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Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume II
December 1936

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Magazine of the JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927

OFFICERS

President—A. D. Kenamond, Shepherdstown.

Vice-President—Wright Denny, Charles Town.

Recording Secretary—Henry T. McDonald, Harpers Ferry.

Corresponding Secretary—Ella May Turner, Shepherdstown.

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ADDRESSES

(Delivered before the Society during 1936)

March 14—The Bullskin Run, by W. F. Alexander, at Shepherdstown.

May 8—Robert Rutherford, by Mrs. B. B. Williams, at Charles Town.

August 7—The Engle, or Ronemous, Graveyard, by Mary V. Engle, at Shepherdstown.

November 5—Politics in Jefferson County from 1840 to 1860, by Helen B. Pendleton, at Charles Town.

THE ARMORY AND ARSENAL AT HARPERS FERRY

By DR. HENRY T. McDONALD

(Read before the Jefferson County Historical Society at Harpers Ferry February 3, 1928)

Henry Howe in his "Historical Collections of Virginia" says: "The vicissitudes of war have been considered more worthy of narration than those things promoting the well-being of man." And all too often the value of historical narrative is unbalanced by the partisan feeling of the writer or his determination to plead his cause with ex parte warmth. A cold, judicial presentation of facts is a delight to the student of history. How infrequently one finds such! It was because of his knowledge of this trait in human nature that Napoleon, with a cynicism born of much experience, once said: "History is but a lie to which men have agreed." But let us believe that modern writers of historical facts are more worthy of belief and that honesty and candor are increasing virtues with them.

The Revolutionary War had been fought and won by our forefathers. A "more perfect union" had been formed. Short time was needed for a calm survey of the conditions obtaining during that momentous struggle in which to draw clear and definite conclusions as to what would be the inevitable and not distant needs of the new republic. As a corollary to the proposition that every nation has, as a primary obligation, the right of self-defense was this: That this nation, having depended upon private enterprise for the fabrication of the instruments of war, must now set itself definitely to the task of establishing adequate armories and arsenals where guns could be made and properly stored.

That Congress bestirred itself in respect to this matter at an early date is evidenced by the following found in "The Annals of Congress," 1793-1795, the Third Congress, page 1428:

(Note: "The Annals of Congress" was the name of the publications of the first Congresses and forerunner of our present Congressional Record.) Act was approved April 2, 1794. The title of the Act was "An Act to Provide for the Erection and Repairing of Arsenals and Magazines and Other Purposes."

Act says: "There were to be three or four arsenals, at each arsenal was to be a national armory, not more than 100 were to be employed at all of them. The superintendent was to receive $75.00 per month. A master armorer $55.00 per month, superintendent of military stores at $125.00 per month, all of these were to be appointed by the President of the United States. Either or both of the arsenals heretofere used at Springfield or Carlisle to be continued as a part of the said number; that there shall be established at each of the aforesaid arsenals a national armory. Not over $59,000 for erecting and repairing arsenals and magazines aforesaid and not more than $22,865 for the expense of national armories for one year. There was provided $340,000 for the purchase of arms, ammunition and military stores to be paid out of duties on imports and tonnage.

It should be noted in connection with the above that the Arsenals and Magazines "were to be." None existed in America. There were numbers of places where depots of arms were stored, as at Concord, Mass., when the Red Coats marched on that April day and where the Continentals, not yet named or christened, showed the stuff of which Americans were made,

By the rude bridge that arched the flood
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled;
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.

Further note that with the arsenals at Springfield and Carlisle were to be established "a national armory"—meaning shops or factories where government would make at least some of its own arms. That the two existing were modest affairs is seen in the fact that the appropriation for the expense of armories in existence, or to be called into being that year amounted to the minor sum of $22,865, and surely no elaborate plan of building was contemplated—even in those days of cheap labor—when one reflects that but $59,000 was to be expended for erecting and repairing same.

Further, that the Revolutionary Fathers were a bit dubious as to the time when their largess would set the wheels in motion in government-owned works is seen in the fact that $340,000, almost exactly four times the above sums, were to

be expended in purchase of arms, ammunition and military stores. That the taxpayer might not grumble too loudly at their startling liberality, the Fathers cautiously provided that the funds were "to be paid out of duties on imports and tonnage."

Thus was the indirect tax to be a pleasant opiate for the ones who paid the bills.

And then, that there might be a bit of political patronage available, "these (the officials) were to be appointed by the President of the United States."

Now, although the program outlined was modest, there was evident intention on the part of Washington and his compatriots to proceed with vigor in this matter and we accordingly find the following interesting history in Appendix of "Annals of Congress" Volume 6, page 2569, Report of Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, December 12, 1795:

"It having been determined to erect one arsenal on the Potomac and another in the State of South Carolina, an agent employed on the former reported in the same year (1794) in favor of a situation about 25 miles below the Blue Ridge, where a number of circumstances provided the establishment. In an undertaking of such importance and permanency it was deemed expedient to make another examination. This was done last spring (1794). The price of land and mill seats (for the latter must be comprehended in the plan of an arsenal), so far exceeded those upon which the calculations were made when the plan of erecting arsenals was proposd, and rose so rapidly soon after, it is now found that the old appropriation for the three or four arsenals, which the Executive was authorized by law to erect, would be inadequate for a single new establishment, hence the principal object in the measure passed during the last summer was to ascertain and secure the most eligible site on the Potomac, where magazines could be erected and certain military stores be collected and safely deposited; and where afterwards the works necessary in the formation of all implements of war might be erected as the requisite funds could be provided, in a country where such establishments are unknown."

It further says that Springfield, Mass., was fixed on as a site for an arsenal for the eastern division of the United States.

"The attention of the Executive was called to another situation on the Potomac possessing, with some difficulties to be encountered and apprehended, many important advantages. The engineer was again instructed to examine this place, etc., the survey has not yet been received and the determination of the location is consequently suspended."

(Question: Was above reference to Harpers Ferry?
Answer: I think so.)

In the same report appears the following: see Appendix, Annals of Congress, Volume 6, page 2570 (Military Stores, Report of Secretary of War, Timothy Pickering). "To increase the stock of small arms and to render serviceable those already in the public stores, two seats of armories have been established, to-wit: at Springfield, Mass., and at New London. Virginia, in repairing arms and preparing to manufacture the most essential parts of muskets, and some specimens have been produced which prove the capacity to equal in that article the manufacture of any country in the world."

New London, Va., to fame unknown is a small hamlet situated below Lynchburg, which long since lost the distinction thrust upon it by the above report. Howe says, 1845: "There was here—at New London—then, an arsenal, a long wooden structure, which stood opposite Echols tavern. The establishment has long since been removed to Harpers Ferry. There was a long building, used as a magazine in the war, which was under the guard of some soldiers. In July, 1781, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton to this place for the purpose of destroying the stores, but neither stores nor troops were found."

Diaries are often egotistic and dull. Not always so those kept by the Father of His Country. Washington notes on Friday, March 14th, 1760:

"Mr. Carlyle and his wife still remain here (G. W's home). We talked a good deal of a scheme of setting up an Iron Work on Colonel Fairfax's land on Shenandoah. Mr. Chapman, who was a perfect judge of these matters was to go up and view the conveniency and determine the scheme."

And then appears the following footnote:

George William Fairfax and his brother-in-law, John Carlyle, duly organized the Bloomery Mills to make iron on Fairfax's lands, "Shannondale," near Harpers Ferry, but it does not appear that Washington joined them; perhaps in consequence of a visit to the site on May 9th, following.

There persists a tradition that Washington surveyed a portion of the Fairfax lands in and about Harpers Ferry. If he so did there is to me no known evidence of that fact. His diary kept during the two years he was engaged in surveying in the counties of the lower Shenandoah Valley and Mineral. Hampshire and Hardy counties—not yet formed—makes no mention of having been here during those two years. Of course he was here at various times. From a diary entry dated "August, 1785, Friday, 5th:

"After breakfast, and after directing Mr. Rumsey, when he had marked the way and set the laborers to work, to meet us at Harpers Ferry on the Evening of the Morrow (at the conflux of the Shenandoah with the Potomack), myself and the Directors set out for the same place by way of Frederick Town (Maryland). Dined at a Dutchman's two miles above the Mouth of Monocacy and reached the former about five o'clock. Drank Tea, supped, and lodged at Govr. Johnson's."

"Saturday, 6th. Breakfasted in Frederick Town, at Govr. Johnson's and dined at Harpers Ferry."

Foot note from Cash Account. By-Exps. at Morris's Tavern 10s 6d.

However, at this time Washington was concerned about making the Potomac navigable and not founding an armory here.

From Barry:

"In 1794 during the administration of General Washington Harpers Ferry was chosen as the site of a National Armory. In the year above mentioned, Congress applied to the General Assembly of Virginia for permission to purchase the site, and by a vote of the latter permission was granted to buy a tract not exceeding six hundred and forty acres, which would be one square mile.

"Accordingly, a body of land containing one hundred and twenty-five acres was purchased from the heirs of Mr. Harper. The tract, as shown by deed June 15, 1796, is contained in a triangle formed by the two rivers and a line running from the Potomac to the Shenandoah. Another purchase was made of three hundred and ten acres, from a Mr. Rutherford, "which includes a part of the land on which Bolivar now stands." Deed for this was given 20 of February, 1797.

In 1799, during the administration of John Adams, in anticipation of a war with France, the government organized a considerable army for defense. A portion of the forces were sent under Gen. Pinkney into camp at Harpers Ferry, and the ridge on which they were stationed has ever since been called "Camp Hill." It runs north and south between Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. When the war cloud disappeared, many of the soldiers settled down at the place. A great many had died while in the service, and their bodies are buried on the slope of Camp Hill.

"At that time a bitter war was waged between the Federalists and the Republicans, and a certain Capt. Henry, in Gen. Pinkney's army, is said to have taken his company one day to "Jefferson Rock" and ordered them to overthrow the favorite seat of Jefferson, his political enemy. They succeeded in detaching a large boulder from the top, which rolled down the hill to Shenandoah street, where it lay for many years, a monument of stupid bigotry."

Henry was challenged to a duel by a hot Republican, but Gen. Pinkney interfered and the affair was off.

The War of 1812 may have indicated the need for the government works here, to control an adequate fuel supply. At any rate in Deed Book 8, Page 63, dated September 26th, 1813, may be found entered a lease from Ferdinando and Eliza Fairfax, together with Thomas Swann and Edmund I. Lee, Attorneys, of Alexandria, Va., administrators for one William Byrd Page, to John Armstrong, Secretary of War, by which there was transferred forever to the United States, for the perpetual use and enjoyment of the people of the United States, the right—

"For the purchase of the trees, timber and woods" on a tract of land measuring 1,394 acres, 5 rods, 20 perches, at a cost of $20,860.62.

This tract extended from Harpers Ferry to what is locally known as "The Bear Pond."

Evidently this lease did not fully satisfy the authorities, for on October 27th, 1818, shortly after the coming of John H. Hall and the erection of the Rifle Works, by deed to James Madison, President of the United States, that portion of the land leased and lying next to Harpers Ferry and including the ferry over the Shenandoah river, measuring 68 acres and 8 perches, was conveyed outright to the government. For this land and ferry rights was paid $5,000. Both these tracts were a part of the great acreage which was then called "Shannondale."

Thus it will be noted that the United States owned 403 acres, 8 perches, and with the lease above noted controlled almost exactly 1,800 acres of land. The purpose of the lease of the mountain land was to burn charcoal for the furnaces. At the Government Works still may be seen the remains of the pits so used, and a few of our older men remember when the last of them were dismantled.

And so the art of "charcoal burners" was neither myth nor legend in our ancient town.

In addition to all this, the government by deed of May 8th, 1800, secured from Henry Lee and others the right to dig iron ore from a tract of 1,600 acres of land bordering the Potomac about four miles up the river. This tract was known as "Friends Ore Bank."

Von Holst, in "Constitutional History of the United States," Volume 1, page 176.

One cannot eliminate from the history of the armory and arsenal reference to Thomas Jefferson. That he came here frequently no one doubts. That he was interested in the government, there is certain evidence; that he believed in the fidelity of friends here in his contests with political rivals, is well set forth in the following, taken from "Life of Jefferson," by Randolph.

"We do not rely on the Richmond Armory, not yet in operation, but on the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry. At that time, when the Constitution itself was put to hazard, rather than relinquish the long enjoyed sweets of power, when the sun rose upon the house balloting, balloting through the night, and through successive days, for a Chief Magistrate, had we not the promise of Dark's brigade, and the arms at Harpers Ferry, which he engaged to secure in case of an attempt to set a pageant, under color of law, to supersede the public will, after defeating the election by the pertinaceous abuse, under the pretense returned by artifice, whom they profess to abhor. General Hamilton has frowned indignantly upon the unworthy procedure, for which he had paid the forfeiture of his life."

Was this General Darke? I think so. General Darke died November 20th, 1801.

That Jefferson was not forgetful of the county which now bore his name, or the place from which he planned to bring forth this "armed resistance" if need be, is well set forth in the following taken from "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Volume 1.

February 2, 1802.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

I now lay before you—

1. A return of ordnance, arms and military stores the property of the United States.

2. Return of muskets and bayonets fabricated at the armories of the United States at Springfield and Harpers Ferry, and of the expenditures at those places; and

3. An estimate of expenditures which may be necessary for fortifications and barracks for the present year.

Besides the permanent magazines established at Springfield, West Point and Harpers Ferry, it is thought one should be established in some point convenient for the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Such a point will probably be found near the border of the Carolinas, and some small provision by the Legislature preparatory to the establishment will be necessary for the present year.

We find the United States in possession of certain iron mines and works in the county of Berkeley and State of Virginia, purchased, as is presumable, on the idea of estabiishing works for the fabrication of cannon and other military articles by the public. Whether this method of supplying what may be wanted will be most advisable or that of purchasing at market where competition brings everything to its proper level of price and quality is for the Legislature to decide, and if the latter alternative be preferred, it will rest for their further consideration in what way the subjects of this purchase may be best employed or disposed of.

(Note that Jefferson called Congress "Legislature.")

Here one may be pardoned, if he digresses to say, that long bfore Harpers Ferry had been chosen as the site for the government works, the widely scattered deposits of iron ore, hidden in the Blue Ridge mountains and their contiguous chains, extending from the far north to the far south, were well known. Numerous flourishing iron works were in operation in Washington county, Md., and in nearly or quite every county of the Valley of Virginia. One such works stood near the mouth of the Antietam. According to Scharff's History of Western Maryland. Copyright 1882.

The Antietam Iron Works situated on the Antietam about 3 miles south of Sharpsburg, were erected by Wm. M. Brown, and were operated by Ross, Bell and Henderson, of Baltimore. They were afterwards sold to John McPherson Brinn, and these locally famous works were known as Brinn's Iron Works. In 1880, the works were producing from eight to ten tons per day. For about a year this was the production. Shortly after this the works were suspended for a while. The ore for the mills is obtained both on the Virginia and Maryland side of the river. The Antietam Iron Works later became a nail factory.

(The following is a newspaper extract of the 138th anniverysary of Sharpsburg, Md.)

"On October 31st, 1765, an agreement was formulated between Col. Joseph Chapline and Samuel Beall, of Frederick County, and David Ross and Richard Henderson, of Prince George's County, Md., for the building of the Antietam Iron

Works, three miles south of Sharpsburg, which for many years was a most valuable and profitable industry. The works were equipped with a furnace, rolling and slitting mill, puddling furnace and an extensive nail and casting factory. About 500 operators were employed in the works. These works had the honor of constructing some parts of Rumsey's steam boat and of casting cannon balls and shells for use in the war of the Revolution. Several skirmishes occurred at this place between the Blue and the Gray during the Civil War."

During the sixty-five years the government works were here in operation, there was expended about $1,800,000 in improvements and repairs, and it is a matter of great historical interest to note that—

"The first practicable breech-loading firearm made in the United States was that patented by Hall in 1811. About 10,000 were made for the Government, the inventor superintending their manufacture at the Harpers Ferry Arsenal until his death in 1844. In 1856 Congress made an appropriation for breech-loading rifles, and experiments in this arm were conducted until the breaking out of the Civil War, during the progress of which the Government manufactured and purchased at home and abroad over 4,000,000 small arms of between 20 and 30 different patterns." Taken from Index in Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Volume XI, 1789-1905.

Available records are wanting for me to state the average number of rifles made in the Rifle Works. It is a matter of interest to record this fact, furnished by our honored townsman, Mr. George Tacey, that at the outbreak of the war the cost to the Government of each rifle was $16.17. The annual output of the musket factory was about 10,000. Usually there were from 80,000 to 100,000 guns here in the armory. That about 15,000 were burned at the outbreak of the Civil War indicates that the Federal Government had removed a considerable number before the Virginia militia descended upon the works. The later history of the works here may be briefly related in a review of the outstanding events which happened under the superintendency of the several men who were successively in charge of the Government operations. Where quotations appear they are from "The Annals of Harpers Ferry," by Barry.

Superintendents of the works were:

Mr. Perkins, 1796-1810, an English Moravian, described as "amiable, unsophisticated" and known for simplicity of dress and deportment.

Mr. Stubblefield, a Virginian, 1810-1829. A practical gun maker, who as superintendent served the longest of any.

During his superintendency Mr. John Hall, Portland, Me., came to superintend the manufacture of his breechloading gun. Two buildings were erected for his use in the Shenandoah river and there he continued to manufacture the Hall rifle till 1840, when he moved to Missouri. After this, other buildings were erected on the same island in the Shenandoah for the manufacture of the Minie Rifle, but the works were always known as "Hall's Rifle Works."

"Mr. Hall was the father of the Hon. Willard Hall, at one time a Member of Congress from Missouri, and during the war Governor of that State. It was during the administration of Mr. Stubblefield in 1824, that the 'Bell Shop' was destroyed by fire. It got its name from having the Armory bell suspended in a turret which overtopped the roof."

Colonel Dunn, 1829 to January 30th, 1830. He was foully murdered by one Cox, a discharged armorer, who was later publicly hanged near Charles Town. I believe it was he who was executed on the hill at the right of the pike, which is a part of the old Howell Brown farm. I seem to remember hearing Mr. Barry tell that as a fact one day as we rode together to Charles Town.

Gen. George Rust, 1830-1837. He was a popular superintendent, who spent little time here, having large land holdings in Loudoun county, where he passed most of his time.

Col. Edward Lucas, 1837-1841. "He was an exceedingly amiable, generous and good man, although fiery and pugnacious when he deemed himself insulted. He later, in 1847, became paymaster and so served until he died in 1858, honored and lamented by a great number of sincere admirers." During his superintendency a retaining wall was built the length of the river front, extending the yard space and excluding in some measure flood waters. Twelve homes for mechanics were built and the place generally improved. "Col. Lucas ownd a good

many slaves, nearly all of whom were of the most worthless description. Whenever a Negro had become so unprofitable that his master determined to sell him, he would appeal to Col. Lucas to save him from slave drivers and servitude in Georgia. The good-natured Colonel would, if possible, purchase him, and consequently he had the most unprofitable lot of slaves in Virginia."

"Colonel Lucas was succeeded by Maj. Henry K. Craig in 1841. He was superintendent until 1844. The Major was an ordnance officer and inclined to that strictness of discipline which the most amiable of men in military life soon learn to exact of their inferiors." Everything around the Armory grounds assumed a military air. In 1842 a delegation of operators betook themselves to Washington to interview President John Tyler to air their grievances. After being received with great kindness and a fulsome address as to the place and worth of workmen, the President with subtle wit suddenly ended by telling them that "they must all go home and hammer out their own salvation." This figurative allusion to the god Vulcan, and their need to continue a disciple of his, added nothing to their admiration for the Chief Magistrate. Probably they no longer sang lustily about "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," as they may have done on their trip to the capital of the nation. Bitter was the opposition to military rule here till its overthrow in 1854.

Major John Symington succeeded Colonel Lucas in 1844 and continued office till 1851. He seems to have been a man of marked eccentricities, due to affectation. And yet he was a man of clear head and business ability. During his time the shops were remodeled and improved and there was a general air of marked prosperity and good will. In chronicling these outstanding facts, one must with candor, however unwillingly, confess that there was here a boisterous element. While after hours workmen might be seen adorning the streets in beaver hats and long coats, there was a marked strain of sporting blood in the populace. This most prominently displayed itself during this time in a prize fight of international renown, when on the Virginia side of the Shenandoah on the bottom distant about one-half mile from town there occurred a contest of the

kind in which Yankee Sullivan and an English fighter by the name of Ben Caunt met. It was during this time also that an outbreak of Asiatic cholera occurred, which claimed a large toll in human life.

Col. Benjamin Huger became superintendent in 1851. During his administration occurred the first Government sale of land, generally known as "The Sale of 1852." Then on "an order from the Secretary of War (Jefferson Davis, later President of the Confederacy), the Government disposed of a considerable portion of the property at Harpers Ferry to employees of the armory. Many houses and lots were, therefore, disposed of, at public sale, and at the same time many donations of land were made by the Government for religious, educational and town purposes." During this time occurred the flood of '52, when the town and Government works were inundated and great damage done. "It may be observed that Colonel Huger afterwards became a General in the Confederate service and obtained some notoriety, especially in the seven days fight before Richmond."

Major Bell became superintendent in 1854, but continued in office only a few months, when the military rule was abolished and civilians again came into office, and civilian rule continued till the coming of the Civil War.

Major Bell was succeeded in 1855 by Henry W. Clowe, who "had been employed for many years before as a master mill-wright in the Armory. His temper was high, but he was generous to a fault and never did the place enjoy greater prosperity than under his administration. His greatest trouble arose from the intrigues of politicians. He had a quarrel with the then Representative in Congress from the district in which Harpers Ferry is situated, and by the influence of the latter, or some other person, was removed."

In January, 1859, Mr. Clowe was succeeded by Alfred M. Barbour, a young lawyer, and it was during his administration that the John Brown raid occurred. And when on that October Sunday night that strange, fanatical man descended upon this historic town and on the morrow sent a startled cry of alarm over the land, the end of an era had come to the famous works, the State and nation, and the beginning of another was

ushered in. And thus there was thrust upon Harpers Ferry the distiction of being the scene of the first act of an awful drama, the continuance of which was "a time that tried men's souls" and the end of which marked the passing of the old Armory and Arsenal from Harpers Ferry forever.

Rent by the question as to fidelity to the General Government or alliance with the States which had already seceded, Virginia passed the Ordinance of Secession the 17th of April, 1861, and the following day the superintendent, Mr. Barbour, who had been elected from the county on the Union ticket, but who finally voted for Secession, came to Harpers Ferry with Mr. Seddon, afterward prominent in the Confederacy. Their appearance and speeches were occasion for a near riot. With amazing speed the military forces of the State were in motion toward Harpers Ferry for the purpose of taking possession of the Government works and arms here. A year and six months had elapsed since the Brown raid, and the Government had maintained troops here continuously since that unfortunate event. Lieutenant Roger Jones and forty-two regular United States soldiers were here. Hearing of the immediate approach of the State militia, numbering about 2,000 in all, and knowing the inevitable results, the soldiers laid trains of powder through all the buildings. "A loud explosion and a thick column of fire and smoke arising from the direction of Harpers Ferry gave the Confederate forces information of the burning of the building and they poceeded at double quick to save the machinery in the shops and arms in the arsenal."

Citizens before their arrival had extinguished the fire in the shops and saved the machinery, a large part of which was soon transferred to Fayetteville, N. C., and in the works there rendered signal service to the Confederate cause. The arsenal was entirely consumed, with about fifteen thousand stands of arms therein. Soon after this the militia were placed under the strict command of Colonel Thomas J. Jackson, afterwards the illustrious "Stonewall."

Ultimate destruction of the works was soon to follow, for on June 28th a force of Baltimore volunteers and the Second Mississippi under the command of their Col. Faulkner fired

the Rifle Factory and Shenandoah Bridge along with some railroad property.

It is one of the anomalies of history that the small building, the fire engine house, should have been alone of all the buildings saved from the general wreckage. It was into that structure John Brown and his men retreated and from it were taken as prisoners. Known since as John Brown's Fort, it was removed to Chicago in 1892 and there was on exhibition with the Libby Prison Museum. In 1895, through the efforts of a considerable number of interested persons, the building was returned and rebuilt on the farm of Mr. Alex Murphy, and in 1909 finally rebuilt on the campus of Storer College, an object of prevailing and increasing interest to all who admire bravery and undivided devotion to a cause, however ill-starred the actions inaugurating the same.

Today only an arch of masonry, some extent of walls in a more or less perfect state of preservation, some whitewashed foundations, some scattered and abandoned stones, once capping a corner or strengthening an abutment, or perchance a grass-grown pile of debris, marking the wreckage of war, lend their melancholy and mute testimony of a glory that once was a grandeur that shall be no more.

No more the whir of wheels, the ringing blow of anvil, the shuffling tread of feet, the sharp, metallic click of locks and the echoing grasp of bayonet to musket are heard, where once they reigned supreme. Now alone the sun rises over the town where all too plainly to a responsive imagination, "Ichabod," "thy glory hath departed," seems written. But when at night the glorious shimmering waves of silvery moonlight play over the musical waters of the Shenandoah, one may stand in silent contemplation on the rock made famous, because of its association with the name of Jefferson, and feel that while the works of men may come and go, his plans move to their natural ends or fail, there is ineffable glory, a symphony of divine creation in the majestic diapason of the uplifted hills and in the harmonious undertone of the untiring waters, which will forever continue through the unnumbered ages, when men here stop and reaffirm their belief in the might and majesty of a wise Creator.

Taken from Catalogue of the Harpers Ferry Armory Property to be sold by the United States on the 30th of November, 1869, at the town of Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Made September 7th, 1869.

The following is a schedule of United States property at and near Harpers Ferry, as divided and laid out by S. Howell Brown, as per map of 1869, made under the supervision of Captain Daniel J. Young, ordnance storekeeper, acting under instruction from the Ordnance Department at Washington, issued in pursuance of an act of Congress, approved on the 15th day of December, 1868, entitled, "An act providing for the sale of the lands, tenements and water privileges belonging to the United States, at and near Harpers Ferry, in the county of Jefferson, West Virginia," and which property is to be sold by public sale at the town of Harpers Ferry, Va., on the 30th of November, 1869.

Lot 1. The water-power entire of the Potomac river, as held by the United States, embracing site of the old armory buildings, or musket factory, Byrne's Island, and all that strip of land and bluff bordering on the Potomac river, and lying between said river and the streets and lots as laid down on map of 1869. $176,000.

Lot 2. The water-power entire of the Shenandoah river, as held by the United States, embracing the site of the rifle factory, with all the appurtenances thereto belonging. $30,000.

Lot 3. The Shenandoah ferry, with a tract of land containing 68 1-2 acres, on the south side of the river, and a ferry lot on north side, with front on river of 243 feet; on Tell street, 193 feet; on Hamilton street, 66 1-2 feet; and on Bridge street, 83 feet. Two stone houses, south side of river. $1,790.

Lot 4. The perpetual right to cut and remove from a tract of 1,395 5-8 acres of mountain land, lying on the south side of the Shenandoah river, adjoining the ferry tract. $3,600.

Lot 5. The right to dig iron ore upon a tract of 1,600 acres of land, bordering on the Potomac river, known as "Friend's Ore Bank," acquired from Henry Lee and others by deed dated May the 8th, 1800. $13,000.

THE BULLSKIN RUN

By W. F. ALEXANDER

(Read before the Society at Shepherdstown, March 14, 1936)

I have been asked to read a paper tonight about the Bullskin Run. Of course there is very little to say about the run in itself, but there is a great deal to be said about the people who located thereon and lived there more than a hundred years ago.

We are told in Kercheval's History of the Valley that the Cavaliers came up from the Tidewater and located along the Bullskin and Longmarsh runs, and we are told also that the Opequon was the dividing line between the Cavalier and the other settlers of the valley; in other words, the people from the Tidewater, the early English settlers located this side of the Opequon, and people from Pennsylvania and further north settled on the other side.

There are two Bullskins, sometimes known as the Little and Big Bullskin, but more properly the North fork and the South fork.

We will take the north fork first as it is the smaller of the two. This branch starts at what is known as Rock Spring on the Claymont Estate and joins the main stream on property now known as the Mathias farms near Kabletown. As a boy I remember seeing this Rock Spring, and wondering at the amount of water that seemingly gushed out of a split rock, and wondering if it did not resemble the rock that Moses split and obtained water as recorded in the Bible.

As you all know the upper portion of the Shenandoah Valley was granted to Lord Fairfax, and although there were other claimants, and indeed other patents, his was the most prominent. I have recently seen numerous plats made for land in this county in the years 1732-33-34, amongst them lands of John VanMetre and Jost Hite, the most prominent and largest land owners. We find that in order to establish his claim, Lord Fairfax frequently compromised by granting tracts of land to people who had other claims or who had taken possession without any legal claim, by deeding them the land with the proviso that they would pay him so long as he lived One Peper Corn

On Lady's Day. I have often wondered what was a pepercorn. Webster's distionary gives it "a small berry of the peper plant," hence anything insignificant. I do not know the origin of Lady's day, but suppose it means Christmas. It therefore must have been a mere gesture, which recognized him as owner and at the same time gave the parties interested the legal title to the property. I have been told he fixed a limit for thus legalizing titles, and after a certain date no more deeds would be given. A great many people took advantage of this liberal offer, and a great many others went to court.

The surveys I mentioned above were made by one R. O. Brooke.

There were of course thousands of acres on which no one lived at this time, and of these thousands of acres, and other properties which he purchased, Lawrence Washington, a hali brother of General George Washington, who had married a relative of Lord Fairfax, acquired many acres, extending perhaps from the town of Charles Town to beyond the south branch of the Bullskin. The exact location and size of this tract has never been ascertained.

It is only proper to take this opportunity to say that this article will dwell a great deal with the Washingtons for the reason that during the Washington Bi-Centennial, I made quite a study of what might be termed "Washingtonia," and I will therefore have to ask that you bear with me, if I bore you with too much Washington.

Lawrence left this tract, or tracts, of land, in his will to his four brothers: John Augustine, Samuel, Charles and George. Why he left out his full brother Augustine, we do not know. We do know, however, that Warner Washington, a grandson of Augustine Washington, did acquire land in the valley, as George frequently mentioned in his diary that he had spent the night with Warner. The Warner Washington lived in the house now known as Fairfield at Gaylord, on the Long Marsh Run and now owned by the Richardsons, and also owned Audley, now known as Audley Stock Farm. Warner Washington also married a Fairfax, I think a sister of Lawrence's wife, and in this way no doubt acquired a great deal of land in the Valley. It is also well to note that the Washingtons seem-

ed to have a habit of bettering their financial position by marriage, and even George did not pick a "poor and lonely widow."

You will therefore note that George Washington acquired his land in the Valley by purchase and from his brother Lawrence and not for services as a surveyor for Lord Fairfax, as so many people have been led to believe. Washington was paid in gold for his services as a surveyor.

Samuel Washington came to the Valley in about 1770 and built Harewood on land purchased from Isaiah Pemperton and others, and with the land inherited from George owned over 4,000 acres.

This name Pemperton leads me to believe that he was a Quaker, as there was an Israel Pemperton among the Quakers who were banished from Pennsylvania at the beginning of the Revolution and held prisoners in Winchester for a number of years. Quite a history of this occurrence is among the records at Haverford College near Philadelphia, which I have had the pleasure of seeing.

Charles Washington came some time later than Samuel, and after trading several tracts, laid out the town of Charles Town in 1786.

John Augustine Washington, as far as I can ascertain, never came to the valley to live. However, his son Corbin, who married Hannah Lee, a daughter of Richard Henry Lee, may have come, but we think not, as both his and his wife's wills are recorded in the court house at Fairfax, Va. There is a record of the property of Hannah Washington, who survived Corbin, in our court records, which shows about 2,000 acres of land and 135 slaves. The Mansion house of this estate is still standing and is located on the Bullskin. This house is well worth seeing, only three rooms on the main floor and one one-half story room on the second floor. There are three separated chimneys, giving a fire place to each room, beautiful hardware and woodwork. Some few years ago I went out there with my son-in-law, who at the time was building a house near Philadelphia, in which he was using hardware of colonial design, and wanted a left hand lock. It seems that he could not

get this kind of lock, and we found one there, beautifully made and bearing the English coat of arms.

The land was divided at the death of Hannah among her three sons, nothing to a daughter. John A. received Blakeley, Bushrod Corbin received Claymont, and Richard Henry Lee received Prospect Hill. All of these estates are on the Little Bullskin and at the head thereof.

Mrs. S. W. Washington has quite an interesting invitation to a dance at Prospect Hill. I don't remember the date, but the time of the dance will always stand out in my mind, to wit: 12 o'clock noon. We take it for granted that they danced on the lawn. There was not much space in the house.

The next place on down the run is what was known as Kalarama, now owned by Marshall Burns and the name changed to Beverly. This property was once owned by Dr. Ezekiel W. Bull, evidently a son of Joseph Bull of Philadelphia Co., Pa., who practiced medicine here and had his office in a stone building now standing, just in the rear of the present dwelling. We are told that the Doctor, who was an ardent fisherman, owned a narrow strip of land from his house to the Shenandoah river, so that he could go fishing without leaving his own land. This I cannot substantiate. I asked Colonel Gibson about this property, and he said, "Did you ever hear of the maid of Kalarama?" and I told him no, and he said that there was a book or poem with the above title. I gathered from him that this maiden had a love affair with someone, which affair did not have the usual happy ending, and she killed herself. This occurrence caused the usual consequence of a haunted house and the subsequent abandonment of the place by the family, who moved to a place called "Mondego" near DeHaven P. O. in Frederick county, Virginia, where the broken hearted father afterwards killed himself.

The next house down the run is a fine old stone house built shortly after the Civil War with stone from one of the abandoned mills along the Bullskin. All I know of it is that in about 1800 it was owned by an Englishman named Roper, whose descendants now live in this county.

The next place is known as Bull Wallow, and it is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Lakeland, who was Miss Carrie

West. This farm is considered the best land in the county. All of the land on the Bullskin is considered better than any other portion of the county. This particular spot, however, is considered the best of all. It was here that the buffaloes gathered most frequently and the grass was longer and sweeter. At least I have so been told by Daniel Heflebower who once owned the farm.

So much for the Little Bullskin. We will now take up the Big Bullskin.

The South Fork begins at what is known as the Head Spring, a very large spring. One part of the spring is now owned by Ike Bonham, formerly our county superintendent of schools, and the other by "Bub" Robinson.

On the map of 1852, the Bonham part was owned by Edwin A. Riley's heirs and the other by John A. Thomson. The dwelling on the Riley estate is still standing, and has been put in excellent repair by Mr. Bonham and is well worth visiting. The house was built more than 150 years ago, is of English style of architecture and very beautiful, and has been in the family ever since it was built.

The Thomson estate extended from the head spring to and including the land now owned by Mrs. A. P. Thomson, a distance of several miles, and must have embraced several thousand acres.

Across the road from the above property are the lands of Warner Thomson and Warner Throckmorton. I do not know who Warner Thomson was, but Warner Throckmorton belonged to the Fairfax and Washington families. One of Warner Washington's daughters, Mildred, married a Throckmorton and another married a Whiting. I presume Warner Thomson belonged to the same clan.

Some one asked me several months ago if I had ever heard of Warner Hall located in the tidewater section of Virginia. I told him that I had had the pleasure of seeing this property. It was originally built by Augustine Warner, whose daughter Mildred married the grandfather of General Washington, and the names of Augustine and Mildred occur frequently in the family.

The Warner Throckmorton property is now owned by Mr. Wilmer Whiting and his sisters. A great many of you know

them. I was amused, however, on one occasion, to be told that they were descendants of Lord Fairfax and General Washington. Lord Fairfax was a bachelor and Washington had no children. They are, however, descended from both families and worthy members thereof.

A Presbyterian Church stood near the head spring on the land now owned by Robinson, which was most likely the first Presbyterian Church in the Valley, at least in this part of the Valley. Further down the run at a point near the White house there was a Methodist Church and a school house. It is claimed that this was the first free school house in what is now West Virginia. I understand that Wheeling in Ohio county disputes this claim.

The White house above referred to is a very interesting stone house across the road from a large spring on the Charles Town and Summit Point road (on the Bullskin) and was built by the McCormick family, and is possibly one of the oldest houses in the county. It is claimed that Cyrus McCormick who invented the reaper was born in this house.

A little further down the run we come to the place known as Rock Hall. This place was owned by George Washington and sold by his executors to Thomas Lee, a son of Richard Henry Lee. Thos. Lee lived here for some time, but evidently did not pay for same, and it was resold by order of court to Mathew Ranson, who in turn sold same to Thos. Hite Willis, a descendant of Jost Hite, one of, if not, the first settler in the county. Mrs. S. W. Washington is a descendant of Mr. Willis. The Willis family owned the property for many years and sold same to John L. Burns who now owns it.

In the inventory of the Washington estate he gives amongst his holdings 1,600 acres on the Bullskin. The 1,600 acres evidently embraced the Rock Hall property and down to and including the farm owned by Mrs. Melvin opposite Haines's Mill.

There was a number of grist mills and factories along the run. The first is Haines' mill, which is still in existence and running. Then Porter's Factory, afterwards Jobe's woolen mill, then a grist mill owned by Easton's Heirs. A grist mill known as Barney's Mill was located near the big spring on the

left side of the pike just before you reach the bridge opposite the Higginbotham place. Further down was McCurdy's mill, then a mill at Kabletown, now a cold storage, and then Johnson's factory on the Shutt place at the mouth of the run. Quite an imposing array of mills and factories. This was in the year 1850 and at that time the population was just about what it is now, and all had to be fed and clothed, and we got our flour and cloth right at home. The largest woolen mill in the county was what was known as Watson's factory on the Shenandoah on the Big Eddy. This factory was owned by the Watson's and the Gearies. A descendant of the Gearies was Postmaster General under McKinley. There were several grist mills and saw mills in the county on other streams. There are now, however, only three water power mills left in the county: Feagan's on the Bullskin, Clipp's on Evitt's run, and the one in Shepherdstown.

There are a number of beautiful dwellings along the run, the most notable of which belonged to W. F. Turner and his brother, George W. Turner, now owned by Mr. L. M. Long and Mrs. Baker, better known as the Higginbotham house.

There was a Quaker Meeting house located about midway between the North and South forks of the run, and the map of 1852, shows the location of the church and the parsonage, which we understand belonged to the Quakers, and is located about one mile from the meeting house.

I can't exactly reconcile my mind to the term parsonage as connected with a Quaker place of worship. I understand, however, that they had persons who occupied the joint positions of what we would term sexton and parson. There is still the graveyard there, but no signs of the meeting house or parsonage.

I have purposely failed to mention another family who lived on the North Fork of the Bullskin, as I wished to save them for the last.

To get the whole story, we must go back again to the Tidewater, whence most of our settlers along the Bullskin came.

There was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia in 1722, one Wm. Crawford, who afterwards became Col. Wm. Crawford. This Col. Crawford, who served in the Revolution

and also in the Indian and Colonial wars, helped Washington in his surveys and located and surveyed lands for Washington, which lands had been given to General Washington and other officers and soldiers for services in above wars, and of course also located lands for himself and his brothers. A great deal of this land is located near Uniontown, Pa., and he also surveyed lands for Washington where the town of Nitro, near Charleston, now stands. Dr. Roy Bird Cook's book Washington's Western Lands, will give you a great deal of information about these lands.

Col. Crawford's father died in 1725, and his widow, who had three sons by Crawford, married Richard Stephenson, by whom she had five sons and three daughters. These sons were named John, Hugh, Richard, James and Marquis. The Stephensons evidently moved from Westmoreland county on or before 1850, as there is a record that Washington boarded with the Stephensons when he surveyed land in the Valley, and most likely knew the Stephensons before they moved from Westmoreland.

The Stephenson's place was not, however, the place he mentions in his diary as having stopped where the bed was nothing but straw and the blanket with double its weight in varmin. This was the Pennington place.

Col. Crawford's eldest daughter married Maj. Wm. Harrison and another daughter married Zackariah McCormick; possibly one of the McCormicks that lived at the White house on the Bullskin. This is supposition, however, as there were three families of McCormicks in the county.

In 1775, Hugh Stephenson was commissioned by Washington to enlist a company of a hundred men and march to Boston.

Stephenson served for nearly a year and was commissioned a Colonel and was sent back home by Washington to enlist another company, but was taken sick and died in the fall of 1776.

Hugh Stephenson's will is recorded in Martinsburg, dated March, 1775, leaves his wife the farm on which he resides and after her death directs that it be sold and divided among his surviving children. He also mentions four tracts of land in Au-

gusta county, Virginia, as follows: 800 a., 2,200 a., 1,000 a., and 1,000 a. to be sold and money divided among his children (six in number).

Appoints Capt. W. Crawford, Valentine Crawford, John Stephenson and Thomas Rutherford as executors.

It is also reported that Hugh Stephenson had some property near Shepherdstown and had gone into partnership before the Revolution with David Shepherd in establishing a rival Ferry where Van Swearingen Ferry had prior possess.on.

You will note that the executors of the Stephenson will were two half brothers, a full brother and Thomas Rutherford.

There was another Stephenson family in Charles Town, who came there from Burnside, County Donegal, in Ireland in 1794. This family also had a James and a John in it, which made searching the records very confusing. This family were Presbyterians and John gave the land where the present Presbyterian Church and Manse now stand and also the land for the John Stephenson's Seminary, now the Charles Town Inn. This Stephenson family lived in a house located on the corner now occupied by Max Theodore's store in Charles Town.

The question in my mind is what became of the Hugh Stephenson family. Did they go west and settle on the lands laid out by Captain Crawford, or did they go to Augusta county and settle? There seems to be no trace of them left in Jefferson county.

Now as to where Hugh Stephenson lived.

The will of Richard Stephenson, dated 1765, recorded in Winchester, Va. W. B. No. 3, page 288, contains the following: "to my son John an equal part of my land on the lower end of the tract where he now lives, to be laid off so that he shall have the Spring right against his house where he now lives and an equal part of the meadow." This is the farm now owned by Rufus Bell on the Berryville pike just to the left going from Charles Town to Berryville where the pike crosses the Bullskin.

"And to Hugh an equal part adjoining John and an equal part of the meadow." This tract is now owned by the Porters.

"To James an equal part of the upper part of the land on the south side of the marsh."

"And to Marquis the house and plantation where I now live."

The above two tracts seem to have been merged and are now owned by Mr. Marshall Burns.

Richard Stephenson received the part across the run from Marquis and James, and on December 3, 1773, conveyed "to John Augustine Washington, Gentleman of Bushfield, Westmoreland county, Va., 190 acres of land on Bullskin Marsh adjacent to John Augustine Washington, Mark Stephenson and James Stephenson." This land is now owned by Mr. Herman Huyett.

Marquis (written Marious) Stephenson, in October, 1777, conveyed 170 acres of the land inherited from his father to John Bull of Philadelphia county, Penn., presumedly the father of Dr. Bull heretofore mentioned. This deed mentions that Richard Stephenson acquired 100 acres from Jost Hite, 316 acres from the proprietor of the Northern Neck in 1850 and 408 acres from the same, and surveyed by Thos. Rutherford. This place contained the home place of Richard Stephenson, father of Hugh, and the place where Washington stayed when he surveyed for Fairfax.

John Stephenson of Cumberland county, Pa., surviving Executor of Hugh Stephenson on December 16th, 1784, conveyed to Benjamin Rankin, for the purpose of paying the debts of Hugh Stephenson, 200 acres of land adjoining Walter Clarke, John Bull and the line of John Augustine Washington and next to a tract of land Rankin purchased from W. Davis.

Wm. Davis in 1773 had conveyed to Benj. Rankin 100 acres of land running to Evitt's run, being part of the land formerly owned by one Daniel Burnett by a patent from the King's office bearing date 1734, lying next to Benj. Rankin's land. By referring to the map I have here, there can be no doubt that Hugh was raised on the land owned by Marshall Burns and afterwards lived on the land now owned by Messrs. Frank and Chris Porter.

Benj. Rankin was one of the original trustees of Charles Town and a subscriber to the old Charles Town Academy. I call the list of the subscribers to the old Academy published by our society the Blue Book of Jefferson County.

THE ROADS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY

By MARSHALL W. McDONALD

(Read before the Society at Shepherdstown, February 7, 1930)

The history of roads of Jefferson county is very difficult to trace. The big events in a people's lives are written about at the time the event takes place and commented upon afterwards. It would be comparatively easy to write about the Revolutionary War, the freeing of the slaves, or the cedar cutting campaign, but the roads have gradually been built and gradually grown worse or better without much comment from the public.

The roads have been a gradual development from Indian trails to our State highways, passing through several stages. I will endeavor to discuss each stage in its turn. Before doing this I want to state that I have found practically no documentary evidence for the statements I make, but roads have been my business for years, and I have listened eagerly to any discussion of them by my elders. Any statement that is wrong I will be glad if you will correct, and any additional facts will be greatly appreciated.

There were two well defined trails in the Lower Shenandoah Valley; one North and South, which follows somewhat the Valley Pike and through this section was about the location of Winchester, Martinsburg and Hagerstown. The other crossed the Potomac at Pack Horse Ford below Shepherdstown and went westward, crossing the North Mountains near Inwood. As a good many of the early settlers came from the northern colonies, Pennsylvania and Maryland, these Indian trails were probably used at first by pack horse trains, later cut out and widened into roads.

As the West became settled, the great movement was from East to West. Baltimore and Alexandria were the chief seaports, each at the head of navigation of their separate rivers, and two main streams of traffic developed. Baltimore to Frederick, Hagerstown and the National Highway westward. That part of the traffic which came to the Valley came as a branch of this road, as it does now, via the Pack Horse Ford. The ex-

istence of the gap at Harpers Ferry was not known at first. When discovered it was called the "Trough;" later Harper built a house there and opened up a ferry about 1744.

From Alexandria the road came through Keyes' Gap and Ford, Keyes' Gap being the lowest break in the Blue Ridge, except Harpers Ferry, from Pennsylvania to Georgia. Through this Gap rode young George Washington in 1748 with Lord Fairfax on their first trip to the Valley. After crossing the Shenandoah river, the road forked—one through Charles Town, Summit Point, Winchester and west, over the Northwestern Turnpike; the other known as the Warm Spring road, by Shenandoah Junction, Walper's Cross Roads, Martinsburg.

Jefferson county, on account of its rich soil, soon became settled. Unfortunately the order book which contained the decrees of the county court establishing the roads was destroyed during the Civil War, and as far as I know there is no record of them. There is a map made by S. Howell Brown in 1853, showing the roads and farms, and this is the earliest record I know of. Perhaps 80 per cent of the roads of today are shown on this map. There is another map by the same gentleman made in 1883. The United States Government made a map in 1890, and again in 1914, with the State of West Virginia. Recently an enlarged copy of this map was made by Whitmer, showing the location of the principal farms by name only, not boundaries, as by Brown.

As travel increased, the roads must have become worse under the old system of each man working his head tax out on the roads. About 1800 a man in England, Macadam, began to build good roads by a new system. His was the first advance in road building since the Romans nearly 2,000 years before. The desire for improved roads soon spread to America and many such roads were built. They were chiefly built by stock companies and toll was charged for each vehicle using them. Here the usual rate was 2 cents per mile for a buggy. Charters were issued to various companies and several turnpikes were built. In 1831 the charter for the Summit Point and Harpers Ferry turnpike was granted. About 1840 the Charles Town-Berryville turnpike was built, and in the 40's the Shepherdstown-Smithfield turnpike was built. The Shepherdstown-

Halltown and Charles Town-Kabletown pikes were built in the 70's. None of these roads paid very well. The county court had a representative on the board of directors and reports were made to it each year. I noticed in 1896 the reports of the various turnpikes:

Charles Town-Berryville, balance on hand $131.27.
Kabletown, balance on hand, $56.72.
Shepherdstown-Smithfield, balance on hand, $77.84.
Halltown-Shepherdstown, balance on hand, $61.64.

In the 90's the Harrison county system was adopted in Jefferson county, which was that supervisors were appointed to spend the money on the roads instead of each man working out his taxes. Under this system the county roads gradually improved, until some became as good as the turnpikes. This made the users of the turnpikes dissatisfied, and on January 31, 1899, a committee was appointed by county court to inquire into the value of the stock ownership of various turnpikes in the county. In the case of the Charles Town-Harpers Ferry pike, it was found that the State of Virginia had subscribed $14,000, private stock was $21,750. A lot of the stock was not represented at meetings. The Virginia stock went to West Virginia and from West Virginia to Jefferson county, and Jefferson county made the roads free. By various means all roads were made free in 1902.

To these old turnpikes various other principal roads were added and a superintendent of pikes was appointed. The pikes were kept up by a county levy and the district roads by a district levy. J. K. Hendricks and M. W. McDonald were the two superintendents who managed under this system. Finally, in 1914, all the pikes were turned back to the district supervisors, and the office of pike superintendent was discontinued. In 1919 a system of State and federal aid was started, and Jefferson county rebuilt the Harpers Ferry turnpike and three miles of the Berryville turnpike. Then the present system of State highways was started and our present State highways were built.

EARLY TAVERNS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

By ANNIE DARKE ENGLE BAKER

(Read before the Society at Charles Town, November 9, 1928. Originally prepared for Pack Horse Ford Chapter, N. S. D. A. R.)

Recently considerable notice has been given by the newspapers to the restoration of the old Wayside Inn at Sudbury, Massachusetts. This interest has been manifested for two reasons, first because these old taverns stand so definitely in our minds as a symbol of a period utterly different in most characteristics from our own, and secondly, because of the historic associations clustering around them. During the Colonial period and in the post-Revolution period these taverns and inns along the main highways of travel served as a meeting place for all classes of American people. At these taverns, distinguished statesmen, even the presidents of the United States, famous generals, and the gentry of the period rubbed shoulders with the working classes in a democratic manner which is no longer the case. These taverns as a consequence, occupy a unique place in the social history of the period, which ended roughly by 1850, with the building of railroads throughout the East, resulting in a complete change in the movements of travel and trade between the East and the West.

It is not, one hopes, mere provincialism to call attention to the fact that the taverns of Jefferson county—now almost forgotten—sheltered at one time or another the greatest men of the period, and to express the regret that such traditions and associations, so worthy of preservation, should have been so utterly neglected.

The number and importance of the taverns of Jefferson County can be easily accounted for when we consider the position of the county, as one of the connecting links between the tidewater country and Western Virginia and the Ohio Valley. The first settlement in Jefferson County was at Shepherdstown in 1727; and a little later Romney was settled. The line of travel from the South Branch Valley was by way of Winchester to the principal markets of the day at Baltimore and Alexandria, or Bellhaven as it was then called. As early as 1740, when Jefferson County was still a part of Orange Coun-

ty, Virginia, roads were built between Shepherdstown or Mecklenburg, as it was then called, up the Shenandoah Valley where as early as 1732, settlers had established homes in the vicinity of Winchester. Later, a widely traveled route from the West was up the Ohio river to Wheeling, from there to Cumberland on the National Pike, thence via Winchester to Washington over the Northwestern turnpike. Hence, the gap at Harpers Ferry, and all of Jefferson County occupied a strategic position as a connecting link between the East and the regions west of the Blue Ridge.

The names applied to these taverns were varied; inns, hotels or hostelries, or ordinaries. Since the people of Virginia were almost exclusively English, quite naturally the English names and customs were transplanted as well. We find often distinction without a difference made in the use of these names. Strictly speaking a tavern meant a house where wine or other liquors were sold to be drunk on the premises; and hostel indicated a place of lodging. The hostelry, however, came to be used as a place for the lodging of drivers of wagons and drovers of sheep, cattle and hogs, whereas taverns and inns accommodated the more discriminating travelers of the upper classes. Later the name "tavern" was used synonymous with hostel or hotel, that is, the hotel grew out of the old tavern, especially in the larger towns.

The early taverns and the historic highways of the period, consequently, were closely connected, and as indicated above, some of the oldest highways leading to the West ran through Jefferson County. Since the only means of travel in those days was either by horseback or by wagon or coach, the traveler on a long journey, was compelled, after twenty or thirty miles of riding over the miserable roads of that day to halt towards evening for rest. Hence taverns were necessary at frequent intervals.

One of the oldest taverns in Jefferson County was at Middleway. It was built in 1740, before the town was established. A stream of travelers from the South Branch Valley and from the Shenandoah Valley passed through here and stopped at the tavern on their way to Baltimore, founded about ten years before, their nearest market.

This tavern, known as Smith's Tavern, was built by Henry Smith who came from Germany. A part of the building is still standing by the side of a little stream of cool, sparkling water, the outlet of a small but deep lake about one mile east of the village. The original building had a long wing and in the back yard were sheds for approximately one hundred teams. The large front room on the north side of the house was the bar; and it is said that Henry Smith made it a rule never to sell liquor to a man after he thought he had enough. Distinguished guests were entertained here, among them, Henry Clay. This is probable, since in coming from Kentucky, he frequently went up the Ohio river to Wheeling and from there to Winchester, and to Washington. Likewise, President Jackson is said to have eaten dinner there. In an old Parks' Arithmetic there is a problem as to how many revolutions a wheel would make going from Charles Town to Smithfield, as the town was once called. Parks is said to have spent some time at the old tavern while compiling his arithmetic. There was another and smaller tavern in Middleway, but its history is not known. Most of this house is now torn down, a part of it is now the home of Mrs. Henry Smith.

Another very old tavern was at Leetown, known as the Mollie Lyne tavern. It was a long frame building close to Balch's spring, but has been torn down a great many years.

About five miles from Mollie Lyne tavern was the one at Walper's Cross Roads. It stood as it was originally built probably longer than any other in the county. An upper story was added about ten years ago.

In those early days taverns, or ordinaries, as they were called, were more plentiful in the towns than they are now and possibly fully as well conducted. Shepherdstown and Charles Town consequently were both well supplied with taverns. According to tradition, most of the old taverns have entertained some celebrity at least for a night. One of the oldest houses in Shepherdstown claims the distinction of entertaining George Washington under its hospitable roof. It is on the corner of Mill and High streets. It is still standing but hoary with age. It has a court in front of it, is unpretentious, but in keeping with the buildings of the time. It was the sportsman's paradise. At

that time gambling stakes were high, sports were varied, cocking mains, bear-baiting contests were held there, and other games. It is said that when George Washington visited Michael Cookus some of his party lodged in this inn. It is a picturesque and romantic spot. It had to be abandoned, however, because of freshets.

On the same street but south of this place was the old Teeny Staley House, another tavern. A rambling house on the street leading to the river was Thornburgh's ordinary. The Crow property is another, but possibly the Selby (Hamtranck) house on Main Street was the most fashionable place in town.

One of the largest and best known of the colonial taverns in Shepherdstown was the "Western," on German or Main Street. It was the large, rectangular weather-boarded building that was known as "The Western" or Entler's Tavern in Revolutionary days. In 1775 the land back of the hostelry was known as the "Parade Grounds;" and here companies were mustered in and troops drilled in readiness for war. The stone steps on the front of the building, since remodeled into two houses, are the original granite blocks used in Washington's days. To get an idea of its capacity the fact is interesting that during the war between the States, a full company of the 116th regiment from Ohio was quartered in it for about a year. Attached to the tavern, was a large yard and good stone barn, large enough to accommodate the animals of the traveling circuses of that day. Part of the lot was later sold to build the Trinity Episcopal Church. The "Western" had the usual barroom attached, as sentiment against that branch of the business at that time was not strong. The price of good liquor was about fifty cents per gallon, but even at that early day the owner, Joseph Entler, became convinced that the selling of liquor was wrong and quit that part of the business.

The "Western" was not a pretentious hostelry, but accommodated the general public. It is said to have quartered soldiers for the Continental army—likely recruits. "The Entler Hotel" about two squares east of the Western was owned by a brother of Joseph Entler and had a reputation for serving excellent meals.

The Sheetz tavern was on the corner of Main Street, opposite the postoffice. The front room at the west end of the building was the barroom, and to the rear was the bar itself. The McChan building adjoining it on the west was a part of the tavern. It was a tavern of the utmost respectability. In all, at different times, there were eight or nine taverns in Shepherdstown.

At Halltown was Harris' Inn, built about 1795 by David Harris, son of John Harris, after whom Harrisburg, Pennsylvania was named. It was a very long old frame building, a part of which is still standing but very dilapidated.

Harpers Ferry boasts of having had a rather pretentious tavern in the days before the war, but not so old as others in the county. It was called "The Old United States." At the foot of Union Street, there were two smaller taverns, one kept by Phillip Koonce and the other by a Mr. Little, both of which fronted on Shenandoah Street. Farther down the same street was another kept by Nathaniel Allison; also a tavern in Bolivar was kept by J. C. Schuster. Joseph Strider kept a cattle stand on the pike where the drovers stopped at night with hundreds of cattle on their way to Baltimore. There were also smaller places, mainly drinking places with meals and a room or two along Main and Washington streets.

One of the oldest and most interesting of the taverns in Jefferson Sounty is the White House Tavern, three-fourths of a mile east of Summit Point. Tradition has it that it was built first as an Indian fort; and since the walls are three feet thick in part of the house, that fact or tradition seems altogether probable or authentic. It was built in 1742 by the McCormick brothers, Scotch Irish settlers, who obtained a large grant of land from Lord Fairfax. They built up this stone fort and probably a home combined, near a fine spring. The McCormicks who built the house were ancestors of Cyrus Hall McCormick of Chicago, who was born in Virginia. Some of his descendants came to visit the old house a few years ago.

The eastern end of the house was built first. The original windows were very small, making it more impregnable to the attacks of the Indians. It is called White House Tavern from the fact that a Mr. Whitehouse owned the place after the Mc-

Cormicks. It was probably he who first used it as a tavern. The barroom was in the west end of the house. About 1800 an addition was built, and a long porch was added, built around a large tree. Dormer windows gave light to the third story at the east end of the house. Later it was owned by George Locke who came from England. He and his descendants kept the tavern for a great many years. Just across the road from the main building is a rather large stone house which was used as part of the tavern, as it was a custom in olden days for the gentry to lodge at one house and nearby their drovers or teamsters. An interesting feature of the old house is that the window sills slippd back and in that space extending all around the sides of the house, was a wide space, between the outer and inner walls, used as a place of security for storage of valuables.

General Braddock marched by the old White House on his way to Fort Duquesne; and around the house several old English coins have been found, one dated 1739 with the head of George II, and an inscription of his reign; also a great many Indian darts are found around the house and spring.

Since the road leading directly from Winchester to Charles Town through Summit Point was a main highway to the tidewater country, we find there another tavern also, "The Sign of the Shift." Again we see the English influence in the quaintness and oddity of the signs of our ancient road houses. "The Sign of the Shift" was about a mile and a half west of Charles Town. This tavern existed in 1825, as it is remembered that some of the men in Lafayette's train stayed there on his visit to the Washingtons; and also when Louis Phillippe was at Harewood, during his exile, some of his attendants stayed there, likewise.

Charles Town was quite well supplied with taverns, probably the oldest and most famous was the "Old Cherry Tavern," often called "Old Ordinary," one of the first houses built in Charles Town. It was built at least as early as 1770. It was a famous rendezvous during the Revolution and was built by Captain William Cherry, an old Revolutionary hero. It was occupied for nearly a century and was torn down in 1881 to give place to a modern building. It was on the corner of North and West Streets, west of Lawrence Street. This hos-

telry in its early prime sheltered many of the great historic characters of the early days of the Republic; and even for half a century after the Revolution its rude walls resounded with the hilarity of the "bloods" of the lower valley. Here Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Lafayette no doubt hobnobbed over their French and Spanish wines, for these worthies and many other distinguished men visited this section. The Revolutionary generals of the county possibly drank many a bowl of punch with their old comrade in arms, Captain Cherry.

Several other taverns were kept in Charles Town about the beginning of the century. Thomas Flagg was proprietor of one, and shortly afterwards Robert Fulton opened one on Main Street, about where Mr. C. W. Brown's jewelry store is now. In an old copy of the "Free Press" published in 1816 there is an account of a grand ball being given at "The Fulton Hotel." Where the store of C. T. Shugart and Son now is the Kennedy Hotel was located. It had a bar and eating room in the basement, entered by an old fashioned areaway with a high railing on Charles Street and steep steps leading down. Later it became a store and the "Virginia Free Press" for years used the top floor for its printing room.

Farther west where the Citizen's Fire Company Building now stands was "Haines' Hotel;" and opposite to it on the right corner of the Berryville pike was a hostel for drovers and wagon drivers, those who did not care to stop at a better inn.

Just west of the "Haines Hotel" on Evitts' run, stood for many years, the old Holl's Tavern. The old house was torn down a few years ago but the old Holl's pump still stands to mark the spot. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Holl came from Holland and bought the tavern from Henry Haines. They brought with them a quantity of beautiful flowers, tulips and other bulbs and had a wonderful flower garden across the run on the hill. An old lady once said that she would never forget seeing many coaches and wagons waiting their turn to water the horses at Holl's pump. She said all of them seemed to have leather buckets. This was in 1840. It was a rather famous stopping place, particularly for the Union Armies passing through here during the war between the States.

The old Cooke house was an inn owned by Dr. Henry Cooke, used also as his home. It was very quaint—a typical old English tavern.

Globe tavern was situated where now is the Saint George Apartment building. It existed in 1825. By 1845 had become a sort of family hotel or big boarding house.

In early days what is now the Jefferson Hotel was "Buckmaster's Hotel," for many years it was known as the "Carter House." It was a quaint old weatherboard building, a hotel of importance from the thirties on.

On George street, north of Liberty street, there was a small tavern called "The Red Dog" with a flaming sign of a red dog.

About one mile east of Charles Town was the Jim Locke tavern and during the Civil War period was kept by three maiden ladies who were serenaded by the children of Charles Town with this jingle:

Three old ladies may here be seen
Dressed in yellow, pink and green.

Later, by 1838, when the Northwestern Turnpike was finished from Parkersburg to Winchester and settlers began to pour into the Ohio valley, wagons of all descriptions passed through the county and stopped at our taverns. As one historian says, "the highways were blocked with herds of cattle trudging eastward to the markets or westward to the meadow lands beyond the mountains, also sheep and hogs, and from the old-fashioned Conestoga wagon in which most of the freight for the West was conveyed from Baltimore to the gay coaches of four to six horses, whose worthy drivers were known by name, even to statesmen who were often their passengers, rolled on to the hospitable taverns where the company reveled."

They are now a relic of the past. We have little accurate information about these old taverns. They are well-nigh forgotten, and the very buildings themselves have been torn down or remodeled. Even more unfortunately we have no very exact idea of the appearance of their interiors; there are very few prints of these old taverns of Jefferson County. To gain any idea whatsover of their appearance, we are obliged to turn to English prints of the early nineteenth century. The old Wind-

sor chairs, the long wooden benches and tables and the tankards and drinking glasses are likewise lost. Possibly some of them had interesting old wall paper as Dickens describes an inn in the town where he went to school, "where one of the apartments has a zoological papering on the walls, not so accurately joined but that the elephant occasionally rejoices in a tiger's hind legs and tail, while the lion puts on a trunk and tusks, and the bear, moulting as it were, appears as to portions of himself like a leopard."

But what memories these old taverns conjure up: George Washington stopping for a meal; Louis Phillippe, watching from his coach the people of a new republic, founded on the very principles which overthrew his dynasty; Lafayette on his way to Harewood; the quick irascible Jackson hurrying by, Clay and a host of others—generals and statesmen, makers of the nation, and alongside them a steady stream of pioneers on their way to the west; the soldiers of the Revolution before the taverns, and eighty years later, the armies of a country in the throes of a civil war—all this these old taverns witnessed. Their quick decay, after the building of the railroads, but emphasizes again the momentous changes that occurred in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet as we look back the story of these old taverns but remind us again that this county of ours is indeed historic ground—

"As ancient are these hostelries
As any in the land may be,
Built in the old Colonial day,
When men lived in a grander way,
With ampler hospitality."

LIST OF BOOKS OR BOOKLETS RELATING WHOLLY OR IN PART TO JEFFERSON COUNTY

Aler, F. Vernon. History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County. 1888. Hagerstown Mail. 452 pages. Has chapter on First Settlements of Valley. Contains story of Wild Goose Farm and Henry Shepherd Valuable chiefly for its Historical Sketches of Early Inhabitants by the late Honorable Charles James Faulkner. Available in Charles Town Public Library and Shepherd College Library.

Ambler, Lucy Johnson. When Tidewater Invaded the Valley. 1934. 12 pages. A Tribute to the man of lower Virginia in the days of the John Brown Raid. In Charles Town library. Sold by author.

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Barry, Joseph. The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry. 1903. In Charles Town Public Library.

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Eckenrode, H. J. List of the Colonial Soldiers of Virginia. 1917. Department of Archives, Richmond. In Shepherdstown library.

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Foote, William Henry. Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical. 1850. Philadelphia. 368 pages. Refers to early Presbyterian churches in Jefferson County, gives biography of Dr. Moses Hoge. In Shepherd College library.

Graham, J. R. The Planting of Presbyterianism in the Northern Neck of Virginia. 1904. Winchester, Va. Attempts to prove that Shepherdstown was called Potomoke as early as 1719, gives history of churches in county. In Charles Town library.

Gwathmey, Edward M. John Pendleton Kennedy. 1931. New York. In Charles Town library.

Hammond, Harriot Milton. Aunt Bet. Deals with Mordington and Shannon Hill. In Charles Town library.

Hardesty, H. H. Historical Hand-Atlas. 1883. Published by author. In Charles Town library.

Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army, 1775-1783. 1914. Washington. In public libraries at Charles Town and Shepherdstown.

Hendricks, Sam M. Military Operations in Jefferson County, 1861-1865. Shepherdstown. Account of ten companies in Jefferson County, and history connected with twenty-five points in county where skirmishes took place and where markers were erected as result of a movement started in 1910. In Shepherd College library.

Holmes, Anne Middleton. Mary Mildred Sullivan. Deals with Mordington and Shannon Hill. In Charles Town library.

Howe, Henry. Historical Collections of Virginia. 1845. Published by Babcock & Co., Charleston, S. C. 544 pages. Nine pages on Jefferson county. Quotes from Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia concerning Harpers Ferry, gives account of towns, James Rumsey, Gen. William Darke, Washington's Masonic Cave. In Charles Town and Shepherd College libraries.

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Lewis, Virgil A. Handbook of West Virginia. 1904. Published by West Virginia Commission of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. 390 pages. Reference to early settlement, early schools, and early library societies in Jefferson County; a description of Shannondale Springs; two pages of space subscribed by Jefferson County, on industries, products, etc. In Shepherd College library.

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Braxton D. Gibson. Quotes from Lieut. Orme's Journal concerning Braddock's March. In Shepherdstown and Shepherd College libraries.

Lucas, Daniel B. The Rumseian Society, 1788-1906. Report made 1908. 8 pages. In Shepherd College library.

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Meade, Bishop Wm. Old Families, Churches and Ministers of Virginia. 1857. In Charles Town library.

Musser, C. S. Two Hundred Years' History of Shepherdstown. 1931. Published by author, Shepherdstown. 179 pages, illustrated. Documentary material from acts of Virginia Assembly and meetings of Town Council. In Charles Town and Shepherd College libraries.

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