairs \$1.50		3.00
1 Small Table \$2. 1 pr dining do \$5.00		7.00
1 Lounge & mattrass		2.00
1 Secretary		3.00
1 Lamp. 5 candle stick & 2 snuffers		1.00
1 Brass 8 day Clock		5.00
1 Box paints 25. 2 pictures & frames 50		.75
39 yas Rag Carpet	¢10	3.90
25 " Ingrade do \$1.50 1 bed Stead \$4.00		5.50
1 Safe \$3.00 1 Bureau \$3.00		6.00
1 Small Table \$2.00 1 Tenplate Stove \$5.00		7.00
1 Looking Glass & Tea board		.50
1 Cane & Spy glass 1.00 1 Book case \$5.00		6.00
47 vol Reeces Cyclopedia	@1.00	47.00
1 German Architects 50 6 vol German Bible \$3.00		3.50
2 vol principles of health		1.00
2 " Stephens central America		2.00

2 "	"	Holy land	.50
2 "	"	Northern Europe	1.00
2 "		Pinkertons Geography	.50
2 "		American Revolution	.50
2 "		Bazil Hall	.25
1 "		Paul Clifford	.12
2 "		Travells - Penn	<u>.25</u>
			\$748.38
1		Coeamcis diseases of the Eye	.10
4	vol	Gilberts German Works	.40
1	"	Alexanders travels	.12
1	"	Church History	.50
1	"	Tonga Islands	.25
1	"	Duke Saxe Wyrmers travels	.50
4	"	Lapcapis Journal	.25
1	"	Gazetteer of Va	.25
1	"	Maddurs Travels	.25
1	"	The Quaker (German)	.25
1	"	" Godfrey Cregen	.25
1	"	Arnotts Physiollgy	.25
1	"	Mill Wrights Guide	.25
3	"	Thompsons Guide &c	.50
2	"	History of Mexico	.50
13	"	Expedition & Free Trade	.18
1	"	Mechanics	.13
1	Lot	of Miscelaneous books	1.00
1	"	Crockery Ware	2.00
1		Corner cupboard & contents	.50
1		Lot Kitchen Ware	.50
1		Cooking stove & apparatus	1.00
2	Tables.	1 Bunk & dough Trough	1.00
1		Slaw Cutter. tin Ware &	.50
1		Lot sundies in cellar	<u>1.00</u>
			\$760.78
1	Iron Kettle 50¢	1 Brass do 50	1.00
2	Iron Pots 25	hoes rakes & crow bars 75	1.00
1		Washing Machine	1.00
1		Lot files	9.00
4		hand saws	1.00
5		small do	.50
3		Steel Squares	1.00
1		pair Stocks & dies	3.00
1		Diamond vice & Knippers	2.00
2		Tape Lines	3.00
		Pencils prunning Knife & hatchet	.50
4		Wooden clamps	.75
4		Screw cutters (wood)	2.00
9		Drawing Knives	1.00
1		Hubb boser & 3 do gouges	3.00
3		Large pr stocks & dies	25.00
1		Lot of Large Chisels	2.00
1		Box of Gaulking Tools	.50

1 Case & Lot of small Tools	2.00
43 good augers	10.00
1 Lot augers. chisels & files	5.00
5 Planes & 3 Guages	3.00
2 pair Tongs & bunch Wire	2.00
1 small hand Lathe	10.00
1 Lot of cold chisels	1.00
6 Frames & 1 Venering saw	<u>4.50</u>
	\$855.53
2 hand & 1 Tenor Saw	2.25
1 Lot of chisels	1.50
3 Plane Bitts	.75
4 Saw sets \$1.00 10 hammers \$2.00	3.00
4 Small vices	1.50
1 Large bench vice	3.50
1 pr Sheares	.75
1 Lot of Files & 2 squares	1.00
1 Hack Saw & 1 pr compasses	.75
4 shovels spade & handles	1.50
1 pr cutting nippers	.50
4 Wooden hand Clamps	1.50
2 hand axes & 3 adges	2.25
1 small axe	.75
2 Broad Axes. 1 hand do 20 narrow do & 5 adges	5.00
3 Cross Cut & 1 Whip saw	8.00
28 hollow & round Planes	2.50
18 Bench Planes	5.00
1 Iron screw Clamp	1.00
2 pr Zinc 30¢ hammers 9 Lead pipes 25	.55
1 Lot of Trumpery	.50
1 stove & pipe	5.00
4 Augers \$1.00 1 Lot plank 25	1.25
1 shaving horse 50 work bench 2 oil stones & screw \$3.00	3.50
1 Lot axe helves 50 1 tool chest 50	<u>1.00</u>
	\$910.33
3 plane stocks 50¢ 1 Box spikes 1.00	1.50
1 shot Gun \$3.00 1 pr stocks & dies \$2	5.00
3 Corn Shellers	6.00
1 Lot straw cutters in complete	1.00
1 Box & contents 50 1 coffee Mill 25	.75
1 Lot old Lumber	1.00
1 " of " do for hand screws	.50
1 " " " Iron	2.00
11 Beach plane Stocks	1.25
1 Lot of Oakham	3.00
1 Small lathe in complete	5.00
1 Lot of shieffs[?]	5.00
2 Pumps & Iron reamer	1.00
1 Lot Lumber & hubbs	1.50
1 Small Thermometer	.75
2 pr steel yards	.75
1 Lot of silver Ware	10.00

1 Silver leaver Watch	12.00
4 shovels & 2 Tongs	2.00
1 Cow \$7.50 1 Saddle \$6.00	13.50
1 Large shot Gun ---	

Total amount--- \$983.83

R.Levering
T.W. Keyes
Geo. Mauzy

Virginia Jefferson County sit Clerks office of the county court

On the 13th day of december 1851 the foregoing appraisal of Lewis Wernwag's Estate was returned to the said office and admitted to record

Test

T.A. Moore Clk

Carter Williamson

Fontaine Beckham's tract of land on Virginus Island (designated Tract 2 by historian Charles W. Snell) was purchased in May of 1838 by Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson, and Samuel Hefflebower. These men had been occupying the mill property previously as the firm of Rowland & Hefflebower & Co.⁶⁹⁵ Fire destroyed the mill of Rowland & Hefflebower & Co. in February 1839.⁶⁹⁶ In July 1840 Luther J. Cox bought the property that had been purchased by Rowland, Hefflebower, and Williamson in 1838. Cox was at that time constructing a new mill on the site of the burned mill.⁶⁹⁷ The deed transferring the property to Cox contains the name of Lysander Childs as one of the grantors. Apparently Childs had acquired Carter Williamson's interest in Beckham's property.⁶⁹⁸ That deed may never have been recorded which could explain why Carter Williamson's name appears on the deed transferring the property to Cox. A legal agreement dated May 31, 1838 between Carter Williamson and Lysander Childs provided for Williamson to lease the property back from Childs for \$600 per year and also gave Williamson the option to purchase back the interest in the property recently acquired by Childs.

Carter Williamson apparently continued to live on Virginus Island after he sold his interest to Luther Cox. An advertisement appearing in the Harpers

⁶⁹⁵Deed Book 24, p. 513-516, Joseph T. Daugherty, Province McCormick, and Andrew Hunter Trustees to Henry Rowland, Carter Williamson, and Samuel Hefflebower, 1 May 1838; Virginia Free Press, 31 August 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

⁶⁹⁶Virginia Free Press, 14 February 1839, p. 2, col. 3.

⁶⁹⁷Deed Book 25, p. 152, Henry Rowland & wife Elizabeth, Samuel Hefflebower & wife Elizabeth, Carter Williamson & wife Ann, and Lysander Childs to Luther J. Cox, 1 July 1840.

⁶⁹⁸The lease agreement between Carter Williamson and Lysander Childs dated 31 May 1838 refers to the deed by which Childs acquired the interest in the Tract 2 property that had originally been purchased by Williamson from Fontaine Beckham. (Memorandum of an Agreement of Lease between Lysander D. Childs and Carter Williamson, 31 May 1838, Carter Williamson vs. L.D. Childs, Reel 74, Envelope 3-1, Jefferson County Court Records, A&M 382, WVU.

Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist in 1840 indicates that Mr. C. Williamson is to continue managing a grocery store located at the depot on Virginus Island. This store's merchandise had recently been purchased by George Griffin from Rowland, Hefflebower, & Co. Williamson is also most probably the Carter Williams who appears on the 1840 census as a resident of Virginus.⁶⁹⁹ It is not known exactly when Williamson left the Island. Williamson possibly lived in the store he managed. The store purchased by Griffin in 1840 was evidently located on the tract of land designated by Historian Charles Snell as tract 2.

In April 1840 George Griffin purchased at a public sale \$222.38 worth of the personal property of Carter Williamson.⁷⁰⁰ It is not clear why Williamson sold the personal property at that time. Williamson died March 18, 1842.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, 28 May 1840, p. 2, col. 5.; Sixth Census (1840), Virginus, p. 249.

⁷⁰⁰Deed Book 24, p. 406, Carter Williamson to George Griffith (Griffin), 13 April 1840.

⁷⁰¹Carter Williamson vs. L.D. Childs, Reel 74, Envelope 3-1, Jefferson County Court Records, Unclassified, Box 3, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University.

TRANSCRIPTION

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA DEED BOOK 24, PP. 406-408.

Mr. George H. Griffin

1840		<u>Bo't at the sale of Carter Williamson's</u>					
April 13	To	3 Iron Pots @26.	2 Ditto @12½.	1 Wash Ditto .05	1.08		
"	"	"	1 Large Iron Kettle @\$1.08	2 ovens @21 cts	2 Skillets @15cts	1.80	
"	"	"	1 Grid Iron & Griddle 30.	1 Frienpan @26cts	1 Tea Kettle 40	.96	
"	"	"	1 Brass Ladle @12 cts	2 Iron skimmers & 2 Flush forks	26 cts	.38	
"	"	"	1 Coffee mill & 1 Brass motter	87 cts	3 pair pot hooks @41cts	1.28	
"	"	"	1 Pair kitchen shovel & tongs @40 cts	2 Cullenders.	1 candle molds 50	.90	
"	"	"	6 Tin cups, 1 peper & flour boxes	26 cts	1 Coffee pot & & boiler 20	.46	
"	"	"	2 Coffee pots @4cts	2 Tin pans @4cts	2 Lad Irons @20cts	2 Lamps @5½	.63
"	"	"	1 funnel 1 Grater 2 straner & 6 bake pans	15cts	1 copper kettle 15cts	1.65	
"	"	"	2 Tea kanisters @6½cts	1 Doz milk crocks & 2 stone jars	70cts	.82	
"	"	"	1 Small churn @45cts	1 patten Ditto 62½	4 wash tubs 1.52	2.59½	
"	"	"	2 Large waters & knives & forks	40cts	1 Table 1.55.	2 small waters 33cts	2.28
"	"	"	1 Small pair shovel & tongs & 1 pair And Irons	\$1.25		1.25	
"	"	"	4 Doz Bottles & philes 30cts	2 Tin candle sticks @46cts	2 Brass Do 57½	1.91	
"	"	"	2 Ink stands & sand box. stamp &c	15cts	1 clock \$6.25	1 C. stand 75	7.15
"	"	"	6 Green chairs & 1 cain Bottom Rocking Ditto	\$4.55		4.55	
"	"	"	4 Black woven Ditto \$1.04	4 cain bottom Ditto \$1.46		2.50	
"	"	"	1 Looking Glass 55 cts	1 Small Ditto \$1.10	1 Rag carpet \$2.54	4.00	
"	"	"	1½ Doz Liverpool plates 1.	1 Doz china cups & saucers \$1.05		2.05	
"	"	"	½ Doz Silver Table spoons \$5.25.	1 Doz Tea Do & 2 Table Do \$7.52		12.57	
"	"	"	1 bedstead, bed & beding \$11.75.	1 Desk 1.25.	1 Beureau 8.		
				1 Culboard 5.27		26.27	
"	"	"	1 Wash stand. 1 wash bowl & pitcher.	\$2.20	1 Large chest 36cts	2.56	
"	"	"	1 Guilt frame looking glass \$1.90	1 Lot carpeting \$10.	6 spoons 20cts	12.10	
"	"	"	1 Riding saddle & bridle \$6.50	1 Large Spinning wheel 50cts		7.00	
"	"	"	1 Small Spinning wheel 50cts	1 meat tub \$1.	5 Jugs 23cts	2.65	
"	"	"	12 Glass cup plates 15cts	1 Water. 6 Tumblers & 6 wineglasses	1.20	1.25	
"	"	"	1 bed stead, bed & beding \$22.	1 Ditto \$6.75	1 cradle 87½	29.62½	
"	"	"	1 Chest.25cts	1 Ditto 60.	1 bedstead bed & beding \$12.	12.85	
"	"	"	2 Bbl 25cts	3 feamale work baskets & 3 band boxes	57cts	.82	
"	"	"	1 pair pitchers with leds & Com. plates	58cts		.58	
"	"	"	1 Doz com. cups & saucers	10cts		.10	
"	"	"	1 peper & vinegar canister & 4 Glass plates	66cts		.66	
"	"	"	1 powder horn & 1 gun &c	\$4.10		4.10	
"	"	"	6 Bowls, 1 Large water & 1 pair Raizors &c			1.45	
"	"	"	1 pair Saddle bags & 1 carpet Bag			1.65	
						<u>177.98</u>	

Mr. George H. Griffin

1840		<u>Bo't at the sale of Carter Williamson</u>			
April 13	To	am't brot over			177.96
"	"	"	1 Lot augers 1 hand axe. 1 Brod Ditto & 1 Chopping Ditto		6.10
"	"	"	1 hatchet. 1 hand saw. 1 foot adge. 1 hand Ditto		1.87
"	"	"	6 Table cloths. 1½ Doz linnen & cotton thowels		3.12
"	"	"	4 Quilts, 1 Lot bed curtains. 10 window Ditto		5.00
"	"	"	6 Beaurow & secretary spreads		.31

"	"	"	1 Curten Bed steads & 3 oil table cloths	2.00
"	"	"	1 Cloth brush. 1 <u>h</u> umbrella & 3 hair brushes	1.17
"	"	"	1 pair Saddle Irons, 6 pitcher & 1 Map of the U.S.	1.93
"	"	"	3 sweeping brushes & 2 hat cases	.69
"	"	"	1 Small Table, 1 Glass lamp. \$1.82. 1 German Silver Tea pot 1.12½	2.94½
"	"	"	2 flour pans 4 tea pots 4 sugar bowls 50cts	.50
"	"	"	4 cream Jugs & 4 salt stands. 20cts 2 flowered glasses 8cts	.28
"	"	"	2 Decanters & ½ Doz large meat dishes	2.12½
"	"	"	½ Doz Deep Dishes ½ Doz cup plates ½ Doz glasses	1.31
"	"	"	2 Doz knives & forks. 1 Trunk & 2 stools	3.75
"	"	"	5 old whiskey barrels & 1 kitchen Table	1.37½
"	"	"	1 Lard Tub & 1 Rum barrel	.30
"	"	"	1 Butter Tray. 2 prints. 2 Bred trays & 6 Bred Baskets	1.41
"	"	"	2 Dough Trays 3 flour Barrels	.75
"	"	"	6 cream crocks. 1 secretary & 4 Blankets	6.16
"	"	"	1 Smoothing & 1 Jack plain	1.12½
"	"	"	2 Garden hoes & Rakes	.18
				<u>222.38</u>

April 14th 1840. Received of Mr George H. Griffin \$222.38 in full for the above articles of furniture and property purchased of me at public sale. Carter Williamson.

This agreement made between George H. Griffin of the first part and Carter Williamson of the second part. Witnesseth, that the sd G.H. Griffin, having purchased at public sale the articles mentioned in the schedule prefixed of sd Carter Williamson, and having received possession of the same, doth hereby in consideration of one dollar, paid by said Williamson to sd Griffin the receipt whereof, is hereby acknowledged loan and hire to sd Williamson, the above mentioned property, for the term of two years, and the sd Williamson doth hereby bind himself, his heirs, and executors, to return the sd property at the end of the sd term in good order. In testimony, we hereunto set our hands & seals this 15th day of April 1840.

George H. Griffith

Carter Williamson

Mr George H. Griffin & Carter Williamson appeared before us two justices of the peace for the county of Jefferson, state of Virginia, and acknowledged their signatures to the above instrument

F. Beckham JP

April 15th 1840

Geo. B. Stephenson JP

Jefferson County Sct.

clerk's office of the county court

On the 12th day of December 1840 the foregoing deed was recd in said office & admitted to record.

Teste

T.A. Moore Clerk pro tem

George Wissinger (or Weisinger)

Little is known about George Wissinger. He was evidently a blacksmith; in 1847, he advertised in the Virginia Free Press, seeking to hire a journeyman blacksmith. This advertisement indicates that Wissinger was in Virginius. It is not clear, however, if he lived there or only worked there.⁷⁰²

Wissinger, or Weisinger, appears on the personal property tax records in 1847 and 1848. He was taxed 12½ cents for a clock. This George Wissinger may be the George Weisinger who appears on the 1850 census in the 28th District. Weisinger (79) was a native of Virginia and had no occupation. Living with him was Maryland native Hebe Weisinger (56), presumably his wife. Wissinger may have died sometime between 1850 and 1853 because in the latter year, a notice appeared in the Virginia Free Press stating that Mrs. George Wissinger was not a recipient of county aid but rather was a member of the James W. Leakin family.⁷⁰³

John W. Worley

The name of John Worley appears nowhere in the available historical record except on a September 28, 1833, deed conveying Tract 3 to John B. Gildea. According to that deed, Worley was then living in one of the "two stone stuccoed dwelling houses" on the property.⁷⁰⁴ This means that Worley was living in either Building K or N according to the 1844 map (Nos. 16 or 15 on the 1859 Historical Base Map).⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰²Virginia Free Press, 5 August 1847, p. 3, col. 4.

⁷⁰³Personal Property Tax Books (1847 & 1848); Seventh Census (1850), 28th District, p. 385; Virginia Free Press, 11 August 1853, p. 3, col. 1.

⁷⁰⁴Deed Book 19, p. 97, Deed, Andrew Hunter special commissioner and Hannah Wager to John B. Gildea, 28 September 1833.

⁷⁰⁵Map of the Island of Virginius at Harper's Ferry, Va, by James M. Brown, April 1844; Harpers Ferry, Historical Base Map, 1859, by Charles W. Snell, 21 October 1959, NM-HF-3021.

Joseph A. Young

In 1860, Mary Claspy (40) was running a boarding house on Virginus Island. She owned an estimated \$350 in personal property. Living with her were her children John W. (21), an armory employee, Sallie V. (18), Anna M. (16), and Clara B. (11), and Sarah Hall (60). Sarah may have been a relative of Mary Claspy's as before her marriage to James Claspy in 1838, Mary Claspy had been Mary Ellen Hall. Armorer James Claspy evidently died sometime between the 1850 census and July 1853, when Mrs. Claspy and her children were listed among the paupers of Jefferson County. They were still on this list in 1857, at which time Mary Claspy's taxable property consisted of a clock and a dog.⁷⁰⁶

Living in Mrs. Claspy's boarding house in 1860 were machinist and Pennsylvania native John Wernwag (58), his son Edwin S. (17), William Ault (12), clerk George Bussel (17), merchant William Newton (46) of England, and blacksmith Henry Truett (40). Also living here were William Friar (24) and his wife Mary (21), the former Mary H. Dugan, who had been married in May 1860. She was the daughter of armorer George Dugan and his wife Rebecca. Except for Wernwag and Newton, all of them had been born in Virginia. Newton owned a horse and \$1,000 in real estate, while Friar owned a watch. Except for the Wernwags and William Ault, son of Adam and Catherine, who married Maggie Cox, daughter of William and Sarah Cox in 1871, none of these individuals appear in other available records.⁷⁰⁷

The other family living in the boarding house was that of Joseph A. Young. Young (45), a shoemaker, was living with his wife Mary J. (37), and Benjamin Fox

⁷⁰⁶Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 419; Virginia Free Press, 1 March 1838, p. 2, col. 6; 14 July 1853, p. 3, col. 1; 3 August 1854, p. 3, col. 1; 9 July 1857, p. 3, col. 1, 2, & 3; George Koonce Tax Ledger as Collector of Harper's Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁷Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 420; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201; Harpers Ferry Book 1860, HFD-198, pp. 14, 15; Marriages, 1801-1890, p. 16.

(18), his apprentice. Young's personal property was worth an estimated \$50.⁷⁰⁸

Whether the Youngs remained on Virginus Island throughout the Civil War is not known; however, it is certain they were living there in September 1865. That month, Joseph A. Young advertised in the Virginia Free Press, offering his services as an auctioneer. The advertisement stated Young could be found at his residence on "Herr's Island," another name for Virginus Island.⁷⁰⁹

The Youngs were still living on Virginus Island in 1870. Living with Joseph (56) and Mary J. (49) in 1870 were Frank Young (22), who worked on the railroad, and Sarah Rice (49). Young owned \$450 in real property and \$200 in personal property.⁷¹⁰ The Young family does not appear on any subsequent records presently uncovered.

⁷⁰⁸Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 201.

⁷⁰⁹Virginia Free Press, 28 September 1865, p. 3, col. 3.

⁷¹⁰Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 457, p. 16 of Harpers Ferry.

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