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Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume LXXVII
December 2011

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Magazine of the

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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"History by apprising them [citizens] of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views."

Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 14, 1781

"It is history that teaches us to hope."

Robert E. Lee, letter to Charles Marshall, 1870

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JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927

To identify, present, preserve and promote the history of Jefferson County.

www.jeffersonhistoricalwv.org

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Editor's Note

The sesquicentennial of the 1861-1865 War is finally here. We are having a lot of activity in Jefferson County relative to the War. I thought I would be swamped with War articles but I was not and only got one; maybe next year. I did get two great pieces about abolition in the early part of the 1800s. You will find them to be very fascinating.

I have been a metal detecting relic hunter since 1964. I know what it is like to search for a site that has been unused for a hundred and fifty or more years. Our first article has to do with a search for the old Elk Branch Presbyterian Church near Duffields. You will have to read it to see what the authors found.

A lot of us have attended productions at The Old Opera House but it was once The New Opera House. Take a look at this next article to find about its history.

From 1830 to the 1850s there was a movement in the county for former black slaves to return to Africa. A lot of Jefferson County blacks made the trip. In this source material, you can read about the people who left and the people who helped them in "Jefferson County to Liberia: Emigrants, Emancipators, and Facilitators."

I received a paper for publication that was written by a local girl for a class at Shepherd College in 1918. I thought that some of the pictures she drew would be a nice addition to the magazine. This is a good reminder of school-work almost a hundred years ago.

We have another Washington letter from the early 1800s. It is not one of The General's but is written by his nephew explaining why he freed his slaves. I read it several years ago and am glad to see it in the magazine. It is a good one!

There was a community on the west end of what is now Charles Town prior to the establishment of the town. Read about the merchants and other providers of services in that area in the next article.

Closing out this year's magazine is a piece on the strategic importance of Jefferson County in the War. You will see all the reasons why Jefferson County was important to both sides.

I figure if I am ever going to write something for the magazine, I need to do it now while I am editor. Earlier in the year I got several hundred words down on Turner Ashby at Bolivar in 1861 before I, as is my practice, lost interest. Thankfully, I have plenty of great material from those that do not quickly lose interest while writing.

Thanks again to Claire Hendrix at Winchester Printers.

Jim Glymph at home on the Avon Bend

Frank Woodruff Buckles

1901–2011





America's last Doughboy

A Quest to Locate the Early Elk Branch Presbyterian Church

By John L. Cowan, Elizabeth Snyder Lowe, and Cynthia Thompson

When he was nearing the end of his second missionary journey into the "frontier" of the Pennsylvania and Virginia Colonies, a young Presbyterian man named Phillip Vickers Fithian visited in Jefferson (then Berkeley) County, Virginia. He had one characteristic that set him apart from many of the "circuit riders" that were visiting the settlements in the back country: he kept a detailed daily journal.

Phillip Fithian was not famous in 1775-1776. He was not even well-known at the time. His journals, however, became highly regarded when published 125 years later in the twentieth century. In their introduction to Fithian's *Journal of 1775-1776*, Albion and Dodson, the editors, said:

> The unique value of this journal lies in its intimate, objective picture of American back-country society in the opening months of the Revolution . . . He took a lively interest in the men and women whom he met, and his descriptive powers and his sense of humor have saved for us details of their mode of life which might otherwise have passed into oblivion. He shows us their houses, clothes, food and drink, books, fields, and even their flea-ridden bedrooms. We find them singing hymns, playing cards, and marrying; we are given broad hints of crime and scandal. We see the waxing and waning of their martial ardor and we are later shown other Americans on the battlefield itself.[1]

Fithian had been licensed to preach by the Philadelphia Presbytery in December 1774 following his graduation from Princeton College in 1772, a year of ministerial study in Deerfield, New Jersey and a year as a tutor

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[1] Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal, 1775 - 1776* Edited by: Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson. Princeton University Press, 1934. 279 pages. Editors Introduction. Page vii.
URL <http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/Philip%20Vickers%20Fithian%2C%20Journal%2C%201775-1776.%20Albion%26DodsonPrinceton%20Univ.1934.pdf>
(Abbreviated Elk Branch pages 181-183 only)
URL http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/Fithian%20at%20Elk%20Branch.pdf

on a Virginia plantation.[2] Because there were no churches needing ministers in the southern part of the West New Jersey Province near Greenwich and Deerfield in Cumberland County, he had a job problem. The presbytery commissioned him to be a missionary preacher to groups and societies of Presbyterians which were beginning to flourish in the Susquehanna Valley and in the Shenandoah Valley west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia.

It was customary for these early Presbyterians on the frontier to read Scriptures and pray with their families in their homes. This was the first level of church development. A later development of a young "church" according to Swaim "came when a family invited to their cabin on a Sunday, which was construed as the 'Sabbath' at the time, some neighbors who informally read the Scripture, kneeled in prayer, used the Westminster Shorter Catechism[3] to test the children, and sang the Scottish metrical version of the Psalms."[4] At this level of church development there were no sermons. Presbyterians frowned upon preaching by the laity. Only preachers licensed by the synod or governing presbyteries were allowed to preach to these emerging churches.

On Friday 16 February 1776, Fithian wrote in his journal: "Fryday I rode to Elk-Branch, with the Purpose of preaching next Sabbath"[5]

It was not unusual for the congregation of Presbyterians at Elk Branch or many of the other emerging congregations to be visited by itinerant pulpit supply preachers. Indeed, since "Elk Branch" had first been identified by name in the minutes of the Donegal Presbytery on April 11, 1769, the people had only received the preached word by supply preachers on an occasional and temporary basis[6] provided first by the Newcastle Presbytery, by the Donegal Presbytery, and later by the

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[2] Ryan Lintelman (Webmaster). "Philip Vickers Fithian" Nomini Hall. 2007. URL <http://rllint.people.wm.edu/fithian.html>

[3] Westminister Shorter Catechism. <http://www.epc.org/mediafiles/westminster-shorter-catechism.pdf>

[4] William T. Swaim. "The Evolution of Ten Pre-1745 Presbyterian Societies in the Cumberland Valley" 1985, as quoted in an article Titled: *Early Donegal Congregation: "How Early Congregations Developed."*

[5] Fithian, p. 181

[6] Graham, 1904. "Among the ministers sent [to Elk Branch after 1769 for 6 or 7 years] . . . and some of them were sent very frequently -were Messrs. Cooper, Balch, Slemons, Vance, Craighead, Rhea, Lang, Hoge, McKnight, Thompson, Hunter, McConnell and others." URL < http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/James%20R%20Graham%20%28Abbreviated%29%20XII%20Elk%20Branch%20.pdf>

Carlisle Presbytery. Fithian also knew many of the preachers that had supplied Elk Branch.[7]

Swaim summarized the following final steps toward becoming a Presbyterian Church:

> a "licentiate" could not be ordained until he completed the Presbytery's stringent examination and had been officially "called" by a specific congregation that undertook to support him.
>
> The minister could then install the ruling elders-elect. In Presbyterian terminology the process of creating a board of installed, ruling elders transformed a society into a church.[8]

The Elk Branch congregation had not yet called a licentiate to be their minister. Thus, at the time of Fithian's 1776 visit the Elk Branch congregation was not yet a "church" as defined by the Presbyterian ruling bodies.

It can be argued that Fithian's visit to the Elk Branch congregation held no particular meaning for him. It was the last settlement he was to visit before heading back to his home in a swampy part of Jersey near the Delaware Bay. In 1775 and January of 1776 Fithian had already preached at many settlements in the Shenandoah Valley: including, Hall's Meeting House (M.H.), Timber Ridge, North Mountain M.H., Brown's M.H., Staunton, Augusta Stone Church, Woodstock, Stoverstown, Stephensburg, Cedar Springs [at Natural Bridge], Winchester, Berkeley Springs, and Falling Water. Thus he may have simply looked at the visit to Elk Branch as his last in a long string of visits before concluding his commissioned missionary work.

On the other hand, a strong case can be made that Fithian's visit to the Elk Branch congregation was of special importance to him personally. The Mr. [Peter] Burr with whom he dined and where he stayed had strong relationships with the founders of Princeton College.[9] Fithian had

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[7] Fithian, page 139.
Sunday 10th [December 1775] cold & cloudy. We rode to the North-Mountain Meeting House. Many assembled-The Congregation appeared genteel. All here are Irish-all are Presbyterians. It grew very windy & rainy before the Sermon was half finished. Bad Times for poor itinerant Preachers. In this Valley now are many such - McKnight, Hunter, Linn, McConnel, McMillan, McOrkle, Archibald, Graham, & poor scurvy I- Nine raw inexperienced Candidates not one of whom are ordained - Almost as many Shepherds as Sheep you will say -

[8] Swaim, p. 1

[9] Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Committee Website. "The Peter Burr House." See Discussion of relationship between Peter Burr & Aaron Burr <http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/peterburrhouse.html>

graduated in the same class as future Vice President of the United States Aaron Burr, Jr., who was the son of the second president of Princeton College, Aaron Burr, Sr.[10] He surely knew that his classmate, Aaron Burr, Jr., was a first cousin of Peter Burr.[11]

He said about Elk Branch: "Here is a Settlement of my Countrymen. Mr Burr, Tully, Conklin, Boyd, Sayre, Garrison, with their Families, and others."[12] It is not clear what Fithian meant by using the phrase, "my Countrymen." He may have merely meant that he knew some of these people. In his diary he noted that Mr. Tully [Moses Tullis] of Virginia was much like his brother, William Tullis, whom the young Fithian knew in Deerfield, New Jersey. He may have meant that they shared with him an allegiance to the cause of the new American spirit in its battle against the British King's tyrannical ways.

Another very personal relationship may have made this Elk Branch visit special. Fithian wrote of visiting his aunt, the wife of William Sayre, who lived somewhere in the Elk Branch neighborhood. There were also Sayres who were members of his home church in Greenwich whom he must have known.[13]

Fithian commented at length about his aunt's dissatisfaction with the moderate circumstances in which she had found herself in Virginia. He wrote:

> "My Aunt is uneasy in her Situation!
> It is not hard to imagine the Complication of Difficulties which will be continually raised by any small Dissatisfaction with our Lot. This is the Condition of my Aunt's Mind. She has at first conceived, & for a while entertained, some inconsiderable Dislike to this Colony, which has, at length, taken so deep Root, & grown to such a Magnitude, that no Enjoyment can, in Virginia, be either pleasant or tolerable. She is now more reconciled to the Manners & Country than in Time past; but still she wishes to live in sandy West-Jersey."[14]

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[10] Princeton University History. *The Presidents of Princeton University*. URL <http://www.princeton.edu/pr/facts/presidents/04.htm>

[11] Reliving History Inc. Website. "Jefferson County's Well- Hidden Treasure." URL <http://www.relivinghistoryinc.org/>

[12] Fithian, p. 181

[13] John W. Barber and Henry Howe, "Greenwich, NJ History" from HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, Published by: S. TUTTLE, New York 1844. <http://history.rays-place.com/nj/greenwich.htm>

[14] Fithian, p. 182

Fithian's preaching at the Elk Branch Church was less than satisfactory on an "extreme cold" February Sunday morning. His diary account is the best way to explain why:

SUNDAY FEB: I8TH
ELK-BRANCH

The Day clear but extreme cold. On our way to Church my Aunt suffered a melancholy Accident—She fell from her Horse! The Ground was frozen & very rough; but by the Mercy of Providence no Bones were broken; her Face is sadly bruised, & in one Place deeply cut!

But few at Sermon, & the few who were there seemed impatient of the violent Cold.

On my Aunts Account, & at the Request of the People, I preached a Sermon in the Evening at Mr Tully's. Many came out.—This Congregation are, at present in much Confusion, on Account of fixing on a Minister."[15]

From this account we can draw the inference that the congregation was flexible when faced with the situation in which they were uncomfortably cold and in which one of their members had suffered from falling off her horse. They seem to have adjusted readily to the circumstances by showing a willingness to have Fithian preach at the home of Moses Tullis in the evening when more people showed up. They may have met more frequently in the homes of members than in the meeting house. Fithian's diary account seems to tell us that on that day the meeting house was not comfortably heated.

Fithian spoke of having dined at Mr. Burr's, probably on his arrival on Friday February 16, 1776. He said: "I dined at Mr Burr's. He is a good-Liver, as it is commonly said. Appears to be a modest, sensible Man, & is in high Repute—"[16]

Fithian also described Moses Tullis: "Like his Brother in Deerfield he is calm & thoughtful; when he speaks you will discover Ease & Strength in his Language; he speaks slow; has great Circumspection; & certainly is a Person of much real Philanthropy."[17]

After he preached at the home of Mr. Tullis on Sunday evening, Fithian concluded his diary entry for that day with these few words:

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[15] Fithian, p. 182
[16] Fithian, p. 181
[17] Fithian, p. 181

"After Sermon I rode, & spent the Night, at Mr Burrs."[18] An inside look at the Peter Burr House shows where Fithian visited.[19]

On the next day Fithian wrote:

> Monday, I made Mr [Jacob] Conklin a Visit. Poor Man he has many Afflictions!
> This Settlement is excellent Land, but very destitute of Water.
> After Dinner I took my last Leave of my grieving Aunt—I feel for her; but Sympathy is an insufficient Friend.—And I rode to Mr [John] Wrights. Here lies an ancient Woman, in Appearance, at the Door of Death. She is Mr Wrights Mother; seventy-three Years old—And wasting down with a Consumption—[20]

Philip Fithian's visit was just a very small back story played for a few days on the large canvas of the beginnings of the American Revolutionary War. A mere six months before he came, the famous "Bee Line March" had moved out from Shepherdstown to meet with George Washington in Cambridge. Just one month before Fithian arrived, Thomas Paine had anonymously published his "Common Sense" pamphlet arguing for independence. Perhaps Fithian had found a copy somewhere along the Philadelphia Wagon Road and read parts with his friends at Elk Branch. The Declaration of Independence was signed a few months after he departed. Fithian became a chaplain with the American troops in New York in July. He died in October 1776.

Fithian has introduced us to several members in the early Elk Branch Presbyterian congregation. Moses Tullis, Peter Burr and John Wright, among others, had been stalwarts of the Presbyterian community since the 1740s or 1750s. They were the three trustees of the congregation who had acted to buy land for the church in 1770.

We suspect that Fithian and these trustees may have discussed plans for their land and their desire to call a minister to the Elk Branch. Just two months after his visit the congregation issued a call to John McKnight, one of Fithian's classmates. We shall not speculate further about his role in this matter because our focus at the present is on locating the edifice [Church or Meeting House] where it was too cold for Fithian

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[18] Fithian, p. 183

[19] Reliving History, Inc. Website. "Architecture and House History." *Peter Burr House*. 2009. URL <http://www.relivinghistoryinc.org/Architecture—-House-History.html>

[20] Fithian, p. 183

to preach on Sunday February 18, 1776. Fithian did not say anything specific about the location or physical condition of the meeting house.

Search for the Old Elk Branch Church Location Using Land Ownership Records and Mapping:

In early 2009 we had not read and scrutinized much literature that discussed the location of the meeting house. We knew that the location of the old Elk Branch Presbyterian Church was about a half mile west of the present stone church building. And there is an 1806 deed[21] in which John Wright, on behalf of the Presbyterian congregation of Elk Branch sold a one acre parcel of land to Phillip Engle. We were intrigued. This sale was made during a time when the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church officially did not exist. The earliest Elk Branch church had been divided and dissolved in 1792 and no mention of it had appeared in presbyterial minutes again until it was reorganized in 1833. In 1806 John Wright was the sole survivor of the three trustees of the congregation, who had bought the land in 1770.[22] Of the other two trustees, Moses Tullis (sometimes spelled as Tully, Tullys, or Tullos) had died in 1777,[23] and Peter Burr, II died in February 1795.[24]

We assumed that the land described in these deeds would have been the location of the early Elk Branch Presbyterian Church. As expected we discovered that the "land" described in the 1806 deed was the same land that had been bought by the three trustees for the congregation in 1770. Thus we began with the simple idea of locating the land described in these two deeds.

We had to find a location in Jefferson County where Engle land[25] shared a common boundary with Neill land[26] and where a boundary with James Young land[27] was also present. This was complicated by Robert

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[21] Jefferson County Virginia (now WV) Deed Book 3, Pages 458-460. 1806 February 25. John Wright to Phillip Engle.

[22] Frederick County Virginia Deed Book 13, Pages 427-428. 1770 August 8. John & Marget Ingle to John Wright, et.ux. [i.e. Wright, Tullis, and Burr, trustees of the Presbyterian Congregation of Elk Branch]

[23] Tullis Genealogy. <http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/Moses%20Tullis%20Chapter01.pdf>

[24] Reliving History, Inc. Website. <http://www.relivinghistoryinc.org/>

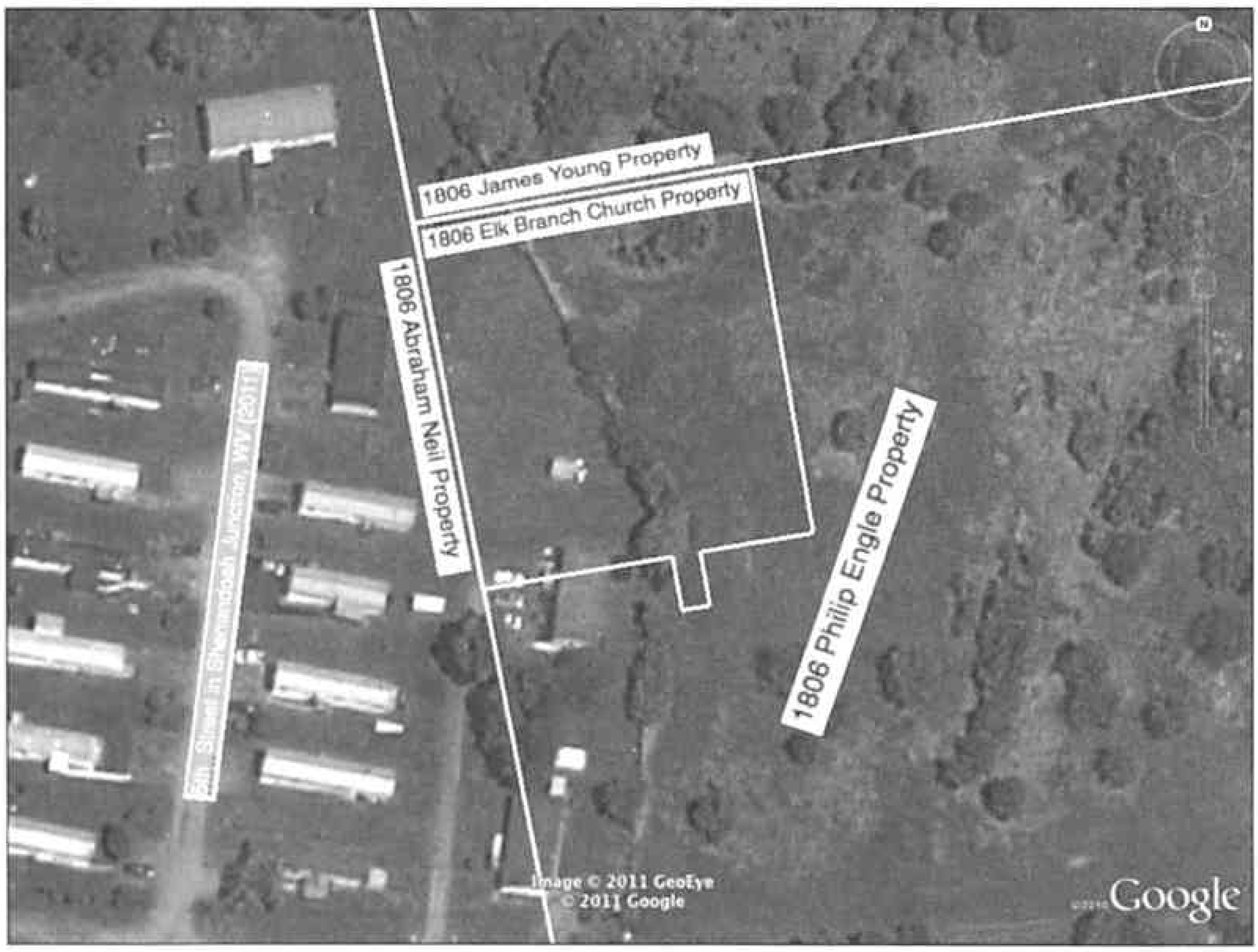
[25] Frederick County Virginia Deed Book 1, p 143. Engle [Ingle], Melger. 1754, January 1; 397 acres.

[26] Frederick County Virginia Deed Book 1, p. 145. Neill, Lewis. 1754, January 3; 392 acres.

[27] Berkeley County Virginia Deed Book 11, pp. 223-225. Robert Lowry to James Young dated 21 February 1793

Lowry[28] being an intervening owner. We transposed land information obtained from Galtjo Geertsema,[29] an acclaimed surveyor from Martinsburg, who has found, organized, mapped and "fit together" most, if not all, Fairfax Land Grants west of the Blue Ridge Mountains on United States National Geodetic Survey quadrangles to contemporary Google Earth[30] aerial view images of Jefferson County. We also used the metes and bounds surveys of relevant deeds to find and map the boundaries for the church land.

We summarize the results of our land search in an image which represents the one acre bought by the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church trustees from John and Margaret Ingle in 1770. Labels to show ownership boundaries before the sale to Philip Engle on 25 February 1806 have been overlaid on the land image.



[28] Berkeley County Virginia Deed Book 3 pp. 238-239. Philip Engle (heir) to Robert Lowry dated 21 March 1775; 100 Ac.

[29] Galtjo Geertsema. Surveys and maps obtained from Galtjo Geertsema, surveyor from Martinsburg, WV. <http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/howandwheretolookitup/landgrants.html> <http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/geohistoryabout.html>

[30] Google Earth. See the following URL for a more thorough discussion. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_Earth>

The little piece of ground is essentially a rectangle 198 feet (E-W) by 218.625 feet (N-S) rotated counter clockwise by 8 degrees. A small rectangular appendage (16.5 feet by 33 feet) on the south boundary of the plat raises questions as to the purpose of its inclusion. No answer is readily apparent. We do not speculate as to the reason for this appendage. It is shown here superimposed on a 2011 Google Earth image showing part of Shenandoah Junction, West Virginia on the left side.

The one acre once owned by the Presbyterian congregation of Elk Branch sits on a beautiful promontory to the east of 5th Street of Shenandoah Junction. It overlooks land to the west which has become Shenandoah Junction, land to the east toward Duffields and the Elk Branch as it flows from the west toward the Potomac River. The view to the north overlooking the Elk Branch is mainly obscured by the CSX (old Baltimore & Ohio Railroad) tracks which were constructed in the 1830s after the land no longer belonged to the church.

After having located that parcel of land and examined it with the permission and guidance of the present owner, State Senator Herb Snyder in 2010 and 2011, we felt satisfied that we had, indeed, located the one acre of land legally owned by the Elk Branch Church from 1770 to 1806. We thought we had noticed what might have been a rectangular foundation from aerial views. Mr. Snyder assured us that it was not a foundation but an outcropping of limestone so familiar in Jefferson County. Mr. Snyder indicated that he had worked the land, walked it and mowed grass growing on it frequently while possessing it since 1979. He was certain that he had never seen anything (such as foundation stones, rotted timbers, or nails) to suggest the existence of a structure there. Perhaps a thorough inspection by trained archaeologists would lead to another conclusion.

We were initially disappointed by the results of our search. We had expected that finding the land would have settled the lingering question about the location of the old church with clarity. We decided to continue our efforts to find the old church by searching available literature to discover clues that others might have left for us.

Search for the Old Elk Branch Church Location Based on Historical Literature

Elk Branch Location Based on Remarks of Albion and Dodson

Albion and Dodson, the editors of the Fithian Journal 1775-1776 attached a footnote as follows:

A Presbyterian meeting house had been built about 1769 at Elk Branch, about ten miles southeast of Martinsburg and six miles west of Harper's Ferry. It is the site of the present Duffield's Station. Cartmell, p. 65.[31]

We believe the statement of the editors is a misreading of Cartmell's statement:

> This Church is located at what is known as Duffields Station on B. & O. R. R., about six miles West of Harpers Ferry. The building is on the North side of Elk Branch. This place had some notoriety in the early days. A small fort was there, and the stockade enclosed the large spring and it was at this point where the first Church stood. For convenience of site, the congregation erected the present building, which is about a half mile East. Church history says this Church first appears 1769. Tradition gives a much earlier date, and many accept the latter as reliable.[32]

So we continued to look for information about the location and age of the meeting house where Fithian was to have preached.

Elk Branch Location Based on Remarks of Dr. John A. Scott:

The first published piece that we have discovered that mentions the location of the Old Elk Branch Church emerged in our search from a file of clippings. This article was in circulation early in the twentieth century because portions of it were cited by other writers in the early 1900s. We have extracted the words with focus on the location of the meeting house.

> It was on the Elk Branch Creek the first settlers pitched their homes and earlier than 1707 had their fort built around a big never failing spring at the head of Elk Branch on land now owned by Mrs. John A. Link. The fort was a strong stockade, and enclosed about an acre of ground. Parts of the foundations were recently exposed when repairing the guard fence. . . . . .

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[31] Fithian, p. 18 Albion & Dodson quoting Cartmell

[32] Thomas K. Cartmell, Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants:a history of Frederick County, Virginia, from its formation in 1738 to 1908 (Google eBook). Copywrite T. K. Cartmell. 1909. p. 172 http://books.google.com/ebooks/reader?id=sdFczYzblKQC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&source=webstore_bookcard&pg=GBS.PA172?

While here I have seen the very spot where the Old Elk Branch Church stood, and moved some of its foundation stones, doubtless of almost the same antiquity as the Fort and graveyard, and 400 yards distant.[33]

Dr. Scott's article is primarily an argument to establish that the Elk Branch community is the site of the first white settlement in the Virginia Colony west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Scott's entire argument for the "earliest" is his focus on the death date of "1707" on a controversial sandstone gravestone nearby.[34]

Our interest in Scott's article was not how early the inhabitants settled. Rather we were intrigued with the clarity of Scott's statements about the location of the Old Elk Branch Church. Certainly Scott had no doubts about this for he states without equivocation that he has "seen the very spot…."

While Scott moved some stones, he offered no description or cogent argument to ascertain that they were, indeed, foundation stones of the church or of the fort that was believed to have existed at the Link Spring?

He had no doubts that the stones were of almost the same antiquity as the fort and graveyard which he identified as being 400 yards distant. His language structure is a bit difficult to interpret, but it strongly suggests that there was 400 yards between the church and fort on the one hand, and the graveyard on the other. From our perspective, that seems to be a very great distance for a "church graveyard" to be from a church edifice. We believe that the graveyard which is commonly known presently as the Ronemous-Engle Graveyard[35] should most likely be considered as a "private family graveyard" rather than a graveyard associated with a Presbyterian meeting house.

Scott also claimed "another fact confirming the great antiquity of this settlement and fort is found in the records ecclesiastical which I have examined and are unquestionably authentic."[36] It would certainly have

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[33] Dr. John A. Scott. "Aliquis 'In the Mountains of West Virginia'." This article was originally published in *The Richmond Central Presbyterian* at some date after 1890. Dr. Cowan's transcription of this orphaned article can be accessed at the following URL: <http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/John%20A.%20Scott.%20Aliquis%20%20%E2%80%9CIn%20the%20Mountains%20of%20West%20Virginia%E2%80%9D.pdf >

[34] Cartmell, pp 265-267

[35] Find A Grave web site. *Ronemous Engle Cemetery, Duffields, WV*. "All Graves Search Result." <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gsr&GScid=2351461>

[36] Scott, p. 1

been useful for Scott to have given some indication of the nature of records ecclesiastical and where they could be located for verification. Presumably these records would have been part of the Presbytery of New Castle or perhaps the records of the Donegal Presbytery or both.

Dr. Scott argued, with his firsthand testimony, from a position of "authority" which he would have readers believe is "doubtless" or "unquestionable." Scott served as the pastor at the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church from 1870 to 1890. He was a highly respected member of the Duffields community. Perhaps he was used to having his word accepted "without question."

But not all readers have accepted his testimony without question. Cartmell, for example, made a reasoned and very strong evidentiary case that the "1707" death date on the gravestone was very likely an inaccurate observation.

Elk Branch Location Based on Remarks of James Robert Graham, 1904

In 1904 the Reverend James R. Graham wrote an ecclesiastical history entitled: *The Planting of the Presbyterian Church in the Northern Neck of Virginia, prior to the Organization of the Winchester Presbytery, December 4, 1794*. In this extensively researched book, Graham devoted many pages to the history of the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church in Section XII.[37] We focus primarily on the location of the meeting house as recorded by Graham.

> But the old church, with the history of which we are here concerned, was half a mile west of the present site, and on the south side of the Branch, near the large spring formerly enclosed in the Block House, which the early settlers built for protection from the hostile Indians.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This opinion is sustained by the fact that there was already a church building at the Link Spring. This house, built of logs, was in a state of decay in 1792, which is proof that it must have been erected a long time before 1769. And it is fair to assume that in that house the Presbyterians on Elk Branch were accustomed to hold occasional, if not stated, worship.[38]

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[37] Graham, "Section XII Elk Branch" <http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/James%20R%20Graham%20XII%20Elk%20Branch%20.pdf>

[38] James R. Graham, *The Planting of the Presbyterian Church in the Northern Neck of Virginia, prior to the Organization of the Winchester Presbytery, December 4, 1794*.

Elk Branch Location Based on Remarks of Rev. Harold H. Leach.

Published in The Register, Shepherdstown, West Virginia September 19, 1929, was a lengthy article by the Reverend Harold H. Leach, minister of the Elk Branch Church beginning in August of 1927.[39] It was his "Historical Sketch of the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church, Duffields, Jefferson County, West Virginia," delivered at the centennial celebration (of the building of the new Stone Church) September 8, 1929. This was a well-written article which succinctly summarized the early history of the church and would serve to provide context for our inquiry.

The article drew heavily upon information from by Dr. James R. Graham's 1904 book and also cited information from Dr. Scott. In our reading, the article contributed no "new" clues about the location of the early church, except in explicitly noting that Graham had said in a part of his book that we had overlooked initially, that the "old log church . . . stood in the Presbyterian graveyard . . .: "

> There is convincing evidence that Elk Branch had been a place of worship for some time before its name is mentioned in the presbyterial records. An old log church which stood in the Presbyterian graveyard near Duffields, and which had fallen into decay in 1792, must have been erected and used much earlier than 1769[40]

Elk Branch Location Based on Remarks of Millard Kessler Bushong:

Some time between the years 1763 and 1767 the old Potomac [Shepherdstown] Presbyterian congregation divided. One group decided to set up a separate church on Elk Branch, about seven miles south of Shepherdstown.

. . . . . .

> The mother church [Shepherdstown or "Potowmack"] had already been conducting services on Elk Branch and had erected a house of worship there on the stream at the Link

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[39] Rev Harold H. Leach, Historical Sketch of Elk Branch Presbyterian Church, 1929 as printed in The Register, Shepherdstown, WV 19 September 1929. <http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/Rev%20Harold%20H.%20Leach%2C%20Historical%20Sketch%20of%20Elk%20Branch%20Presbyterian%20Church%2C%201929.pdf>

[40] Leach

Spring in front of the residence of the late James Burr Osbourn. It was a separate building from the blockhouse which had been erected there for protection against Indians.[41]

SUMMARY

Presumably our quest to find the location of the early Elk Branch Church by literature search would almost be resolved were we to locate the famous spring. We have been told by Herb Snyder that a large all-weather full-flowing spring still exists north of the railroad tracks on land presently owned by Mrs. Suellen Myers. This is undoubtedly the Link Spring referred to by Dr. John A. Scott. With help from John Allen, Jr. and Herb Snyder, we have pinpointed that spring on a relatively recent map. The Link Spring (which at an earlier time had been known as the Engle Spring, and later as the James Burr Osbourn Spring) was apparently a known landmark in this part of Jefferson County into the twentieth century. It may have once been at the very center of an early settlement.

On this 1988 Google Earth aerial view (page 32) we show the location of the Osbourn House, the spring, the graveyard, and the land the Presbyterians once owned.

Our search of the land records led us to the piece of land southwest of the Link Spring. We are certain that it was owned by the congregation and probably had been bought as a place to construct a new meeting house. It is probable that the "new" meeting house on the hill was never constructed, though the church may have used the site for open air meetings from time to time. Without an extended discussion, we would posit that soured economic conditions which accompanied the American Revolution played a major role to prevent the young church from following a dream to erect a meeting house away from the stream and the spring. The preponderance of evidence in the literature spoke with some certainty about the existence of a fort stockade and a blockhouse at the spring. The meeting house was said to be at or near the spring. One writer said the church was in the graveyard.

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[41] Millard K. Bushong, History of Jefferson County, West Virginia (Jefferson Publishing Company, Charles Town, West Virginia: 1941), pp. 19-20. URL http://dl.dropbox.com/u/26257059/Selected%20Bushong%20Quotes.pdf



Many Questions Remain:

We are still uncertain as to the exact location of the old meeting house. We do not know if it was at the spring, in the graveyard, on the north side of Elk Branch in front of the Osbourn house or on the south side of the stream. Were there early roads in the area leading to and from the meeting house, the graveyard and the spring? Perhaps the study of very early roads in this area of the county might provide additional clues. Is the information about the spring and fort based on tradition such as that cited by Theriault?[42] Maybe there is evidence to be found that would confirm those early stories. Is it possible that there is a deed or deeds, yet to be found in archives, describing the location of the meeting house near the spring? It is possible that remnants of the meeting house and fort were destroyed when the railroad was first constructed. Would a study of the

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[42] William D. Theriault. Appendix A: EXCERPTS FROM "A BRIEF BY L[ODONZO] C. ENGLE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLE NAME" <http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/Hist%20of%20E.%20Jefferson%20County/Appendix_A.htm> in *History of Eastern Jefferson County, West Virginia. 2009*. <http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/Hist%20of%20E.%20Jefferson%20County/index.html>

deeds defining the railroad right-of-way lead to clues about the meeting house? And yes, we will continue our "Quest."

We are fascinated about how this early church began and where it was located along the Elk Branch because this information helps us understand our ancestors who lived in this part of Frederick and Berkeley Counties before Jefferson County was formed. Perhaps our efforts will be a part of the story for our descendants.

Elizabeth (Betty) Snyder Lowe has lived her life in Shepherdstown in Jefferson County, West Virginia. She has a life long connection as a member at the Elk Branch Presbyterian Church. The Mr. Burr that Phillip Fithian describes is Betty Lowe's ggg grandfather. Her gg grandfather, John Snyder, Sr. provided land for the congregation to build a house of worship at its current site at the intersection of Luther Jones and Flowing Springs Roads in 1829.

Dr. John L. Cowan's ancestors lived on Cattail Run in Jefferson County (then Berkeley County) from November 1774 until 1800. There is some evidence that his ggg grandfather was the John Cowan who was an elder at the Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church in 1778-1782. His ggg granduncle, also bearing the name, John Cowan, married Abigail Burr born in 1758, Peter Burr, II's second daughter. Though not documented, he believes that John Cowan and Abigail Burr were probably married at the Old Elk Branch Presbyterian Church about 1779.

Cynthia Thompson joined Mrs. Lowe and Dr. Cowan in 2009 as an archival assistant. At the time she was a student with Dr. Keith Alexander at Shepherd University. Cynthia is presently completing her work in the History Department at Shepherd University. She is a lifelong resident of an area west of Shepherdstown, and has a continuing interest in its history and the preservation of historical resources.

The Old Opera House

By Jeral Milton



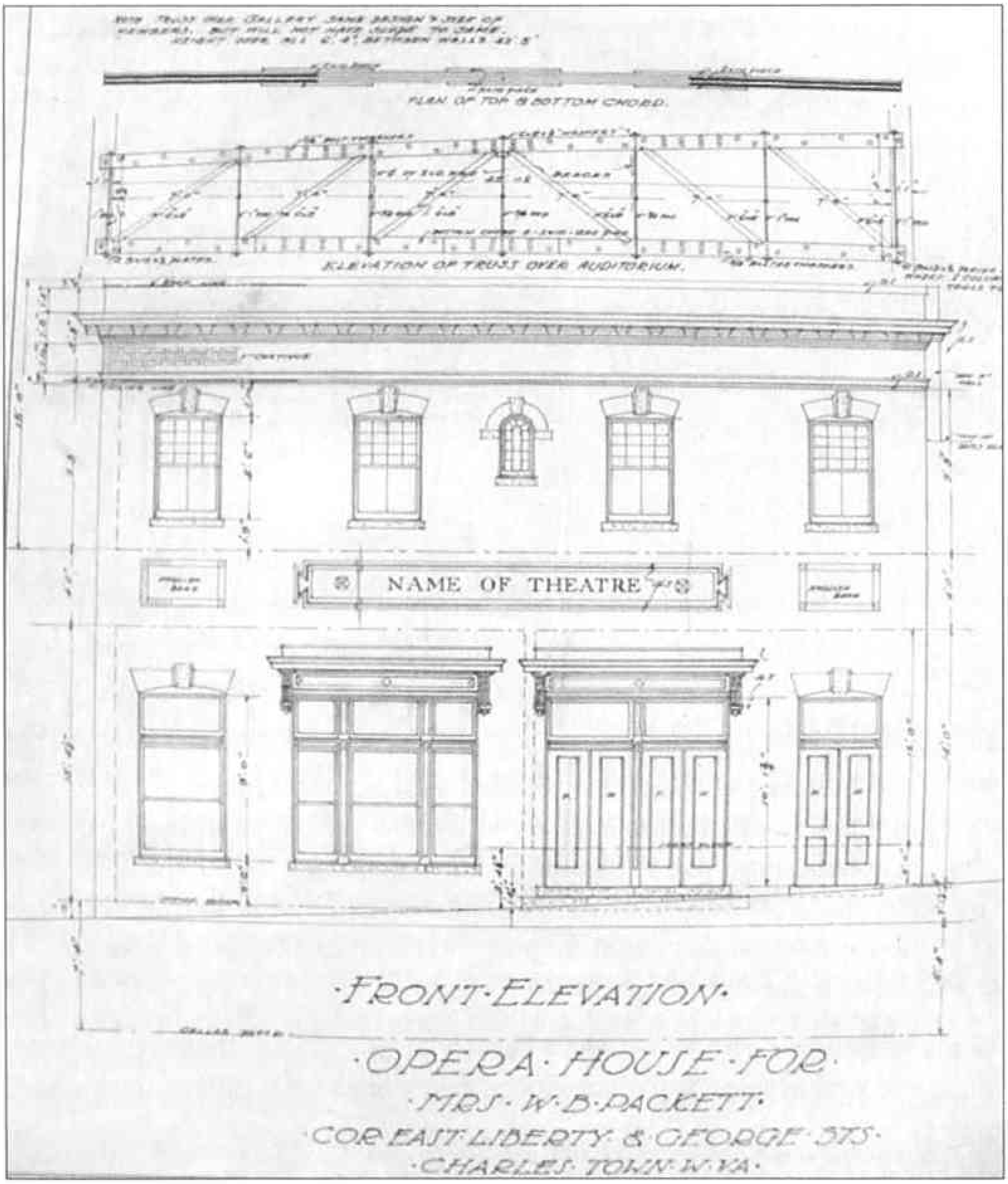
COURTESY OLD OPERA HOUSE THEATRE CO. ARCHIVES

Circa 1915 postcard photograph of the New Opera House

The year was 1909 and Annie Gibson Packett[1] was a woman with a dream and a mission. The residents of Charles Town, increasingly frustrated with the theatre accommodations offered by Charles Washington Hall, were demanding a new, modern theatre with up-to-date

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[1] In 1909 the Packetts spelled their surname without an "e" on the end; by 1918 they apparently were adding a second "e", spelling the name "Packette." *See* Deed of Bargain and Sale from Wm. B. Packett & wife, &c., to Jos. M. Funk, 28 March 1918 (filed 29 March 1918), Jefferson County, WV, Deed Book 116, page 168 for an example of a document with both spellings.



Architect A.B. Mullett's drawing of the front elevation of the Opera House.

equipment.[2] Mrs. Packett, wife of William Bainbridge Packett[3] and granddaughter of Colonel Braxton Davenport of Altona Farm, hoped to provide them with a center for entertainment suitable to their developing urban tastes. To this end, she devoted much of her time in 1909; Mrs.

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2 *Spirit of Jefferson* XL.37 (September 12, 1905).

3 William Bainbridge Packett was a direct descendant of Samuel Washington.

Packett led an effort to raise $50,000[4] for the design and construction of a new, state-of-the-art theatre. She purchased a vacant lot on the corner of George and Liberty Streets,[5] along with the adjoining lot fronting George Street,[6] and hired the A.B. Mullett & Company architectural firm of Washington, DC.[7] The lot which faced George Street, purchased from Mary Davis, had been improved with a brick building around 1895[8] and the Mullett architectural drawings referred to it as the "Davis Building."

By October of 1909, Thomas Augustine Mullett (son of Alfred Bult Mullett who was the supervising architect for the United States Treasury Department from 1865 to 1874)[9] had presented Mrs. Packett with a set of architectural drawings, but these were redrawn in 1910 in a more restrained Classical Revival style and incorporating the Davis Building with three bowling alleys.[10] The *Spirit of Jefferson* reported that:

> Architect T E [sic] Mullett was in town yesterday, and the contract for the erection of the new opera house and bowling alley by Mrs. Wm P [sic] Packett on the corner of George and Liberty streets was awarded to Mr. Hugh P. Cline of this place, he being the lowest bidder.
>
> The building will be 60 x 106 feet in size, and a fine structure of brick laid in Flemish bond, with Ohio sandstone trimmings and handsome metal trimmings on the George street front... the opera house will be finished and fitted up in a thoroughly up-to-date manner, with sloping floor, latest improved opera chairs and other fittings to correspond.[11]

When completed, the New Opera House "was a classic theatre structure, complete with fly-space for hanging scenery above the proscenium stage,

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4 This amount would exceed $5,000,000 today. "Inflation Calculator," *InflationData.com*, 2003-2010, 23 February, 2011 <http://inflationdata.com/inflation/Inflation_Calculators>.

5 Deed of Bargain and Sale from C.F. Wall and wife to Annie G. Packett, 23 Feb. 1909 (filed 30 March 1909), Jefferson County, WV, Deed Book 102, page 303. County Clerk's Office, Charles Town, WV.

6 Deed of Bargain and Sale from Mary E. Davis and husband to Annie G. Packett, 11 Oct. 1909 (filed 19 Oct. 1909), Jefferson County, WV, Deed Book 103, page 242. County Clerk's Office, Charles Town, WV.

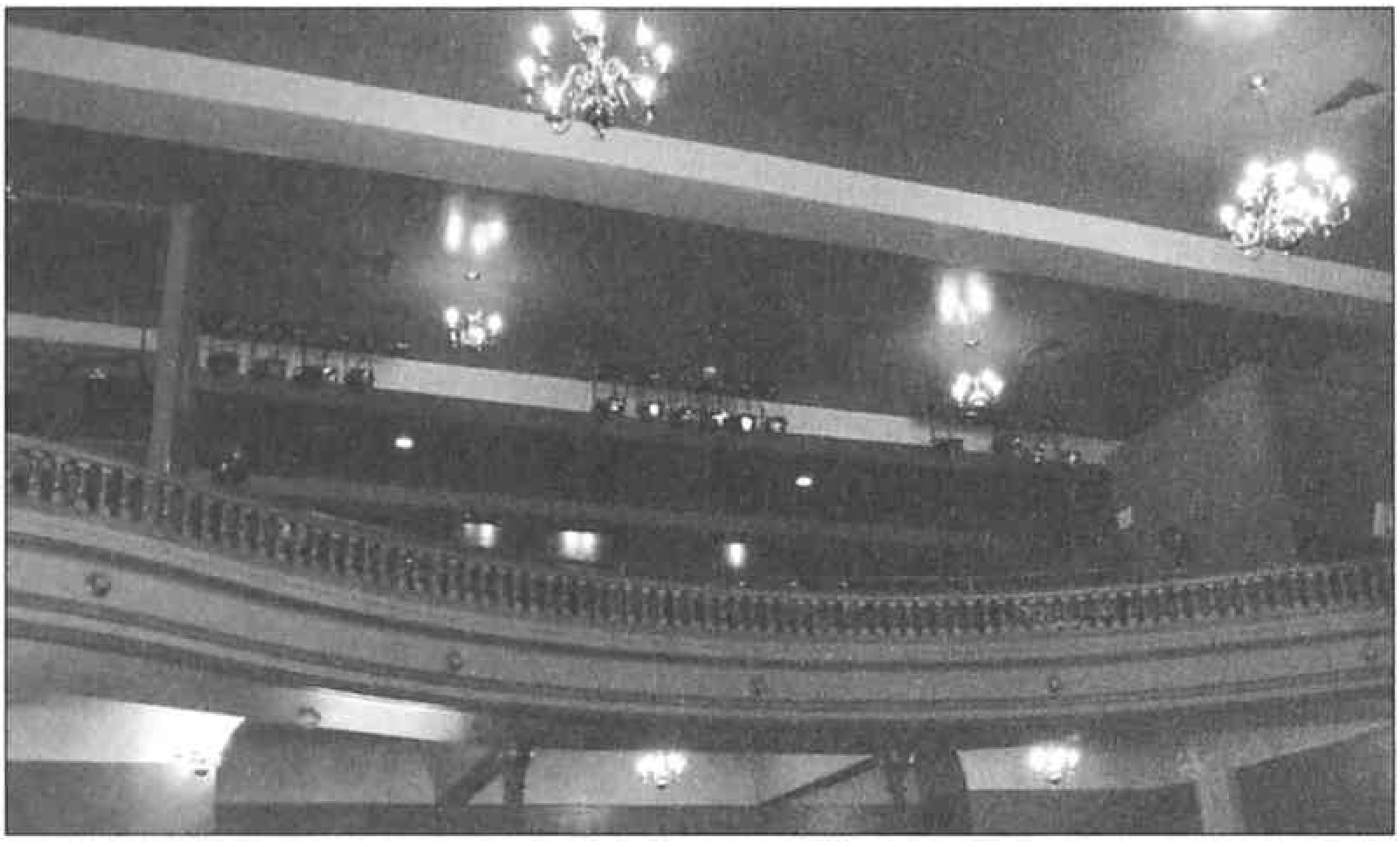
7 James E. Harding, "New Opera House," *National Register documentation*, 1978.

8 *See* 1897 Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Map of Charles Town.

9 Harding.

10 *See* Paula S. Reed, "Historical Documentation and Report," *The Old Opera House Restoration and Rehabilition Project* September 2008:2.6-2.9.

11 "New Opera House for Charles Town," *Spirit of Jefferson* XLV.24 (June 14, 1910):2.



Balcony front as seen from the lower auditorium

an orchestra pit and a curved balcony."[12] Although restraint was the rule, there is a fine pressed-tin ceiling in the lobby and, as one enters the auditorium, "the most striking feature is the emblem over the proscenium with its gold-leafed 'P'."[13]

The New Opera House opened on Valentine's Day, February 14, 1911,[14] with a comedy entitled "Bachelor Girls' Federation of Clubs"[15] and featured "home talent."[16] It was presented by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Lawson Botts Chapter "for the purpose of replenishing their depleted treasury."[17]

Charles Town was typical of many small towns throughout the country in constructing a community theatre building. It had become rather fashionable for small towns to construct a stand-alone theatre during that time period; it "signaled that a town had 'arrived' and was well-

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[12] "History," *Old Opera House Theatre Company*, 2011, 28 March 2011 <http://www.oldoperahouse.org/jos/>.

[13] Harding.

[14] *Spirit of Jefferson* XLVI.7 (February 14, 1911); *see also Farmers' Advocate* XXVI.52 (February 11, 1911).

[15] The author is unknown, nor is it known whether of copy of the script exists today.

[16] *Spirit of Jefferson* XLVI.8 (February 21, 1911).

[17] *Spirit of Jefferson* XLVI.8 (February 21, 1911).

established."[18] Also typical was the name "opera house." Rarely, if ever, did one of these small town theatres host an operatic performance, but the title commonly was used and is thought to have reflected "'a lingering, puritanical prejudice against theater... [while] opera,... was considered high culture and therefore respectable. These buildings were called opera houses to avoid the stigma of the title of theater.'"[19]

The New Opera House quickly became an important and integral part of the community's fabric, hosting a plethora of entertainments, meetings, and a variety of activities.

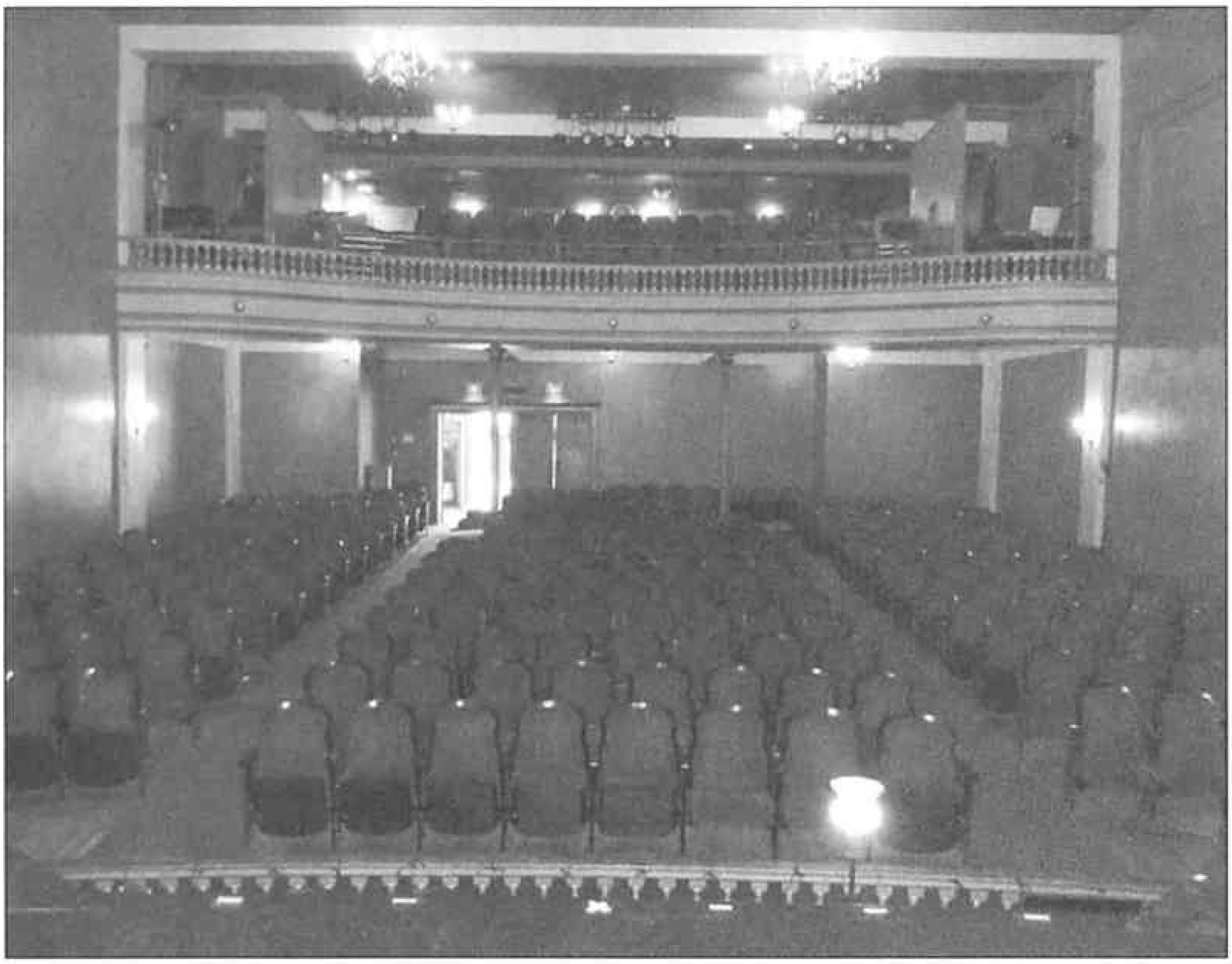
> While full theatrical productions were the big events, the Opera House became the center of 'almost every indoor event of any size in the county.' Touring troupes, vaudeville, readings, minstrels, circuses and wild west shows were part of the increasing bill of fare as the country moved through World War I and the 1920s. Occasional basketball contests and boxing matches were held, and the hall opened for such seeming disparate events as church services and election returns. The building even was used for the storage of food for disaster relief.[20]

Indeed, a 1913 edition of the *Spirit of Jefferson* advertised "Professor Henry Wolford's Great Animal Circus," featuring "Rats, Cats, Dogs & Monkeys."[21] Six months later, the building hosted the 2nd District Democratic Convention.[22] A matinee benefit for the Independent Fire Company was held in 1916 and took in 37 dozen eggs.[23]

When live entertainment was not booked into the New Opera House, there were silent movies with the likes of Mary Astor, Lionel Barrymore, Charlie Chaplin, and others.[24] Manager Edward Henson introduced "talkies" at midnight on May 19, 1929 with a showing of "The Duke Steps Out."[25] The showing of movies may have helped to keep the

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[18] William Condee, qtd. in Alice Sachs, "A Spark of Life," *Perspectives* (Ohio University) III.1 (1999):6.
[19] Condee, qtd. in Sachs 6.
[20] Harding.
[21] *Spirit of Jefferson* XLVIII.46 (November 18, 1913).
[22] *Spirit of Jefferson* XLIX.24 (June 16, 1914).
[23] Harding.
[24] *Spirit of Jefferson* LXIII.12 (March 22, 1928):6; Spirit of Jefferson LXIV.7 (February 14, 1929).
[25] *Spirit of Jefferson* LXIV.20 (May 16, 1929):1.



View of the Theater looking east from the stage.

theatre operating into the 1940s,[26] but ironically, some speculate whether the movies may have contributed to the theatre's demise.[27]

Despite over thirty years as Charles Town's entertainment and meeting center, the New Opera House closed its doors in 1948.[28] For a few years, the Davis Building continued to house such operations as the bowling alley, a bar, a restaurant, and a flower shop;[29] but by 1956, both buildings were empty, in disrepair, and were condemned.[30]

This might have sounded the death knell for the Classic Revival style building with the beautiful interior and curved-rail balcony. The roof had caved in, pigeons were roosting inside, and the corner lot on George and Liberty Streets was being eyed for a parking lot.

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[26] Reed 2.17.
[27] Harding.
[28] Reed 2.20.
[29] Carol Gallant, "The Show Will Go On," *The Old Opera House Souvenir Programme* (1976):12.
[30] Reed 2.20.

Nevertheless, there were three forward-thinking individuals who loved live theatre and saw the potential in the old, abandoned theatre building. Dixie Kilham and Robert and Diane Angel hoped to turn things around and fulfill Annie Packett's dream of an arts center in Charles Town. Sometime in the early 1970s, Dixie Kilham contacted the owners of the building, Mr. and Mrs. Augustine Todd,[31] who agreed to the cleaning of the structure.[32] It is an understatement to say that cleaning the building was no easy task. Among other things, it included hauling 35 dump-truck loads of pigeon droppings out of the auditorium,[33] but enough community interest was generated that many others joined in the project. Not only was the building cleaned, but an ad hoc theatre group was formed.

The not-for-profit Old Opera House Theatre Company was incorporated in 1973 and Dixie Kilham was president of the board of directors.[34] Robert Angel was managing director of the theatre and Diane Angel was the choreographer.[35] One of the purposes of the newly formed theatre company was to "promote participation of the public in general and of the youth in particular in the performing arts and in that connection to encourage the education, production, direction, acting and writing of plays and all other forms of the performing and fine arts and the appreciation of same...."[36]

Nineteen seventy-three was a momentous year; not only was the new theatre company incorporated, but Mr. and Mrs. Todd generously donated the property to the group.[37] The building was entered on the National Register of Historic Places on November 24, 1978.[38]

By 1976, $63,000, raised through donations and grants, had been spent on renovation work and operating expenses.[39]

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[31] Mrs. Todd was Frances Packette Todd, daughter of Annie Gibson and William Bainbridge Packett.

[32] Harding; Gallant 10.

[33] Gallant 11.

[34] Articles of Incorporation and Amendment 1.

[35] Gallant 5 and 11.

[36] Articles of Incorporation, article III.

[37] Deed of Gift from Augustine Jaquelin Todd and Frances Davenport Packette Todd to Old Opera House Theatre Company, Inc., 27 July 1973 (filed 28 July 1973), Jefferson County, WV, Deed Book 362, page 215. County Clerk's Office, Charles Town, WV.

[38] Harding.

[39] "Labor of Love Renews Opera House," *The Old Opera House Souvenir Programme* (1976): 18.



The Old Opera House today.

The Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center became interested in the project and agreed to have some of its trainees . . . repair and replaster the entire ceiling. Countless numbers of merchants and individuals donated building materials, advice, and expertise to the painstaking process of complying with state building codes while trying to retain as much of the original decor as possible.[40]

Thirty years later, renovation work continues. During the summer of 2010, with the help of funding from the State Historic Preservation Office and from the City of Charles Town, three of the four flat roofs were

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[40] "Labor of Love Renews Opera House," 18.

replaced and masonry along the Liberty Street side of the building was repointed.

One hundred years after the New Opera House opened its doors, the Old Opera House truly has become an arts center for the community. In addition to such theatrical productions as *My Fair Lady*, *Miracle on 34th Street*, *Proof*, and many others, the Old Opera House hosts an art gallery for visiting artists, a dance studio, an acting workshop, a children's theatre camp, meeting space, and more. In 2010, there were over 270 season ticket holders and over 100 members of the theatre. There are two auxiliary organizations that help to support the theatre and countless volunteers involved in its operations. We "urge you to become a part of this cultural adventure."[41]

Jeral Milton has been a resident of Kabletown for the past eighteen years and practiced law in Baltimore, MD for over twenty years, until her retirement earlier this year. She served on the Old Opera House Board of Directors from 1998-2004 and again from 2006 to the present. During that time, she served as President for a total of six years, also served as First Vice-President and Treasurer, and co-chaired the Annual Autumn Auction Committee. She also has served on the Jefferson County Parks & Recreation Commission and the Arts and Humanities Alliance of Jefferson County.

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[41] *The Old Opera House Souvenir Programme* 1.

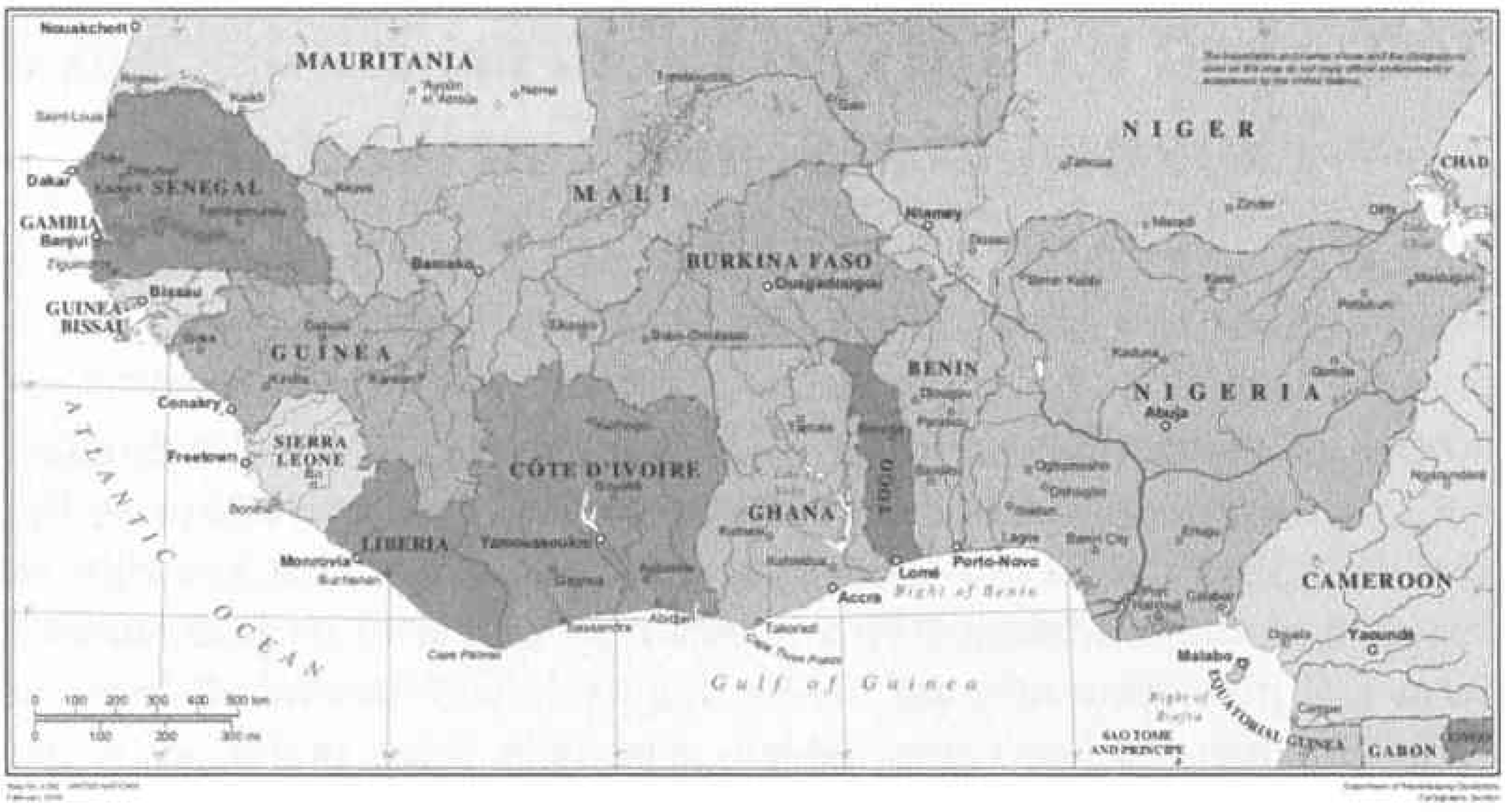
Jefferson County to Liberia: Emigrants, Emancipators, and Facilitators

By Jane Ailes and Marie Tyler-McGraw

One of the difficulties in recovering information about the families held in slavery in antebellum Jefferson County, or anywhere in the slaveholding states, is the apparent lack of written records to supplement oral traditions. First names may appear in probate records, farm and plantation account books, family letters, or church baptism rolls. Seldom are last names added, especially those preferred by the enslaved families themselves. Slaves did not appear in the census and documentary evidence of their lives and family relationships is sketchy. One important contribution to the documentation is the American Colonization Society's (ACS) ships' lists of emigrants bound for Liberia that gathered basic census-like information from each emigrant. In addition, the Records of the American Colonization Society (RACS), held at the Library of Congress (LC), include letters written by those emigrants back to their home regions. The ACS journal, the *African Repository* (AR) printed letters to and from Liberia and announced ships' passages.

At least 114 African Americans from Jefferson County went to the ACS colony of Liberia between 1830 and 1855, a high number among Virginia counties. Below is a list of those persons, their family groupings, and their emancipators, if they were not free. Printed below are related letters and documents from the AR, and wills and deeds from the Jefferson County courthouse. The documentation is not complete; mysteries remain. But these sources identify a number of Jefferson County antebellum black and white families, offer their voices in letters, and give clear evidence of the difficulties involved in manumitting slaves or in living as free blacks in a slave society.

The ACS was founded in Washington, D.C. in late 1816 primarily by upper-South politicians and clergymen from both North and South. They sought to find a colony outside the United States where American free blacks could emigrate. Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, became that colony. Motives were mixed among the founders. Some wished to rid the United States of free blacks entirely, leaving only slaves. Others hoped

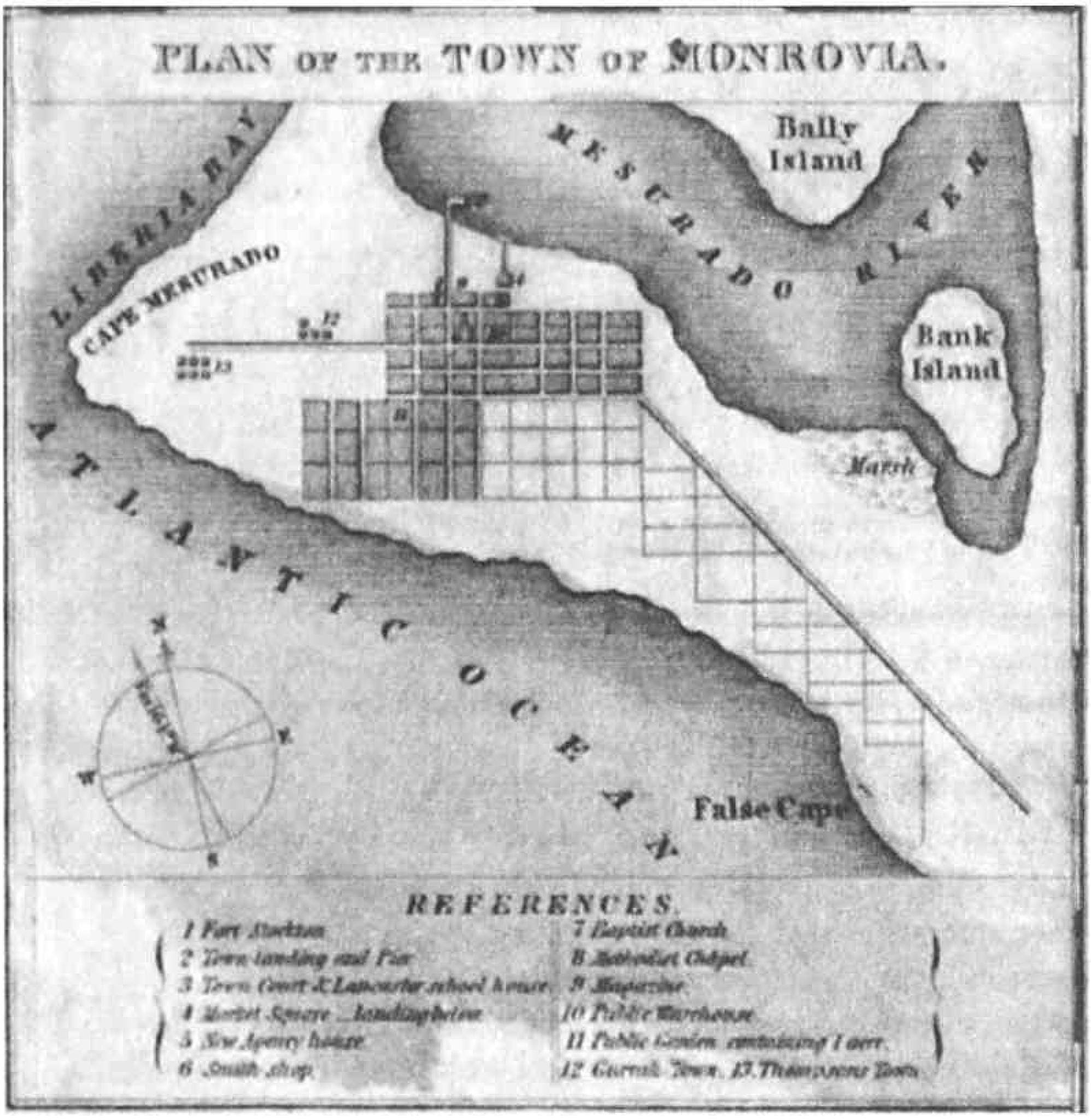


Map of West Africa

Liberia, located on the West Coast of Africa, showing the location of Monrovia and Cape Palmas.

that creation of an American-style republic in Liberia would lead to a gradual general manumission of all slaves in the United States. Still others hoped that a free black colony could Christianize Africa. Most founders believed that free blacks could never achieve all of their potential in the United States due to prejudice. Ultimately, many more emancipated slaves than free blacks left Virginia for Liberia, sent there by their emancipators.

In Jefferson County interest in African colonization was strong, if sporadic. These records demonstrate two waves of emigration from the county. One, in the early 1830s, was driven by a kinship network of evangelical gentry women in the Washington and Blackburn families living near Charlestown in southern Jefferson County. For them, religious values and attachment to certain slave families were the primary motivators. The second wave of emigrants began in 1845 and continued until the mid-1850s and was centered in Shepherdstown in the northern part of the county. It involved local ministers and had more free black emigrants, perhaps a result of increasing legal restriction on free blacks. Free and emancipated blacks believed most what they heard from other blacks, earlier emigrants who had been to Liberia. They sought in Liberia the rights and opportunities that they had seen white people enjoy in Jefferson County. Some of the expectations, concerns,



Map of Monrovia

Town of Monrovia's layout in 1825. [R. Coyle, compiler, "Inset: Plan of the Town of Monrovia, Map of Liberia," (Baltimore: Lithograph by E. Weber & Co., 1845)

and often the sad fates of Jefferson County emigrants to Liberia are evident here.[1]

Research on Jefferson County African American emigrants to Liberia, emancipators, and facilitators produced some conflicting accounts of

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[1] For background on Virginia's relationship with Liberia, see Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) and the accompanying website available at http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/Liberia.

dates and events. We have tried to clarify the record while not introducing any errors ourselves, and we are grateful for the suggestions and assistance we have received from archivists, librarians, and fellow researchers.

I. Jefferson County Emigrants to Liberia by Ship

Ship *HARRIET* (1829)[2]

From Jefferson County, Va
Isaac Stubblefield - 45
Abraham Stubblefield - 14
Elizabeth Stubblefield - 5
James Stubblefield - 2

From Fredericksburg
Rachel Stubblefield - 50

The Stubblefield's February 1829 departure for Liberia coincides with the departure of James Stubblefield from his position as superintendent of the armory in Harper's Ferry and his business interests on Virginius Island due to a suit against him.[3] No manumissions were found in Jefferson County records for the Stubblefields. Rachel Stubblefield from Fredericksburg may be a relative since she was on the *Harriet*'s emigration register next to the Stubblefields from Jefferson County.

Schooner *CAROLINIAN* (October 1830)[4]

From Charlestown:
Lydia Carroll -55
Andrew Green -28 - cooper
Priscilla Green- 27
George Washington Green- 12
James M. Green -10
John A. Green -7
Robert Green -5
Andrew Green - 4
Lot Cary Green -2
Reuben Hatter - 30
Elizabeth Hatter - 21
Thomas Johnston -17 - wheelwright

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2 "Emigration Register for the Ship *Harriet*, 1829;" Records of the American Colonization Society (RACS); microfilm reel 314, image 671; Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

3 Mary Johnson, "A Nineteenth-Century Mill Village: Virginius Island, 1800-60," *West Virginia History*, 54 (1995): 1-27.

4 "Emigration Register for the *Carolinian*, date of emigration 20 Nov 1830;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 674; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC; and "Departure of the Carolinian," sailed from Norfolk 20 Oct 1830; *African Repository* (AR) 6 (Nov. 1830): 282-283.

Lydia Carroll was emancipated by Bushrod Corbin Washington. The Green family, the Hatters, and Thomas Johnston were emancipated by Christian Blackburn. Priscilla Green is the daughter of Lydia Carroll and the wife of Andrew Green. *See* Section III, Letters 1, 2, 3, 4; and Section IV, Letters 1, 2.

Schooner *MARGARET MERCER* (October 1831)[5]
From Shepherdstown:
Gilbert Russell -25- farmer
Abraham Hayes - 31 - reads
Hayes's wife and three children

The Reverend John Matthews of the Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church assisted in purchasing Abraham Hayes to accompany his free wife and three children to Liberia. Belinda Hays and three children are enumerated as free in the 1830 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census[6], but there is no ship's manifest for the *Margaret Mercer*. *See* Section III, Letter 2.

Schooner *MARGARET MERCER* (Nov-Dec 1832)[7]
Samuel Weeks - 50 to 60
Fanny Weeks - about 44
Their Children:
Jerry - 25
George - 23
Peggy - 19
Ben - 16

The 1830 Jefferson County Federal Census enumeration for Shepherdstown contains the household of Fanny Weeks, all three in the household are free persons of color.[8] There is no ship's manifest for the *Margaret Mercer*.

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5 "Departure of the Colonial Schooner *Margaret Mercer*," sailed 18 Oct from Philadelphia and 21 Oct 1831 from New Castle; AR 7 (Nov. 1831): 284.

6 1830 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Shepherdstown, stamped page 150, household of Belinda Hays.

7 "Emigrant Applicants;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 706; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC; entry for letter from E. J. Lee Jr. of Shepherdstown, 6 persons named Weeks, Sailed in Margaret Mercer from Philadelphia; and E. J. Lee Jr. to Rev. R. R. Gurley, 15 Aug 1831, Digital Image, RACS, Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC, (http://www.fold3.com/image/#29604763 : accessed 28 Oct 2011).

8 1830 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Shepherdstown, stamped page 156, household of Fanny Weeks.

Ship *JUPITER* (May 1832)[9]
Charles Scotland - 49 - Carpenter & Sawyer
Dorcas Scotland - 43
Mary Scotland - 27
Julia Ann Scotland - 15
Sandy Scotland - 7
Henry Scotland - 3
Ellen Ann Scotland - 1

The ship's register identifies the family as slaves of George Reynolds of Jefferson County, Virginia. No deed of manumission was found in Jefferson County records.

Brig *LUNA* (March 1836)[10]
Anthony Gibson - 32 - Farmer
Elizabeth, his wife - 27
Wesley Ford, their son - 6
Mary Elizabeth - 4
Anthony - 2
Daniel Johnston -41
Mary, his wife - 40
Susan - 16
Jane - 14
Sarah - 10
Henry - 8
George -3

Emancipator of Gibson family listed as A.M.T. Washington,[11] and Anna M. T. Washington, Jefferson County, Virginia.[12] Johnston family manumitted by the will of Christian Allemong.

Ship *ROANOKE* (November 1845)[13]
From Shepherdstown:
Alexander "Sandy" Jenkins
Mary Jenkins
Otho Anderson
Liza Anderson
Samuel Lincoln
Ann Rebecca Ransey
Dorcas Ransey
Ellen Ransey
George Ransey

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[9] "The *Jupiter* Emigration Register," sailed 9 May 1832; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 685; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[10] Brig Luna sailed from Norfolk March 3, 1836; AR 12 (June 1836): 169; and "Brig Luna," sailed from Norfolk 3 Mar 1836; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 543; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[11] AR 12 (March 1836): 94.
[12] *Luna*, sailed from Norfolk 3 Mar 1836; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 543; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[13] "Our Late Expedition for Liberia," ship *Roanoke* sailed from Norfolk on 5 Nov 1845; AR 21 (Dec. 1845): 379; and ship *Roanoke* sailed from Norfolk 5 Nov 1845; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 557; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

David Ross **Alcinda Ross**
Charity Ross **Rachel Ross**
John Ross

The ship *Roanoke* manifest did not list ages. Mary Jenkins was emancipated by William McMurran to accompany husband to Liberia. David Ross, Liza/Eliza Anderson, and perhaps others in this Ross family, were emancipated and directed to Liberia by the 1831 will of Samuel D. Baker's aunt, Alcinda Baker. David Ross, at age 42, was emancipated by an 1842 deed by Samuel D. Baker for $60. Liza/Eliza Anderson was also held as a slave of Samuel D. Baker but was not emancipated by deed. Samuel Lincoln emancipated by Reverend Davis of the M.E. Church, transcribed as "Larkins" in AR. See Section III, Letter 6. Status of the Ranseys not known.

LIBERIA PACKET (December 1846)[14]
From Shepherdstown:
Hannah Magruder - 50

Hannah Magruder was the slave of Robert P. Magruder of Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, Virginia.[15] She was emancipated and sent to Liberia with his assistance. There is no deed of manumission recorded in Jefferson County for Hannah, but surviving is the permission letter from Robert P. Magruder which she carried with her for safe passage to the port to meet the *Liberia Packet*.[16]

Brig *AMAZON* (February 1848)[17]
From Shepherdstown:
Archer Ransom - 45

Noted on the ship's list as "liberated by Levi Moler, Esq.." No deed of manumission was found in the Jefferson County records.

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[14] *Liberia Packet*, sailed from Baltimore 1 Dec 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 560; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[15] John T. Hargrave to Rev. McLain, 9 Nov 1846, RACS; microfilm reel 50 image 672; and John T. Hargrave to Rev W. McLain, 16 Nov 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 50, image 728; and Robert P. Magruder to Rev. W. McLane, 17 Nov 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 50, image 731; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[16] Robert P. Magruder to Rev. W. McLane, 17 Nov 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 50, image 731; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[17] "Brig *Amazon*, sailed from Baltimore 5 Feb 1848;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 562; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

LIBERIA PACKET (February 1849)[18]

From Shepherdstown:

Benjamin Thompson -30
Clary Thompson -20
Milly Thompson -28
Milly's children:
George Anderson -8
Mary Anderson - 8
John Henry Corns - 1
Cary Jorden -70-farmer
Moses Jorden -35
Kitty Jorden -30
Henry Jorden -7
John Burns -18

Thompson family is listed as emancipated by Jacob Reinhart. The Jorden family and John Burns are listed as manumitted by Jacob Hess, but the deed for manumission names only Moses [Jorden], John [Burns] and Mary. Other Jordens may have been free. Jacob Reinhart is the nephew of Hess and the executor of Hess's estate.

From Blakely:

Charles Starks - 41 - wheelwright
Joanna D. Starks, his wife
Eugenia Starks -21
Wilson Mills Starks -19
Catherine Starks -16
George Starks -13
Eliza Starks -11
Sally Starks -6
Thomas Starks -4
Charles Starks -2
Infant (few months old)
Lewis Wiggins -24- shoemaker

Charles Starks and Lewis Wiggins were emancipated by Mrs. Jane C. Washington and their home listed as Blakeley, Virginia. Joanna D. Starks and her children described as free by the AR. Joannah Stakes *[sic]* and four of her children were enumerated as free in the Jefferson County, Virginia 1840 federal census.[19] *See* Section IV, Letter 6.

LIBERIA PACKET (January 1850)[20]

From Jefferson County:

Jacob Snyder -56- farming
Sarah Snyder -46
Margaret -7
Catherine -5
Winny - 1

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[18] "List of Emigrants," *Liberia Packet*, sailed from Baltimore 24 Feb 1849; AR 25 (1849): 121-122; and "*Liberia Packet*, sailed from Baltimore 24 Feb 1849;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 569; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[19] 1840 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, stamped page 291, household of Joannah Stakes

[20] "List of Emigrants," *Liberia Packet*, sailed from Norfolk 26 Jan; AR 26 (1850): 103-106; and "*Liberia Packet*," sailed 26 Jan 1850 from Norfolk, RACS, microfilm reel 314, image 573, lines 70-74; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Jacob Snyder listed as manumitted by William Engle. No deed of manumission found. AR and the RACS ship's lists describe Jacob Snyder as being able to read and a Presbyterian, and Sarah and the children as free. See Section V, Number 4.

Ship *SOPHIA WALKER* (May 1854)[21]
From Jefferson County to be located at Monrovia:

Francis Harris - 32
John J. Harris - 10
Mary C. Harris - 3
Moses Baylor -29

Fanny Harrison and her son John J. Harrrison are found as free in the 1850 Jefferson County Federal Census.[22] Moses Baylor was also found as free in the 1850 Jefferson County Federal Census.[23] A. F. Davis of Rippon assisted Moses Baylor in his arrangements for emigration to Liberia.[24]

Ship *EUPHRASIA* (November 1854)[25]
Ralph Curry - 30 - *slave "purchased self" - Shepherdstown*

Nothing more is known about Ralph Curry. A deed for his manumission was not found in the Jefferson County records.

Barque *CORA* (May 1855)[26]
From Jefferson County for Cape Palmas:

Richard Houck -40
Martha Houck -38
Mary Ann Houck -17
Benjamin Cooke - 37
Sarah Ann Cooke -27
Lewis R. Cooke -1

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[21] "List of Emigrants," Ship *Sophia Walker*, sailed from Baltimore May 6 and Norfolk May 18, and Savannah, May 27, 1854; AR 30 (July 1854): 214 - 219; and "Ship *Sophia Walker*," sailed 6 May from Baltimore and 18 May 1854 from Norfolk; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 611, line 12-15; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[22] 1850 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Dist. 28, stamped page 359 B, household no. 983, family no. 996, household of Fanny Harrison, 14 Aug 1850.

[23] 1850 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Dist. 28, stamped page 361 A, household no. 1009, family no. 1022, household of John J. Grantham, 15 Sep 1850.

[24] A. F. Davis to American Colonization Society, 11 Apr 1854; RACS; microfilm reel 72, image 987, Manuscript Div.; Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[25] "List of Emigrants," Ship *Euphrasia*, sailed from Baltimore 3 Nov and from Norfolk 6 Nov 1854; AR 30 (Dec. 1854): 378-381; and "*Euprasia [sic]* sailed 3 Nov from Baltimore and 6 Nov 1854 from Norfolk;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 618; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[26] "List of Emigrants," Bark [sic] *Cora* sailed from Baltimore 2 May and from Norfolk 5 May 1855; AR 31 (July 1855): 219 - 221.

Lewis Hamilton - 35
Nancy Hamilton - 24

Charles Thornton - 46
Mary Thornton - 43
Lawrence W. Thornton - 20
Charles H. Thornton - 19

Joseph A. Thornton - 16
James F. Thornton - 13
Richard W. Thornton - 11
Ann Lucinda Thornton - 9
Lewis B. Thornton - 6
Mary C. Thornton - 3

Richard Houck emancipated by Rebecca Hunter. Martha Houck and Mary Ann Houck emancipated by Martha Gibbs. Charles Thornton and family can be found in the 1850 Jefferson County Federal Census.[27] Benjamin Cooke and his wife Sally Ann with a daughter Rebecca J. can be found in the 1850 Jefferson County Federal Census. Benjamin's occupation is noted as barber. S. H. Stewart of Charlestown assisted Benjamin Cook and his family with their arrangements for emigration to Liberia.[29]

II. Jefferson County Emancipators

Christian Allemong manumitted Daniel Johnston and family.

> 4th. I will and desire that all my slaves, to wit: Daniel, Mary, Susan, Jane, Sarah, Henry, Samuel and George, shall be liberated and set free at my death and that my executor apply, out of the proceeds of my estate, two hundred dollars (if he finds that sum is not sufficient then fifty dollars in addition thereto) to their removal to the colony at Liberia. If any of them will not agree to go Liberia and they are not permitted by the law to remain in this country, such as may be unwilling to go shall be sold and the money equally divided among all my children, but if the laws of the country will permit the said slaves to remain here, they are not to be sent to Liberia but remain here and my executor pay to Daniel & Mary each one

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[27] 1850 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Dist. 28, stamped page 359 B, household no. 984, family no. 997, household of Charles Thornton, 14 Aug 1850.
[28] 1850 Jefferson County, Virginia Federal Census, Charlestown, stamped page 302 B, household no. 139, family no. 139, household of Benjamin Cooke, 10 Aug 1850.
[29] S. H. Stewart to American Colonization Society, 23 Dec 1854; RACS; microfilm reel 74, image 706; Manuscript Div.; Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

hundred dollars of the money he was otherwise to have applied to their removal.[30]

In error, the AR gives credit to John Allemong as the emancipator of the Johnson family.[31] Reverend John Allemong of Frederick County, Virginia was the executor of his father Christian Allemong's estate.[32]

Alcinda Baker by her will emancipated Rachel and her children and grandchildren who are given the option of going to Liberia.

Shepherds Town July the 9 1830

My Dear Baker [Tapscott] - your long tried affection and fidelity in complying with every request I have ever made of you leaves me no room to doubt that it will extend to my last will and desire. after much serious reflections I have changed my opinion with respect to the distribution of my servants my heart tells me I have no right to entail slavery upon them and their posterity. perhaps I may be blamed but I shall be called to an account by a higher power than any in this world - Mr. Short note for two hundred dollars the interest I leave for the support of my old servant Rachel to be laid out as necessity may require by my affectionate nephew T. Hite. my servant David I give fifty dollars for the purpose of taking him and his family to *Lyberia* in case he refuses to go I leave him to remain your slave whilst in America after the death of Rachel husband it is my will and what I believe to be justly their right that the whole family should be sent to *Lyberia* Rachel and her children & grand children the children of Evelina if Eliza refuses to go she is to be Ellen M. Tapscott slave *untill* she is twenty eight if Joseph refuses to go he is to be your slave *untill* he is twenty eight also Stephen if he refuses to leave the country I give him to my nephew T. Hite *untlil* he is twenty eight David I have no doubt will willingly accept the offer if they all agree to go the 2 hundred dollars above mentioned I wish applied to send them out of the Country if

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[30] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 8, page 79-82, will of Christian Allemong, signed 27 May 1833, codicil signed 8 Apr 1835, proved 18 May 1835.

[31] AR 12 (Jan 1836): 116-117.

[32] Charles W. Andrews to P. R. Fendall, 19 Oct 1835; RACS; microfilm reel 24, image 169-171; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Rachels health will not admit of her going the two hundred and fifty dollars to be kept on interest, and the *interres* laid out for her use Mr. Short's note for that sum on reflection the two hundred will too little to keep her from being an incumbrance if any one of them should wish to go I leave to you to give them what may be deemed necessary for their passage to Africa my reason for not being more absolute about their going I do not wish an aged mother to have all her children draged from her if she is not able to follow them. I leave Jane in the service of T. Hite whilst her mother remains there. if Rachel returns to Mr. Hites she is to be in his service during her mothers life, as I am persuaded he will not refuse her shelter, whilst she can be useful she is to be in his service if it can be accomplished it is my opinion and last wish for them to be sent out of the country for *there* own *welware* - Betty the child of Evelina I leave in Mary G. service *untill* they are sent away. John in T. Hites service whilst in America the interrest of the 7 hundred dollars in your hand I give to Judge White to be paid annually as a token of my gratitude to my affectionate brother Robert White after his death I give to you absolutely 6 hundred dollars of said bond and one hundred to Ellen M. Tapscott I also give to Ellen the furniture belonging to my room I give to my niece Fanny Waters one hundred dollars. I give to my niece Mary Grove one hundred dollars I give to my niece Ann Gilmore one hundred dollars.

February the 18 1831 Acinda Baker

March 30th 1831 my dear affectionate nephew I leave you the entire management of my property

A.B.

[Written up the left side of the page is the following note:]

Dear Baker [Tapscott] - I am not satisfied with respect to poor Ann's situation. I wish you to try and redeem her and let her go with her friends my conscience tells me it is not right to entail slavery in her - but whilst in this Country they are better in service. I ask you in confidence what is best to be done. the money in Mr. Hite's hands after paying my just debts and

> giving him a suit of clothes as a token of my gratitude - the balance to be divided amongst the three single daughters of my sister - some little present to the other girls what you may think proper, give each of my servants a Sunday suit - the small legacys, one to Mariah Heath, one to Harriett Gorgdon I wish you to comply with - one to Miss T. Henry mentioned in my former will, which I revoke all other but what is written with my hand - I have great distress about my poor servants - my confidence in you makes me hope they will attend to. A. Baker. March 30th 1831 Destroy my will, I leave you in form of a letter what I wish you to do. *AB*.[33]

Alcinda Baker's estate did not close until 1853 and the slaves remained in slavery.[34] The slaves to whom Alcinda Baker granted freedom if they wished to go to Liberia had great difficulties.[35]

Samuel D. Baker, nephew of Alcinda Baker, manumitted David Ross, age 42, for $60 in 1842. David Ross is probably the same person supposed to have been freed in Alcinda Baker's will. There was no mention of Liberia in the deed of manumission.[36] Samuel D. Baker is also involved in the manumission of Eliza the wife of Otho Anderson, probably David Ross's sister mentioned in Alcinda Baker's will.[37]

Christian Blackburn manumitted Reuben Hatter and his wife Elizabeth Hatter; Andrew and Priscilla Green and their children. She also manumitted Thomas Johnston, aged about 14 years, "son of negress

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[33] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 6, page 451, signed 8 July 1830 and 18 Feb 1831, additional note signed 30 Mar 1831, proved 18 Sep 1831.

[34] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 14, page 16, recorded 2 Aug 1853, account settlement for the estate of Alcinda Baker, deceased, by Thomas Briscoe, administrator *de bonis non*.

[35] J. T. Hargraves to Rev. William McLain, 28 Aug 1838; RACS; microfilm reel 30, image 360; and William Lisle Baker to Rev. William McLain, 25 Apr 1840; RACS; microfilm reel 55, image 635-636; and William C. Worthington to Mr. W. McLain, 21 Jun 1848; RACS; microfilm reel 55, image 1103; and William C. Worthington to Mr. W. McLain, 16 Apr 1850; RACS; microfilm reel 62, image 162; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[36] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 25, page 467, Samuel D. Baker to David Ross, signed and recorded 18 Apr 1842.

[37] "John T. Hargrave and P. Fletcher to Rev. William McClain," 27 Oct 1845; RACS, microfilm reel 47, image 801-802; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Rachel."[38] According to a letter written by Elizabeth Hatter, Christian Blackburn purchased Reuben Hatter so that he could accompany his family to Liberia (See Section IV, Letters 2, 3, 5; and Section V, Letter 1).

Reverend Davis, minister of Methodist Episcopal Church in Shepherdstown, manumitted Samuel Lincoln according to a 27 Oct 1845 letter written by John T. Hargrave, Presbyterian minister in Shepherdstown.[39] No deed of manumission was found in Jefferson County for Samuel Lincoln.

William Engle is credited by the AR with having manumitted Jacob Snyder and family.[40] No deed of manumission was found in the Jefferson County Courthouse records.

Martha Gibbs freed all of her slaves in her will. The will does not refer to the slaves by name and does not mention Liberia.

> "I do hereby emancipate and set free all my slaves."[41]

Martha Gibbs is credited by the AR with having manumitted Martha and Mary Ann Houck who departed for Liberia in May 1855.[42]

Jacob Heiss/Hess manumitted Moses, Mary and John in his will.

> Servants Moses, Mary, and John shall be free at my death. John, now about 15 years old, to be free when he arrives at the age of 21. . . . Also $600 to my servant Moses, provided he consents to emigrate to Liberia, if he refuses or fails to go

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[38] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 16, page 250, Christian Blackburn to Reuben Hatter and his wife Elizabeth, Andrew Green and his wife Priscilla and their six children and Rachel's son Thomas Johnston, signed 2 Sep 1830, recorded 10 Apr [Sep] 1830; and "Ship *Carolinian*, emigration 20 Nov 1830;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 674; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[39] "John T. Hargrave to Rev. William McLain," 27 Oct 1845; RACS; microfilm reel 47, image 801-802; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[40] "List of Emigrants," *Liberia Packet* sailed from Norfolk 26 Jan 1850; AR 26 (April 1850): 103 - 106.

[41] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 14, page 124, will of Martha Gibbs, signed 15 Mar 1853, proved 18 Sep 1854.

[42] "List of Emigrants," Bark *Cora* sailed from Baltimore 2 May and from Norfolk 5 May 1855; AR 31 (July 1855): 219 - 221.

within Eighteen Months from my death then he is not to receive anything at all. Also $100 to Mary upon the same conditions as Moses. Also to my servant John, about 15 years of age, when he arrives at the age of 21 years, when he will be free upon the same conditions. Moses and Mary the above servants to be free as herein devised.[43]

Of the three manumitted by Hess's will, Mary did not go to Liberia and, about six years after the death of Hess, his executor and nephew Jacob Rinehart prepared a deed of manumission for Mary.[44]

Rebecca Hunter manumitted Richard Houck according to the AR.[45] No deed of manumission was found in Jefferson County records.

Edmund Jennings Lee, Jr. of Shepherdstown assisted the Weeks family in obtaining passage to Liberia.[46]

Robert P. Magruder of Shepherdstown emancipated Hannah and assisted her in her desire to emigrate to Liberia.[47]

Reverend John Matthews assisted in purchasing Abraham Hayes to accompany his free wife and three children to Liberia.[48] No deed of manumission was found in Jefferson County records. Matthews was

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[43] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 11, page 412-413, will of Jacob Hess, signed 29 Jun 1847, proved 19 Jun 1848.

[44] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 34, page 357-358, Jacob Hess deceased, by executor Jacob Rinehart to Mary, signed 23 Dec 1854, recorded 19 Feb 1855.

[45] "List of Emigrants," Bark *Cora* [sic] sailed from Baltimore 2 May and from Norfolk 5 May 1855; AR 31 (July 1855): 219 - 221.

[46] "Emigrant Applicants;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 706; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC; entry for letter from E. J. Lee Jr. of Shepherdstown, 6 persons named Weeks, Sailed in Margaret Mercer from Philadelphia; and E. J. Lee Jr. to Rev. R. R. Gurley, 15 Aug 1831, Digital Image, RACS, Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC, (http://www.fold3.com/image/#29604763 : accessed 28 Oct 2011).

[47] John T. Hargrave to Rev. McLain, 9 Nov 1846, RACS; microfilm reel 50 image 672; and John T. Hargrave to Rev W. McLain, 16 Nov 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 50, image 728; and Robert P. Magruder to Rev. W. McLane, 17 Nov 1846; RACS; microfilm reel 50, image 731; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[48] "Departure of the Colonial Schooner *Margaret Mercer*," sailed from Philadelphia 18 Oct and from New Castle 21 Oct 1851; AR 7 (Nov 1831): 284; and John Matthews to Rev. R. R. Gurley, 10 May 1830; Digital Image, RACS, Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC, (http://www.fold3.com/image/#29595008 : accessed 28 Oct 2011).

minister at the Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church 1807-1830.[49] See Section III, Item 2; and Section IV, Letter 4; and Section V, Letter 2.

William McMurran is credited with manumitting the wife of Alexander Jenkins so that she could accompany her husband to Liberia.[50] No deed of manumission was found in the Jefferson County records. See Section III, Letter 6.

Levi Moler is credited with liberating Archer Ransom.[51] No deed of manumission was found in the Jefferson County records.

Margaret Muse manumits Richard and Lucy and her children in her will.

> It is my desire that Richard & Lucy & her children be free if the Laws will not admit of their remaining in this state they may either go out of the State or to the african Colony, otherwise they must be sold & the proceeds be applied to the use of the Colonization Society. In case they should prefer going to the african colony, it is my wish that the necessary expenses of their voyage should be defrayed, I also wish Lucy to have 20 dollars.[52]

The fate of Richard and Lucy and the children is not known. Their names are not included amongst the lists of those who went to Liberia. See Section III, Letter 1 for Margaret Muse's 1827 communication with the ACS. The executor of Muse's estate, Joseph T. Daugherty, wrote the ACS on several occasions in 1832 and 1833 requesting a schedule and location for delivering Mrs. Muse's emancipated slaves for transport to Liberia.[53]

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[49] James C. Price, compiler, A History of Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church, pamphlet (n.p.: unknown pub., 2003 or later) , p. 2, digital images, Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church , (http://www.spcworks.org/images/pricehistory.pdf : accessed 21 August 2011).

[50] "John T. Hargrave to Rev. William McLain," 27 Oct 1845; RACS; microfilm reel 47, image 801-802; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[51] "Brig *Amazon*, sailed from Baltimore 5 Feb 1848;" RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 562, Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[52] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 6, page 311-313, will of Margaret Muse, signed 17 Feb 1830, codicil signed 15 May 1830, proved 18 Aug 1830, administrator *de bonis non* appointed 19 Mar 1845.

[53] "Jos. T. Daugherty to Sec'y ACS," 18 Dec 1832; RACS; microfilm reel 16, image 334;; and "Jos. T. Daugherty to Rev. R. R. Gurley," 20 May 1833; RACS; microfilm reel 17, image 342; and "Jos. T. Daugherty to Sec. ACS," 21 Sep 1833; RACS; microfilm reel 17, image 495; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Jacob Reinhart is credited with emancipations of the Thompson family for the February 1849 *Liberia Packet*.[54] Reinhart was the executor for his uncle Jacob Hess's estate.[55] No deed of manumission was found in the Jefferson County Courthouse records. In 1862, C. W. Andrews inquires of the Colonization Society for assistance in sending a man, his wife and three children to Liberia at the request of Jacob Reinhart.[56]

George Reynolds is credited with emancipating the Scotland family for Liberia in 1832.[57] No deed of manumission granted by George Reynolds was found in the Jefferson County Courthouse records.

William Claiborne Walton Presbyterian minister, formerly of Jefferson County, died in Connecticut in 1834 and manumitted George and Armistead, presumably held by relatives in Jefferson County.

> 7. It is my will that my servants George & Armistead be made free, & I do hereby declare them free, at the age of twenty one, respectively on condition that they remove & live at Liberia, or some other place out of Virginia —[58]

By 1840, George had attained the age of 21 and was freed by a deed of manumission initiated by Rev. John T. Hargraves, executor of the estate of William C. Walton.

> Whereas the late William C. Walton, by his last will and testament, which is of record in the county court of Jefferson (Will Book No. 7 page 454 &c) directed that his Servants George & Armistead should be free at the age of twenty one respectively, "on condition that they remove & live at Liberia

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[54] "List of Emigrants," *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore 24 Feb 1849; AR 25 (1849): 121-122.

[55] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 11, page 412-413, will of Jacob Hess, signed 29 Jun 1847, proved 19 Jun 1848.

[56] C. W. Andrews to American Colonization Society, 27 Aug 1862; RACS, microfilm reel 93, image 610; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[57] "Departure of the Jupiter," sailed from Norfolk 9 May 1832; AR 8 (1832): 94; and "The *Jupiter* Emigration Register," sailed 9 May 1832; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 685; Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[58] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 7, page 454, will of William C. Walton, signed 10 Jan 1834, proved 7 Mar 1834 in Hartford County, Connecticut, recorded in Jefferson County, Virginia on 21 Apr 1834.

or some other place out of Virginia," and whereas said George who is a coloured man, not of the darkest shade, pleasant countenance good general appearances & about five feet eight or ten inches high, has attained said age of twenty one years.[59]

No deed of manumission was found for Armistead in the Jefferson County Courthouse records. There is no evidence that George or Armistead went to Liberia.

William C. Walton was the son-in-law of Margaret Muse.[60]

Bushrod C. Washington manumitted Lydia Carroll in Sep 1830 in a deed containing no mention of Liberia.[61] *See* Section III, Letter 3.

Anna Maria Thomasina (Blackburn) Washington or possibly **Anna Maria Thomasina Blackburn (Washington) Alexander** manumitted five members of the Gibson family who went to Liberia in 1836.[62] No deed of manumission or will was found for either of these women in Jefferson County records.

Jane Charlotte (Blackburn) Washington, widow of John Augustine Washington and sister to Christian and Judith Blackburn, manumitted Charles Starkes and Lewis Whiggins.[63] Lewis, as a five year old child, had been bequeathed to Jane C. Washington by Judge Bushrod Washington, his will proved in Fairfax County, Virginia in 1829.[64] *See* Section IV, Letter 6.

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[59] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 24, page 414, John T. Hargraves executor to George, signed 27 Nov 1840, recorded 21 Dec 1840.

[60] The daughter of Margaret (Tate) Muse of Jefferson County, Lucinda Muse, married William Claiborne Walton, Presbyterian minister. Her daughter, Lucy Walton, married Patterson Fletcher, Presbyterian minister, author, with Rev. Hargrave, of Oct. 1845 letter to ACS. See Section III, Letter 4. Dale W. and Deborah J. Morrow, compiler, *Trakwest: A Free Genealogy Resource*, (http://www.trakwest.com/zwal36.htm : accessed 30 May 2011), "The Family of William Claiborne Walton and Lucinda Muse".

[61] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 16, page 251, Bushrod C. Washington to Lydia Carroll, signed 7 Sep 1830, recorded 10 Sep 1830.

[62] *Luna*, sailed from Norfolk 3 Mar 1836; RACS; microfilm reel 314, image 543; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC; and AR 12 (March 1836): 94.

[63] Jefferson County, West Virginia Deed Book 30, page 197, Jane C. Washington to Charles Starkes and Lewis Whiggins, signed and recorded 18 Dec 1848.

[64] Scott E. Casper, *Sarah Johnson's Mount Vernon: The Forgotten History of an American Shrine*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), p. 29, and footnote no. 39 p. 235.

Jane C. Washington in her will bequeaths a delayed manumission and transport to Liberia for her slave John Lyons.

> I also give and bequeath to my son John A. Washington, a negro Boy Called John Lyons, the son of my faithful servant Harry, with the request that my 2nd Son will have him carefully trained in sound moral & religious principals, and industrious habits, and when he attains the age of twenty five, manumit him, and send him to Liberia in Africa, where his Uncle Charles Starks now is.[65]

III. Letters from Emancipators and Facilitators

1) Margaret Muse, Charlestown to Secretary, ACS, Washington, DC; no date, but probably late 1827.[66]

> Sir -
> I have a woman that wishes to go to Liberia and I wish to know when the next vessel will set sale. If this letter should arrive too late, would you please let us know when the next opportunity presents itself. She is a woman of the Methodist persuasion and bares a good character. Please to answer this quickly - you will oblige a friend.
> Yours affectionately, Margaret Muse

2) Reverend John Matthews to Reverend R.R. Gurley; 10 May 1830.[67]

> Shepherdstown, Va
> May 10th 1830
>
> Rev'd R. R. Gurley
> Sir As I am about to remove to the State of Indiana, I hope you will send the Repository to me. Direct it to Smockville, Jefferson County, Indiana the name of the post office nearest

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[65] Jefferson County, West Virginia Will Book 14, page 341-345, will of Jane C. Washington, signed 3 Oct 1854, proved 17 Sep 1855.

[66] "Margaret Muse to Secretary, ACS, Washington, D.C.," no date (probably late 1827); RACS; microfilm reel 1; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[67] "Rev. John Matthews to Rev. R.R. Gurley," 10 May 1830; RACS; microfilm reel 8; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

to the place where I expect to reside. The payment for it will be made to the agent for the work nearest to that place.

The principle object I have in writing to you now is to secure a passage in the first vessel that sails to Liberia for at least two servants to be liberated for that special purpose. One of them is a young man about 28 years of age, healthy and industrious - and of correct habits. The other his Mother - between 40 and 50 years. The man's name is Gilbert Russell. He will be fully able to support himself & Mother if she is not able to do it herself.

We have four others, a young woman about twenty-five and four young children - all of them interested for the same purpose.

The only uncertainty respecting them is that her husband is a slave. He is owned by another man. I am not able to pay the price which the man asks for him, but if the funds can by any means be raised, he will be purchased & the whole family sent by the first vessel sailing to Liberia. They are both young & industrious & of good morality and will - I have no doubt - be an acquisition to the Colony.

I will have some further communication with you on this subject. I do not wish my name mentioned in connexion with this subject at present.

Yours most respectfully,
John Matthews

3) Judith M. Blackburn to R.R. Gurley, ACS; no date, circa Sep 1830.[68]

Dear Sir,

My sister desires me to return to you her most sincere thanks for your kind attention to her wishes in reference to the dear emigrants. They now leave here accompanied by Mr. [A.H.] Lamon to be with them till their embarkation if it is not too much to ask of the Society, and begs your attention to Mr.

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[68] "Judith M. Blackburn to R.R. Gurley, ACS," no date, circa Sep 1830; RACS; microfilm reel 9, Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Lamon who is a young man of great worth pursuing the study of divinity under many discouragements which we believe he is influenced to do by sincere and humble piety. The Charles Town Colonization Society have given seventy five dollars toward the expenses and outfit of the emigrants. Thirty five my sister laid out in copper tools and what she considers other necessary articles. Forty my sister has placed in Mr. Lamon's hands to pay their expenses to Alexandria and his expenses while in Norfolk and back to Alexandria as he is, what students are often, poor, she is very fearful of his being placed in any embarrassments by his kind attendance to these people and will be very thankful to Mr. Gurley if he can make Mr. Lamon the *Agent of the Colonization Society* to attend them to Norfolk as it would perhaps be more agreeable to his feelings for she has not seen him herself yet, to transact the business as a Societies agent, than as a lady's deputy.

The sum which he paid the wagon time Mr. B. C. Washington the brother-in-law with whom my Sister lives, gives to be laid out in Bacon or other necessaries. Would Mr. Gurley please pay that to Mr. Lamon to be laid out and given the Emigrants in his name. I believe the hire of a wagon is twenty dollars. Mr. W. has also given them five barrels of flour and six dollars which would have been the amount of time for a house for Mr. Lamon. My sister has laid out in sugar for them and considers it a donation to them from Mrs. E. Blackburn. My sister encloses a list of the names of friends who assisted her in purchasing and letting her servants out with the sums given by each. Had she not been assisted she would have been obliged to cast them entirely on the Society as she had a debt yet unpaid of $500 for the purchase of the man and some articles. She has contributed to their comfort. Eliza Hatter has a pretty good library, Infant School Boards, and a dozen spelling books which my sister hopes she will be able to sell at 35 cents a piece to her scholars, this she hopes will draw for a little school that will assist to support her. She has [not] been able to furnish Reuben the husband of Eliza with farming utensils, but hopes Mr. Gurley will have them provided. Nor has she been able to purchase wagon making tools for Thomas Johnson the youth whom she

wishes bound to Liberia to finish his trade. The entire outfit of Lydia [Carroll] was furnished by Mrs. B.C. Washington and the clothing of Andrew [Green], Lydia's son-in-law, the clothing and part of the outfit of Reuben by Mrs. Walter Washington, the wife of the gentleman from whom Reuben Hatter was purchased. If you think it advisable, my sister wishes the names of individuals with the sums and donations of each mentioned in the Repository, fearing it may be thought she wishes their entire aid be considered as done by her.

With every sentiment of respect and Christian friendship desiring to be presented to Mrs. Gurley, I am

Judith B. Blackburn

4) Judith Blackburn to R.R. Gurley, ACS; 29 Mar 1831.[69]

Mount Vernon
March 29, 1831

Dear Sir,

Disappointed twice in efforts toward purchasing a boy from a family whose mother once belonged to me whom I had anxiously hoped to place in the school over which Mrs. W presides, I must now intrude on your benevolence for advice concerning another object to which I would now, should a guiding providence allow it, appropriate the funds I should have used in purchasing the youth of whom I wrote you. A man about fifty or fifty-two, of uncommon integrity and faithfulness, and industry, who however does not read, and of no remarkable intelligence, and addicted to occasional intemperance, yet thinks himself competent to his own support, and that of his wife, who is a young woman with one child, for as I have told him land will be given him in Liberia.

Will you Sir be so kind as to advise me as to the [expediency] of his emigration. I shall immediately endeavor to purchase his wife and child should you think it will advance his happiness.

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[69] "Judith Blackburn to R.R. Gurley," 29 Mar 1831; RACS, microfilm reel 10; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

His lot has been such (as too many unfortunate fellow creatures can attest theirs to have been) that he has married over a wife with whom he had lived from youth to age taken suddenly with a large family of children and sold without even a farewell to Southern traders. His present wife and child live as his first did, at a distance and her Master much in debt so that he knows not when she may be sold. He is also obliged to be hired out. Under such circumstances Liberia seems to promise continuance to his newly formed ties, and a settled home for his old age, with domestic comfort around. And he seems anxious his children should be free.

I shall wait for your answer before I make application to the Master of the woman. I may again be disappointed for in those [some] instances the Masters have refused to sell when finding emancipation was the object of the purchase. Should I be so happy as to present them as emigrants, do you think their passage will be paid by the Society in Philadelphia. As the purchase will preclude the possibility of doing more than giving them necessary clothing. My sister Miss C. Blackburn asks if any news from the dear people who left us should reach you, you will cause it to be conveyed to her *as quickly as possible*, she is melancholy in her temperament and suffers much anxiety of mind about Elizabeth Hatter, a young woman she raised with great tenderness. Will you also Dear Sir be good enough to have the Repository directed to me here. I have not been a member for some months and my sister Miss C. Blackburn and my Aunt Mrs. E. Blackburn complain sadly that they have not seen the last two numbers.

Mrs. Custis sent me a receipt from you of money paid for me to the *Repository* and Colonization Society. Tho it is a very small matter, but the three were not intended for the Colonization Society but for Mr. Orr's school, and the avails of female labor, but had I treasures gladly would I put them at your disposal, and the disposal of valued friends of this immense labor of love. With the highest respect and esteem, and kindest wishes to Mrs. Gurley.

Judith Blackburn

5) Edmund Jennings Lee to Reverend R.R. Gurley; 13 Aug 1831.[70]

Shepherdstown August 13, 1831

Dear Sir,

There are some persons of color living in this place who wish to remove to Liberia this fall if the Col. Soc. Shall find it convenient to transport them. They are six in number Viz Sam'l Weeks, between 50 and 60 years of age, but healthy & strong.
Fanny Weeks, about 44 years. Their children are
Jerry - 25
George - 23
Peggy - 19
Ben - 16

All of them except Peggy are accustomed to farming and bear good characters. If they can be received and transported to the colony they wish to know when the vessel will sale and from what port, what preparations will be necessary and how they can invest any funds they have so as to be most useful to them upon their arrival in the Colony. They are free persons who under the statute of Virginia are not permitted to remain in the state. The law has not heretofore been enforced against persons in their situation, but the legislature at its last session passed an Act requiring the Commissioners of the Revenue to present all free negroes & mulattoes who remain within the state contrary to law to the Grand Jury & if upon such presentment they are convicted, the sheriff is directed to sell them at public sale. These officers have no discretion left them, but must obey the law. It will therefore be hereafter rigidly enforced. Should the above mentioned persons not be able to procure a passage to Liberia, they will be obliged to remove to some of the United States, where they may live without the hazard of being enslaved, in which event they would not be disposed hereafter to migrate, though they are now willing to go. It is said there [are] others similarly

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[70] "Edmund Jennings Lee to Rev. R.R. Gurley," 13 Aug 1831; RACS; microfilm reel 11; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

situated who are inclined to go to Liberia if they can procure passages. I will thank you to answer this as early as you can make it convenient.

Very respectfully.
Your obt. svt.
E.J. Lee

6) John T. Hargrave and P. Fletcher to Reverend William McClain; 27 Oct 1845.[71]

Shepperdstown Oct 27 1845
Dear Sir

The bearer of this & his companions are from this Town & County emigrants for Liberia, and by order of the Rev. William McLain we direct them to your care. Alexander Jenkins is a free man with his papers his wife belonged to Mr. William McMurran who cheerfully gives her up to accompany her husband.

Samuel Lincoln is a reputable member of the M.E. Church & is liberated by his Master the Rev. Mr. Davis of the same church. Mr. D. residing some distance from this place wrote to Mr. Hess his agent to give him his wages and let him out for this expedition. The letter we have now and it is perfectly satisfactory.

Otho Anderson is a free man of good standing in the Methodist Church we have known him for some time Eliza his wife is a member of the same church & is liberated by will; which we have read and certify to the same. The reason she has not her free papers is the fact that her Master who has charge of her until she sails for Liberia, now resides in Washington City (Mr. Samuel D. Baker one of the church) with him we have conversed freely & he desires E. to go. Moreover his Brother states to me his last week, that there was no difficulty.

Otho Anderson has not his free papers owing to the fact that he could not wait until the next court to obtain them but

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[71] "John T. Hargrave and P. Fletcher to Rev. William McClain," 27 Oct 1845; RACS, microfilm reel 47, image 801-802; Manuscript Div., Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

the certificate inclosed is given by the person from whom the free papers would lawfully come.

Inclosed is a certificate also in behalf of Mary, liberated by Mr. William McMurran, the wife of Alexander Jenkins

In haste

Yours most fraternally,
John T. Hargrave
Presbyterian Minister

Br. Fletcher will add a postscript.
In haste yours most fraternally
J. T. Hargrave

Tuesday Oct. 28, '45

Rev. & Dear Sir

I am requested by Mr. William McMurran, the master of Mary, wife of Sandy Jenkins to state that owing to disappointment he was unable to furnish them with any money at the moment of their departure. He says if it be compatible with the arrangements of the Col. Soc, to appropriate $25 to their benefit at least a suitable time after their arrival in Liberia, he will please replace that amount in thirty or sixty days from the present date. I told him it could probably be done, and he said I might apprise you if it were done, he would place the amount specified in my hands to be forwarded to you within the time designated.

There are other persons in this neighborhood who wish to go to Liberia - but they were not ready. Yesterday If there be a boat tomorrow they may go. Br. Hargrave & myself have been very much [occupied] for ten days past in trying to get all ready. For weeks we have been urging them to be in readiness, and thought there would be no difficulty, until a few days ago, when I rode nine miles to look after some of them and found that scarcely anything had been done toward preparation I understood yesterday they could be ready by Wednesday and if there be a boat you may expect them by Friday.

In haste
Yours truly
P. Fletcher

Rev. Wm. McLain

IV. Letters from Emigrants

African Repository 8 (Nov. 1832): 280-282

LETTERS FROM COLONISTS

1) *Extract from Eliza Hatter's Letter to her Sister.*

I never was better satisfied in my life, if I had only my [dear] relations and friends with me. We enjoy the same liberty as our masters and mistresses do in America. I am so well pleased with my situation that I would not change it for all America. '[You] need not be afraid to come; every person has to see trouble and inconvenience at first in a new country: I have seen almost as much trouble as any person, and I know I am satisfied. I get a [great] deal of work to do. I keep a girl ten years old for her [board] and clothes; I have taught her to read and sew, and she [helps] me in cooking and cleaning. I have coffee in my lot and many other trees, and the guava, which makes nice [sweets.] If I only had you and your family, mother and her family, [and] if my dear husband was returned, I should be as happy as the day is long. My husband left me, in the Packet Richmond, on the last of December; he went out as steward. I suppose you have heard before this, of Mrs. Green's death; she lived only two weeks after the birth of her little boys; one died the same day, the other is three months old.

2) Extracts from Mrs. Eliza Hatter's letter to her former Mistress. [Christian Blackburn]

July 19, 1832

Dear Mistress - You know not what pleasure it gives me to receive a letter from you - and such kind, affectionate letters. My dear friend, how shall I ever repay your kindness?- You write to know what sort of a house we have. Our house has one front room, a shed room, and one above stairs. When Mr. Hatter returns, he intends to build a stone house. Our lot is in a very pretty part of town, and I have a great many very pretty trees growing in it. I send you, by Mr. Hatter, some tortoise shell, and a little ivory tooth; and some shells to Miss — — —

- and ———-. Give my love to them, and tell them I wish they had such a sweet beach to take their morning and evening walks on, as we have here. My dear mistress, you do not know how thankful I am to you for buying my husband. You desire me to write my own letters, and I am afraid you will not be able to read it. We have two Baptist churches; Mr. Teage now has a church of his own.

3) *Extract from Mr. Andrew Green's Letter, to the same.* [Christian Blackburn]

I embrace this opportunity to inform you that my wife is dead. She died on the last of April; she laid sick ten days. She had twins; one of them died the same day, the other is still living. I was much interested while she was laying sick, thinking about when she was about to depart; she was rejoicing and shouting to God, which gave me great satisfaction. I have built me a log house, and added a frame on to it, I am preparing to build me a stone house. I have some African gold, that I wish to make you a present of. One hogshead of tobacco is worth $330 at this place. I go sometimes to Governor Mechlin, and talk with him about the best way to get my living; and to Mr. Devany, and other gentlemen that have been here longer than I have. It gives me great satisfaction that every thing I do is for myself and my children. I would not give the enjoyment I have had since I have been in Africa, for all I have seen in America. I have set out all kinds of fruit trees that are in Africa. As soon as my coffee trees bear, I will send you some. We have preaching every Sunday, and prayer meetings every night through the week. Many of the recaptured Africans come to be baptized, and we expect more shortly - they appear to be more diligent than the Americans. My love to ———————; tell her I am glad to hear she is thinking about God. -Tell ———— if she was to come out here, she would never want to go to America to stay again. Tell Mrs. Muse's people, if they come out here, they will not want to go to America again. My son George Washington, is spelling in three syllables, and reading in the new American spelling-book, words of one-syllable. I think Monrovia will become a fine, good place, in course of a few



Ashmun Street
Town of Monrovia, Liberia in 1893.

years. The people are building every day. We have had war, since we have been here, with the natives. The first day we started, we went to St. Paul's; the next day, we marched to King Brumley's town, and took it. We lost only one man.

4) *Virginia Free Press*, Charlestown, Virginia (Feb. 16, 1832?) Copy held at Harpers Ferry National Park Archives

John T. Cookus, esq., of Shepherdstown received a letter from "a colored man purchased by the Rev. Dr. John Matthews and sent to Liberia a short time since, together with his wife, three children, and a young man. It is published at the request of the writer."

Liberia
Dec. 20, 1831

My dear sir. - I take the opportunity to inform you that I am well, hoping that these few lines might find you in the same

enjoyment. We have safely arrived at the town of Liberia 15 December 1831. The governor has situated us all together for the space of six months. Our provision is found us till the end of time. - Now sir I will inform you of the situation of our town. The long way of it contains six streets and the short way of it four. The place is in a tolerable condition, but not as flourishing as it has been. We have two other settlements - one called Calleswell [Caldwell] and the other Millsburg, from 8 to 15 miles from the colony. We have a fife playing and a drum beating every day, for our liberty officers of every description. I now inform you that we have in the colony fowl of every description. We have cows, hogs, sheep, goats, and mules: horses we have none.

Our inhabitants number about 4000. We are about to erect a sawmill. You have been informed that money was not in circulation in the colony; but since I have arrived at the town of Liberia [Monrovia], I have found that money is very serviceable. My respects to Baker Tapscott and all his family. I wish you sir to read this letter to the free colored people of the place. I want them to understand the situation of Liberia. My respects to all those that are free. None that are free never yet knew what freedom is, as it has never blown on them, nor never will in America. I myself would not return for half of Shepherdstown, unless I could bring it away with me.

My respects to ———- and to you and all your families.

Your well-beloved friend,

Abraham Hays

5) *Virginia Free Press*, Charlestown, Virginia (May 30, 1833)

We have been furnished with a letter from Liberia dated on the 28th of June [1832], written by Reuben Hunter [Hatter] to his late mistress, Miss Christian Blackburn. The writer was in this country last summer, having returned from Liberia on a visit. He seems to be much pleased with his location and speaks in encouraging terms to his free coloured friends. He says "Tell those young men for God's sake to come into a country where they can hold their heads up." The feeling of satisfaction manifested in the letter seems to be genuine.

An opportunity for ten free blacks to go out this year from

Jefferson County is now afforded to such as wish to avail themselves of it; and it would be well for those who desire to emigrate to give early information to the court of the county.

6) *African Repository* 35 (June 1859): 169

From Liberia

From Charles Starkes

Upper Virginia, St. Paul's River, Liberia
February 19, 1859

I have for a long time been painfully anxious in consequence of having repeatedly written you recently and received no answer.

I had also about one hundred pounds of coffee to send you, of my own cultivation, which I declined remitting, not knowing whether it would be prudent to hazard on an uncertainty. I requested you, in a former letter, to be kind enough to send me certain articles in exchange for coffee, as I have disposed of my former lot, please say so by the return of this vessel, and I will endeavor to be ready to ship to you by the following trip.

You have doubtless been satisfactorily informed that the report that the Liberian government was compromised in encouraging and assisting the Regina Coeli to purchase a cargo of slaves in her jurisdiction was false and malicious. During my ten years residence in this Republic, I have not seen the slightest symptom of any attempt on the part of our legal authorities, or citizens, to encourage the slave trade under any circumstances; our laws expressly forbid it, and the rigid penalty attached to a violation of said laws must ever speak volumes in our favor, and they have been uniformly, strictly, and impartially administered.

V. Newspaper and *African Repository* – references to Jefferson County Emigrants

1) *African Repository* 5 (Nov. 1830), pp. 282-283:

Among the liberated slaves were . . . twelve by Miss Blackburn, near Charlestown, Va. . . . Those liberated, were

generally well supplied with the articles most necessary for their comfort during the voyage, and their subsequent settlement; and some had been particularly prepared by instruction, for usefulness in the colony. One of the females sent out by Miss Blackburn, had a pretty good library, Infant School boards, spelling books, & c.; and it is believed that on her arrival, she may open a small school to advantage. The husbands of two of the women emancipated by Miss Blackburn, were ransomed by her at an expense of eight hundred dollars, that they might accompany their wives to Liberia. In fulfilling her benevolent purposes towards her servants, Miss Blackburn was very generously assisted by her friends, and unwilling to have the good deeds of others put to her credit; she has expressed the wish that the names of those, with the sums and donations of each, should be published in the Repository. We give here the list which has been transmitted:

Mr. Keys, Charlestown, Jefferson county, VA. $10; Mr. G.W. Humphries, do. $10; Dr. Griggs, do. $10; Mrs. B.C. Washington, $10; Mrs. T. B. Washington, do $5; Mr. R. Brown, do $5; Mr. E. Lee, Shepherdstown, Va. $5; Mr. Wickam, Phila. $5; Mrs. J.A. Washington, $21; Mrs. B.C. Washington $20; Miss J.B.Blackburn $25; Mrs. Loyd, Alexandria, $5; Mrs. E. Blackburn, $8; Miss E. Blackburn, $5; Mrs. Judge Todd, $5; Miss Hannah Lee, Washington, $5. Smaller donations were presented in the amount of ten dollars, and also, a looking glass valued at twenty dollars.

2) *African Repository* 7 (Nov. 1831): 284

Departure of the Colonial Schooner MARGARET MERCER

This beautiful new Schooner, which the Board of Managers were enabled to purchase by a loan granted by the Pennsylvania Col. Society, sailed from Philadelphia on the 18th, and New Castle on the 21st of October, Captain Abels, of Philadelphia, is employed as Master, and Mr. Frazier of

Baltimore, as Mate; and her crew are all good-looking, well-behaved coloured men, one of whom has been several times at the Colony.

Two coloured families, making in all nine persons, embarked in her. The Rev. William Johnson, wife and child, from Hartford, Connecticut, constitute one of these; the other is a family liberated by the Rev. Dr. Matthews, late of Shepherdstown, Virginia, but now President of a Literary Institution in Indiana. This venerable man incurred an expense of four hundred dollars, to secure the freedom of one of these slaves, that he might remove with his wife (servant of Dr. Matthews) to Liberia. Such charity was to be expected from one, who has long ably, honourably and successfully fulfilled the duties of the sacred ministry.

3) *African Repository* 21 (Dec. 1845): 379

OUR LATE EXPEDITION FOR LIBERIA

The fine ship Roanoke, of Baltimore, chartered by this Society for the purpose, sailed from Norfolk, Va, for Monrovia, Liberia on the 5th of November, with one hundred and eighty-seven emigrants and a large supply of provisions, goods, etc.

Of those emigrants, . . . fourteen were from Shepherdstown and vicinity, Va., some of whom were free and others were liberated for the purpose of allowing them to accompany their friends to Liberia.

4) *African Repository* 26 (August 1850): 232-233
Letter from H. J. Roberts, M.D., Monrovia, to William McLain, Wash., D.C

Of those that died at the Virginia settlement was . . . Jacob Snyder, Jefferson County, Virginia. This man was a very old man, and he completely starved himself to death, as no one could induce him to eat anything for nine days, he having at the time no fever on him at all. And when urged to take refreshments, he would say, that the best course for him to pursue was to starve the fever out.

5) Extracted from *Spirit of Jefferson* (April 18, 1853) and published in *Maryland Colonization Journal*, V. 6, No. 23 (April 1853), p. 71

> John Smith, the colored man who was recently killed by an accident in Liberia, was born a slave in Virginia, but by industry and the energy of his character, he was enabled to purchase his freedom, for which he paid the sum of $800, and also afterwards purchased the freedom of his wife, for which he paid $250. For several years he was employed as an engineer on the Winchester and Harpers Ferry Railroad, but being superseded by a white man, he came to Baltimore in company with Reverend Mr. [Rufus] Bailey, purchased a steam engine and sawmill, and sailed in the *Morgan Dix* from this port [Baltimore] in November, 1851 for Liberia, where he was doing an extensive business in sawing lumber at the time he met the unfortunate accident which cost him his life. His death is considered a great loss in Liberia.

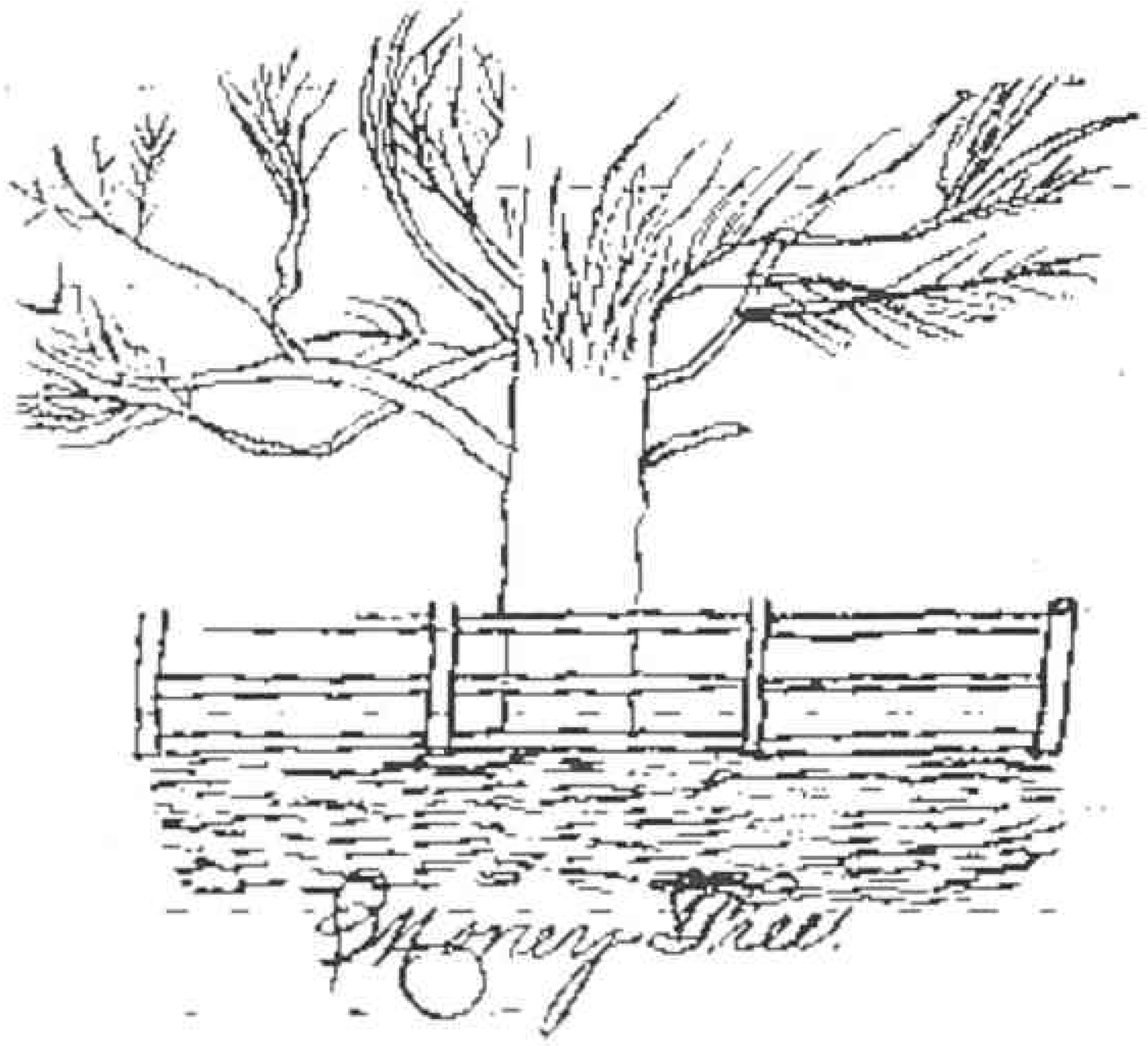
Marie Tyler-McGraw is a public historian and writer who has worked as a historian at the Valentine Museum (Richmond History Center), Richmond, Virginia; the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.; and the Office of Chief Historian, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. A Ph.D. in American Studies from George Washington University, she is the author of three books of Virginia history, the most recent of which is An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia *(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.) In 2008 and 2009,* An African Republic *became an online database and website project sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and produced by the Virginia Center for Digital History*

Jane Ailes is a professional researcher specializing in African American history. She lives in White Post, Virginia.

Drawings by Mary Newton Lemen, 1918

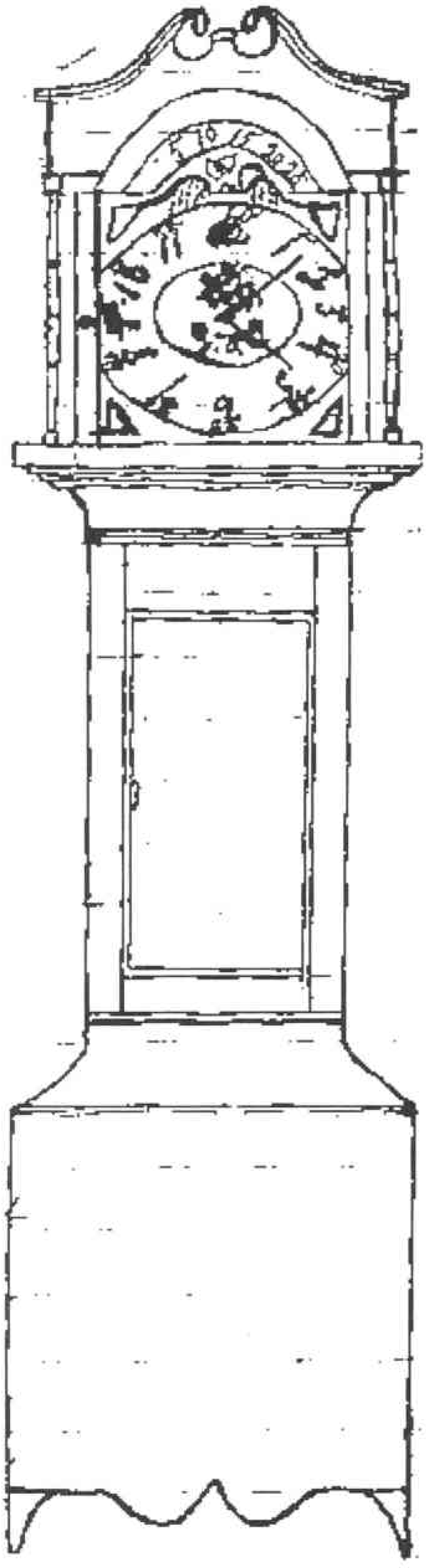
In March, 1918, Mary Newton Lemen,[1] was a student at Shepherd College (now University). She wrote a paper called "Pioneers of Jefferson County." With none of the electronic tools we have today, she illustrated her paper with pen and ink. Some of the drawings with the transcribed description are presented below. The paper and family information were provided by her niece, Vivian Park Snyder.

The old Money Tree that has stood on the pike a short distance from town has a history all its own. For years it kept the secret of one who trusted it.



During the Civil War, a man intrusted with a large sum of money, betrayed his trust and hid the box of treasure at the root of the tree. He was afterwards caught and served a term of twenty years in the penitentiary for theft. After serving his term, he came back to the "Money Tree" to search for the hidden treasure. As he had nothing to dig with he went to a farmhouse and borrowed a shovel, saying he wanted to dig some roots.

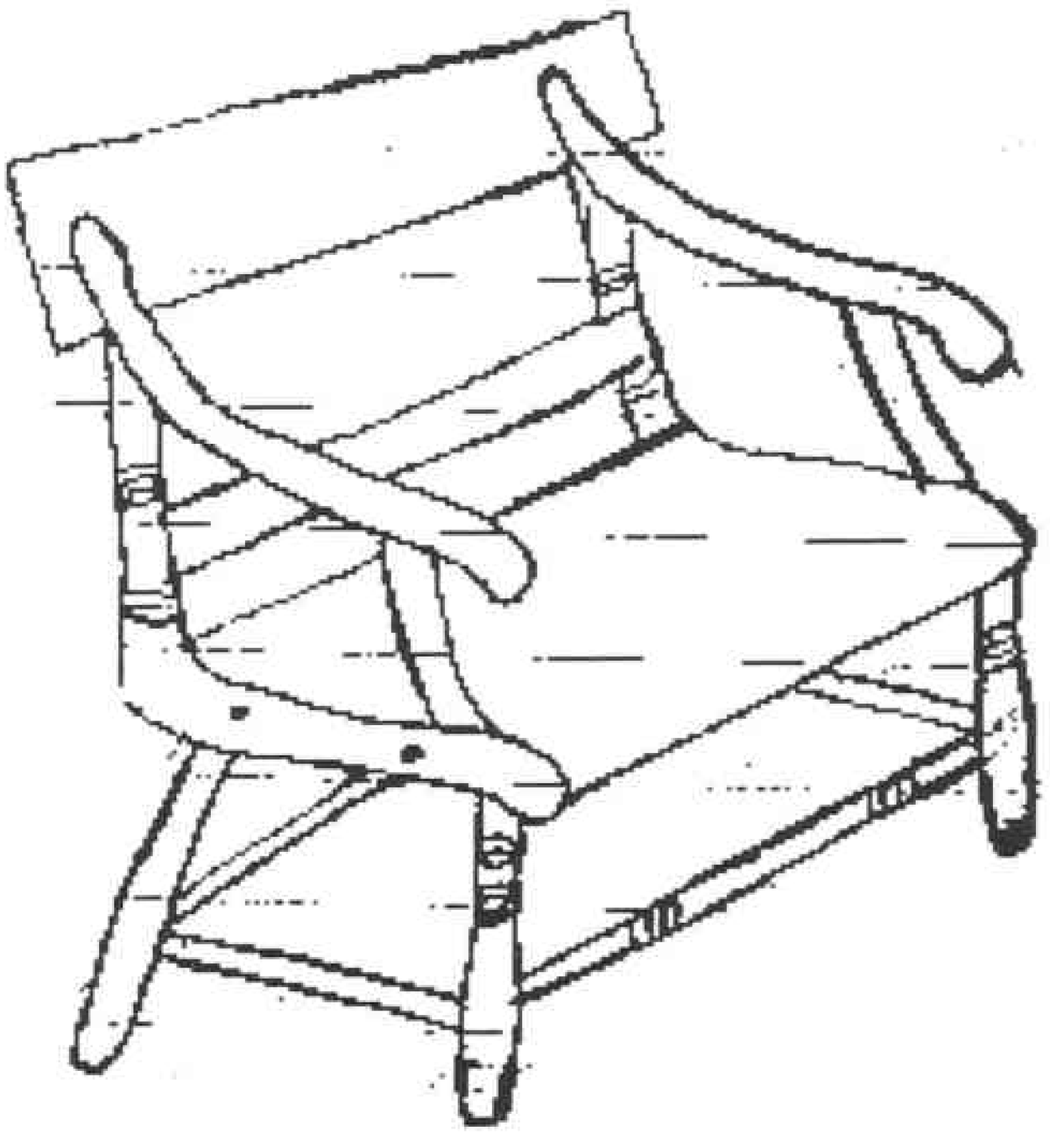
[1] Mary Newton Lemen, born July 15, 1897, died February 16, 1964, married Charles Stuart Billmyer, Sr. October 16 1926. He was born May 19, 1866, died May 19, 1948. Their children are Charles Stuart Billmyer, Jr. born July 31, 1927, died February 9, 2010 and John Robert Billmyer. They had two grandsons, Samuel Robert Billmyer and John Albert Billmyer living in Shepherdstown.



He did not return the shovel and it was afterwards found beside the tree. The broken box and the torn up earth soon told the secret that had been kept for twenty years.

Grandfather's clock owned by Helen B. Lemen, a great great grand daughter of Sarah Shepherd daughter of Thomas Shepherd. This clock was made by Jacob Craft who lived in the house on corner of Washington and Church Street opposite the Methodist parsonage and Catholic Church on the next corner.

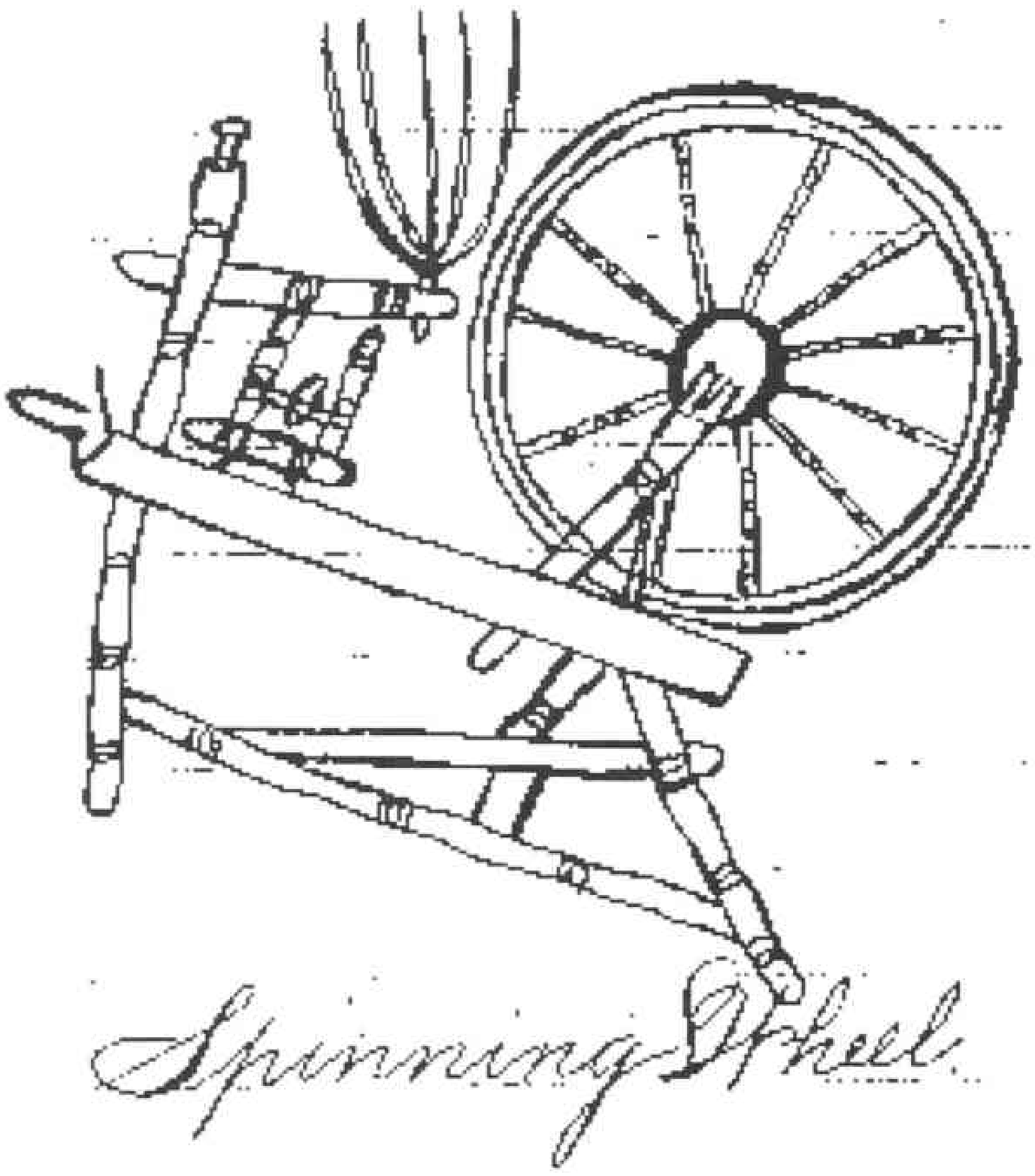
Among the "Relics of Pioneer days," I found the two Pulpit Chairs



that were used in the Presbyterian Church before 1800. The first church stood on the lot now owned by Charles Miller opposite the present church.



Fountain Rock the home of Col. A.B. Boteler when the Civil War began. It was a beautiful country home and the scene of much gayety. For there lived three of Virginia's fairest daughters. This house was burned during the Civil War by the Yankees and its walls are a monument of their cruel warfare perpetrated upon innocent people.



Spinning Wheel

Spinning wheel owned by Mrs. Slonaker, mother of Mrs. Jacob Myers and made by Adam Loy about a hundred and fifty years ago. He was grandfather of Mrs. Jacob Myers.



"This Act of Justice"

A Letter Written By Lawrence Augustine Washington, August 27, 1816

By Walter Washington

Lawrence Augustine Washington[1] was born at Harewood, Frederick County, Virginia (now Jefferson County, West Virginia), on April 11, 1774, the third surviving son of Samuel Washington (1734-1781) and his fourth wife, Anne Steptoe Washington (1737-1777). He was three years old when his mother died and seven years old when his father died. His father had remarried in 1778, taking as his fifth wife Susannah Perrin Holden. She survived Samuel by only two years, dying in March, 1783, and leaving Lawrence Augustine and his three siblings orphans at Harewood. Lawrence and his older brother George Steptoe Washington were taken under the wing of their uncle, General Washington, who had returned to Mt. Vernon from the Revolutionary War in December, 1783. The two boys were educated at their uncle's expense at private academies in Georgetown and Alexandria and then traveled with him to Philadelphia when he became President, where they both studied law at the University of Pennsylvania.[2]

In 1797, Lawrence married Mary Dorcas Wood (1781-1835), the daughter of Robert Wood, the mayor of Winchester, and his wife, Comfort Welsh Wood.[3] Lawrence inherited part of his father's Harewood estate, which totaled some 3,800 acres at the time of Samuel's death in 1781; his brother George Steptoe inherited the Harewood house and surrounding acreage. Lawrence and his wife had four children, Robert Wood Washington, Emma Tell Washington, Lawrence Augustine Washington and Mary Dorcas Washington.

In the early 1800s, Lawrence began selling off his property in what had become Jefferson County and moved west with his family to what was then Mason County,[4] in the area around Buffalo, Virginia (now West Virginia). In 1816, he wrote this letter to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Robert Wood, in Winchester, explaining the decision he and his wife had made to free their slaves. It is clear from the letter that his uncle's investment in Lawrence's education and the moral instruction he provided his orphaned nephew were not in vain.

Buffalo, Mason County, Virginia, 27th August, 1816

My dear Madam:

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 7th (in reply to one of mine) by the mail before the last. Particular engagements prevented my answering it by the last mail.

My Mary and myself have latterly had many consultations on the situation of our slaves. We have both upon all the consultation and reflection we could give that very delicate and perplexing subject come to the conclusion that it is better to free them, with all the real and ideal mischiefs which may follow such a course, than to hold them longer in slavery. We are both decidedly of the opinion that God of nature made them as free as ourselves, and that they are held in bondage by ruffian force and savage violence. These are uncouth terms, and I am sincerely sorry they are applicable to the case. We both believe it is radically wrong for one person to deprive another of the whole of the products of his labors, and to impose upon him and his posterity forever a state of endless slavery. We cannot believe that any political considerations, and views of personal interest, any prejudices of education, any plans of policy whatsoever, can make that act right which by the laws of eternal truth and unvarying justice is wrong. And so far from the length of time that this particular, this cruel wrong has existed adding anything to its extenuation, we think it greatly and justly increases the magnitude of the evil.

In the education of our children, it will be the constant study of my Mary and myself to cultivate with ceaseless assiduity and endless care, the integrity of their hearts and the purity of their morals. By a watchfulness that shall never tire and a vigilance that shall never slumber, we will conduct their young minds to the fullest and most complete convictions of the truths of this God-like maxim, "Do not unto others what you would not they should do unto you."

We will implant indelibly in their tender hearts the conviction that the holy obligation of this Divine rule is never to be violated, never to be compromised, never to be evaded.

We will teach them that, whilst they are to guard with vestal vigilance and holy care their own personal liberties and rights, they are under an obligation equally holy, sacred and binding, to respect and observe the personal liberties and rights of others.

Precept alone, however eloquently delivered, can never conduct their minds to this sublime conclusion. Our own practice must accord with our instruction or we shall certainly and justly gain their contempt and scorn instead of their love and veneration. How ridiculous, how odious would it appear to them for us to endeavour to enforce on their minds a respect for the rights and personal liberties of others, whilst we ourselves were wrongfully withholding from fifteen of our fellow beings the only boon for which life is worth acceptance. Would not the pure unsullied hearts of these children ask themselves, if they did not propound the question directly to us: "If you, my beloved parents, would sooner yield your lives than become the slaves of others, whence have you derived the right, and how can you reconcile the act of keeping your fellow beings in slavery?" How could we answer their question or how could we teach them to feel the force of the above Divine precept while we were violating it daily in so gross, so unpardonable an instance?

Upon reflection we were both convinced that to set our negroes free was not only a duty we owed to them and ourselves, which of itself was so imperious as to require no other inducement to its performance than the self-approbation which would most certainly follow it; but that as it regarded the future characters, welfare and happiness of our beloved children, it was an act that could not be longer postponed. We have accordingly announced to those hitherto much injured individuals, that as soon as the present crop is secured, all of them who are of age shall have deeds of emancipation executed to them.

Asa, Maria and Bet, who are under age, will be required to render some years of service as a compensation for our trouble and expense in rearing them. Their time of service (until twenty-one, when, at all events, they shall be set free), will be shortened in proportion to their conduct. We shall

reserve Daniel and Lydia for the balance of their lives, as well as old Davy, Mr. Dandridge's slave, who came out with us when we moved here. Polly has told Kitty that his wife, old Suckey, is dead.

It is a source of great and singular delight to me that our beloved Mary has most cordially joined me in this act of justice. As was to be expected from the purity and integrity of her heart, she says she always looked upon this state of slavery in which these much injured individuals are kept in our country, as a standing and deep reproach to a people who are always boasting of the freedom of their institutions, and proclaiming to the world that it is here alone that man walks forth in the true dignity of his nature, and enjoys without alloy that freedom which a beneficent Creator has bestowed on all his works.

Toney and George being very unwilling to leave us, we have concluded to hire them. Our neighbors, however, express great alarm at the idea of their continuing here. As this is the case, and white labourers cannot be had here, Mary and myself have concluded to move to the western part of Pennsylvania. We prefer it to Ohio or Indiana, principally because it will bring us nearer to you than we are at present. If I can buy a small piece of land near the great turnpike road from Wheeling to Fort Cumberland, you will find no difficulty in visiting us.

I have written to different persons in Pittsburgh and Wheeling to know the prices of land, etc. When I hear from them I shall be able to say when we shall leave this place. You shall know it in time to regulate your much desired visit next spring. On this subject I shall say more when I next write.

Mary joins me in love and affection to you, James Wood, and the girls. Nancy desires to be remembered to you all, whilst I assure you of my sincere regard, respect and esteem.

LAU. A. WASHINGTON[5]

End Notes

[1] The spelling of his name appears as both Lawrence and Laurence.

[2] For an account of the education of Lawrence Augustine and George Steptoe Washington see *Jefferson County Historical Society Magazine*, Volume LXXVI, pp: 55-71 "Dear Uncle..." The Correspondence between General George Washington and his Nephew, George Steptoe Washington of Harewood.

[3] The only surviving correspondence between Lawrence and General Washington is Lawrence's invitation to attend the wedding and his uncle's regret:

Berkeley Co[un]ty 23rd Augt 1797

Dr Uncle

Since I had the pleasure to see you, I have become engaged to a young lady near Winchester. Her name is Wood. The daughter of Mr Robt Wood. She has been brought up in the habit of domestic economy & industry & to consider the true excellence of a farmers wife to consist in a minute attention to the economy of her family & a continued reguard to her husbands domestic interests. Tis unnecessary to add that I think her withal beautiful & of an amiable disposition.

Could your occupations permit and your inclinations induce you nothing would afford me greater happiness, than to see you & family at the Wedding. It happens on the 6th of Novr next. I'll thank you to write me by post whether I am to expect the pleasure I so much wish or not. I remain with sentiments of the truest respect & regard Dr Uncle your affe. Nephew

Law[renc]e Washington

The reply came by return post:

Mount Vernon 3d Sept: 1797

Dear Lawrence,

Your letter of the 23rd of the last, was received on the first day of the present month.

In the interesting event which you have announced, I sincerely wish you and the lady who is to be the partner of your future fortunes, all imaginable happiness. To attain which, depends very much upon the parties themselves: and from the character you have drawn of Miss Wood, and from what I have heard of it from others, I think your prospects are fair & pleasing.

If any substantial good could result from my becoming a guest at your Wedding, I would make exertions to be there; but as wedding Assemblies are better calculated for those who are coming in to than to those who are going out of life, you must accept the good wishes of your Aunt and myself in place of personal attendance, for I think it not likely that either of us will ever be more than 25 miles from Mount Vernon again, while we are inhabitants of this Terrestrial Globe.

We offer our respects to the family with whom you are going to connect yourself, and in a particular matter I desire to be presented to the old lady, Grand Mother of Miss Wood: for whom I have and always had a very high esteem & regard. Present us also to your brother and his family. I remain Your Affectionate Uncle

Go: Washington

[Source: The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.]

[4] In 1848, the current Putnam County was formed from portions of Kanawha, Mason and Cabell Counties. Buffalo lies in the portion of the original Mason County that became part of Putnam County.

[5] This letter was first published in Katherine Glass Greene, *Winchester, Virginia and Its Beginnings, 1743-1814*, Shenandoah Publishing House, Strasburg, Va., 1926

Walter Washington is an attorney who lives and practices law in Charles Town.

Charlestown's West End in the Lifetime of Charles Washington

By Mark Reinhart

This paper explores the earliest residents of what we now know as Charles Town. Before Charlestown was founded, there was a thriving community along Evitt's Run and the old routes in and out of town. The community was built largely as a necessity to serve those travelers who passed this way to other parts south and west. This paper focuses on the people who provided the goods and services that enabled the town to function. Though their names are not well known today, the owners of the ordinaries, the trades people, the service providers, and the people who worked for them, both enslaved and free, enabled this community to flourish. This paper will describe the contributions of these people primarily located at the west end of town around Evitt's Run. Purposely avoided are the most famous and wealthy landowners because their homes and lives *are* well documented, whereas the trades and service people are almost unknown today.

The Founding of Charlestown

This year, 2011, marks the 225th anniversary of the accepted founding of Charlestown: 1786. Much has changed since those early years; even the name has changed from Charlestown, Virginia. Charlestown is named for Lieutenant Colonel[1] Charles Washington (brother of our first president George Washington) who obtained a large tract of land about 1770. In 1786, Washington had 80 acres of land surveyed and laid out in half-acre lots and streets for a town, which was established by the Virginia General Assembly.[2]

Much has been written about the founding date for Charlestown and October 1786 is generally accepted. In fact, it is far more complex than a single entry. Charles Washington sought recognition by the Virginia General Assembly through a petition signed by men of prominence in and around Charlestown on 23 November 1786; the petition was for a

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[1] Lieutenant Colonel, Spotsylvania Company, Virginia Militia 1780

[2] Compiled by the workers of the Writer's Program of the Work Projects Administration, *West Virginia, A Guide to the Mountain State*, 1941, p. 197.

town of 80 acres of Washington's land in the county of Berkeley (now Jefferson). The Virginia General Assembly approved the petition[3] 12 December 1786. The bill was signed by the President of the Senate on 04 January 1787 and by the Speaker of the House 07 January 1787. The "October 1786" date refers to the General Assembly session that began 16 October 1786.

The Evitt's Run Community Before 1786

The nucleus of the town existed, possibly as early as 1755, when a regiment of General Braddock's army[5] traveled through this area. From at least the 1740s the route across the Potomac River through the "Hole," as Harper's Ferry was called in this time, then onward through what later became Charlestown, then crossing Evitt's Run, was the westerly road through Summit Point to Winchester. Winchester was a major source for goods and services in these colonial times. Traveling from Alexandria, Virginia, a colonial wagon or a similar conveyance would have passed through Keyes' Gap on its way to Charlestown.[6] Even earlier the Pack Horse Ford crossing the Potomac below what is now Shepherdstown gave colonial travelers access to the Warm Springs Road. Those crossing Pack Horse Ford and wishing to travel to Winchester would have passed through what is now Charlestown.[7] When horses were the primary means of land transportation, rest stops were needed roughly every eight to ten miles, often a day's journey on colonial roads. Horses needed to rest and weary travelers sought an ordinary or inn where they might find accommodation.

Whether there was a town or village as early as 1755 is not known but resources suggest the start of the town was this early.[8] It is probable that before 1770 there was a village on the present site of Charlestown.[9] J. E. Norris, in his *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, notes that a "mill

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[3] Virginia General Assembly, Chapter LXXX- An act to establish a Town on the lands of Charles Washington, in the county of Berkeley.

[4] Millard K Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*, (Charles Town, WV: Jefferson Publishing Company, 1941) p. 17

[5] Sir Peter Halkett's 44th Regiment of the Foot.

[6] Marshall W McDonald, "The Roads of Jefferson County," *Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, Volume II, December 1936, pp. 30-32.

[7] The Varle map of 1809 shows the colonial/federal era roads in Jefferson county. [Charles Varle, Map of Frederick, Berkeley, and Jefferson Counties in the State of Virginia, engraved by Benjamin Jones, Philadelphia, 1809]

[8] J. E. Norris ed., *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley Counties of Frederick, Berkeley, Jefferson and Clarke*, (Chicago, Illinois: A Warner & Co. 1890) p. 354

[9] Norris, pp 353-355

and a residence or two" predate 1750. If there was a mill as early as 1750 it has not been documented. However, Robert Worthington's mill can be verified near Charlestown on Evitt's Run just outside the future limits of Charlestown. In a property transaction recorded in a Jefferson County deed book between Charles Washington and Robert Worthington dated 14 March 1771, Washington granted Worthington for the sum of £25 the right to build a mill race for Worthington's grist mill, which was already under construction.[10] The Worthington family apparently owned the mill until it was offered for sale in 1824 in an advertisement in a local paper. The ad noted that a new stone building was constructed and new machinery was in place in the mill.[11] The original site of the Worthington Mill is understood to be on the grounds of the Charles Town maintenance facility today.

The name of the early village predating Charles Washington's acquisition of the land is lost to history. It is possible that it was known by a geographical element such as Evitt's Run or by the name of a commercial establishment such as Worthington's Mill. Perhaps the name will be learned in time.

According to a survey by Barbara Rasmussen, two residences still standing on Water Street are believed to date to the 1750 to 1770 period based on extant architectural details.[12] Additionally, Rasmussen identified an existing log structure as an early settler's cabin circa 1750 on North Street that was later used as a slave cabin.[13] North Street, which follows the original route into town from the east, pre-dates Washington Street as the main thoroughfare. The settler's cabin was actually outside 1786 city limits since it was on the north side of the alley that became the boundary of the city proper.

Prior to Charles Washington's sale of lots in 1787, the residents in this village likely leased the property on which they built homes and businesses from Washington or the previous landowner, Lawrence Washington. Because rental records for these properties are unknown at this time, documenting residents has proven quite challenging. Unlike

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[10] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 5*, page 395. Although this transaction took place while this area was part of Frederick County, Virginia, the deed nonetheless appears in a Jefferson County deed book. At this time it is unknown why this entry is copied into a Jefferson County deed book.

[11] *Farmer's Repository*, Charles Town, Virginia, 05 May 1824, Volume XVII, No. 839, p. 4.

[12] Prepared by B. Rasmussen for the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Old Charles Town Historic District, Jefferson County, 30 June 2000 section 7 p. 71

[13] Rasmussen, section 7, p. 54.

deeds for sale of properties, rental agreements were not required to be registered with the county government. Therefore there is much less of a paper trail for identifying who lived in the Evitt's Run community.

It was not at all uncommon for people to lease land, build a home and earn money by working the land or working a trade to raise the money to purchase the land on which their house and/or business were built. While settlers might lease or squat on the land, the land owner had the right to drive people from their lands if they fell behind on payments or were squatting. It is possible to document that some of the structures in Charlestown were built by renters before Washington sold them the lots. While tax records can assist in identifying early residents and some references describe structures, much of this time frame is difficult to document exactly when people were living in what was to become Charlestown.

Charles Washington Sells Lots to Tradespeople

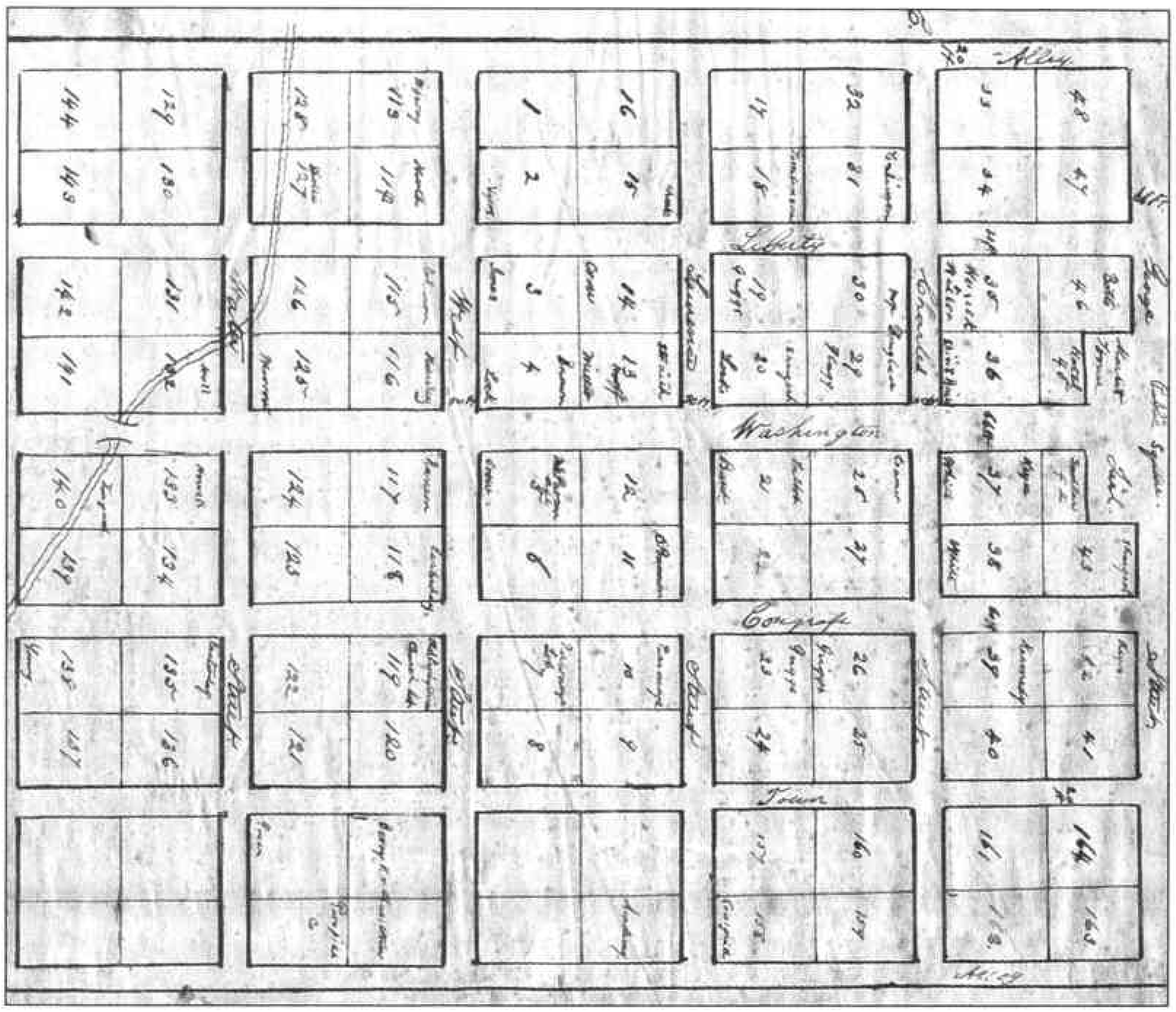
Between the founding of the town in 1786 and his death in 1799, Charles Washington sold in excess of 100 lots, many of them to tradespeople in and near the west end. Using deeds, tax records from 1782 to 1787, 1798, and title searches, 17 lots were purchased by tradespeople: two tavern keepers, a wagon maker and hotel owner, a saddler, two blacksmiths, a carpenter, a stone mason, a house joiner, a nailer, a tanyard operator, shoemaker, three merchants, and a physician. Some of the successful merchants and tradespeople bought multiple lots. Land speculation is not new to our times. On lots where 18th century structures remain, what is not determined here are what parts of the structure are original from the earliest construction. What conclusions are drawn are based upon structures of the period that match the title transfer records as well as reasonable conclusions of assessed value as to the size of the structure as was given in the 1798 tax record. Charles Washington sold the lots as numbered lots. The following discussion preserves that numbering.

Lot numbers 1, 2, 3[14]

Captain William Cherry, a patriot who fought in the American Revolution, purchased three lots: lot number 1 on 17 February 1787 for £16 5;[15] lot number 2 on 19 January 1789 for £16 5; and half of lot number 3 on 19 January 1789 for £16 5.

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[14] Lot numbers as assigned by Charles Washington.



Charlestown Lot Map circa 1850

On lot number 1, at the corner of North West Street and West North Street, stood the earliest documented business in Charlestown—the Old Cherry Tavern or Old Ordinary, which was built as early as 1770.[16] The Old Cherry Tavern was constructed on Charles Washington's land and Cherry presumably paid rent for many years before he bought the lot. The original Old Cherry Tavern was razed circa 1881.[17]

In addition to lot number 1, Captain Cherry also built structures on lot numbers 2 and 3. The extant larger two-story log structure with a stick addition on lot number 2 at 324 West Liberty Street may have been used as a tavern and/or hotel as well, but documentation of its use is unknown

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[15] Hugh Voress *et alia*, *1786-1986 Charles Town Bicentennial*, 1986, p. 54. £16 5 is 16 pounds sterling and five shillings. The lots were purchased using the British monetary system and later assessed with the American system.

[16] Annie Darke Engle Baker, "Early Taverns in Jefferson County," *Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, Volume II, Dec. 1936, p. 38

[17] Baker, p 38

at this time.[18] The structure on lot number 3[19] was occupied by Captain Cherry's daughter and son-in-law, David and Elisabeth Patton and granddaughter Elisabeth to whom the property was later deeded.[20] By 1798, Captain Cherry must have taken a much less active role in operating the tavern and managing his properties.[21] The 1798 tax records indicate that Cherry owned the properties[22] but that they were occupied and used by others. The 1798 document indicates the owner or occupant from whom that year's tax was collected, Captain Cherry, had two slaves, four horses, four cattle.[23]

Lot number 14

A second ordinary from these early times was owned by Judith Rankin. She was the wife of Benjamin Rankin, one of the petitioners to the Virginia General Assembly.[24] Benjamin Rankin died 02 January 1787 leaving his widow to manage their ordinary and farm outside of Charlestown. Judith Rankin paid the license for an ordinary in 1787.[25] While she had the help of her children to manage the farm and ordinary, Judith also held five slaves above the age of 16, eight slaves under 16, eleven horses and thirteen cattle. In 1787 the farm was still on leased land from John Cross. It is unknown for how long the ordinary was operated. Judith Rankin purchased lot number 14 from Charles Washington on 14 March 1789.[26] By 1798, tax lists cite Thomas Rankin Hammond as the owner but that actual transfer of title was later on 01 May 1804.[27] The name of Judith Rankin's ordinary is lost to time. Located on lot number 14 at 309 West Liberty Street, its current owners still refer to it as the Rankin House. It has a stone cellar which was

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[18] The size and interior layout suggest its possible use as tavern or hotel. Additionally, the current owner notes that oral history suggests this use.

[19] Located at 117-119 N West Street.

[20] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 1*, p 102.

[21] *1798 House Tax and Slave Tax of Berkeley County Virginia*, (Martinsburg, WV: Berkeley County Historical Society, 2003) p. 3

[22] Assessed values of the Cherry properties for the 1798 tax year: lot no. 1, $210.00; lot no. 2 $840.00; lot no. 3 $157.50.

[23] Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, The Personal Property Tax Lists for the Year 1787 for Berkeley County Virginia, (Springfield, VA: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987) pp. 1423, 1451

[24] Norris, p. 355

[25] Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, pp. 1432, 1449

[26] Hugh Voress *et alia*, *1786-1986 Charles Town Bicentennial*, 1986, p. 54

[27] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 2*, p 226, 1804.



The Rankin House

probably the first story and ordinary before the street level rose to its current height. The original street side limestone block which allowed folks to exit a carriage properly is now moved to act as a step down into the cellar. The batten door would have welcomed people into Judith Rankin's ordinary with its now closed stone hearth to the right. The second and third stories are log with additions both to the left side and rear. The upper floors were likely accommodations for travelers. What is believed to be slave quarters is a room on the top floor, presumably to serve the patrons or family.

Lot number 16

A third ordinary possibly from this time is the structure located on lot number 16 at 212/214 North Lawrence Street. John Mark, Sr. purchased lot number 16 from Charles Washington on 07 April 1788. This structure

is identified as the Sunrise Tavern[28] found in *West Virginia History on View, Photographs from the West Virginia Regional History Collection*. No other information is known as to when it was in operation. John Mark, Sr. is listed as owning two slaves over 16 and three slaves under 16 as well as two cattle. By 1798 the Marks family was living in Shepherdstown.[29]

Lot number 134

Charlestown's wagon maker Henry Haines bought lot number 134.[30] Henry Haines' business is thought to be located at 120 Water Street, the structure still survives. He also bought lot number 116 located at the northwest corner of West and Washington Street. Although no longer extant, located on lot number 116, Henry operated the Haines Hotel and a hostel for drovers and wagon drivers.[31] He paid for an ordinary license in 1804 and 1806.[32]

Lot number 125

Immediately west at 416 Washington Street is lot number 125 and a now vacant two-story log building. This structure was built by saddler, William Shope who purchased the lot from Charles Washington on 08 December 1792.[33] The William Shope building was assessed in 1798 at $420.00.[34] William Shope does not appear in the 1787 tax lists.

Lot number 115

Important service trades were also available early on in Charlestown. John Haines bought lot number 115, located at 118 North West Street. John Haines' occupation in the deed of title is listed as blacksmith. The purchase of the lot was on 01 February 1794 for £20.[35] John Haines must

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[28] http://images.lib.wvu.edu/cgi/i/image/image-dx?rgn1=ic_all;op2=And;rgn2=ic_all;med=1;q1=jefferson%20county;size=20;c=wvcp;back=back1313711163;subview=detail;resnum=45;view=entry;lastview=thumbnail;cc=wvcp;entryid=x-035091;viewid=035091.JPG

[29] *1798 House Tax and Slave Tax of Berkeley County Virginia*, p. 13

[30] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 1*, p. 57 indicating the sale of the lot on 11 January 1802.

[31] Annie Darke Engle Baker, p. 39

[32] Patricia B Duncan, *Jefferson County Virginia 1802-1813 Personal Property Tax Lists*, (Bowie, Maryland: Willow Bend Books, 2003) pp. 37, 70.

[33] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 55

[34] *1798 House Tax and Slave Tax of Berkeley County Virginia*, , p. 18

have been active much earlier in town on leased land since he is identified in the 1787 tax lists. He owned one cow.[36] In 1798 his property was assessed at $315.00.

Lot number 43

Another blacksmith in Charlestown was Jacob Miller. On 02 July 1796 he purchased lot number 43 located at the northwest corner of South George and Congress Streets.[37] Jacob Miller's blacksmith shop was located at the northeast corner of West Washington and North West Streets. He is listed in the 1787 tax lists so he was likely working on leased land before the purchase of his lot. None of Miller's structures survive today.

Lot number 135

Services and trades for town folk were also well represented during the lifetime of Charles Washington. John Young was a carpenter. His work was prized and some of the grander residences in Charlestown from this period attribute the construction to John Young. John Young bought lot number 135 on 01 April 1798 for £30 from Charles Washington.[38] While homes that John Young built are still present, his own home is no longer extant. The lot is located at the southwest corner of Congress and Water Streets. John Young is listed in the 1787 tax records.[39]

Lot number 60[40]

Charlestown's stonemason was Joseph Thompson who purchased lot number 60 from Charles Washington on 24 March 1795 for £60.[41] The lot is located on the southwest corner of Washington and Samuel Streets. His 18th century structure is no longer extant. Joseph Thompson must have stayed only a short time since he is not listed in either the 1787 nor 1798 tax records.

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[35] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54
[36] Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, pp. 1427, 1451
[37] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54
[38] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p 55
[39] Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, pp. 1437, 1448.
[40] This lot is not in the west end but is included because Joseph Thompson was in business at the time.
[41] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54

Lot number 35

The house joiner in early Charlestown was William Betty. A house joiner in colonial times was one who built house frames. Given the large number of log structures built during the life of Charles Washington a house joiner would have been critical. William Betty bought lot number 35 on 01 November 1785 for £20.[42] Lot number 35 is on the southeast corner of West Liberty and North Charles Streets. The structure is no longer extant.

Lot number 123

Identified as a nailer, George Work bought lot number 123 from Charles Washington on 21 February 1795 for £25.[43] A nailer in colonial times was a blacksmith that made nails.[44] The lot is located at the corner of West Congress and Water Streets. Mr. Work's structure is no longer standing.

Lot numbers 133 and 140

The tanyard for Charlestown was owned by Samuel Howell. A tanyard during colonial times tanned leather. The need for leather in clothing, especially shoes was critical. Samuel Howell bought lot number 140 from Charles Washington for £50; the lot located on Washington Street right on Evitt's Run was prime real estate. In addition, Samuel Howell bought the adjacent lot number 133 which has an early home located at 106 Water Street. Barbara Rasmussen attributes the age to be circa 1750.[45] Who occupied this early structure at its earliest point is unknown. It is likely that Samuel Howell lived in the structure at 106 Water Street as his home was being built at 503 West Washington Street, both located on lot number 133. The grand structure must have been completed by 1798 since Samuel Howell's second home was assessed at $367.50 whereas the 106 Water Street home was assessed at $131.25.[46]

Lot number 40

James Duke was Charlestown's shoemaker. He bought lot number 40

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[42] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54
[43] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 55
[44] http://whatsnew.history.org/2011/06/the-nail-market-during-the-colonial-period/
[45] Rasmussen, section 7, page 71
[46] *1798 House Tax and Slave Tax of Berkeley County Virginia*, p. 8

from Charles Washington on 09 June 1787 for £10.[47] The lot is located on the northeast corner of South Charles and Avis Streets. Avis Street at that time was labeled "Town Alley." Mr. Duke's place of business and residence no longer exist.

Lot number 28

There were a number of merchants during these early years. One of these was Jesse Matthews who bought lot number 28 located at 201-205 West Washington Street from Charles Washington on 07 April 1788 for £9.[48] The oldest part of the existing structure is from this time. As was common, the living quarters were above the business location. Interestingly, as a part of the sale of lot number 28, a ground rent of one dollar was to be paid annually to Charles Washington on 02 August each year. Jesse Matthews sold the real estate to Magnus Tate 15 April 1796. Jesse Matthews is not in the tax lists of 1798.

Lot number 114

Merchant David Humphreys[49] bought lot number 114 and a building at the corner of West Liberty and North West Streets. It was directly across from the larger Cherry structure on West Liberty Street. The proximity to the Old Cherry Tavern must have helped Mr. Humphreys' business opportunities. The lot was purchased from Henry Isler who had bought the lot from Charles Washington. David Humphreys bought the lot and structure 12 February 1798 later selling them to George North.[50] The 1798 tax lists indicate that Mr. Humphreys owned two structures valued at $315 and $262.50 respectively. The location of the second property and which valuation applies to each structure has not been determined. According to the 1798 tax records, David Humphreys owned one slave. The original structure on lot number 114 no longer exists.

Lot West of Evitt's Run

Ann Frame, sister-in-law to Matthew Frame, was an early merchant.

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[47] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p 54
[48] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54
[49] Some references spell the name "Humphries"
[50] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 2*, p. 17

Her day books reveal the vast array of goods that she sold: Everything from household goods, furniture, books, fabric, spices to whiskey. Mrs. Frame was diverse in her product line. Her place of business was just west of Evitt's Run, outside the Charlestown city limits but still considered "Main Street" even in the deed records. Every traveler going to Middleway or Winchester passed her place of business. The day books from Mrs. Frame indicate that she was doing business by 1798.[51] She further expanded her land fronting "Main Street" with what is described as "a piece of land adjoining Ann Frame's dwelling house on Main Street adjoining the line of George Work."[52] While Mrs. Frame is not listed as owning a home in the 1798 tax list, her brother-in-law owned a grand place assessed at $1,680.00.[53] Ann Frame continued doing business into the 19th century paying merchant taxes for at least 1804-1813.[54] Mrs. Frame died 27 January 1819 with her estate advertised for sale in March 1819,[55] Jane Beckham was the administratrix.

Lot number 18

Well documented is Charlestown's most famous physician of the time Dr. Edward Tiffin[56] whose log structure survives on West Liberty Street. Dr Tiffin is listed in the 1787 tax records as owning one cow and one

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[51] Virginia Historical Society, Frame, Ann, Papers, 1798-1812. 9 items. Mss1F8439a. Microfilm reel C458.

[52] *Jefferson County Deed Book No. 3*, p. 239

[53] *1798 House Tax and Slave Tax of Berkeley County Virginia*, p.7

[54] Duncan, pp, 46, 64, 81, 96, 114, 130, 183

[55] Farmer's Repository, Charles Town, Jefferson County, Virginia, printed by Richard Williams, Wednesday, 24 March 1819, Volume II, No. 572, p. 4

[56] Dr. Tiffin became the first governor of Ohio. "He served as speaker of the [Ohio] territorial house of representatives, 1799-1801, and as president of the constitutional convention in 1802, where his authority to determine the membership of committees was an important factor in policy-making in that body. He was elected governor of the newly organized state almost without opposition in 1803 and again in 1805 for a second term. It was during his second term that he received a commendatory letter from President Jefferson for his efficiency in foiling Aaron Burr's expedition. Before the close of his second term he was elected by the general assembly to the United States Senate. He took his seat in 1807 but resigned in March 1809. After the death of his wife in July 1808, he expressed a wish to return to his home near Chillicothe and resume his medical practice and farming. He did not long remain a private citizen, however, for a few months after his return to Chillicothe he was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives, where he served two terms as speaker, 1809-11." From: http://www.ohiohistory.org/onlinedoc/ohgovernment/governors/tiffin.html

horse.[57] Dr. Tiffin bought lot number 18 on 07 August 1788 for £8 5.[58] Tiffin purchased a number of lots from Charles Washington. It is unknown whether Tiffin or others developed the additional lots. He moved to the Ohio territory before the tax collection of 1798.

Conclusion

The earliest commercial activity centered around Evitt's Run and the west end of town. All of this started before Charles Washington laid out the town that would bear his name. The number of merchants and trades people living and working at the west end and Water Street show us where the activity centered during the colonial and early federal period. The town square as envisioned by Charles Washington and shown on his earliest survey moved the area of active commerce east to what is now the center of town. On the west end, many of the early dwellings do survive but are now residential with little active commercial activity. The mill is gone. The need for ordinaries, blacksmiths and saddlers has vanished. The businesses and services now center much closer to the town square. The routes in and out of town now follow the axis that Charles Washington intended when the Virginia General Assembly recognized his town.

The one group that was present and critical to the function of this city but is largely un-recognized in this research are the people of color, free and enslaved. They were not landowners, but played a critical role working along side their white neighbors and owners. Since they were generally not taxed at this early time (they were later), they are an invisible group whose contributions sadly still remain nearly un-acknowledged. For them, I hope that more information will surface so that their contributions might be better appreciated.

When this project was begun, it was hoped to document all of the structures that survive from the lifetime of Charles Washington. As time progressed it was determined that limiting the research to the trades and service people who were little known from the time was the most enlightening for those interested in the colonial roots of Charles Town. It is hoped that the readers of this article enjoy this topic as much as I have enjoyed writing about it.

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[57] Netti Schreiner-Yantis & Florene Speakman Love, pp. 1435, 1452
[58] Hugh Voress *et alia*, p. 54

Special thanks must be noted. This paper could not have been written without the support and encouragement of three people: Jane Rissler, curator of the Jefferson County Museum; Doug Perks, historian; and James Keaton, communication expert.

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"...all was quiet there then."

The Strategic Importance of Jefferson County, Virginia

By P. Douglas Perks

After weeks of debate and much speculation, the Virginia Secession Convention voted on April 17th, 1861 to withdraw from the Union. The convention's action still required the affirmation of Virginia's electorate in a state-wide election to be held later in May.[1] From the Tidewater to the Ohio River, Virginians began to ponder their vote. Should they stay the course and elect to remain in the Union? Or should they select to secede and cast Virginia on a course in uncharted water?

Logan Osburn was a Union man. An overwhelmingly pro-Union vote in Jefferson County had sent him to Richmond to keep Virginia in the Union. He was heartbroken by the convention's April 17th vote. Writing to his wife Margaret who was at their home *Avon View*,[2] he expressed his dismay:

You will see by the papers that the authorities of our State have already inaugurated a revolution by the seizure of public property, vessels in our harbours, Gosport Navy Yard & Ex Gov. Wise told me to day a dispatch had been sent for the seizure of the armory at Harper's Ferry. Andrew Hunter is here, and told me he left home yesterday and all was quiet there then.[3]

The Solemn, Sad, and desponding countenances that characterize the union men in the hall of the Convention clearly indicates their wounded pride and patriotic devotion to this country's honour and the people's liberty. Brave men with stout hearts and trembling voices, with tears rolling down their cheeks, have stood up nobly in defence of the rights of the people, and earnestly appealed to their brother members to save them & theirs from the dim calamities of civil war, but in vain.

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[1] William W. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson, editors. *Showdown in Virginia: The 1861 Convention and the Fate of the Union.* (Charlottesville, Virginia; University of Virginia Press, 2010) p. 196.

[2] Avon View overlooks the Avon Bend on the beautiful Shenandoah River at Kabletown in Jefferson County.

[3] Logan Osburn to Margaret Chew Osburn, April 17th, 1861, Richmond, Virginia. From the document collection of the Jefferson County Museum, Charles Town, West Virginia.

Logan Osburn's distress over the convention's decision would plague him for the rest of his life.[4] But little did Osburn know that the accuracy of Andrew Hunter's observation when he told Osburn that "*he [Hunter] left home [Jefferson County] yesterday and all was quiet there then*" would be short-lived and become yet another source of strife for not only Osburn but also for every resident of Jefferson County, Virginia. Beautiful Jefferson County, nestled serenely between the Shenandoah and the Potomac Rivers, was about to endure four long years of turmoil.

Ignoring the convention's vote some Virginians, particularly those who lived beyond the Alleghenies, refused to accept Virginia's separation from the Union and began to organize to resist secession. In a lengthy editorial which appeared in the May 25th, 1861 edition of the *Kingwood Chronicle* entitled "To the People of North-Western Virginia," a committee of pro-Union men led by John S. Carlile[5] presented their case.

Regardless of their feelings about secession, these men hit the nail on the head regarding what lay ahead for Virginia. Near the end of their editorial Carlile and his cohorts implored their fellow Virginians to face the reality of the coming calamity:

> *Fellow citizens, we ask you to read and ponder well the passage from Mr. Cobb's[6] Speech we recite:*
>
> > *'The people of the Gulf States need have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and their other business as usual, the war would not come to their sections - its theater would be along the borders of the Ohio River and in Virginia.'*
>
> *The Convention between Virginia and the confederate States, by which the control of all military operations is placed in the hands of President Davis, insures this result.*

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[4] In a letter written on September 26th, 1861 by Adeline Osburn to her friend Fannie Griggs, Adeline observed, "... my sister Margaret when she went on to join her husband who was in the convention - when he returned he was in a state of deep despondence no smile was upon his noble countenance when he greeted his family - & almost his first words were - 'the country is ruined & I am sick' -. He was never well again."

[5] John S. Carlile, an ardent pro-Unionist, represented Harrison County at the Virginia Secession Convention.

[6] Georgian Howell Cobb was elected the president of the Congress of the Seceded Southern States meeting in Montgomery, Alabama.

"*[A]nd in VIRGINIA*." Over the next four years those three prophetic words echoed up and down the Valley of Virginia. In particular those words were a cause for great apprehension in Jefferson County, the gateway to the Shenandoah Valley, for Jefferson County it would not be "business as usual." Adeline Osburn summed it up:

> *The fate of Virginia - our own loved state must be ours-. The invader and oppressor must be driven from our soil - but O the hearts that must be wrung with agony! The houses rendered desolate - the dark pall that must hang over the land - the dismal cloud that yet reveals not even a dim gleam of the silver lining!!!*[7]

Interest in Jefferson County started before the secession vote. On April 16th former Virginia Governor Henry Wise met in secret with militia officers and made plans to secure the military matériel at Harper's Ferry before it could be moved by federal officials. On April 17th, "*Wise electrified the official convention with a fiery speech. He announced that Virginia militia were at that instant seizing the federal armory at Harper's Ferry.*"[8] Although Wise's pronouncement was premature by one day, following a brief altercation between the Virginia militia and "*a group of loyal volunteers*"[9] Harper's Ferry came under control of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Virginia's interest in the armory at Harper's Ferry was understandable. That there was an armory at Harper's Ferry was due to the influence of one man - General George Washington. From the instant that Congress authorized The General to select the site for as many as four national gun factories, he was adamant that the confluence of the Potomac and the Shenandoah Rivers was the best place for at least one of them. In the spring of 1795 Colonel Stephen Rochfontaine, a French engineer, was employed to evaluate possible locations for an armory along the Potomac River. Rochfontaine never considered Harper's Ferry a potential site. The General was reportedly furious with Rochfontaine's report and sent him

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[7] Adeline Osburn to Fannie Griggs.

[8] James M. McPherson. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, New York; Oxford University Press, 1988) p. 279.

[9] Millard Kessler Bushong. *Historic Jefferson County* (Boyce, Virginia; Carr Publishing Company, Inc., 1972) p. 209.

back up the Potomac with specific instructions to reconsider his "oversight"[10] of Harper's Ferry.

On the second trip, Rochfontaine's vision improved. Concurring with The General's opinion that Harper's Ferry possessed *"an inexhaustible supply of water"* and *"centrality among Furnaces and Forges"* he revised his initial report to include Harper's Ferry as a potential site. By the summer of 1798 sufficient land on which to build the armory had been purchased principally from the Wager family.[11] Construction began in 1799 and by year's end *"the [smith's] shop is built, the Mill house and factory half built, and the materials for the Arsenal nearly in readiness. Everything goes on well."* For a variety of reasons construction was a long slow process that delayed the first production of arms until 1801. Sadly, The General did not live long enough to see either the completion of the armory at Harper's Ferry or the production of the first guns.[12]

In April 1861 the armory complex at Harper's Ferry was comprised of two distinct installations. The United States Musket Factory was nestled along the Virginia shore of the Potomac River stretching up-river from the juncture of the Shenandoah for almost one-half mile. Along the Shenandoah River, the United States Rifle Factory (formerly Hall's Rifle Works) was built up-river from Virginius Island. The reason that ex-Governor Wise and others had drawn a bulls-eye on Harper's Ferry was simple. Stored in Harper's Ferry's arsenals were an estimated 20,000 completed muskets and rifles. There were also parts and, of course, the machines needed to make guns. Each of these individually was reason enough to secure the site. Collectively they made Harper's Ferry a very important prize.[13]

By June 1861, the gun factories at Harper's Ferry were empty shells. The bridge across the Potomac River was gone. The arsenal buildings that stored complete guns had been burned with their contents. The Virginia and Confederate troops that had occupied Harper's Ferry since late April were gone. But unfortunately from a military viewpoint the

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[10] Merritt Roe Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change* (Ithaca, New York; Cornell University Press, 1977) pp. 29-32.

[11] When Robert Harper, the founder of Harper's Ferry, died he had no children. His holdings passed first to his brother and then to his brother's daughter Sarah Harper Wager who lived in Philadelphia.

[12] Smith pp. 37-49.

[13] Smith pp. 317-320.

Harper's Ferry's armory was not the only thing which made Jefferson County a strategic location. In fact our "need for apprehension" was just about to begin.

Gun production was by far the leading manufacturing industry in Jefferson County, but overwhelmingly the economic engine was agriculture. Consistently Jefferson County was among the top five producers of wheat in Virginia, attaining the rank as the top producer in 1860. The eight counties which comprised the Lower Valley[14] in 1860 collectively produced 12 percent of Virginia's wheat. Of that total, Jefferson County produced 26 percent (472,008 bushels). Corn production was important but in second place to wheat. Because of this Jefferson County and the other counties in the Lower Valley during the war earned the sobriquet "Breadbasket of the Confederacy."[15]

Geographically, Jefferson County is "protected" by the Potomac River along its north border and by both the Shenandoah River and the Blue Ridge Mountains beside its eastern boundary. The rivers and the mountain delayed significant settlement in the Valley until the mid-eighteenth century. Once settlers found the river crossing at Pack Horse Ford and a gap called Vestal's in the Blue Ridge, migration into the Lower Valley began in earnest.

Settlement and economic growth necessitated improvement of the transportation system in Jefferson County. When Virginia left the Union in 1861 there were two bridges across the Potomac River. The bridge at Shepherdstown carried traffic north into Maryland and provided access to the Lower Valley, especially the Valley Turnpike. The bridge over the Potomac at Harper's Ferry carried both the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and vehicular traffic. Several fords and ferries on the Shenandoah afforded access from eastern Virginia to the Valley and points west. A well developed network of roads connected these access points to commercial and government centers.

In addition to roads and bridges, Jefferson County was served by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Although travel was not rapid on the canal, by the end of the American Civil War the canal was moving well

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[14] Berkeley, Clarke, Frederick, Jefferson, Morgan, Page, Shenandoah and Warren counties.

[15] United States Department of Agriculture, The Census of Agriculture, http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1840/1840.pdf (07/22/2011).

over 350,000 tons annually and had become a vital link in the Union supply chain.[16] River locks at both Harper's Ferry and Shepherdstown provided easy access for supplies to be moved both onto and off of the canal. These important entrances to the canal lent credence to the tactical necessity of control of both Shepherdstown and Harper's Ferry.[17]

On April 16th, 1861 the guns at Harper's Ferry were the primary focus of Virginia's leaders. But as it became apparent that war was inevitable, the emphasis shifted from the armory in Jefferson County to something which would prove to be if not more important at least equal in importance - the railroads. Jefferson County was "blessed" with two railroads. By the mid-1830s both the Winchester & Potomac Railroad and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were operating in Jefferson County.

The Baltimore and Ohio line reached the base of Maryland Heights opposite Harper's Ferry in 1834. By 1836 the railroad bridge across the Potomac was completed and the railroad continued its push to the west reaching Wheeling, Virginia and the Ohio River in 1852. Just as the Baltimore and Ohio crossed the river into Virginia, the line connecting Winchester to Harper's Ferry was finished. By 1861 Jefferson County was a transportation crossroad that connected the coal fields of western Virginia and the agricultural bounty of the Valley to the ports at Alexandria and Baltimore. Because "an army moves on its stomach," supply lines for both armies were critical. Control of both the canal and the railroads made Jefferson County a key strategic point.

So ironically many of the attributes which made Jefferson County, Virginia a place where many people "came, they fell in love with the countryside and the life, and they remained,"[18] also made it a battleground. For four years farmers played the equivalent of political roulette when it came to the sale of their produce. The fords, roads, ferries, bridges, and railroads became military checkpoints under the control of one army or the other. The roads resounded with the pounding hoof beats of charging cavalry and the shuffle of marching

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[16] Mike High. *The C & O Canal Companion* (Baltimore Maryland The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) p. 42.

[17] Western Maryland's Historical Library, *The Canal in Washington County* [Maryland], http://www.whilbr.org/CandOCanal/index.aspx (August 2011).

[18] Julia Davis. *Between the Shenandoah and Potomac: Historic Homes of Jefferson County, West Virginia* (Hagerstown, Maryland HBP, Inc. 2005) p. ix.

infantry. The air was pierced by the sharp bark of artillery. War had come to Mr. Jefferson's County.

P. Douglas Perks, a Native of Jefferson County, is Director of the Charles Town Library and Assistant Curator of the Jefferson County Museum. He is a frequent speaker on Jefferson County History, the author of "Mr. Jefferson's County" in The Guardian, and a contributing author to The Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society.

Summer Picnic



Boidestone's Place

John Allen, owner of Boidestone's Place circa 1822, was our host at a very rainy picnic. Thanks to Jim Gibson, there were extra tents that kept about 120 members and guests and the deviled eggs dry. The rain did not stop very many from taking tours of the house and barn.

From John Allen's new book, *Uncommon Vernacular*:

> The frame house known as Boidestone's Place was moved to its current site by Charles M. Shepherd in 1835. The house, originally built on the adjacent farm for Marcus Elder, may have originally employed a transverse-hall plan. The structure was reoriented by Shepherd, and arranged as a side-



John Allen speaks to the members and guests.

hall plan on the location of the earlier Boidestone house, of which, the earlier kitchen wing remains.

Thanks to the Society coordinator Betsy Wells, the Magnolia Tree catering, and all the people who brought great food.